

**Patriotic Marriage:  
Eugenics, Colonial Intimacy and the Politics of the Marital  
Family in the Japanese Empire, 1931–1945.**

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## Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university. All sources used have been acknowledged in the text.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Alison J Darby', with a stylized, cursive script.

Alison J Darby

3 December 2022

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## Abstract

This dissertation examines the politics of the marital family in metropolitan Japan and its two major formal colonies, Taiwan and Korea, from 1931 to 1945. It brings together, for the first time, two political discourses that sought to reshape marriages in service to the empire, which I term *patriotic marriage discourses*: The first, in support of eugenic marriage, and the second in support of interethnic marriage. Drawing on archival research in Japan, Taiwan and South Korea, the dissertation maps divergent and often contradictory attempts to influence the marital decisions of Japanese and their Korean and Taiwanese colonial subjects. In doing so, it reveals the differing ways social reformers imagined the future of the marital family, uncovering persistent tensions over how young women and men should choose a spouse and on what basis. What was at stake in this debate over spousal selection was not only—or even primarily—concerns about securing individual happiness and marital stability, but broader social concerns over public health, colonial relations, sexual morality and patriotic service to the empire. I argue that the existence of this sustained contestation cautions against the notion of a unitary vision of the ideal marital family in Japan during this era. Furthermore, I suggest that the persistent ambivalence over marriage ultimately indicates a deeper anxiety over the imagined future of the empire—and the model of the marital family that would best serve it. The findings of this dissertation have broader implications for how we conceptualise the nature of state power in Imperial Japan. They reveal significant and unresolved disagreements within official circles as well as the pivotal role played by nonstate actors in shaping educative campaigns in support of marital reform.

## Note on Translations and Transliterations

This thesis is centrally concerned with understanding eugenicist and imperial discourses on marriage and the visions of the ideal—and, conversely, the undesirable—family contained therein. Translating these texts, which by definition contain discriminatory, ableist and racist terminology, is not without its challenges. In translating these documents, I have tried to draw our attention to the terminology used and retain its discriminatory tone by drawing on terms used by contemporaneous eugenicist activists in the English-speaking world. Therefore, I have translated terms such as *teinō* as “retard” (低能) and *seishin hakujiyaku* as “feeble-minded” (精神薄弱) to highlight their stigmatising character, rather than glossing them as “intellectually disabled”. Other prominent terms such as *akushitsu* (悪質), which literally translates to “bad quality”, are more difficult still as they were used to designate undesirable medical and nonmedical conditions. In this thesis I have translated this term as either “malignant” when the text refers to the degree of severity of a medical condition and “inferior” or “poor quality” when it seems to suggest a broader category of undesirable traits.

The colonial context, too, poses questions for the translator. The interethnic unions discussed in this thesis occurred between different ethnic and national groups—Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese—that were at the time all considered to be “Japanese” (*Nihonjin*; 日本人) by Japanese colonial authorities, in legal terms and in propagandist texts, if not in reality. As I discuss in detail in Chapter IV and Chapter V, claims of the equal treatment and shared racial ancestry of Japanese and their Korean and Taiwanese colonial subjects formed a key tenet of imperial propaganda and emerged as a site for intervention by colonial subjects seeking better treatment within the empire. In my discussion, I have tried to foreground the complex political dynamics involved in claiming—and denying—national identities by translating the designations for different ethnic nationalities literally as stated in each text. Therefore the terms, *naichijin* (metropolitan person, i.e. Japanese; 内地人), “islanders” (i.e. Taiwanese; 本島人) and *Chōsenjin* (i.e. Korean; 朝鮮人) appear frequently as in the original text.

I have followed the Hepburn, McCune-Reischauer and Pinyin systems for translations from Japanese, Korean and Chinese respectively, with the exception of place names and words,



such as Tokyo and Osaka, that are widely known in English under different spellings. All East Asian names are listed family name first, with the exception of authors who publish in English. All translations from Japanese, Korean and Chinese are my own unless otherwise noted.

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## Introduction

In 1941 Sakuhara Junichi, a 27 year old man from Shizuoka prefecture and Sakuhara Toki, his 22 year old pregnant wife, became the first Japanese couple to be officially decorated for their “eugenic marriage” (優生結婚), under a new program led by the Ministry of Health and Welfare (厚生省; MHW).<sup>1</sup> The couple was selected for their healthy genealogies, which were listed in newspaper coverage up to their grandparents on both sides, their young age and their commitment to the *Ten Rules for Marriage* (結婚十訓), which had been widely disseminated by the Ministry since 1939.<sup>2</sup> Sakuhara and his wife were presented as a model couple that embodied the new ideals of health, fertility and national service outlined in these rules. Newspaper coverage reported that they had both undergone medical examinations before marriage, and were recognised as a model couple “as there were no physical defects” on either side.<sup>3</sup> The Ministry of Health and Welfare intended to award 300 couples for their ‘eugenic marriages’ before the end of 1941 as part of a concerted effort to “enlighten” (啓蒙) the Japanese people about the importance of applying eugenicist reasoning to their marital decisions.<sup>4</sup> As part of this campaign, the Ministry of Health and Welfare reframed choosing a healthy, eugenically fit marriage partner as a new “national duty” (國民の義務であり) for all Japanese subjects.<sup>5</sup>

The same year, on 21 March 1941, in Japan’s colonial territory the Government-General of Korea (GGK) endorsed its own award celebrating the ideal marital couple.<sup>6</sup> In this case, 137 Japanese–Korean couples were decorated for their interethnic marriages, which were described as vital contributions to the imperial project of integrating Korea and Japan as

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<sup>1</sup> “Nihon ichi no yūsei kekkon shin katei o tazunete”, *Fujin kurabu* 22, no. 11 (1941): 140–41; “First Couple Gains Marriage Honours”, *The Japan Times*, September 14, 1941, 3.

<sup>2</sup> “Nihon ichi no yūsei kekkon shin katei o tazunete”, 140–41; “First Couple Gains Marriage Honours”, 3. Both articles reported that the husband had to be less than 30 years old and the wife less than 25 years old to be eligible.

<sup>3</sup> “First Couple Gains Marriage Honours”, 3.

<sup>4</sup> “Kokumin yūsei renmei no yūsei kekkon shikin kifu to yūsei kekkon sanji shōreikin seido no sōritsu”, *Jinkō mondai kenkyū* 2, no. 5 (1941): 83; Kōseisho yobukyoku, “Yūsei kekkon zadankai”, *Naimu kōsei jihō* 4, no. 10 (Oct 1939): 1303.

<sup>5</sup> “Kokumin yūsei renmei no yūsei kekkon shikin kifu...”, 83.

<sup>6</sup> “Naisen kekkon no hōshōsha ketteisu”, *Chōsen* 311 (1941): 99–100.

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“one body” (内鮮一体).<sup>7</sup> At the award ceremonies, the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League (國民精神總動員朝鮮連盟), presented each couple with a handwritten scroll from Governor-General Minami Jirō (南次郎; 1874–1955), which congratulated them on being a “model” (模範) for others in their marriage.<sup>8</sup> Both these awards recognised sexual unions between individual couples as a service to the empire, however, the vision of the idealised marital family that they presented was markedly different. What then do these competing visions indicate about how the idealised (heterosexual) marital family was conceptualised in the Japanese empire? And, how were these visions of the marital family each presumed to serve the empire?

## Imagining Modern Marriages in Imperial Japan

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Japan underwent enormous change as it transformed from a largely agrarian economy into an industrialised power and modern empire. The dislocations that accompanied rapid industrialisation and urbanisation since the 1868 Meiji Restoration brought significant shifts in social and gender relations. A large body of existing research has highlighted how Japan’s rapid modernisation brought with it new gendered subjects, such as the ‘modern girl’ and ‘modern boy’, and the ‘new woman’, as well as changed roles and gendered expectations both outside and within the home.<sup>9</sup> One of the central relationships that was being rethought in this context was that between husband and wife. Scholars of gender and social history have examined how Japanese women and men sought to reimagine marital relationships as part of a new discourse on “free love” (自由恋愛) and “freedom of marriage” (自由結婚), challenge established legal codes on marriage

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<sup>7</sup> “Naisen kekkon no hōshōsha ketteisu”, 99–100.

<sup>8</sup> “Naisen kekkon no hōshōsha ketteisu”, 99–100.

<sup>9</sup> See for example, Alisa Freedman, Laura Miller and Christine R Yano (eds.), *Modern Girls on the Go: Gender, Mobility and Labor in Japan*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2013); Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003); Gail Lee Bernstein (ed), *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Sharon L Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1983). More recently historians have also turned their attention to changing views on Japanese masculinity. See for example, Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall (eds), *Recreating Japanese Men*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).



and divorce, and, in some instances, disavow the marital family as an ideal altogether. Much of this research has centred on progressive reform efforts associated with the women's movement, and the response to them. Such liberal reforms were, however, not the only efforts in the early twentieth century seeking to transform marital practices away from its roots as an arrangement between two families. My dissertation examines two contemporaneous but conflicting discourses that attempted to re-envision marriage—not as an individual endeavour, but in service to the imperial state. The first, called eugenic marriage, which was focused on the metropole, sought to improve the Japanese race by prioritising eugenicist concerns regarding health and heredity when choosing a spouse. The second, which I will refer to as interethnic marriage, sought to foster unions between Japanese and their Korean and Taiwanese colonial subjects in the colonies. Both eugenic marriage and interethnic marriage were what I term *patriotic marriage discourses* in that they were explicitly intended to strengthen the empire, and sought to secure a strong, stable and prosperous future for Japan in international terms. However, as we shall see, the vision they held of what kind of marriages would best achieve this goal differed significantly.

This dissertation will examine governmental, activist and popular discourses on eugenic marriage and interethnic marriage in the Japanese empire from 1931 to 1945. It argues that the marital family emerged as a crucial arena in Japanese imperial politics. The marital home was conceived as the site where the next generation of imperial subjects were to be reproduced, physically and ideologically. This placed marriage at the centre of discourses about the future stability and prosperity of empire. As Ann Laura Stoler has influentially argued in the context of colonial Indonesia, the 'private' domestic realm, far from being peripheral to imperial politics was a central issue of contention. According to Stoler, the intense public scrutiny of sexual relationships and domestic arrangements reveals how families were "critical political sites" where racial categories and gendered expectations were defined, negotiated and, at times, subverted.<sup>10</sup> Drawing on Stoler's insight that the intimate is deeply connected to the "micropolitics" of empire, in this dissertation I read overtly propagandistic discourses on the marital family, and especially on the moment of

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<sup>10</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the intimate in Colonial Rule*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 210.

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choosing and wedding a spouse, for what they reveal about the uncertainties, ambivalences and anxieties of the Japanese imperial project. More specifically, I examine two sets of patriotic discourses: one on interethnic marriage and one on eugenic marriage. Both of these discourses sought to regulate intimate relationships and deploy ideals of the marital family in the service of empire in varying ways. This thesis brings together these two discourses for the first time. It argues that examining discourses on eugenic marriage and colonial intimacy alongside each other reveals sustained contestation over the marital family and its role in imperial politics. Crucially, it also places these two discourses on patriotic marriage within their broader context of debates over sexuality morality, individualism and the changing nature of modern family relations. In doing so, it reveals the divergent ways social reformers imagined the future of the marital family, uncovering persistent tensions over how young women and men should choose a spouse and on what basis. What was at stake in this debate over spousal selection was not only—or even primarily—concerns about securing individual happiness and marital stability, but broader social concerns over public health, colonial relations, sexual morality and patriotic service to the empire. I argue that this contestation over the shape of the marital family exposes deeper anxieties within the empire over the direction of social change and future it promised.

### **Propaganda, Patriotism and the Political Sphere, 1931–1945**

This thesis is, in many ways, a study of propaganda and its limits. It is focused on the period of 1931–1945. The state looms large in this period of Japanese history. After the Manchurian Incident in 1931, an increasingly internationally isolated Japanese state was embroiled in what it found to be an unexpectedly costly conflict in China. The outbreak of full-scale war with China in 1937, and the extension of hostilities to the Pacific following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, impressed on the Japanese state the need to more fully mobilise the populace behind an ever expanding war effort. The military imperative to create more loyal subjects who could provide the human resources necessary for the war saw the overt politicisation of almost every aspect of daily life. Political expression was severely curtailed through the censorship regimes led by the Special Higher Police (特別高等警察) and legislation designed to maintain public order, such as the 1925 Peace Preservation

Law (治安維持法). The formal colonies of Taiwan and Korea, too, experienced severe and heavy handed, if uneven, censorship, which culminated in the forced closure of the vernacular press in 1937 in colonial Taiwan and 1940 in Korea.<sup>11</sup> This context of deep and pervasive repression did not, however, mean the end of political discourse from nonstate actors. The groups studied in this thesis—eugenicist social reformers, pro-Japanese political organisations and government-affiliated organs—would typically be dubbed as ‘collaborators’ with the wartime regime. These political groups were certainly supporters of the imperial state in the sense that they worked to bolster and extend key goals of the wartime state and sought reforms only under the overarching framework of empire. There was nevertheless considerable diversity and disunity both between and within these organisations. As we shall see, upon closer examination, their goals did not easily or evenly align with those of the state—indeed the state bureaucracy itself was characterised by persistent ideological disagreements. My purpose in emphasising the diversity within pro-state discourse is not to rehabilitate or excuse the wartime actions of these actors. Neither am I particularly interested in pinpointing individuals for condemnation, although one could find ample reason to condemn many of the political projects examined in this thesis. Rather, as Mark Caprio, Sheldon Garon and others have suggested, examining the thought and activism of pro-state actors is useful in clarifying the content and efficacy of state ideology.<sup>12</sup> Paying attention to the fissures within pro-state discourse also serves to question the easy characterisation of the imperial state as unified and all-powerful that, to paraphrase Garon, acted alone and from above society.<sup>13</sup> The political projects of these patriotic organisations and the state could best be described, using the oft quoted Chinese saying, as “two dreams

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<sup>11</sup> In Taiwan, the sole Taiwanese operated newspaper, *Taiwan minpō*, ceased publishing in Chinese in 1937. In Korea, the two dominant vernacular newspapers *Tonga ilbo* and *Chosŏn ilbo* were ordered to close in August 1940 as part of a renewed push to eliminate dissent. The restriction of the vernacular press was intended to aid censorship efforts and facilitate assimilation. For an overview of censorship regimes in Taiwan and Korea see for example Michael Robinson, “Colonial Publication Policy and the Korean Nationalist Movement”. In *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*, eds. Ramon Hawley Myers, Mark R. Peattie and Ching-chih Chen. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 1984.

<sup>12</sup> Mark E Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 171–172.

<sup>13</sup> Sheldon M Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 6.

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in one bed” (同床異夢).<sup>14</sup> This thesis centres those divergent dreams of the future, reading them for the anxieties and disagreements they reveal about imperial politics and the ideal marital family.

## Eugenics in Imperial Japan

In the early twentieth century, eugenics was a pervasive and politically influential scientific discourse worldwide. Japan was no exception. Eugenics in Japan dates from at least the 1870s, when Francis Galton’s seminary work *Hereditary Genius* was translated into Japanese. The first eugenicist activist organisation, the Greater Japan Eugenic Society (大日本優生會), was established in 1917 and was soon followed by several other organisations, including the Japanese Association of Race Hygiene (日本民族衛生學會; JARH).<sup>15</sup> The first journal on eugenics, *Jinsei* (Humankind; 人生) was first published in 1905, and was soon followed by several others including *Yūseigaku* (Eugenics; 優生學), *Yūsei undo* (Eugenic movement; 優生運動), and the two journals associated with the JARH, *Yūsei* (Eugenics; 優生) and *Minzoku eisei* (Racial Hygiene; 民族衛生). By the 1920s, eugenics was a popular topic in the mass media more broadly, with major newspapers and women’s magazines frequently reporting on the new science of heredity.

There is a small but growing body of existing research on eugenics in Japan. The first major work on Japanese eugenics was published in 1983 by Suzuki Zenji.<sup>16</sup> Since Suzuki’s initial study, three monographs on the history of the Japanese eugenics have been published,

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<sup>14</sup> Chen Peifang, for example, uses this metaphor in his analysis of assimilation policy in colonial Taiwan. More recently, Hyun Ok Park has used this metaphor in her examination of Manchuria. Chen Peifang, *Dōka no dōshō imu: Nihon tōchika Taiwan no kokugo kyōikushi saikō* (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2001); Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Sumiko Otsubo and James R. Bartholomew, “Eugenics in Japan: Some Ironies of Modernity, 1883–1945.” *Science in Context* 11, no. 3–4 (1998): 553; Jennifer Robertson, “Eugenics in Japan: Sanguinous Repair.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, eds. Alison Bashford and Philippa Devine. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 431–2. In translating *Nihon minzoku eisei gakkai* as the Japanese Association of Race Hygiene, I have followed the official English name of the organisation.

<sup>16</sup> Suzuki Zenji, *Nihon no yuseigaku: Sono shisō to undō no kiseki*. (Tokyo: Sankyō shuppan, 1983).

authored by Fujino Yutaka, Yokoyama Takashi and Yuehtsen Juliette Chung.<sup>17</sup> More recently, edited volume by Karen Schaffner has introduced major themes in the existing Japanese literature to an English-speaking audience.<sup>18</sup> Existing studies on eugenic legislation in Japan have tended to focus on coercive eugenics legislation intended to prevent those deemed ‘unfit’ from reproducing, most notably through forced sterilisation. In the context of contemporary lawsuits by victims of Japan’s historical eugenics legislation, historians have particularly sought to uncover how and why coercive legislation permitting sterilisation was first developed and to explain its longevity. A growing body of literature has examined how coercive eugenic legislation not only retained political legitimacy after 1945 but was reinforced in the 1948 Eugenic Protection Law (優生保護法), and has detailed its ongoing impact on victims.<sup>19</sup> In this frame, recent studies on the pre-1945 period have focused on explaining the relationship between the 1940 National Eugenic Law (國民優生法) and the 1948 Eugenic Protection Law, and locating them within shifting understandings of what types of medical conditions and social ills constituted an appropriate target for sterilisation.<sup>20</sup> Consistent with this focus on investigating the origins of reproductive abuses, much of the existing literature has explored the history of coercive legislation designed to prohibit those deemed ‘unfit’ from reproducing, which is commonly referred to as ‘negative’ eugenic policies. Existing histories have revealed troublingly broad support across the political spectrum for legislating coercive measures designed to restrict the ability of those deemed ‘unfit’ from marrying and reproducing, highlighting alliances between feminist and eugenicist activists and medical authorities as well as pockets of opposition, in sometimes unexpected places.<sup>21</sup> Less attention has been paid to eugenicist campaigns beyond this

<sup>17</sup> Fujino Yutaka, *Nihon fashizumu to yūsei shisō* (Kyoto: Kamogawa shuppan, 1998); Yokoyama Takashi, *Nihon ga yūsei shakai ni naru made: Kagaku keimō, media, seishoku no seiji* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 2015); Yuehtsen Juliette Chung, *Struggle for National Survival: Eugenics in Sino-Japanese Contexts, 1896–1945* (London and New York: Routledge 2002).

<sup>18</sup> Karen J Schaffner (ed). *Eugenics in Japan*. (Fukuoka: Kyushu University Press, 2014.)

<sup>19</sup> See for example Matsubara Yōko, “Minzoku eisei hogohō to Nihon no yūseihō no keifu” *Kagaku-shi kenkyū* 11 36 (1997): 42–50. The 1948 Eugenic Protection Law also notably legalized abortion. See also Christiana A. E. Norgen, *Abortion before Birth Control: The Politics of Reproduction in Postwar Japan*. (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2001); Hiroko Takeda, *The Political Economy of Reproduction in Japan Between Nation-State and Everyday Life*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

<sup>20</sup> There are two main perspectives, represented in the works of Yokoyama Takashi and Matsubara Yōko. See footnote 22 below.

<sup>21</sup> On the perhaps troubling alliances between feminist activists and eugenicists see for example Sujin Lee, “Differing Conceptions of ‘Voluntary Motherhood’: Yamakawa Kikue’s Birth Strike and Ishimoto Shizue’s

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history of legal coercion. Despite this lacuna, eugenicists also dedicated considerable energy to enlightenment (啓蒙) campaigns designed to educate the Japanese public on the importance of applying eugenicist reasoning in their marital and reproductive decisions.

This thesis is the first sustained analysis of educative campaigns in the 1930s and 1940s designed to persuade the general public to adopt eugenicist principles when choosing a marriage partner. It focuses on eugenicist attempts to intervene in marital decision-making, especially at the moment of spousal selection. The existing Japanese literature has sketched the basic outlines of wartime policies on eugenic marriage, locating it as an important supplementary policy to the National Eugenic Law. Discussion of eugenic marriage in this context has principally been concerned with defining the parameters of eugenicist activism in Japan in this period, particularly in regard to whether eugenicist policy sought to target only hereditary conditions or also infectious diseases and social problems.<sup>22</sup> In English, historian Jennifer Robertson has provided the most detailed exploration of eugenic marriage

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Eugenic Feminism." *U.S.–Japan Women's Journal* 52, no. 1 (2017): 3–22; Aiko Takeuchi-Demirci, *Contraceptive Diplomacy: Reproductive Politics and Imperial Ambitions in the United States and Japan*. (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2018); Sumiko Otsubo, "Feminist Maternal Eugenics in Wartime Japan", *U.S.–Japan Women's Journal* 17 (1999): 39–76.; Sumiko Otsubo, "Engendering Eugenics: Feminist and Marriage Restriction Legislation in the 1920s." In *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, eds. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno. (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard East Asian Monographs, Harvard University Press, 2005). Medical professionals and conservative politicians were among opponents of coercive legislation. See, for example, Yōko Matsubara, "Senjika no danshuhō ronsō: Seishinkai no kokumin yūseihō hihan," *Gendai shisō (Revue de la pensée d'aujourd'hui)* 26, no. 2 (1998): 286–303; Sumiko Otsubo, "Gender, Family and Modernity: The Passage of the 1940 National Eugenics Law." In *Tumultuous Decade: Empire, Society and Diplomacy in 1930s Japan*, eds. Masato Kimura and Tosh Minohara. (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

<sup>22</sup> Of key concern here is whether the Eugenic Protection Law represents a marked break in thinking from the National Eugenic Law. Matsubara argues that the Eugenic Protection Law saw a resurgence of what she terms 'expansive' (拡張優生主義) definitions of eugenics, which also targeted infectious conditions such as venereal disease and tuberculosis. She sees these views as the successor of prewar eugenic activism led by women's and social groups—which predated the 1933 Nazi sterilisation law—and a marked break from the strictly hereditary approach which she attributes to the National Eugenic Law and the Japanese Association of Race Hygiene. Matsubara sees eugenic marriage counselling in wartime Japan as an exception to the otherwise generally hereditary approach of the state in this period. Yokoyama argues that Matsubara overstates the extent to which the state and the Japanese Association of Race Hygiene abandoned a more expansive interpretation of eugenics. Rather, he argues that both downplayed 'expansive' eugenics policies for entirely strategic reasons in the context of societal opposition to the sterilisation policy. For Yokoyama then, eugenic marriage policy is evidence of the desire, albeit unfulfilled, of the Japanese state to implement a broader eugenic policy in the future. See Matsubara, "Minzoku eisei hogohō to Nihon no yūseihō no keifu"; Yokoyama Takeshi, "Kokumin yūseihō seritsu no saikento: Hōan rōgi to kagaku keimō no aida." *Shakai shisō-shi kenkyū* 34 (2010): 161–179.

in wartime Japan.<sup>23</sup> According to Robertson, eugenics provided the modernising Japanese state with the rationale to justify greater intrusion into the sexual and reproductive lives of its citizens and the basis on which to reshape the family. Robertson asserts that the idea of marriage—and the Japanese family—was recast in eugenic terminology to promote marriages between “pure-blooded Japanese”, as opposed to traditional marriage practices which often emphasised marriages within kinship groups and in local geographic areas.<sup>24</sup> According to Robertson, this change served to strengthen ties among Japanese while hardening the boundary between Japanese and non-Japanese along ethnic lines.<sup>25</sup> This strategy was promoted by the Japanese state as it assisted in the mobilisation of Japanese as a coherent national community—indeed, as a family—behind the imperial project.<sup>26</sup> This conceptualisation, however, overstates the extent to which there was a coherent and unified support for eugenic marriage, in society and within the state apparatus. Rather, as this thesis makes clear, when examined within the broader context of contemporaneous debates on both interethnic unions and love marriages, eugenic marriage emerges as a heavily contested ideal.

My focus on the moment of spousal selection crucially situates discourse on eugenic marriage within broader political discourses on the changing nature of marriage and family relations in Imperial Japan. Eugenic marriage was far from the only discourse seeking to reshape how ordinary Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese subjects made their marital

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<sup>23</sup> For Robertson’s works on Japanese eugenics see Jennifer Robertson, “Biopower: Blood, Kinship, and Eugenic Marriage”, in *A Companion to the Anthropology of Japan*, ed. Jennifer Robertson. (Malden, Massachusetts and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005); Jennifer Robertson, “Blood Talks: Eugenic Modernity and the Creation of New Japanese”. *History and Anthropology* 13, no. 3 (2002): 191–216; Jennifer Robertson, “Dehistoricizing History: The Ethical Dilemma of ‘East Asia Bioethics’”, *Critical Asian Studies* 37, no. 2 (2005): 233–250; Jennifer Robertson, “Eugenics in Japan: Sanguinous Repair”, in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, ed. Alison Bashford and Philippa Devine. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Jennifer Robertson, “Hemato-nationalism: The Past, Present and Future of ‘Japanese Blood’”, *Medical Anthropology* 31, no. 2 (2012): 93–112; Jennifer Robertson, “Japan’s First Cyborg? Miss Nippon, Eugenics and Wartime Technologies of Beauty, Body and Blood”, *Body and Society* 7, no. 1 (2001): 1–34; Jennifer Robertson, “Sexuality and Shopping: Eugenics and Female Citizenship in Urban Japan, 1920–1940.” *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft = Études asiatiques: revue de la Société Suisse-Asie* 53 (1999): 383–393. In Japanese see also Jennifer Robertson, “Yūseigakuteki shokuminshugi: Nihon ni okeru ketsu no ideorogii”, *Shisō* 995 (2007): 91–106.

<sup>24</sup> Robertson, “Biopower”, 344. This is an updated version of her earlier article “Blood Talks: Eugenic Modernity and the Creation of New Japanese”, *History and Anthropology* 13, no. 3 (2002): 191–216.

<sup>25</sup> Robertson, “Biopower”, 343–4.

<sup>26</sup> Robertson, “Biopower”, 344.

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decisions. The period of 1931–1945 on which this thesis focuses followed one of profound debate over the marital family. In East Asia, as in many parts of the world, the choice of a marriage partner had traditionally been the purview of the parent, and especially the father. In seeking to influence marital decisions, patriotic discourses on marriage confronted the issue of appropriate child–parent relations. At stake was not just the basis on which a marital decision should be made, but also *who* should make it. Existing literature on eugenics in the Japanese empire—like that on colonial intimacy discussed below—has paid limited attention to this broader context of attempts to reform marriage. Gender historians have emphasised support for eugenic ideology among advocates of ‘love marriage’ and ‘free marriage’ across the globe.<sup>27</sup> In this sense, they have located eugenic marriage within contemporaneous debates on modern ways of marrying—as opposed to traditional, arranged marriage—suggesting an alliance between love marriage, eugenic marriage and greater personal choice for unmarried youth. In the case of Japan, the most sustained investigation of the connections between eugenic ideology and love marriage is Katō Shūichi’s monograph, *What did love marriage bring?*<sup>28</sup> Katō traces the emergence of “love marriages” as the dominant model of marriages in Japan, charting its development since the Meiji period. He argues that eugenic discourse was a key component in the shift away from arranged marriage that began in the Taishō era. Katō asserts that the concepts of ‘eugenic marriage’ and ‘love marriage’ effectively merged in 1930s Japan as eugenicists strategically deployed the ideal of a romantic union between husband and wife to encourage marriages prefixed on the idea of producing ‘superior’ children.<sup>29</sup> Such studies have importantly demonstrated the expansive reach of eugenics as a political and social discourse in the early twentieth century, revealing the eugenicist inclinations of many progressive social reform movements. They tend, however, to obscure important ideological differences. Paying close attention to the reverse formulation—the sexual morality of eugenicists—reveals deep anxieties over changing marital norms, exposing concerns with the dislocations that

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<sup>27</sup> See for example Tani E Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Mirela David, “Bertrand Russel and Ellen Key in China: Individualism, Free Love and Eugenics in the May Fourth Era”, in *Sexuality in China: Histories of Power and Pleasure*, ed. Howards Chaing. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, [2018]). This issue will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter I.

<sup>28</sup> Katō Shūichi, *‘Ren’ai kekkon’ wa nani o motarashita ka Sei dōtoku to yūsei shisō no 100-nenkan*. (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2004).

<sup>29</sup> Katō, *Ren’ai kekkon’ wa nani o motarashita ka*, 186–88



accompanied modernisation. That Japan's experience of rapid modernisation coincided with its emergence as an expansionist imperial power further complicates this picture, and discourse on the marital family. Eugenicist social reformers seeking to create a new ideal of the marital family also confronted the reality that Japan in the 1930s sat at the centre of an expanding, multiethnic empire. Thinking through how their vision of the modern marital family was also an *imperial* one is a key concern of this thesis.

## Colonial Intimacy in the Japanese Empire

The existing literature on interethnic marriage in the Japanese empire has developed largely in isolation from that on eugenics, and from that on marriage reform movements more broadly. Much of the existing literature on colonial intimacy in the Japanese empire is concerned with explaining the colonial state's perhaps surprising endorsement of interethnic marriage, which runs counter to the general tendency of Anglo-European empires to oppose, often violently, interracial marriage and miscegenation on explicitly racist grounds.<sup>30</sup> A sizeable body of existing literature has explored literary portrayals on interethnic relationships in the Japanese empire.<sup>31</sup> Literary studies have highlighting how representations of colonial intimacy often functioned as potent material for propaganda and were intended to symbolise the close and tender ties between Japan and its Taiwanese and

<sup>30</sup> While Japan is often considered 'unique' in its promotion of interethnic marriage, endorsements of colonial intimacy, while not the norm, can also be found among European empires. The most frequent formation was marriages and, more commonly alternative sexual arrangements such as concubinage, between local women and colonial officials entered into often for strategic and commercial gain. For a discussion of colonial interest in concubinage see Stoler *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, esp. 47–51. Paul Barclay has identified a similar phenomenon in colonial Taiwan motivating state support of marriages between Aboriginal Taiwanese women and Japanese officials, particularly in contested regions. Paul Barclay, "Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 64 no. 2 (2005): 323–360.

<sup>31</sup> Three monographs have been published on literary representations of interethnic marriage in the Japanese empire: Su Yun Kim, *Imperial Romance: Fictions of Colonial Intimacy in Korea, 1905–1945*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020); Kimberly T Kono, *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Bujin Nam, *Bungaku no shokuminchishugi: Kindai chōsen no fūkei to kioku*. (Kyoto: Seikaki Shihosha, 2005). For more on literary portrayals of colonial intimacy in Japanese empire see also Vladimir Tikhonov, *Modern Korea and its Others: Perceptions of the Neighbouring Countries and Korean Modernity*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), esp. ch 6; Liu Huiying, "Ilchemal naesŏn yōnae/kyōrhon sosŏl yŏn'gu – Taeman kwa ūi pigyo rŭl chungsim ūro". *Hanguk munhak yŏn'gu*, 56 (2018): 211–246; Eika Tai, "Intermarriage and Imperial Subject Formation in Colonial Taiwan: Shōji Sōichi's Chun-fujin", *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 15, no. 4 (2014): 513–531; Su Yun Kim, "Racialization and Colonial Space: Intermarriage in Yi Hyosŏk's Works", *Journal of Korean Studies* 18, no. 1 (2013): 29–59. For film see also Su Yun Kim, "Transwar Continuities of Colonial Intimacy: Korean–Japanese Relationships in Korean Cinema, 1940s–1960s." *Asian Studies Review* 45, no. 3 (2021): 400–419.

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Korean colonial subjects. At the same time, however, fictional representations often subverted this narrative, and tales of failed romance exposed frictions within the union of colonised and coloniser. Legal histories have traced the complicated path to officially recognising interethnic unions, highlighting the problems posed to interethnic families by the existence of the family registration (*koseki*; 戸籍) system.<sup>32</sup> A key contention in the existing literature is the extent to which colonial authorities sought to promote interethnic unions in *reality*, as opposed to only in the realm of propaganda. In this context, legal histories have emphasised how the *koseki* system, which differentiated between metropolitan (*naichi*; 内地) and colonial (*gaichi*; 外地) registries, allowed the Japanese colonial state to maintain a legal distinction between ethnically Japanese subjects and Korean and Taiwanese colonial subjects.<sup>33</sup> This legal complexity has been interpreted as a bulwark against the generally assimilationist approach of the colonial state that indicates a desire to maintain a distance between colonised and coloniser.

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<sup>32</sup> A substantial body of literature has traced the legal regulation of interethnic marriage and family relations in the Japanese empire. For legal histories of interethnic marriage focused on colonial Korea see, for example, Barbara J Brooks, "Japanese Colonialism, Gender, and Household Registration: Legal Reconstruction of Boundaries." In *Gender and Law in the Japanese Imperium*, eds. Barbara J. Brooks & Susan L. Burns. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014); Itsuko Kamoto, "Creating Spatial Hierarchies: The *Koseki*, Early International Marriage, and Inter-marriage". In *Japan's Household Registration System and Citizenship: Koseki, Identification, and Documentation*, eds. and trans. David Chapman & Karl Jakob Krogness. (London and New York: Routledge, 2014); Yi Chöngsön, *Tonghwa wa paeje: Ilche üi tonghwa chöngch'aek kwa naesön kyörhon*. (Koyang-si: Yöksa pip'yöngsa, 2017). For colonial Taiwan see, for example, Haruka Nomura, "Making the Japanese Empire: Nationality and Family Register in Taiwan, 1871–1899". *Japanese Studies* 30, no. 1 (2010): 67–79; Eika Tai, "The Discourse of Inter-marriage in Colonial Taiwan". *Journal of Japanese Studies* 40, no. 1 (2014): 87–116; Liao Yuanchun, "Yizu hunyin de fazhi yu wenhua tiaoshi: Yi ri zhi shiqi 'netai gonghun' anli fenxi wei zhong xin". (Masters diss., National Cheung Kung University, 2011). For an examination of interethnic marriages in metropolitan Japan see also Ai Baba, "Policies, Promoters and Patterns of Japanese-Korean and Japanese-Taiwanese marriages in Imperial Japan" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2019). The Japanese colonial state was also interested in scrutinising and regulating marital practises in the colonies more generally as part of its broader 'civilising' and 'modernising' efforts. See, for example, Barbara J. Brooks & Susan L. Burns (eds.) *Gender and Law in the Japanese Imperium*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014).

<sup>33</sup> In this dissertation I focus on interethnic marriage in Japan's two largest formal colonies, Taiwan and Korea. Discourse on colonial intimacy was also prominent in the Japanese puppet state of Manchukou. In Manchuria, interethnic unions were frequently invoked as evidence of the reality of 'harmony between five races'—a key tenet of Japanese propaganda in the region. For an analysis of interethnic marriage in Manchukou see, for example, Yukiko Koshira, "East Asia's 'Melting Pot': Reevaluating Race Relations in Japan's Colonial Empire" in *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia: Western and Eastern Constructions*, eds. Rotem Kowner and Walter Demel. (Leiden: Brill, 2012); In Young Bong, "Destabilizing 'Racial Harmony': Hybridity, Nationality and Spatiality in the Law and Cultural Production of Manchukou". (PhD diss. Cornell University, 2010).

In this framework, the existence of divergent and critical opinions regarding interethnic unions is typically interpreted as evidence of the paucity of state commitment to interethnic marriage. Kim Youngdal has influentially argued that in Korea the colonial state did not support interethnic unions in reality, but endorsed them only in the realm of propaganda.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, Yi argues that while the GGK was initially optimistic about the potential for intermarriage to function as a potent metaphor of harmonious integration and further assimilation efforts in daily life, it became increasingly pessimistic about interethnic unions in practice over time. Therefore, she concludes, that after 1937 the GGK's conception of intermarriage "became close to fictional propaganda" (허구적 선전에 가까워진다) in that it represented a promotion of a minority of highly idealised unions only, rather than a broad endorsement of interethnic marriage.<sup>35</sup> More recently, Furuhashi Aya has asserted that it was not the colonial state, but Korean male intellectuals who most actively supported interethnic unions as they viewed taking a Japanese bride as a pathway to achieve greater status within the empire.<sup>36</sup> Ai Baba similarly concludes that support for interethnic marriage in metropolitan Japan came principally from a limited number of nonstate actors.<sup>37</sup>

A small number of existing studies offer a sustained discussion of the coexistence of interethnic marriage and eugenics.<sup>38</sup> These studies tend to focus on delineating the racial ideology of the Japanese empire, with the issue of miscegenation receiving particular attention. These existing works generally coalesce around two broad positions: first, that eugenics represented a marginal outlier to the Japanese state's generally assimilationist orientation; and, second, that concerns over sexual relations between Japanese and their colonial subjects expose the continued power of racial or "blood" nationalism within the

<sup>34</sup> Kim Youngdal, "Nihon no chōsen tōchika ni okeru 'tsūkon' to 'konketsu'—iwayuru 'naisen kekkon' no hōsei, tōkei, seisaku ni tsuite", *Kansai daigaku jinken mondai kenkyūshitsu kiyō* 39 (1999): 1–46. This argument is in contrast to the view held by scholars such as Suzuki Yūko that Japan actively encouraged interethnic marriage as a method to "eliminate the ethnicity" (民族性の抹殺) of Koreans. See Suzuki Yūko, *Jūgun ianfu, naisen kekkon*. (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1992), 76.

<sup>35</sup> Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, 450.

<sup>36</sup> Furuhashi Aya, "'Naesŏn kyŏrhon' ūi pul/kanŭngsŏng: 'Naesŏn kyŏrhon' tamnon ūl t'onghan ilche ūi singminji t'ongch'i bangsik e kwanhan yŏn'gu'. (PhD diss., Chungang University 2019).

<sup>37</sup> Baba, "Policies, Patterns and Promoters", esp. ch 4.

<sup>38</sup> These are: Oguma Eiji, *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-images* trans. David Askew. (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002); Tai, "The Discourse of Intermarriage in Colonial Taiwan"; Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*; Baba, "Policies, Patterns and Promoters".

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Japanese state. The first view is tied to Oguma Eiji's influential thesis, outlined in *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-images*, that the myth of Japanese ethnic homogeneity is a product of the postwar period. In *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-Images* Oguma identifies the presence of what he terms a "eugenics school" within the Ministry of Health and Welfare in Tokyo that opposed the GGK's policy of promoting interethnic marriage.<sup>39</sup> Oguma maintains that this "eugenics school" was relatively small and did not exert a major influence on state ideology, which remained committed to a mixed racial origins theory of Japanese ancestry. Rather, he clarifies in *The Boundaries of the Japanese* that Japanese imperial policy is most clearly defined by "opportunism".<sup>40</sup> According to Oguma, this opportunism was also a strategic choice as the "very ambiguity" of colonial law and state policy acted as a "loophole" that ensured the state's ability to unilaterally and arbitrarily change who was considered to be 'Japanese' and to what extent they would be included in—or excluded from—the nation.<sup>41</sup> Ambivalence over interethnic marriages then, for Oguma, represents primarily a desire to preserve the state's "discretionary power" rather than a desire to maintain legal boundaries or dissuade miscegenation *per se*.<sup>42</sup>

Proponents of the second perspective typically present their work as a critique of this thesis. Eika Tai's discussion of interethnic marriage in colonial Taiwan criticises Oguma's position that racism did not play a major role in colonial policy, concluding that despite legally sanctioning interethnic unions, the "racial nationalism" associated with eugenicist desires to maintain "blood purity" found its outlet in colonial legislation that strictly divided the metropole and the periphery via the *koseki* system.<sup>43</sup> Yi similarly argues that Oguma's summation oversimplifies the "variety of perspectives" (다양한 시각) within the Japanese

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<sup>39</sup> Oguma, *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-images*, esp. ch. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Oguma Eiji, *The Boundaries of 'the Japanese': volume II Korea, Taiwan and the Ainu, 1868–1945*, trans. Leonie R. Stickland. (Melbourne: TransPacific Press, 2017), 462. He further asserts that the lower-class origins of many Japanese settlers almost mitigated against anti-miscegenationist views among the colonial state and Japanese elites. He writes, "As *Naichi-jin* settlers and the like were nothing more than 'ignorant people' to the Government-General and upper echelon of the military, national policy, namely the stabilization of Korean rule, took priority over something like the purity of the blood of those 'ignorant people'. Unless the Government-General and military elite felt a sense of solidarity as fellow 'Japanese' that transcended class vis-à-vis those settlers from commoner stock, there would be no reason for a direction towards preserving their ethnic purity to arise". Oguma, *The Boundaries of 'the Japanese'*, 450.

<sup>41</sup> Oguma, *The Boundaries of 'the Japanese'*, 462.

<sup>42</sup> Oguma, *The Boundaries of 'the Japanese'*, 462.

<sup>43</sup> Tai, 'The Discourse of Inter-marriage in Colonial Taiwan', 115–116.

government and among eugenicist academics, resulting in the problematic impression that the colonial state and the central Japanese government were opposed on the issue of interethnic marriage.<sup>44</sup> Rather, Yi argues that the Japanese government became more sceptical about the issue of intermarriage over time, particularly as the issue of miscegenation became a point of contention in the Japanese mainland after 1937.<sup>45</sup> For Yi, then, the Japanese government's shift from approval for, to concern with, intermarriage does not represent a shift in the underlying sentiment towards intermarriage and mixed blood *per se* but is indicative of a dual policy where interethnic marriages, while tolerated in the colonies, were viewed as potentially threatening once they reached the metropole.<sup>46</sup> Yi attributes this growing concern about interethnic unions in no small part to the rise of eugenicist discourse alongside an increasing emphasis on the need to improve the quantity and quality of the Japanese race to further the war effort.<sup>47</sup> She writes that in this context:

eugenicist academics who opposed miscegenation tended to take the lead. Therefore, [the number of] Japanese people who were wary of Japanese–Korean intermarriage and miscegenation gradually increased ... the more the superiority of the Japanese race as leaders of Asia was emphasised, the more awareness of criticism of intermarriage and miscegenation itself also spread.

이를 주도한 우생학계에 혼혈을 반대하는 흐름도 있어서, 내선결혼·혼혈을 경계하는 일본인들이 점차 증가했다 (...) 아시아의 지도자로서 일본 민족의 우수성을 강조할수록 내선결혼과 혼혈 자체를 부정적으로 보는 인식은 더욱 확산되었다.<sup>48</sup>

Far from being politically marginal, for Yi—like Tai—eugenicists were thus a politically significant grouping capable of exerting influence over popular opinion and within government circles.

<sup>44</sup> Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, 31.

<sup>45</sup> Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, 31.

<sup>46</sup> In making this argument Yi draws on Komagome's thesis that the Japanese state consistently sought to prevent political developments in the colonies from impacting the metropole. See Komagome Takeshi. *Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no bunka tōgō*. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996).

<sup>47</sup> Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, 450–51.

<sup>48</sup> Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, 451.

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Yi's discussion of eugenics focuses primarily on the issue of miscegenation, locating eugenicists in their roles as medical researchers, scientists and racial theorists working for the Ministry of Health and Welfare. She addresses eugenicists in most detail in Chapter I of Part III of her monograph, titled "Research on intermarriage and mixed blood and the issue of the purity of Japan(ese)" (내선결혼·혼혈 연구와 일본(인)의 순일성 문제), where she outlines state-sponsored research into mixed-race families conducted by eugenicists within the MHW after 1939.<sup>49</sup> While this analysis is a fascinating contribution to the history of science, it does not adequately explain how, and to what extent, eugenicists were able to translate this research into influence on government policy and Japanese society more broadly. What is needed here is a focus on eugenicist organisations not only in their roles as 'scientific' researchers, but as social reformers, political lobbyists and policymakers. A stress on eugenicists as *social reformers* crucially draws attention to the fact that eugenicist associations, such as the JARH, were not only state officials but also activist organisations with a political and social agenda that did not neatly match that of the Japanese state. By emphasising the fissures within official and semi-official discourses on marriage, my dissertation reveals how the marital family was a site of deep and unresolved anxiety over the imagined imperial future.

### **Anxiety, Ambivalence and Activism: Reading the Imagined Future of Empire**

My analysis of patriotic marriage discourses in this dissertation draws on archival research gathered from public collections in Australia, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea. It utilises official governmental documents and legislative records, as well as periodicals, both from official and nonstate actors, and major newspapers to analyse popular, activist and governmental discourses on patriotic marriage. The individuals studied in this thesis occupied an often fuzzy space between the state and society, moving between their roles as activists, government employees, propagandists and policymakers. Their writings, while not uniformly reflected in state policy, were also not the works of independent political outsiders. I find the works of theorists of colonial archives useful in navigating this uneven

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<sup>49</sup> This chapter is an updated version of her earlier journal article. Yi Chöngsön, "Chönsi ch'ejegi ilche ũi ch'ongdongwön chöngch'aek kwa 'naeson honhyöl munje", *Yöksa munje yön'gu* 29 (2013): 217–255.

historical archive. Considerable work has drawn our attention to the need to critically evaluate the colonial archive, highlighting that it cannot be viewed as a source of complete or apolitical information on the past.<sup>50</sup> Archives select, classify and maintain (to varying degrees) traces of the historical past. Rather than providing a complete record or a “window” into the past, the colonial archive can be understood as providing a selective and fragmented record that constitutes “the debris of empire”.<sup>51</sup> While Japanese authorities, at home and in the colonies, put considerable effort into collecting statistical information on intimate relationships, the resulting statistical record is inconsistent and likely inaccurate.<sup>52</sup> In this context it is crucial to consider the ways in which archives are, in Stoler’s phrasing, “not sites of knowledge retrieval but of knowledge production”.<sup>53</sup> How governments attempted to produce knowledge about populations, and how this information was classified, can reveal the anxieties, tensions and limitations of empire. Drawing on Stoler, this dissertation will read the colonial archive “along the grain”.<sup>54</sup> It will consider governmental records for what they reveal about the preoccupations, priorities and imagined futures implied in colonial policy, rather than as an accurate portrayal of historical circumstances. In doing so, I also take inspiration from Tani Barlow’s project of writing history in the “future anterior tense”. As Barlow explains, the future anterior is a method of reading history that is “used to stress the covert or anticipated future embedded in a present moment (or a present moment in the past).”<sup>55</sup> I take from Barlow an interest in reading the multiple visions of the imperial future (both those that which were realised and those which were not) embedded within past historical moments. In this endeavour, I find Ann Laura Stoler’s method of reading archives ‘along the archival grain’ useful, as this method encourages us to consider historical events and “non-events”—policies, crises and

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<sup>50</sup> See for example Antoinette Burton (ed), *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

<sup>51</sup> Ann Laura Stoler (ed), *Imperial Debris: On Ruin and Ruination*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013). The phrasing “debris of empire” is from Nancy Rose Hunt’s chapter therein, “An Acoustic Register: Rape and Repetition in Congo”, 53.

<sup>52</sup> Kim, for example, has discussed discrepancies in government statistics on intermarriage in Korea. See Kim, *Imperial Romance*, 62–65. While the institutions of governance differed in colonial Taiwan and colonial Korea, the same issues regarding the limitations of census data are broadly true in other jurisdictions.

<sup>53</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, “Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance”, *Archival Science* 2, no. 1–2 (2002): 90.

<sup>54</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*.

<sup>55</sup> Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*, 2.

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incidents that did not actually happen—as well as those we know did occur, for what they reveal about the concerns, anxieties and doubts of historical actors.<sup>56</sup> Reading political discourse on the marital family in the Japanese empire for what it reveals about how social reformers in the past imagined the future—and the uncertainties, obstacles and anxieties that underpinned their vision of the future—underscores contestation over the marital family. I argue that this history of contestation is significant not only because it suggests that the Japanese state remained fundamentally ambivalent about what kind of marital family would best serve the empire, but also because it suggests that the future direction of the empire itself was also disputed. It reveals how social reformers were contending with the troubling reality that society was already changing and not necessarily in a direction that furthered their aims.

### **Yasui Hiroshi and the Japanese Association of Race Hygiene**

In analysing educative campaigns advocating for eugenic marriage, this dissertation focuses on the activities of the JARH, and especially the advocacy and thought of prominent activist Yasui Hiroshi. The Japanese Association of Race Hygiene was founded in 1930 as the Japanese Society of Race Hygiene by Nagai Hisomu (永井潜; 1876–1958), Abe Ayao (阿部文夫; ?–1945) and other prominent eugenicists in Japan. It was renamed the JARH in 1935 after being recognised as a foundation by the Japanese government.<sup>57</sup> The JARH was led by president Nagai Hisomu, a German-trained physician and professor of physiology at Tokyo Imperial University. Nagai Hisomu was born in Hiroshima in 1876, one of 13 children. He was trained in medicine at Tokyo Imperial University and was sent to study in Germany at Gottingen University from 1903 to 1906. From 1906 to 1915 he worked as an assistant professor at Tokyo Imperial University under fellow eugenicist Professor Ōsawa Kenji (大澤謙二; 1852–1927) before being promoted to professor of physiology in 1915, and later in 1934 Dean of Medicine.<sup>58</sup> Nagai was further affiliated with the Japan Women's College between

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<sup>56</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 5.

<sup>57</sup> Suzuki, *Nihon no yūseigaku*, 196.

<sup>58</sup> For more on the thought of Ōsawa Kenji see Sumiko Otsubo, "The Female Body and Eugenic Thought in Meiji Japan". In *Building a Modern Japan: Science, Technology, and Medicine in the Meiji Era and Beyond*, ed. Morris Low. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).



1921 and 1939, and the Tokyo Medical College for Women in the 1920s and 1930s. After retiring from Tokyo Imperial University in 1937, Nagai worked as Professor and Dean of Medicine at Taipei Imperial University in colonial Taiwan from 1937 to 1939, where he hosted the eighth annual meeting of the JARH in Taiwan in 1939. He also worked as Dean of Medicine at Peking National University from 1939 to 1945 during the Japanese occupation.<sup>59</sup> Nagai was a prolific author, publishing more than 20 books throughout his career and numerous articles. He is most well-known for his role popularising eugenic thought among the educated Japanese public and, through the JARH, lobbying the state to adopt eugenicist policies. One of the key avenues the JARH established to disseminate eugenic thought was its women's only branch, named the Eugenic Marriage Popularisation Society (優性結婚普及會; EMPS), which was founded on 11 November 1935. The EMPS published a magazine called *Yūsei* (Eugenics, 優性) from 1936 to 1939.<sup>60</sup> One of the key purposes of this magazine was to enlighten the general population about the importance of applying eugenic reasoning to their marital and reproductive decisions. *Yūsei* was edited by Yasui Hiroshi (安井洋; 1878–?).<sup>61</sup>

Yasui Hiroshi was born in 1878 in Hiroshima prefecture.<sup>62</sup> In 1900 he became an army doctor. He was appointed to the position of Surgeon Major General in 1924 and later became the chief of the medical section of the medical affairs department of the Army Ministry.<sup>63</sup> In 1936, he completed his Doctor of Medicine at Tokyo Imperial University.<sup>64</sup> The same year he began working as the editor for *Yūsei*. Yasui further served as a eugenic marriage consultant, specialising in mental illness, for the JARH's eugenic marriage counselling centre. In May 1940, he was made the chief of the Ministry of Health and Welfare's Eugenic Marriage Counselling Centre (優生結婚相談所) in Tokyo. When the

<sup>59</sup> For a detailed biography of Nagai Hisomu see also Sumiko Otsubo, "Eugenics in Imperial Japan: Some Ironies of Modernity, 1883–1945." (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1998), 275–281, 294.

<sup>60</sup> For lists of members see *Yūsei* 1:3 (1936): 20–23, 26; *Yūsei* 1:4 (1936): 20–22; *Yūsei* 1:5 (1936): 23; *Yūsei* (1936): 1:9, 29; *Yūsei* 2:1 (1937): 19. For more on the Eugenic Marriage Popularisation Society see also Otsubo, "Feminist Maternal Eugenics in Wartime Japan", 46; Otsubo, "Eugenics in Imperial Japan", esp. ch. 6.

<sup>61</sup> Like many organisations of its time, despite being a women's branch the EMPS had an all male leadership.

<sup>62</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, (Tokyo: Nagao shuppan hōkōkai, 1943), prepages.

<sup>63</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, prepages.

<sup>64</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, prepages.

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Marriage Patriotism Society (結婚報國懇話會), an auxiliary organisation of the Ministry of Health and Welfare tasked with promoting marriage, was established in January 1942, he was made one of two managing directors.<sup>65</sup> Later, in 1943, when the Marriage Patriotism Society was upgraded to an incorporated foundation (財團法人) and renamed the All-Japan Marriage Patriotism Association (大日本結婚報國會), Yasui was appointed as a director (Figure I, Yasui Hiroshi's 1943 resume).<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Kōseisho kenminkyoku boshika, "Dai-Nihon Kekkō hōkokukai sōritsu kyōka shirei no ken", December 13, 1943. Ref: 昭 4 7 厚生 00139100, doc no.: 東健第 1 6 0 号, National Archives of Japan Digital Archive, 32–34.

<sup>66</sup> Kōseisho kenminkyoku boshika, "Dai-Nihon Kekkō hōkokukai sōritsu kyōka shirei no ken", 32–34.

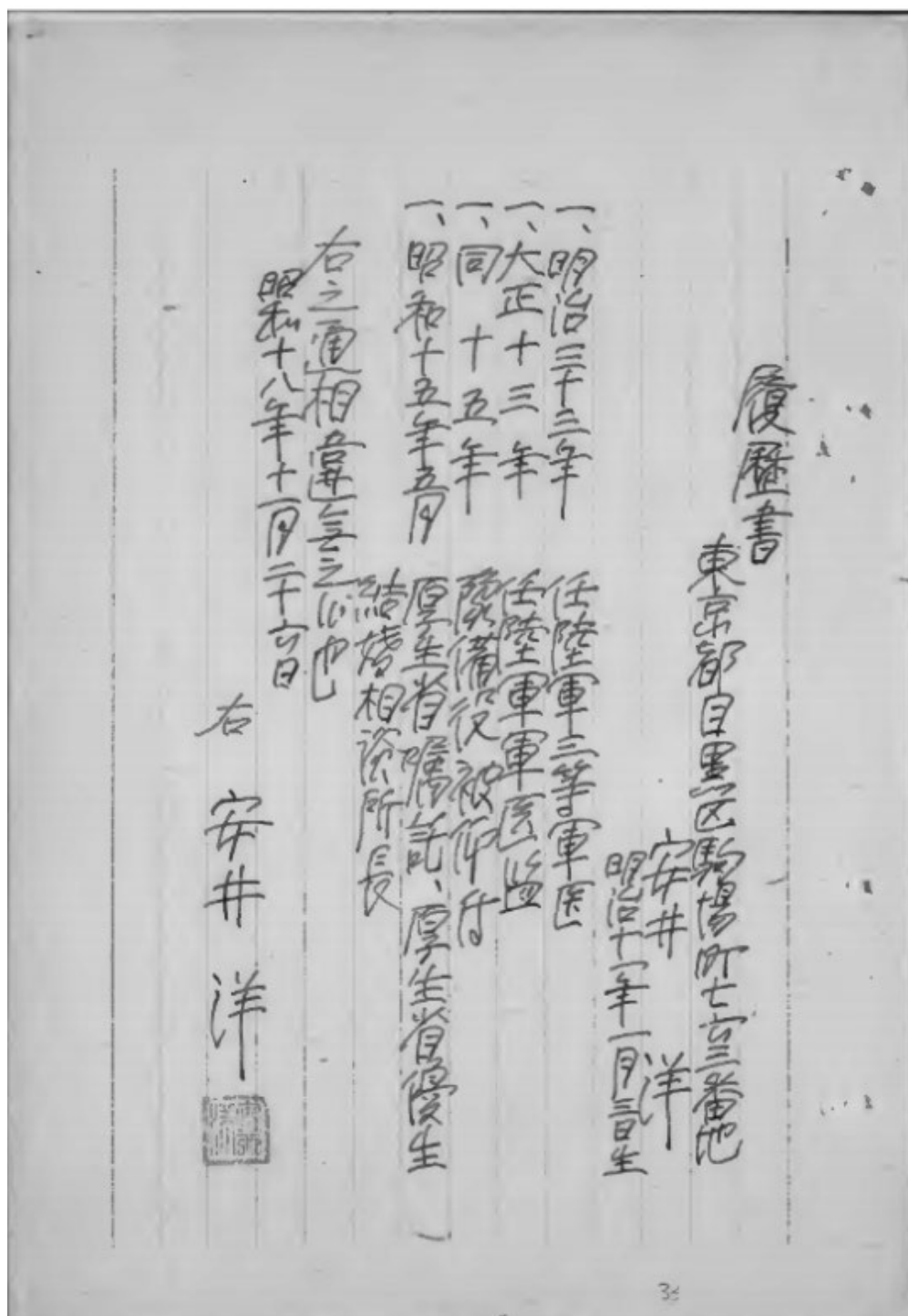


Figure I: Yasui Hiroshi's Resume 1943

Throughout the 1930s and early 1940s, Yasui frequently published in the JARH'S two affiliate journals, *Yūsei* and *Minzoku eisei*, as well as in women's magazines and mainstream newspapers in both metropolitan Japan and in the colonies of Korea and Taiwan. He authored three major books on marriage in the early 1940s, *Eugenic marriage* (優生結婚),

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*The new path for marriage* (結婚新道) and *Textbook for marriage in wartime* (戦時結婚教程).

Despite his influential status within both private, and later state, eugenicist organisations, the thought and activities of Yasui Hiroshi have been understudied in the existing literature. To date, no existing studies of Japanese eugenicists focus on Yasui Hiroshi.<sup>67</sup> This lacuna perhaps reflects the prominence of intellectual history and history of science in the existing research into eugenics in Japan: Yasui was not principally a scientific researcher or a theorist, but an advocate of eugenicist social reform. Existing research has helpfully located Japanese eugenics within the broader international context, highlighting the influence of German and American eugenic thought on Japanese intellectuals. In contrast to this existing focus on eugenicists in their roles as theorists and scientific researchers, I focus on eugenicists as *social reformers*, stressing their practical platforms for change and the concrete efforts they undertook to disseminate them. Yasui's roles as both a prolific author and advocate both within and outside of government makes him a useful case study in this regard. His role in providing eugenicist advice in a variety of positions as a specialist at the JARH eugenic marriage counselling centre, marital advice columnist, author, and the head of the Ministry of Health and Welfare's state eugenic marriage counselling centre, mean his writings provide rich insights into the specific program envisioned for eugenic marriages as well as the tensions within that vision. As we shall see, his career both tracks the rise of eugenicist social reformers from private activists to positions of influence within government in the early 1940s, and elucidates the ultimate limitations of their influence once in government. In this sense, Yasui's writings also reveal the anxieties animating eugenicist activism in Imperial Japan. They are useful, therefore, to my aim here in reading the imagined future of the empire.

## Chapter Structure

This dissertation is organised into two parts: the first focuses on patriotic discourse on eugenic marriage, and the second on interethnic marriage. Chapter I examines early educative campaigns designed to promote 'eugenic marriage' in metropolitan Japan

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<sup>67</sup> Existing studies have focused on prominent eugenicists such as Nagai Hisomu, Yamanouchi Shigeo, Ikeda Shinegori as well as key figures in the early socialist and feminist movements such as Abe Isoo, Hiratsuka Raichō and Katō Shidzue.

spearheaded by eugenicist social reformers in Japan's leading eugenicist organisation, the JARH. Beginning in the early 1930s, the JARH sought to redefine marriage not as primarily a family or personal matter, but an issue of crucial national—and racial—importance that required expert guidance. It launched a popular journal, *Yūsei*, edited by Yasui Hiroshi, established eugenic marriage counselling centres and in 1933 co-sponsored an exhibition on Marriage Hygiene with the Japanese Red Cross to provide specialist advice on how to select a spouse. As a close reading of these public campaign efforts make clear, the JARH emphasised the need to make rational decisions, based on the emergent eugenicist criteria of health and heredity when selecting a spouse. It also crucially reveals how the JARH's vision for eugenic marriage stressed the need to rationally govern desire, separating it from contemporaneous discourses in support of romantic love and 'free marriage'. In doing so, advocates of eugenic marriage tended to reaffirm a socially and sexually conservative vision of marriage wherein parents retained a position of authority in marital decision-making.

Chapter II analyses the JARH's efforts to obtain state patronage for eugenic marriage. It argues that, despite common assumptions that eugenicist reproductive policies were a top-down phenomenon, eugenicist social reformers in the JARH sought to secure support from an often reluctant Japanese state. Frustrated with the limited impact of its public enlightenment efforts, from the mid-1930s the JARH increasingly turned to lobbying the state. After 1937, in the context of mobilisation for war, the JARH's vision for eugenic marriage was met with newfound state interest. In the 1940s, the JARH was directly involved in the formulation of the 1940 National Eugenic Law and the development of a state eugenic marriage counselling centre under the auspices of the newly founded Ministry of Health and Welfare. The JARH's vision for eugenic marriage, however, did not neatly align with that of the state, which was often less willing to force compliance than eugenicist social reformers desired, particularly on the issue of sterilisation.

Chapter III examines wartime educative campaigns prosecuted by eugenicist social reformers within the Ministry of Health and Welfare that sought to mobilise young Japanese women and men for marriage. In the 1940s, amid growing anxieties about the declining quality and quantity of the Japanese population, eugenicist social reformers, now employed in the Ministry of Health and Welfare, intensified their efforts to shape the marital and

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reproductive decisions of the Japanese public. Drawing on records from the Marriage Patriotism Society as well as MHW awards for model marriages, this chapter highlights how in the context of war mobilisation, the ideal of the marital family was reformulated to include a new emphasis on fecundity and patriotic service. Campaigns on improving wedding ceremonies further reframed what were formerly family affairs into politicised displays of patriotism. In the early 1940s, influential eugenicist social reformers such as Yasui Hiroshi sought to not only further their longstanding vision for healthy, eugenic marriages, but also to counteract what they considered to be troubling social developments in modern Japanese society—principally the purported rise of individualism and consumerism among the urban middle class. The limited influence of such educative campaigns in ‘improving’ the marital practices of the Japanese public, however, was a source of growing anxiety among the eugenicists who advocated for them.

Chapter IV turns our attention to a second key discourse attempting to reshape marriages in service of the empire: interethnic marriage. Both the Government-General of Taiwan and the Government-General of Korea endorsed interethnic unions as a symbol of the close and tender ties between colonised and coloniser, and as a vehicle for assimilation. However, as a close reading makes clear, official discourses on colonial intimacy were underwritten with doubt. This chapter focuses on discourse on interethnic marriage in the mid-1930s in the largest official daily newspaper in colonial Taiwan, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (*Taiwan Daily News*; 臺灣日日新報). By reading political discourse on colonial intimacy alongside advice for existing interethnic couples in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*’s advice column *Mi no ue sōdan* (Personal consultation; 身の上相談), it reveals how interethnic marriage was positioned as a site where the future of the empire could be consolidated—or undermined. Despite official endorsements of colonial intimacy, interethnic marriages frequently faced significant opposition from family and from colonial society more broadly. Such opposition reflected not only the reality of persistent racial prejudice but also concerns about maintaining sexual propriety and upholding parental authority in marital decision-making. Such ambivalence over colonial intimacy outlasted the 1930s, as we see in Chapter V.

Turning our focus to colonial Korea, Chapter V examines the disparate educative campaigns seeking to reshape marriages in service of the empire on the peninsula after 1937. It focuses on two efforts. The first, the ‘marriage improvement’ campaign led by the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League, sought to reform marital practices in line with the wartime imperatives of thrift, health and patriotism, in a manner akin to the marriage mobilisation campaigns in the Japanese metropole examined in Chapter III. The second, extending my analysis of colonial intimacy in Chapter IV, endorsed interethnic marriages. By analysing both efforts alongside each other, I emphasise how uncertainties and anxieties over how best to manage marriage persisted—and indeed intensified—in spite of increased state interest after 1937. Such anxieties exposed not only continuing doubts about the feasibility and desirability of assimilation and racial prejudice, but also anxieties about the destabilising influence of modern changes to colonial society—including the threat of unmediated romance and attendant concerns about parental prerogatives in marriage. When viewed in light of contemporaneous discourse on eugenic marriage, these patriotic marriage discourses on the peninsula reveal continuing uncertainty over the future of the empire—and the vision of the marital family that would best serve it.





“An individual has but one lifetime; descendants are forever.”

Yasui Hiroshi, 1936.

“...the most urgent matter today is the all-important marriage problem. It cannot be entrusted to simply love and common sense alone. By scientifically managing marriage and correcting mistaken conventional ideas, we can now advance down the correct path.”

The Japanese Association of Race Hygiene, 1933.

## Chapter I

### Rationally Governing Desire

This chapter examines advocacy efforts led by the Japanese Association of Race Hygiene beginning in the early 1930s to popularise their vision for eugenic marriages. By focusing on eugenic marriage, I seek to foreground intimate relationships and reproductive sexuality in discussions of eugenic policy. Eugenics was fundamentally concerned with managing reproduction and sexual desire. Twentieth-century eugenics was intimately intertwined with emerging discourses on population policy, birth control, sexology and women’s liberation. The relationship between women’s movements and eugenics was particularly vexed as, worldwide, disabled<sup>68</sup> and lower-class women deemed ‘unfit’ were commonly the principal target for eugenic interventions while middle-class women were frequently vocal advocates for eugenic reform.<sup>69</sup> Scholars in numerous national contexts have identified a strand of “eugenic feminism”, which drew on women’s role as the mothers of the race to argue for greater political recognition for women.<sup>70</sup> In the case of Japan, a growing body of literature

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<sup>68</sup> I use disabled as a verb intentionally here, rather than the alternative person-first language of ‘person with a disability’, in line with the social model of disability. The social model of disability, a term initially coined by disabled activist and academic Mike Oliver, contends that people are disabled by barriers in their social and physical environments rather than medical impairment *per se*. In contrast to the medical model of disability, which presents disability as something to be ‘fixed’ or ‘cured’ by medical science, the social model of disability suggests that society should change in order to better accommodate disabled people. For more on the social model of disability see for example, Colin Barnes, “Understanding the Social Model of Disability: Past, Present and Future”, in *The Routledge Handbook of Disability Studies*, 2nd ed, eds. Nick Watson and Simo Vehmas. (London and New York: Routledge, [2020]).

<sup>69</sup> For a useful historical overview of the uneasy relationship between eugenics and feminism see for example, Alexandra Minna Stern, “Gender and Sexuality: A Global Tour and Compass”, in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, eds. Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), n.p.; Susanne Klaussen and Alison Bashford, “Fertility Control: Eugenics, Neo-Malthusianism, and Feminism” in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, eds. Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), n.p.

<sup>70</sup> While this line of maternalist feminist thinking is perhaps most associated with Ellen Key it has been identified in the thought of many prominent women thinkers across the globe. See for example, Angelique

has examined the troubling interconnections between eugenics and the women's movement. Beginning with Sumiko Otsubo's pioneering studies, historians have explored the role of leaders in the women's movement in advocating for eugenicist reforms.<sup>71</sup> Scholars have probed the connections between maternalist feminism and eugenics in the thought of prominent female figures such as Hiratsuka Raichō (平塚 らいてう; 1886–1971)<sup>72</sup> and Katō Shidzue (加藤 シヅエ; 1897–2001)<sup>73</sup> as well as the interconnections between eugenic policy and reproductive policy.<sup>74</sup> This crossover between eugenics and women's movements is also evident in studies of the changing social norms governing marriage and romance.

In the early twentieth century there was a concerted effort to re-conceptualise marriage and intimate family relations. Women's movements in Japan, inspired by similar developments in Europe and America, sought to redefine marriage as a loving and companionate partnership between one man and one woman. This challenged traditional understandings of marriage as an arrangement between two families as well as permissive attitudes to husbands' infidelity. The emerging ideal of 'love marriage' (恋愛結婚), which circulated in mass media and women's magazines, contained new expectations for conjugal relations,

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Richardson. *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Rational Reproduction and the New Woman*. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Asha Nadkarni, *Eugenic Feminism: Reproductive Nationalism in the United States and India*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

<sup>71</sup> Otsubo, "Engendering Eugenics"; Otsubo, "Feminist Maternal Eugenics in Wartime Japan".

<sup>72</sup> Okada Emiko, "Hiratsuka Raicho no boseishugi feminizumu to yūsei shisō: 'Sei to seishoku to kokka kanri' danshuhō yōkyū wa itsu kahitsusareta no ka", *Shakaifukushi-gaku* 21 (2005): 23–97; Katō, *Ren'ai kekkon' wa nani o motarashita ka*, esp. ch 4; Karen J. Schaffner, "'Good Wives, Wise Mothers' and 'Racial Poisons' in Japan", in *Eugenics in Japan*, ed. Karen J. Schaffner. (Fukuoka: Kyushu University Press, 2014); Ishisaki Shōko, "Bosei hogo/yūsei shisō o megutte", in *'Fujo shinbun' to josei no kindai: 'Fujo shinbun' o yomu kai hen*. (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 1997).

<sup>73</sup> Sujin Lee, "Differing Conceptions of 'Voluntary Motherhood': Yamakawa Kikue's Birth Strike and Ishimoto Shizue's Eugenic Feminism", *U.S.–Japan Women's Journal* 52, no. 1 (2017): 3–22; Aiko Takeuchi-Demirci, *Contraceptive Diplomacy: Reproductive Politics and Imperial Ambitions in the United States and Japan*. (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2018).

<sup>74</sup> Miho Ogino, "Eugenics, Reproductive Technologies, and the Feminist Dilemma in Japan", in *Dark Medicine Rationalizing Unethical Medical Research*, eds. William R. LaFleur, Böhme Gernot and Shimazono Susumu. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Christiana A. E. Norgren, *Abortion before Birth Control: The Politics of Reproduction in Postwar Japan*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001); Masae Kato, *Women's Rights? The Politics of Eugenic Abortion in Modern Japan*. ([Amsterdam]: Amsterdam University Press, 2009); Sujin Lee, "Problematizing Population: Politics of Birth Control and Eugenics in Interwar Japan." (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2017); Astghik Hovhannisyan, "Ōta Tenrei's Defense of Birth Control, Eugenics and Euthanasia", *Contemporary Japan* 30, no. 1 (2018): 28–42.

including a new emphasis on monogamy and ‘romantic love’ (恋愛). Existing scholarship has elucidated how this new ideal of ‘love marriage’ was also intertwined with eugenicist understandings of the marital family as a site for racial improvement. Writing in the context of turn of the century America, Wendy Hayden has emphasised the rhetorical alliance between “free love feminism” and eugenics, highlighting that while advocates of ‘free love’ initially used the scientific rationale of eugenics to argue for women’s sexual rights and maternal health, with time, eugenicist reform became an end in itself.<sup>75</sup> Historians of East Asia have also stressed the centrality of eugenics to new ideals of ‘love marriage’. Hiroko Sakamoto argues in the context of Republican China that eugenic thought, introduced to China via Japan, was “inseparable” from new ideas on love, birth control and population policy, and “helped shape the discourse on romantic love, feminism, [and] the family”.<sup>76</sup> Tani Barlow has revealed how Chinese theorists in the 1920s drew on evolutionary theory in arguing for greater agency for women in their sexual decisions, highlighting how the theory of sexual selection acted to legitimate women freely choosing their marriage partners as a vehicle for racial betterment.<sup>77</sup> Mirela David similarly contends that feminist attempts to define a new sexual morality in this era drew on ideologies of both eugenics and individualism.<sup>78</sup> In the Japanese context, Katō Shūichi likewise emphasises the ideological convergence between ‘eugenic marriage’ and ‘love marriage’. He argues that eugenicists strategically invoked the ideal of ‘love marriage’ to entice the public to “actively choose eugenic marriages for themselves” (人びとが優生結婚みずから積極的に選ぶとる).<sup>79</sup> He writes:

Where was ‘love marriage’ in this era when the voices calling for ‘eugenic marriage’ resonated loudly? As the primary concern was ‘marriage for the good of the state [which signified] reproduction’, we might expect that frivolous, personal feelings such as romantic love were pushed aside.

<sup>75</sup> Wendy Hayden, *Evolutionary Rhetoric: Sex, Science, and Free Love in Nineteenth-Century Feminism*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013), esp. ch 6.

<sup>76</sup> Hiroko Sakamoto, “The Cult of ‘Love and Eugenics’ in May Fourth Movement Discourse”, *positions: east asia cultures critique* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 367–9.

<sup>77</sup> Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*, 79–81, 113–114.

<sup>78</sup> Mirela David, “Bertrand Russel and Ellen Key in China: Individualism, Free Love and Eugenics in the May Fourth Era”, in *Sexuality in China: Histories of Power and Pleasure*, ed. Howards Chaing. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, [2018]).

<sup>79</sup> Katō, *Ren'ai kekkon' wa nani o motarashita ka*, 188.

This was not the case. On the contrary, ‘eugenic marriage’ and ‘love marriage’ were ultimately things that had to mutually correspond. In the Taishō period, ‘eugenics’ was a factor concealed within ‘romantic love’ in the same way that people who touted the theme of ‘eugenics’ considered ‘romantic love’ to be an indispensable factor in the implementation of eugenics. ... The key to eugenic marriage was ‘romantic love’ and conversely ‘romantic love’ became eugenic marriage itself.

こうして優生結婚を呼びかける声がかたましく響きわたった時代に、「恋愛結婚」はどこへ行こうとしていたのだろうか。〈国家のための結婚＝生殖〉という大文字の懸念が恋愛などという個人的で浮ついた感情を蹴飛ばしてしまったのだろうか。

そうではなかった。それどころか、「優生結婚」と「恋愛結婚」とは究極的に一致すべきものだったのだ。大正期の「恋愛」がその内部に「優生」という要素を隠し持っていたのに対応するように、「優生」をテーマとして掲げた人とは「恋愛」をその実現のために必須の要素と考えたのである。… 優生結婚の鍵は「恋愛」にあり、逆に「恋愛」は優生結婚において本物になる。<sup>80</sup>

Such studies have helpfully deepened our understanding of the ways in which eugenics functioned not as an isolated fringe movement, but as a mainstream discourse in the interwar years. Indeed, drawing on Katō’s work, Sō Tōngju concludes that in Japan “in the 1920s the mainstream view of love, rather than ‘free love’, was love for the sake of the race and nation. That is, ‘eugenic love’” (1920년대 연애관의 주류는 ‘자유연애’라기보다 민족과 국가를 위한 연애, 즉 ‘우생연애’였다).<sup>81</sup> In seeking to highlight the troubling ways in which mainstream progressive and radical reformers alike supported elements of eugenics, however, existing research overstates the extent to which the eugenic marriage project was compatible with—or could be made compatible with—that of love marriage. Rather, a close examination of popular discourses on eugenic marriage in metropolitan Japan reveals deep concerns over the potential of romantic love to impair rational judgement in marital decision-making.

<sup>80</sup> Katō, ‘*Ren’ai kekkon*’ wa nani o motarashita ka, 186–8.

<sup>81</sup> Sō Tōngju, “Kūndae Ilbon ūi usaeng sasang kwa ‘p’akuk’ ūi sangsangryōk—‘injong kaeryang’ kwa ‘usaeng kyōrhon’ tamnon ūl chungsim ūro”, *Ilbon munhwa yōn’gu* 75 (2020): 27.

This chapter examines the efforts of Japan's leading eugenicist organisation, the Japanese Association of Race Hygiene (日本民族衛生学会), to promote a new vision of marriage that conformed to eugenic ideals. Drawing on records of the JARH and Red Cross co-sponsored 1933 Marriage Hygiene Exhibition, the JARH's eugenic marriage counselling services and the early writings of key members such as Yasui Hiroshi, it reveals how eugenic marriage offered both a new rational method for spouse selection and a scientific criteria for evaluating the suitability of a potential spouse. This new model for marriage crucially positioned desire as something which needed to be governed—and controlled—according to the emerging science of heredity for the greater good. This chapter explores how uncontrolled, and insensible, desires were framed as a threat to eugenic marriages, leading eugenicist activists to caution against the emerging ideal of 'free love'. For eugenicists, reproductive decisions were not primarily about individual emotion, but about one's responsibility to their society, nation and race. For this reason, eugenicists also aimed to impress on the population the inadvisability of certain desires. As I reveal in this chapter, in this context, health and heredity emerged as powerful new criteria in determining whether a desire to marry, and reproduce, should be acted upon. Through this identification of sanctioned and unsanctioned desires, eugenicist discourse helped shape a particular ideal of the modern, 'rational' marital family, defined by marital happiness, stability and health.

## Eugenics and the 'Marriage Problem'

Eugenicists worldwide identified marriage as a key vehicle through which to manage procreation and improve the nation's racial stock. Despite this, eugenicist ideologies of, and interventions in, marriage have attracted limited attention in the literature on global eugenics.<sup>82</sup> Literature on Japanese eugenics has similarly underemphasised eugenicists' attempts to reform marriage, focusing instead in the development of coercive sterilisation

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<sup>82</sup> There are some notable exceptions. For analyses on eugenics and marriage in the US see Paul A. Lombard, "A Child's Right to be Well Born: Venereal Disease and the Eugenic Marriage Laws, 1913 – 1935", *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 60, no. 2 (2017): 211–232; Molly Ladd-Taylor, "Eugenics, Sterilisation and Modern Marriage in the USA: The Strange Career of Paul Popenoe," *Gender & History* 13, no. 2 (2001): 298–327; Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), esp. ch 6. For an analysis of eugenic marital advice centres in Switzerland see, Natalia Gerodetti, "Eugenic Family Politics and Social Democrats: 'Positive' Eugenics and Marriage Advice Bureaus", *Journal of Historical Sociology* 19, no. 3 (2006): 217–244.

policy.<sup>83</sup> Marriage was, however, at the heart of early attempts by eugenicists to reform society. The JARH emphasised the importance of promoting new marital practices informed by the emerging science of eugenics. This new marriage ideal was termed ‘eugenic marriage’ (優生結婚). To promote its views on marriage the JARH published extensively in the popular press, women’s magazines and its two affiliate magazines, organised public exhibitions and directly advised members of the public through its eugenic marriage counselling centre. It also established a women-only branch on 11 November 1935, named the Eugenic Marriage Popularisation Society (優性結婚普及會), which published a magazine called *Yūsei* (Eugenics, 優性) from 1936 to 1939. *Yūsei* was edited by Yasui Hiroshi, a physician who had served as a high-ranking military surgeon before completing his Doctor of Medicine at Tokyo Imperial University.<sup>84</sup> The JARH, and its sister organisation the EMPS, endeavoured to persuade the public that marriage was not only a matter of personal or family significance, but an issue of national—and racial—importance.

In the opening issue of *Yūsei*, Yasui declared “the purpose of marriage is family wellbeing and the prosperity of one’s descendants” (結婚の目的は家庭の幸福と、子孫の繁栄とにある).<sup>85</sup> The key to achieving a happy and prosperous marriage was rationally choosing a marriage partner. Yasui explained that:

Striving for healthy descendants in body and mind by choosing superior quality, and avoiding inferior quality, is on the small scale the source of family wellbeing and, on the large scale, the basis of improving the nation. Popularising eugenic marriage, which aims at family wellbeing and at the same time racial purification, is humanity’s foremost moral project.

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<sup>83</sup> As outlined in the introduction, important exceptions are Otsubo’s analysis of feminist attempts to legislate a marriage restriction bill and Robertson’s explorations of ‘eugenic marriage’ campaigns. See Otsubo, “Engendering Eugenics”; Robertson, “Biopower”. Matsubara and Yokoyama have also discussed eugenic marriage policy, primarily in the context of their debate over whether Japanese eugenic thought was defined by “expansive” or “restrictive” ideas on heredity. See Matsubara, “Minzoku eisei hogohō to Nihon no yūseiho no keifu”; Yokoyama, “Kokumin yūseiho seritsu no saikento”.

<sup>84</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyotei*, prepages; Kōseisho kenminkyoku boshika, “Dai-Nihon Kekkō hōkokukai sōritsu kyōka shirei no ken”, 32–34.

<sup>85</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, [Kantōgen], *Yūsei* 1, no. 1 (1936): 1.

良質を選び悪質を避けて、子孫の心身の健全を図ることは、小にして一家一門の幸福の根源であり、大にしては國家民族の向上の基礎である。優生結婚の普及は、一家の幸福と同時に、民族の浄化といふ目ざす、人間最高の道徳的企圖である。<sup>86</sup>

Their proposal for a new type of ‘eugenic marriage’ entailed both a new method for selecting marriage partners and rational criteria for evaluating a potential spouse. The purpose of this new model was to secure what they presumed was—and indeed should be—the desired outcome of marriage: “superior children” (優良児). JARH emphasised the necessity of producing eugenically ‘superior’ offspring, in particular, as the central purpose of marriage.<sup>87</sup> Yasui repeatedly emphasised the need to rationally govern desire. In his writings, Yasui asserted that developments in scientific thinking—as contained within eugenics—could be effectively utilised to improve marriage and spousal selection. Drawing an analogy to modern ideas about nutrition in 1936, for example, Yasui declared:

Our appetite is adjusted according to science. It goes without saying that our sexual appetite should also be regulated according to science.

我等の食慾が、科學によつて調整されてゐると同時に、我等の性慾も亦、科學によつて調節されねばならぬことは云ふまでもない。<sup>88</sup>

Importantly, for Yasui this application of science to marriage did not represent a radical break with the past. Rather, Yasui positioned eugenics as providing a new, effective method for achieving an older aim. Beginning in 1936, Yasui stressed that while the aim of achieving

<sup>86</sup> Yasui, [Kantōgen], 1. The reference to “racial purification” here is ambiguous, as will be discussed later in this chapter. As previously stated, the term *akushitsu* (悪質) literally translates to ‘bad quality’. It was used to designate undesirable medical and nonmedical conditions. Scholars have translated this term in a variety of ways including “malignant” (Norgren), “extremely bad” (Chūman) and by omitting the phrase from these categories in translation (Kato). In this thesis I have translated this term as either “malignant” when the text refers to the degree of severity of a medical condition and “inferior” or “poor quality” when it seems to suggest a broader category of undesirable traits. See Norgren, *Abortion before Birth Control*; Chūman Mitsuko, “Eugenics: Its Spread and Decline”, in *Eugenics in Japan* ed. Karen J. Schaffner. (Kyushu: Kyushu University Press, 2014); Masae Kato, *Women’s Rights? The Politics of Eugenic Abortion in Modern Japan*. ([Amsterdam]: Amsterdam University Press, 2009).

<sup>87</sup> The JARH’s position that the purpose of marriage was to produce superior offspring was rather extreme among Japanese eugenicist organisations. As Katō has highlighted, the Eugenic Movement (優生運動) led by Ikeda Shigenori for example listed four key purposes for marriage: “sexual satisfaction” (制欲の満足), “stable lifestyle” (生活の安定), “enjoyment of life” (人生の享樂) and “the prosperity of children” (子供の繁榮). Katō, ‘*Ren’ai kekkon’ wa nani o motarashita ka*, 175. For more on the thought of Ikeda Shigenori see also Robertson, “Blood Talks”.

<sup>88</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, “Kantōgen”, *Yūsei* 1, no. 3 (1936): 1.

a “superior marriage” was not new, previous methods for achieving this had been based only on superstitions. In the place of superstition, eugenics provided a “rational” (合理化) method for achieving the same aim that was based in “scientific knowledge” (科学の知識).<sup>89</sup> To educate the public on this new ‘rational’ method for marriage, the JARH also directly appealed to the public by hosting an exhibit on ‘marriage hygiene’ (結婚衛生).

## Popularising Eugenics: The 1933 Marriage Hygiene Exhibition

In 1933, the JARH co-sponsored an exhibit on ‘marriage hygiene’ in conjunction with the Japanese Red Cross.<sup>90</sup> The exhibit was also supported by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Education and the Tokyo Municipal Government, as were most exhibitions held at the Red Cross Museum.<sup>91</sup> The exhibition ran for six weeks from 4 November to 17 December and was attended by 24 664 people.<sup>92</sup> The exhibition was targeted at both men and women, who attended in roughly equal numbers. 12 247 men and 12 415 women attended the exhibition.<sup>93</sup> During the exhibit, the JARH and the Red Cross offered a series of lectures and radio segments on eugenics as well as free marriage counselling where members of the public could seek expert advice.<sup>94</sup> Specifically, four lectures were held at the exhibition, entitled “rationalising marriage” (結婚の合理化), “standards for spouse selection” (配偶者選択の標準), “disease prevention centreing on marriage” (結婚を中心としての疾病予防) and “misunderstandings about marriage” (誤れる結婚).<sup>95</sup> An additional four lectures were broadcast on the radio, entitled “the importance of marriage hygiene” (結婚衛生第一), “marriage and heredity” (結婚と遺傳), “concerning the sterilisation law” (斷種法に就て), and “various hopes for marriage ceremonies and receptions” (結婚式及披露宴に就ての希望様々

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<sup>89</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, “Kantōgen”, *Yūsei* 1, no. 6 (1936): 1.

<sup>90</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Kekkon eisei tenrankai”, *Seki jūji hakubutsukan hō: Kekkon eisei tenrankai gō*, 12 (December 1933): 4.

<sup>91</sup> Tanaka Satoshi, *Eisei tenrankai no yokubō*. (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 1994), 33.

<sup>92</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Kekkon eisei tenrankai”, 4; “Kekkon eisei tenrankai no kaisai”, *Minzoku eisei* 3, no. 1 (1933–34): 74.

<sup>93</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Kekkon eisei tenrankai”, 4; “Kekkon eisei tenrankai no kaisai”, 74.

<sup>94</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Kekkon eisei tenrankai”, 5.

<sup>95</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Kekkon eisei tenrankai”, 5.



).<sup>96</sup> The JARH further produced a film titled *The Crossroads of Marriage* (結婚十字街) that illustrated the importance of exchanging premartial health certificates to avoid “tragedy” (悲劇).<sup>97</sup> The exhibit aimed to educate the public as to the critical importance of marriage and convince them to apply eugenic reasoning to their own marital and reproductive decisions. The official magazine of the Red Cross Museum, *Sekijūji hakubutsukan hō* (赤十字博物館報) explained, in language markedly similar to that later repeated by Yasui in the inaugural issue of *Yūsei*:

The stream of life gushes forth from the wellspring called marriage. On the small scale, the fortune and misfortunes of an individual and the rise and fall of a family and, on the large scale, the rise and fall of the nation and the prosperity and decline of national fortunes are all determined by marriage. ... In short, the most urgent matter today is the all-important marriage problem. It cannot be entrusted to simply love and common sense alone. By scientifically managing marriage and correcting mistaken conventional ideas, we can now advance down the correct path.

人生の流は凡て結婚と云ふ泉から湧き出る。これを小にしては一身の禍福・一家の盛衰、これを大にしては民族の興亡・國運の清張、一として結婚に依つて運命づけられないものはない。... 要するに今日の急務は、結婚と云ふ最も大切な問題を、単に愛情や常識のみに一任しないで、今少しく科學的取り扱い、在来の誤つた觀念を矯め、正しい道に進ませることである。<sup>98</sup>

This passage, which was reprinted in the JARH affiliate journal, *Minzoku eisei*, drew on common metaphors of marriage as the “wellspring” of human life.<sup>99</sup> For the JARH, marriage, as the foundation of human life and the basis for future prosperity, was thus far too important to be left to laypeople. Rather, marriage needed to be managed according to modern science and rational decision-making.

<sup>96</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Kekkon eisei tenrankai”, 5.

<sup>97</sup> “Eiga ‘Kekkon jyūjigai’ seisaku”, *Minzoku eisei* 3, no. 2 (1933–34): 175.

<sup>98</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Kekkon eisei tenrankai”, 3. The Red Cross Museum was established in 1926 as the reference hall of the Japanese Red Cross. Its name was changed to the Red Cross Museum in 1932. The museum’s hygiene exhibitions seem to have been discontinued after 1949. The Red Cross Museum was closed in 1963. Tanaka, *Eisei tenrankai no yokubō*, 32, 36, 45. For more on the health-related activities of the Japanese Red Cross see also Gregory John DePies, “Humanitarian Empire: The Red Cross in Japan, 1877–1945”. (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2013).

<sup>99</sup> This passage was also reprinted in *Minzoku eisei* 3, no. 1 (1933–34): 74. For other references from the JARH to marriage as the ‘wellspring’ of life, see for example “Nihon minzoku eisei kyōkai fuzoku yūsei kekkon sōdansho no shushi”, *Yūsei* 1, no. 1 (1936): 17–19.

The Marriage Hygiene Exhibition was created to coincide with the first national Marriage Hygiene Day—another promotional tool in the JARH’s campaign. The JARH designated 11 November national Marriage Hygiene Day to emphasise the significance of marriage, and the importance of eugenic reasoning in identifying a suitable spouse.<sup>100</sup> The day 11 November was selected in part due to the resemblance between the Chinese characters for the number 11 and the character for ‘earth’ (土)—a reference to the popular eugenicist metaphor that children, like flowers, needed superior seeds and soil to blossom.<sup>101</sup> This metaphor of good children as the flowers of marriage appeared prominently in both the exhibition flyer and as the opening poster of the exhibit.<sup>102</sup> The JARH distributed 500 000 leaflets promoting the event as part of an extensive advertising campaign for the exhibition.<sup>103</sup> The leaflet outlined the main tenets of their project for a new form of marriage. The text reads:

To the people for the sake of marriage

**11 November is Marriage Hygiene Day**

- **The truth is that the flowers of marriage are good children**  
We urge you to make creating a happy household and producing superior children the purpose of marriage.
- **Marriage begins with health**  
We urge you to consult with a doctor before getting married and confirm whether your mental and physical health are suitable or not.  
For those whose medical results show that there is a risk that their health is unsuitable for marriage, we urge you to wait a little while before arranging a marriage.  
For those who are diagnosed with a dangerous disease which can infect your marriage partner, we urge you to wait until you are completely recovered and are healthy.
- **Exchange health certificates with rings**  
In cases where you want, more and more, to get engaged, above all, we urge you to visit a trustworthy doctor and exchange health certificates from a hospital.
- **Lineage is primary**

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<sup>100</sup> Nagai Hisomu, “Aisatsu”, *Yūsei* 1, no. 10 (1936): 5; “Kekkon eisei kyōchō hi”, *Minzoku eisei* 3, no. 1 (1933–34): 78.

<sup>101</sup> Nagai Hisomu, “Aisatsu”, *Yūsei* 1, no. 10 (1936): 5. See also Otsubo, “Eugenics in Imperial Japan”, 273 n9.

<sup>102</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Kekkon eisei tenrankai”, 6–8; Nihon sekijūjisha, “Chinrestu shiryō”, 1.

<sup>103</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Kekkon eisei tenrankai”, 6–8. The content of the leaflet was also reprinted in *Minzoku eisei* 3, no. 2 (1933–34): 172.

Investigation into a potential marriage is not only about the health of the individuals themselves, we urge you to also investigate whether that person's family lineage is good or bad.

A good family lineage is said to have superior intelligence and physical constitution in the blood line, a virtuous personality, individuals blessed with many children, many individuals blessed with longevity, and no malignant hereditary illnesses.

It is not impossible that inferior hereditary traits could still appear due to various combinations [of hereditary traits], so seek the opinion of a specialist.

- **Consanguineous marriages cause problems**

We cannot say that consanguineous marriages are simply bad, but it is safer to avoid them as much as possible.

- **Late marriage should be avoided**

Early marriage is not good but late marriage is even worse. Both lead to poor results in many cases. We urge you to be careful not to miss out on marrying at an appropriate time.

- **Misunderstandings are an obstacle to a good match**

We urge you not to lose a rare good match due to superstitions such as unlucky years and positions or mistaken ideas about heredity.<sup>104</sup>

**Attention:** If you still have various doubts and would like more detailed information, **free marriage consultation centres** are being set up in various locations on Marriage Day 11 November. Please also visit the **Red Cross Museum's Marriage Hygiene Exhibition**.<sup>105</sup>

These leaflets clearly positioned marriage as a decision requiring expert advice. The references to "specialists", "trustworthy doctors", "hospitals" and unwarranted "superstitions" frame marriage as the object of scientific knowledge. Heredity is also acknowledged as a complex issue necessitating specialist expertise. The reference to hidden threats that "could still appear" as well as "mistaken ideas" indicate a twofold problem: that without appropriate consultation the 'unfit' could unknowingly pass on their inferior hereditary traits, and that 'fit' individuals may unnecessarily avoid marriage and therefore fail to pass on their superior traits. Greater public awareness and expert knowledge—to be provided by the modern science of eugenics—was required to rectify this problem. For interested individuals the Marriage Hygiene Exhibition offered detailed information on how, and why, to conduct a marriage according to this new ideal. The exhibit was organised into 13 thematic sections:

<sup>104</sup> This reference to superstitions about "positions" (方位) appears to be a reference to the Chinese concept of *fang wei* (方位) in *feng sui* (風水).

<sup>105</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, "Kekkon eisei tenrankai", 7–8, emphasis as per the original. The JARH also reported on the event in *Minzoku eisei* 3, no. 1 (1933–34): 74–5 and *Minzoku eisei* 3, no. 2 (1933–34): 171–175.

1. the meaning and significance of marriage;  
結婚の意義及び理想
2. marriage and sexual education;  
結婚と性教育
3. marriage and heredity;  
結婚と遺傳
4. marriage and female anatomy;  
結婚と女性生理
5. research on marriage;  
結婚の調査
6. marriage and age;  
結婚と年齢
7. marriage and disease;  
結婚と疾病
8. marriage and social problems;  
結婚と社會問題
9. crime and quality;  
犯罪と素質
10. the eugenic movement;  
優生運動
11. superstitions and misconceptions about marriage;  
結婚と迷信及誤解
12. early modern marriage customs in various countries;  
各國の近古結婚風俗
13. marriage preparations, ceremonies, receptions and hairstyles.  
結婚の支度・儀式・披露・理容<sup>106</sup>

Throughout, the exhibition stressed that marriage was a weighty decision that had serious implications not just for the individual or the family, but for Japanese society more broadly. As such it was important to make a careful decision, taking into account the wealth of research now available on the subject. The exhibit repeatedly used the motif of blindness to emphasise the need to rationally choose a marriage partner.<sup>107</sup> In doing so, it suggested that informed decisions, were essential to avoid the dual threats of ‘blind emotion’ and unseen deficiencies in a prospective spouse’s health or lineage.

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<sup>106</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Chinrestu shiryō”. A list of the items displayed was also repeated in the JARH’s report in *Minzoku eisei* 3, no. 2 (1933–34): 171–175.

<sup>107</sup> Tanaka has also noted the use of the motif of blindness in the marriage hygiene exhibition in his history of hygiene exhibitions in Japan, *Eisei tenrankai no yokubō*, 93–4. My analysis extends on this observation and crucially locates it within a broader understanding of eugenicist views on sexual morality.

## Against Blind Love: Romance, Eugenics and Sexual Morality

The opening section of the exhibit, entitled, “The ideal and significance of marriage” (結婚の意義及理想), drew heavily on the metaphor of blindness to criticise what it deemed to be irrational and overly emotional marital practices. As posters from this section reveal, the model of an ‘ideal’ marriage celebrated here conformed with conservative sexual morals. One poster (Figure II) clearly linked parental supervision to the need to avoid ‘blind emotion’ in choosing a marriage partner. The text reads: “For an ideal decision, the guidance of your parents and elders is essential. Avoid blind emotion”.<sup>108</sup> In the bottom image, a concerned older woman—presumably the mother—hovers over a young couple. The couple are seated at a table together. The man’s arm appears to be around the young woman’s shoulder. There is an open bottle and the remains of a meal in front of them. Here, the familiarity and physical proximity of the couple are portrayed as a potential risk, clearly referencing the threat of premarital sexual intimacy. The couple is in need of guidance, lest they make a rash, emotional decision. Another poster in this section (Figure III), similarly stresses the importance of parental approval in marital decisions. The text in Figure III reads: “The couple meets under appropriate supervision. The old style of arranged marriage and completely free association are both unacceptable”.<sup>109</sup> While the reference to “old fashioned” marriage traditions reveals a desire to position eugenicist advice as part of a new modern way of doing marriage, both posters also convey a strong sense of anxiety that excessive freedom will cause young couples to enter into imprudent marriages.

<sup>108</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Chinrestu shiryō”, 2.

<sup>109</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Chinrestu shiryō”, 2.



Figure II: Avoid Blind Emotion Poster



Figure III: Couples Should Be Supervised Poster

Indeed, parental permission in marital decision-making was a legal requirement under the 1898 Meiji Civil Code, which stipulated that parents must approve of a marriage or a consensual divorce for men under 30 years old and women under 25.<sup>110</sup> Until well into the postwar period, most marriages in Japan were arranged either by immediate relatives or a professional go-between. Despite popular interest in ‘love marriage’, they remained a small minority of marriages. According to Harald Fuess, the number of ‘love marriages’ rose from just 3 per cent of all marriages in 1912–26 to 11 per cent in 1936–45.<sup>111</sup> More common were *miai* marriages (見合い結婚)—a form of arranged marriage that incorporated a prenuptial meeting of the prospective spouses—which increased from 38 per cent of all marriages in

<sup>110</sup> The Meiji Civil Code presented two methods through which to obtain a divorce, divorce by mutual consent (協議離婚), which made up the overwhelming majority of divorces, and divorce by court arbitration (裁判離婚). Divorces by mutual consent also required the consent of the parents. This requirement was not removed until the promulgation of the New Civil Code in 1948. Divorces by court arbitration could be granted on specific grounds. See Harald Fuess, *Divorce in Japan: Family, Gender and the State, 1600–2000*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004), 117. For an English translation of the Meiji Civil Code see W. J. Sebald (trans), *The Civil Code of Japan*. (Kobe: J. L. Thompson, 1934).

<sup>111</sup> Fuess, *Divorce in Japan*, 134.

1912–26 to 51 per cent in 1936–45.<sup>112</sup> While the notion of absolute parental authority in marital decisions had come under significant attack, marriages that were approved and facilitated by parents were still very much the norm. Eugenicists did not seek to unsettle such parental authority, *per se*, but rather the criteria on which a potential spouse was selected. The critique of arranged marriages presented in the exhibit is less about a desire to place marital decisions exclusively in the hands of the individuals themselves and more about concerns that the current system of arranged marriages was based on irrational and superstitious beliefs, rather than the scientifically credible and socially responsible rationale provided by eugenics.



Figure IV: Monogamy is a Vow for Life Poster

A third poster (Figure IV) makes a more explicit critique of romantic relationships that clearly tied the idea of love marriages to instability and impermanence. It reads: “Monogamy is a vow for life. Trial marriages and companionate marriages are both unacceptable”.<sup>113</sup> The

<sup>112</sup> Fuess, *Divorce in Japan*, 134.

<sup>113</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Chinrestu shiryō”, 1.

‘trial marriages’ referred to here is likely a reference to what Fuess has identified as various traditions of “spousal testing” that remained prominent in Japan until at least the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>114</sup> Permissive attitudes towards premarital cohabitation and divorce, as well as a tendency to delay legally registering a marriage until it was either deemed durable or a first child was born, indicate lifelong marriage was not a widely held social expectation and some flexibility was possible.<sup>115</sup> The term ‘companionate marriages’, popularised by American theorists Benjamin Barr Lindsey (1869–1943) and Wainwright Evans (1883– ?) in 1927, referred to marriages based on sexual companionship that were freely entered into—and freely dissolved.<sup>116</sup> In the East Asian context, companionate marriage was commonly associated with excessive individualism and was often used interchangeably by conservative commentators with ‘trial marriages’ to refer to temporary sexual relationships and cohabitation.<sup>117</sup> The Meiji state identified such permissive norms as ‘uncivilised’ and they were a target of legal and social reform efforts. Central to this reform effort was a reimagination of legitimate sexual relations as confined to the conjugal family. This is reflective of a broader trend in interwar Japan, where male sexual licence came under sharp criticism by a variety of social reform movements, including the women’s movement and the Temperance movement.<sup>118</sup> The idea that men, as well as women, should be faithful to their spouse gained traction in the mass media, as well as limited support from the Meiji state with the official abolition of concubinage in 1882.<sup>119</sup> Despite such criticism, fidelity, however, was still a legal requirement for wives, but not husbands, until 1948. In divorce law, for

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<sup>114</sup> Fuess, *Divorce in Japan*, esp. ch. 3.

<sup>115</sup> Fuess, *Divorce in Japan*, esp. ch. 3.

<sup>116</sup> Benjamin Barr Lindsay and Wainwrigh Evans, *Companionate Marriage*. (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927). The term “companionate marriage” was first used in the 1920s by American social scientists to describe new marital arrangements that were based on sexual intimacy and the use of birth control to avoid childbirth. For more on the controversy over ‘companionate marriage’ in America see Rebecca L Davis, “‘Not Marriage at all, but Simple Harlotry’: The Companionate Marriage Controversy.” *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 4 (2008): 1137–1163.

<sup>117</sup> For debates on the meaning of companionate marriage in colonial Korea see Kim Keong-il, “Alternative Forms of Marriage and Family in Colonial Korea”, *The Review of Korean Studies* 11, no. 4 (December 2008): 61–82.

<sup>118</sup> Michiko Suzuki, “The Husband’s Chastity: Progress, Equality, and Difference in 1930s Japan”, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38, no. 2 (2013): 327–352; Elise Tipton, “Sex in the City: Chastity Vs. Free Love in Interwar Japan”, *Intersections* 11 (2005): [n.p.].

<sup>119</sup> Suzuki, “The Husband’s Chastity”; Tipton, “Sex in the City”. As we shall see in Chapters IV and V the abolition of concubinage did not extend to Japan’s formal colonies of Korea and Taiwan.



example, adultery was grounds to divorce a wife, but not a husband.<sup>120</sup> For the women's movement and eugenicists alike, a major concern was venereal disease which was identified as spreading from sex workers to innocent Japanese wives via their unfaithful husbands.<sup>121</sup> In this context, monogamy was newly embraced as the ideal form of conjugal relations. Legitimate sexual desire was in this way increasingly positioned as something that should be confined to the (heterosexual) marital family.

While the exhibit did not position sexual or romantic desire as bad *per se*, it did position it as potentially destabilising and insisted on the necessity of controlling desire. Indeed, Sō states that eugenicists identified an excessive interest in romance as a potential threat, thereby positioning individuals who prioritised love above all else (연애지상주의자) as “‘enemies’ of ‘eugenic marriage’” (‘우생결혼’의 ‘적’).<sup>122</sup> Certainly, the ideal of ‘eugenic marriage’ cautioned against permissive attitudes to romance and sexual intimacy, associated with ‘free love’. A lecture by Ichikawa Genzō (市川源三, 1874–1940) at the Red Cross Museum’s 1939 Race Hygiene Exhibit, which was also sponsored by the JARH, entitled “marriage freedom and eugenics” (結婚の自由と優生学) directly criticised the popularity of ‘free love’. According to the Red Cross report on the event, the lecture emphasised that “around the world people often talk about free love, but mere arbitrary behaviour is not freedom”(自由恋愛なんてことを世間では言うけれども、たんなる勝手な振る舞いは自由ではない).<sup>123</sup>

Yasui similarly criticised sexual permissiveness and unchecked youthful emotion. Yasui argued that the future of marriage needed to find a balance between parental authority and individual choice. Writing in *Yūsei* in 1936, he explained that the old system of arranged marriage, wherein parents unilaterally chose a spouse for their child without consideration

<sup>120</sup> For more on the gendered nature of adultery legislation see also Harald Fuess, “Adultery and Gender Equality in Modern Japan, 1868–1948”, in *Gender and Law in the Japanese Imperium*, eds. Susan L. Burns and Barbara J. Brooks. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004).

<sup>121</sup> For more on the alliance between the women’s movement and eugenics in campaigns to combat venereal disease see Otsubo, “Engendering Eugenics”.

<sup>122</sup> Sō, “Kūndae Ilbon ūi usaeng sasang kwa ‘p’akuk’ ūi sangsangryōk”, 33.

<sup>123</sup> Quoted in Tanaka, *Eisei tenrankai no yokubō*, 96. Katō also notes this quote, but sees it as evidence of the intertwined relationships between eugenics, marriage and romantic love in this period Katō, “*Ren’ai kekkon wa nani o motarashita ka*. In contrast I suggest that eugenicists sought to demarcate the difference between ‘eugenic marriage’ and ‘free love’.

of the wishes of the child had many harmful effects. “Love marriages” (戀愛結婚), which had risen in popularity since contact with the West, were also ill-advised. He explained:

love marriage is instinctual and emotional. It is governed only by intuition and emotional preferences. Particularly in our country, at present, there are no opportunities for men and women to freely choose to associate with each other. Therefore, if there is contact between men and women they tend to immediately become ensnared by love. There is no room for decisions based on sober consideration. Why should we respect or promote that kind of love marriage?

戀愛結婚は本能的であり感情的である。たゞ直観の働くまゝに好悪の感情のみによつて支配される。特に我が國の國情では、男女の間に廣く交際を求めて自由に選擇する機會がない。従つて男女間接近すれば、直ちに戀愛に陥る傾がある。そこには理知的に觀察し選擇する餘地はない。そんな戀愛結婚が、何故に尊ばれ何故に奨励されねばならぬのであらうか。<sup>124</sup>

As this passage reveals, for Yasui, instinct and emotion were inherently suspect and, if left unchecked, would result in hasty and irrational decisions. This criticism of instinct puts Yasui’s vision for marital decision-making in clear contrast to other more progressive thinkers in East Asia, such as Gao Xian (高鐸; n. d.), Zhou Jianren (周建人; 1888–1984), Wu Juenong (吳覺農, pen name Y.D.; 1897–1989) and Zhang Xichen (章錫琛, pen name Se Le; 1889–1969) in 1920s China, who theorised that women acting on their sexual desires to choose their own marriage partner would further the development of the race as their decisions would reflect the natural processes of sexual selection.<sup>125</sup> For these more progressively minded intellectuals, individual freedom in marital decisions, including the right to divorce, could aid eugenic aims by allowing individuals to act on the natural “instinct” of racial preservation, unencumbered by traditional social constraints.<sup>126</sup> For Yasui, it was discernment not ‘primitive’ instinct that was key. Sexual desires in this frame were not considered to be “intelligent”, in the sense that Barlow has identified, but shallow.<sup>127</sup> In contrast to matches based on unchecked and shallow emotion, Yasui argued that a spouse should be selected based on both the wishes of the child and the experience of the parent.

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<sup>124</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, “Kantōgen”, *Yūsei* 1, no. 12 (1936): 1.

<sup>125</sup> Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*, 78–80; David, “Bertrand Russel and Ellen Key in China”.

<sup>126</sup> David, “Bertrand Russel and Ellen Key in China”, 87.

<sup>127</sup> Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*, 80.

Only a match determined on the basis of “mutual agreement between the parent and the child” (親子合意) would ensure a longlasting and happy union that would result in healthy descendants.

Yasui made a similar argument in another editorial published that year, this time linking parental oversight in marital decision-making to the goals of eugenics even more explicitly. He argued:

Advocacy for eugenic marriage is not at all new. It has already been practised in our country for 3000 years. In our country, where lineage is emphasised, it goes without saying that great attention has been paid to investigating a prospective spouse’s character, health and blood line. This is a strength of our country’s traditional marriage system, where marital decisions have been made by parents. Compared to the Western free marriage system, where unions are determined according to the intuitive love of young men and women, this [marriage system] leads to far superior results. The beautiful history of the last 3000 years and the superiority of our people, which you can see before your very eyes, can be considered to be, in part, the result of this marriage system. Yet, in an era when learning was not open [to the public], despite their earnest wishes, [people] could not reach this goal [of superior marriages] due to ignorance and superstition. The new eugenic marriage movement is simply an attempt to rationalise [efforts to achieve] that desire [for superior marriages] through scientific knowledge.

優生結婚の主張は、少しも新しいものではない。わが日本國は三千年来、すでに行はれたつゝある事である。家系を重んずるわが國に於て、配偶者の人物や健康や血統の詮索に、多大の注意が拂はれたことは、云ふまでもないのである。それは寧ろ、結婚の取極めが両親によつて行はれた、わが國傳統の結婚制度の長所であり、若い男女の直觀的變によつて結ばれる西洋流の自由結婚制度に比して、遙かに優れた結果を残したに相違ないのである。三千年の美しい歴史と、目前に見る民族の優秀性とは、一面から見れば、この結婚制度の賜物であると看做し得ぬことはない。唯しかし、學門の開けざる時代では、折角の志望も、無知や迷信のために、十分にその目的を達し得なかつたのである。新しい優生結婚の運動は、たゞその志望を、科學の知識によつて、合理化せんとするだけのことである。<sup>128</sup>

Here Yasui, again, frames parental supervision as a tempering force against youthful passion—and folly. He further positions eugenics as a modern scientific way to meet familiar aims of a healthy marriage. The problem with existing marriage practices is not the role of parental authority in determining marriage partners *per se*, but the basis on which parents

<sup>128</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, “Kantōgen”, *Yūsei* 1, no. 6 (1936): 1.

make that decision. Rational spousal selection required not just dispassionate consideration, unhindered by excessive emotion, but also scientific expertise. The JARH did see marital happiness as important and explicitly criticised forced marriages and marriages between people with incompatible personalities or dispositions as leading only to despair, infidelity and family breakdown. It did not, however, prioritise romantic attachment. Love, and sexual companionship, was something that would ideally grow after marriage and should not be the basis for selecting a spouse. In this sense, Yasui's sexual ethics was more akin to the conservative minority opinion in May Fourth era Chinese debate, epitomised by conservative commentator and biologist Chen Jianshan (陳兼善; n.d.), who maintained that individualism could not further the cause of racial improvement. In markedly similar terms, Chen argued that "love is blind, is outside of rationality, and cannot be built upon eugenic reasoning".<sup>129</sup> Instead, the best hope for eugenicist reform for Chen—like Yasui—lay in "enlightened parents".<sup>130</sup> Historian Mirela David categorises Chen's solution to the problems posed by love and individual choice for eugenicist reform as advocating "returning to antiquity as a means of achieving modern tasks", highlighting his praise of Sparta.<sup>131</sup> In contrast, I argue that Yasui's vision for eugenic marriage was a decidedly modern one, despite his clear concerns with the destabilising influence of increasing individualism and liberalism. As we shall see, what eugenicist social reformers such as Yasui sought was an alternate modernity—one that utilised modern technological and scientific knowledge, but defended against the perceived risks of social change. Conservative eugenicist organisations, such as the JARH, drew a key distinction between rational decisions about a marriage partner and fleeting romantic desires. Desire needed to be managed not only because it contradicted conservative ideals on appropriate sexual conduct, but more importantly because it threatened to distract individuals from paying due attention to the vital problem of heredity.

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<sup>129</sup> David, "Bertrand Russel and Ellen Key in China", 87. Haiyan Lee also discusses the debate between Chen Jianshan and Zhang Xichen over whether free love and eugenics were compatible in her *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900–1950*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2007), 175–6.

<sup>130</sup> David, "Bertrand Russel and Ellen Key in China", 88.

<sup>131</sup> David, "Bertrand Russel and Ellen Key in China", 87.

## Countering Unseen Threats: The Importance of Health and Heredity

The JARH emphasised health and heredity as the foremost considerations in selecting a suitable marriage partner. The Marriage Hygiene Exhibition dedicated its largest section to the theme of “marriage and heredity” (結婚と遺傳). The motif of blindness again appeared in the opening poster of this section. The poster (Figure V) features a couple holding hands. Both are blind folded. The text reads: “Modern marriage is like a blind person. You do not see your partner”.<sup>132</sup> Such images criticised romantic love as blinding young women and men to the imperfections of their partners—physical and otherwise. Invoking the contemporaneous Japanese saying “[when in love] even a pockmark looks like a dimple” (痘痕も贅), such imagery asserted that love clouded young people’s judgement and led them to unwisely overlook their suitor’s flaws.<sup>133</sup> The subsequent posters, which make up the largest section of the exhibit, detail the hereditary traits that the couple are blind to. A similar image opened the section on “research on marriage” (Figure VI). As the title of this section suggests, the exhibit framed marriage as being not about family or personal preference, but the subject of modern scientific research. In the opening image for this section, a blind folded couple holds hands at the edge of a cliff. Their postures indicate that they are oblivious to the change in the terrain before them. The text reads: “Health certificates are essential in marriage. Getting married without being aware of each other’s health certificate is like facing a decision with your eyes covered”.<sup>134</sup> The subsequent posters again communicated examples of infectious diseases, principally tuberculous and venereal disease, which could be lurking as an unseen threat to a healthy marriage. This section also contained advertisements for the JARH’s own eugenic marriage counselling centre, to be discussed in greater detail below.<sup>135</sup> The message here, again, emphasises the necessity of knowledge—and expert advice—in informing desires. Clear-eyed, rational decision-making, not emotion, is what was required.

<sup>132</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Chinrestu shiryō”, 10.

<sup>133</sup> Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*, 147. As Sato notes similar sentiments about the negative influence of “blind love” were voiced by the director of the Christian Temperance Union in popular women’s magazine, *Shufu no tomo*, in 1928.

<sup>134</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Chinrestu shiryō”, 56.

<sup>135</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, “Chinrestu shiryō”, 56–7.



Figure V: Modern Marriage is Blind Poster



Figure VI: Health Certificates are Essential Poster

As summarised in the JARH's journal, *Minzoku eisei*, the "marriage and heredity" section of the exhibit aimed to educate the population about healthy and unhealthy hereditary traits and to communicate "research concerning criteria for spouse selection" (配偶選定の標準に関する調査), and "the preservation of superior family lines" (優良家系の保存).<sup>136</sup> The posters begin with explaining the nature of inheritance drawing on benign examples, such as height and hair colour, and positive attributes, such as longevity. The posters then turn to hereditary illnesses. Here the style of the posters shifts dramatically from predominately simple, cartoonish illustrations to dark, and often frightening, photographs.<sup>137</sup> Interestingly, it is in this section that images of blind and otherwise vision-impaired individuals appear for the first time.<sup>138</sup> Indeed, blindness and other vision impairments were major targets of

<sup>136</sup> "Kekkon eisei tenrankai no kaisai", 74.

<sup>137</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, "Chinrestu shiryō", 31.

<sup>138</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, "Chinrestu shiryō", 32, 40.

eugenicist interventions in marriage and reproduction in Japan and elsewhere.<sup>139</sup> As Devon Stillwell has suggested in his study of the visual culture of the Third International Congress of Eugenics, the juxtaposition of attractive images of the ‘fit’ and frightening or grotesque images of the ‘unfit’ or ‘degenerate’ was a crucial visual representation of eugenic ideology. Photographs were more commonly used in reference to the ‘degenerate’ or ‘grotesque’ than the fit, where they were used to “locate and catalogue the ‘unfit’ as scientific specimens”.<sup>140</sup> As he states:

‘Degenerates’ were the intended targets of negative eugenic measures, but they were also important to positive eugenic measures like mate selection because they reminded attendees of the pervasive threat of the ‘grotesque’ to the health of the ‘American race’.<sup>141</sup>

The use of photographs of disease and disability in the Marriage Hygiene Exhibition presents a clear vision of this threat to the unsuspecting, happy couple whose lack of knowledge has blinded them to the risk of their union—for themselves and for the broader Japanese race.

Disability and disease were emphasised by eugenicists as “racial poisons” (民族毒) that threatened the vitality of the race from within. Particularly concerning was the issue of comparative fertility of the ‘fit’ and ‘unfit’, which features prominently in the exhibition’s representation of the eugenically undesirable. Figure VII, from the exhibition’s section on “marriage and social problems” clearly demonstrates the fear that the ‘unfit’ were reproducing at the significantly higher rate than the ‘fit’, potentially imperilling the race. In this poster the ‘fit’ woman, drawn in profile, is noticeably more classically beautiful than the ‘unfit’ woman, whose face is drawn lined and twisted. The ‘unfit’ woman’s multiple children are also drawn as sick and disfigured. Their depiction, which evokes stereotypical portrayals of the ‘feeble-minded’, is clearly intended to provoke fears about racial decline.

<sup>139</sup> JARH advice on the suitability of marrying an individual with a visual impairment will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter II. For a discussion of eugenicist attempts to regulate marriage among blind men and women in the United States see, for example, Marissa Leigh Slaughter Stalvey, “Love is Not Blind: Eugenics, Blindness, and Marriage in the United States, 1840–1940”. (Masters diss., University of Toledo, 2014).

<sup>140</sup> Devon Stillwell, “Eugenics Visualized: The Exhibit of the Third International Congress of Eugenics, 1932”, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 86, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 227–8.

<sup>141</sup> Stillwell, “Eugenics Visualized”, 225.





Figure VII: Comparative Fertility of 'Fit' and 'Unfit' Women Poster

This poster invokes the spectre of the problematically fertile 'unfit' woman—a key trope in eugenicist discourse. It accentuates the overarching message that the eugenic fitness is both a problem for individual couples and, more importantly, the nation as selfish reproductive decisions can undermine the quality of the race as a whole. Eugenicists' belief in impending racial decline provided a pressing rationale for eugenicist intervention in marriage and procreation. To prevent such racial degradation it was crucial to reverse this equation and ensure that 'fit' couples reproduced at a higher rate than 'unfit' couples. As advertisements for the Marriage Hygiene Exhibition, discussed above, explained it was not always self-evident if a prospective spouse possessed "inferior hereditary traits" so the advice of a "specialist", as well as detailed investigation was imperative.<sup>142</sup> Attendees of the JARH–Red Cross Marriage Hygiene Exhibition were therefore advised to seek further information on the suitability of a prospective spouse through individualised marriage counselling. Following its successful Marriage Hygiene Exhibition, the JARH established its own permanent marriage consultation centre to further spread its message. Records of the centre shed further light on the specific priorities of the JARH regarding suitable marriage partners,

<sup>142</sup> Nihon sekijūjisha, "Kekkon eisei tenrankai", 7–8.



revealing concerns about communicable and hereditary conditions, as well as deep racial and class prejudices.

### Private Eugenic Marriage Counselling

In its opening 1936 issue the JARH-affiliated magazine *Yūsei* published an article outlining why the JARH had decided to open a eugenic marriage counselling centre in Shirakiya department store in Nihonbashi. The article began by emphasising the importance of heredity when choosing a marriage partner:

An individual has but one lifetime; descendants are forever. Marriage is the wellspring of human life. Choosing a partner with a healthy body and mind, building a happy family life and leaving behind healthy descendants must be the purpose of marriage.

自分は一代でも子孫は末代です。結婚は人生の源泉です。心身共に健全な配偶者を選んで、幸福な家庭生活を営み、健全な子孫を遺して行くことが、結婚の目的でなくてはなりません。<sup>143</sup>

The article goes on to state that because the population had an insufficient understanding of marriage hygiene and eugenics, what should have been happy marriages were resulting in tragedies as weak and sick children were born. For this reason, “intellectuals are crying out” (識者の間に盛んに唱へられる) for decisions about marriage to be based on eugenics.<sup>144</sup> The article then presented the establishment of the Association’s eugenic marriage counselling centre as its benevolent response to this public demand:

Here at the Japanese Association of Race Hygiene we cannot leave this important issue for our nation to chance. We have decided to take the initiative and establish a eugenic marriage consultation centre, so that everyone can resolve this difficult problem.

我日本民族衛生協會では、この國民の重大問題を放任して置くに忍びないので、率先して優生結婚相談所を設け、この難問を皆様に代つて解決することに致しあのであります

<sup>145</sup>

<sup>143</sup> “Nihon minzoku eisei kyōkai fuzoku yūsei kekkon sōdansho no shushi”, *Yūsei* 1, no. 1 (1936): 17–19. This article was republished in 1937 as “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no shushi”, *Yūsei* 2, no. 1 (1937): 13–15.

<sup>144</sup> ‘Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no shushi’, 13.

<sup>145</sup> ‘Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no shushi’, 14.

The JARH anticipated that their eugenic marriage counselling centre would be broadly relevant to all those seeking to be married and listed 11 scenarios in which individuals should visit the centre:

1. if they wanted to enter into marriage with a carefree state of mind  
誰でも安心して、朗かな気で、結婚生活に入りたい場合
2. if they wanted to have 'good children'  
良い子を有ちたい願ふ場合
3. if they wanted to know whether marriage was suitable given their health condition  
結婚につき體力と健康状態か、十分なりや否やを知りたい場合
4. if an individual with tuberculous wanted to marry  
結核性の病気の疑ある人の結婚せんとする場合
5. if an individual with venereal disease wanted to marry  
性病に罹つた人が結婚せんとする場合
6. if an individual with a family history of mental illness wanted to marry  
精神病家系の人が結婚せんとする場合
7. if an individual with a family history of hereditary disease wanted to marry  
一般に遺傳病のある家系の人が結婚せんとする場合
8. in cases of consanguineous marriages  
血族結婚の問題
9. if they wanted to know about sexual hygiene  
結婚に際して性の衛生に就いて知りたい場合
10. if they were concerned about whether a woman's pelvis was suited to marriage and childbirth  
骨盤等が結婚に適して居るか否かの問題
11. if contraception was medically necessary  
醫學的に避妊の必要ありや否やの問題<sup>146</sup>

On the issue of contraception, the article emphasised that contraception should not be used for economic reasons or "convenience" (便宜), but was acceptable if pregnancy would threaten the mother's health.<sup>147</sup> By thoroughly answering the public's questions about heredity and eugenics the eugenic marriage counselling centre "aimed to [improve] the wellbeing of visitors and their families and, in the long term, the eternal wellbeing of the race" (皆様や皆様御一門幸福や、遠くは民族永遠の幸福を目指して居る).<sup>148</sup> Eugenics was in

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<sup>146</sup> 'Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no shushi', 14–15.

<sup>147</sup> "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no shushi", 15. The JARH, and Yasui, firmly opposed contraceptive use among the 'fit' population. For more on Yasui's views on contraception see also Yasui Hiroshi, "Sanji seigen to yūsei undō no sabetsu", *Yūsei* 1, no. 5 (1936): 8–11.

<sup>148</sup> "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no shushi", 14.

this way presented as a modern, rational method for alleviating pressing concerns about health, heredity and happiness in the marital family. What criteria, then, were necessary to ensure family wellbeing?

The primary purpose of eugenic marriage counselling was to enable the production of ‘superior offspring’ by providing expert advice to guide individual reproductive decisions. It embraced a broad definition of eugenics—termed “expansive” (拡張優生主義) in the existing Japanese-language literature—that encompassed both hereditary and infectious conditions.<sup>149</sup> A 1935 report on the activities of the JARH’s eugenic marriage consultation centre outlined 129 visits to the centre during the first year.<sup>150</sup> According to this report the majority of visitors were men, and the vast majority lived in Tokyo, although there were some visitors from further abroad including Hokkaido, Nagasaki, Fukushima and one from Korea.<sup>151</sup> As shown in Table I the most common topics discussed were general health consultations, followed by consanguineous marriages, venereal disease and hereditary disease. The topics discussed in consultations that were classified as being primarily about heredity, however, included conditions known to be infectious, as shown in Table II. More detailed information on the content of the consultations was given for 126 cases as outlined in Appendix I.

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<sup>149</sup> The conceptualisation of Japanese eugenic activism as defined by two types “expansive” and “restrictive” eugenics was developed by Matsubara Yōko. Whether Japanese eugenic policy before 1945 is best characterised as “expansive” or “restrictive” has been a subject of considerable debate. Both Matsubara and Yokoyama identify eugenic marriage policy as an example of “expansive” eugenics. For Matsubara, eugenic marriage policy is the exception to an otherwise hereditarian approach by the JARH and the Japanese state, whereas for Yokoyama it is evidence that both sought to enact a broader agenda in the future. See also Matsubara, “Minzoku eisei hogohō to Nihon no yūseihō no keifu”; Yokoyama, “Kokumin yūseihō seritsu no saikento”.

<sup>150</sup> Ikemi Takeshi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikka nen hōkoku”, *Minzoku eisei* 4, no. 3–4 (1935): 117–130.

<sup>151</sup> It is unclear whether this individual had recently migrated from Korea or was a long-term Korean resident of Japan.

**Table I: Content of JARH Eugenic Marriage Counselling Centre, 1935<sup>152</sup>**

| <b>Matter discussed</b>                         | <b>Total</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Health consultations<br>健康診断                    | 39           |
| Consanguineous marriages<br>血族結婚                | 30           |
| Diseases concerning internal sex organs<br>内性病  | 25           |
| Hereditary disease<br>遺傳病                       | 25           |
| General matters concerning heredity<br>一般遺傳に就いて | 6            |
| Marriage hygiene<br>結婚衛生に就いて                    | 5            |
| Marriage certificate<br>結婚證明書                   | 3            |
| Leprosy<br>癩病                                   | 2            |
| Gynaecology<br>婦人科                              | 1            |

<sup>152</sup> Information drawn from Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikka nen hōkoku”, 117.

**Table II: Content of General Discussions on Heredity, 1935<sup>153</sup>**

| <b>Matter discussed</b>                                                                                               | <b>Total</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Advisability of two people who both have a predisposition for tuberculous marrying<br>結核素質の者同士及びその相手がその素質である者と結婚するの可否 | 14           |
| Inheritability of mental illness<br>精神病遺傳に就いて                                                                         | 9            |
| Retardation<br>低能                                                                                                     | 2            |
| Nervousness <sup>154</sup><br>神経質                                                                                     | 6            |
| Epilepsy<br>癲癇                                                                                                        | 2            |
| Leprosy<br>癩病                                                                                                         | 3            |
| Inheritability of kidney atrophy<br>萎縮腎遺傳に就いて                                                                         | 1            |
| Inheritability of nose type<br>鼻型の遺傳                                                                                  | 1            |
| Inheritability of head shape<br>頭型の遺傳                                                                                 | 1            |
| Hypertrophic rhinitis<br>肥厚性鼻炎                                                                                        | 1            |
| Inheritability of paralysis<br>中風遺傳                                                                                   | 1            |
| Inheritability of nearsightedness<br>近視遺傳                                                                             | 1            |
| Abnormal people<br>變人                                                                                                 | 2            |
| Inheritability of deaf-muteness<br>聾啞遺傳                                                                               | 1            |
| Congenital heart disease<br>先天性心臟病について                                                                                | 1            |
| Sterilisation<br>斷種                                                                                                   | 1            |
| Birth control                                                                                                         | 1            |

<sup>153</sup> Information drawn from Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikka nen hōkoku”, 117–18.

<sup>154</sup> Nervous diseases (神経病), such as neurasthenia (神経衰弱), were commonly understood as being connected to abnormal sexuality. Neurasthenia was believed to be caused by excessive masturbation and was considered to have potentially serious consequences, especially among young men, including “paleness, loss of appetite, forgetfulness, indifference, melancholy, and poor scholastic results”. Sabine Frūhstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan*. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2003), 63. According to Frūhstück by the early 1940s neurasthenia had become an “umbrella term” for male sexual disorders and impotence. Frūhstück, *Colonizing Sex*, 170.

| Matter discussed                                                  | Total |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 産兒調節                                                              |       |
| Squint<br>斜視                                                      | 1     |
| Deaf-muteness<br>聾啞                                               | 1     |
| Cancer<br>癌                                                       | 1     |
| Suicide<br>自殺                                                     | 1     |
| Inheritability of asymmetrical face shape<br>顔不整型の遺傳              | 1     |
| Advisability of two people with long faces marrying<br>長顔同志の結婚の可否 | 1     |

Eugenic marriage counsellors cautioned against marriages in cases of both hereditary and infectious conditions, most notably tuberculous, venereal disease and leprosy. Tuberculosis was often discussed in terms of heredity although it was acknowledged to be an infectious illness and advisors warned against marrying someone who was deemed to have a predisposition for, or family history of, tuberculous. For example, a 31 year old man, whose mother had died of tuberculous and whose father had gone blind due to complications arising from contracting syphilis, was told that he “should avoid marriage as much as possible” (結婚は成可避くるべし).<sup>155</sup> The advisor noted with concern that his intended spouse’s mother had also died of tuberculous. Another visitor was informed that it was “essential”

(必要がる) for them to be “particularly cautious about marriage” (結婚にあたって特に注意する) given that they had “a propensity for tuberculous and dementia” (結核、早發性痴呆の素質

ある).<sup>156</sup> Rumours of a family history of leprosy also elicited extreme concern. One woman seeking advice on whether or not to accept a marriage proposal was advised that “there was scope for further investigation” (尚ほ調査の餘地あり) into a rumour that there was a case of leprosy in her suitor’s family 100 years ago.<sup>157</sup> Likewise a man was advised that if a rumour

<sup>155</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 128.

<sup>156</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 127.

<sup>157</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 126.

that his bride-to-be's father had died of leprosy in 1899 was true he should "consider his [prospective] spouse to have leprosy" (相手には癩病があると思ふ) despite her having no symptoms of infection.<sup>158</sup> Mental illness, too, was taken as a reason to avoid marriage or, in the case of a couple that was already married, to be especially cautious about the prospect of raising children.<sup>159</sup>

Consanguineous marriages were similarly considered to be a potential threat, particularly in cases where advisors had additional concerns about the health and heredity of the family line.<sup>160</sup> A 21 year old woman, for example, was advised that a consanguineous marriage, where there was a family history of tuberculosis on both sides of the family would be "from a eugenic point of view all pain and no gain" (優生學上百害あつて一利なし).<sup>161</sup> Similarly, a 29 year old man who had contracted tuberculosis five years previously, and whose mother had died of tuberculosis, was advised that his planned marriage to his cousin was "not desirable from a eugenic perspective" (優生學上好ましからず).<sup>162</sup> Conditions where the hereditary basis had not been clearly established, but which were considered to likely be hereditary, were also treated with caution. A 27 year old farmer was advised to "avoid as much as possible"

(成可く避けると可とす) a consanguineous marriage where there was a "high frequency of heavy drinking and mental illness on both sides" (大酒家精神病が両系に濃厚なる).<sup>163</sup> Unions where there was deemed to be a strong family history of hereditary disease or deformity were opposed in much stronger terms. A marriage between cousins where there was a family history of "retardation" (低能) on both sides was, for example, deemed "absolutely unacceptable" (絶対に不可) as retardation was hereditary.<sup>164</sup> Generally, advisors warned that

<sup>158</sup> Ikemi, "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku", 127.

<sup>159</sup> Ikemi, "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku", 125.

<sup>160</sup> For more on Yasui's position on consanguineous marriages see, Yasui Hiroshi, "Ketsuzoku kekkon o zetsumetsushi ezaru ka", *Yūsei* 3, no. 7 (1938): 2–12. Consanguineous marriage was a frequent topic of discussion in the pages of eugenicist journals, including in *Yūsei* and *Minzoku eisei*. For a discussion of eugenicist concerns with consanguineous marriage see also Robertson, "Blood Talks", esp. 199–202.

<sup>161</sup> Ikemi, "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku", 122.

<sup>162</sup> Ikemi, "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku", 127.

<sup>163</sup> Ikemi, "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku", 127.

<sup>164</sup> Ikemi, "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku", 127.

it was “particularly important to choose a healthy person” (特に健康者を選んで結婚する必要がある) if the potential spouses were blood kin. However, but they did not consistently oppose consanguineous marriages where the family lines were considered to either be ‘fit’, or at least not particularly concerning.<sup>165</sup> Marriages between second-degree relatives, or marriages between cousins whose parents were also cousins, were two main exceptions to this. A man who inquired about marrying his niece, for example, was strongly reprimanded and told that this was “completely unacceptable” (絶対不可) from both a eugenic and a legal perspective.<sup>166</sup>

The centre predominantly emphasised mitigating internal threats to the betterment of the Japanese race; however, eugenic marriage counselling advice also contained racialised content. As Philippa Levine and Alison Bashford have observed, while the targets of much eugenic reform were frequently “marginalized insiders” rather than “racial outsiders”, eugenics was “never *not* about race”.<sup>167</sup> Projects designed to strengthen or purify the race were conducted in reference to other racialised populations, whether this was made explicit or not. Concerns about ‘degenerate’ whites in the United States and Great Britain, for example, were bound up in desires to protect the prestige of the white race and secure its claimed position at the apex of the racial hierarchy.<sup>168</sup> A similar dynamic underpinned the thought of many Japanese eugenicists. As previously mentioned, Yasui Hiroshi argued eugenic marriage had two aims: family wellbeing and “racial purification” (民族浄化).<sup>169</sup> Yasui does not specify what he means by ‘racial purification’ in this passage, and existing scholarship is divided over how to interpret this use of this phrase by Japanese eugenicists. Sumiko Otsubo contends that the term ‘purity’ was generally invoked to mean “disease-free”, rather than to refer to the issue of miscegenation *per se*.<sup>170</sup> Jennifer Robertson, on the other hand, opts for a more expansive interpretation of eugenicist views on racial purity,

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<sup>165</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 121.

<sup>166</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 124, 125.

<sup>167</sup> Philippa Levine and Alison Bashford, “Introduction: Eugenics and the Modern World”, in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, eds. Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), [4].

<sup>168</sup> Levine and Bashford, “Introduction”, [4–5].

<sup>169</sup> Yasui, “[Kantōgen]”, 1.

<sup>170</sup> Otsubo, “Feminist Maternal Eugenics in Wartime Japan”, 69n32.



asserting that eugenicist allusions to “pure-bloodedness” (純血) included a racial component.

She writes:

At this time, ‘blood’ was used in two different but related metaphorical sense: as shared hereditary material and as ‘racial essence.’ The two senses were conjoined in the anti-miscegenational policies of the imperial state.<sup>171</sup>

Given that Yasui later uses this same phrase in reference to “eliminating inferior heredity and purifying the blood of the race” (悪質の遺傳を斷絶して民族の血液を浄化する), Otsubo’s interpretation that the JARH’s commitment to ‘racial purification’ here refers to internal threats posed by disability and disease seems most likely.<sup>172</sup> In particular, the phrase ‘racial purification’ was commonly used in campaigns to eliminate venereal disease.<sup>173</sup> This is not to say however, that race did not feature in the JARH’s conception of eugenics, nor that they supported miscegenation.

In the early 1930s, the JARH largely avoided commenting on interethnic relationships, however, the comments they did make are revealing. The JARH’s marriage counselling centres showed a deep unease with the idea of miscegenation. A 1935 JARH report on eugenic marriage consultation, for example, warned against marriages between different ethnicities.<sup>174</sup> The report listed responses to four letters written to the president of the organisation, Nagai Hisomu, on the advisability of interethnic marriages. While Nagai did not urge the writers to abandon any of these particular relationships, he warned against interethnic marriages as a general rule. He advised:

Marriages between different ethnicities are not a very desirable thing. First, the hereditary qualities of each partner vary according to their mother country. Second, what about those children? Third, [there is the issue of the children of] different ethnicities—that is, mixed blood children. It is generally said [of these unions] that weak children are born. On this point, research is needed.

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<sup>171</sup> Robertson, “Sexuality and shopping”, 390.

<sup>172</sup> Yasui makes this statement in “Kantōgen”, *Yusei* 3, no. 12 (1938): 1.

<sup>173</sup> The Ministry of Health and Welfare used the term “purifying the blood of the populace” (國民の血を清浄に) to headline a poster on the need to eliminate venereal disease as part of its propaganda series, *Diagrams of National Eugenics*, to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III.

<sup>174</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”

異種民族の結婚はあまり好ましき事ではない。先づ第一にその相手方の母國によつて遺傳質の異なる點のある。第二はその子供えお如何にするか、第三は異種民族即ち混血児は一般に弱い子供は生まれると言はれて居る。これは調査の必要がある。<sup>175</sup>

Despite this noted lack of research into the health prospects of mixed-race children, referred to using the derogatory term *konketsuji*, Nagai felt warranted in designating these relationships to be undesirable in principle. Indeed, as we shall see in Chapter V, specific eugenicist research funded by the Ministry of Health and Welfare into the physical constitution of mixed-race children in the 1940s, did not assuage the doubts of eugenicist social reformers. Rather, the issue of how conceptions of race and, especially after the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the notion of Japanese leadership in Asia fit into a eugenicist vision for the future of the Japanese empire would continue to trouble both eugenicist organisations and the Japanese state.

Couples that were deemed unfit were often advised to avoid marrying if possible. However, sterilisation was also presented as a possible option. One visitor was advised that they should be sterilised to avoid passing on psychasthenia<sup>176</sup> (精神髄弱) to their children, which was considered a hereditary trait. If this person was sterilised the counsellor considered there to be “no direct obstacle to marriage” (手術を加ふべし結婚に直接障碍とならず).<sup>177</sup> In this context, sterilisation was presented as a potentially desirable option. Indeed, the report listed examples of “two or three individuals who hoped to be sterilised” (斷種希望者の二、三、の例).<sup>178</sup> The first example was a 25 year old woman, referred to pejoratively as a “cripple” (不具者). The report states that her parents were cousins and there were several concerning traits in her family line, including epilepsy, tuberculous, deformity and “idiocy” (白痴). Due to this, the woman sought expert advice. The report explains:

In the words of the individual concerned, “since I graduated from Girl’s School I immediately thought that I should consult a eugenic scientist but as there was no

<sup>175</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 130.

<sup>176</sup> Psychasthenia was considered to be a similar condition to neurasthenia and hysteria, which was characterized by neurosis caused by ‘mental weakness’. Like neurasthenia it was often linked to sexual disorders.

<sup>177</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 122.

<sup>178</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 129.

appropriate place I was not able to do so until now. I saw in the local newspaper that a eugenic marriage counselling centre was opened in June last year so I came to Tokyo from Fukushima prefecture to visit the centre today. Since if you look at it from [the point of view of] heredity my family line is extremely poor, like a [illegible], I want to be sterilised. Is there a good method to achieve this?"

本人の云ふのに、私は女學校を卒業すると直ちに優生學者にお尋ねしたいと考へて居たが、適當な處がないので今日迄そのまゝとなつて居たのである地方新聞を見ますと昨年六月より優生結婚相談所が開始されたとの報道がありましたので、福島縣から本日上京したのであります私の家系は\*\*の如く遺傳的に見て非常に悪るいので斷種をして人生を過ごしたいと思ひますが、なんとかよい方法はないでせうか。

The second example given, also a young woman, is similarly quoted as seeking the help of the centre to obtain a sterilisation procedure due to concerns about her family line. She explains that her elder brother developed an unspecified mental illness many years ago and since then they have been "extremely insulted by relatives and neighbours" (親戚近所の者が非常に侮辱し). She asks:

If there was someone from the same kind of family line as me who wanted to be sterilised, I would want you to aid them. Is that OK?

私と同一の家系人で斷種をして人生を送りたいと言ふ人がありましたならば御世話して戴きたいのですが如何でせうか。

The report advised that "as is proper, [the advisor] answered that even today there is no legislation" (法律制定のない今日とて然るべく答へた) to support such procedures. The inclusion of these examples was evidently intended to further the impression that the public *desired* a sterilisation policy and that any future policy would have willing participants. This framing sought to position the JARH as providing a service to assist those that wished to make eugenically responsible reproductive decisions, rather than as a coercive force. As we will see in Chapter II, however, the line between desire, persuasion and coercion in eugenics policy was often blurry and the JARH was also concerned about the limited efficacy of their activities in the absence of state support.

Private eugenic marriage counselling centres had only limited success in engaging the Japanese public. Despite greater than expected interest from the public and the popular media upon opening, visitors to the JARH-run centre in Shirakiya soon dwindled. While

reports of the number of visitors vary, the office director, a doctor in internal medicine, Kayō Masanori (加用信憲; n.d.), recalled that in less than six months of opening visitors to the centre had rapidly decreased from an initial peak of 10 per day to zero, and the centre effectively closed.<sup>179</sup> A 1935 report in *Minzoku eisei* states that the centre continued to hold consultations for the entire year, placing the total number at just under 130.<sup>180</sup> By the end of the year, the counselling centre was relocated to the office of the head of the JARH eugenic marriage counselling centre, Takeuchi Shigeyo (竹内茂代; 1881–1975)<sup>181</sup>, and Shirakiya department store, which had been renting the space for the counselling centre to JARH for free due to a personal connection between one of the executives and the president Nagai, withdrew its advertisement from *Yūsei*.<sup>182</sup>

Individuals who did attend the JARH eugenic marriage counselling centre also did not necessarily use the centre in the ways in which the JARH intended. Members of the public sought advice on the issues that concerned them, which did not always align with the JARH's own agenda. A 23 year old woman, for example, sought advice as she was concerned about “opening [her] mouth while sleeping” (睡眠中に口を開く), while an unemployed 30 year old, university graduate sought help regarding a “decline in pleasure during sexual intercourse” (性交の際の快感減退).<sup>183</sup> Another 24 year old woman wanted to know why the man she was seeing had a hairy back.<sup>184</sup> And a 26 year old man inquired as to “whether twins or ordinary children are superior” (双生児と普通児との優秀).<sup>185</sup> When visitors sought advice on heredity they also did not uniformly seek advice on what the JARH had identified as the pressing

<sup>179</sup> Kayō Masanori, “Yūsei sōdansho no omide”, *Minzoku eisei* 30, no. 2 (1964): 32. Otsubo renders Kayō's personal name as Nobunori. I was unable to verify the correct pronunciation.

<sup>180</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”.

<sup>181</sup> Takeuchi Shigeyo was a prominent female physician and advocate for women. During WWII she served on the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. In the postwar period, she was one of the first women elected to the Diet in 1946, before she was purged from office. For more on her involvement in eugenics see Otsubo, “Feminist Maternal Eugenics”.

<sup>182</sup> Otsubo reasons that the move was likely due to financial difficulty. Other signs of depleted finances are evident in the fact that JARH decreased the size of the *Yūsei* publication from approximately 30 pages to 20. Otsubo, “Eugenics in Imperial Japan”, 295–6.

<sup>183</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 125. The JARH records make no note that this individual was concerned that he had contracted a venereal disease. Seemingly his concern was sexual pleasure not disease.

<sup>184</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 126.

<sup>185</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 127.

issues of disability and disease. Individuals also sought advice on the inheritability of more cosmetic issues, such as “long faces” (顔が長い), “asymmetrical foreheads” (額の不整), “head shape” (頭型) and “nose shape” (鼻型).<sup>186</sup> Only three people visited with the express desire of obtaining a marriage certificate—the central goal of the JARH’s campaign. The director Kayō complained that the reason for the low uptake of eugenic marriage counselling was that Japanese people were too shy to attend.<sup>187</sup> Whether the reason was due to embarrassment or disinterest, the JARH was deeply concerned that insufficient numbers of people were seeking specialist counselling prior to marriage.

In the early 1930s the JARH sought to convince the Japanese public of its vision for eugenic marriages. This vision stressed the need to rationally manage desire in order to facilitate the eugenic matches necessary to produce superior offspring that would secure the future prosperity of the Japanese empire. The JARH’s public campaign, prosecuted through its Marriage Hygiene Exhibition, popular magazine and marriage counselling efforts, identified health and heredity alongside rational decision-making unhindered by excessive emotion as key components of a eugenic marriage. Despite considerable initial public interest and media attention, the JARH was dissatisfied with the efficacy of its campaign to address what it deemed to be a pressing national concern. Frustrated by the limited impact of their own marriage counselling centres, in particular, the JARH turned its efforts increasingly to securing state support for eugenics, as we shall see in Chapter II.

<sup>186</sup> Ikemi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikkanen hōkoku”, 122, 129.

<sup>187</sup> Kayō, “Yūsei sōdansho no omoide”, 32.



“Ah, finally we have triumphed! The eugenics movement is not only a thing for private individuals, but has been publicly adopted as state policy.”

Yasui Hiroshi, 1937

“The primary duty of future [eugenic marriage] counselling centres is to try to induce [visitors] to voluntarily aspire to sterilisation”

Yasui Hiroshi, 1940

## Chapter II

### Lobbying the State: Persuasion, Desire and Coercion in Eugenicist Policy

In this chapter I take up the issue of the state and its complex relationship with eugenics. Due in part to the predominance of the Nazi regime in popular understandings of eugenics, eugenicist policies are typically imagined as something that authoritarian states—and particularly fascist states—imposed on unwilling populations. Undeniably, “dictatorial politics” was an important factor in enabling the most extreme formulations of eugenics witnessed in the genocidal policies of the Nazi regime.<sup>188</sup> However, eugenic policies in the twentieth century were not limited to authoritarian states and found political allies across the political spectrum.<sup>189</sup> Neither was state behaviour towards eugenics uniform: rather state eugenic policies were often “non-systematic and contradictory” with significant differences in policy and implementation within national boundaries as well as between states.<sup>190</sup> Citizens were also not simply the passive victims of eugenicist policies but actively participated in eugenicist campaigns. Civil society groups across the political spectrum were convinced of the utility of eugenics—as both a modern scientific explanation for pressing social and medical problems and as a program for change—and argued for its adoption. For many, eugenics presented a persuasive and desirable solution for social and medical problems. This thesis begins with the premise that eugenics was not only and not always imposed on populations, but also a political program that social reformers argued for and

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<sup>188</sup> Stern, *Eugenic Nation*, intro [n.p.].

<sup>189</sup> For an analysis of eugenic policymaking in the liberal social welfare states of Switzerland and Sweden see Veronique Mottier, “Eugenics and the State: Policy-making in Comparative Perspective” in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* eds. Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>190</sup> Mottier, “Eugenics and the State”, 149.

that individuals were persuaded by. This positioning not only brings civil society back into the conversation but also asks us to question the presumed directionality of state–society interactions. Rather than assuming that eugenics policies originated with an authoritarian state eager to exert control over more areas of life, the question then becomes why, and to what extent, did the state come to support eugenics? Why were state officials, bureaucrats and parliamentarians persuaded to adopt eugenic policies? What visions of eugenic reform appealed to state actors, which were implemented, and why?

Private eugenicist organisations, such as the JARH, identified securing state endorsement for eugenicist policies as a vital step in furthering eugenicist reforms. One of the central policy aims of the JARH was to convince the state to introduce eugenics legislation. This chapter examines the role of the JARH in the development of eugenic marriage policy in the early 1940s. It argues that eugenicist legislation in the 1940s, far from being the result of top–down state control, was the product of a sustained campaign by private eugenicist organisations to secure state support. As we shall see, the JARH effectively lobbied the state to adopt eugenic reforms and was deeply involved in formulating and implementing eugenic policies, including the 1940 National Eugenic Law and the accompanying eugenic marriage policy. JARH visions for eugenicist reform, however, did not neatly align with those of the state. One significant area of disagreement was the issue of forced sterilisation, which despite concerted efforts by eugenicists failed to be explicitly endorsed in legislation. In this context, eugenicist social reformers turned to educative efforts again to persuade the public of the necessity of sterilisation. By examining the relationship between sterilisation and eugenic marriage counselling, this chapter examines the overlapping and reinforcing agendas of ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ eugenics campaigns, revealing how eugenic policy in the 1940s relied not purely on coercion, but also persuasion in seeking to regulate reproductive decisions. In doing so, this chapter demonstrates the centrality of educative campaigns in eugenics policy and exposes key limitations and divisions within the eugenicist project even in an era of increasing state power over reproductive life.



## State–Society Relations in Wartime Japan

This chapter focuses on the late 1930s to early 1940s—a period often associated with Japanese ‘fascism’ or totalitarian rule under the so-called ‘Emperor system’ (天皇制; *Tennōsei*). While scholars have long debated whether the term fascist can be fruitfully applied to Japan<sup>191</sup>, the period after the Manchurian Incident in 1931, and especially after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937, is generally viewed as a period wherein the room for political action was severely curtailed. The period of 1937–1945 is often described as a “dark valley”, characterised by pervasive repression, rising militarism and a severely limited space for political activity.<sup>192</sup> Carol Gluck has detailed how the concept of an ‘Emperor system’, and especially an ‘Emperor system ideology’, was largely a postwar construction that in seeking to pinpoint the causes of Japan’s misstep towards militarism presumed a level of ideological cohesion and purposiveness that did not exist.<sup>193</sup> In the *Tennōsei* formulation, the state appears to exert near totalising control over a population that was “shackled” through a combination of police repression and intense ideological indoctrination designed to exact loyalty to the state.<sup>194</sup> The *Tennōsei* concept, and the model of state–society relations it implies, has come under sustained criticism by historians. As Elise Tipton notes this image of state repression often portrays the Japanese public as simply “victims without choice or benefit”.<sup>195</sup> This tendency to minimise the role of society, which Carol Gluck refers to as “history in the passive voice”, obscures the ways in which ordinary

<sup>191</sup> Duus and Okimoto for example argue that the 1930s is better characterised by the “stabilization of bureaucratic government” than by the downfall of democracy and subsequent rise of fascism. Peter and Duus and Daniel I. Okimoto, “Fascism and the History of Pre-War Japan: The Failure of a Concept”, *Journal of Asian Studies* 39, no. 1 (1979): 70. For a more recent take on the question of Japanese fascism see Louise Young, “When Fascism Met Empire in Japanese-Occupied Manchuria”. *Journal of Global History* 12, no. 2 (2017): 274–296.

<sup>192</sup> This phrasing was popularised in Thomas Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War Two*. (New York: Norton, 1978).

<sup>193</sup> Carol Gluck, *Japan’s Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), esp. 5–9.

<sup>194</sup> Gluck, *Japan’s Modern Myths*, 5. As Gluck points out this conceptualisation is related to the idea that peculiarities or remnants from the premodern era are responsible for the rise of militarism. Numerous scholars have also challenged the idea that Japan’s experience of militarism in the 1930s and 1940s represented a deviation from the ‘normal’ path towards modernisation. See, for example, Yasushi Yamanouchi, J. Victor Koschmann and Ryūichi Narita (eds). *Total War and ‘Modernization’*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); Sheldon Garon “Rethinking Modernisation and Modernity in Japanese History: A Focus on State-Society relations.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 2 (1994): 346–366.

<sup>195</sup> Elise K Tipton, “Introduction”, in *Society and the State in Interwar Japan*, ed. Elise K Tipton (London: Routledge, 2002), 3.

Japanese people were also active participants in the political and social developments of the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>196</sup> The characterisation of the war as something “which ‘happened’ to Japan”, and in which “[t]he people ‘were embroiled’ ... by their reckless leaders”, erases the uncomfortable reality that many Japanese supported various policies of the wartime Japanese state.<sup>197</sup> As a growing body of literature has made clear Japanese imperialism and military expansion enjoyed widespread public support.<sup>198</sup> On the domestic front, Sheldon Garon has revealed how women’s organisations “enthusiastically collaborated” with the Japanese state in a bid to secure a greater role in public life for women.<sup>199</sup> Garon critiques the notion of unidirectional state power, arguing that in many cases state welfare policies were not the result of “top–down control”, but government responses to the concerns of nonstate actors.<sup>200</sup> Despite this presence of interaction and cooperation, for Garon, the relationship between the state and civil society organisations “hardly constituted a partnership between equals” and state repression effectively set the parameters of acceptable activism.<sup>201</sup> How do wartime eugenics policies fit into this picture?

The existing literature on Japanese eugenics reflects this general tendency to emphasise the coercive power of the state. This trend is associated with the proliferation of what Susan Burns refers to as “denunciatory” histories, which seek to expose historical injustices perpetrated against disabled and other minority populations and thereby support redress movements in the present.<sup>202</sup> In line with this emphasis on state coercion, existing research on eugenics in Japan typically presents the state as the primary agent seeking to objectify

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<sup>196</sup> Carol Gluck, “The Idea of Showa”, *Daedalus* 119, no. 3 (1990): 12.

<sup>197</sup> Gluck, “The Idea of Showa”, 12.

<sup>198</sup> See for example Yoshiaki Yoshimi, *Grassroots Fascism: The War Experience of the Japanese People*, trans. Ethan Mark. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015); Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Sayaka Chatani, *Nation-Empire: Ideology and Rural Youth Mobilization in Japan and its Colonies*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018).

<sup>199</sup> Garon, “Rethinking Modernisation and Modernity in Japanese History”, 361.

<sup>200</sup> Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 16.

<sup>201</sup> Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 144.

<sup>202</sup> Susan L. Burns, *Kingdom of the Sick: A History of Leprosy and Japan*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2019) 4. Burns adopts the term “denunciatory history” from Japanese historian Hirokawa Waka to describe histories of leprosy policy in Japan. There is significant overlap between the two bodies of literature with key scholars such as Fujino arguing that leprosy policies were designed to support eugenicist notions of racial purity. For his scholarship on leprosy see also Fujino Yutaka, *Nihon fashizumu to iryō: Hasenbyō o meguru jissshōteki kenkyū*. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1993); Fujino Yutaka, “Eugenics and Hansen’s Disease”, in *Eugenics in Japan*, ed. Karen J. Schaffner. (Fukuoka: Kyushu University Press, 2014).

and control the individual bodies of Japanese subjects to meet eugenicist aims.<sup>203</sup> In his seminal work *Japanese fascism and eugenic thought*, Fujino Yutaka, for example, situates eugenic thought as a basic component of fascism that underpins how fascist states seek to manage the health, and biological existence, of their populations.<sup>204</sup> Jennifer Robertson similarly characterises eugenic thought as primarily an instrument of the state, describing private eugenicist organisations as “agents” of the imperial state.<sup>205</sup> This assessment implies the impetus for eugenic activism came from within the state. Such characterisations naturalise state interest in eugenics as a powerful legitimisation for the extension of the state’s regulatory power over the biological lives of its subjects. This frame presupposes that eugenics is something that states would support, rather than considering it as a specific program for change that governments and bureaucracies choose to enact. Indeed, as Matsubara Yōko and Sumiko Otsubo have pointed out, despite the enactment of two major pieces of eugenics legislations—the 1940 National Eugenic Law and the 1948 Eugenic Protection Law—the Japanese state’s engagement with eugenics throughout the twentieth century has been characterised by considerable reluctance in the face of persistent campaigns by nonstate actors to enact restrictive eugenics legislation. As Otsubo rightly states:

Contrary to the popular image that the state monolithically and eagerly imposed the eugenic laws on the people, various eugenic legislative

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<sup>203</sup> Otsubo Sumiko has also made this point in Otsubo, “The Female Body and Eugenic Thought in Meiji Japan”, 74. Her work on marriage restriction campaigns in the 1920s and that of Matsubara Yōko on the development of sterilisation policy are notable exceptions to this trend. See Otsubo, “Engendering Eugenics”; Matsubara, “The Enactment of Japan’s Sterilisation Laws in the 1940s”.

<sup>204</sup> Fujino, *Nihon fashizumu to yūsei shisō*, 46–49. While Fujino does not contend that eugenic thought is peculiar to fascism, he does propose that it is a defining feature of fascist states. Fujino directly responds to his critics on this issue in his chapter in the edited volume *Eugenics in Japan*. He states: “of course, sterilisation laws are not just carried out by fascist nations, but such nations not only implement sterilisation laws, but also force their *not* genetically ‘inferior’ healthy citizens to build up their physical strength. Thus the policies for healthy citizens and negative eugenic policies are two sides of the same coin and, as I see it, characteristic of a fascist nation.” While Fujino is right to identify policies aimed at improving health as a central component of eugenics, ‘positive’ eugenic policies of the kind Fujino refers to here were, like sterilisation, prevalent in non-fascist states. His insistence that the eugenic management of reproduction is a defining characteristic of a fascist nations implies a connection between the management of reproduction and authoritarianism that centres on an image of the coercive state. In contrast, I seek to foreground educative campaigns in our analysis of wartime eugenics. Fujino’s primary purpose seems to be to frame eugenics as an inherently discriminatory ideology and natural bedfellow of fascism, and to document abuses enabled by it. See Fujino Yutaka, “Eugenics and Minorities” in *Eugenics in Japan*, ed. Karen J Schaffner. (Fukuoka-shi: Kyushu University Press, 2014).

<sup>205</sup> Robertson, “Biopower”, 343.

movements can also be seen as private citizens' efforts to convince a reluctant 'state' to take control of Japanese bodies.<sup>206</sup>

Reversing the conventional narrative that the women's movement in wartime Japan was co-opted by the state, Otsubo contends that wartime eugenics legislation is a story of women "co-opting the state".<sup>207</sup> While the phrase "co-opting the state" may overstate the power of women in what was an unquestionably restrictive political environment, Otsubo's criticism of the idea of a united and "eager" state is incisive.

Building on Otsubo and Garon's insights regarding the importance of nonstate actors in wartime Japan, this chapter examines the role of the JARH in lobbying the state to adopt eugenic marriage as national policy. It crucially positions educative campaigns designed to enlighten the Japanese populace on the importance of eugenics at the forefront of our understanding of wartime eugenic policy. In doing so, I seek to bridge the common divide in histories of eugenics between so-called 'positive' eugenic policies, which aimed to increase the 'fit' population, and 'negative' policies, which sought to restrict the 'unfit' population, typically through coercive measures. Analysing 'positive' and 'negative' eugenics campaigns alongside each other highlights how eugenic marriage and sterilisation were conceived of as complimentary and mutually reinforcing projects. It further cautions against an easy division between 'coercive' and 'voluntary' eugenics measures. Rather, it asks us to consider the ways in which eugenics policy, including sterilisation, was not only considered a coercive tool, but also a potentially desirable reproductive choice that individuals could be persuaded to adopt or compelled to consent to. Eugenic enlightenment campaigns, prosecuted through eugenic marriage counselling centres, aimed to convince individuals to consent to be sterilised. While eugenicist organisations certainly sought state support for more coercive legislation in the future, the state declined to enact straightforwardly coercive legislation, instead prioritising education campaigns and—at least formally—voluntary surgical procedures. By highlighting the importance of education, not simply coercion, in wartime Japanese eugenics policy, this chapter reveals an image of the Japanese state that rather than being eager to impose eugenicist legislation of the Japanese people, was hesitant,

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<sup>206</sup> Otsubo, "The Female Body and Eugenic Thought in Modern Japan", 75.

<sup>207</sup> Otsubo, "Feminist Maternal Eugenics in Wartime Japan", 65.

reactive and far less enamoured with the idea of regulating reproductive life than the activist eugenicist organisations who sought to secure its support. The image of the Japanese state that emerges from an analysis of eugenic policy is characterised more by disunity and uncertainty than totalitarian control and more reactive than proactive in its attempts to manage the reproductive lives of its subjects.

## Eugenic Activism and the Campaign to Secure State Support

As we have seen in Chapter I, the JARH directly appealed to the Japanese public to adopt the rational, modern ‘science’ of eugenics in their marital decision-making. Unsatisfied with the efficacy of such private efforts to disseminate eugenic ideas among the Japanese public, the JARH also sought to enlist the state in its campaign. Beginning in 1916 the president of the JARH, Nagai Hisomu, appealed to the state to manage the quality of the population by embracing eugenics.<sup>208</sup> The JARH hoped the state would facilitate eugenic research, support education efforts and pass legislation that would restrict the ability of those deemed ‘unfit’ to reproduce. The first major success in the JARH’s vision came with the establishment of the Ministry of Health and Welfare in 1937, in the context of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Military interest in securing the supply of “healthy soldiers, healthy subjects” (健士健民) to support the growing war was instrumental in the development of the new ministry.<sup>209</sup> Once established the Ministry of Health and Welfare developed broad programs to measure and improve the physical health of the Japanese population. Many of these, such as the 1941 National Physical Health Law (國民體力法), specifically sought to increase the supply for healthy male soldiers. Ensuring that state health policy also reflected what they saw as the

<sup>208</sup> Nagai argued that the government should research eugenic issues at the first meeting of the Home Ministry’s Health and Hygiene Investigation Committee in 1916. Matsubara, “Minzoku yūsei hogo hōan to Nihon no yūseihō no keifu”, 46; Otsubo, “Feminist Maternal Eugenics in Wartime Japan”, 45.

<sup>209</sup> The Ministry of Health and Welfare was established in 1938 at the “strong instigation” of the military. According to Otsubo and Bartholomew army surgeon Koizumi Chikahiko (小泉親彦; 1888–1945) was a key figure in the creation of the Ministry of Health and Welfare. Koizumi was also the head of a committee on national physical fitness (國民體力考查委員會) at the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (日本學術振興會) that had a subcommittee on eugenics (優生学部委員會) chaired by Nagai. Sumiko Otsubo and James R. Bartholomew, “Eugenics in Japan: Some Ironies of Modernity, 1883–1945.” *Science in Context* 11, no. 3–4 (1998): 558.

pressing need to improve heredity was a central component of health policy for eugenicist social reformers.

The JARH lobbied for the state to include eugenic policies as part of the agenda of the MHW. The JARH repeatedly emphasised that eugenics was an integral component of any effective health policy and was vital in improving the ‘quality’ of the Japanese race. Yasui Hiroshi strongly advocated for the state to adopt eugenics policies in the JARH’s popular magazine, *Yūsei*. In 1936, he argued that while combating the spread of infectious diseases was important, state health policies must not neglect eugenic measures focused on improving Japan’s racial stock. He stated:

The point we must not forget is that at the root of the physical strength problem is the larger issue of improving the quality of the populace. Adding to the so-called fixed quality of the populace by improving national hygiene and eradicating national diseases is nothing more than a secondary measure. For fundamental improvements in physical strength, there is no other measure than improving the quality [of the population] through eugenic management. The tide of present popular opinion is to try and establish a national health preservation policy. If eugenic requirements are neglected [in this policy], it will end up being an ineffectual national policy, like a car that has lost its wheels.

唯ここに忘れてならない事は、體力問題の根底には、國民素質改善の大問題が横はつてゐることである。國民衛生の向上や國民病の撲滅は、いはゞ一定の素質を有する國民の上に加へられるゝ第二次的の處置に過ぎない。今や輿論の風潮に乗つて、やうやく樹立せられんとする國民保健國策に於て、もしも優生學的條件は閑却さるゝことありとすれば、それは車の片輪を失つた跛行的國策に終らねばならぬであらう。<sup>210</sup>

The JARH followed the development of the MHW closely, reporting on it frequently in its affiliate journals. Particularly welcome was the news that the MHW was considering establishing a eugenics department, which Yasui celebrated as a major victory in their ongoing campaign to convince the state to adopt eugenics legislation. Writing in the JARH’s popular journal *Yūsei*, Yasui explained that on 28 January 1937 the Cabinet Minister for Health and Welfare, Kido Kōichi (木戸幸一; 1889–1977), had indicated state interest in using

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<sup>210</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, “Kantōgen”, *Yūsei*, 1, no. 9 (1936): 1.

eugenic methods to improve the male population. As Yasui retold it, in response to a question from member Asada Ryoitsu (浅田良逸; 1879–1958), Kido stated:

Increasing the population is not only about numbers, improving quality is also important. At the Ministry of Health and Welfare, alongside planning for national health by applying preventative medicine, my staff are currently considering adopting eugenic methods that are based in hereditary science and methods to eliminate malignant elements.

人口増殖には数のみならず、質の向上も重要である。厚生省では豫防醫學を活用し國民の健康を圖ると共に、遺傳學に基く優生學的方法を採用し悪質なる分子を除く方法についても目下考慮中である。<sup>211</sup>

For Yasui, this statement was a cause for major celebration. He declared:

Ah, finally we have triumphed! The eugenics movement is not only a thing for private individuals, but has been publicly adopted as state policy. We should make the most of this opportunity and strive even more zealously to popularise eugenic thought.

ああ終に凱旋はわれ等に揚げられました。優生運動はもう私人のものではなく、国家の政策として公然採用されたのであります。我々はこの機運に乗じて、一層の熱意をもつて優生思想の普及に努めねばならぬと思ふのであります。

In 1938, the MHW did establish a eugenics division (優生課) within the Ministry's Research Association of Racial Hygiene (民族衛生研究會), which was tasked with creating eugenics legislation.<sup>212</sup> The principal members of the eugenics division were all associated with the JARH.<sup>213</sup> Following this announcement, Yasui repeated his earlier sentiments, stating that he was “most satisfied” (最も快心) that the Ministry of Health and Welfare had been established and that there was a path towards a sterilisation policy, which he described as an “unanticipated happiness” (むしろ望外の喜びであつた).<sup>214</sup> The two most significant acts of legislation of the eugenics department were the National Eugenic Law and the

<sup>211</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, “Kantōgen”, *Yūsei* 2, no. 12 (1937): 1.

<sup>212</sup> Matsubara, “Minzoku yūsei hogo hōan to Nihon no yūseihō no keifu”, 46; Otsubo, “Feminist Maternal Eugenics in Wartime Japan”, 54.

<sup>213</sup> Matsubara, “The Enactment of Japan's Sterilisation Laws”, 190.

<sup>214</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, “Kantōgen”, *Yūsei* 3, no. 6 (1938): 1.

accompanying eugenic marriage policy. Prominent members of the JARH were actively involved in drafting both policies.<sup>215</sup> When the Japanese state created a national eugenic marriage consultation centre in Tokyo in 1941 it selected the editor of *Yūsei*, Yasui Hiroshi, as the head. Any jubilation on the part of eugenicist activists was, however, short-lived. Official eugenic marriage counselling efforts failed to incite the level of interest from the Japanese public that eugenicists had anticipated. Moreover, the state failed to legally mandate forced sterilisation for the ‘unfit’, limiting the tools available to eugenicists. Despite these initial successes, eugenicist social reformers remained frustrated at the limited ability to compel the Japanese population to take up eugenics.

### State Eugenic Marriage Policy

A central goal of the JARH was to secure state support for its eugenic marriage counselling campaign. Writing in *Yūsei* in 1936, the president of the JARH, Nagai Hisomu, called for the establishment of a government marriage consultation office in order to better educate the general public on the significance of eugenics for marital decisions. A government-backed eugenic marriage counselling centre would, in his reasoning, have a broader reach than the private JARH centre, discussed in Chapter I, which had been struggling to reach a large number of people since it opened in June 1933.<sup>216</sup> It would also lend eugenics the authority of the state. Nagai argued that

establishing a government marriage counselling centre is vital in enabling the general public to understand the critical significance of rationalising and purifying married life, which is the wellspring of humanity.

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<sup>215</sup> Two of the drafters of the unsuccessful 1937 JARH sterilisation bill, psychiatrist Yoshimasu Shufu (吉益脩夫; 1899–1974) and Kayō Masanori, and three of the drafters of the 1940 Ministry supported bill, geneticist Kawakami Riichi (川上理一; 1895–1982), Koya Yoshio (古屋芳雄; 1890–1974) and Yoshimasu, were involved with the JARH and its sister organisation the EMPS. Four members of the Eugenic Marriage Discussion Group, Yasui Hiroshi, Takeuchi Shigeru, Kawakami Riichi, author and physiologist Hayashi Takashi (林麟, pen name Kigi Takatarō; 1897–1969), which drafted the eugenic marriage policy, were either members of the JARH-affiliated Eugenic Marriage Popularisation Society or regular contributors to its magazine *Yūsei*. Tanaka Takako, of the Tokyo Metropolitan Marriage Consultation Centre, was also present at the Eugenic Marriage Discussion Group meeting on 30 September 1939.

<sup>216</sup> Nagai Hisomu, “Minzoku eisei shinkō no kengi”, *Yūsei* 1, no. 7 (1936): 8.



官立の結婚相談所を設け、一般國民にその重大な意義を悟らしめ、人生の源泉たる結婚生活を浄化し合理化することが必要であります。<sup>217</sup>

Eugenic marriage policy was first seriously considered by the Japanese state at a discussion meeting on eugenic marriage held by the Ministry of Health and Welfare on 30 September 1939. This meeting was attended by key individuals from eugenicist organisations, including Yasui.<sup>218</sup> The September 1939 meeting discussed various strategies for promoting eugenic marriage, including a marriage restriction law and the establishment of national eugenic marriage consultation centres. The meeting came to four resolutions on:

1. Mutual exchanges of health certificates before marriage  
健康診断書の交換
2. Avoiding marriages between close relatives  
近親結婚を避けること
3. Establishing a number of public eugenic marriage consultation centres where [members of the public] could consult with trustworthy medical professionals  
公設の結婚相談所を多数設立し結婚に際し信用ある醫師に相談出来る様にする  
こと
4. Guiding [the public to] avoid late marriage  
晩婚を避ける様に導くこと<sup>219</sup>

Particularly, the meeting stressed the need to educate the public about the individual and national benefits of applying eugenic reasoning to one's decisions about marriage. Marriage was identified as a site wherein heredity and infectious disease could be effectively controlled. The meeting determined to embark on a "large enlightenment campaign" (大いに啓蒙運動) to educate the public about the "urgent matter" (緊要) of exchanging medical certificates before marriage.<sup>220</sup> Eugenic marriage counselling centres were identified as the most appropriate vehicle through which to conduct the work of educating the Japanese public about eugenics. Therefore, the meeting decided to

establish many public marriage consultation centres [where the public] can consult trustworthy doctors on the occasion of their marriage [and to] make

<sup>217</sup> Nagai, "Minzoku eisei shinkō no kengi", 8.

<sup>218</sup> Kōseisho yobōkyoku, "Yūsei kekkon zadankai", *Naimu kōsei jihō* (Oct 1939): 1302.

<sup>219</sup> Kōseisho yobōkyoku, "Yūsei kekkon zadankai", 1303

<sup>220</sup> Kōseisho yobōkyoku, "Yūsei kekkon zadankai", 1303.

public marriage intermediary centres, together with the consultation centres, for the state to directly embark on marriage guidance.

公設の結婚相談所を多数設立し結婚に際し信用ある醫師に相談出来る様にすること、相談所と一緒に公設の結婚媒介所を作り国家が結婚の指導に直接乗り出すこと <sup>221</sup>

The idea that eugenic marriage consultation centres could double as matchmaking services was supported by both Yasui Hiroshi and Tanaka Takako (田中孝子; 1886–1966), of the Tokyo Metropolitan Marriage Counselling Centre.<sup>222</sup> Both also supported the idea of offering joint marriage ceremonies through such a centre.<sup>223</sup> The push to establish state-endorsed, eugenicist matchmaking services was partly motivated by concerns over the current system of private matchmaking services, particularly regarding the prevalence of superstitious ideas and unscrupulous operators.<sup>224</sup> The possibility of marriage loans, similar to those being offered in Nazi Germany, was also raised at the meeting.<sup>225</sup> Marriage loans would be implemented in the 1940s as part of an effort to encourage the Japanese public to support the war effort through “marriage mobilisation” (結婚動員) as we shall see in Chapter III. The meeting concluded by outlining the *Ten Rules for Marriage* which formed the basis of all state policy on eugenic marriage thereafter. According to the September 1939 meeting, the *Ten Rules for Marriage* were as follows:

1. Receive the guidance of your father, older brother and your elders  
父兄長上の指導を受けよ
2. Choose someone you can rely on as a partner for your entire life  
自己一生の伴侶として信頼出来る人を選べ
3. Choose a healthy person  
健康な人を選べ
4. Choose someone without inferior heredity  
悪い遺傳の無い人を選べ
5. Avoid blind marriage  
盲人的の結婚を避けよ

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<sup>221</sup> Kōseisho yobōkyoku, “Yūsei kekkon zadankai”, 1303.

<sup>222</sup> Kōseisho yobōkyoku, “Yūsei kekkon zadankai”, 1303–4.

<sup>223</sup> Kōseisho yobōkyoku, “Yūsei kekkon zadankai”, 1303–4.

<sup>224</sup> Kōseisho yobōkyoku, “Yūsei kekkon zadankai”, 1303. Indeed, the Ministry of Health and Welfare published specific guidelines seeking to dispell supersititons surrounding marriage in 1941. Kōseisho yūsei kekkon sōdansho. *Kekkon to meishin*. (Tokyo: Kokumin yūsei renmei, 1941).

<sup>225</sup> Kōseisho yobōkyoku, “Yūsei kekkon zadankai”, 1303.

6. As much as possible avoid marrying close relatives  
近親結婚はなるべく避けよ
7. Avoid marrying late  
晩婚を避けよ
8. Do not be swayed by superstition or custom  
迷信や因習に捉はれるな
9. Register your marriage on the same day as the ceremony  
式の当日結婚を届を
10. Give birth and multiply for the sake of the country!  
産めよ殖やせよ國のため <sup>226</sup>

The rules were widely disseminated in state policy on marriage following their publication in the 1941 *Diagrams of National Eugenics*, to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III. The 1941 version of the rules differed in significant ways, although the general thrust of the document was the same. The revised rules instructed Japanese subjects to:

1. Choose a person you can rely on as a partner for your entire life  
一生の伴侶として信頼出来る人を選べ
2. Choose a person who is sound in both body and mind  
心身共に健全な人を選べ
3. Choose a person without inferior heredity  
悪い遺傳のない人を選べ
4. Exchange medical certificates before marriage  
お互いに健康証明書を交換せよ
5. As much as possible, avoid marrying close relatives  
近親結婚はなるべく避けよ
6. Avoid late marriage  
晩婚を避けよ
7. Don't be swayed by superstition and custom  
迷信や因習に捉はれるな
8. Take the guidance of your mother, father and elders into consideration and think carefully before acting  
父母長上の指導を受けて熟慮断行
9. Have a frugal ceremony and register your marriage on the same day  
式は質素に届は當日
10. Give birth and raise children for the sake of the country!

<sup>226</sup> Another possible translation of the fifth rule would be to avoid “reckless” or “impulsive” marriage. I have chosen the literal translation of “avoid blind marriage” here in order to highlight the continuing use of the motif of blindness in eugenic marriage as also discussed in Chapter I. *Kōseisho yobōkyoku*, “Yūsei kekkon zadankai”, 1304.

生めよ育てよ國の為.<sup>227</sup>

The amended version increased the emphasis given to scrutinising the health of a prospective partner through the provision of more specific details. The provision to “avoid blind marriage” was replaced with the more specific requirement to exchange marriage certificates, while the third rule was notably rephrased to from “choose a healthy person” to a person who is “sound in body and mind”, suggesting greater emphasis on mental as well as physical qualities. The shift from *kenkō* (健康; healthy), to the broader term *kenzen* (健全; wholesome) intriguingly suggests a move to include a broader range of attributes beyond medical health. Indeed, as we shall see in Chapter III, wartime eugenic marriage discourse stressed the importance of ‘correct’ thought and behaviour in addition to health. In this context, patriotic sentiment and thrift, which was also added to the revised rules, received considerable attention. The modified rules interestingly also specify that unmarried youth should listen to their mother’s advice on marriage, rather than their elder brother. The addition of the advice to think carefully before entering into a marriage contract, alongside the elevation of choosing a partner for life to the first rule, suggests an increased emphasis on monogamy reflecting the desire to create healthy, stable families. These rules formed the basis of public eugenic marriage counselling efforts in the 1940s.

### **State Eugenic Marriage Counselling**

On 1 May 1941, eugenicist social reformers in the JARH, saw another key project come to fruition, with the opening of the first national eugenic marriage counselling centre in Nihonbashi (Figure VIII).<sup>228</sup> The MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre joined a variety of government sponsored centres operating in the early 1940s that provided advice to the Japanese on how to select a marriage partner in line with eugenicist principles. Alongside the national eugenic marriage counselling centre, several other marriage advice centres affiliated with the Tokyo metropolitan government were in operation in the capital. The longest standing public marriage counselling centre was the Tokyo Metropolitan Marriage

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<sup>227</sup> The rules on marriages were reprinted as quoted here in March 1941 as part of the *Illustrations of National Eugenics* (國民優生圖解). *Kokumin yūsei renmei. Kokumin yūsei zukai*. Available in *Sei to seishoku no jinken mondai shiryō shūsei* vol. 21, eds. Miho Ogino, Yōko Matsubara, and Hikaru Saitō. (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 2000).

<sup>228</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, *Minzoku eisei* 8, no. 3 (1940): 231.

Counselling Centre, a general matchmaking service, which opened in Nihonbashi in 1933.<sup>229</sup> The Tokyo Metropolitan Marriage Counselling Centre, which initially struggled due to a lack of significant governmental support, was endorsed by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in 1939. With the establishment of central government policies promoting national health and population growth in the early 1940s, the Tokyo Metropolitan Marriage Counselling Centre gained greater attention and opened several additional offices.<sup>230</sup> In 1941 the Tokyo metropolitan government also opened two eugenic counselling centres in West Shinagawa and Nippori with the aim of “improving the quality of the nation” (國民素質ノ向上).<sup>231</sup> A further four eugenic counselling centres, in Itabashi, Hachiōji, Fuchū and Ryuyō, were opened by April 1942.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> “Tokyo-shi no kekkon sōdansho o nozoku”, *Fujo sekai* 48, no. 4 (1933): 137; *Tokyo-shi kekkon sōdansho 62-nen no kiroku*. (Tokyo: Tokyo-shi rekishi bunka zaidan, 1996), 2. The centre was originally opened on 3 April 1933 and relocated to its longstanding residence in Nihonbashi shortly thereafter in June 1933. The Tokyo metropolitan marriage counselling centre was in operation for a total of 62 years, before its closure on 8 March 1996. The centre briefly closed in 1945, after it was damaged in air raids during the firebombing of Tokyo, but was re-established in the immediate postwar period. *Tokyo-shi kekkon sōdansho 62-nen no kiroku*, 4.

<sup>230</sup> *Tokyo-shi kekkon sōdansho 62-nen no kiroku*, 4.

<sup>231</sup> “Tokyo-fu kokuji dai sen-hyaku-hachi-jū gō”, *Tokyo-fu keishi-chō kōhō* 2253 (September 9, 1941): 1022, Ref: D10-0006-RAM, Tokyo Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>232</sup> “Tokyo-shi kokuji dai san-byaku-ju-nana gō”, *Tokyo-shi kōhō* 50 (1 April 1944): 331, Ref: D12-0001-RAM, Tokyo Metropolitan Archives.



**Figure VIII: Yasui Hiroshi at the Opening of the MHW Eugenic Marriage Counselling Centre**

Although the Tokyo metropolitan services were not operated directly by the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the content of the advice offered was reformed in the 1940s to reflect Ministry priorities on eugenic marriage.<sup>233</sup> The Tokyo Eugenic Consultation centres provided advice on eugenic marriage, hereditary disease, “mental hygiene” (精神衛生) and venereal disease prevention.<sup>234</sup> Specialist marriage counselling centres targeting disabled veterans, to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III, and Japanese emigrants (principally to Manchuria) were also in operation in the capital.<sup>235</sup> In total, these services aimed to educate the Japanese public about the importance of eugenic marriage and support individuals in selecting an appropriate marriage partner by providing background checks and specific health advice. At the apex of these organisations was the MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre. As the only nation centre, the MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre served as a model to other organisations and disseminated advice to them. Government-

<sup>233</sup> Tanaka Takako, “Kekkon sōdan jigyō no shakaiteki no igi”, in *Jinkō seisaku to kokudo kei sho*. (Tokyo: Jinko mondai kenkyūkai, 1942), 261.

<sup>234</sup> “Tokyo-fu kokuji dai sen-hyaku-hachi-jū gō”, *Tokyo-fu keishi-chō kōhō* 2253.

<sup>235</sup> Tanaka, “Kekkon sōdan jigyō no shakaiteki igi”, 261.

affiliated marriage counselling centres in the 1940s drew on the legacy of private eugenic marriage counselling centres operated by eugenicist social reformers, as outlined in Chapter I. As we shall see, eugenicist social reformers were integral to not only establishing state eugenic marriage counselling but also to its daily operations.

The MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre was open every day from 10am until 3pm, and was advertised as offering specialist advice on marriage in the popular press and in women's magazines.<sup>236</sup> In the September 1940 issue of the JARH's journal, *Minzoku eisei*, Yasui Hiroshi published a detailed report on the national eugenic marriage counselling centre during its first three months of operation, from 1 May to 30 July. In this period, the centre held three consultation days a week, for a total of 30 days. They received 226 visitors to the centre and held 250 consultations. A further 100 individuals wrote into the centre seeking advice. The most commonly sought advice was on consanguineous marriages and mental illness as indicated in Table III.<sup>237</sup> Ministry of Health and Welfare records indicate that inquiries about consanguineous marriages and mental illness continued to be the most prevalent topics until 1943 as shown in Table IV. According to the Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2672 people visited the centre from 1941 to 1943 and a further 1405 wrote in seeking advice.<sup>238</sup> Beyond these direct visitors, the MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre also reached a broader audience through coverage in the mass media. Yasui ran a eugenic marriage counselling advice column in *Asahi shimbun*, for example, where members of the public could ask questions about how to apply the new science of eugenics in their marital decisions. Underpinning eugenicist advice at the MHW centre were concerns about who should be discouraged, or indeed prohibited, from reproducing and who should be compelled to, as the *Ten Rules for Marriage* put it, "give birth and multiply for the sake of the nation!" This interest in managing the comparative reproductive rate of 'fit' to 'unfit' Japanese brought eugenic marriage counselling into broader debates about pronatalism and sterilisation.

<sup>236</sup> "Kekkon sōdansho annai", *Fujō sekai* 65, no. 4 (1942): 25.

<sup>237</sup> Yasui, "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō", 231.

<sup>238</sup> Kōseisho kenminkyoku, "Dai yon hen: Ninsanpu, nyūyōji no hoken shidō oyobi kokumin yūseihō", 1943, 438–9, Ref: 昭 4 7 厚生 00002100, National Archives of Japan.

**Table III: Content of National Eugenic Marriage Counselling, 1940<sup>239</sup>**

| <b>Matter discussed</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | <b>Total</b> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Advisability of consanguineous marriage<br>血族結婚の不可                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 85           |
| Inheritability of mental illness and nervousness (mental illness, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, nervousness, abnormal tendencies, stroke etc.)<br>精神神経病の遺傳（精神病、精神薄弱、癲癇、神経質、變質傾向、脳溢血等）                                                                   | 60           |
| Inheritability of eye diseases (cataracts, retinitis pigmentosa, anophthalmia, near sightedness, colour blindness, nystagmus [rapid involuntary eye movements])<br>眼病の遺傳（白内障、網膜色素變性、無眼球、近視、色盲、眼球震盪症等）                                                  | 29           |
| Inheritability of deformities (harelip, polydactylism, brachydactyly, congenital joint dislocation, <i>shirachigo</i> [a type of phantom], birthmark, white hair, baldness, lack of genital hair etc.)<br>畸形の遺傳（兔唇、多趾症、短趾症、先天性關節脫臼、白兒、母斑、白髮、禿髮、陰部無毛症等） | 21           |
| Leprosy<br>癩の問題                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 19           |
| Venereal disease<br>性病の問題                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 17           |
| Health and marriage, health certificates<br>健康と結婚、健康證明                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 15           |
| Tuberculous<br>結核の問題                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 14           |
| Inheritability of deaf-mutism<br>聾啞の遺傳                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 9            |
| Inheritability of physical illnesses (asthma, Grave's disease, infantile paralysis, high blood pressure etc.)<br>身體疾病の遺傳（喘息、バセドウ氏病、小兒麻痺、高血壓等）                                                                                                          | 9            |
| Obstacles to sexual life<br>性生活の障礙                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 8            |
| Personality problems<br>性格の問題                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 8            |
| Illness and divorce, disharmony<br>疾病と離婚及至不和合                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 8            |
| Inheritability of physical constitution, height and longevity etc.<br>體格、身長、壽命等の遺傳                                                                                                                                                                     | 6            |
| Advice about marriage<br>結婚に対する注意                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 6            |
| Marriage and age<br>結婚と年齢                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 5            |

<sup>239</sup> Information drawn from Yasui Hiroshi, "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō", *Minzoku eisei* 8, no. 3 (1940): 231–2.



| Matter discussed                              | Total |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------|
| Concerns relating to superstition<br>迷信に関する問題 | 5     |
| Inheritability of cancer<br>癌の遺傳              | 4     |
| Unclassified<br>その他                           | 22    |
|                                               | 350   |

**Table IV: Content of National Eugenic Marriage Counselling, 1940–1943<sup>240</sup>**

| Matter discussed                              | In person    |                   | Via correspondence |                   |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
|                                               | Total (1943) | Total (1940–1943) | Total (1943)       | Total (1940–1943) |
| Consanguineous marriage<br>血族結婚               | 51           | 523               | 22                 | 281               |
| Mental illness<br>精神病                         | 36           | 257               | 13                 | 159               |
| Epilepsy<br>癲癇                                | 5            | 61                | -                  | 63                |
| Feeble-mindedness<br>精神薄弱                     | 10           | 65                | 1                  | 21                |
| Abnormal tendencies and nervousness<br>変質及神経病 | 10           | 65                | 1                  | 21                |
| Other neurological diseases<br>其ノ他脳神経病        | 2            | 17                | 3                  | 12                |
| Stroke<br>脳溢血                                 | 2            | 16                | -                  | 7                 |
| Deaf-mutism<br>聾啞                             | 13           | 88                | 4                  | 65                |
| Stammer<br>吃                                  | -            | 4                 | -                  | 4                 |

<sup>240</sup> Data drawn from Kōseisho kenminkyoku, “Dai yon hen: Ninsanpu, nyūyōji no hoken shidō oyobi kokumin yūseihō”, 1943, 438–9, Ref: 昭 4 7 厚生 00002100, National Archives of Japan. The total figures for 1943 are for items discussed in April–November 1943. The cumulative figures are for May 1940–November 1943.

| Matter discussed                      | In person    |                   | Via correspondence |                   |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
|                                       | Total (1943) | Total (1940–1943) | Total (1943)       | Total (1940–1943) |
| Anophthalmia<br>無眼症                   | -            | 12                | -                  | 6                 |
| Cataracts<br>白内障                      | -            | 12                | 1                  | 6                 |
| Retinitis pigmentosa<br>色素網膜炎         | 1            | 5                 | -                  | 1                 |
| Near sightedness<br>近視眼               | 16           | 80                | 1                  | 27                |
| Astigmatism<br>乱視                     | 2            | 10                | -                  | 1                 |
| Colour blindness<br>紅綠色盲              | 9            | 59                | -                  | 30                |
| Squint<br>斜視                          | 1            | 17                | -                  | 4                 |
| Nystagmus<br>眼球震盪症                    | -            | 2                 | -                  | -                 |
| Harelip<br>兔唇                         | 6            | 47                | 2                  | 33                |
| Polydactylism<br>多指（趾）症               | 1            | 8                 | -                  | 5                 |
| Brachydactyly<br>短指（趾）症               | 2            | 15                | 1                  | 11                |
| Congenital joint dislocation<br>先天性脱臼 | 3            | 15                | 1                  | 11                |
| <i>Shirachigo</i>                     | -            | 4                 | -                  | 9                 |

| Matter discussed                          | In person    |                   | Via correspondence |                   |
|-------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
|                                           | Total (1943) | Total (1940–1943) | Total (1943)       | Total (1940–1943) |
| 白兒                                        |              |                   |                    |                   |
| Premature white hair<br>青年白髮              | -            | 2                 | -                  | 4                 |
| Baldness<br>禿髮                            | -            | 2                 | -                  | 4                 |
| Birth mark and angioma<br>母斑血管腫           | 5            | 14                | -                  | 9                 |
| Lack of [genital] hair<br>無毛症             | 1            | 6                 | -                  | 10                |
| Body odour<br>腋臭                          | 1            | 5                 | -                  | 22                |
| Asthma<br>喘息                              | 1            | 10                | -                  | 7                 |
| Infantile paralysis<br>小兒麻痺               | 6            | 24                | 1                  | 9                 |
| Grave's disease<br>バセドウ氏病                 | -            | 3                 | -                  | 1                 |
| High blood pressure<br>高血圧                | -            | 3                 | -                  | 1                 |
| Bedwetting<br>夜尿                          | -            | 2                 | 1                  | 1                 |
| Excessive sweating<br>多汗症                 | -            | -                 | -                  | 3                 |
| Family history of premature death<br>早死家系 | -            | 4                 | -                  | -                 |

| Matter discussed                                           | In person    |                   | Via correspondence |                   |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
|                                                            | Total (1943) | Total (1940–1943) | Total (1943)       | Total (1940–1943) |
| Inheritability of physical constitution, height<br>体格身長ノ遺傳 | 2            | 27                | 1                  | 8                 |
| Inheritability of twins<br>双生児ノ遺傳                          | 3            | 18                | -                  | 3                 |
| Blood type<br>血液型                                          | -            | 6                 | -                  | 2                 |
| Cancer<br>癌                                                | 6            | 38                | 2                  | 8                 |
| Leprosy<br>癩                                               | 20           | 96                | 8                  | 105               |
| Tuberculous<br>結核                                          | 23           | 185               | 7                  | 60                |
| Venereal disease<br>性病                                     | 6            | 96                | 2                  | 65                |
| Health certificate<br>健康證明                                 | 70           | 353               | -                  | 10                |
| Marriage and health<br>結婚ト健康                               | 6            | 28                | -                  | 9                 |
| Marriage and age<br>結婚ト年齢                                  | 2            | 29                | -                  | 6                 |
| Fears about marriage<br>結婚恐怖                               | -            | 3                 | -                  | -                 |
| Disabilities of the reproductive organs<br>生殖器障害           | 7            | 48                | 4                  | 45                |
| Personality                                                | 2            | 22                | -                  | 2                 |

| Matter discussed                      | In person    |                   | Via correspondence |                   |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
|                                       | Total (1943) | Total (1940–1943) | Total (1943)       | Total (1940–1943) |
| 性格                                    |              |                   |                    |                   |
| Advice upon marriage<br>結婚上ノ注意        | 2            | 12                | 1                  | 8                 |
| Questions about superstition<br>迷信ノ何題 | 2            | 18                | 1                  | 37                |
| Other<br>其ノ他                          | 19           | 275               | 9                  | 207               |
|                                       | 342          | 2672              | 83                 | 1405              |

## Compulsory Childbirth and Voluntary Sterilisation

Gender historians have demonstrated how Japan's escalating war effort brought with it a new emphasis on pronatalism. Concerns about the Japanese public, and especially the middle classes, artificially limiting births through the use of new reproductive technologies predated wartime mobilisation. Birth control was considered to be a "dangerous thought", under the 1925 Peace Preservation Law, placing it in the same category as leftist political propaganda.<sup>241</sup> Public discussion of sex, including sexual health and contraception, was also restricted under laws designed to prevent the distribution of "obscene" material that posed a threat to "public morals", leaving it open to censorship at the hands of the Special Higher Police.<sup>242</sup> As Sabine Frühstück has pointed out, while what constituted a threat to public morality was ill-defined, after 1931 it was taken to encompass a long list of ideas critical of traditional norms on gender and sexuality, including support of "liberation of the family", "critique of marriage" and "theories about pregnancy".<sup>243</sup> Contraception and abortion were further restricted through specific legislation, such as the 1930 Ordinance Regulating Harmful Contraceptive Devices (有害避妊用器具取締規則).<sup>244</sup> As the war progressed, state attempts to suppress information about birth control increased, and in 1937 Katō Shidzue, a pioneer of the Japanese birth control movement, was arrested as part of the Popular Front Incident (人民戦線事件) for her advocacy in an episode that is typically heralded as the end of the prewar birth control movement.<sup>245</sup> In 1941, the government's new population policy further restricted access to contraception and abortion, and increased medical surveillance

<sup>241</sup> Elise K Tipton, "Birth Control and the Population Problem in Prewar and Wartime Japan". *Japanese Studies* 14, no. 1 (1994): 46. The legality of birth control under the Peace Preservation Law was questionable, as was highlighted during the arrest of birth control advocate Katō (Ishimoto) Shidzue in December 1937. Katō was repeatedly questioned as to whether she advocated for birth control for "anti-militarist reasons" and if she considered birth control to be "dangerous to the *kokutai* [national polity]", which would have amounted to an admission that she violated the 1925 Peace Preservation Law. While Katō was ultimately released, due in no small part to her family connections, this episode revealed how contraception was increasingly conceptualised as a potential threat to expanding Japan's military power. For more on the arrest of Katō see Helen M Hopper, *A New Woman of Japan: A Political Biography of Katō Shidzue*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 104–112.

<sup>242</sup> Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*, 154–157

<sup>243</sup> Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*, 157. On censorship of birth control and attempts by activists to evade it see also Tipton, "Birth Control and the Population Problem in Prewar and Wartime Japan", 46–48; Elise K Tipton, "Birth Control and the Population Problem", in *Society and the State in Interwar Japan*, ed. Elise K Tipton. (London: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>244</sup> In 1936 the Ordinance was amended to strengthen restrictions, prohibiting a greater number of contraceptive devices.

<sup>245</sup> Hopper, *A New Woman of Japan*, 104–7.

of pregnant women.<sup>246</sup> The National Eugenic Law severely curtailed access to contraceptive technologies, prohibiting access to abortion and contraception for the ‘fit’ population.<sup>247</sup> Article 16 of the National Eugenic Law further restricted access to abortion. Although abortion was still a crime under the 1880 Criminal Code, Article 16 of the National Eugenic Law outlined a complicated notification procedure that must be carried out before a doctor could legally perform an abortion. While this implied for the first time in Japanese law that there were circumstances where abortion was legally permitted, the complexity of the registration process effectively reduced the number of reported abortions from 18 000 in 1941 to 1800 in 1944.<sup>248</sup> Moreover, as we shall see in Chapter III, the state carried out concerted campaigns to encourage young women and men to “mobilise for marriage” (結婚動員) and serve the state by leaving behind many, healthy descendants who would serve as the next generation of soldiers and labourers. In this environment, childbirth was reframed as a national duty for women. The only exemptions made to this aggressive pronatalist stance were for those deemed ‘unfit’, who were instructed to avoid procreation for the benefit of the race. For these individuals, the National Eugenic Law mandated contraception and sterilisation.

State support for sterilisation took a major turn in 1938, when in the context of war mobilisation against China, the eugenics section (優生課) of the newly established the

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<sup>246</sup> “Jinkō seisaku kakuritsu yōkō” in *Onna to sensō: Sensō wa onna no seisaku o dō kaeta ka*, ed. Tokyo history research society, women’s movement history section. (Tokyo: Shōwa shuppan, 1991), 296–7. For a discussion of medical surveillance and infant and maternal welfare reforms see Yuki Terazawa, *Knowledge, Power, and Women’s Reproductive Health in Japan, 1690–1945*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 245–271. As Terazawa notes wartime maternal welfare programs, including the Mother and Child Protection Law, explicitly denied support to women deemed ‘unfit’ mothers on grounds of “delinquency” (性行不良) or licentiousness.

<sup>247</sup> An important exception, however, was condoms, which were promoted for use by military personnel as a method to prevent the spread of venereal disease. Condoms were introduced for military use following concerns over the high number of soldiers who died from venereal diseases in early Japanese military campaigns such as the Siberian Expedition of 1918–20. Concerns over soldiers’ health, and a belief that men’s sexual needs must be met to prevent widespread rape of civilians in occupied territories, was later used to justify the creation of ‘comfort stations’—Japan’s wartime system of military brothels. Condoms were produced for mandatory use in ‘comfort stations’, although the quantity available was insufficient to prevent the spread of venereal disease among both soldiers and the women coerced into prostitution in the so-called ‘comfort stations’. For more information on the use of contraceptives in ‘comfort stations’ see, for example, Fröhstück, *Colonizing Sex*, 24–48.

<sup>248</sup> Norgren, *Abortion Before Birth Control*, 30. For more on the relationship between eugenics and abortion in Japanese modern history see Kato, *Women’s Rights?*



Ministry of Health and Welfare was tasked with drafting a sterilisation bill.<sup>249</sup> The law came after several prolonged attempts to legalise sterilisation, beginning in 1933. Sterilisation bills were introduced to the Diet five times between 1934 and 1939 by eugenicist activists from the JARH, although all failed to pass.<sup>250</sup> The resultant law, the National Eugenic Law, was modelled off earlier legislative proposals by the JARH and members of the JARH were involved in drafting the bill. The law allowed for the sterilisation of individuals who met any of five broadly defined categories:

1. hereditary mental illness  
遺傳性精神病
2. hereditary feeble-mindedness  
遺傳性精神薄弱
3. severe and malignant hereditary unhealthy characteristics  
強度且悪質ナル遺傳性病的性格
4. severe and malignant hereditary physical ailment  
強度且悪質ナル遺傳性身體疾患
5. severe hereditary deformity  
強度ナル遺傳性畸形<sup>251</sup>

Article 4 of the National Eugenic Law allowed individuals who met these broad criteria to apply to their local prefectural governor for permission to be sterilised. The MHW provided a (non-exhaustive) appended list of conditions to these five criteria.<sup>252</sup> The governor was charged with deciding whether the procedure was permissible in consultation with a local eugenics review committee, which consisted of up to ten medical doctors. The cost of all procedures would be covered by the state under Article 14. In addition to these “voluntary” (任意) procedures, “consensual” (同意) procedures, which were performed with the consent of the individual and/or their legal guardian, and “forced” (強制) procedures were also

<sup>249</sup> Matsubara, “Minzoku yūsei hogo hōan to Nihon no yūseihō no keifu”, 46; Otsubo, “Feminist Maternal Eugenics in Wartime Japan”, 54.

<sup>250</sup> Matsubara, “Minzoku yūsei hogo hōan to Nihon no yūseihō no keifu”, 43.

<sup>251</sup> “Kokumin yūseihō ni kansuru hōki oyo tsūchō shū: Fukokumin yūseihō kaisetsu”, in *Sei to seishoku no jinken mondai shiryō shūkai: Henshū fukkoku-ban*, vol. 23. (Tokyo: Funi shuppan, 2002), 360. For an English translation of the National Eugenic Law see also Norgren, *Abortion before Birth Control*, 140–145.

<sup>252</sup> For the full list see “Kokumin yūseihō ni kansuru hōki oyo tsūchō shū”, 363. Scholars have noted that the National Eugenic Law allowed for a broad interpretation of these basic criteria and failed to legally define a specific list of particular conditions that met these criteria.

permitted under Articles 5 and 6 respectively.<sup>253</sup> Article 6 allowed for forcible sterilisation for the “public good” (公益) without consent in cases where an individual was deemed to have a particularly concerning hereditary condition, or in cases where both husband and wife had the same hereditary condition.<sup>254</sup> Article 6 produced considerable controversy and was the subject of intense criticism in parliament and in the public. The first source of criticism, from conservative parliamentarians, opposed sterilisation on religious and moral grounds as an affront to patrilineal tradition that denied the importance of ancestor worship.<sup>255</sup> The second, from within the scientific community, opposed sterilisation of certain groups, such as those with mental illnesses, on the grounds that there was no conclusive proof that these conditions were hereditary.<sup>256</sup> Not all proponents of eugenics supported sterilisation, especially forced procedures, and the JARH published criticisms of this policy aim in their journals.<sup>257</sup> Such hesitancy was met with rebuttals by the leaders within the JARH, including president Nagai Hisomu and Yasui, who clearly favoured coercive measures.<sup>258</sup>

Yasui directly addressed criticism of the proposed sterilisation law, writing in *Yūsei* in 1938. He explained that one area of controversy over the bill was the sterilisation of individuals with mental illnesses as there was considerable doubt over whether mental illness was entirely hereditary.<sup>259</sup> Yasui acknowledged the degree to which mental illness, and other conditions such as “idiocy” (白痴), were the result of heredity or the environment was currently a matter of academic debate. Rather than this posing an obstacle to the implementation of a sterilisation law, Yasui saw the sterilisation law as a possible solution. While environmental factors and treatment should also be addressed, a sterilisation law

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<sup>253</sup> In these cases, a doctor would file an application for sterilisation with the governor. Patients could appeal a decision to the Ministry of Health and Welfare who would determine the case in consultation with the central eugenics review committee. “Kokumin yūseihō ni kansuru hōki oyo tsūchō shū: Fukokumin yūseihō kaisetsu”, 361.

<sup>254</sup> “Kokumin yūseihō ni kansuru hōki oyo tsūchō shū”, 361.

<sup>255</sup> Ogino, “Eugenics, Reproductive Technology and the Feminist Dilemma in Japan”, 225. For more on the parliamentary debates over the National Eugenic Law see also Otsubo, “Gender, Family and Modernity”.

<sup>256</sup> Matsubara has also identified significant opposition from psychiatrists. Matsubara “Senjika no danshuhō ronsō”, 286–303.

<sup>257</sup> For criticisms of forced sterilisation published in *Minzoku eisei* see, for example, Tateishi Kensuke, “Nachisu danshuhō ni tsuite no kansō”, *Minzoku eisei* 3, no. 4–5 (June 1934): 61–64.

<sup>258</sup> For Nagai’s support of sterilisation and rebuttal of critics see, for example, Nagai Hisomu, “Danshuhō ni taisuru hantai no hantai”, *Minzoku eisei* 3, no. 4–5 (June 1934): 39.

<sup>259</sup> Yasui, “Kantōgen”, *Yūsei* 3, no. 3 (1938): 1.

could play a key complimentary role in “weeding out” (芟鋤) those with a strong family history of mental illness. Moreover, he suggested, the law could be used to gather statistics on mental illness in order to determine its inheritability. In the end, the implementation of forcible sterilisation under Article 6 was, however, postponed indefinitely by an imperial edict. Involuntary sterilisation would not be legally sanctioned until the postwar period, meaning all wartime sterilisation procedures were—at least formally—performed on a consensual basis.

As numerous historians have documented, the absence of legislation allowing forced sterilisation did not, however, mean that it did not take place, and extralegal sterilisations in institutions were performed in many national contexts throughout the twentieth century.<sup>260</sup> In Japan, extralegal sterilisations were also practised before 1945. One of the principal targets of extralegal sterilisation was individuals with leprosy, commonly referred to in contemporary Japan as Hansen’s disease. Although leprosy was not grounds for sterilisation in the National Eugenic Law, nor was sterilisation allowed under the 1931 Leprosy Prevention Law (癩瘡防法), sterilisation and eugenic abortion in leprosy sanatoriums were common practices from 1915.<sup>261</sup> Sterilisation was also widely used as a precondition to permitting marriages in sanatoriums both in mainland Japan and in national sanatoriums in Korea and Taiwan.<sup>262</sup> Sterilisation in leprosy institutions, usually in the form of male

<sup>260</sup> Levine and Bashford, “Introduction”, [17].

<sup>261</sup> Maho Toyoda, “State, Sterilisation, and Reproductive Rights: Japan as Occupier and Occupied”, in *Japan As the Occupier and the Occupied*, eds. Christine de Matos and Mark E. Caprio. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 45. The Leprosy Prevention Law was first established in 1907 and revised in 1931. In the postwar period, the 1948 Eugenic Protection Law legalised the sterilisation of individuals with leprosy. In 1953, the Leprosy Prevention Law was revised again, although the policy of lifelong, compulsory segregation was not changed. The Law was finally abolished in 1996 after a concerted campaign by disabled activists and their supporters. In 2019 the Japanese Diet passed legislation to compensate former patients who had been subject to forced segregation and their family members. For more on the history of leprosy in Japan and its connection to eugenics see Burns, *Kingdom of the Sick*; Fujino, “Eugenics and Hansen’s Disease Patients”.

<sup>262</sup> Toyoda, “State, Sterilisation, and Reproductive Rights”, 49. According to Jung, vasectomies were also used as a form of punishment for contravening strict rules of behaviour in sanatoriums in colonial Korea. For more on sterilisation and marriage restriction in sanatoriums in colonial Korea see also Keunsik Jung, “‘Colonial Modernity’ and the Hegemony of the Body Politics in Leprosy Relief Work”, in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910–1945*, eds. Hong Yung Lee, Yong Chool Ha and Clark W. Sorensen. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013); Sonja M Kim, *Imperatives of Care: Women and Medicine in Colonial Korea*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2019), 136–7. In the postwar period former leprosy patients institutionalised in colonial Korea and Taiwan also won compensation claims against the Japanese state in recognition of the harm caused by forced segregation. See also Celeste L. Arrington, *Accidental Activists: Victim Movements and Government Accountability in Japan and South Korea*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016), esp. ch 3.

vasectomies, has been viewed as an exemplar of the abuses inflicted on patients in sanatoriums. While there is clear evidence of coercion in many of such procedures, Susan Burns has revealed that some individuals also volunteered for a variety of, often deeply personal, reasons.<sup>263</sup> Leprosy sanatoriums functioned as a key site where eugenic policy existed, to borrow Veronique Mottier's phrasing, "not only within, but also outside of and against the state".<sup>264</sup> This is not to say that state officials necessarily opposed illegal sterilisations. The Japanese Diet was well aware of the existence of extralegal sterilisation, and tacitly condoned this, but hesitated to officially sanction procedures. The number of extralegal sterilisation procedures taking place in leprosy sanatoriums was discussed in the parliamentary debates on the National Eugenic Law. The Diet declined to legalise these procedures, in part due to concerns that because leprosy was not a hereditary condition but an infectious one, there was insufficient scientific grounds to justify sterilisation. It did, however, provide tacit support for these procedures and made no attempt to prevent their continued use.<sup>265</sup>

There is also evidence that extralegal sterilisations were performed on individuals who engaged in "sexually abnormal" or criminal behaviour, with the knowledge of state authorities. Ishii Ryoichi notes, for example, a 1931 case of a "sexually abnormal seventeen-year-old-youth" being given a vasectomy at a university hospital, with the "tacit consent" of the Tokyo Juvenile Court.<sup>266</sup> Given that the youth was on parole at the time, it seems likely that this procedure was performed because he had committed a sexual crime. The use of negative eugenic measures to restrict 'socially undesirable' individuals from marrying and reproducing had previously been raised in the Diet, but was not legislated.<sup>267</sup> Generally, most

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<sup>263</sup> Burns, *Kingdom of the Sick*, 157, 218–225.

<sup>264</sup> Mottier, "Eugenics and the State", 149.

<sup>265</sup> Toyoda, "State, Sterilisation, and Reproductive Rights"; Otsubo, "Emperor, Family and Modernity". Explicitly legally sanctioned sterilisation, including forced sterilisation, in cases of leprosy was discussed in the Japanese Diet debates over the National Eugenic Law but failed to pass. Yoshida Shigeru (吉田茂; 1885–1954), not to be confused with the postwar prime minister of the same name, also introduced a revision of the Leprosy Prevention that would have legalised forced sterilisation, which also failed to pass. See also Burns, *Kingdom of the Sick*, 218–220.

<sup>266</sup> Ishii Ryoichi, *Population Pressure and Economic Life in Japan*. (London: P.S. King and Son Ltd., 1937), 241.

<sup>267</sup> Another marriage restriction bill was introduced to the Diet by physician and Diet member Chūma Okimaru in 1930. The 1930 bill he presented, "A Proposal on the Enactment of Marriage Restriction for Patients", also advocated "performing surgical operations on persons with venereal disease, tuberculous, leprosy, mental

sterilisation procedures performed before 1945 were carried out in institutions. The number of sterilisation procedures performed under the National Eugenic Law was far less than bureaucrats predicted, at 538 (454 of which occurred before 1945).<sup>268</sup> During debates on the National Eugenic Law in 1939, bureaucrats estimated that 300 000 people would be sterilised under the bill.<sup>269</sup> The Ministry of Health and Welfare's estimate was more conservative at 750 sterilisations in 1941, the first year of operation.<sup>270</sup> According to Jennifer Robertson, between its implementation in 1941 and when the law was overturned in 1947, 15 219 people were targeted for sterilisation (6399 women and 8820 men).<sup>271</sup> Some applications for sterilisations under the wartime National Eugenic Law were also turned down.<sup>272</sup> The extent to which the Japanese state was willing to endorse straightforwardly coercive legislation, however, was limited. Rather, the state emphasised the, at least formally, voluntary nature of procedures. In this context, eugenicist social reformers looked to eugenic marriage counselling to prosecute their agenda. Eugenic marriage counselling functioned as a tool to pursue both 'positive' and 'negative' eugenic programs. Drawing on its status as a national centre, advisors at the Ministry of Health and Welfare's Eugenic Marriage Counselling Centre in Tokyo invoked the authority of the state to induce visitors to apply eugenicist reasoning to their reproductive decisions.

### **Coercion, Persuasion and Desire: Sterilisation and Eugenic Marriage Counselling**

Scholars of eugenics have commonly divided eugenicist policy into two types: 'negative' eugenics, which aims to limit reproduction among those deemed 'unfit'; and 'positive' eugenics, which aims to encourage the 'fit' to reproduce. This characterisation tends to

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illness and alcoholism" to prevent them from reproducing "following [the] assertions of eugenics". His proposal was never debated. For more details see Matsubara, "The Enactment of Japan's Sterilisation Laws", 189.

<sup>268</sup> Norgren, *Abortion Before Birth Control*, 33; Matsubara, "The Enactment of Japan's Sterilisation Laws", 191; Robertson, "Eugenics in Japan", 440.

<sup>269</sup> Norgren, *Abortion Before Birth Control*, 33.

<sup>270</sup> Matsubara, "The Enactment of Japan's Sterilisation Laws", 191.

<sup>271</sup> Robertson, "Eugenics in Japan", 440. Due to the comparatively low number of procedures performed scholars such as Norgren have argued the state was more interested in legalising sterilisation to promote its ideology of racial improvement than in enacting a practical policy to reduce the 'unfit' population. Norgren, *Abortion Before Birth Control*, 34–5.

<sup>272</sup> These were seemingly applications for individuals who were not deemed sufficiently 'unfit' to justify them avoiding procreation. Norgren, *Abortion Before Birth Control*, 33.

imply that the two sides of policy can be easily separated. Existing research on eugenic marriage counselling has tended to characterise it as a ‘positive’ eugenics campaign that principally sought to encourage the ‘fit’ to reproduce in greater numbers. However, ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ eugenics policies were deeply intertwined. As historian Alexandra Minna Stern has highlighted in the case of the United States, proponents of ‘positive’ eugenics were frequently among the most vocal supporters of ‘negative’ methods, such as forced sterilisation.<sup>273</sup> In addition, educational campaigns, typically characterised as ‘positive’ eugenic programs, also aimed to convince the populace of the necessity of coercive, ‘negative’ eugenic methods. In Japan, too, eugenic marriage counselling and sterilisation were deeply entangled.

For the head of the national eugenic marriage counselling centre, Yasui Hiroshi, sterilisation was deeply embedded within eugenic marriage counselling campaigns. Writing in *Minzoku eisei*, in 1940 he stated:

the primary duty of future [eugenic marriage] counselling centres is to try to induce [visitors] to voluntarily aspire to sterilisation.

自發的に手術を希望せしむるやうに仕向けて行くことは、將來相談所の一つ  
任務となつてくるであらうと思ひます<sup>274</sup>

In his report on the first few months of operation of the national eugenic marriage counselling centre, Yasui repeatedly suggested that visitors to the centre who presented with a variety of conditions that were considered to be hereditary, from physical disabilities such as blindness and deafness, to mental illnesses such as epilepsy, should be targeted for sterilisation.<sup>275</sup> Eugenic marriage counselling centres had a major role to play here in convincing those deemed ‘unfit’ and their families to consent to the procedure.

Yasui presented sterilisation as a potentially desirable reproductive technology that would enable ‘unfit’ populations to avoid pregnancy. The desire to not pass on ‘unfit’ hereditary

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<sup>273</sup> Stern, *Eugenic Nation*, intro [n.p.]

<sup>274</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 246.

<sup>275</sup> As discussed in Chapter I, the category “mental illness” (精神病) was used to refer to both conditions that would now be classified as mental illnesses, such as manic depression and schizophrenia, and neurological disorders such as epilepsy and dementia.

traits was one of the only valid reasons for avoiding the national imperative to reproduce. Writing in *Kōsei eisei* in 1940, Yasui positioned sterilisation as a service for targeted populations that enabled them to freely enact their desire not to reproduce, rather than a coercive tool of the state. Yasui explained:

From next financial year the eugenic law will be implemented. That means that, eugenic operations [i.e. sterilisation] will be conducted, on request, for those with severe hereditary defects, and there will be a method to not leave behind inferior descendants. [We] do not wish to stop those people with defects and their families who, based on their determination to not pass on the same unhappiness that caused their own anguish to their descendants, voluntarily apply.

来年度から実施される優生法は、つまりそれら重大なる遺傳的缺陷あるものに對して、申出でによつて優生手術を行ひ、惡質の子孫を遺さぬやうにする方法でありまして、それらの缺陷者やその家族たちは、自ら悩み來つたと同様な不幸を子孫に傳へたくないといふ決心の下に、進んでこれに應じられんことを望んで止みません。<sup>276</sup>

This characterisation continued the JARH's earlier attempts, as discussed in Chapter I, to frame sterilisation as a benevolent response that allowed the 'unfit' to avoid pregnancy and childbirth. This idea is also evident in Yasui's recommendation that eugenic marriage counselling should not dissuade individuals with a family history of mental illness from their decision to not marry or procreate.<sup>277</sup> The assertion that 'unfit' individuals would, with sufficient education, voluntarily adopt eugenicist thinking in their reproductive decisions was not necessarily entirely cynical. Globally, sterilisation was an attractive contraceptive strategy to some, and investigations into the history of sterilisation in the United States, Puerto Rico and elsewhere, have revealed that some individuals applied to receive the procedure as a birth control technique.<sup>278</sup> Similarly, in postwar Japan while the 1948 Eugenic

<sup>276</sup> Yasui, "Yūsei kekkon sōdan to ha nani ka", *Kōsei eisei* 58, no. 11 (1940): 4.

<sup>277</sup> Yasui, "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō", 235.

<sup>278</sup> In North Carolina, for example, around six per cent of sterilisation procedures performed during the 1950s and 1960s were requested. Stern, *Eugenic Nation*, intro [n.p.]. In Puerto Rico both (voluntary) contraceptive and eugenic sterilisation were legalised in 1937. According to Briggs, the "overwhelming majority" of procedures performed from the 1940s to the 1960s were contraceptive and were not ordered by the Eugenics Board. Lauren Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science and US Imperialism in Puerto Rico*. (University of California Press, 2003), 149. See also Joanna Schoen, *Choice and Coercion: Birth Control, Sterilisation and Abortion in Public Health and Welfare*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

Protection Law allowed for severe reproductive abuses, such as forced sterilisation and abortion, it is also true that some Japanese women, seeking a form of long-term contraception, applied to be sterilised.<sup>279</sup> Disabled men and women have also decided not to reproduce, for a variety of reasons, including a desire to not pass on hereditary ailments to their children, which has sometimes been termed “internalised” eugenics.<sup>280</sup> These complexities are not only a postwar phenomenon but undergird attitudes towards sterilisation in the war period. The claim that targeted individuals *wanted* to be sterilised, nevertheless, was clearly also intended to reassure a medical community, and broader public, who held serious doubts about the moral and scientific validity of forced sterilisation. Of concern to eugenicist advocates was the fear that not all of those deemed unfit to pass on their genetic stock sufficiently understood eugenics and the imperative of avoiding procreation. Therefore, a major task for eugenic marriage counselling centres was to not only disseminate eugenic ideas broadly among the public, but also to convince targeted populations to avoid marriage and childbirth—including by suggesting individuals apply to be sterilised. In this sense eugenic marriage counselling and sterilisation were deeply enmeshed projects. An analysis of eugenic marriage counselling, as provided in this chapter, can shed new light on the history of sterilisation in Japan, revealing the ambitions and frustrations of eugenicist advocates seeking to curb reproduction among the ‘unfit’.

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<sup>279</sup> Yoshio Koya et. al. “A Survey of Health and Demographic Aspects of Reported Female Sterilizations in Four Health Centers of Shizuoka Prefecture, Japan”, *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (October 1955): 368–392. According to this study of 338 women in Shizuoka prefecture, 89 per cent had previously had at least one induced abortion. In a later study Koya et. al. state that between 1949 and 1959 less than 5 per cent of the 340 580 sterilisation procedures were officially recorded as having been performed for ‘eugenic reasons’. Rather, Koya et. al. suggest that the most common reason for obtaining a sterilisation was family planning, citing the fact that their study of 812 individuals who had undergone sterilisations, 61.8 per cent of women had previously had one or more induced abortions and 75 per cent had three or more living children. Koya Yoshio et. al. “Sterilisation in Japan”, *Eugenics Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (September 1961): 135–141. Reprinted in Koya Yoshio, *Pioneering in Family Planning: A Collection of Papers on the Family Planning Programs and Research Conducted in Japan*. (Tokyo: Japan Medical Publishers, 1963), 110, 113. It should be noted that Koya Yoshio was actively engaged in the eugenics movement in pre-1945 Japan, but this was subsequently downplayed in his postwar resume when he became president of the Family Planning Federation of Japan. Koya was also involved in drafting the sterilisation policy in the 1940s. For more on Koya’s involvement in the Japanese eugenic movement and contraceptive policy see Takeuchi-Demirci, *Contraceptive Diplomacy*, esp. ch 4 and ch 6.

<sup>280</sup> The term “internalised” (内なる) or “voluntary” (自発的) eugenics has also been used by scholars such as Morioka to describe the decision to abort fetuses on health or eugenic grounds. See Morioka Masahiro, *Seimeigaku ni nani ga dekiru ka: Nōshi, feminizumu, yūsei shisō*. (Tokyo: Keisō shōbō, 2001), esp. pt. 6 ch. 4. For a discussion of eugenic abortion in Japan in English see also Kato, *Women’s Rights?*



## Yasui Hiroshi and the Ministry of Health and Welfare's Eugenic Marital Advice

In 1941, the Ministry of Health and Welfare launched its *Guidelines for health problems in marriage* (結婚ニ於ケル健康問題ノ指導指針). The *Guidelines* outlined the general principles that advisors at the Ministry of Health and Welfare's Eugenic Marriage Counselling Centre, and other health centres, should adhere to when providing individualised advice to visiting members of the public. The *Guidelines* were intended to complement, and further specify, the principles in the previously released *Ten Rules for Marriage*. The *Guidelines* outlined the appropriate advice for health conditions in five broad categories: reproductive capacity, tuberculous, venereal disease, leprosy and hereditary diseases.<sup>281</sup> The overarching principle of the document was to encourage reproduction among the 'fit', while limiting reproduction among the 'unfit' and the ill through a variety of means. Generally, for infectious conditions and reproductive disorders, the MHW recommended delaying marriage while seeking treatment and specialist medical advice. As the *Guidelines* stressed "healthy reproductive ability is an essential condition for eugenic marriage" (健全ナル生殖能力ヲ有スルコトハ優生結婚ノ必要條件).<sup>282</sup> Advice for hereditary conditions was determined in conjunction with the National Eugenic Law. Advisors were instructed to judge the acceptability of a union based on the "seriousness and degree of malignancy" (強度及ビ惡質ノ程度) of the condition as described in line with the National Eugenic Law.<sup>283</sup> Again, the key issue was reproductive capacity. For hereditary conditions the MHW generally recommended avoiding marriage, marrying someone who was unable to reproduce, or undergoing sterilisation, which was euphemistically referred to as a "eugenic operation" (優生手術).<sup>284</sup> The general principles also applied to those who "appeared to be healthy on the surface" (表面健康ナル) but who had a family history of hereditary disease or illness, including mental illness.<sup>285</sup> The *Guidelines* further advised that consanguineous marriages should be avoided as they carried

<sup>281</sup> Kōseisho, "Kekkon ni okeru kenkō mondai no shidō shishin". Available in *Sei to seishoku no jinken mondai shiryō shūsei* vol. 21, eds. Miho Ogino, Yōko Matsubara, and Hikaru Saitō. (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 2000).

<sup>282</sup> Kōseisho, "Kekkon ni okeru kenkō mondai no shidō shishin", 223.

<sup>283</sup> Kōseisho, "Kekkon ni okeru kenkō mondai no shidō shishin", 224.

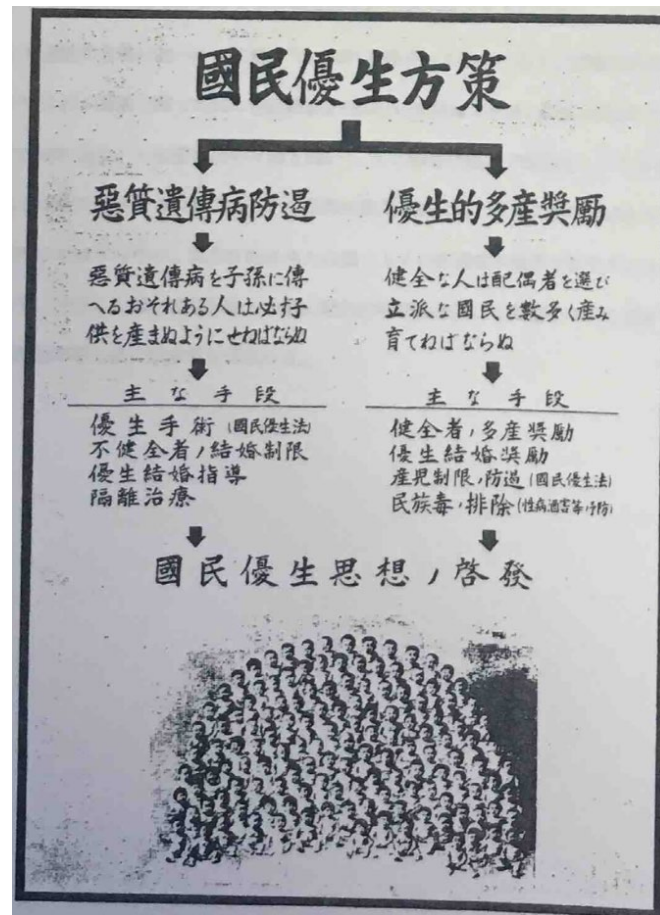
<sup>284</sup> Kōseisho, "Kekkon ni okeru kenkō mondai no shidō shishin", 224.

<sup>285</sup> Kōseisho, "Kekkon ni okeru kenkō mondai no shidō shishin", 224.

an elevated risk of leading to a hereditary condition.<sup>286</sup> In this way, eugenic marriage counselling centres were intended to work alongside the National Eugenic Law as part of a two-pronged policy to increase the overall size and quality of the Japanese population (Figure IX). As we shall see, eugenic marriage counselling was targeted by eugenicist social reformers to pursue ‘negative’ eugenic policies, beyond the purview of those legalised in the National Eugenic Law. I argue that reading state policy alongside Yasui’s 1940 report, reveals how eliciting consent for sterilisation emerged as a key concern of wartime eugenic marriage counselling.

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<sup>286</sup> Kōseisho, “Kekkon ni okeru kenkō mondai no shidō shishin”, 224.



**Figure IX: National Eugenic Policies Poster**

This poster outlined the two-pronged policy to achieve “eugenic enlightenment”. The first strand (left) targets those with inferior traits through four key policies: sterilisation, marriage limitation, guidance in eugenic marriage counselling, and medical treatment and segregation. The second (right) targets eugenically ‘fit’ individuals through: promoting fecundity, eugenic marriage counselling, prohibition of birth control, and infectious disease control, referred to as “eliminating racial poisons”. As this poster illustrates guidance on eugenic marriage was envisioned as promoting both arms of this policy.

Previous research has examined eugenic marriage counselling for what it reveals about which conditions provoked concern in eugenicist and government circles. Such studies have rightfully pointed out the comparative emphasis on healthy reproductive capacity in the MHW’s *Guidelines* compared to the writings of eugenicists like Yasui.<sup>287</sup> However, eugenic

<sup>287</sup> Matsubara, for example, observes that the Ministry of Health and Welfare’s guidelines placed a greater emphasis on reproductive capacity, notably placing it as the first item of advice, in her comparison of the two documents. Matsubara, however, does not consider the role of Yasui in formulating and implementing national guidelines on eugenic marriage, nor the use of eugenic marriage counselling to pursue sterilisation policy. See Matsubara Yōko, “Nihon ni okeru yūsei seisaku no keisei: Kokumin yūseihō to yūsei hogohō no seiritsu katei no kentō”. (PhD diss., Ochanomizu Women’s University, 1998), 109–120.

marriage counselling also reveals disparate ambitions for eugenicist policy, indicating how eugenicist social reformers also sought to prosecute their ‘negative’ eugenics agenda through marriage counselling centres. The basic principles outlined in the Ministry of Health and Welfare’s Guidelines were substantially similar to the advice previously outlined by Yasui Hiroshi, and indicate a concern with both hereditary illness and infectious disease. As the head of the MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre, Yasui’s statements carried significant authority, and his advice on marriage as publicised in the mass media, women’s magazines and medical journals was framed as indicative of state opinion. Despite this, Yasui’s advice was not uniformly codified into the MHW policy and disagreements over the relative threat of specific conditions and the validity of coercion are evident. In the following section, I examine Yasui’s report as outlined in *Minzoku eisei* on advice given at the MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre pertaining to five major categories: physical impairment; consanguineous marriage; mental illness and intellectual disability; infectious disease, specifically tuberculous, venereal disease and leprosy; and a variety of social ills, which were referred to as “deviancy” (變質者). The report functioned to detail policy and to assure Yasui’s academic peers that the advice given in state centres was scientifically credible. Yasui’s 1940 report included details of specific advice given at the centre, and general principles that should form the basis of eugenic marriage counselling. Official Ministry of Health and Welfare guidelines on eugenic marriage counselling were not released until August 1941. Significantly, this indicates that the national counselling centre was operating principally on the advice of Yasui Hiroshi—as the head of the centre—for almost a year before official guidelines were announced. Indeed, the Ministry of Health and Welfare’s Guidelines were substantively similar to the advice outlined by Yasui in *Minzoku eisei* and his other contemporaneous publications. A detailed analysis of Yasui’s report also reveals how eugenicist social reformers sought to use eugenic marriage counselling to convince the Japanese population to practise a stricter interpretation of negative eugenic measures—designed to limit reproduction among those deemed ‘unfit’—than had been encoded in law.

**Physical impairment.** Throughout his writings Yasui Hiroshi similarly emphasised that a healthy body and mind was the most important factor when choosing a marriage partner, and should be prioritised over other concerns such as lineage, wealth and academic history. This was because, through heredity, the decision of who to marry had the potential to impact the future happiness and wellbeing of generations. Indeed, Yasui declared:

marriage is certainly not only an issue for the couple's own lives. The happiness and unhappiness of descendants for eternity is decided in an instant by that marriage.

結婚は決して當人たち一生の問題だけではなく、子孫永遠に亘る幸も不幸も、この結婚の瞬間に決定されるのであります。<sup>288</sup>

While the current health of a marriage partner was important, Yasui stressed that “hereditary problems, which will affect your descendants for eternity, are much more important still” (子孫永遠に亘つて影響する遺伝の問題は、尚一層大切なことであります).<sup>289</sup> In his report Yasui dedicated significant space to detailing how advisors at the centre would—and should—approach various physical impairments. Deafness and blindness drew particular attention as examples of “inferior” (悪質) heredity.

**Deaf-mutism.** In the case of deaf-mutism (聾啞), Yasui argued that as it was difficult to determine whether it was hereditary or acquired it should be treated as a hereditary condition, especially in the case of consanguineous marriages. In cases where two individuals with deaf-mutism wished to marry he stated that this should be approved only on the condition of sterilisation. In cases where only one individual had deaf-mutism, sterilisation was probably also justified. In the case of the children and siblings of someone with deaf-mutism, as it was unclear whether they carry the trait or not, it was unnecessary to avoid marriage, but consanguineous marriages and marriages to individuals with a family history of deaf-mutism should be avoided.<sup>290</sup> Yasui argued that:

If everyone with deaf-mutism is sterilised upon marriage, then the cause of deaf-mutism will gradually disappear from the race. Therefore, if you look at it from the big picture this is an extremely effective eugenic policy. I think that on this point it is important to provide spiritual guidance [so that]

<sup>288</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdan to wa nani ka”, 2.

<sup>289</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdan to wa nani ka”, 2.

<sup>290</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 238.

people with deaf-mutism sufficiently comprehend this and freely cooperate with this eugenic policy.

聾啞者が悉く斷種の上で結婚するやうになれば、民族中における聾啞因子は漸次減少を來たすことになるので、大局の上から見て極めて有力な優生方策となるわけであります。この事は聾啞者をして十分に丁解せしめ、自ら進んでこの優生方策に協力する如く、精神的に指導する必要があると思ひます <sup>291</sup>

*Blindness.* Yasui also recommended that individuals with serious hereditary eye diseases avoid childbirth. He cautioned that because “marriages between blind people only result in more blind people” (盲人どうしの結婚は… その結果として遺傳性盲人の子供が生まれつゝあること) encouraging them to marry each other was not the best policy. Rather, to reduce the root cause of hereditary blindness it was “imperative” (急務) to determine the reason behind loss of eyesight, guide individuals to carefully select marriage partners and, for individuals with hereditary blindness, perform sterilisation procedures.<sup>292</sup> Yasui similarly expressed confidence that individuals with hereditary blindness would be convinced of the merits of eugenics, stating:

If they understand that they could leave their descendants the seed of a serious defect, I think they will likely decide to voluntarily sever the family line.

子孫に重大な缺陷の種を遺すといふことを了解すれば自発的にも子孫を絶つことの決心がつくべきであらうと思ひます。 <sup>293</sup>

Despite the confident tone in which he reported on the successes of the eugenic marriage counselling centre, Yasui expressed dissatisfaction with tools currently available to eugenicists to enforce compliance. Yasui lamented that individuals with serious hereditary eye diseases, for example:

in the future should probably be sterilised upon marriage, but for now there is no option but to teach them contraception through self-control.

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<sup>291</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 238.

<sup>292</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 239.

<sup>293</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 239.

将来必ず斷種の上で結婚すべきであらうと思ひますが、現在では自制的の避妊を教へる外ありません<sup>294</sup>

Yasui recommended that advisors should try and convince visitors deemed ‘unfit’ to either avoid marriage, use contraception or be sterilised. However, he explained that, while it may be difficult to support some unions from a eugenic point of view, ultimately advisors “had no choice but to entrust the decision [to the individuals concerned]” (相談者の自由に任かす外ありません) due to the current legal situation.<sup>295</sup>

*Physical deformities.* More generally, Yasui warned that while it was common for people with the same physical “defects” (缺陷) in their families to marry each other, this should be avoided as it intensifies the risk of passing on that condition. Instead, they should try to marry someone with a different type of defect or general deficiency in their health, or someone from a healthy bloodline while resolving to reduce their expectations regarding other factors such as status, wealth and looks.<sup>296</sup> For deformities that could be surgically remedied, such as polydactylism, Yasui stated that as long as the partner was aware there was no need to impede a marriage.<sup>297</sup>

*Consanguineous marriage.* Yasui identified consanguineous marriages as a major risk as families could carry hidden defects in their bloodline, which would be more likely to manifest in the children of consanguineous marriages. Therefore he advised that in the first instance they should be avoided “as much as possible” (出来るだけ) regardless of whether there was a history of illness and/or deformity in the family.<sup>298</sup> If there was a discernible family history of hereditary illness consultants would explain the elevated risk of this being passed on to a child and recommend that the couple halt any marriage talks currently in progress.<sup>299</sup> Yasui consistently advised against consanguineous marriages due to the increased risk of passing on a hereditary condition. In an interview with women’s magazine

<sup>294</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 239.

<sup>295</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 247.

<sup>296</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 237.

<sup>297</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 241.

<sup>298</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 232.

<sup>299</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 232–3.

*Fujin kurabu* (*Ladies' Club*; 婦人倶楽部), for example, Yasui labelled them “ultimately a risky venture” (結局冒険) analogous to eating the potentially lethal delicacy of pufferfish.<sup>300</sup> As evidence he cited the example that of a school for children with deaf-mutism in Tokyo, where 25 per cent of students were the children of consanguineous marriages. Similarly, in *Kōsei eisei* Yasui warned that “when it comes to consanguineous marriages you can never have peace of mind” (血族結婚といふものは、どこまでも安心出来ないものでありまして).<sup>301</sup> In his reports on the national eugenic marriage counselling centre, Yasui repeatedly stated his conviction that eugenics was a persuasive ideology that individuals would be willing to follow if they sufficiently understood its merits. In cases of consanguineous marriages, for example, Yasui stated that a consultant would “sufficiently discuss the advantages and disadvantages according to eugenic science and guide them towards a harmonious solution” (優生學上の利害について相手方と十分に懇話して圓滿に解決するやうに導いてゐます).<sup>302</sup>

**Mental illness.** Yasui’s advice also emphasised the risks of mental illnesses, which he typically considered to be hereditary. Mental illness was a particular interest of Yasui’s. In the early 1930s, he served as a specialist consultant on mental illness at the JARH’s eugenic marriage counselling centre. He emphasised the dangers of mental illness in numerous media interviews, stating in the women’s magazine *Fujin kurabu* in 1941, for example, that mental illness in the family line was the “biggest problem at the present” (今のところ一番問題になる).<sup>303</sup> Yasui’s advice on eugenic marriage counselling identified schizophrenia and manic depression, in particular, as primary targets. Both were considered to be hereditary conditions although Yasui acknowledged that the statistical risk of relatives of those with mental illnesses passing on such illnesses to their descendants was still being determined. In cases where mental illness in a relative had clearly been caused by syphilis, Yasui reassured visitors that there was no hereditary link.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Yasui et al., “Kōritsu kekkon sōdansho”, *Fujin kurabu* 22, no. 2 (1941): 274.

<sup>301</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdan to wa nani ka”, 5.

<sup>302</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 233.

<sup>303</sup> Yasui et al., “Kōritsu kekkon sōdansho”, 274.

<sup>304</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 235.



*Schizophrenia.* While no individuals who themselves had schizophrenia or manic depression had visited the national eugenic marriage counselling centre, Yasui states that they should “of course” (勿論) be targeted for sterilisation.<sup>305</sup> Yasui’s advice was centred on the children and siblings of those with mental illnesses who, while currently healthy, were identified as at risk of developing these illnesses in the future.<sup>306</sup> In the case of schizophrenia, Yasui advised that as in most cases the age of onset was before 30 years old, individuals should delay marriage until after this age.<sup>307</sup>

*Manic depression.* In the case of manic depression, delaying marriage was considered impractical as the age of onset varied too greatly. Therefore in the first instance experts at the MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre should examine the individual’s temperament and determine whether there were any “abnormal characteristics” (病的性格の有無) and seriously consider if there was a risk of passing on an illness to any future children before proceeding with a marriage.<sup>308</sup> Some individuals, Yasui approvingly reported, were aware of the risks of inheriting mental illness, and had proactively decided not to marry and remain single for their entire lives. He reported that, despite the state emphasis on increasing the population size, advisors at the centre should not try and dissuade such individuals from staying unmarried. For those individuals who did wish to marry, Yasui stated that:

It is important, from the standpoint of both the individual themselves and the state, to warn them to, as much as possible, marry late and avoid having too many children.

出来るだけ遅く結婚し且つ子供を餘り多く儲けないやうに忠告することは當人の立場から國家の立場からも必要であらうと思はれます<sup>309</sup>

The advice to marry late—in strong contrast to the direction for the ‘fit’ population to “avoid late marriage”—was designed to decrease the possibility of bearing children, and the number of children. Yasui acknowledged that there were cases where a family line contained

<sup>305</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 234.

<sup>306</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 234.

<sup>307</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 234.

<sup>308</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 234.

<sup>309</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 235.

both “excellent individuals” (優秀者), as well as a family history of manic depression, hysteria or nervousness. Such cases, he stated, were particularly difficult and advisors at the centre should use “the common sense of the day” (今日の常識) to decide on the advisability of such unions.<sup>310</sup>

*Feeble-mindedness.* ‘Feeble-mindedness’ (精神薄弱) and ‘retardation’ (低能) were also categorised as potentially hereditary mental conditions. In the case of feeble-mindedness, advisors were instructed to first determine whether the condition had been acquired due to an injury or whether there was a risk that it was hereditary. Yasui stated that feeble-mindedness was hereditary in two-thirds of all cases.<sup>311</sup> In the case of the siblings and children of people with feeble-mindedness, Yasui advised that advisors should not deter them from abandoning marriage and avoiding pregnancy if they so desire. Here, again, we see that sufficiently ‘inferior’ heredity being positioned as one of the very few legitimate reasons to exempt individuals from the general pronatalist push. If they did want to marry, he reiterated that, of course, it is safer to not have any children if feeble-mindedness appears frequently in the family line.<sup>312</sup>

*Epilepsy.* Epilepsy was also categorised as a mental illness and elicited a harsh response. Yasui noted that while it was difficult to determine whether epilepsy was hereditary or not, if there was more than two cases in a family it was best to treat it as if it were a hereditary one. For mild cases of epilepsy, Yasui advised that as long as their spouse is aware of the condition there is no need to hinder a marriage, but individuals should be sterilised upon marriage or use contraception.<sup>313</sup> The children or siblings of those with epilepsy, were similarly exempted from the obligation to “give birth and multiply”. Yasui advised that if they had not developed epilepsy by marriageable age and there seems to be a small risk of them passing on the trait, it is not necessary to impede a marriage. However, if they were worried, it was sensible to avoid having many children.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 235.

<sup>311</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 235.

<sup>312</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 236.

<sup>313</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 236.

<sup>314</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 236.

*Deviancy.* Yasui also considered a broad range of social behaviours as potentially hereditary conditions. These socially undesirable behaviours were not included in the MHW *Guidelines*. Yasui suggested that there was a possible link between “deviancy” (變質) and mental illness. Yasui advised that if deviant or eccentric behaviours occurred frequently in a bloodline alongside specific diagnoses of mental illness, advisors should explain that it was a “hereditary tendency” (遺傳的傾向). Yasui asserted that while it was important to link abnormal mental tendencies in a family to heredity, it was often not easy to directly diagnose someone. Therefore, it was best to consider the frequency of occurrence of behaviours like “unchasteness” (不品行), “debauchery” (放蕩), “heavy drinking” (大酒), “drunkenness” (酒癖), “religious fanaticism” (狂信) and belief in “superstition” (迷信) in a bloodline. While he conceded that these behaviours were not caused solely by heredity, with environmental factors also being important, Yasui stated that the “quality” (素質) of the family line was a cause for concern.<sup>315</sup> Still, he reassured visitors to the MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre that if the deviant behaviour had been associated with someone’s ancestors, and the individual themselves and their siblings were “normal” (正常) then there was no need to worry.<sup>316</sup>

***Infectious diseases.*** Eugenic marriage counselling also targeted marriage as a way to control infectious diseases. The central principle governing the eugenic marriage counselling centre’s approach towards infectious diseases was to impress on visitors the importance of exchanging premarital health certificates. The JARH had previously sought, without success, to compel young men and women to exchange health certificates before marriage. Prominent eugenicists from the JARH had publicly voiced support for a marriage restriction bill from at least 1936. The Association’s president, Nagai Hisomu, for example identified a marriage restriction bill as a central component of eugenic marriage policy. For Nagai, the aim of such a bill would be to make exchanging medical certificates before marriage a legal requirement, and restrict marriages of those who did not satisfy this health check. He approvingly noted that Turkey as well as 12 US states already had laws in place compelling

<sup>315</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 237.

<sup>316</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 237.

couples to exchange medical certificates before marriage.<sup>317</sup> The JARH proposal followed an earlier unsuccessful attempt to restrict the ability of men with venereal disease from marrying led by the New Women's Association (新婦人協会) in 1919.<sup>318</sup>

The 30 September 1939 discussion group meeting on eugenic marriage did discuss whether it was necessary to establish a eugenic marriage law, or amend existing marriage laws for eugenic aims. Particularly, they discussed whether a marriage restriction law should cover those with hereditary diseases, venereal disease, malignant infectious diseases (悪質なる傳染病), and (undefined) other conditions. They also discussed amending divorce law to allow for divorce in cases where: either spouse had a hereditary disease or infectious disease (specifically venereal disease or leprosy); either spouse had been sterilised, unbeknownst to their spouse; or in cases where a child had contracted a hereditary disease, or there was a fear that they would.<sup>319</sup> While Ministry of Health and Welfare discussions on eugenic marriage asserted that “restricting and prohibiting marriage through law is vital” (律を以て結婚を制限又は禁止するとを必要とするや), they did not take significant action towards a practical policy.<sup>320</sup> Indeed, no legislation directly restricting marriage was ever passed. Rather, the state determined that eugenic marriage should, at least for the time being, remain a topic for consultation rather than direct regulation. In this context, eugenicists turned again to eugenic marriage counselling as a vehicle to persuade the public to adopt eugenic sterilisation and contraception, and choose ‘fit’ marriage partners. Three infectious conditions received particular attention in the advice from Yasui: tuberculous, venereal disease and leprosy.

*Tuberculous.* The MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre generally encouraged delaying or avoiding marriages for tuberculous patients and venereal disease until after a full recovery had been made and the risk of transmitting an infection had therefore decreased.

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<sup>317</sup> Nagai, “Minzoku eisei shinko no kengi”, 8.

<sup>318</sup> The bill aimed to restrict the ability of men (though not women) with venereal diseases from marrying, a move which provoked criticism from some conservative politicians. See Otsubo, “Engendering Eugenics”, 230–239.

<sup>319</sup> Kōseisho yobōkyoku, “Yūsei kekkon zadankai”, 1303.

<sup>320</sup> Kōseisho yobōkyoku, “Yūsei kekkon zadankai”, 1303.

For tuberculous, Yasui warned that it was important to consider the health of a spouse, avoid marrying someone with a high concentration of tuberculous in their family (for example, whose parents and siblings had had tuberculous) and be aware of pregnancy-related complications for women with tuberculous.<sup>321</sup>

*Venereal disease.* In the case of venereal disease, Yasui summarised his advice as follows “in short, never marry someone with venereal disease” (性病ある者は絶対に結婚してはならないといふ一言に盡きる). He stated that the “sole task” (唯一任務) of the national marriage counselling centre in relation to venereal disease was, to this end, to encourage individuals to “strictly enforce the exchange of health certificates before marriage” (健康證明書の交換を勵行する).<sup>322</sup> Yasui repeated his advice to never marry someone with venereal disease in *Kōsei eisei* in 1940, singling out syphilis and gonorrhoea as of particular concern due to their serious health effects.<sup>323</sup> Presumably, he was confident that upon learning a prospective spouse had venereal disease, individuals would be unwilling to proceed with a marriage.

*Leprosy.* Advice on leprosy stressed that leprosy was an infectious disease rather than a hereditary disease that was carried through certain family bloodlines, as was commonly thought at the time. This erroneous idea was identified as the cause of unnecessary anxiety and difficulties in finding a marriage partner for individuals who did not have leprosy.<sup>324</sup> Yasui explained, in very similar language to that later used by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in its 1941 report *Marriage and Leprosy*, that many people were under the mistaken belief that it was a disease of the blood, rather than an infectious disease, and were therefore unnecessarily anxious about marrying if there was leprosy in the family.<sup>325</sup> Unless an individual had cohabited with someone with leprosy, Yasui reassured that there was no need to worry even if there was a family history of leprosy. Similarly, if 15 to 20 years had passed since cohabitation, and there was no sign of infection, Yasui assured visitors that

<sup>321</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 242.

<sup>322</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 243.

<sup>323</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdan to wa nani ka”, 3.

<sup>324</sup> The Ministry of Health and Welfare expanded on its advice on leprosy given in the 1941 guidelines in a specific policy document titled *Marriage and leprosy*. Kōseisho yūsei kekkon sōdansho, “Kekkon to raibyō”. Available in *Sei to seishoku no jinken mondai shiryō shūsei* vol. 21, eds. Miho Ogino, Yōko Matsubara, and Hikaru Saitō. (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 2000), 8–9.

<sup>325</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 241.

there was no need to worry.<sup>326</sup> This is significantly more conservative than the Ministry of Health and Welfare's official advice of a waiting period of 10 to 15 years published later in 1941.<sup>327</sup> If that period of time had not yet passed, he recommended delaying marriage until after they had reached 30 years of age by which time the disease had usually developed.<sup>328</sup> The MHW *Guidelines* advised eugenic marriage consultants to “not impede a marriage” (結婚差支ナツトスルコト) of an individual who had cohabited with leprosy if it had been over 10 years since they had lived in close contact or if they were over 30 years old, after which the risk of onset of the illness was thought to have been reduced.<sup>329</sup> The tone of this advice was considerably more lenient than the JARH's private centre, which urged caution in cases where there was a family history of leprosy, as noted in Chapter I. For those who did have leprosy the state advice was harsh and stigmatising. It warned that it was necessary to “strictly enforce” (勵行すること) the policy of lifelong segregation under the Leprosy Prevention Law in order to prevent leprosy patients from “roaming the streets ... scattering bacteria” (癩患者が市街を彷徨する … その黴菌の散布せせらる).<sup>330</sup> Lifelong segregation continued long after an effective treatment for leprosy was found.

Yasui Hiroshi's advice attests to the intertwined nature of eugenic marriage counselling and sterilisation as reproductive projects. Through eugenic marriage counselling eugenicists saw an opportunity to mould individual's reproductive choices. While the confidence with which eugenicist social reformers asserted that the disabled, chronically ill and otherwise ‘unfit’ would consent to procedures undoubtedly papered over abusive and coercive practises, especially in institutional settings, the framing of sterilisation as a reproductive choice in a political environment where childbirth for the ‘fit’ population was not, is nevertheless an important part of the picture. In a similar manner to what Susan Burns has identified in describing the complex power dynamics that governed the decision of leprosy patients in sanatoriums to be sterilised, eugenic marriage counselling sought to persuade the ‘unfit’ by

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<sup>326</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 242.

<sup>327</sup> Kōseisho yūsei kekkon sōdansho, “Kekkon to raibyō”, 8–9.

<sup>328</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 242.

<sup>329</sup> Kōseisho, “Kekkon ni okeru kenkō mondai no shidō shishin”, 224.

<sup>330</sup> Kōseisho yūsei kekkon sōdansho, “Kekkon to raibyō”, 8.

“valorizing the decision *not* to reproduce as normative and ethical”.<sup>331</sup> That this emphasis on ‘enlightening’ the public through educative campaigns was walked back in the postwar period, as eugenicist social reformers succeeded in gaining explicit legal sanction for compulsory sterilisation, further complicates our understanding of state ‘totalitarianism’ in 1937–1945.

Although, as we have seen, Yasui was more than comfortable with coercive measures, he did not believe that eugenics was the only important factor in determining a marriage. One of the most important mitigating factors was sexual morality. While eugenics should act as an important guiding principle for marriage, Yasui also asserted that adherence to eugenicist principles should be somewhat flexible regarding nonhereditary conditions, especially in cases concerning consanguineous marriages and communicable diseases. For example, if both individuals were aware of the risks of consanguineous marriages but were passionately in love, he recommended that the decision regarding their union should not be based on eugenics alone. Similarly, he stated that he would severely reprimand an individual who sought a separation due to a consanguineous marriage “from a humane standpoint” (人道上の立場) if they had already been living as a married couple for several years.<sup>332</sup> The key concern here seemed to be the potential reputational damage to the woman, given that her virtue had been compromised, if the marriage was dissolved. Moreover, in the case of tuberculosis, he recommended that it was important to make a decision not only on “cold science” (冷たい科学的) but also on “warm human kindness” (温かい人間味).<sup>333</sup> Therefore, it was not necessarily important to prevent a marriage, but it was advisable for a woman with tuberculosis to avoid pregnancy due to the significant risk posed to her health during pregnancy. More generally, Yasui instructed couples affected by tuberculosis to limit the number of children, keeping in mind it may be necessary for someone else to raise the child.<sup>334</sup> No such leniency was supported, however, regarding hereditary conditions which the JARH considered to be the primary target of eugenic marriage policy. For such

<sup>331</sup> Burns, *Kingdom of the Sick*, 222. Emphasis as per the original.

<sup>332</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 234.

<sup>333</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 242.

<sup>334</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 242.

individuals the JARH emphasised the necessity of convincing them to limit procreation, including through sterilisation.

### Limits of Eugenicist Advocacy

Eugenicist social reformers had limited success in their endeavour to convince the Japanese population to voluntarily adopt negative eugenics measures. The national eugenic marriage counselling centre, like its private forebearers, attracted only a modest number of visitors despite an extensive advertising campaign. As with the JARH's private eugenic marriage counselling efforts, visitors also did not necessarily attend for the reasons the JARH hoped. Most visitors were seemingly more interested in matchmaking services than eugenic marriage *per se*, and there was some confusion about the various marital services available among the public.<sup>335</sup> A 1933 article in *Fujo sekai* (*Woman's World*; 婦女世界) on the Tokyo Metropolitan Marriage Counselling Centre in Nihonbashi, for example, noted that many people were indifferent towards premarital health testing, but that the advice from the centre aimed to encourage them to consider the issue due to its impact on the long-term prospects of their relationship.<sup>336</sup> Applicants for matchmaking were reportedly more concerned with qualities such as disposition, income and whether a prospective partner was family-oriented than eugenicist criteria regarding health and heredity.<sup>337</sup> The persistent campaign in the mass media to elevate the issue of eugenic marriage, and the vital importance of premarital health certificates, also indicates the limited reach of such efforts—eugenicist social reformers still felt it necessary to convince the public to change their behaviour. Yasui's repeated assertions that eugenics was not new but part of Japanese tradition should also be viewed with significant scepticism.<sup>338</sup> The intended function of these repeated claims, after all, was to normalise attention to eugenics in marital decision-making.

There is also little evidence that 'expert' advisors at the centre succeeded in convincing individuals to apply for sterilisation procedures. A key reason for this was that the 'unfit'—

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<sup>335</sup> Matsubara, "Nihon ni okeru yūsei seisaku no keisei", 109.

<sup>336</sup> "Tokyo-shi no kekkon sōdansho o nozoku", 142.

<sup>337</sup> "Tokyo-shi no kekkon sōdansho o nozoku", 140.

<sup>338</sup> See for example Yasui, "Kantōgen", *Yūsei* 1, no. 6 (1936): 1. Yasui also attempted to link eugenics to the tradition of ancestor worship. Yasui, "Kantōgen", *Yūsei* 1, no. 4 (1936): 1



the principal target of the campaign—tended not to visit the centre. Rather, most visitors were from the ‘fit’ Japanese middle classes. The advice given at the MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre was therefore centred on the children and siblings of those with mental illnesses who, while currently healthy, were identified as at risk of developing these illnesses in the future.<sup>339</sup> Indeed, Yasui acknowledged that as a whole the national eugenic marriage counselling centre mainly functioned to alleviate the doubts visitors who worried unnecessarily about conditions that they erroneously thought were hereditary.<sup>340</sup> More concerning to eugenicists, and the state, was that eugenicist enlightenment campaigns also resulted in unintended adverse consequences. Yasui worried in 1941 that their message was reaching the wrong audience, and that ‘fit’ individuals were unnecessarily avoiding marriage and childbirth due to misplaced fears about passing on ‘inferior’ traits to their offspring.<sup>341</sup> Yasui himself acknowledged the tension between pronatalism and restrictive eugenic policies, noting that the government’s aims of improving both the quantity and the quality of the race were not necessarily compatible. Rather, he stated:

if you are a stickler for the hereditary perspective and refuse [to permit marriages] by being overly fastidious you can obstruct improvements to the quantity [of the population]

もしも遺傳學上の見地にのみ拘泥して餘に潔癖に考えて不定することになれば、それだけ結婚を放害して、量の向上を妨げることになる。<sup>342</sup>

For this reason, he said that refusing a marriage “is not a decision that should be reached lightly” (軽々しい斷定すべきものではないといふことになります).<sup>343</sup> As we shall see in Chapter III, these concerns however, were primarily directed at the urban upper and middle classes who eugenicists feared were not playing their part in aiding population growth through “childbirth patriotism” (産児報國).

<sup>339</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 234–5. In cases where mental illness in a relative had clearly been caused by syphilis, Yasui reassured visitors that there was no hereditary link.

<sup>340</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 247.

<sup>341</sup> Otsubo, “Feminist Maternal Eugenics in Wartime Japan”, 71 f53.

<sup>342</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 246.

<sup>343</sup> Yasui, “Yūsei kekkon sōdansho no gaikyō to sono kansō”, 246.

From as early as 1916 the JARH sought to convince the state to adopt eugenics as national policy. After 1937, in the context of mobilisation for total war, the JARH succeeded in persuading the state of the utility of eugenics and major eugenicist legislation was passed in the early 1940s, legalising sterilisation and eugenic marriage counselling. State and JARH visions of eugenic policies, however, differed in important ways. While the JARH sought support from the state in compelling the Japanese public to make reproductive decisions in line with eugenicist principles, the Diet was reluctant to legislate overtly coercive policies and declined to legalise forced sterilisation and marriage restriction. In this context, eugenicist social reformers sought to persuade the Japanese populace to voluntarily comply with eugenics through eugenic marriage counselling centres. Activists, such as Yasui, who imagined these centres could serve to reinforce 'negative' eugenic campaigns including sterilisation were, however, disappointed. Despite successfully lobbying the state for key eugenicist legislations, eugenicist social reformers remained dissatisfied with their reach. The limited ability of eugenicist social reformers to manage reproduction was not restricted only to the 'unfit' population. Efforts to increase reproduction rates among the 'fit' and especially the urban upper and middle classes also met significant difficulties. It is to this issue that we now turn in Chapter III.

“We, the Japanese people, cannot neglect for a moment more that we must overcome the disadvantages in terms of population problems brought by the war so as to prevent a future disaster”.

Yasui Hiroshi, 1943.

### **Chapter III**

## **Mobilising for Marriage: Population Policy, War and the ‘Marriage Problem’**

In the early 1940s, there was a growing state interest in population policy as officials sought to secure Japan’s human resources for an expanding war in Asia and the Pacific. In this context marital practices came under increased scrutiny. Eugenicist reformers, who had now taken up positions within the Ministry of Health and Welfare, sought to rectify what they saw as excessively individualistic attitudes towards marriage and impress on the population the central importance of marriage and childbirth for the war effort. Eugenicist reformers identified rapidly improving the quality and the quantity of the Japanese population as a vital step in securing the future prosperity and international position of the Japanese empire. Despite concerted campaign efforts spanning over a decade, Japanese eugenicists feared that they were no closer to realising their goal of rapid and thorough improvements to the Japanese race. Rather, they imagined the Japanese population to be in a state of decline, which imperilled their vision of a glorious future for the empire. Marriage, and especially spousal selection, was identified as a crucial site where eugenicist reformers could make a positive intervention to avert a future population crisis. Eugenicists, however, were deeply concerned that marital practices in Japan were already changing—and not in a direction that supported their goals of national and racial development. Influential eugenicist reformers, such as Yasui Hiroshi, were concerned that Japan’s rapid modernisation had seen the introduction of destructive Anglo-American ideas about individualism and consumerism that promoted irresponsibility among Japan’s urban youth. They therefore sought to make an urgent intervention to disseminate a new vision of patriotic marriages in service to the empire.

This chapter examines educative campaigns undertaken by eugenicist reformers within the Ministry of Health and Welfare that called for “marriage mobilisation” (結婚動員) among

young Japanese men and women. Such campaigns recast marriage as a civic duty, placing it alongside military and labour service as a key component of war mobilisation. What kind of marriage, then, best served national interests in wartime? The vision of ideal marriage promoted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare drew on established principles for ‘eugenic marriage’, alongside a burgeoning emphasis on patriotism and ‘spiritual mobilisation’ (精神動員) that was intended to counteract troubling social developments. The pernicious influence of Anglo-American thought, with its purported emphasis on individualism and extravagance, was identified as a key threat that led to unnecessary delays in getting married and came under attack by the newly established Marriage Patriotism Society (結婚報國懇話會). The Society further targeted weddings under their campaign to improve marriage ceremonies as a key site where Japanese subjects could perform these new wartime values of thrift and patriotism. The Ministry of Health and Welfare further created a series of awards designed to celebrate model marriages that met the new state imperatives of health, fecundity and patriotism. Efforts to reform marital practices, however, failed to sway many Japanese and how best to influence reproductive decision-making remained a source of intense anxiety among eugenicist reformers.

Existing studies have tended to frame growing state interest in managing marriage and reproduction in wartime Japan as part of the state’s increasingly totalitarian control over its subjects. Histories of sexual politics and reproduction have underscored the coercive nature of pronatalism, highlighting how the state sought to curtail reproductive freedoms through prohibitions on birth control and abortion, and medical surveillance of pregnant women.<sup>344</sup> The wartime emphasis on attaining a large population was a significant departure from prewar understandings of the population problem which, drawing on Malthusian theory, predominantly stressed the threat of overpopulation.<sup>345</sup> Gender historians have also

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<sup>344</sup> See for example Terazawa, *Knowledge, Power, and Women’s Reproductive Health in Japan*; Fujime Yuki, *Sei no rekishigaku*. (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1997); Ogino Miho, “From Natalism to Family Planning: Population Policy in Wartime and Postwar Period”, trans. Leonie Strickland. In *Gender, Nation and State in Modern Japan*, eds. Andrea Germer, Vera Mackie and Ulrike Wöhr. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014).

<sup>345</sup> Lee, “Problematizing Population”, esp. ch 2; Tipton, “Birth Control and the Population Problem”. Indeed, Scholars disagree over the extent and longevity of state support for pronatalism. Fujime depicts the Japanese state as consistently pronatalist, while other scholars such as Drixler have highlighted how the pre-war state also supported measures to curb population growth, such as infanticide. Fabian Drixler, *Mabiki: Infanticide and Population Growth in Eastern Japan, 1660–1950*. (Berkley: University of California Press, 2013).

emphasised the gendered nature of citizenship in wartime Japan, revealing how the elevation of motherhood to a national duty created new opportunities as well as new challenges for women. Under the Peace Preservation Law, women were excluded from formal politics. In this context, women in prewar Japan were primarily integrated into national political life through their roles as mothers and homemakers. Many activists within the women's movement saw wartime mobilisation as an opportunity to increase women's public role.<sup>346</sup> State interest in increasing birth rates also led to key welfare gains to support mothers, with the passage of the Mother and Child Protection Law (母子保護法) in 1937, which had been a longstanding aim of women's organisations.<sup>347</sup> At the same time, strong state endorsements of pronatalism produced tensions over women's work inside and outside the home.<sup>348</sup>

Given strong state support for pronatalism in the 1940s, existing literature has tended to downplay the continuing influence of eugenics within the state, concluding that war exigencies led the state to abandon eugenicist concerns on population quality in favour of high population growth. Matsubara Yōko, for example, argues that wartime population policy prioritised high population growth over eugenicist concerns about population quality in her explanation of why coercive eugenicist policies, such as sterilisation, increased in the postwar period.<sup>349</sup> Christiana Norgren makes a similar point, characterising the National Eugenic Law as a largely ideological exercise.<sup>350</sup> Eugenicist efforts to reform marriage, however, continued alongside state exhortations to "give birth and multiply!"

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<sup>346</sup> For an examination of the involvement of the women's movement with the wartime Japanese state see, for example, Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 104–9; Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, esp. 140–145.

<sup>347</sup> On early feminist debates over motherhood protection see also Laurel Rasplica Rodd, "The Taishō Debate over the 'New Woman'" in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 189–190.

<sup>348</sup> On the tensions produced by state endorsements of pronatalism see for example Yoshiko Miyake, "Doubling Expectations: Motherhood and Women's Factory Work under State Management in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s", in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Thomas Havens, "Women and War in Japan, 1937–45", *The American Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (1975): 913–934; Sandra Wilson, "Family or State? Nation, War and Gender in Japan, 1937–1945". *Critical Asian Studies* 38, no. 2 (2006): 209–238. State promotion of idealised motherhood was, of course, not new. For a discussion of prewar state emphasis on motherhood see for example Kathleen Uno, "Womanhood, War, and Empire: Transmutations of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' before 1931", in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, eds. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno. (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2005).

<sup>349</sup> Matsubara, "Nihon ni okeru yūsei seisaku no keisei", 114–120.

<sup>350</sup> Norgren, *Abortion Before Birth Control*, 34–5.

(産めよ増やせよ). Rather than seeking to resolve this disunity, I foreground the tensions within governmental discourses on marriage and population policy. I find Ann Laura Stoler's call to read "along the archival grain" useful here in that it draws our attention to the "administrative anxieties", doubt and preoccupations of officials.<sup>351</sup> As Stoler argues, in the context of Dutch colonial archives

[archives] are not simply accounts of actions or records of what people thought happened. They are records of uncertainty and doubt in how people imagined they could and might make the rubrics of rule correspond to a changing imperial world.<sup>352</sup>

In Japan, profound anxieties over how best to handle the dislocations wrought by modernisation, imperial expansion and war mobilisation similarly underwrote official concern with managing marriage in the metropole. Paying close attention to the fissures and contradictions within state campaigns on marriage reveals deep anxieties within the state, and among the eugenicist reformers working within it, and exposes crucial limitations of state power. As we saw in Chapters I and II, eugenicist social reformers concerned with the limited uptake of eugenics among the Japanese public increasingly turned to the state to prosecute their agenda and, in the 1940s, succeeded in securing state support for eugenics. Despite their not inconsiderable successes, as shown in Chapter II, eugenicist social reformers remained frustrated by their limited ability to persuade—or compel—those deemed 'unfit' from reproducing. This chapter argues that the same anxieties also troubled eugenicist ambitions over regulating reproduction among the 'fit' population. Eugenicist reformers within the Ministry of Health and Welfare were beset by uncertainties and doubts about what the future held for Japan and deeply concerned about their ability to enlist the Japanese population in campaigns to serve the empire through marriage and childbirth. For these eugenicist reformers, at least, the common image of a wartime Japanese state that exerted extensive power over the sexual and reproductive lives of its subjects was still frustratingly out of reach.

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<sup>351</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 7.

<sup>352</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain* 4.

## Wartime Population Policy and the ‘Marriage Problem’

After 1937, the Japanese state became increasingly interested in population policy as a necessary aspect of its preparations for war. Securing a large and healthy population of ethnic Japanese (内地人) who could swell the ranks of the military and labour forces was identified as a crucial precursor for victory. In 1941 the Ministry of Health and Welfare announced Japan’s first population strategy, the *Outline for the Establishment of the Population Policy* (人口政策確立要綱). This document explicitly tied the cultivation of the Japanese population to the success of the “imperial mission” (皇國の使命) of building the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.<sup>353</sup> Rapid improvements in the quality and quantity of the Japanese population were seen in this context as a vital step in “securing [Japanese] leadership in Asia” (東亜に於ける指導力を確保する).<sup>354</sup> Of key concern was not only the size and quality of the Japanese population, but its relative strength vis-à-vis other nations. The stated objectives of the policy outline emphasised the importance of population growth to securing Japanese foreign policy goals of “advanced self-defence” (高度國防) and “leadership of the various races in Asia” (東亜諸民族に對する指導力), and explicitly aimed to “surpass other countries in terms of population growth and quality” (増殖力及資質に於て他國を凌駕する).<sup>355</sup> The new population policy aimed to increase the *naichi* population to 100 million by 1965. To this end, it established birth targets of five children per family and aimed to lower the average marriage age by three years.<sup>356</sup> Building on the earlier establishment of the Mother and Child Protection Law in 1937, a number of measures were also introduced to reduce infant mortality and improve maternal health, including the development of maternity handbooks, increased rations for pregnant women, national guidelines for nurses and midwives and healthy baby competitions.<sup>357</sup> While much existing research has focused

<sup>353</sup> “Jinkō seisaku kakuritsu yōkō no kettei”, *Jinkō mondai kenkyū* 2, no. 2 (1941): 55.

<sup>354</sup> “Jinkō seisaku kakuritsu yōkō no kettei”, 55.

<sup>355</sup> “Jinkō seisaku kakuritsu yōkō no kettei”, 55.

<sup>356</sup> “Jinkō seisaku kakuritsu yōkō no kettei”, 55.

<sup>357</sup> Terazawa, *Knowledge, Power and Women’s Reproductive Health in Japan*, 245–271; Robertson, “Blood Talks”, 199–202. National competitions for healthy, superior (優良児) babies were also held in colonial Korea and Taiwan as a measure to combat infant mortality. For more on the development of healthy baby competitions in Korea see for example, Sonja Kim, “Missionaries and ‘A Better Baby Movement’ in Colonial

on the pronatalist and maternalist emphasis of wartime population policy, the Ministry of Health and Welfare's strategy was also decidedly eugenicist in its stress on population quality.

Eugenicists in the Ministry of Health and Welfare detailed their priorities for the Japanese population in a series of propaganda posters produced in 1941 by the National Eugenic League, named *Diagrams of National Eugenics* (國民優生圖解). The document outlined two interrelated concerns: the quantity of the Japanese population vis-à-vis other countries; and its quality, as defined by the ratio of eugenically 'fit' to 'unfit' Japanese. The general impression created by this document is one of intense anxiety over a potential population crisis—what Sō has termed eugenicist's "catastrophic imagination" ('파국'의 상상력).<sup>358</sup> The Ministry of Health and Welfare was concerned that Japanese population growth, while higher than other "civilised" (文明) countries such as Germany, England and France, was slowing (Figure X). The Ministry attributed this trend principally to a decreasing birth rate. It acknowledged, however, that the death rate had also increased due to the Sino-Japanese war, which was referred to euphemistically as "the incident in 1938" (昭和 13 年には事變) and was attributed with causing a population decrease of 300,000.<sup>359</sup> Reversing this decline in population growth was vital because, the Ministry explained, "population decline means the downfall of the race" (人口の減少はその民族の滅亡を意味する).<sup>360</sup>

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Korea", in *Divine domesticities : Christian paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific*, eds. Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly. (Canberra: ANU Press, 2014).

<sup>358</sup> Sō argues that Japanese eugenicists attempts to exclude the 'unfit' (열성) other, and particularly their "obsession" (강박관념) with sterilisation, stem from fears about the decline of the Japanese race, and empire. Sō sees the 'unfit' as including both disabled and lowerclass Japanese as well as the colonial other. For Sō then, Japanese eugenicists were not motivated by a sense of Japanese superiority so much as fear of collapse. Sō, "Kündae Ilbon ūi usaeng sasang kwa 'p'akuk' ūi sangsangryōk", 40, 44.

<sup>359</sup> Kokumin yūsei renmei, "Kokumin yūsei zukai", 29.

<sup>360</sup> Kokumin yūsei renmei, "Kokumin yūsei zukai", 29.



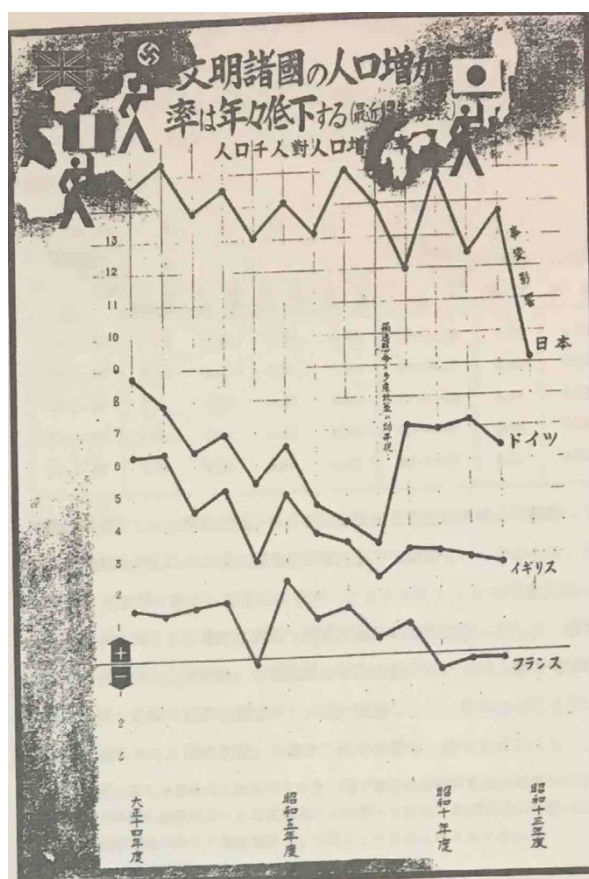


Figure X: Population Growth Among Civilised Countries is Declining Poster

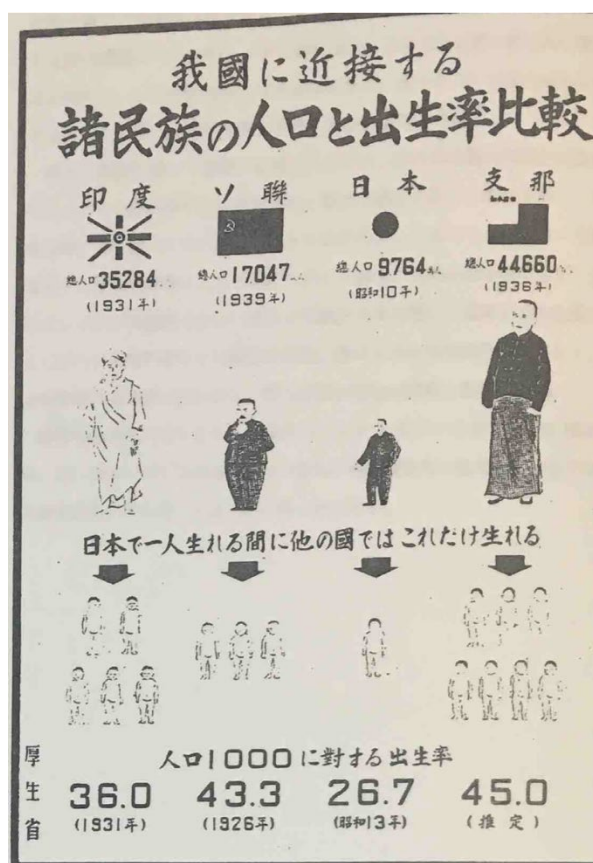


Figure XI: Japan's Population Size Compared to its Neighbours Poster

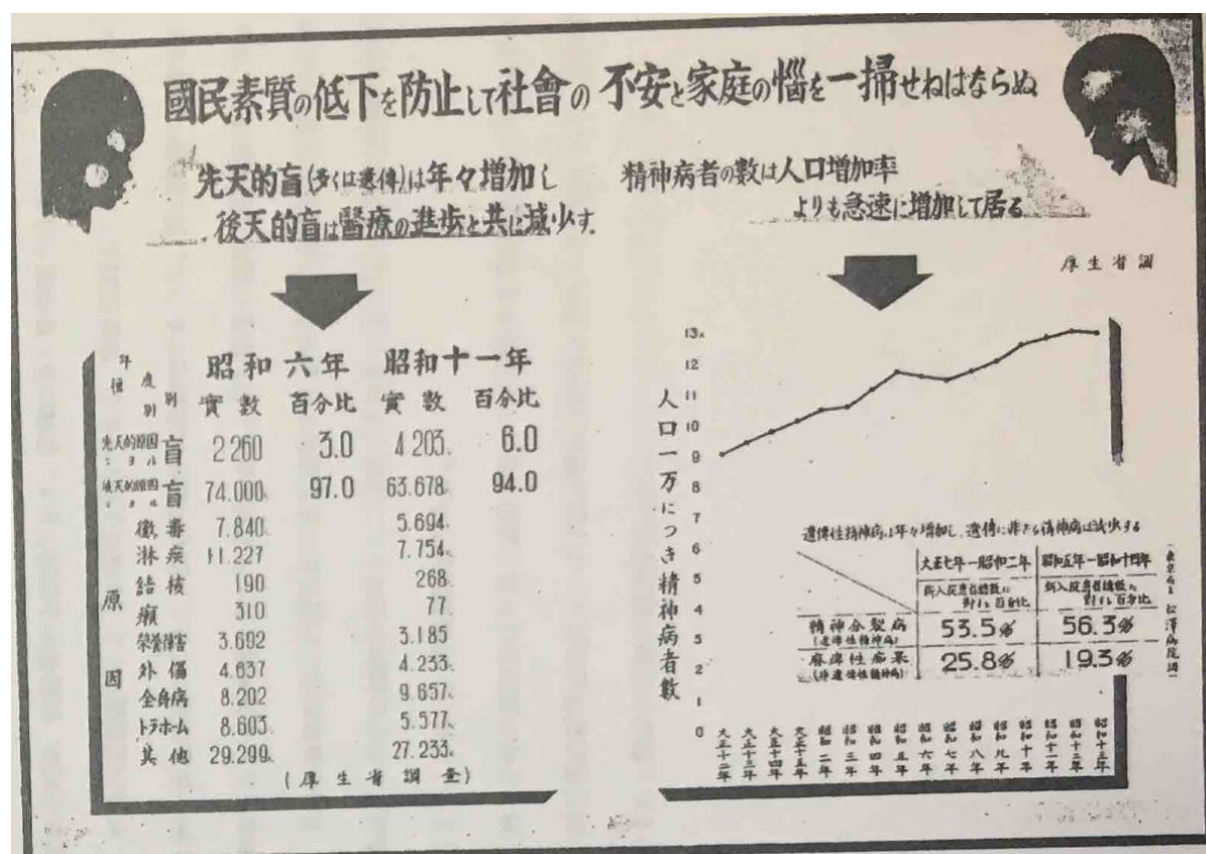


Figure XII: The Quality of the Populace is Deteriorating Poster

The relationship between population size and national strength was made clear in a second poster from the series (Figure XI), which compared the present and projected population size of Japanese and its neighbours of Russia, India and China. The poster illustrates that, unless an urgent intervention is made, Japan was set to have the smallest population of its Asian neighbours. The depiction of Japan as dwarfed by its much larger neighbours—especially China—highlights Ministry concerns that population decline would undercut Japan's ambitions to become a leading player on the international stage. This sense of crisis was further heightened by fears regarding the declining quality of the Japanese population.

The Ministry of Health and Welfare feared that the comparatively high birth rate of 'unfit' Japanese, compared to 'fit' Japanese, would result in the deterioration of the Japanese race through the process of "reverse selection" (逆淘汰).<sup>361</sup> The 'unfit' was primarily defined as

<sup>361</sup> Kokumin yūsei renmei, "Kokumin yūsei zukai", 34. The original Japanese used in this document is 逆淘汰, which appears to be a misprint of 逆淘汰.

those with “unhealthy” hereditary traits, with hereditary blindness and mental illness being highlighted as two pertinent examples (Figure XII). There was also, however, an implicit class element. As one diagram (Figure XIII) in the series explained because “unhealthy” Japanese reproduce at twice the rate of “healthy” Japanese, if left to chance, the quality of the Japanese race would slowly deteriorate. This characterisation was based on the results of a 1934 study of the comparative birth rates of Tokyo couples with different levels of education. The poster summarised the study as follows: “the birth rate of the uneducated (many of whom are retarded) is greater than that of healthy people” (不就學者（多くの低能）の出産力は健全者より大である）。<sup>362</sup> This presumed relationship between education and mental capacity was justified by the Ministry of Health and Welfare as a fair assumption given that, due to the popular uptake of education, individuals were now more likely to have not attended school because of “feeble-mindedness and other defects in the quality of the individual” (本人の素質に精神薄弱や其の他の欠航があつた爲) rather than their “social environment” (社會環境).<sup>363</sup> This slippage between educational attainment and mental capacity indicates how broad categories like “feeble-mindedness”, also functioned as stand-ins for concerns about class.

<sup>362</sup> Kokumin yūsei renmei, “Kokumin yūsei zukai”, 33.

<sup>363</sup> Kokumin yūsei renmei, “Kokumin yūsei zukai”, 33.

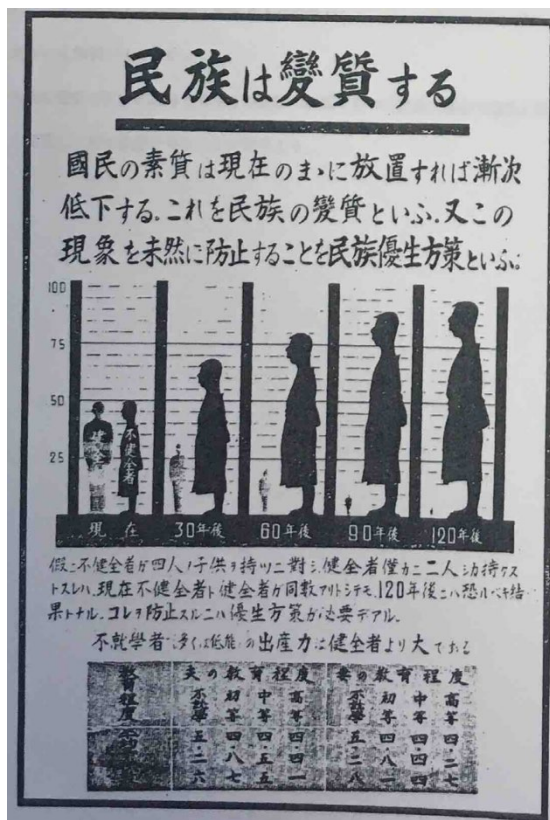


Figure XIII: The Race is Degenerating Poster

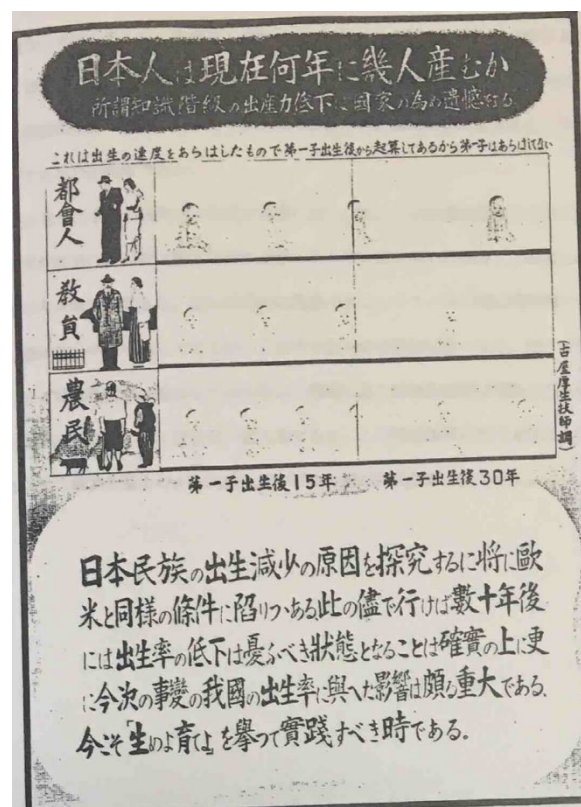


Figure XIV: Class and Comparative Birthrates Poster

Concerns about the uneven rates of reproduction among the classes were further emphasised in another poster from the series (Figure XIV). Figure XIV depicts the number of children born by farmers, teachers and city dwellers respectively. Drawing on research by Tokyo University on the comparative birth rates of married couples in various areas in Tokyo as well as the farming districts of Okayama and Ishikawa prefectures, the poster explains that while farming couples on average have six children over a 30-year period, intellectuals have only four. The report explains that the “extremely low” (甚だしく低い) birth rate of Tokyo residents is consistent across all age groups, with the middle class and “so-called intellectual class” (所謂知識階級) reproducing at the lowest rates. As the subtitle laments “the declining birth rate of the so-called intelligentsia is a disgrace to our nation” (所謂知識階級の出生力低下は國家の爲め遺憾である).<sup>364</sup> The accompanying explanation for this poster

<sup>364</sup> Kokumin yūsei renmei, “Kokumin yūsei zukai”, 32.

further stressed that the upper class were insufficiently committed to the state's population priorities. It states:

the so-called cultured classes should not now be losing to farmers in childbirth patriotism. ... This is extremely regrettable for our country. We should raise the national consciousness of the intellectual class and sweep away this disgrace.

世の所謂文化人は今こそ日本民族のために農民達に負けない様に産児報國の實を挙げねばならない。…現象は國家のため甚だ遺憾なことと言はねばならない。知識階級の人達は今こそ國家意識に目覺めて此不名誉を一掃せねばならない。<sup>365</sup>

As we shall see, the growing disparity between birth rates among the rural, lower classes and the urban middle and upper classes was attributed to the rise of new, imported ideas on individualism, consumerism and an increase in knowledge, and use, of new technologies of birth control. In this context, eugenicists sought to reform not only traditional marital practices, which they saw as underemphasising the importance of health and heredity, but also counteract the threat of new, destabilising ideas that framed marriage as primarily an individual choice, not a family or national matter. The pressing need for population growth required a substantial rethinking of reproduction and childbirth that framed conjugal relations as a matter of national importance. Marriage, and childbirth, was not a personal matter, but a new and essential civic duty. Eugenicist reformers within the Ministry of Health and Welfare sought to enlighten the Japanese public—and especially Japanese youth—on this new obligation “to serve the nation by marrying” (結婚報國).<sup>366</sup>

## The Marriage Patriotism Society

In 1941, *Asahi shimbun* announced the establishment of a new auxiliary organisation tasked with promoting the state vision of marriage, declaring that now “there is even a new order for Cupid” (結びの神も新体制).<sup>367</sup> This new organisation, which was formally established on

<sup>365</sup> Kokumin yūsei renmei, “Kokumin yūsei zukai”, 32.

<sup>366</sup> I am influenced by Strickland's translation of 産児報國 as “to serve the nation by giving birth” here. See Ogino, “From Natalism to Family Planning”, 199. A more literal translation is ‘marriage patriotism’.

<sup>367</sup> “‘Musubi no kami’ mo shin taisei: Kekkō hokokukai o soshikishite shingun”, *Asahi shimbun*, August 10, 1941, 5.



10 January the following year, was called the Marriage Patriotism Society (結婚報國懇話會).<sup>368</sup> Located within the Maternal and Child Welfare section (母子課) of the Ministry of Health and Welfare's Population Department, the Marriage Patriotism Society was tasked with mobilising the Japanese population behind the government's new population priorities. The Marriage Patriotism Society built on preexisting effort by the National Spiritual Mobilisation League (國民精神總動員運動) to 'rationalise' and streamline everyday life behind the war effort, combining them with the broader eugenicist project of improving the quality and quantity of the population. The Society was integrated into the organisational structure of the Ministry of Health and Welfare; the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Health and Welfare presided over the Marriage Patriotism Society as the society president, while the president of the Population Department served as the chief director (理事長). The day-to-day affairs of the Marriage Patriotism Society were managed by two managing directors (常務理事): the Head of the Maternal and Child Welfare section, Aoki Hideo (青木秀夫; 1903–2001); and the Head of the Ministry of Health and Welfare's Eugenic Marriage Consultation Centre, Yasui Hiroshi.<sup>369</sup> The Marriage Patriotism Society was established to address the "urgent matter" (急務) of improving the quality and quantity of the Japanese population in order to assist the war effort. Marriage was identified as the foremost vehicle through which population improvements could be achieved. As the Society explained:

An extremely important matter of our times is to successfully execute the Great Pacific War and establish the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In order to achieve this, we need to rapidly increase our population. The perpetual proliferation of the Japanese population and rapid improvement of its quality is an urgent matter. Therefore, the government established the *Outline for the Establishment of a Population Policy*, which we wholeheartedly support.

However, the root of population growth is marriage. Currently, men and women have an individualistic perspective on marriage or are bewildered

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<sup>368</sup> Kōseisho kenminkyoku boshika, "Dai-Nihon Kekkon hōkokukai sōritsu kyōka shirei no ken", 2.

<sup>369</sup> "Kekkon hōkoku konwakai kaisoku". Available in *Sei to seishoku no jinken mondai shiryō shūsei* vol. 23, eds. Miho Ogino, Yōko Matsubara and Hikaru Saitō. (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan 2000), 10. The original report in *Jinkō mondai kenkyū* lists the second managing director and Head of the Maternal and Child Welfare Section as Itō Kiyoshi (伊藤清; 1903–1980), while Aoki is listed as a lower-ranked director. See "Kekkon hōkoku konwakai kaisoku", *Jinkō mondai kenkyū* 3, no. 2 (1942): 58–61.

by superstitions and because of this miss their marriageable age. In general, society still does not sufficiently recognise the national and ethnic importance of marriage. Existing marriage services largely treat marriage as a personal matter and do not interfere [with individual decisions]. The cumulative result of these factors is that men and women will tend to delay marriage more and more. This is terribly concerning given our national population policy. The government and the people must together take urgent measures to address this.

現下ノ非常事態ヲ突破シテ大東亜戦争ヲ完遂シ大東亜共栄圏ヲ確立センガ爲ニハ我が國人口ノ急務ニシテ且永續的ナル發展増殖ト其ノ資質ノ飛躍的ナル向上ヲ喫緊ノ急務トス從ツテ政府ニ於テハ曩ニ人口政策確立要綱ヲ決定シ銳意之ガ實現ニ邁進セラレツ、アリ

然ルニ人口増強ノ根幹タル結婚ニ付テハ男女共今尚個人主義的結婚觀に捉ハレ或ハ迷信ニ惑ハサレテ徒ラニ婚期ヲ失シ一般社會亦結婚ノ國家的民族的重要性ニ對スル認識薄ク之ガ成立斡旋ニ付テハ概ネ個人的私事トシテ放任セラレ爲ニ時局ノ推移ニ伴フ諸條件ノ累増ニ依リ男女ノ婚期ハ益々遅延ノ傾向ニテルハ我が國人口政策上憂慮ニ堪ヘザル所ニシテ官民一致協力シテ之ガ促進ノ爲適當ナル方途ヲ講ズルハ刻下ノ急務ナリト謂フベシ<sup>370</sup>

To this end, the Marriage Patriotism Society identified nine key tasks to encourage marriage:

1. Enlighten the public about marriage patriotism  
結婚報國思想ノ啓蒙
2. Encourage healthy marriages and marriage at the appropriate age  
適齡結婚及健康結婚ノ獎勵
3. Encourage marriage services  
結婚斡旋ノ獎勵
4. Promote the establishment of a marriage services institution and mutual contact [between existing organisations]  
結婚斡旋機關ノ設置獎勵及相互ノ聯絡
5. Improve marriage ceremonies  
結婚行事ノ改善
6. Eliminate superstitions about marriage  
結婚ニ關スル迷信ノ打破
7. Contact relevant institutions and foster cooperation  
關係團體トノ聯絡協調
8. Conduct research on the marriage problem  
結婚問題ニ關スル調査研究
9. Conduct other activities that are essential to achieving the Society's aims

<sup>370</sup> “Kekkon hōkoku konwakai kaisoku”, 9.

其ノ他本會ノ目的達成ニ必要ナル事業<sup>371</sup>

The predominant emphasis of the Marriage Patriotism Society's agenda was to educate the Japanese public on the national significance of marriage and the importance of aligning one's marital decisions with state population priorities. 'Correct' thinking on marriage in wartime involved demonstrating a commitment to furthering the war effort not only by playing a part in increasing the quantity and quality of the Japanese population, but also—as Yasui Hiroshi put it—by “driving out” (追出して) incorrect, individualistic thoughts from one's mind.<sup>372</sup> Indeed, “eliminating unsound thoughts” (不健全なる思想の排除) was listed as the first measure to increase the population in the *Outline for the Establishment of the Population Policy*, alongside strengthening the family system.<sup>373</sup> Marriage mobilisation was, in this sense, also an intensely ideological campaign and was situated within broader 'spiritual mobilisation' efforts.

### **Eradicating Anglo-American Thought: Marriage, Romance and the Threat of Individualism**

As discussed in Chapter I, from the early 1930s the JARH was concerned that growing popular interest in 'free love' and romance would distract young Japanese men and women from making rational marital decisions that prioritised eugenicist criteria on health and heredity. By the early 1940s, in the context of wartime campaigns against Western influence, such anxieties among leading eugenicists had reached new peaks. Japanese youth were thought to be unreasonably delaying marriages due to their 'selfish' interest in romance and insufficient commitment to realising Japan's population priorities. Yasui Hiroshi identified the influence of “Anglo-American thought” (米英思想) as a key factor behind the

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<sup>371</sup> “Kekkon hōkoku konwakai kaisoku”, 9.

<sup>372</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 101.

<sup>373</sup> “Jinkō seisaku kakuritsu yōkō no kettei”, 55. Gender historians have highlighted such references to 'incorrect thoughts' as evidence of the centrality of motherhood to wartime ideology and the ideal of the family-state. Miyake, for example, argues that the “primary purpose” of the wartime emphasis on motherhood was to reinvigorate the family system. My purpose in highlighting the connection between marriage reform campaigns and ideological mobilization differs in that I seek to highlight how eugenicist ideology functioned not only in the realm of coercive state policies designed to limit reproduction among the 'unfit', but also underwrote ideological campaigns that sought to influence the reproductive decisions of 'fit' Japanese. Miyake, “Doubling Expectations”, 268.



troubling trend of late marriages.<sup>374</sup> Yasui clarified that Western ideas were not “entirely bad” (悉く悪いといふのではない).<sup>375</sup> He approvingly noted the positive developments following the introduction of Western scientific models since Meiji. The key problem was the uncritical adoption of not only Western technologies but also Western ideas. He stated that overly positive views of the West had driven “the people towards worshipping the West and resulted in a major calamity” (國民をどこまでも西洋崇拜の思想に追込んで行つたところに、大きな禍を残したのであつた).<sup>376</sup> In particular he identified lavish spending, pointless use of English language, American movies, dance halls, jazz music, new styles of feminine dress, including permed hair, “gaudy” (毒々しい) makeup and high heels, as well as “carnal customs like kissing” (動物的の習慣である接吻の習慣など) as destructive examples of “blind worship” (盲目的の西洋崇拜) of the West.<sup>377</sup>

Criticisms of the sexual and consumer behaviour of Japanese youth were not new. From at least the 1920s, conservative commentators expressed alarm that the spread of new ideals of love and individualism among Japanese youth threatened existing social relations. These fears were encapsulated in the emblematic figure of the ‘modern girl’.<sup>378</sup> Beginning with the post-WWI recession, material hardship and changes in the Japanese economy saw the rise of young women working outside the home in new professions such as shopgirls, typists, elevator girls and café waitresses.<sup>379</sup> Such women became objects of social criticism—and

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<sup>374</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 95.

<sup>375</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 95.

<sup>376</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 95. Yasui is referencing well-established currents in propaganda here. In the 1940s, internal government documents listed improving education so as to correct the tendency among the Japanese public to “worship the West” as one of five key goals in furthering the so-called ‘thought war’. See Takumi Satō, “The System of Total War and the Discursive Space of the Thought War”, in *Total War and ‘Modernization’*, eds. Yasushi Yamanouchi, J. Victor Koschmann and Ryuichi Narita. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 294.

<sup>377</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 95–98; quote 97.

<sup>378</sup> For a discussion of the modern girl see for example, Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*, esp. ch. 2; Miriam Silverberg, “The Modern Girl as Militant”, in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Alisa Freedman, Laura Miller and Christine R. Yano (eds). *Modern Girls on the Go*.

<sup>379</sup> While economic necessity was the driving force behind the entry of most middle-class women into the workforce, new employment opportunities also played a key role. For a discussion of middle-class women’s motivations for seeking paid employment outside the home see Margit Nagy, “Middle-Class Working Women During the Interwar Years”, in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 204–210.

editor—as representatives of the glamour and opportunity offered by modernity as well as its attendant risks of social dislocation and changing gender norms. The ‘modern girl’, identified by her bobbed hair and Western dress, was popularly associated with consumerism, sexual promiscuity and immorality, and was often derided as little more than an “impulsive flapper”.<sup>380</sup> While the male counterpart to the ‘modern girl’, the ‘modern boy’, was similarly viewed as a cause for concern, he provoked far less media attention than the ‘modern girl’.<sup>381</sup> Changing social roles and gendered expectations for women threatened to destabilise a family system already in flux. A rumoured rise in divorce, juvenile delinquency and other family problems were viewed by conservative commentators as evidence of a moral decline threatening the social fabric of Japan. Japanese youth, in particular, were thought to be increasingly engaging in frivolous and hedonistic behaviour, as encapsulated in the neologism ‘erotic, grotesque nonsense’ (エログロナンセンス).<sup>382</sup>

These fears of moral decline were not accurate representations of change in Japanese society. While the figure of the ‘modern girl’ only ever represented the lives of a small minority of urban Japanese women, her ubiquitous presence in the mass media spoke to the intensity of popular anxieties over changes to social and sexual behaviour. Despite the popular perception in Japan that the divorce rate was increasing, the number of divorces steadily declined throughout the first half of the twentieth century. There was however an increase in divorce cases, and other family disputes, being settled in court. This was both due to increased legal oversight of marital matters following the promulgation of the 1898 Meiji Civil Code and an increase in wife-initiated divorces. According to Fuess, 85 per cent of court arbitrated divorces from the 1900s to 1940s were initiated by wives. While contemporaneous media coverage painted wife-initiated divorces as a sign of female promiscuity and declining commitment to the family, the reality was more mundane: the majority of cases involved a wife who had been abandoned or otherwise did not know her husband’s whereabouts seeking to legally sever ties.<sup>383</sup> Still, the prominence of such

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<sup>380</sup> Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*, 65.

<sup>381</sup> For a recent examination of modern boys see Debbie Chan, “The Modern Boy as the New Body of Modernity? Contesting the Meaning of Masculinity in Early 20th-century Japan”, *Asian Studies Review* (2022): [n.p]. (online pre-print)

<sup>382</sup> Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*, 72.

<sup>383</sup> Fuess, *Divorce in Japan*, 2–3, 129.

discourse in mass media speaks to a widespread anxiety among conservative commentators. For eugenicists, like Yasui Hiroshi, these worrisome social developments were linked not only to moral degradation and social instability, but also to the success or failure of Japan's population policy—and by extension the war effort.

While Yasui approvingly noted that the war had intervened in these troubling trends, he expressed concern that there were still “a lot of lingering effects of our addiction to worshipping the West” (現在まだまだ沢山に残つてゐる西洋崇拜の中毒症状である), including interest in Western thought.<sup>384</sup> Most concerning, for Yasui, was the threat that Western thought had “infiltrated our country's homelife” (彼等の思想が我が國の家庭生活にまで潜り込んで).<sup>385</sup> In his 1943 volume, *Handbook for marriage in wartime* he explained:

in Europe, and especially America, the home is haunted by the demons of so-called freedom and individualism and, because of this, is falling into ruin. Marriage is just for the pleasure of the married couple. There is no regard for parent or child. Depending on their circumstances, couples even get divorced and remarried whenever they please. Property is divided. Parent and child are separated. Even if the child [is forced to] beg, their parents are under no obligation to help. There is no space to think of the child's future. As a result, the number of juvenile delinquents is increasing and in recent years it has been difficult to manage. In our country we must not let these evil thoughts, which are the archenemy of tradition, sneak in even a little.

西洋殊にアメリカの家庭といへば、所謂ゆる自由主義、個人主義の悪魔に崇られて、今や殆ど破滅に陥らんとしてゐるのである。結婚はたゞ夫婦の京楽を目的とし、親も子も眼中になく、都合次第でいつでも離婚して次の結婚に取かゝるといつた風であり、財産は夫婦、親子みな別々で、親が乞食をしても子が助ける義務はなく、子供の生ひ先きまで考へる餘裕はない。その結果として現はれたものが不良少年の増加であり、その始末には手を焼いてゐるといふのが近年の實情である。それこそ我が國、家庭の傳統に對する大敵であり、些かにても忍び込まれてはならない悪魔の思想であつたのである。<sup>386</sup>

For Yasui, insufficient commitment to marrying, was a major cause of unnecessary delays. He criticised both young men and women for having unreasonably high standards in a

<sup>384</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 98–99.

<sup>385</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 100.

<sup>386</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 100–101.

prospective spouse and being needlessly shy.<sup>387</sup> Their parents, too, were censured for taking inadequate measures to recommend marriage to their children and facilitate a match.<sup>388</sup> Over-education also came under attack, with Yasui noting that higher educational attainment for both men and women typically resulted in late marriages. This was a particular problem for educated women who tended to have difficulty in finding a spouse, which Yasui attributed to the “very haughty” (気位が高くなる) attitude of many women with a post-high school education.<sup>389</sup> Working women, too, faced challenges in making a match. Marital difficulties among working women, and especially factory workers, were often due to their proximity to male workers in factories, which led them to “lose their innocence” (人擦れしてゐる) and “feminine softness” (女らしさ柔らかさを失つてゐる).<sup>390</sup> Such statements reflected the widespread perception of ‘factory girls’ as sexually available and therefore suspect. Yasui, although, chided that this should not be a reason to “despise working women across the board” (全般的に職業婦人を嫌ふ理由にはならない) and highlighted that their familiarity with hard work and ability to earn an income might be assets in a marriage.<sup>391</sup>

### **Military Service and Wartime Marriage Difficulties**

Alongside delays associated with these broad social changes, the war effort had also brought particular obstacles for marriage with conscription. Yasui acknowledged that the biggest reason behind delays in marriage was the conscription of eligible young men to serve on the warfront. A lack of eligible bachelors was frequently cited in popular media and women’s magazines as a source of hardship for young women. In 1942, Yasui answered a question in his regular marital advice column in *Asahi shimbun* from a mother who was worried about the impact of the war on her daughters’ marriage prospects.<sup>392</sup> The woman explained that marriage talks for her daughter had broken down as the parents of the groom were hesitant to marry their son, given he would likely soon be drafted to serve on the frontlines. In reply, Yasui acknowledged that the fact that many eligible young bachelors were being drafted was

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<sup>387</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 114–116, 121–124.

<sup>388</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 114–116, 121–124.

<sup>389</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 125.

<sup>390</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 126.

<sup>391</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 127.

<sup>392</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, “Shijyō kekkon sōdan: Kokka e no gohōkō”, *Asahi shimbun*, October 15, 1942, 4.

indeed causing “marital difficulties” (結婚難) for young women. However, he explained, in order to mitigate “future population problems” (将来の人口問題) it was crucial that young women and men marry. He continued:

Those who are expecting to be drafted or readying themselves to depart for war, if the opportunity arises, should marry without hesitation. Those who have returned from the frontlines, should marry as soon as possible. In this way, soldiers who are healthy in body and mind can serve the state a second time by leaving behind many descendants.

應召を豫期する人も出征を覺悟する人も機會さへあれば、どしどし結婚すべきであり、戦地から帰還した人もなるべく速かに結婚してもらひたいのです。さうして、これらの心身共に健全な軍人が一人でも多くの後継者を遺すことは、國家にたいして二重の御奉公と申してよろしいのであります。

For Yasui, the key problem, over and above practical challenges, was an attitudinal one—Japanese youth were unprepared to play their role in ensuring the future prosperity of Japan by supporting the population policy through marriage and childbirth. He expanded on these sentiments in his 1943 volume *Handbook for marriage in wartime* (戦時結婚教程), reprimanding men and women for being hesitant to marry due to fears that a groom could soon be conscripted. He instructed women to be prepared that their spouse could be drafted, declaring that hesitation to marry due to military service is a “failing of Japanese women’s role” (日本女性たるの本分を失ふことになるであらう). He continued:

If you marry a military man, even if he dies in war, you can raise splendid children. You should be prepared to not disgrace the name of a husband who has died a martyr for his country. That is the first duty of a woman in a military nation.

軍人に嫁し、萬一夫が戦死するやうことがあつても、立派に家を守り子女を育て、國家に殉じた夫の名を辱めないだけの覺悟があつてこそ、初めて軍國女性の本分を盡し得たこととなるのである<sup>393</sup>

Similarly, men were instructed not to hesitate to marry quickly, even if they end up marrying the day before they are drafted. Rather, they

<sup>393</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 128.

should take up the warrior spirit of today's Japan and ... resolve to perform the dual public duties of serving in the battlefield and leaving behind flourishing descendants

今の日本人は國を擧げて武士の魂を持つてゐなくてはならぬので、… 戦場における勲功の上に、更に子孫の繁栄によつて二重の御奉公を果たす覺悟がなくてはならない<sup>394</sup>

What, then, of returning soldiers who were no longer “healthy in body and mind”? Disabled veterans (傷痍軍人), who returned from the war in large numbers, faced difficulties in finding a bride. The Japanese state first identified the limited marriage prospects of disabled veterans as a key problem in 1937.<sup>395</sup> From 1938 the National Spiritual Mobilisation League called for unmarried women to demonstrate their patriotic sentiment by marrying disabled veterans.<sup>396</sup> Women's magazines, too, frequently reported on the exemplary marriages between patriotic women and disabled veterans.<sup>397</sup> The Marriage Patriotism Society supported specialist matchmaking services to assist these men. As Lee Pennington has shown a key purpose of marriage services for disabled veterans was also rehabilitation: securing supportive wives was considered to be a crucial first step in reintegrating disabled veterans into society and the war effort.<sup>398</sup> Eugenacists, such as Yasui Hiroshi, typically encouraged marrying disabled veterans as their injuries were acquired, not hereditary, and they had demonstrated clear patriotic sentiment.<sup>399</sup> In 1942, for example, Yasui responded to a letter from a young woman who wished to marry a disabled veteran in his column in *Asahi shimbun*.<sup>400</sup> The woman in question had met a disabled veteran at the factory where they both worked, and was seeking advice on how to broach the topic of marriage with her father. She explained that her prospective spouse had had his left arm amputated during his service but was otherwise a physically healthy and hardworking man. Yasui's response celebrated this young woman's desire to marry a disabled veteran. Marrying a disabled veteran—as the subtitle of the article proclaimed—was “the ultimate service for a Japanese

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<sup>394</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 119–120.

<sup>395</sup> Lee K. Pennington, “Wives for the Wounded: Marriage Mediation for Japanese Disabled Veterans during World War II,” *Journal of Social History* 53, no. 3 (2020): 671.

<sup>396</sup> Pennington, “Wives for the Wounded”, 676.

<sup>397</sup> For an English-language discussion of media coverage see Pennington, “Wives for the Wounded”, 681–2.

<sup>398</sup> Pennington, “Wives for the Wounded”, 669.

<sup>399</sup> For Yasui's position on disabled veterans see for example, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 161–164.

<sup>400</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, “Shijyō kekkon sōdan: Shōhei e totsugu tōtoi kokoro”, *Asahi shimbun*, October 7, 1942, 4.

woman” (日本人婦人としての最高の奉仕). Yasui recommended that the woman explain to her father than despite his disability (不具廃疾), her suitor was from a eugenic perspective healthy and would leave behind “splendid descendants” (立派な子孫). He explained, “it is extremely important for the national spirit that these heroes leave behind descendants [who can carry on] their legacy” (これらの勇士をして由緒ある後継者を遺さしむことは國民精神の上から極めて大切なことであります). Despite such endorsements, brides for wounded veterans were not forthcoming and, as this very column suggests, women who did choose to marry disabled veterans often reported that they were met with family opposition.<sup>401</sup> Indeed the intensity and frequency of calls to marry for the empire also exposes the real limitations of the project of patriotic marriage. Yasui, like other eugenicist reformers in the JARH, had been advocating for the national significance of marriage and childbirth since the early 1930s. In the early 1940s, the pressing need for a large, healthy military and labour force to fight an expanding war imbued such calls with increasing patriotic fervour. Yasui’s frequent appeals to the Japanese public to recognise their role in furthering Japan’s population priorities, and through them the war effort, also conversely indicates the limited reach of eugenics—it was still very much necessary to convince everyday Japanese men and women that marriage was an issue of national significance.

### **Performing Patriotic Marriage: Thrift and the Campaign to Improve Wedding Ceremonies**

In addition to enlightening the Japanese public on the “correct” way to view marriage, the Marriage Patriotism Society also sought to alleviate practical obstacles to marriage. Financial barriers in particular were targeted for reform. In 1942 the Marriage Patriotism Society outlined its *Policy for Improving Marriage Ceremonies* (結婚行事改善指針), which highlighted the prohibitively high cost of getting married. According to the report, marriage expenses in Japan at the time cost at least 50 per cent of a household’s yearly income and, in some cases, as much as 100–120 per cent of their yearly income making marriage unobtainable for many.<sup>402</sup> To address this problem, the Ministry of Health and Welfare established loans for

<sup>401</sup> Pennington, “Wives for the Wounded”, 684.

<sup>402</sup> Kekkon hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkon gyōji kaizen shishin”. Available in *Sei to seishoku no jinken mon*

marital expenses. Marriage loans of up to 300 yen were available to cover costs associated with a wedding including wedding clothes and deposit. The loans were subject to an interest rate of 8 per cent and needed to be repaid within four years. To apply for a loan both parties were required to meet stringent criteria that verified the desirability of their union.

Specifically, couples needed to verify that they meet five key criteria:

1. be healthy in body and mind;  
心身共に健康なこと
2. have parents and siblings without any severe hereditary illnesses such as hereditary mental illness and hereditary feeble-mindedness (retardation);  
両親及び同胞中に遺傳性精神病、遺傳性精神薄弱（低能）などの悪い遺傳病に罹つたものがないこと
3. behave correctly and be of sound thought;  
素行正しく思想堅實なこと
4. not have a bad reputation regarding family harmony;  
雙方家庭圓滿にして悪評のないこと
5. and, for men, be financially independent.  
男子は独立の生活を営んで居ること <sup>403</sup>

Applicants were further instructed to verify their health status via a health examination at the Ministry's eugenic marriage consultation centre or with a doctor.<sup>404</sup> As these criteria illustrate, mental illness was singled out as a key example of negative hereditary traits. This likely reflects its status in eugenicist discourse as a 'hidden' threat that might go unnoticed by a prospective spouse. As noted in Chapter II, mental illness was also a particular interest of Yasui. These criteria also indicate that health and heredity alone did not make up a eugenic marriage, with social position and 'correct' behaviour also occupying key positions. In the context of wartime mobilisation references to 'correct' thought also invoked the importance of patriotic service to the empire.

Newspaper coverage of the new marriage loan scheme stressed the patriotic sentiment of applicants and the importance of 'correct' thought regarding marriage. The first person to apply for a loan was a factory worker at the Shibaura branch of Tokyo Electric Company, Yanagida Riichi. Yanagida had served on the frontlines in China and on his return had applied

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*dai shiryō shūsei* vol. 23, eds. Miho Ogino, Yōko Matsubara and Hikaru Saitō. (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 2000), 1.

<sup>403</sup> "Kokumin yūsei renmei no yūsei kekkon shikin kifu", 84.

<sup>404</sup> "Kokumin yūsei renmei no yūsei kekkon shikin kifu", 84.



for a 250-yen loan to facilitate his marriage to a fellow factory worker. Newspaper coverage portrayed his upcoming nuptials as a civic duty akin to his prior military service. He was quoted as saying, “I am grateful for the second opportunity to serve my country by rearing many healthy children”.<sup>405</sup> A second successful applicant, Inamura Seizo, a factory worker at Japan Rubber Industry Company who had served in the Nomonhan Incident in Manchuria in 1939, was quoted as making a similar analogy. He declared: “I will begin my married life with the same determination as when offering my life to the nation in war”.<sup>406</sup> Such coverage reflected the Marriage Patriotism Society’s desire to “popularise the correct view of marriage” (結婚ニ關スル正シキ思想ノ普及), which recognised its national significance.<sup>407</sup>

Indeed, the Marriage Patriotism Society’s *Policy for Improving Marriage Ceremonies* did not emphasise financial aid so much as the need to eradicate individualistic attitudes that promoted overly expensive weddings.

The Marriage Patriotism Society identified unnecessary “extravagance” (浪費) as being the most important reason behind growing marital expenses. The report lamented that concerns about status and competition between households had led to a situation where marital preparations had become increasingly wasteful and weddings were treated as “playthings of parents’ prestige and vanity” (親の虚榮心や體面の玩具).<sup>408</sup> Even worse, were accounts of families taking on significant debts to pay for marital preparations. This was not only illogical, as it created unnecessary financial pressures on a couple after marriage, it also contradicted the state’s emphasis on thrift. As the Marriage Patriotism Society declared:

In a great war, when the rise and fall of the state is at stake, being proud of owning many clothes or competing to have many guests at a luxurious banquet due to selfish vanity goes against the spirit of the time. Therefore, these behaviours can be said to be unpatriotic. All citizens should be aware that if we thoroughly simplify marriage events, we can save several hundred million in wasted expenses every year.

<sup>405</sup> “Rehabilitation Loan Aid Many Marriages”, *The Japan Times and Advertiser*, June 30, 1941, 2.

<sup>406</sup> “Rehabilitation Loan Aid Many Marriages”, 2.

<sup>407</sup> “Kekkon hōkoku konwakai kaisoku”, 9.

<sup>408</sup> Kekkon hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkon gyōji kaisen shishin”, 1.

國家の興亡を賭して行はれてゐる大戦下において、自己中心の虚榮心から、衣裳調度の多きを誇り合つたり、豪華な饗宴を聞いて客の多きを競つたりするやうなことは、全く時局の精神に背反するもので、非國民の所爲であるといつて差支ありません。この際國民全體が眞に自覺して結婚行事の簡易化に徹底するにおいては、そのみにて年々數億の濫費を節減することが出来るのであります。<sup>409</sup>

Yasui had previously voiced his support for more economical and ‘rational’ marriage practices. In a 1937 editorial, he celebrated the establishment of the National Spiritual Mobilisation League’s campaign against “empty formalities and pretension” (虚禮虚飾), calling it an opportunity for a “great revolution” (一大變革) in marriage practices. Rationally managing not just desire, but also household finances, would be a key part of ideal marriage practices in the future. He continued:

Instead of choosing lineage, choose seed. Instead of paying attention to wealth, pay attention to health. Rather than throwing away a fortune on a wedding ceremony, rationalise [your spending and consider] your daily life the day after your wedding.

家柄を選ぶ代わり種柄を選べ。財産に目をつける代わりに健康に目をつけよ。舉式に巨費を投ぜんよりば、翌日の日常生活を合理化せよ。<sup>410</sup>

Wartime discourse on marriage targeted wedding ceremonies as a space where Japanese subjects—and colonial subjects as we shall see in Chapter V—could perform patriotic service to the empire.

The Marriage Patriotism Society’s 1942 policy on improving marriage ceremonies, also listed detailed criteria on how to conduct a marriage ceremony. The recommendations were divided into five sections concerning different aspects of ceremony: engagement gifts, wedding preparations, the wedding ceremony itself, wedding attire, wedding reception, exchanging gifts, and marriage registration.<sup>411</sup> The guidelines emphasised above all the need to conduct a wedding, from start to finish, in a frugal manner. To this end, it discouraged

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<sup>409</sup> Kekkon hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkon gyōji kaisen shishin”, 1.

<sup>410</sup> Yasui Hiroshi, “Kantōgen”, *Yūsei* 2, no. 10 (1937): 1.

<sup>411</sup> Kekkon hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkon gyōji kaisen shishin”.

engagement gifts in the form of cash and the exchange of wedding rings—which was criticised as a Western custom that had no basis in Japanese tradition. In their place, prospective couples were advised to exchange health certificates and a letter testifying to their family lineage.<sup>412</sup> Couples were similarly advised to limit the size of a reception banquet “as much as possible” (出来るだけ).<sup>413</sup> Indeed, the *Policy for Improving Marriage Ceremonies* declared that holding a “vain” (虚栄的) and luxurious banquet was a “great evil” (一大弊風).<sup>414</sup> In a time of war when the “existence of the state” (國家存亡) was at stake, this amounted to nothing less than “an act of treason against earnest subjects” (眞摯な國民に對する反逆行為).<sup>415</sup>

Wedding attire also came under attack, particularly that of the bride, which was derided as “emblematic of the wasteful wedding spending in our country” (わが國結婚浪費の代表的のものであります).<sup>416</sup> Brides were discouraged from wearing long-sleeved kimono (振袖), which would simply be put in storage after the wedding, never to be reused. Instead, white kimono (白無垢) were preferable as they “not only the most spiritually pure clothing, but also have the benefit that they can be put to practical use after the ceremony” (精神的に最も清浄な服装であるのみならず、使用後応用の途のあるところに長所がある).<sup>417</sup> The best option, however, the guidelines recommended, was to simply “wear the best item of clothing that you had on hand” (持合わせの衣服の中で最も良いものを着用すればいい).<sup>418</sup> Borrowing wedding attire from a venue was also listed as one possible option, particularly for those for whom it was not necessary to wear *monpuku* (紋服), or clothing decorated with the family crest.<sup>419</sup> This emphasis on economising extended to endorsing certain Western hairstyles (洋髪). Brides were advised that, given it “required an enormous effort” (多大の手數を要し), it

<sup>412</sup> Kekkō hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkō gyōji kaisen shishin”, 2.

<sup>413</sup> Kekkō hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkō gyōji kaisen shishin”, 3.

<sup>414</sup> Kekkō hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkō gyōji kaisen shishin”, 3.

<sup>415</sup> Kekkō hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkō gyōji kaisen shishin”, 3.

<sup>416</sup> Kekkō hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkō gyōji kaisen shishin”, 3.

<sup>417</sup> Kekkō hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkō gyōji kaisen shishin”, 3.

<sup>418</sup> Kekkō hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkō gyōji kaisen shishin”, 3.

<sup>419</sup> Kekkō hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkō gyōji kaisen shishin”, 3.

was not necessary to wear their hair in a traditional *shimadamage* (島田髷) up-do, if they usually wore their hair in a Western style.<sup>420</sup> As Yuki Terazawa has revealed traditional Japanese hairstyles, such as the *shimadamage*, were subject to intense criticism from the Meiji period as they were considered to be “highly deleterious” to women’s health and finances.<sup>421</sup> Reformers such as Fukushima Shirō (福島四郎; 1874–1945), the editor of *Women’s Newspaper* (婦女新聞), drew on an emerging medicalised discourse to claim that ornate hairstyles were unhygienic and discouraged women from undertaking the physical exercise necessary to ensure they would become healthy mothers who would bear healthy children.<sup>422</sup> The endorsement of Western styles here was due to their relative simplicity and frugality. Western hairstyles associated with vanity and luxury consumption, such as the much derided perm, continued to be discouraged.

Finally, couples were instructed to register their marriage at the time of the wedding ceremony. This rule was intended to impress on couples the solemnity and permanence of a marriage vow. Delaying registering a marriage, the policy warned, was “extremely disrespectful to the other party” (先方に対して非禮極まる話).<sup>423</sup> Moreover, promptly registering a marriage would help mitigate against the possibility of separation. Given that before deciding to marry, both parties “should sufficiently investigate” (十分詮議すべき) the other side, after marriage, couples should not “lightly” (容易に) entertain the prospect of separation. Indeed, the policy warned, if a prospective partner refused to register a marriage as part of the ceremony, “that alone is reason enough to break off an engagement” (それだけでも破談に値するといつて差支ありません).<sup>424</sup> Such advice sought to counter practices of spousal testing, discussed in Chapter I, and the common practice of delaying registering a marriage until after a child was born.

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<sup>420</sup> Kekkon hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkon gyōji kaisen shishin”, 3.

<sup>421</sup> Terazawa, *Knowledge, Power, and Women’s Reproductive Health in Japan*, 195.

<sup>422</sup> Terazawa, *Knowledge, Power, and Women’s Reproductive Health in Japan*, 195–199.

<sup>423</sup> Kekkon hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkon gyōji kaisen shishin”, 3.

<sup>424</sup> Kekkon hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkon gyōji kaisen shishin”, 4.

Weddings were further positioned as a site where Japanese subjects could ritually perform their loyalty to the state. The metropolitan policy opined that the recent increase in ceremonies being held at Shinto shrines was a “truly splendid thing” (まことに結構なこと).<sup>425</sup> The emphasis on Shinto shrines was less prominent than in the colonies, and a wider range of venues were listed as suitable places to hold a wedding. One notable inclusion was Buddhist temples (寺院), which was absent from instructions for patriotic ceremonies propagated in colonial Korea. Christian churches were also omitted from the list of permissible venues both in colonial Korea and in the metropole.<sup>426</sup> While statements of loyalty were not explicitly included as part of the Marriage Patriotism Society’s program to improve marriages, the appended example ceremonies did indicate that patriotism was imagined as part of an ideal ceremony. Overviews of ceremonies currently being offered by the Tokyo Metropolitan Marriage Counselling Centre and the Greater Japan Lifestyle Organisation included “worshipping the Imperial House from afar” (宮城遙拜) and a recital of the national anthem (國歌齊唱) as part of the marriage ceremony.<sup>427</sup> The requirement to perform explicit statements of loyalty, however, were more prominent in the contemporaneous policy in colonial Korea, than in the metropole, as we shall see in Chapter V. To further promote its new vision for marriage, the Ministry of Health and Welfare also established a series of awards for model marriages—for both ‘eugenic marriages’ and for ‘superior, fertile families’.

### Model Marriages: Eugenics, Pronatalism and the Limits of State Power

In October 1941, an article in *Asahi shimbun*’s ongoing series on “marriage patriotism” by Aoki Nobuharu (青木延春; 1902–1986), a notable eugenicist and official at the Ministry of Health and Welfare’s Preventative Medicine Department, declared the centrality of ‘eugenic marriage’ to the nation’s population priorities.<sup>428</sup> Aoki explained that because “individual

<sup>425</sup> Kekkon hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkon gyōji kaisen shishin”, 2.

<sup>426</sup> Kekkon hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkon gyōji kaisen shishin”, 2.

<sup>427</sup> Kekkon hōkoku konwakai, “Kekkon gyōji kaisen shishin”, 4.

<sup>428</sup> Aoki Nobuharu, “Mazu yūsei kekkon: Korekara fukaketsu jyōken”, *Asahi shimbun*, October 16, 1941, 4. Aoki authored several books on eugenics, including *Yūsei kekkon no hanashi* (1942) and *Yūsei kekkon to yūsei danshu* (1941) and *Tairyoku kōjyō to yūsei danshu* (1939).

happiness comes second and what is desirable for the nation comes first” (個人の幸福は二の次として、まづ第一に國のために望ましいもの) it was essential that young Japanese men and women choose a healthy, fertile partner that would allow them to “serve the state through marriage” (結婚を通して御奉公する).<sup>429</sup> The Ministry of Health and Welfare announced in 1941 that couples that heeded this call, would be officially decorated for their “eugenic marriages” as an acknowledgment of their contribution to furthering Japan’s population priorities. The resulting ‘eugenic marriage’ awards were widely reported in the mass media and in women’s magazines. The popular press published interviews with selected couples, which emphasised their health, fertility and patriotic sentiment.<sup>430</sup> Such interviews were intended to be both inspirational and instructional. Large photographs of the couple and the inclusion of personal details created a personal—and relatable—picture of everyday Japanese who had heeded the state’s call to mobilise for marriage. Interviews also acted to disseminate the Ministry of Health and Welfare’s new expectations for selecting a spouse, including the importance of premarital health screening. Interviews typically quoted the *Ten Rules for Marriage*, which formed the basis of eugenic marriage policy and the criteria for an official commendation.

To verify that they met the criteria outlined in the *Ten Rules for Marriage* couples needed to submit extensive documentation to the Ministry’s eugenic marriage consultation centre or to a local health centre. This documentation, which was largely similar to that required for a marriage loan, fell under four key categories:

1. the abstract of their family registry and documentation of their social status;  
戸籍抄本及身分証明書
2. documentation that they engaged in correct behaviour and moral thought, and that their family did not have a bad reputation regarding family harmony;  
素行正しく思想堅實、家庭圓滿にして悪評のないことの証明書
3. for men, verification of their financial independence;  
男子は独立の生活を営んで居ること
4. and a record of their family lineage.

<sup>429</sup> Aoki, “Mazu yūsei kekkon”, 4.

<sup>430</sup> See for example “Nihon ichi no yūsei kekkon shin katei o tazunete”, *Fujin kurabu*, 22, no. 11 (1941): 140–41; “First couple gains marriage honours”, *The Japan Times*, 14 September 1941, 3. For a discussion of one such interview in English see for example Robertson, “Blood Talks”.

家系調書<sup>431</sup>

Criteria two and three could be verified by the police department, municipal officials, district committee member, their employer or the president of their neighbourhood association or a similar organisation.<sup>432</sup> The final criteria, a detailed history of their family lineage, was the most involved. Applicants were instructed to be as detailed and broad as possible in their documentation of their family lineage. As a minimum they should include, details of all blood kin up to their grandparents. This information should include: Name; age (and, if deceased, the age and cause of death); occupation; whether they have any ailments (particularly, any past illnesses if they were serious); whether they drink alcohol; and if they have ever committed a crime.<sup>433</sup> Couples were further required to undergo a health check at the time of submission.<sup>434</sup> Couples that passed these extensive criteria and were awarded for their ‘eugenic marriages’ were eligible to apply for “a celebratory gift” (祝金) of 50 yen if they had a child within five years of marrying.<sup>435</sup> The award program was, however, short-lived, not least because of a considerable lack of interest among its target audience: the urban middle class.

The Ministry of Health and Welfare initially intended to commend 300 couples for their ‘eugenic marriages’ in the first year of the awards. However, applications were not forthcoming. Indeed, a 25 July 1941 report in the *Asahi shimbun* lamented that although 20,000 yen had been earmarked for monetary gifts that year to celebrate the birth of a child for couples that had registered their eugenic marriages, few applications had arrived, much to the disappointment of officials. The article’s title summarised the awards in markedly deflationary terms—“the forgotten celebratory gifts for ‘babies’: Eugenic League, lack of applications a big yawn” (忘れられた‘赤ん坊’の祝金：優生連盟・申込皆無に大あくび).<sup>436</sup> Not all applicants met the Ministry’s stringent criteria for a eugenic marriage, with one November report in *Asahi shimbun* noting that in the first few months of operation “three or

<sup>431</sup> “Kokumin yūsei renmei no yūsei kekkon shikin kifu”, 84.

<sup>432</sup> “Kokumin yūsei renmei no yūsei kekkon shikin kifu”, 84.

<sup>433</sup> “Kokumin yūsei renmei no yūsei kekkon shikin kifu”, 84.

<sup>434</sup> “Kokumin yūsei renmei no yūsei kekkon shikin kifu”, 84.

<sup>435</sup> “Kokumin yūsei renmei no yūsei kekkon shikin kifu”, 83.

<sup>436</sup> “Wasurerareta ‘akanbon’ no iwaikin: Yūsei renmei/moshikomi kamu ni oakubi”, *Asahi shimbun*, July 25, 1941, 5.

four” out of 50 applications were denied.<sup>437</sup> The newspaper did not disclose the reason why the applications were denied. The financial loan scheme for eugenic marriages similarly had limited reach. Only 11 loans were extended in the first two months, with approximately 100 applications, which officials attributed to the cumbersome nature of the application process.<sup>438</sup> Indeed, eugenic marriage awards were soon eclipsed in the popular press by a second program of marriage awards that, while still imbued with eugenicist concerns regarding health and heredity, stressed fecundity.

The model of marriage celebrated most frequently in the mass media stressed the importance of having many children. On 3 November 1940, on the anniversary of the Meiji Emperor’s Birthday, the Ministry of Health and Welfare held the inaugural award ceremony for “superior, fertile families” (優良多子家). Each family received an award signed by the Minister of Health and Welfare that congratulated them on “raising many sons and daughters and thereby contributing in no small way to the cultivation of the foundation of the nation” (多数ノ子女ヲ育成シ國本ノ培養ニ資スル所尠カラズ仍テ).<sup>439</sup> 10 622 families were awarded in the first year of their contributions to this task.<sup>440</sup> The Ministry of Health and Welfare explained that the awards “aimed to uplift the spirit of tender care of children, thereby securing the family system and, with it, national prosperity” (家庭ヲ表彰シ以テ兒童愛護精神ノ高揚ヲ圖リ家族制度ノ確保ト國運ノ隆昌ニ資セントス).<sup>441</sup> Awarded families were praised in the mass media in militaristic terms as part of a “precious children battalion” (子寶部隊).<sup>442</sup>

To be eligible for the award families were required to have ten or more children aged six or older who were all “healthy in body and mind” (心身共ニ健全ナル), exhibit “excellent

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<sup>437</sup> “‘Yūsei kekkon’ ya sanji shōrei e shikin kashidashi”, *Asahi shimbun*, November 22, 1941, 4.

<sup>438</sup> “Rehabilitation Loan Aid Many Marriages”, 2.

<sup>439</sup> Kōseisho shakaikyoku, “Yūryō naru katei hōshō”, *Naimu kōsei jihō* 5, no. 12 (September 1940): 1224.

<sup>440</sup> Kōseisho shakaikyoku, “Yūryō naru katei hōshō”, 1223.

<sup>441</sup> Kōseisho shakaikyoku, “Yūryō naru katei hōshō”, 1223.

<sup>442</sup> Another possible translation that more clearly emphasises the importance places on women’s reproductive function is “fertile womb battalion” or “childbearing corps”, following Robertson and Miyake respectively. Robertson, “Blood Talks”, 199; Miyake, “Doubling Expectations”, 280.



character and conduct” (性行善良) and be a “sound household” (家庭堅實).<sup>443</sup> Detailed explanations for these criteria were not provided, however, the Ministry clarified that this would be judged based on “common sense” (通念), and individuals who had committed a crime or who would be targeted for sterilisation under the National Eugenic Law would “of course” (勿論) not be eligible.<sup>444</sup> Families who had lost a child were also ineligible for the award, excepting cases where the child’s death was the result of a natural disaster or military service, reflecting the Ministry’s conviction that “raising healthy children, without losing even one, is a parent’s responsibility” (生まれた子女の一人をも失ふことなく健全に育成することが父母たる者の責任であり).<sup>445</sup> Illegitimate children, and children that had not been personally raised by their birth mother and father until six years of age, were also excluded.<sup>446</sup> The inclusion of such stringent criteria indicates how, despite the pronatalist emphasis, the ‘superior, fertile family’ awards—like their more explicitly eugenicist counterparts the ‘eugenic marriage’ awards—reflected concerns about managing the quality of the population. Indeed, in 1943, the Ministry of Health and Welfare answered a question over whether the main point of the award was to celebrate families with many children or families with healthy children. The Minister answered that in order to improve Japan’s national strength it was crucial to not only to increase the population, but also to “raise the next generation of subjects healthily” (次代國民の健全なる育成).<sup>447</sup>

In a similar manner to previous eugenicist interventions in reproductive life such as eugenic marriage counselling, awards for model marriages were also intended to act as a vehicle for government research. The Ministry of Health and Welfare collected detailed information on

<sup>443</sup> Kōseisho shakaikyoku, “Yūryō naru katei hōshō”, 1223–4.

<sup>444</sup> “Kōseisho jinkōkyoku hen no yūryō tashi katei hōshō ni kansuru shitsugiōtō”, *Jinkō mondai kenkyū* 4, no. 5 (1943): 55.

<sup>445</sup> Kōseisho shakaikyoku, “Yūryō naru katei hōshō”, 1223. This condition applied only to children who had been born, meaning that stillbirth and miscarriage were also exempted. “Kōseisho jinkōkyoku hen no yūryō tashi katei hōshō ni kansuru shitsugiōtō”, 54. Despite this line of argument from the bureaucracy, feminist historians have argued that wartime maternal and infant programs were grossly underfunded, leading Hino Shuitsu to characterise government policy not as “*umeyo, fuyaseyo*” (産めよ殖やせよ) but “*umeyo, shineyo*” (産めよ死ねよ), give birth and [let the child] die. Cited in Terazawa, *Knowledge, Power, and Women’s Reproductive Health in Japan*, 253.

<sup>446</sup> “Kōseisho jinkōkyoku hen no yūryō tashi katei hōshō ni kansuru shitsugiōtō”, 54–55.

<sup>447</sup> “Kōseisho jinkōkyoku hen no yūryō tashi katei hōshō ni kansuru shitsugiōtō”, 54.

winning couples designed to identify trends common to families that had successfully met the state's call to "give birth and multiply". The vast majority of winning families were from farming communities, and were classified by the Ministry of Health and Welfare as being mainly middle and lower class.<sup>448</sup> The Ministry's survey emphasised the ages of each mother and father, the age they were married and their age at the birth of their first child, how long on average it took for them to have 10 children and the average timespan between each birth. The survey approvingly noted that most had been married at "the appropriate age" [適年齢] of 20–24 years.<sup>449</sup> These questions highlight the Ministry's preoccupation with calculating how to achieve its desired population targets. Most importantly, the awards—and their prominent coverage—were intended to instil childbirth and childrearing with a sense of pride and patriotic service.

Despite these efforts, there is little evidence to suggest most Japanese made any significant amendments to their reproductive decisions. There was no significant increase in the birth rate from 1941–45, and the birth rate actually decreased between 1944 and 1945 reflecting the reality of material hardship.<sup>450</sup> Moreover, while the marriage rate did increase in the early 1940s, this was likely due in no small part to an increase in the registration of marriages rather than a steep increase in marriages themselves.<sup>451</sup> Indeed, given the long time span necessary to have 10 children awards for fertile families served primarily to recognise already existing large families, rather than to award a shift in behaviour. The intent here seems principally to be to elevate the status of large, rural families—many of whom were from a poor background—by highlighting their service to the nation. Indeed, Miyake notes that previously women from farming families had been subject to family criticism for having many children as frequent pregnancies interfered with their labour duties.<sup>452</sup> Newspaper interviews with awardees echo this sentiment. An October 1940

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<sup>448</sup> Kōseisho shakaikyoku, "Yūryō naru katei hōshō", 1010.

<sup>449</sup> Kōseisho shakaikyoku, "Yūryō naru katei hōshō", 1010.

<sup>450</sup> Havens, "Women and War in Japan, 1937–45", 928–929.

<sup>451</sup> Havens, "Women and War in Japan, 1937–45", 928–929.

<sup>452</sup> Miyake, "Doubling Expectations", 280.

interview in *Asahi shimbun* quoted one woman as saying, “nothing but 11 girls. But I can feel proud of myself for the first time”.<sup>453</sup>

The limited demographic impact of Japan’s wartime population strategy, despite the concerted efforts outlined above, has led some scholars to dismiss Japan’s wartime eugenics campaigns as insignificant. Ineffectual though they may have been, eugenicist campaigns seeking to remake marriages in service to the empire are revealing as they expose the preoccupations, and anxieties, of the Japanese state and the eugenicist reformers now working within it. They expose deep concerns among Japanese eugenicists about the future direction of the empire and their vexed relationship with the modern. Ongoing campaigns to improve marriage ceremonies demonstrate concern that the Japanese public still did not conceive of marriage as a national endeavour, but conversely was drawn to the “frivolous” ideas of individualism and consumerism. Efforts to reward model marriage were met with worryingly low interest, especially among the urban middle class. The enormous efforts being spent to disseminate a new vision for marriage, even in the face of marked popular disinterest, I suggest is itself significant. It attests to not only the crucial importance eugenicist social reforms placed on managing marriage but also their continued dissatisfaction with the real impact of their educative campaigns. The plans being made by eugenicist reformers to manage the reproductive lives of Japanese subjects did not reflect an increasingly powerful Japanese state extending greater degrees of control of people’s everyday lives so much as the intense anxiety with which eugenicist reformers viewed changes within Japanese society.

### **Anxious Labour and the Imagined Future of Empire**

Eugenicist reformers were fuelled by a sense of crisis that Japanese society was changing in ways they could not control and that made their vision of a stable and longlasting empire, supported by an unwaveringly patriotic and eugenically ‘fit’ population, harder to achieve. While eugenicists imagined leveraging modern science and technologies to improve the health of the population and make ‘rational’ improvements to marital practices, modern

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<sup>453</sup> Quoted in Miyake, “Doubling Expectations”, 280. This interview also reflects the pressure on women to provide a son.

technologies such as birth control were also threatening in that they potentially enabled individuals to exercise a greater degree of control over their reproductive lives and make eugenically ‘undesirable’ decisions. A healthy, educated but individualistic urban middle class, who could choose to not give birth—and thereby potentially skew the ratio of ‘fit’ to ‘unfit’ Japanese—was of grave concern. While eugenicist reformers from the JARH may have been in some regards enamoured with the modern, their vision of modernity was a decidedly illiberal one. They sought to impress on the Japanese population—and particularly what they identified as the insufficiently patriotic urban middle class and the “so-called intelligentsia”—the urgent need to reform their reproductive decisions in line with government priorities, and cast aside their individual desires and concerns. That the state itself did not unequivocally support eugenics, nor was it unified behind a singular view on marriage, only heightened these anxieties further.

In the early 1940s, for a brief moment, the JARH’s eugenicist reformers appeared ascendant. Having set their sights on gaining state support, as we saw in Chapter II, eugenicists had seen the creation of a new Ministry of Health and Welfare that took eugenicist concerns on managing the population seriously and had influenced the successful passage of major eugenicist legislation. Any sense of triumph was, however, fleeting. Eugenicist reformers like Yasui Hiroshi observed social developments in Japan with a sense of growing crisis. While the war effort had intensified the need for change, the Japanese population by and large, and especially the urban middle class, were alarmingly disinterested in their vision of marriage in service of the empire. Eugenicists saw themselves as fighting an ideological war over marriage on two fronts. The first campaign was to elicit support for a modern, ‘rational’ model for marriage, as opposed to existing marital practices which were criticised for giving undue attention to superstition, wealth and social status, over and above the need to leave behind healthy, ‘excellent’ descendants. The second warfront was to combat the influence of undesirable changes that had accompanied modern urban life—principally a perceived rise in individualism, consumerism and general frivolousness. Faced with what intellectual historian Harry Harootunian has described as the “ceaseless change” and “unrelieved uncertainty” of modern life, eugenicist reformers were concerned that the strong and prosperous future they imagined for the Japanese race—and with it, the empire—was

rapidly slipping away.<sup>454</sup> The overlapping and often ineffectual policies they developed to transform marital practices are less evidence of a cohesive or orderly plan than they are of the “anxious labor [sic]” being undertaken to secure that imagined future.<sup>455</sup> This sense of uncertainty and anxiety over the future direction of the empire was accentuated by the coexistence of a second, contradictory discourse on patriotic marriage, in support of interethnic marriage, playing out in Japan’s major colonies of Taiwan and Korea as we shall see in Chapter IV and Chapter V.

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<sup>454</sup> Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, xix.

<sup>455</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 19.



“For the harmonious integration of Taiwan and the metropole [*naitai yūwa*] the most ideal thing is probably intermarriage between *naichijin* [ethnic Japanese] and Taiwanese people. When thinking of a time not 50 years in the future, but 100 or 1000 years in the future, there is no other option than to strive for a union of blood.”

*Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, 2 September 1940

“Finally, *naichijin* and Taiwanese can be legally betrothed, and a new future has dawned on the island.”

*Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, 20 January 1933

## Chapter IV

### Managing Marriage: Advice Columns and Interethnic Intimacy in Colonial Taiwan

In Chapter I to III, I have traced the development of discourse on eugenic marriage in metropolitan Japan from its origins as an educative campaign spearheaded by eugenicist social reformers in the JARH in the mid-1930s to a state project in the 1940s. I have demonstrated how, despite the adoption of eugenic marriage as national policy, state support for eugenics was partial and uneven; eugenicist social reformers remained concerned with their limited reach among the Japanese public and especially the urban middle class. Equally concerning, for eugenicist social reformers, were the changes that were taking place in society, which ran counter to their socially and sexually conservative vision of marriages in service of the nation. In the following two chapters, I turn my attention to a second key discourse seeking to reshape marriages in service to the empire, that on interethnic marriage. The following two chapters also involve a shift in the geographic location, from the Japanese metropole to Japan's two major formal colonies, colonial Taiwan and colonial Korea. Here, in the colonies, the tensions undergirding how both officials and society at large imagined the future of empire were more vexed still. Discourse on interethnic marriage brought to the forefront concerns about race, which often lay beneath the surface of eugenic marriage discourse, as colonial authorities sought to consolidate their rule over a growing, multiethnic empire. In this chapter, I return the moment of the mid-1930s to analyse discourse on interethnic intimacy in colonial Taiwan before the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937. The following chapter, Chapter V, uncovers how total war mobilisation impacted discourse on colonial intimacy, by examining the case of colonial

Korea from 1937 to 1945. As we shall see the officials and propagandists who advocated patriotic interethnic unions were, like their eugenicist counterparts in the metropole, troubled by modern changes to society that threatened parental prerogatives in marriage and, after 1937, efforts to ‘rationalise’ daily life in support of the expanding war. And, they too, were met with partial support, at best, despite repeated assertions that interethnic unions were endorsed by colonial authorities. Read alongside discourse on eugenic marriage in the metropole, the patriotic marriage discourses examined in the following two chapters reinforce the image of a Japanese imperial state internally divided and deeply ambivalent over how best to manage marriage in support of the empire.

### **Colonial Intimacy and the Japanese Imperial Project**

On 13 March 1930, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (*Taiwan Daily News*; 臺灣日日新報), the largest daily newspaper in colonial Taiwan, called for Japanese–Taiwanese couples to write in to share their personal stories of interethnic intimacy.<sup>456</sup> The newspaper said that it was interested in hearing from people who had a “true understanding and have based their marriages on the harmonious integration of Taiwan and the metropole” (*naitai yūwa*; 內臺融和), invoking a key propaganda slogan of this period.<sup>457</sup> Many answered this call, and *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* subsequently published celebratory accounts of their marriages in service of the empire. These were, however, not the only tales of colonial intimacy published in the popular newspaper. Taiwanese and Japanese youth also wrote to the newspaper’s advice column, “Personal Consultation” (*Mi no ue sōdan*; 身の上相談), with concerns about their own interethnic relationships. Their stories reveal deep uncertainties over the place of colonial intimacy in the Japanese empire.

The marital family was a crucial arena in imperial politics. The marital family, as the site where the next generation of imperial subjects were to be reproduced, physically and

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<sup>456</sup> In this thesis I use Taiwanese to refer to ethnic Chinese residents of Taiwan. Aboriginal Taiwanese communities were governed separately and did not feature prominently in the discourse of intermarriage. As Barclay has noted, government officials facilitated marriages between Japanese and Aboriginal Taiwanese as a strategy to manage aboriginal territories. Barclay, “Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan”.

<sup>457</sup> “Kyōkon seido”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, March 13, 1930, 2.



ideologically, was at the centre of discourses about the future stability and prosperity of the empire. As Ann Laura Stoler has argued in the context of French Indochina, the management of intimate relations was “at the heart of the late imperial project”.<sup>458</sup> According to Stoler, intimate interethnic relationships, and particularly miscegenation, provoked anxiety as they threatened to blur the distinction between the colonial categories of colonised and coloniser. Unlike Anglo-European empires, however, Japanese colonial authorities promoted marriages between Japanese and their Korean and Taiwanese colonial subjects as a strategy to assimilate colonial subjects and consolidate Japanese rule. Previous scholarship on Japanese colonialism has sought to reconcile this unexpected endorsement of interethnic relationships with the reality of colonial hierarchy and persistent racial prejudice. Suzuki concludes that interethnic marriage was designed to “eliminate the ethnicity” (民族性の抹殺) of colonial subjects, thus implicating it in a system of racist oppression.<sup>459</sup> In contrast, Kim Youngdal argues, Japanese promotion of interethnic marriage is best characterised as an empty slogan that belies a discomfort with, or hostility to, intermarriage in practice.<sup>460</sup> Legal histories have also stressed the limits of state acceptance of interethnic marriage, revealing how a bifurcated household registration system (*koseki*; 戸籍) allowed the Japanese state to maintain a legal distinction between ethnic Japanese and colonial subjects despite legalising marriages that crossed the coloniser/colonised divide.<sup>461</sup> Common to these prevailing accounts is a sense that there is a discernible or overarching strategy, albeit a shifting one, that underpinned Japanese colonial authorities’ attempts to manage colonial intimacy. A closer examination of popular discourse on interethnic marriage challenges this assumption of coherence, revealing a colonial society—and state—beset by indecision and persistent anxiety, and deeply ambivalent about how best to manage the pressing issue of interethnic intimacy. At stake here was not just the issue of intimate relationships between colonised and coloniser but also shifting views about sexuality, morality and parental authority.

<sup>458</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, “Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia”, in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 226.

<sup>459</sup> Suzuki, *Jūgun ianfu, naisen kekkon*, 76.

<sup>460</sup> Youngdal, “Nihon no Chōsen tōchika ni okeru ‘tsūkon’ to ‘konketsu’”.

<sup>461</sup> See for example Brooks, “Japanese Colonialism, Gender, and Household Registration”; Kamoto, “Creating Spatial Hierarchies”; Nomura, “Making the Japanese Empire”; Tai, “The Discourse of Intermarriage in Colonial Taiwan”; Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*.

Japanese imperial propaganda promoted interethnic marriage (*naitai kyōkon*; 內臺共婚) as the bedrock of the empire's future prosperity—and indeed its viability.<sup>462</sup> The Government-General of Taiwan (GGT) professed a desire to create a harmonious and stable union between metropolitan Japan and Taiwan, wherein the distinction between ethnic Japanese—referred to euphemistically as *naichijin* (metropolitan people; 內地人)—and Taiwanese would gradually dissipate over time.<sup>463</sup> According to such propaganda, interethnic marriage was a principal method through which to achieve this goal of total assimilation as it would facilitate racial mixing, build sentimental and familial ties between Japanese and Taiwanese, and further the 'Japanisation' of daily life. At the same time, interethnic marriage served as an arena for challenges to this state-sanctioned vision of the imperial future. Taiwanese intellectuals, for example, exploited state endorsements of interethnic marriage to expose the shallow nature of state claims to "impartial benevolence" for all under the emperor (*isshidōjin*; 一視同仁), presenting instead a vision of the future in which Taiwanese had a political voice and had attained legal equality with Japanese.<sup>464</sup> Actual interethnic relationships, moreover, did not always run smoothly, and familial responses to them revealed deep anxieties over race relations and premarital intimacy.

This chapter reads this political discourse on interethnic marriage alongside interviews with interethnic families and marital advice columns in colonial Taiwan's largest daily newspaper,

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<sup>462</sup> In colonial Taiwan the most common terms used to describe interethnic relationships were *Naitai kyōkon* (內台共婚; intermarriage), or simply *kyōkon* (共婚; intermarriage), and *naitai kekkon* (內台結婚; Japanese–Taiwanese marriage). The 內 here specifically refers to *naichi* (內地; the metropole). The Japanese empire was linguistically and legally divided into the *naichi*, that is Japan proper, and the *gaichi* (外地; periphery) or the colonies. Discussions of intermarriage typically did not refer explicitly to *Nihonjin* (日本人; Japanese) which at the time legally included both Taiwanese and Koreans as well as ethnic Japanese. In colonial Korea *naisen kekkon* (內鮮結婚; Japanese–Korean marriage) was commonly used, although *kyōkon* does not appear to have been used frequently with regards to Korea. The more derogatory *zakkon* (雜婚; mixed marriage) and *konkon* (混婚; mixed-race marriage) were also in use, particularly in the early period of Japanese rule. The 混 in 混婚 refers to miscegenation as in 混血兒 (*konketsuji*; literally mixed-blood child).

<sup>463</sup> Taiwanese and Korean colonial subjects were considered Japanese nationals (*nihonjin*; 日本人) under the 1899 Nationality Law. The discourse on interethnic marriage typically avoided using the term *Nihonjin*. *Naichijin* (內地人) was used instead to refer to ethnic Japanese, while Taiwanese were referred to as *hontōjin* (本島人; islanders). Aboriginal Taiwanese were commonly distinguished from *hontōjin* as *banjin* (蠻人; savages).

<sup>464</sup> The slogan "impartial benevolence" professed that Japanese imperialism did not discriminate between ethnic Japanese and colonial subjects but treated both equally due to the Japanese emperor's benevolence.

*Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, to reveal the contradictory ways in which interethnic marriage emerged in the popular imaginary as a site where the future of the empire could be consolidated—or undermined. Marital advice columns published in mass news media provide an underexplored resource for examining colonial intimacy because they are intertwined with contributors’ hopes and fears for their own futures. In colonial Taiwan, where formerly private institutions such as marriage had been explicitly politicised and tied to notions of loyalty and national duty, these columns also suggest how the imperial future was imagined. In reading this emergent discourse, I take inspiration from Tani Barlow’s project of writing histories informed by the “future anterior tense”.<sup>465</sup> I take from Barlow an interest in reading the multiple visions of the imperial future (whether or not they came to pass) embedded within past historical moments. An emphasis on how the future was imagined in the past is useful as it draws our attention to the multiple—sometimes overlapping, often contradictory—ambitions for the future of the colony. In these visions of the future, interethnic relationships were alternatively conceptualised as a source of anxiety or an object of aspiration. The pages of *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* reveal how family opposition to interethnic relationships—often rooted in racial prejudice—was simultaneously criticised as an obstacle to achieving a truly “harmonious union between Japan and the metropole” (*naitai yūwa*; 內臺融和) and excused as understandable given the challenges to parental authority in marital decision-making implied in interethnic relationships. Amid widespread concerns about upholding conservative sexual morality, marital advice columns further expose a considerable reluctance within official channels to unreservedly encourage enthusiastic youth to enter into interethnic marriages. Faced with the predicament of conflicting state propaganda and familial attitudes to interethnic relationships, advisors sought, often with limited success, to strike a delicate balance between the two. In doing so, they frequently undercut government slogans that emphasised interethnic marriage as a key step towards achieving harmonious integration. What emerges from these incongruous attitudes is an image of a colonial society and government still deeply ambivalent over how best to manage colonial intimacy.

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<sup>465</sup> Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*.

## Interethnic Unions in Colonial Taiwan

GGT propaganda positioned interethnic marriage as a patriotic act that would consolidate Japanese imperial rule by fostering familial ties between Japan and Taiwan. Official endorsements of interethnic marriage date to at least 1919, with the appointment of the first civilian governor-general of Taiwan, Den Kenjirō (田健治郎; 1855–1930), who identified intermarriage as “the most effective” (最も効果ある) tool in achieving the colonial authorities’ priority of harmonious integration.<sup>466</sup> Governor-General Nakagawa Kenzō (中川健藏; 1875–1944) similarly promoted interethnic marriage and included it as a goal in the GGT’s 1936 assimilation policy.<sup>467</sup> Despite official endorsements of interethnic marriage, however, there was initially no mechanism to legally recognise unions between Taiwanese and Japanese, due to the absence of a family registration system (*koseki*; 戸籍) in Taiwan. Indeed, interethnic marriage was not formally recognised until the Intermarriage Law (*Kyōkonhō*; 共婚法) of 1933, resulting in the contradictory situation wherein Taiwanese and *naichijin* were unable to lawfully marry—despite both being legally considered Japanese subjects (*nihonjin*; 日本人), and despite government exhortations to do so.

The absence of a *koseki* system meant that amendments between *koseki* registries in the colonies and the metropole could not be made.<sup>468</sup> Procedures for adoption, including adopted son-in-law marriages (養子), were also not possible. Difficulties arose principally as it was not possible for a wife to be added to her husband’s *koseki*, which was a requirement under the 1899 Nationality Law according to the principle of “one family, one register” (一家

<sup>466</sup> Den Kenjirō. *Den Kenjirō den*. (Tokyo: Den Kenjirō denki hensankai, 1932), 392.

<sup>467</sup> Tai, “The Discourse of Intermarriage in Colonial Taiwan”, 108.

<sup>468</sup> For more on the legal formation process and the implications of the *koseki* system, see Tai “The Discourse of Intermarriage in Colonial Taiwan”; Nomura, “Making the Japanese Empire”; Oguma, *The Boundaries of ‘the Japanese’*, esp. 494–496; Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, esp. 101–167. The *koseki* system also had gendered implications as women typically entered their husband’s *koseki* upon marriage, and therefore took on the status, and nationality, of their husband. For more on the gendered implications of the *koseki* system see Chao-ju Chen, “Gendered Borders: The Historical Formation of Women’s Nationality Under Law in Taiwan”, *positions: east asia cultures critique* 17, no. 2 (2009): 289–314; Brooks, “Japanese Colonialism, Gender, and Household Registration”. In colonial Korea, interethnic marriage faced similar problems and there was initially no mechanism to legally register a marriage, despite government endorsement of Japanese–Korean marriages. See Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, esp. part 1.

一籍).<sup>469</sup> As Taiwan did not have a *koseki* system it was not possible for a transfer to occur. In Taiwan, a household registration system (戸口調査簿), which was created by the GGT ahead of the 1905 census, was used in place of a *koseki* system. Without an official transfer in the *koseki* a marriage or adoption was not legally valid. When the 'Shared Law' (*Kyōtsūhō*; 共通法; also known as Law 39) was implemented in Taiwan in 1918, Article 3 which allowed for transfers in the *koseki* in cases of marriage and adoption was made an exemption. In 1933 the Intermarriage Law was passed, following significant back-and-forth between the Government-General in Taiwan and the metropolitan Japanese government about how to manage the issue, legalising transfers in the *koseki*. According to Eika Tai, a key point of contention was whether a family registration system should be managed through the police and local authorities, as was the norm of colonial legislation in Taiwan, or through the Judicial Office as was the case in metropolitan Japan.<sup>470</sup> Another key concern was conscription, which applied to the male Japanese population (whose *koseki* was registered in metropolitan Japan) but not the Taiwanese population (who held a *gaichi koseki* registration). Officials expressed concern that Japanese men might use marriage to attempt to dodge the draft.<sup>471</sup> When the Intermarriage Law was passed in 1933, colonial authorities clarified that Japanese men were therefore prohibited from changing the jurisdiction of their *koseki* unless they had already completed military service or were ineligible.<sup>472</sup>

In 1932, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* published a comic illustrating the dual legal obstacles to intermarriage. In the comic, a young couple sit together under the moonlight. The young man's arm is around the woman's shoulders and they are staring into each other's eyes, clearly invoking romance. In the foreground, Cupid is smiling preparing to shoot an arrow at

<sup>469</sup> Tai, "The Discourse of Intermarriage in Colonial Taiwan"; Oguma, *The Boundaries of 'the Japanese'*, esp. 494–496; Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, esp. 101–167.

<sup>470</sup> Tai, "The Discourse of Intermarriage in Colonial Taiwan".

<sup>471</sup> *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* also reported on this controversy. See for example "Kyōkonho no gigi o toku", *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, 1933, January 21, 7. According to Oguma Eiji, an incident in 1913 where the Supreme Court of the Government-General of Korea dismissed a case against a Japanese settler in Korea who had been indicted for breaching the conscription order, stoked fears among the metropolitan Japanese government and the military that Japanese men may strategically marry into Korean or Taiwanese families to avoid conscription. See Oguma, *The Boundaries of 'the Japanese'*, 493–4 fn11.

<sup>472</sup> "Kyōkonho kōfu", *Taiwan jihō* (January 1933), 179.

the couple. The arrow is labelled Intermarriage Law, while Cupid's quiver is labelled Taiwanese *koseki* law, indicating the two legal changes necessary to allow interethnic unions to be formalised. The caption reads: "What a love scene I have found! I must do whatever I can to get them together".<sup>473</sup>

The actual number of interethnic marriages remained small throughout the colonial period. According to statistics collected by the GGT, the number of officially recorded marriages each year was small, as shown in Table V. Government statistics distinguished between Taiwanese of Chinese heritage, referred to as *kanjin* (漢人) and Aboriginal Taiwanese, referred to in the data as "savages" (蕃族).<sup>474</sup> Marriages per year reached a peak of 45 officially registered marriages in 1942.<sup>475</sup> The percentage of officially recorded Japanese–Taiwanese interethnic marriages never exceeded 0.1 per cent of total marriages.<sup>476</sup> In 1944 the total number of official intermarriages in Taiwan was 783.<sup>477</sup> These low figures likely also reflect the high numbers of informal or *de facto* intimate relationships. This is likely due to both the complicated procedure for registering a marriage—especially before 1933—and the fact that registering a marriage was not particularly important in Taiwan traditionally.<sup>478</sup> Indeed, a 1912 survey placed the number of marriages and cohabitating couples at 180.<sup>479</sup> The significant jump in recorded marriages between Taiwanese husbands and Japanese wives in 1933 likely reflects an increase in formal marriages (as opposed to new relationships *per se*) following the passage of the Intermarriage Law. The statistics provided by the GGT indicate a clear gendered disparity, with a significantly higher number of couples with Japanese wives and Taiwanese husbands, than Japanese husbands and Taiwanese wives.

<sup>473</sup> "Taiwan manga", *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, September 26, 1932, 4.

<sup>474</sup> Until 1939 these categories were further divided into "cultivated" (塾蕃) and "uncultivated barbarians" (生蕃), and Chinese from "Fujian" (福建) and "Guangdong" (廣東).

<sup>475</sup> Huang Chia-chi, "Nihon tochi jidai ni okeru 'naitai kyōkon' no kōsei to tenkai". *Hikaku kazoku kenkyūshi* 27 (2013): 138–140.

<sup>476</sup> Huang, "Nihon tochi jidai ni okeru 'naitai kyōkon' no kōsei to tenkai", 138–140.

<sup>477</sup> Tai, "The Discourse of Intermarriage in Colonial Taiwan", 114.

<sup>478</sup> Tai, "The Discourse of Intermarriage in Colonial Taiwan", 114; Huang, "Nihon tochi jidai ni okeru 'naitai kyōkon' no kōsei to tenkai", 128; Kim, "Nihon no Chōsen tōchika ni okeru 'tsūkon' to 'konketsu'", 42–3. While Japanese colonial authorities put considerable effort into collecting statistical information on intimate relationships, the resulting statistical record is inconsistent and likely inaccurate. Kim, for example, has discussed discrepancies in government statistics on intermarriage in Korea. See Kim, *Imperial Romance*, 62–65.

<sup>479</sup> Tai, "The Discourse of Intermarriage in Colonial Taiwan", 96.

That the small number of unions between Japanese and Aboriginal Taiwanese follow the reverse pattern reflects the practice of forging strategic marriages between Japanese officials and politically influential Aboriginal Taiwanese families.

**Table V: Number of Japanese–Taiwanese Marriages, 1905–1942<sup>480</sup>**

| Year         | Japanese husband and Taiwanese wife |                 |                    | Taiwanese husband and Japanese wife |                 |                    |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
|              | Total                               | Chinese<br>(漢人) | Aboriginal<br>(蕃族) | Total                               | Chinese<br>(漢人) | Aboriginal<br>(蕃族) |
| 1905         | 0                                   |                 |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1906         | 2                                   | 2               |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1907         | 0                                   |                 |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1908         | 3                                   | 2               | 1                  | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1909         | 0                                   |                 |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1910         | 0                                   |                 |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1911         | 0                                   |                 |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1912         | 4                                   | 4               |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1913         | 0                                   |                 |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1914         | 1                                   | 1               |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1915         | 1                                   | 1               |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1916         | 1                                   | 1               |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1917         | 1                                   | 1               |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1918         | 0                                   |                 |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1919         | 0                                   |                 |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1920         | 1                                   | 1               |                    | 0                                   |                 |                    |
| 1921         | 1                                   | 1               |                    | 7                                   | 7               |                    |
| 1922         | 1                                   | 1               |                    | 8                                   | 8               |                    |
| 1923         | 3                                   | 3               |                    | 2                                   | 2               |                    |
| 1924         | 4                                   | 3               | 1                  | 5                                   | 5               |                    |
| 1925         | 0                                   |                 |                    | 2                                   | 2               |                    |
| 1926         | 6                                   | 5               | 1                  | 12                                  | 12              |                    |
| 1927         | 6                                   | 6               |                    | 8                                   | 8               |                    |
| 1928         | 3                                   | 3               |                    | 6                                   | 5               | 1                  |
| 1929         | 4                                   | 4               |                    | 9                                   | 9               |                    |
| 1930         | 1                                   | 1               |                    | 9                                   | 9               |                    |
| 1931         | 1                                   | 1               |                    | 12                                  | 12              |                    |
| 1932         | 2                                   | 2               |                    | 15                                  | 15              |                    |
| 1933         | 6                                   | 5               | 1                  | 31                                  | 31              |                    |
| 1934         | 5                                   | 5               |                    | 21                                  | 21              |                    |
| 1935         | 8                                   | 8               |                    | 21                                  | 21              |                    |
| 1936         | 3                                   | 3               |                    | 23                                  | 20              | 1                  |
| 1937         | 10                                  | 9               | 1                  | 19                                  | 19              |                    |
| 1938         | 11                                  | 10              | 1                  | 30                                  | 30              |                    |
| 1939         | 14                                  | 14              |                    | 24                                  | 24              |                    |
| 1940         | 5                                   | 5               |                    | 31                                  | 31              |                    |
| 1941         | 7                                   | 7               |                    | 32                                  | 31              | 1                  |
| 1942         | 13                                  | 12              | 1                  | 33                                  | 33              |                    |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>128</b>                          | <b>121</b>      | <b>7</b>           | <b>365</b>                          | <b>361</b>      | <b>4</b>           |

<sup>480</sup> Data drawn from Yang Pei Wen, “Kuayue bianjir de liudong yu rentang: Ri zhi shiqi ‘nei tai gong hun’ yanjiu”. (Masters diss., National Chengchi University, 2010), 46–7.



Despite the limited number of actual unions, interethnic marriage was a prominent topic in the mass media, colonial literature.<sup>481</sup> This prominence reflects the symbolic importance of interethnic marriage in debates over the future orientation of Japanese colonial policy—and the model of the marital family that would best serve it.

Coverage of interethnic marriage in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* peaked in the early 1930s amid debate over the 1933 Intermarriage Law. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* was the largest official newspaper in Taiwan.<sup>482</sup> It was officially operated by a private Japanese citizen, Moriya Zenbei (守屋善兵衛; 1886–?), but was effectively under the control of the Governor-General's Office.<sup>483</sup> It is often viewed as a mouthpiece for government propaganda, aimed at publicising “Japanese national prestige, colonial policy, and infrastructure”.<sup>484</sup> However, it also published criticisms of government policy, despite the continued intrusion of pre-publication censorship.<sup>485</sup> The newspaper frequently published on interethnic marriage. It detailed the number of interethnic marriages, reported on legislative developments and conducted numerous interviews with interethnic couples. The tone of these interviews was often celebratory and highlighted both the happiness of interethnic families and their contribution to the empire. Interviews positioned interethnic unions as examples of the

<sup>481</sup> For discussions of interethnic relationships in colonial literature see for example, Nam, *Bungaku no shokuminchishugi*; Kono, *Romance, family, and nation in Japanese colonial literature*; Liu, “Ilchemal naesŏn yŏnae/kyŏrhon sosŏl yŏn'gu”; Kim, *Imperial romance*; Tai, “Intermarriage and Imperial Subject Formation in Colonial Taiwan”. On film see Kim, “Transwar continuities of colonial intimacy”.

<sup>482</sup> Two newspapers, *Taiwan shinpō* and *Taiwan nippo*, were combined in 1898 to form *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* was printed in Japanese, except for a short Chinese-language section that was published from 1905 until the 1937 ban on Chinese-language publications. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* was published in Taiwan and circulated in both Taiwan and Japan. It was not, however, widely read in mainland Japan. Ping-hui Liao, “Print Culture and the Emergent Public Sphere in Colonial Taiwan, 1895–1945”, in *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945*, eds. Ping-hui Liao and David Der-wei Wang. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 84, 90.

<sup>483</sup> Chein-Jung Hsu, *The Construction of National Identity in Taiwan's Media, 1896–2012*. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 15–17. Hsu lists Zenbēi's family name as Kubiya (首屋), however this appears to be an error.

<sup>484</sup> Hsu, *The Construction of National Identity in Taiwan's Media*, 17.

<sup>485</sup> The appointment of the first civilian governor general of Taiwan in 1919, ushered in a period of relative freedom of the media, which lasted until the eve of the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937. During this period, mass media organisations were able to deviate from official policy endorsements, although they were still subject to significant censorship. According the 1900 Regulations for Newspapers in Taiwan (臺灣新聞紙條例) and the 1918 Taiwan Newspaper Statute (臺灣新聞紙令), official government approval had to be granted to legally run a newspaper. For more on the media landscape in colonial Taiwan and the censorship regime see also Hsu, *The Construction of National Identity in Taiwan's Media*, esp. 13, 15–16; Liao, “Print Culture and the Emergent Public Sphere in Colonial Taiwan”, esp. 82, 88.

“reality” (事実) of *naitai yūwa* and referred to them as “pioneers” (先覚者) who were aiding the assimilation effort. Interviews commonly took place at the couple’s home and were accompanied by family portraits (Figure XVI). Couples’ full names and addresses were printed, alongside the names and ages of their children. Reporters detailed whether the family had “pure Japanese-style” (純日本式) décor and wore Japanese-style dress, and if they used Japanese language at home. This attention to daily life reflected government aspirations that interethnic marriage would bolster assimilation efforts.



**Figure XV: Portrait of the Xu family in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō***

Mr Xu was photographed alongside his Japanese wife, Unoe, and their four children. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* listed the Japanese pronunciation, Kyoshō, for Xu Zhang’s name (許章) in *furigana*, while his wife’s name was rendered in *katakana*.

Japanese wives, in particular, were presumed to be effective agents of assimilation: through their roles as mothers and homemakers they could act, in the words of Eika Tai, as “innocent colonizer[s]” who could gently spread Japanese customs through the home.<sup>486</sup> Indeed,

<sup>486</sup> Tai, “Intermarriage and Imperial Subject Formation in Colonial Taiwan”, 517.

Miyazaki states that this ability to raise children in line with Japanese customs meant that Japanese women were positioned as the ideal wives for elite Taiwanese men—over and above assimilated Taiwanese women.<sup>487</sup> In reality, most unions did not conform to this assimilationist ideal, and family practices often reflected a mixture of Japanese and Taiwanese customs.<sup>488</sup> Moreover, while interviews typically stressed the substantial progress being made towards full acceptance of interethnic couples, they also revealed the very real racial prejudice and considerable hardships faced by couples. The inclusion of everyday details in interviews served to reaffirm interethnic intimacy as at once familiar and desirable. Interviews typically concluded with a formulaic affirmation of the family's marital happiness, further indicating the editorial line. As one Japanese wife insisted in the column, "I want for nothing and live happily everyday" (何の不自由もなく毎日幸福に暮らして居ります).<sup>489</sup>

The critical bonds being formed by Taiwanese–Japanese families were imagined in terms of both emotional connection and blood ties. Beginning in the 1920s, miscegenation often featured in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* as a positive tool in securing the future of the empire.<sup>490</sup> As one article explained:

The pinnacle of assimilation policy must be the mixture of blood. Assimilation that is based on the mixing of blood crystallises [into] the most sincere and stable of all [unions]. A union that is formed in this way, no matter what it encounters, will not be troubled by trivial disturbances. Therefore, at every opportunity from now on we should encourage the ethos of intermarriage.

同化政策の最も完全なる熟成は血の交りであらねばならぬ、血の交りに基く同化の結晶は何ものよりも純真であり、鞏固である、随つて之に依りて形成された結合は如何なる場合に遭遇するも些の動搖を成すの憂はないのであ

<sup>487</sup> Miyazaki Seiko, "'Naitai kyōkon' to shokuminchi ni okeru Taiwanjin joshi seinendan no ichitsuke". *Nantō shigaku* 70 (2007): 83–97.

<sup>488</sup> For an overview of the domestic practices of interethnic couples and their relationship to gendered marriage patterns, see Huang, "Nihon tochi jidai ni okeru 'naitai kyōkon' no kōsei to tenkai", 128–155. Interviews with interethnic families in colonial Korea also reveal the limited efficacy of interethnic unions in spreading Japanese customs. See Kim, *Imperial Romance*, esp. 117–125.

<sup>489</sup> "Naitai kekkon no taiken o kataru (yon)", *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, February 5, 1932, 6. The first five interviews in this series all concluded with a version of this statement, affirming the couple's marital happiness.

<sup>490</sup> There were also notable examples of Japanese intellectuals and government officials who opposed intermarriage due to miscegenation, including Nagai Hisomu. This issue will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.

る、されば今度は凡ゆる機會に於て共婚の氣風を作興せしめなければならぬ

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The GGT's promotion of interethnic marriage was designed to create sentimental ties between Japanese and colonial subjects, thereby fostering a sense of loyalty—and indeed love—among the colonised. It was also intended to recast colonial control as a relationship defined not by violence but by benevolence and humanity. The article continues:

It is now self-evident that we must achieve that purpose [i.e., assimilation] through human equality and love based on ethical and humanitarian perspectives. Simply put, the era when [Japan] was earnestly feared on the basis of its authority has passed. Today, we plan to [bring about] harmony between both sides based on a loving embrace.

倫理觀、人道觀に基いた人類平等愛に依りて其目的を達成しなければならぬことは今更吾等の囁囁を要せぬ自明の事柄である、單に威力に依りて只管恐怖せしめた時代は去つて、今日は愛の抱擁を根軸として彼我の融和を企圖することは、現時に於ける嚴肅たる統治方針の目的のてなければならぬ

This new focus on “love”, as opposed to “fear”, reflected concerns that in the wake of popular uprisings, with the March First Movement in Korea, the May Fourth Movement in China, and demands for self-governance in Taiwan, military rule was no longer sufficient to maintain the colony. Central to this new policy was an emphasis on “harmony” (融和), “equality” (平等), and the principle of nondiscriminatory treatment for all Japanese subjects, or “impartial benevolence” (一視同仁). Underpinning these claims was the notion that total assimilation was attainable in the future based on the racial affinity between the Japanese and their colonial subjects, as represented in colonial slogans such as “same script, same race” (同文同種). Amid escalating conflict with China following the Manchurian Incident in 1931, the importance of assimilation was further emphasised. Assimilation was intended to mitigate the threat of Taiwanese ethnic consciousness.<sup>492</sup> The future imagined here was one where Taiwanese had a proper “awareness” (意識) of themselves as Japanese subjects, and

<sup>491</sup> “Dōka seisaku to kyōkon mondai”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 21, 1923, 3.

<sup>492</sup> Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming ‘Japanese’: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 58–59.

therefore the ethnic distinction between Taiwanese and Japanese gradually diluted.<sup>493</sup>

Interethnic relationships would further aid this process and encourage loyalty to the colonial state.

Despite such rhetoric on assimilation and “impartial benevolence”, real political and economic disparities between Japanese and Taiwanese persisted and discrimination against Taiwanese in the labour market and education was common.<sup>494</sup> Even so, colonial propaganda emphasising equality had certain unintended consequences. As historian Takashi Fujitani has argued in the context of colonial Korea, this claimed commitment to disavowing racism meant that the colonial state became “caught up in the discourse of equality it promoted” and was compelled to act as if it were committed to it.<sup>495</sup> Taiwanese activists certainly sought to exploit the gap between the official endorsement of equality and the reality of discrimination to elicit concessions from the colonial authorities.

### **‘Partial Benevolence’? Taiwanese Political Discourse on Interethnic Marriage**

Like the GGT, Taiwanese intellectuals looked to interethnic marriage as a symbolic representation of the future of colonial rule. Unlike the colonial authorities, however, they found in intermarriage evidence of the paucity of the GGT’s professed vision of “harmonious integration” based on “love” and “equality”. Until 1933, the absence of an intermarriage law was seen as proof of the second-class status of Taiwanese within the empire. As early as 1920, Taiwanese intellectual Chen Zeng-fu (陳增福; 1893–1977), who was himself married to a Japanese woman, criticised the legal situation, writing in *Taiwan seinen* (臺灣青年; *Taiwan Youth*). *Taiwan seinen* was a journal strongly associated with the movement for self-rule—which Chen also advocates for in this article. Chen pointed out the contradiction that while

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<sup>493</sup> Ching notes that “the problem of islanders’ ethno-national [*minzoku*] consciousness” was the object of investigation by the Japanese colonial police in the 1920s and 1930s. A lack of ‘awareness of being Japanese citizens’ was identified as a key problem with Taiwanese social movements. Taiwanese consciousness was also perceived as a problem as it referenced connection to China. Ching, *Becoming ‘Japanese’*, 58–9.

<sup>494</sup> Ching, *Becoming ‘Japanese’*, 104; E Patricia Tsurumi, “Education and assimilation in Taiwan under Japanese rule, 1895–1945”. *Modern Asian Studies* 13, no. 4 (1979): 617–641. As Matsuda has noted, Okinawans in colonial Taiwan while considered ‘Japanese’ also often commonly faced discrimination. Hiroko Matsuda, “Becoming Japanese in the Colony: Okinawan Migrants in Colonial Taiwan”. *Cultural Studies* 26, no. 5 (2012): 688–709.

<sup>495</sup> Takashi Fujitani, *Race for empire: Korean as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 47–48.

foreigners could legally marry Japanese, the particularities of the *koseki* system meant that the many existing unions between Japanese and Taiwanese were not fully recognised in law. Chen argued that this undermined the assimilation project, which should draw on the strength of the “marital family” (夫婦) as the “basic unit of the state” (國家の單位であり根源である).<sup>496</sup> Dōkakai (同化會; The Assimilation Society), a broad organisation of both Japanese and Taiwanese that advocated for improved conditions for Taiwanese under Japanese rule, likewise identified the absence of an intermarriage law as evidence of discrimination.<sup>497</sup> One of the most strongly worded critiques of the legal situation was printed in *Taiwan shin minpō* (臺灣新民報; *Taiwan New People's News*), a Taiwanese-run newspaper that expressed popular dissent against Japanese colonial rule.<sup>498</sup> On 7 June 1930 it published an article that explicitly tied the issue of interethnic marriage to a lack of commitment by the GGT to its proclaimed ideals. The article appealed to the GGT to ensure that its claims to “impartial benevolence” would not amount to mere “empty slogans” (空文; C: *kongwen*). It argued that given pertinent examples of ethnic discrimination in law, colonial policy was best described not according to the official slogan of ‘impartial benevolence’ but by its opposite—“partial benevolence” (一視不同仁; C: *yishibutongren*).<sup>499</sup> The absence of an intermarriage law was given as a key example of such ethnic discrimination. These Taiwanese intellectuals and associations presented an image of the imperial future that differed from the state's in important ways. They presented alternative aspirations for the future of the colony, advocating for an improved position for Taiwanese within the empire. In this alternative vision of the imperial future Taiwanese were represented within government structures and had achieved parity with Japanese in a legal and economic sense. Such activism exerted significant pressure on colonial authorities to demonstrate that they were indeed committed

<sup>496</sup> Chen Zeng-fu, “Taiwan no kyōkon to jichi”. *Taiwan seinen* 1, no. 4 (1920): 46.

<sup>497</sup> Tai, “The Discourse of Intermarriage in Colonial Taiwan”, 97.

<sup>498</sup> *Taiwan shin minpō* was formed as *Taiwan minpō* in 1923, and initially published fortnightly. It was renamed *Taiwan shin minpō* in 1930 and began publishing daily in 1932. In 1944 it was combined with five other newspapers into *Taiwan shinpō*. *Taiwan minpō* is commonly identified as a key publication in the history of Taiwanese nationalism. Liao, “Print Culture and the Emergent Public Sphere in Colonial Taiwan”, 85; Hsu, *The Construction of National Identity in Taiwan's Media*, 23.

<sup>499</sup> “Yishibutongren tongzhi de xia ce”, *Taiwan shin minpō*, June 7, 1930, 2.

to achieving an imperial future in which the principle of nondiscriminatory treatment was upheld.

In this context, the GGT viewed legalising interethnic marriage as a pressing concern because the absence of a legal mechanism to acknowledge interethnic relationships was seen to undercut government rhetoric that the empire was being administered according to the principle of “impartial benevolence”. The push for immediate government action on the issue followed a petition from a Taiwanese man who appealed to the state to allow him to legally register his marriage to his Japanese wife, and thereby save his children from the stigma of illegitimacy.<sup>500</sup> Government officials made concerted efforts to reassure the public that they were moving towards a solution to the legal impasse. When interethnic marriage was legalised in 1933, this was celebrated as the dawn of the new future.<sup>501</sup> Coverage emphasised not only how the law had alleviated a long-term cause of suffering among interethnic couples and their children, but that it had also corrected misunderstandings about the ‘true nature’ of Japanese rule. The legal change was presented as conclusive evidence of Japanese commitment to “impartial benevolence” which, the head of the GGT Legal Office declared, had always been the “unshakeable central policy” (ゆるぎなき大指針) of colonial rule.<sup>502</sup> Even after the promulgation of the Intermarriage Law, however, the legal procedure to officially record an interethnic marriage remained cumbersome. Indeed *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* published a five-part series, authored by the head of the GGT Legal Office, explaining the specific registration process and frequently answered questions from its readers regarding the correct procedure.<sup>503</sup> In 1934, almost year after the Intermarriage

<sup>500</sup> A petition from a Korean man seeking to legally register his relationship with his Japanese wife also precipitated action by the Government-General of Korea. See Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, 64–65.

<sup>501</sup> Yamamoto, “Naitai yūwa wa katei kara! Kyōkon tetsuduki no chishiki (ichi)”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, March 2, 1933, 6; “Kuru sangetsu tsuitachi kara iyoiyo kyōkonhō o jisshi”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, January 20, 1933, 2.

<sup>502</sup> Yamamoto, “Naitai yūwa wa katei kara!”, 6.

<sup>503</sup> See Yamamoto, “Naitai yūwa wa katei kara! Kyōkon tetsuduki no chishiki”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, March 2–13, 1933. For an example of advice regarding how to register a marriage see “Mi no ue sōdan: Naichijin tsuma ni san nin no shiseiji”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, February 16, 1933, 6. This particular letter concerned a Taiwanese man who wishes to enter his Japanese wife’s *naichi koseki* upon marriage but was concerned that his three children would be registered under his wife’s name as illegitimate children. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* also published advice to couples wishing to formally record their marriages before this was legalised in 1933. See for example, “Mi no ue sōdan: Naitaijin kekkon wa koseki jyō dō naru ka”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, September 22, 1931, 6; “Mi no ue sōdan: Naichijin musume to no kekkon nyūseki ni tsuite”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, November 6, 1931, 6; “Mi no ue sōdan: Naitai kyōkonsha ga naichi-seki ni naritai”, *Taiwan nichinichi*

Law was first implemented, the GGT Legal Office offered free consultations in Taipei on how to correctly complete the procedure to register an interethnic marriage. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpo* reported that this was “extremely good news” (非常な福音) for existing couples who, it explained, had delayed registering their marriages due to the “slightly difficult” (一寸面倒) process.<sup>504</sup> The consultations were held as part of Empire Day (紀元節) celebrations on February 11, which marked the ascension of the legendary Emperor Jimmu to the throne, suggesting a desire to connect the promising future implied in interethnic unions to Japan’s glorious imperial past.

It was in this context of highly politicised discussions of interethnic marriage that individuals wrote to *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* with questions about the future of their own interethnic relationships. Taiwanese and Japanese youth sought expert advice in the wake of persistent familial opposition to their unions, commonly based in racial prejudice. While the column attempted to reassure readers that such racial anxieties were unfounded, it stopped short of challenging parental prerogatives in marital decision-making. Instead, it tended to reaffirm conservative sexual norms. Anxieties about unsettling established marital practices, alongside lingering concerns about the potential for real marital disharmony, led to a contradictory situation where, despite official rhetoric encouraging interethnic marriage, advice columns were hesitant to unequivocally encourage patriotic youth to enter into interethnic marriages. Marital advice columns thus expose continuing doubts about the place of interethnic families within the empire.

### **Consulting the Experts: Marital Advice Columns and Interethnic Intimacy**

*Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* ran a regular column entitled “Personal Consultation” in the women’s section of the newspaper where members of the public could write in asking for advice. The service offered advice via phone, face-to-face meetings and mail for people who were facing problems in their personal and romantic lives. Letters were reprinted in the newspaper. The intended audience for these columns was primarily Japanese women,

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*shinpō*, October 15, 1931, 6. Publication of such letters, and the response that it was not yet possible, served to highlight discontent over the legal impasse. The advisor in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* typically suggested that the letter writers concerned consult the police for more detailed advice on possible solutions.

<sup>504</sup> “Naitai kekkon no muryō sōdansho”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, February 13, 1934, 2.



although Japanese men as well as middle- and upper-class Taiwanese who were educated in Japanese also read the column. Between 1931 and 1934, 17 articles in the column featured questions about Taiwanese–Japanese relationships from Taiwanese and Japanese youth. These questions were answered by an unnamed Japanese official working in the marriage advice office of the newspaper. The letters and newspaper responses provide rich insights into how colonial intimacy was experienced in the everyday lives of ordinary Japanese and Taiwanese in Taiwan. They also reveal deep anxieties over interethnic relationships, and concerns over how they should best be managed for the future prosperity of the empire, which often contradicted the official promotion of interethnic marriage.

One of the most pressing problems facing interethnic couples was family opposition to their unions. The columns indicate that opposition from family members, and refusal to permit formal marriages, was a common experience for both Taiwanese and Japanese youth. This opposition was often based in racial prejudice. In early May 1934 the column published a letter from a 21-year-old Japanese woman who had requested advice regarding her relationship with a Taiwanese man, who was referred to—as was common at the time—as an “islander” (本島人). The woman explained that she had been romantically involved with her Taiwanese suitor for three years, but her parents were refusing to permit the marriage. She wrote: “We are both Japanese, so it doesn’t matter to me, but my parents [won’t allow it] because of the judgement of relatives” (同じ日本人ですから構はないと思ひますけれども親達は親類の手前があるからと仰います).<sup>505</sup>

Despite her parents’ opposition, she had resolved to live with her lover out of wedlock. However, she was anxious about the future prospects of her children—who would be deemed illegitimate—if she remained unmarried. In response to such problems, the advice column typically suggested that young couples patiently explain to their parents that their racial prejudice was unfounded, drawing on the support of other sympathetic relatives or trusted third parties. Replying to the Japanese woman with the Taiwanese suitor, for example, the column advised that she appeal to her mother or a third party to “explain that intermarriage is not something you should be wary of or ashamed of in front of your

<sup>505</sup> “Mi no ue sōdan: Naitai kekkon o naichijin oya ga yurusanai”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 2, 1934, 4.

relatives” (内臺結婚が決して厭ふべきものでもなければ親類の手前恥べきものでもないといふ事を説いて).<sup>506</sup> At the same time, the column admonished her for disobeying her parents, noting that their anger was understandable given she had had a sexual affair out of wedlock. This woman’s experience was not uncommon. Later in May, a Japanese woman replied expressing her support. Her own relationship with a Taiwanese man had faced such “fierce” (猛烈) opposition from her relatives that “there was once a time when [she] didn’t even eat” (私は一時は御飯も食べなかつた日さへありました).<sup>507</sup> Interviews with interethnic couples in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* also frequently cited examples of racial discrimination and prejudice as major challenges in their daily lives. Interviews reveal that interethnic relationships were frequently “viewed with suspicion” (色々な怪しい目で見てみます) and faced accusations that such marriages were motivated by financial insecurity and that lower-class Japanese wives were “former *geisha*” (藝者上がり).<sup>508</sup> A Japanese man similarly expressed concerns that his marriage to a Taiwanese woman would be “ridiculed by society and opposed by his relatives” (世間に笑はれるし親類からも反対される).<sup>509</sup> Likewise, a Japanese woman wrote of her fear that her parents would not support her desire to marry her Taiwanese suitor, despite both his family’s endorsement and the fact that she was now pregnant.<sup>510</sup> In response, the column explained that there was now no difference between marriages between *naichijin* and Taiwanese, and marriages between fellow *naichijin*, given the passage of the 1933 Intermarriage Law. If her parents sufficiently understood this fact, the column insisted, they would have no reason to oppose the match. Ironically, this only further attests to the reality that interethnic unions were not viewed as the same as

<sup>506</sup> “Mi no ue sōdan: Naitai kekkon o naichijin oya ga yurusanai”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 2, 1934, 4.

<sup>507</sup> “Mi no ue sōdan: Naitai kekkon no musume-san”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 27, 1934, 3. For this author the family estrangement was not permanent, and she reassures the original letter writer that she is now happily married with a son and has re-established contact with her mother and sister. She does not mention her father.

<sup>508</sup> “Naitai kekkon no taiken o kataru (ichi)”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, January 26, 1932, 6.

<sup>509</sup> “Mi no ue sōdan: Naitai kekkon no hayaku o moto ni modoshitai”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, April 8, 1934, 4. This particular man was seeking advice on how to win back his former Taiwanese finance and her family after calling off their engagement due to unrelenting family opposition. His former finance was now being forced by her parents to marry someone else. He states his intention to withstand any further familial or societal opposition in pursuit of their relationship.

<sup>510</sup> “Mi no ue sōdan: Naitai no kekkon no oya ga yurusu ka shinpai”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, February 3, 1933, 6.

intraethnic marriages. Letter writers reported that such severe family opposition took a significant emotional toll on young couples, often leading to family estrangement and isolation.<sup>511</sup> Such prejudicial Japanese opinion, while prevalent, was considered a potential threat as it could undermine the assimilation project and foster resentment among colonial subjects. Rather, Japanese should display “warmth” and “kindness” befitting the “loving embrace” which—it was claimed—now characterised colonial relations.<sup>512</sup> Distaste for interethnic intimacy, alongside everyday discrimination, threatened the imperial project by further undercutting Japanese propaganda that Taiwanese would be treated equally according to the principle of “impartial benevolence”. Nevertheless, the marital advice columns in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* indicate that opinion was divided over whether family hostility to interethnic relationships was justified. At stake in this issue of interethnic intimacy were anxieties about not only race, but also unmediated sexual intimacy.

### Parental Authority and the Problem of ‘Free Love’

The emergence of interethnic marriage as a prominent topic in the mass media in the early 1930s followed attempts by an emergent women’s movement to reimagine marriage outside its traditional parameters as an exchange between two families. Traditionally in Taiwan, most marriages were arranged and marital decisions were made by the couple’s parents. Betrothal prices (娉金; C: *pinjin*) and the sale of young girls as future daughters-in-law (童養媳; C: *tongyangxi* or *simpua*) were also practised.<sup>513</sup> Beginning in the 1920s, these practices came under attack, alongside other marital norms such as concubinage, by the women’s movement. Drawing on similar developments in Japan and China, activists sought to reenvision modern marriage as an equal partnership between one man and one woman

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<sup>511</sup> Japanese women were also effectively excluded from the Japanese ethnic community in legal terms following a legal marriage to a Taiwanese man as they lost their *naichi* status in the *koseki* system and were moved to a *gaichi* registration.

<sup>512</sup> Yi has identified a similar phenomenon underpinning the corresponding rhetoric of *naisen yūwa* regarding Korea in the 1910s and 1920s. See Yi Chōngsōn, “1910~1920-nyōndae ‘naesōn yunghwa’ sōnjōn ūi ūimi – Ilbonin kwa Purangmin/Chosōnin ‘yunghwa’ ūi pigyo”, *Yōksa pip’yōng* 130 (2020): 354–380.

<sup>513</sup> Chao-ju Chen, “Simpua Under the Colonial Gaze: ‘Old Customs’ and the Law in Taiwan under Japanese Imperialism”. In *Gender and Law in the Japanese Imperium*, eds. Barbara J Brooks and Susan L Burns. (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2014); Doris T. Chang, *Women’s Movements in Twentieth-century Taiwan*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 24.

based on companionship, romantic love and free choice.<sup>514</sup> This movement received substantial pushback from conservatives who wished to retain the traditional role of parents in marital decision-making. Writing in the context of Republican China, Yang argues that “romantic love” was popularly associated with sexual immorality and was used in ways that were “often indistinguishable from ‘illicit sex’ or ‘adultery’”.<sup>515</sup> “Free love” was also characterised in the mass media as an act of “undisciplined self-indulgence”.<sup>516</sup> Likewise, in Taiwan, conservative commentators identified “free love” and premarital sex as a threat that could lead to immorality, social disorder and sexual “chaos”.<sup>517</sup> Interethnic relationships therefore were bound up in anxieties not only about race, but also about changing sexual morals and the modern ideals of “free marriage” (自由結婚) and “romantic love” (戀愛). As historian Yi has noted in the case of Korean–Japanese relationships, Japanese parents often opposed intimate relationships with Koreans, not only because of their differing ethnic and colonial status, but also because interethnic relationships began outside established matchmaking practices.<sup>518</sup> Interethnic relationships typically originated through unmediated association between men and women, and were therefore potentially tainted with the stigma of illicit premarital intimacy. For lower-class Japanese women in colonial Taiwan this stigma was heightened due to their popular association with sex work. As Huang has examined, during the early colonial era many single Japanese women who migrated to Taiwan were either sex workers or women who worked in entertainment industries tainted by the stigma of sexual labour, such as barmaids and café waitresses.<sup>519</sup> For this reason,

<sup>514</sup> Chang, *Women’s Movements in Twentieth-century Taiwan*, 23–26.

<sup>515</sup> Lianfen Yang, “‘Love’ as the Key Word: New Sexual Morality and New Literature in Late Qing and Early Republican Years (1900–1920).” *Social Sciences in China* 35, no. 4 (2014): 70.

<sup>516</sup> Yang, “‘Love’ as the Key Word”, 73.

<sup>517</sup> Tadashi Ishikawa, “Families Remade, Empire Reconfigured: Discourse, Law, and Colonial Taiwan in Japan, 1870s–1937”. (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015), 8.

<sup>518</sup> Yi Chöngsŏn, “‘Naesŏn kyŏrhon’ han Ilbonin yŏsong ūi Chosŏn iju wa kajok senghwal: Ilcheshigi ūi kyŏnghŏm ūl chungsim ūro’, *Yŏsong kwa yŏksa* 28 (2018): 27–53. To my knowledge there were no matchmaking services for interethnic couples in Taiwan. On 28 August 1936 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* reported that plans had been made at a local gathering for interethnic couples to establish an advocacy group named the Intermarriage Assistance Society. However, it is unclear what activities this society actually carried out. See “Naitai kyōkon no konshinkai”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, August 28, 1936, 7. In Korea, the Association of Practising *Naisen ittai* (Japan and Korea as one body), a semi-private organisation founded by Pak Namgyu, offered matchmaking services for interethnic couples as we shall see in Chapter V.

<sup>519</sup> These women were largely employed to entertain single Japanese men who had migrated to the colony. Huang, “Nihon tochi jidai ni okeru ‘naitai kyōkon’ no kōsei to tenkai”. A large number of Korean women were also employed as sexworkers in colonial Taiwan. See Jin Jungwon, “Reconsidering Prostitution under the Japanese occupation: Through Korean Brothels in Colonial Taiwan”, *The Review of Korean Studies* 17, no. 1

many Japanese wives of Taiwanese men faced social stigma as they were presumed to be former sex workers.<sup>520</sup>

Marital advice in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* consistently cautioned against “free love”, and repeatedly asserted, in a move reminiscent of claims of “undisciplined self-indulgence” in Republican China, that the difficulties faced by interethnic couples were the result of their wilful insistence on entering into relationships without parental approval. In July 1934, for example, a Japanese man wrote in seeking advice as the parents of his now pregnant Taiwanese lover would not allow her to marry him:

For a year we chastely associated with each other but through our communication it became clear that her parents would not permit her to marry someone of a different ethnicity. It makes me miserable to think there are still people who say such things in the Shōwa era.

一ヶ年の間清き交際を続けて来ましたが、交通から彼女の母親に知られ民族の違つた者に嫁入りする事は斷じて許さぬと申渡されたさうです、昭和の時代に未だこんな事を云ふ者があるかと思ふと私は情けなくなりました<sup>521</sup>

This letter thus spoke to a generational divide over acceptance of interethnic marriage, while linking colonial intimacy to the progressive modern values of the Shōwa era. He continued:

Since then, she [my lover] immediately sought to actively continue our relationship. She unfortunately visited my house and in order to break through the baseless opposition of her mother, we decided to pledge our love for each other. After that she has been actively seeing me, but her parents have been closely monitoring her and perhaps even physically punishing her. Because her situation has also become financially difficult, I have sent her approximately 100 yen so far.

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(June 2014): 115–157. In Japan and colonial Korea, like colonial Taiwan, cafe waitresses were popularly associated with sexual labour. See Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*. (Berkley: University of California Press, 2006), esp. part 2, ch 2; Mariko Inoue, “The Gaze of the Café Waitress: From Selling Eroticism to Constructing Autonomy”. *U.S.–Japan Women’s Journal* 15 (October 1998): 78–106.

<sup>520</sup> For an example of a Japanese wife who spoke about this stigma see “Naitai kekkon no taiken o kataru (ichi)”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, January 26, 1932, 6.

<sup>521</sup> “Mi no ue sōdan: Ninshinshitemo naitai kyōkon ni oya ga hantai”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 25, 1934, 4.

彼女も此事あつて以来急に私との関係を積極的に進める様になり、不幸に私の宿を訪れ母の理由なき反対を突破するために私との愛を互ひに保障することにして了ひました、その後も彼女は私に對して積極的に出てみましたが之が彼女の親に知れ監視がなげしくなり大分折檻もされたり経済的にも不如意になつたりしましたので私は之まで約百圓ばかり送りました

In the face of these difficulties, the man had hoped his lover would “give up hope for their relationship” (關係を斷念して貰ひたい), but he remained concerned about his child’s future.

In reply, the advisor reprimanded the man for disobeying the wishes of his lover’s parents:

It is extremely regrettable that until now both *naichijin* [i.e., Japanese] and Taiwanese have not had a sufficiently good understanding of interethnic marriage. In your case, since you have decided to take an islander wife without her relatives’ permission, the parents’ misunderstanding cannot be resolved. I think this is regrettable ... You should have waited on account of her parents’ opposition, but you did the opposite and charged ahead. Because of this you have fallen into your current predicament.

内臺の結婚について未だに充分善い理解が内臺雙方に無いのは甚だ遺憾であります、あなたの場合は親族會の承認まで經て本島人娘さんを嫁に貰ふといふ事に決まつてゐたのに先方の親達が無理解のため話が纏まらぬというわけで気の毒と思ひます、… あなた方は親の反對から一寸ストップすべきを却つて逆に突進して了つたので今日に苦境に陥つたのです。

Even so, the advisor recommended that since the woman was pregnant, the writer should certainly marry her, either by persuading her parents with the help of a sympathetic Taiwanese acquaintance or by waiting until they were old enough to legally marry without parental permission. This could be done when the man reached 30 years of age and the woman 25, as stipulated in the Meiji Civil Code.

The advisor similarly admonished a pregnant Japanese woman in June 1934 for not obeying her parents.<sup>522</sup> The 22-year-old woman had been living out of wedlock with her Taiwanese lover for three years and now had a son. Her father, who worked in a government office, would not permit the marriage and so she was unable to register her son in the family’s

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<sup>522</sup> “Mi no ue sōdan: Chichi wa watashitachi no kekkon o yurushite kurenu”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 12, 1934, 4.

*koseki*, meaning he was considered illegitimate. She had also been warned by the colonial police that she needed to formally register her place of residency. On top of this, her Taiwanese mother-in-law was trying to convince her husband to take another “good wife” (よい嫁). She could “not sleep at night” (夜も眠れません), fearing that her husband might abide by his mother’s wishes and abandon her. To make matters worse, she was seven months pregnant with their second child. While the response began by sympathising that it was “outrageous” (寄性) that a government official would not support interethnic marriage, it continued,

Even so, today’s problems are the result of you having rushed into a free marriage without first gaining your parents’ permission

それにしてもあなた方は親の許しを待たず自由結婚をしてしまったので今日の問題が残ったものと思はれます。

Again, the column advised that the writer should persuade her father to change his mind and suggested appealing to his superiors at the government office, and a sense of duty to the empire, to help convince him:

You should explain to your father that he must bear in mind that the matter of intermarriage is an issue that concerns His Majesty the Emperor and, as he works in government, your father should set an example and advance the practice of intermarriage.

内臺共婚の事柄は畏くも聖上陛下に於かせられても御心に留めさせらるる程の問題で役所に勤めてゐるあなたの父親などは寧ろ率先して此實行に進まねばならぬといふ理由をよく御説明になつたら如何です

Failing that, the column advised that she should wait until she was old enough to register the marriage without her father’s permission. Common to these answers was a sense that parental opposition to interethnic relationships, racial prejudice notwithstanding, was reasonable as these relationships had not met the standards of conservative sexual morality. The column thus reflected a tension between the desire to uphold conservative sexual morals, based on matchmaking and parental supervision, and the objective of promoting interethnic marriage in service to the empire.

Concerns about maintaining parental prerogatives in marital decisions were not unique to discussions of interethnic couples. Parental approval regarding marriage and divorce was a legal requirement under the Meiji Civil Code, and conservative commentators in metropolitan Japan and Taiwan alike reaffirmed the moral necessity of parental supervision in response to calls for ‘free love’ and marriage. The tendency to reaffirm parental authority over marriage matters was also consistent with broader trends in Japan’s approach to managing marriage in colonial Taiwan. Japanese authorities were hesitant to directly intervene in familial matters, including marriage, because of concerns about the potential to provoke resentment among the colonised. Indeed, when the Meiji Civil Code was extended to Taiwan in 1923, and to Korea in 1912, exemptions were made for familial matters, including marriage and inheritance, which would be governed instead by customary law.<sup>523</sup> While the nature of Taiwanese marriage customs was contested, colonial courts considered parental consent and the use of an intermediary as key markers separating *de facto* marriages from “purely sexual”—and therefore illegitimate—relationships.<sup>524</sup> Colonial courts upheld the legal necessity of parental approval in marriage, ruling in 1908 that parents must agree to a union and in 1937 that unless the parents consented a marriage could be annulled provided the bride was under 25 years of age and the groom under 30. There were limits, however, on parental authority, and in 1919 the court ruled that the consent of the groom and bride was also essential.<sup>525</sup> Conservative Taiwanese elites similarly emphasised the continuing role of parents in selecting marriage partners for their children.<sup>526</sup> Tensions arose, however, when parents did not support the desires of their children to take up the call to marry across ethnic lines.

A letter in September 1931 directly referenced this tension between filial piety and service to the imperial agenda of assimilation. The letter from a 17-year-old Taiwanese man sought advice about whether to propose to a Japanese nurse he was secretly in love with. As he explained:

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<sup>523</sup> Chen, “Simpua Under the Colonial Gaze”, 201; Sungyun Lim, *Rules of the house: Family Law and Domestic Disputes in Colonial Korea*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018), 31.

<sup>524</sup> Ishikawa, “Families Remade, Empire Reconfigured”, 128–140, 339.

<sup>525</sup> Chen, “Simpua Under the Colonial Gaze”, 216, f65

<sup>526</sup> Ishikawa, “Families Remade, Empire Reconfigured”, 173–174.



My thinking is that I want to play one small part to serve *naitai yūwa*, but my parents will probably never permit it. If I disobeyed my parents' position would that be unfilial? What would you do if you were me?

僕は内臺融和の萬分の一を盡したいと考へてみますまい、両親の意に従はぬとすれば不孝になりませうか私として如何したら宜しいでせう <sup>527</sup>

The response avoided directly answering the question of whether it was permissible to disobey one's parents in matters of colonial intimacy. Instead, it answered that "at any rate" it seemed "too soon" (兎に角まだ早いやうです) to take a wife, and the advisor could "not really approve of an early marriage" (早婚は餘り賛成できません). Interestingly, the advice also cautioned against rushing into a marriage for ideological reasons, stating:

Marrying a *naichijin* woman is a good thing but at your age there is no hurry. I recommend that you consider it carefully and realistically, without being overly emotional.

内地人どの結婚も宜しいでせうが兎に角あなたの御年配ではそれも早くはありませんか、浮き浮きした考へをもたずにもつと質實な現實味のある思想をおもちになるやうおすすめします

This response echoes conservative fears that in the absence of familial supervision young people were irresponsibly rushing into unions based on fleeting emotions. The type of unsupervised liaisons associated with the ideal of 'free love' were particularly concerning as they threatened social order and posed additional risks associated with premarital intimacy such as illegitimate children and venereal disease. The advisor, however, also declined to directly reaffirm the moral—or indeed legal—necessity of parental consent. This evasive response exposes the conditional and unstable nature of support for interethnic marriage, even when presented with eager participants.

<sup>527</sup> "Mi no ue sōdan: Sōkon wa iya naitai kekkonshitai". *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, September 3, 1931, 4.

## Overly Patriotic Youth? Hesitating Before Interethnic Marriage

A tendency to caution against patriotic enthusiasm for interethnic marriage is reflected in two other letters published in the column. In April 1934, a Japanese man sought advice after a Taiwanese woman he had been courting refused his marriage proposal. He explained that:

I am a *naichijin* youth working at a certain company. I am always thinking about *naitai yūwa*. I am in love with an islander woman, who graduated from a certain girls' school in my family's neighbourhood and now works at a certain government office. She loves me too ... The other day I asked her to marry me but to my surprise she said that she hated intermarriage. When I asked her for an explanation, she said that even though the [legal] procedure for intermarriage has now been streamlined, if we were to marry and have children, she would feel so sorry for them if other people called them *konketsuji* [lit. mixed blood child, derogatory] ... Dear advisor, would an interethnic marriage really invite such unhappiness? I am thinking of asking her to marry me one more time. Should I?

私は某會社に勤めてゐる内地人青年であり、日頃から内臺融和といふ事を考へてゐる一人であります、私の家の近所に某高女を卒業し現在某役所に出てゐる一本島人女性と相愛の中となりました、…先日私はその女に結婚を申込みましたところ意外にも共婚はいやだと申します、理由を聞いて見ますと現今共婚の手續も合理化されてゐるけれど結婚して子供が生まれた場合その子供が他人から混血児だなどとあやされるが可愛想でいやだといふのです、…係様果たして内臺結婚は不幸を招くでせうか又もう一度結婚を申込みもうと思ひますが如何でせうか <sup>528</sup>

The advisor wrote in reply:

*Naitai yūwa* is important but don't sacrifice marriage, the most important thing in an individual's life, for that. You believe that she is the ideal woman, and you are serious about this marriage. But you are 23, so you are still a young man. It is not certain that your thoughts and feelings will not change with time. It is absurd to say that the children born to Taiwanese and *naichijin* are *konketsuji*. If people of different races have children, they are conspicuous as *konketsuji*. But when it is the same oriental race, and particularly for the children of Taiwanese and *naichijin*, there is nothing to worry about. This is even more so when you consider the good results based on eugenics. She probably said this because she does not love you completely. In marriage, it is also vital that, to a certain degree, you are well suited, and you cannot force someone to marry, so you should wait patiently

<sup>528</sup> "Mi no ue sōdan: Naitai kekkon no tame kyūkon ga kobamareta", *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, April 2, 1934, 5.

for a while. You are only 23 so there is no hurry. With a serious attitude, befitting a matter of lifelong importance, you should determine how she feels then decide whether to advance or retreat.

内臺融和も大切ですがそのために個人の一生の大事である結婚を犠牲にする事もできますまい尤もあなたは理想の女性だとしてゐるので此結婚に眞剣である様ですが二十三歳やそこいらの青年では未だ未だ今後に至つて考へや気分が變わらぬとも限りません、内臺人の間に生まれた子供を混血児などとは以ての外で人種を異にした者の間の子供なら際立つた混血児ともなりますが同じ東洋民族、殊に内臺人の間の子供では少しも気にする事はなく却つて優生學上好結果を見るとも考へられます、先方の女性がそんな事を言ふのはあなたに對する愛が満點でない爲めでせう、結婚は雙方とも或點まで凡てが釣り合ふ事も必要であり無理に結婚するといふ事できぬのですから暫く静觀なさるべきです未だ廿三歳位では結婚を急ぐ事ありません、一生の重大事故慎重な態度を以て先方の出様を見極はめた上で進退する様になさい

The column thus dismissed the Taiwanese woman's concerns about racial discrimination as illogical and evidence of insufficient romantic attachment, despite frequent evidence of hostility towards interethnic relationships reported in its very pages. Interestingly, in doing so, it appealed to the authority provided by science, citing the "good results" based on eugenics. This is likely a reference to the so-called 'hybrid vigour' thesis which posited that 'mixed blood' children were in fact physically superior to 'pureblood' children, as will be discussed in further detail in Chapter V. The opening line of the response further positioned individual happiness as more important than patriotic duty in marital matters. It also seems to tacitly acknowledge a significant gap between the ideal of a harmonious interethnic marital family in service to the empire and the potential for real marital disharmony. This sense that eager young people might be unaware of the difficulties involved in creating "harmonious" (円満) interethnic families in practice was echoed in the response to another letter from 1934.

In March, a young Japanese man wrote to the column announcing his eagerness to play a part in promoting the imperial policy by marrying a Taiwanese woman:

I am a young man who graduated from a certain technical school here and am now working as a government clerk. Since I was at school I have been thinking about *naitai yūwa*. I think that, ultimately, genuine harmony must eliminate ethnic consciousness. Although achieving this [harmony] through

intermarriages between *naichijin* and Taiwanese will take a long time, I believe it is the most prudent thing to do. I personally want to put this idea into practice, but in Taipei there is still not an agency that can help arrange an interethnic marriage. Given that the Intermarriage Law is now in force, this doesn't make sense. I think among us *naichijin* men, and among islander men and women, there are probably a great many people who hope to have an interethnic marriage. Customs and lifestyles differ between *naichijin* men and islander women, but if both sides make an effort I believe this can be overcome quite reasonably. Hence, I hope to marry an islander woman. Through this column, I want to know if there are any *naichijin* men who like me want to marry an islander woman. Please advise me as to the most appropriate method to realise this aspiration.

私は當地の某専門學校を卒業し只今官吏として働いてゐる青年であります。在學中から内臺融和といふ事を考へてをり結局眞の融和は民族心理の解消でなければならぬ。之が為めには内臺人の共婚によるのが永い時間にかかるが一番賢明だと信じて居ります。そして私自身此の考へを實行したいと思ひますが臺北は勿論臺灣の何處にも未だ内臺共婚を世話する機関が御座いません、共婚法が布かれてゐる今日一つの矛盾だと思ひます。吾吾内地人青年の中にも又本島人青年男女の中にも共婚希望者は相当にあるだらうと思ひます、内地人青年に本島人女の妻では慣習や生活様式等が異なるのですが、之はお互ひの努力で不合理でない程度に解決されるものと思ひます、そんなわけで私は本島人女との結婚を望んでゐます、この欄を通じまして本島人女性に共婚を望む内地青年もあるというふ事を知らして頂きたいと同時に此の希望を実現するの適當な方法を御教へ下さい<sup>529</sup>

The advisor replied:

I have deep admiration for this pure *naichijin* youth candidly presenting his feelings. As you explained, true *naitai yūwa* should aim for the place where, through intermarriage and racial mixing, the metropole and Taiwan cease to exist. I hope that young *naichijin* and Taiwanese men and women will join hands based on a good understanding of this. The most important first step that I recommend for young *naichijin* and Taiwanese men and women is, as much as possible, to begin to chastely mingle with each other. There is no other way to understand each other's feelings and dispositions than through association. In addition, a good understanding will surely open the way to marriage. Since women have some good aspects and some aspects that are not necessarily good, you must sufficiently mull over those points. For example, there are noticeable disparities [between *naichijin* and islander women] such that things deemed shameful for a *naichijin* woman would not

<sup>529</sup> "Mi no ue sōdan: Naichijin seinen, kyōkon o kibōsuru", *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, March 11, 1934, 6.

be so for islander women. There is still no matchmaking agency for intermarriage, which I also think is regrettable, but for the time being if you approach Principal Ono of No. 3 Girls' School, for example, there is no reason that you won't be able to find a match that meets your expectations. In any case, I think agencies [to facilitate] association between young *naichijin* and Taiwanese men and women, and matchmaking agencies for intermarriage, are desirable.

純な内地人青年の気分を率直に發表されたことに敬服します、お説の通り内臺の眞の融和は共婚や混血により内も臺も無くなる境地を目ざして進まねばならぬ次第で貴方の様な考へ方で内臺の青年男女が好い理解の下に手を取り合ふ事を希望いたします。係は其の第一段階として内臺青年男女に成るべく清い交際を始める様お勧めします、互ひの気分気質を知るには交際する外ありません、その上善き理解が出来て結婚へと進む道も開かれるのではないかと思います。女性にも良い側面もあり又必ずしもさうでない側面もあるのですから充分其點をよく呑み込んで置かぬといけません。例へば内地人女性に見る様な羞かしがる風などは本島人女性には餘り無い様なで之などは際立つた相違の様です。尚共婚の媒介機関が無いことは御同様遺憾に思ひますが、御希望の様な条件なら差し當り市内の第三高女の小野校長などに御願ひになれば或は良縁が無いとも限らぬと思ひます、兎に角係も内臺青年男女の交際機関や共婚の媒介機関が欲しいと思ひます

This letter, and the response, indicate dissatisfaction with the extent to which the colonial authorities were facilitating interethnic marriages. Interestingly, the advisor also indicated that the letter writer might be dissatisfied if he took a Taiwanese bride, due to cultural differences between Taiwanese and—the implicitly superior—Japanese women.

Indeed, in late May a Japanese man wrote to the column complaining that while his marriage to a Taiwanese woman was initially happy, he had “become envious” (羨ましくなりました) of his friends who had Japanese wives:

*Naichi* women are better at serving the household head than islander women. I was prepared for this kind of thing before getting married, but now I have come to think that it would be a comfort to have a wife that treats her husband well. Therefore, day by day my affection for my wife is waning ... now my heart is divided over whether to divorce my wife and meet a new bride or to appropriately instruct my current wife in how to make an ideal home.

内地娘は本島人娘より比較的亭主に對する應對が好い様である、こんな事元より覚悟の前で結婚したのではあるが今になつて夫に取つて慰安でもある様に思はれて来ました、それ故に妻に對する私の好意は日に日に薄くなり…私は今のところ妻と離縁し新たに嫁を迎へるか、それとも現在の妻を適當に教導して理想的な家庭を作る様にするか心に迷つてをります<sup>530</sup>

In response, the advisor reprimanded the man for his “shallow” (輕薄) thoughts, and instructed him to think about the positive attributes of his own wife as well as his responsibility to his wife and children who would suffer in the case of a divorce.<sup>531</sup> A Taiwanese man who was considering breaking off an arranged marriage with a Taiwanese woman for a Japanese woman was met a similar response. The 22 year old man in question had been seeing a *naichijin* woman since the spring.<sup>532</sup> However, in May, his parents arranged for him to be engaged to a Taiwanese girl from the countryside and one month ago he was forced to marry her. His current wife “is not very loving towards him” (餘り私には愛なき者), but the *naichijin* woman would like to marry him, so he is considering leaving his current wife for her. The advisor replied “don’t let the *nachijin* girl steal your heart” (内地人娘に心を奪はれるな). Marriage, he continued, was not something that should easily be dissolved. Rather, he should “cast aside [his] fickle feelings” (輕薄な心は棄てて) and focus on his current wife. If he found that there were any insufficiencies with his current bride, rather than divorce, he should “appropriately guide and educate her” (適當に指導し教育して) so that they could live comfortably together. As for the Japanese woman, the advisor stated that, while he didn’t know what promises he had made her, he should take responsibility for any issues he had caused. “In any case”, the advisor concluded, “resolve the matter as quickly as possible and wake up from your fantasies” (兎に角早く解決して迷ひの夢から覚める様になさい). Here the advisor clearly demonstrated a conservative aversion to divorce, even

<sup>530</sup> “Mi no ue sōdan: Naitai kyōkonsha naichijin tsuma ga urayamashii”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 27, 1934, 6.

<sup>531</sup> “Mi no ue sōdan: Naitai kyōkonsha naichijin tsuma ga urayamashii”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 27, 1934, 6.

<sup>532</sup> “Mi no ue sōdan: Naichijin musume ni kokoro o ubahareruna”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, January 25, 1932, 6.

in cases of unhappy arranged marriages, as well as genuine concern regarding the risks failed marriages presented for women and their children.

Conflict over what constituted appropriate wifely behaviour is also evident in letters regarding Japanese women. One problem facing Japanese wives was the issue of concubinage, which despite being formally abolished in metropolitan Japan in 1882 was still legal in Taiwan under customary law. In October 1934, a Japanese woman wrote to the column, outraged that the Taiwanese husband of her Japanese friend had taken a concubine despite previously having shown “a preference for *naichi* [customs] in all things” (内地の凡てに好意を以てみました). The woman complained:

By law I know this seems to be recognised, but is it really acceptable? What about the wife’s feelings? Even if a *naichi* woman marries an islander man should they be tied down by such customs? If it is an uneducated person that is different, but should a man that is part of the intelligentsia who will become a future leader of Taiwan really be tainted with these old customs? I think this is dreadful for intermarriage and cannot be overlooked.

法律も認めあるさうですが本當にでせうか、そんな事で妻たる女性の気持ちなどどうなりますか、内地人女性でも本島人男性と結婚するとこんな舊慣にしばられねばなりません、それも無學な者なら別ですが臺灣の将来をリードしやうといふインテリ階級の男性がこんな舊習に染まることは如何なものでせう、之では共婚なんか恐ろしくてうつかりできないと思ひます<sup>533</sup>

The advisor agreed that, from the wife’s perspective, it was an “insult” (侮辱) for her husband to take a concubine, but also noted that “the influence of the Taiwanese environment” (湾の環境に支配され勝ち) often led to the (re)adoption of Taiwanese customs and there was “nothing to be done” (已むを得ますまいが) about it. The use of the term “insult” here is significant as “grave insult” (重大な侮辱) was one of the few grounds women could appeal to in suing for a divorce under the Meiji Civil Code. Indeed, the response concluded with the observation that concubinage might be grounds for compensation in the

<sup>533</sup> “Mi no ue sōdan: Naitai kyōkon no otto wa chikushō shite yoi ka”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, October 27, 1934, 4

case of a divorce.<sup>534</sup> In reality, women in the colonies seeking a divorce on the basis of their husband taking a concubine faced an uphill battle. As Lim has revealed in the case of colonial Korea, women were often denied a divorce on these grounds as concubinage was considered by the colonial courts to be too common to constitute an insult.<sup>535</sup> In colonial Taiwan too, despite strong criticisms of concubinage—including in the pages of *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*—it remained a legally sanctioned practice. As Chen has detailed, colonial courts denied divorce on grounds of concubinage as, given the widespread acceptance of the practice, it could not be said to violate “public order and good morals”, despite stating that it would be “unacceptable in a civilised society”—as was the law in metropolitan Japan.<sup>536</sup> Interviews with Japanese wives also frequently complained about acceptance of concubinage, asserting their desire for monogamous relationships.<sup>537</sup>

Comments such as these suggest that while the advisor endorsed the ideal of a future wherein colonial intimacy was common, and the distinction between *naichijin* and Taiwanese diminished, in the present, interethnic relationships were still viewed as beset with problems, and consequently were to be approached with caution. While the emphasis in official propaganda was that cultural differences between Taiwanese and Japanese could be overcome, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* also acknowledged the reality of failed interethnic relationships. Writing in 1922, for example, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* editorialised one such tale with the comment that:

From co-education to intermarriage, complete harmony and assimilation between *naichijin* and Taiwanese is progressing step by step. Still, we cannot say that there are not tragic stories born from this transitional period.

共学から共婚へ—渾然たる融和、同化の歩一歩を辿つてゆきつゝある内台人にも、まだ過渡期が生む悲劇的な物語がないは言へない<sup>538</sup>

<sup>534</sup> The willingness of the advisor to highlight the possibility of divorce here also stands in sharp contrast to examples of intra-ethnic couples where the column recommended, for instance, that a Taiwanese adopted daughter-in-law marry her prospective Taiwanese groom even though he had abused her. Ishikawa, “Families Remade, Empire Reconfigured”, 127–128.

<sup>535</sup> Concubinage was first recognised as legal grounds for divorce in colonial Korea in 1938. See Lim, *Rules of the House*, 77.

<sup>536</sup> Chen, “*Simpua Under the Colonial Gaze*”, 206.

<sup>537</sup> See for example, “*Naitai kekkon no taiken o kataru (ni)*”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, January 29, 1932, 6.

<sup>538</sup> “*Kyōkon ga umu higeki monogatari*”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, April 14, 1922, 7.



Far from being problems confined to a “transitional period” before the implementation of the Intermarriage Law, however, as we have seen, racial prejudice, social stigma and cultural differences, as well as personal incompatibility, continued to pose difficulties for interethnic couples. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* also continued to report on failed marriages throughout the 1930s.<sup>539</sup> Some cases of failed relationships appeared before the courts as couples sought divorce and compensation.<sup>540</sup> Failed relationships posed potential problems for the colonial state as they exposed fragilities in the claimed “harmonious union” between Japan and Taiwan and the troubling possibility that it was, in fact, unattainable. In this sense, while endorsements of interethnic marriage served a key ideological purpose, it was not necessarily prudent to encourage interethnic marriage in practice. That *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* chose—and was permitted—to publish such concerns suggests a marked ambivalence towards interethnic relationships.

### Colonial Intimacy and the Uncertain Imperial Future

In her examination of Korean colonial literature, Janet Poole argues that Korean writers were burdened by a sense of the “disappearing future” as, in the context of war mobilisation and Japanese repression, the future became “unimaginable and unnarratable”.<sup>541</sup> In contrast to this sense of foreclosure in fictional narratives of the imperial future, the very real issues of everyday romance, marriage and childbearing focused attention on the imagined imperial future: what it promised, what it did not and for whom. In discussions of the marital family, with its implicit promise of children—a symbol of the empire’s future—a sense of the future was inescapable. This imagined imperial future was, however, “an uneasy vision” that was beset by anxieties and doubts, and deeply contested.<sup>542</sup> Japanese colonial authorities

<sup>539</sup> Examples of coverage of failed marriages in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* include, “Naichi–Taiwanese marriage breakdown”, “a sad story of Naichi–Taiwanese marriage”, “it will end up a broken Naichi–Taiwanese marriage”. “Naitai kyōkon ni hatan”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 27, 1933, 2; “Naitai kekkon aiwa”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 27, 1930, 5; “Jitsu o musuban to shite yaburareta naitai kekkon”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, August 20, 1936, 5.

<sup>540</sup> *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* reported on one such case in July 1930, involving a Japanese woman who was suing her Taiwanese husband for compensation for the difficulty she suffered after childbirth. While the case is referred to as involving a divorce, this was likely a common law marriage as it predated the passage of the Intermarriage Law. “Naitai kekkon aiwa”, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 27, 1930, 5.

<sup>541</sup> Janet Poole, *When the Future Disappears: The Modernist Imagination in Late Colonial Korea*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 2.

<sup>542</sup> In her discussion of Japanese-language colonial Korean literature, Poole identifies how family narratives could be used to express reservations about state visions of the “happy fascist” future. Poole, *When the Future*

explicitly promoted interethnic marriage to build a stronger, more stable union between Japan and its colonial subjects that would secure the future of the empire. Taiwanese intellectuals also invoked interethnic marriage in articulating their own vision for the future of the colony, arguing that state inertia on an intermarriage law provided evidence that Japan was insufficiently committed to realising its proclaimed goal of “impartial benevolence”. In this context, colonial authorities identified open hostility to interethnic relationships as a potential threat that could foster resentment among colonial subjects. That interethnic marriage was connected to the future prosperity of the empire did not, however, translate into support for specific interethnic relationships among the public—or indeed among all voices of Japanese officialdom. Rather, an analysis of marital advice columns in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* reveals persistent familial hostility towards interethnic relationships. Such prejudice against interethnic marriage was frequently excused by appealing to ongoing concerns about sexual propriety. Faced with explicitly contradicting parental authority in marital decisions, alongside examples of real marital disharmony, marital advisors hesitated to encourage patriotic youth to enact the project of harmonious integration in their daily lives by freely entering into interethnic marriages. Instead, advisors implied that colonial intimacy should be treated with caution. Interethnic marriage was a risky business. Advisors were deeply concerned with mitigating the threat of not only racial prejudice but also societal disorder and sexual ‘chaos’, which, it was presumed, would accompany a decline in traditional family prerogatives in marriage. While officially upheld as an aspirational goal, symbolic of the strong and stable union between colonised and coloniser, interethnic relationships also exposed the uncertain and unstable nature of that very union. They made plain the multiple and contradictory ways in which colonial authorities and the public imagined the future of the family and colonial society. The image of Japanese colonialism that emerges from this is one defined not by a uniform strategy on interethnic marriage, but by division and indecision. Despite professed support for a future in which Taiwan and Japan would be successfully integrated “as one” (*naitai ichinyo*; 內臺一如), the colonial state—like colonial society more broadly—was deeply ambivalent

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*Disappears*, esp. Ch. 6. In text quotation is from p. 178. My reading of interethnic marriage discourse extends this idea, situating colonial intimacy as a principal site where competing visions of the colonial future were articulated.

about whether such a future was attainable or, indeed, desirable. Such ambivalence cautions against the presumption of a coherent strategy or unifying logic underpinning state efforts to manage interethnic marriage. Instead, it invites us to consider why consensus on colonial intimacy remained elusive. I suggest the answer may be found in considering how, in the public imaginary, the marital family was entangled with incongruous dreams of the imperial future.

Discourse on interethnic marriage in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* peaked in the mid-1930s, before the advent of total war with China and the outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific. Mobilisation for total war brought another shift in Japanese colonial strategy, which saw the emphasis on assimilation (同化) increasingly replaced with one on 'Japanisation' (皇民化).<sup>543</sup> Colonial authorities intensified 'spiritual mobilisation' (精神動員) campaigns designed to exact loyalty to the imperial state. Spiritual mobilisation efforts, as in the metropole, targeted marriage and especially wedding ceremonies as a vehicle through which to educate colonial subjects on their new duties as 'loyal imperial subjects'. Dissent became more difficult with tightened controls on the press, and the space for apolitical personal matters narrowed; more aspects of daily life became subsumed under the war effort. Marriage and reproduction were also further politicised in this context as, troubled by limited gains in increasing the quality and quantity of the population, government slogans encouraged Japanese women to "give birth and multiply!" (産めよ増やせよ) for the sake of the empire. While references to 'harmonious integration' continued in the context of increased war mobilisation, wartime exigencies and intensified assimilation efforts after 1937, did little to clarify the state's position on what constituted an ideal marriage in service to the empire, as we shall see in the following chapter on colonial Korea. On the contrary, escalating state interest in fostering patriotic marriages only served to highlight ongoing tensions within the vision of the future of the marital family.

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<sup>543</sup> A more direct translation of *kōminka* is imperial subjectification. The *kōminka* movement involved transforming colonial populations into imperial subjects.



“The time for debating the issue of Korean–metropolitan marriages has already passed. Now is the time to implement them.”

Nakumura Kentarō 1941.

## Chapter V

### Unifying Unions: Assimilation and Wartime Mobilisation in Colonial Korea

Following the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937, eugenicist ambitions to improve the quality and quantity of the population gained greater currency within the Japanese state. As we saw in Chapters II and III, the Japanese Diet adopted significant eugenicist legislation, with the passage of the National Eugenic Law and the accompanying eugenic marriage policy, and educative campaigns sought to reform marital practices to secure future generations of “healthy soldiers and healthy subjects” (健士健民). Japan’s major colonies were not isolated from these developments. While the National Eugenic Law was never enacted in colonial Taiwan or Korea, state attention did turn to managing “human resources” (人の資源) in the colonies.<sup>544</sup> As historian Takashi Fujitani has argued, the escalating war brought a newfound interest on the part of the colonial state in Koreans as biological subjects.<sup>545</sup> This growing interest in managing the physical and sexual health of its colonial subjects was underpinned by a desire to utilise colonial populations to support the war.<sup>546</sup> Amid the growing need for agricultural and industrial labour, there was an increasing concern about the quality and the quantity of not only the Japanese metropolitan (内地; *naichi*) population, but also the colonial population. At the same time escalating war brought with it a hitherto unprecedented effort to assimilate Koreans. With the enactment of the *kōminka* (皇民化; imperialisation) movement in 1937, the colonial state sought to directly

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<sup>544</sup> When the National Eugenic Law was introduced in 1941 there were plans to extend it to also cover colonial Korea, but this never eventuated. As noted in Chapter II, extralegal sterilisations were however carried out in colonial Korea, as in the metropole, in leprosy sanatoriums. See also Jung, “‘Colonial Modernity’ and the Hegemony of the Body Politics in Leprosy Relief Work”; Kim, *Imperatives of Care*, 136–7.

<sup>545</sup> Fujitani, *Race for Empire*, 26.

<sup>546</sup> For an examination of colonial state interest in managing sexual and reproductive health see also Jin-kyung Park, “Picturing Empire and Illness”, *Cultural Studies* 28, no. 1 (2014): 108–141; Jin-kyung Park, “Bodies for Empire: Biopolitics, Reproduction, and Sexual Knowledge in Late Colonial Korea”, *Korean Journal of Medical History* 23, no. 208 (2014): 203–238. For a discussion of the maternal health policies in colonial Korea see Kim, *Imperatives of Care*.

intervene in an increasingly wide array of areas of everyday life in order transform the Korean population into loyal imperial subjects. Marriage was central to both these efforts. How then did this atmosphere of intensified state interest impact understandings of the ideal marital family in colonial Korea?

Marriage lay at the heart of intersecting discourses on assimilation, population management, health, gender and sexual morality in colonial Korea. A sizeable body of literature has examined changing gender relations in colonial Korea, revealing how Korea's experience of colonial modernity was also deeply gendered. Gender historians have explored how Korean women seeking to carve out new possibilities for women at work, at school and at home navigated both nationalist expectations and colonial structures.<sup>547</sup> Much of the existing literature on gender politics has focused on the emergence of the controversial figures of the Korean 'new woman' and 'modern girl' during the period of 'cultural rule', highlighting how Korea's activist women challenged patriarchal family norms in pursuit of greater autonomy, including access to divorce and birth control.<sup>548</sup> This effort involved a concerted challenge to existing marital norms, as 'new women' sought to redefine conjugal relations as an exclusive, loving relationship between husband and wife. As legal historians have made clear, family law also underwent significant revision in this period as colonial authorities sought to 'modernise' Korean family customs and increasingly, as Japanese colonial rule progressed, bring them in line with Japanese legal standards.<sup>549</sup>

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<sup>547</sup> See for example, Theodore Jun Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910–1945*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Jooyeon Rhee, "'No Country for the New Woman': Rethinking Gender and Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea through Kim Myöngsun". *Acta Koreana* 17, no. 1 (2014): 399–427; Suh Jiyoung, "The 'New Woman' and the Topography of Modernity in Colonial Korea", *Korean Studies* 37, no. 1 (2013): 11–43; Keong-il Kim, "New Women, Marriage and Family in Colonial Korea", *The Review of Korean Studies* 11, no. 4 (2008): 5–13. For a discussion of post-1945 appraisals of gender and collaboration see also Insook Kwon, "Feminists Navigating the Shoals of Nationalism and Collaboration: The Post-Colonial Korean Debate Over how to Remember Kim Hwallan", *Frontiers* 27, no. 1 (2006): 39–66.

<sup>548</sup> Sonja M. Kim, "'Limiting Birth': Birth Control in Colonial Korea (1910–1945)." *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 2, no. 3 (2008): 335–359. For a collection of translated primary sources see also Hyaeweol Choi, *New Women in Colonial Korea: A sourcebook*. (New York: Routledge, 2013).

<sup>549</sup> While these works tend to emphasise the coercive power of the colonial state in seeking to 'modernise' Korean families and make them legible within a Japanese legal framework, recent research has also highlighted the agency of Koreans in co-opting colonial legal apparatus for their own benefit. Lim, *Rules of the House*. For more on revisions to family law in the colonial period see also Clark W Sorensen, "The Korean Family in Colonial Space—Caught Between Modernization and Assimilation", in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910–1945*, eds. Hong Yung Lee, Yong Chool Ha and Clark W. Sorensen. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013).

Assimilation efforts also targeted the family, with the practice of daily life coming under growing scrutiny in the late 1930s as part of the broad *kōminka* campaigns. After 1937, in this environment of escalating ‘Japanisation’ efforts, GGK propaganda promoting Korean–Japanese marriages (内鮮結婚) also reached new peaks. This chapter brings together these disparate efforts to reform Korean marital practices. It examines two different educative campaigns aimed at reforming marriages on the peninsula: one, on “marriage improvement” (結婚改善) run by the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League; and a second promoting interethnic marriages, spearheaded by the Association for Practising *Naisen Ittai* (内鮮一體實踐社). It situates these campaigns within the broader context of contemporaneous educative campaigns on marriage launched by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in the metropole. Existing research on interethnic marriage has tended to examine colonised–coloniser relations in isolation from other contemporaneous discourses on marriage in the empire.<sup>550</sup> Placing colonial intimacy within this broader context of marriage reform draws our attention to persistent tensions underlying official rhetoric, exposing ongoing anxieties not only over assimilation but also changes to marital practices and the family system. It further suggests that intensified state interest in managing marriage after 1937 did not resolve contradictions in official discourse on the ideal marital family, but conversely amplified doubts over the direction of state policy and its ability to prosecute it.

## Spiritual Mobilisation in Colonial Korea

In analysing political discourses on patriotic marriage in colonial Korea, this chapter focuses on the activities of two organisations: the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League (國民精神總動員朝鮮連盟) and the Association for Practising *Naisen Ittai*. In 1938, following Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro’s (近衛文麿; 1891–1945) announcement of a “New Order in East Asia” efforts to increase the ideological reach of the state intensified, and colonial authorities announced a new mass movement named the National Spiritual Mobilisation

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<sup>550</sup> One exception is Ai Baba, whose recent dissertation on interethnic marriage in the Japanese metropole seeks to locate interethnic intimacy within broader debates on sexuality and thereby write asexuality into existing histories. The use of reproductive capacity as a stand-in for asexuality is however problematic. Baba, “Policies, Promoters, and Patterns of Japanese–Korean and Japanese–Taiwanese Marriages in Imperial Japan”.

Movement (國民精神總動運動). The campaign aimed to thoroughly disseminate state ideology throughout society and ready Korea for participation in war.<sup>551</sup> At the head of this movement was the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League. Originally established in 1933, the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League gained new authority after 1938. It oversaw an extensive system of local level branches, from the provincial to the village level, which served to disseminate government policy at all levels of society and conduct surveillance.<sup>552</sup> At the lowest level “patriotic units” (愛国団体), made up of 10 to 20 households monitored compliance within households.<sup>553</sup> By 1942, there were over 350 000 of such units in the peninsula.<sup>554</sup>

Alongside the League were a plethora of semi-official and pro-government organisations designed to further mobilise the Korean populace and transform them into loyal imperial subjects. One such organisation was the Association for Practising *Naisen Ittai*, which was established in 1940 by Korean Pak Namgyu (朴南奎, Japanese name conversion name: Ōtomo Saneomi, 大朝実臣; 1905–?) with the explicit aim of leading a national movement to strengthen the “spiritual integration” (國民の精神的結合) of Korea and the metropole.<sup>555</sup> The Association, while a private body, had close ties to the GGK and enjoyed considerable state support.<sup>556</sup> The founder Pak Namgyu had a close personal relationship with the Secretariat General of the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League, Kawagishi Bunzaburo (川岸文三郎; 1882–1957).<sup>557</sup> The Association for Practising *Naisen Ittai* was based in the colonial capital of Keijō (now Seoul), and had a total of 66 local branches throughout Korea.<sup>558</sup> The Association announced in 1940 that they also intended to set up local branches in major cities in the

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<sup>551</sup> Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*, 360–61; Palmer, *Fighting for the Enemy*, 22.

<sup>552</sup> Palmer, *Fighting for the Enemy*, 22.

<sup>553</sup> Palmer, *Fighting for the Enemy*, 22. As Uchida notes the existence of such neighbourhood associations predated their emergence in the metropole in 1940. Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*, 361.

<sup>554</sup> Palmer, *Fighting for the Enemy*, 22.

<sup>555</sup> “Naisen ittai jissensha sōritsu shūshi sho”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 1 (1940): 19.

<sup>556</sup> Ōya Chihiro, “Chapchi Naesŏn ilch’ŏ nat’anan naesŏn kyŏrhon ūi yangsang yŏn’gu”. (Masters diss., Yonsei University, 2006), 6.

<sup>557</sup> Kawagishi’s personal name is sometimes also rendered as Fumisaburo.

<sup>558</sup> “Honsha shisha sōsetsu”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 2 (1940): 93.



Japanese metropole, such as Tokyo and Osaka.<sup>559</sup> These local branches served to disseminate the Association's core message on the importance of implementing *Naisen ittai* in one's daily life. They also appointed advisors to local police chiefs, county governors (군수; 郡守) and prefectural politicians (도의원; 道議員), indicating the Association's significant reach.<sup>560</sup> As we shall see both organisations were intimately involved in campaigns to reshape marriage. They were, however, far from united in their vision for patriotic marriages on the peninsula. After a highly publicised public award ceremony for interethnic couples, the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League dedicated significantly more energies to marriage improvement campaigns and stressed above all the need for assimilation and war readiness. The Association for Practising *Naisen Ittai*, while committed to 'bettering' and 'Japanising' Korean marital practices, was interested first and foremost in promoting interethnic unions. Moreover, even within both organisations there were serious divisions and uncertainties over how best to manage marriage. These tensions within and between patriotic organisations expose persistent anxieties over the imagined future of empire.

## A New System for Marriage in the Colonies

In 1940 the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League (國民精神總動員朝鮮連盟), the peak body overseeing efforts to mobilise both Koreans and Japanese residents of Korea behind the war effort, announced a new campaign to improve the "basic standard" (基準) of marriages on the peninsula.<sup>561</sup> The campaign, which fitted under the broader banner of establishing a "system for national lifestyle in wartime" (戰時國民生活體制確立), stressed the importance of adjusting attitudes to marriage to reflect the imperatives of the new wartime environment. Like the analogous marriage improvement campaign in the Japanese metropole, discussed in Chapter III, this entailed a new emphasis on thrift and patriotic sentiment in marital decisions. Unlike the metropole, however, it also entailed a concerted effort to cultivate in the Korean population a thorough "self-awareness" (自覺) that they were "subjects of the

<sup>559</sup> "Honsha shisha sōsetsu", 93. It is not clear however that they did ever achieve their aspiration of a branch in metropolitan Japan.

<sup>560</sup> Ōya, "Chapchi *Naesŏn ilch'e* nat'anan naesŏn kyŏrhon ūi yangsang yŏn'gu", 7.

<sup>561</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, "'Kaisen kekkon kijyun' ketteisu", *Sōdōin* 2, no. 10 (1940): 25.

Great Japanese Empire” (大日本帝國臣民).<sup>562</sup> In this sense it identified marriage—and especially the public event of the wedding ceremony—as an important vehicle through which to cultivate, and perform, Koreans’ new identities as Japanese imperial subjects.

Colonial authorities had already identified marriage as a site of necessary reforms significantly before the era of total mobilisation. Early investigations into Korean custom identified marital practices, such as the tradition of child brides (*minmyŏnŭri*; 민며느리) as areas where Japan could carry out ‘civilising’ reforms thus demonstrating its position as a modern, colonial power.<sup>563</sup> When the Meiji Civil Code was extended to colonial Korea in 1912, however, exemptions were made for family legal matters, which would be governed instead according to Korean “customary practice” (慣習).<sup>564</sup> According to this principle, the early colonial state did not seek to wholly reshape Korean marital practices, outside of notable changes to divorce law and the legal marriage age. From at least the mid-1930s, however, colonial authorities began to show an increased interest in reforming marriage traditions. In November 1934 the GGK announced the *Regulations for Rituals* (儀礼準則), which sought to reform key ceremonies such as wedding, funeral and ancestral rites.<sup>565</sup> Escalating war after 1937 lent a newfound urgency to these efforts. In 1940 the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League announced its revised standards for wedding ceremonies.<sup>566</sup>

<sup>562</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Atarashii seikatsu no kensetsu e”, *Sōdōin* 2, no. 10 (1940): 22.

<sup>563</sup> Child marriages had come under sustained criticism before the colonial period, and Kabo reforms of 1894 notably increased the legal marriage age to twenty. The legal marriage age was later lowered by a 1907 royal decree to seventeen for men and fifteen for women. Sorensen, “The Korean Family in Colonial Space”, 322. For more on the colonial state’s campaign to eliminate early marriage see also Yang-hee Hong, “A Dangerous Tradition: Chohon Discourses and Population Management in Colonial Korea”, *Acta Koreana* 19, no. 2 (2016): 59–86.

<sup>564</sup> Kyung Moon Hwang, *Rationalizing Korea: The Rise of the Modern State, 1894–1945*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 203. As in colonial Taiwan, the nature of Korean custom was a matter of considerable debate. See also Lim, *Rules of the House*; Sorensen, “The Korean Family in Colonial Space”.

<sup>565</sup> For a detailed discussion of the 1934 Guidelines see Hajin Jun, “Protestantism, Ritual Change and the Politics of Everyday Life in Colonial Korea”. (PhD diss., Stanford University 2019), ch. 4. There were some earlier attempts to regulate rituals in colonial Korea, such as the 1912 *Ordinance to control graves, ceremonies, burials and cremations*. This principally sought to improve access to arable land, which was currently being used for gravesites, and eliminate practises deemed unhygienic. See Julian Biontino, “Changes in Funerals Rites and Burial Practises in Modern Korea (1876–1945)”, *Contemporary Japan* 32, no. 1 (2020): 6–24.

<sup>566</sup> The new guidelines for marriage ceremonies were first announced in the government-backed newspaper *Maeil sinbo* in September 1940. They were published in the Chōsen’s Spiritual Mobilisation Association’s official journal *Sōdōin* in October 1940 and, a slightly amended version, in August 1941. Chōngsin ch’ongdongwŏn Chosŏn ryōmeng, ‘Chōnsi kyōrhon sin ch’eje tokpun – il’, *Maeil sinbo*, September 24, 1940, 4;

The new policy sought to update state recommendations to suit the wartime environment. As its target of reform, it identified not only “longstanding evils” (적폐) regarding marriage, which had persisted despite earlier reform efforts, but also new, modern problems of individualism, consumerism and general irresponsibility.<sup>567</sup>

### **Making Modern Marriages: Health, Thrift and the Threat of Individualism**

Marital customs underwent rapid and significant change throughout the colonial period. These changes were not only the result of Japanese efforts to construct a ‘civilised’ family system by eliminating Korean marriage customs deemed “evil” or “corrupt” (弊風). Many Korean nationalists, too, identified marital customs as in need of modernisation, locating them as part of the ‘backward’ traditions that explained the weakness of the pre-colonial Korean state.<sup>568</sup> At the same time, activists in the women’s and socialist movements alike were rethinking marriage, and weddings, as part of a lively debate over the new ideas on ‘romantic love’ (연애; 恋愛) and ‘free marriage’ (자유결혼).<sup>569</sup> Young Koreans, like their counterparts in colonial Taiwan and metropolitan Japan, imagined new ideals for conjugal relations and alternative models for marriage. By the 1920s, traditional Korean weddings were increasingly being replaced by “new-style weddings” (신식결혼식) among the urban middle classes, reflecting the influence of Western—and especially Protestant—wedding conventions as well as the emergence of a nascent commercial wedding industry.<sup>570</sup> It was in this context of considerable change, that the colonial state sought to regulate marital behaviours in the 1940s.

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Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Atarashii seikatsu no kensetsu e”, *Sōdōin* 2, no. 10 (1940): 22; Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Konrei sogi no kijun seitei”, *Kokumin sōryoku* 3, no. 8 (1941): 81–85.  
<sup>567</sup> Such references to “longstanding evils” were also present in newspaper coverage on marriage reform. See for example Chōngsin ch’ongdongwŏn Chosŏn ryōmeng, “Chōnsi kyōrhon sin ch’ije tokpun – il”, *Maeil sinbo*, September 24, 1940, 4.

<sup>568</sup> Nationalist opinion on the desirability of Korean marriage customs was divided, and the importation of Western customs were also identified as a cause for concern by the 1930s. See also Hajin Jun, “Protestant Rites and the Problem of Religious Difference in Colonial Korea”, *Journal of Korean Studies* 25, no. 2 (2020): 325–352.

<sup>569</sup> See for example Keong-il Kim, “Alternative Forms of Marriage and Family in Colonial Korea”. *The Review of Korean Studies* 11, no. 4 (2008): 61–82. For more on the concept of *yōnae* see Chiyong Kim, “The Conceptual History of “Yōnae” (Love) in the Korean Colonial Period”, *Acta Koreana* 16, no. 1 (2013): 113–140.

<sup>570</sup> Jennifer Jung-Kim, “The New Women and New Style Weddings”, *The Review of Korean Studies* 11, no. 4 (2008), 22–3, 27–8; Jun, “Protestant Rites and the Problem of Religious Difference in Colonial Korea”, 338–9.

The Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League's new standards for marriage stressed above all that marriage was a "serious and solemn" (嚴肅莊重) affair and should be treated accordingly.<sup>571</sup> Newlyweds were instructed to promptly register their marriage, preferably as part of their wedding ceremony. While marriage registration was desirable in no small part as it would make unions legible to the state, it was also intended to defend against separation. The League explained that until a union was registered it was not uncommon for marriages to be dissolved for "self-serving and arbitrary reasons" (勝手な一方的理由).<sup>572</sup> Prompt registration would minimise this "evil practice" (弊害) and reinforce the message that marriage was "a vow before the gods to be joined as husband and wife forever" (一旦神前において永久夫婦の契を結んだ) that should not easily be broken.<sup>573</sup> For this reason, the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League emphasised that prospective couples should make an informed, 'rational' decision about their future spouse. Young couples were therefore instructed to exchange health certificates and resumes before marriage in the place of engagement gifts, echoing earlier campaigns by eugenicists in the metropole on health and heredity, as we saw in Chapter I to III.<sup>574</sup> In colonial Korea, too, both Japanese and local eugenicist organisations stressed the critical importance of investigating the health status of a prospective spouse. Japanese settler magazines and major newspapers printed articles by prominent Japanese eugenicists, including announcements for both the JARH's private eugenic marriage counselling centre and later the MHW eugenic marriage counselling centre.<sup>575</sup> The Chosŏn Eugenics Association (朝鮮優生協會), a short-lived organisation of social reformers, medical professionals and prominent intellectuals, similarly advocated for

<sup>571</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, "'Kaisen kekkon kijyun' ketteisu", 26.

<sup>572</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, "Senji kekkon shin taisei", *Chōsen shimbun*, October 2, 1940, 5.

<sup>573</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, "Senji kekkon shin taisei", 5.

<sup>574</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, "'Kaisen kekkon kijyun' ketteisu", 25–7.

<sup>575</sup> See for example Kayō Masanori, "Shinchō o yōsuru: Kekkon no jyōken", *Chōsen shimbun*, June 15, 1933, 3; "Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ni kiku", *Chōsen jihō*, July 25, 1940, 4. The Korean-language press reported on the establishment of eugenic marriage counselling centres see, for example, "Husaengsōng esō Kungnip kyōrhon sangdamso kaesōl", *Tonga ilbo* March 17, 1940, 2. The activities of Japanese eugenicists were also the subject to extensive reporting in colonial Taiwan and *Taiwan nichinichi shinpo* reprinted articles by prominent eugenicists in the JARH including Yasui Hiroshi and Nagai Hisomu. See for example, Yasui Hiroshi, "Kekkon wa jinsei no ichidai gyōji", *Taiwan nichinichi shinpo*, May 21, 1940, 3; Nagai Hisomu, "Kekkaku to kekkon", *Taiwan nichinichi shinpo*, April 27, 1938, 6. The comparatively high media coverage in Taiwan perhaps reflects Nagai Hisomu's stature in the community, where he served as Dean of Medicine at Taipei Imperial University in 1937–1939.

premarital health certificates in its journal *Usaeng* (優生; 우생).<sup>576</sup> In the context of war mobilisation such efforts aimed at managing the health of the population gained greater prominence in the mass media. Exchanging health certificates before marriage was emphasised in newspaper coverage of metropolitan eugenics legislation, with at least one article in the government-affiliated newspaper *Maeil sinbo* (毎日新報; 매일신보) erroneously reporting that it was now a legal requirement under the National Eugenic Law.<sup>577</sup>

The colonial state, in a similar manner to campaigns in the metropole, also tried to combat the purported rise in individualism and consumerism surrounding marriage. The revised Guidelines stressed that couples should reduce marriage-related expenses by limiting the size of celebrations and marital gifts, walking to their ceremony where possible, and foregoing a honeymoon.<sup>578</sup> This emphasis on thrift was intended to conserve resources for use in the war. The advice to walk to one's ceremony aimed to support the campaign to conserve gasoline reserves.<sup>579</sup> As the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League lamented in a 1940 article in the major government-affiliated newspaper, *Maeil sinbo*, despite the pressing need to economise wedding ceremonies, people were now spending more money than ever.<sup>580</sup> Indeed, rising marital expenses had been the subject of considerable debate in the

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<sup>576</sup> The 88 founding members of the Chosŏn Eugenics Association included medical doctors such as Yi Kapsu (李甲秀; 1899–1973), as well as notable figures such as novelist Yi Kwangsu (李光洙; 1892–1950), women's activist Kim Hwallan (金活蘭; 1899–1970) and the founder of *Tonga ilbo* Kim Sŏngsu (金性洙; 1891–1955). The Chosŏn Eugenics Association's journal *Usaeng* ran from 1934 to 1937. The Chosŏn Eugenics Association seemingly had ties to metropolitan Japanese eugenics organisations and notably advertised the Japanese Association of Race Hygiene's eugenic marriage counselling centre in the metropole. Its journal *Usaeng* shared the same name as the JARH's popular journal *Yūsei*. After 1945, the Chosŏn Eugenics Association reemerged under the name the Korean National Eugenics Association (한국민족우생협회) and was involved in lobbying for sterilisation legislation. See for example, "Usaeng kyŏrhon sangdamso", *Usaeng* 1 (1934): 30. For more on the Chosŏn Eugenics Association see also Sin Yŏngchŏn, "Singminji Chosŏn esŏ usaeng undong ūi chŏn'gae wa sŏngkyŏk: 1930-nyŏndae 'usaeng' ūl chungsim ūro", *Korean Journal of Medical History* 15 (2006): 133–155; Kim, *Imperatives of Care*, 136–7. Some Korean nationalists believed, in a Social Darwinist-inspired analysis, that Korea needed to cultivate a physically strong population to regain independence. For more on the influence of eugenics and Social Darwinist thought among Korean nationalists see Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea*, 89–93; Vladimir Tikhonov, *Social Darwinism and Nationalism in Korea: The Beginnings (1880s–1910s): 'Survival' as an Ideology of Korean Modernity*. (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

<sup>577</sup> "Usaeng kyŏrhon pŏp ūl silsi kŏnkang chŭngmyŏng ŏpsŭmyŏn pŏpchŏk ūro purhŏ", *Maeil sinbo*, May 15, 1941, 3.

<sup>578</sup> Kokumin seishin sŏdŏin Chōsen renmei, "'Kaisen kekkon kijyun' ketteisu", 25–7.

<sup>579</sup> Kokumin seishin sŏdŏin Chōsen renmei, "Senji kekkon shin taisei", *Chōsen shimbun*, October 2, 1940, 5.

<sup>580</sup> Chŏngsin ch'ongdongwŏn Chosŏn ryŏmeng, "Chŏnsi kyŏrhon sin ch'eje tokpun – il", *Maeil sinbo*, September 20, 1940, 4.

colonial press since the 1920s, with estimates that a ‘new-style’ wedding could now cost upwards of a year’s wages.<sup>581</sup> Contemporaneous newspaper coverage suggested that renting a Western-style suit could cost the equivalent of a week’s wages for a male factory worker, while purchasing a Western-style frock coat favoured by many modern brides could cost more than 400 yen, or a year’s wages.<sup>582</sup> Wedding rings, floral decorations and photographs also represented a considerable expense. Anxiety about the growing cost of weddings was not limited to the colonial authorities, with Korean nationalists and social reformers frequently voicing concerns about rising expenses in mass media and women’s magazines throughout the 1930s.<sup>583</sup> In the context of campaigns against Anglo-American thought, colonial authorities, however, took a particularly strong position on Western marriage practices associated with ‘new-style weddings’. In 1940, the League declared that all Western customs, such as exchanging rings, were “strictly prohibited” (일체금지하여야됩니다).<sup>584</sup>

### Performing Loyalty: Shinto Ceremonies and ‘Evil Customs’

The *Revised Standards for Marriage* also emphasised the need to eliminate all “evil customs” (弊習) and superstitions pertaining to marriage. This included superstitions akin to those targeted in the metropole, as well as specific Korean customs. As in the metropole, horoscopes and notions of good and bad luck, were criticised as ‘irrational’ superstitions which could prevent an otherwise good match.<sup>585</sup> Colonial power dynamics more overtly presented themselves in campaigns against Korean tradition. Korean wedding customs were commonly labelled excessive, overly complicated and inappropriate for wartime. Newspaper coverage identified the tradition of *p’yebaek* (폐백; 幣帛), where the bride expresses ritual deference to her new parents-in-law by offering them food and wine, for particular censure

<sup>581</sup> Jun, “Protestant Rites and the Problem of Religious Difference in Colonial Korea”, 339.

<sup>582</sup> Jun, “Protestant Rites and the Problem of Religious Difference in Colonial Korea”, 339.

<sup>583</sup> Jung-Kim, “The New Women and New Style Weddings”, 27–8, 32–33. See also Jun, “Protestant Rites and the Problem of Religious Difference in Colonial Korea”.

<sup>584</sup> Chōngsin ch’ongdongwŏn Chosŏn ryōmeng, “Chōnsi kyōrhon sin ch’eje tokpun – yi”, *Maeil sinbo*, Septemeber 21, 1940, 4.

<sup>585</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Kaisen kekkon kijyun’ ketteisu”, 25–7.

as it encouraged wasteful spending.<sup>586</sup> In the place of *p'yebaek*, the League repeated their instruction to exchange health certificates.<sup>587</sup> The use of bridal attendants or *sumo* (수모; 壽母) was also criticised for undermining the “solemn and refined” (엄숙하고 정숙해) atmosphere appropriate to a wedding.<sup>588</sup> The Guidelines fell short of prohibiting *sumo* but stated that their attitude should be as “solemn” (嚴肅) as possible.<sup>589</sup> Koreans were further encouraged to eschew Korean dress in favour of simple, Japanese-style clothing. In line with the wartime emphasis on thrift, the Guidelines mandated the use of “ordinary clothes” (平服) in wedding ceremonies. In 1941 the League updated its recommendations to encourage, but not require, men to wear “national uniform” (國民服).<sup>590</sup> If they did choose to wear Korean dress, couples were instructed to wear colourful attire, not the customary white clothing. Colonial authorities opposed white clothing as it was considered wasteful, given it required more cleaning than coloured clothing. By the 1920s many Korean brides had also adopted a combination of Western and Korean marital dress, and wearing white *hanbok* with a white veil was common. Prohibitions of white clothing may have also been intended to counter this trend. Such changes were designed to both further assimilate Korean daily life and reframe weddings as a patriotic event. Indeed, perhaps the most notable difference between metropolitan and colonial campaigns to reform marriage was the prominence given to ritual performance of loyalty in the colony. This was evident in calls to hold one’s ceremony at a Shinto shrine (神社神祠), which received far greater emphasis than in the corresponding metropolitan policy, as outlined in Chapter III.

The Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League’s new standard for marriages outlined two types of model ceremonies: one, which was targeted to the Japanese settler population, and a modified version for the Korean population.<sup>591</sup> While the League recommended that both

<sup>586</sup> Chōngsin ch’ongdongwŏn Chosŏn ryōmeng, “Chōnsi kyōrhon sin ch’eje tokpun – sam”, *Maeil sinbo*, September 23, 1940, 4. For an ethnographic account of *p'yebaek* see Laurel Kendall, *Getting married in Korea: Of Gender, Morality, and Modernity*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 44–49.

<sup>587</sup> Chōngsin ch’ongdongwŏn Chosŏn ryōmeng, “Chōnsi kyōrhon sin ch’eje tokpun – yi”, 4.

<sup>588</sup> Chōngsin ch’ongdongwŏn Chosŏn ryōmeng, “Chōnsi kyōrhon sin ch’eje tokpun – sam”, 4.

<sup>589</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Konrei sogi no kijun seitei”, 84.

<sup>590</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Kaisen kekkon kijyun ni kansuru ken”, *Kokumin sōryoku* 3, no. 1 (1941): 131.

<sup>591</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Senji kekkon shin taisei”, 5.

Japanese and Koreans should “mainly” (主として) conduct weddings at Shinto shrines, this was given greater importance with regards to the Japanese population. Writing in *Chōsen shimbun* (朝鮮新聞) in October 1940, the League explained that given there were some regional areas where there was not a suitable shrine at which to hold a ceremony, Japanese residents “need not avoid” (差支へない) conducting a ceremony at an appropriate alternate venue, such as their family home. Weddings at Shinto shrines had gained popularity among Japanese settlers in Korea since the 1910s, with the number of ceremonies held at Korea Shrine slowly rising from just eight in 1925 to 327 in 1936.<sup>592</sup> The low number of shrine ceremonies reflected both the prohibitively high cost of 2000–4000 yen, as well as initial GGK hesitancy to allow religious ceremonies such as weddings to be conducted at the national shrine which was, in the beginning, imagined to be a civic rather than religious institution.<sup>593</sup>

For Koreans, while a ceremony held at a Shinto shrine was, of course, preferable, the League concluded that, to “make allowances for the lifestyle of Koreans” (半島人の生活様式をも参酌した結果; lit. people of the peninsula) some existing wedding venues, such as public halls (公会堂) and Confucian temples (文廟), were also permissible.<sup>594</sup> In any case, frivolous venues that encouraged a “festival-like atmosphere” (お祭気分を漂はすやうな), such as restaurants, were to be strictly avoided.<sup>595</sup>

Alongside the choice of venue, the content of a marriage ceremony was also expected to reflect one’s loyalty to the state. The policy for both Koreans and Japanese called on couples demonstrate their patriotic sentiment by including “worship of the Imperial House from afar” (宮城遙拜) and a recital of the Oath of Allegiance of the Imperial Subject (皇國臣民ノ誓詞齊誦ヲ加フ) as part of their wedding ceremony.<sup>596</sup> This expectation was again initially more strict for the *naichijin* population: for Korean subjects, if the ceremony was held outside a

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<sup>592</sup> Todd A Henry, *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 81–82.

<sup>593</sup> Henry, *Assimilating Seoul*, 81–82.

<sup>594</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Senji kekkon shin taisei”, 5.

<sup>595</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Senji kekkon shin taisei”, 5.

<sup>596</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “‘Kaisen kekkon kijyun’ ketteisu”, 25.



Shinto shrine, “at least one” would suffice (一つだけは必ず加へることになつてをる).<sup>597</sup> This exemption was absent from the 1941 release of this document, which stated that both the Oath of Allegiance of the Imperial Subject and worship of the Imperial House should be included as per the recommendations for Japanese settlers.<sup>598</sup> The prominence given to the Oath of Allegiance marked a key difference from policy in the metropole, as discussed in Chapter III. Indeed, the Oath of Allegiance was in many ways a practice that was specific to Japan’s colonies—and to Korea at that.<sup>599</sup> As noted in Chapter III, the metropolitan policy on improving marriage ceremonies did not list explicit statements of loyalty as part of its program, unlike in colonial Korea, although this was included in the appended examples.<sup>600</sup> There is little evidence that the Oath became a discernible feature of daily life in the metropole as it did in colonial Korea. Reports that the Japanese public expressed curiosity upon witnessing students from Korea reciting the Oath in front of Yasukuni Shrine while on a tour in 1940 suggest it remained rare.<sup>601</sup> Such ritualised performance of loyalty, while designed to discipline Koreans as ‘true’ Japanese subjects, therefore also marked them as fundamentally different from their *naichijin* counterparts.

Differences in recommendations for the Korean and Japanese settler population did not indicate any substantive acceptance of Korean marital customs. Rather, the attention given to *naichijin* subjects seems to betray fears that the Japanese settler population was not presenting a sufficiently patriotic model of marriage for Koreans to emulate. Certainly, colonial authorities and popular commentators frequently expressed concerns that unseemly and uncivilised behaviour on the part of Japanese settlers could undermine Japanese imperial prestige and claims to higher civilisational status.<sup>602</sup> Moreover, as we saw in Chapter III, Japanese in the metropole—and especially the urban middle class—were also seen as alarmingly unpatriotic in their marital practices, even in the face of sustained efforts

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<sup>597</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Senji kekkon shin taisei”, 5.

<sup>598</sup> Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Konrei sogi no kijun seitei”, 83.

<sup>599</sup> The introduction of the Oath of Allegiance of the Imperial Subject in Korea on 2 October 1937 is commonly considered the beginning of the *kōminka* campaign. In colonial Taiwan no analogous oath was ever introduced. Chou, “The *Kōminka* Movement in Taiwan and Korea”, 43.

<sup>600</sup> Kekkō hōkoku konwa kai, “Kekkō gyōji kaisen shishin”, 4.

<sup>601</sup> Henry, *Assimilating Seoul*, 180–181.

<sup>602</sup> See for example Todd A. Henry, “Assimilation’s Racializing Sensibilities: Colonized Koreans as *Yobos* and the ‘Yobo-ization’ of Expatriate Japanese.” *positions: East Asia cultures critique* 21, no. 1 (2013): 11–49.

to elicit behavioural change. While Korean colonial subjects were being instructed to abandon Korean customs in favour of Japanese practices, Japanese subjects were simultaneously being disciplined to transform themselves into more loyal imperial subjects. The vision of patriotic Japanese-style weddings invoked in propaganda was more of an aspiration than a reflection of actual marital practices in the metropole. In colonial Korea, too, there is little evidence that colonial authorities were successful in significantly changing behaviour.

Beginning in 1934 concerted efforts were made to disseminate—and enforce—the new standards for ceremonies at a local level through rural development associations and local government bodies. At the local level “moral suasion officers” (교화주사; 教化主事) were tasked with educating the Korean public on the new standards for ceremonies.<sup>603</sup> To spread their message, these educational officers distributed educational pamphlets, gave public lectures and held demonstrations, including mock weddings, to illustrate the new expectations.<sup>604</sup> In 1935, a film was also produced that demonstrated an ideal wedding, in conjunction with the Chosŏn Social Work Association (조선사회사업협회).<sup>605</sup> In addition to such educative campaigns, moral suasion officers in some local jurisdictions further used coercion, including the threat of punishment at the hands of the colonial police, to force compliance. Indeed, instances of moral suasion officers conducting spot checks on weddings to ensure that they complied with limits on guest numbers and met the standards for a simple and solemn ceremony—often in the company of local police—drew criticism in the vernacular press.<sup>606</sup> In one incident in Kimch’ŏn in North Kyŏngsang province, *Tonga ilbo* (東亞日報; 동아일보) reported that police evicted wedding guests from a ceremony, despite the considerable expense of as much as four or five *won* they had spent to travel to attend.<sup>607</sup> Despite such strong measures, disobedience was commonplace. Weddings held at

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<sup>603</sup> Kim Hyeyŏng, “Chosŏn ch’ongdokpu chejŏng ‘Ŭirye chunch’ik’ ŭi pogŭp kwa sihaengsilt’ae”, *Minsukhak yŏn’gu* 39 (2016): 176. In translating 교화주사 as moral suasion officers, I am influenced by Sheldon Garon’s translation of 教化 as moral suasion. See his *Molding Japanese Minds*.

<sup>604</sup> Kim, “Chosŏn ch’ongdokpu chejŏng ‘Ŭirye chunch’ik’ ŭi pogŭp kwa sihaengsilt’ae”, 177–181.

<sup>605</sup> Kim, “Chosŏn ch’ongdokpu chejŏng ‘Ŭirye chunch’ik’ ŭi pogŭp kwa sihaengsilt’ae”, 179.

<sup>606</sup> Kim, “Chosŏn ch’ongdokpu chejŏng ‘Ŭirye chunch’ik’ ŭi pogŭp kwa sihaengsilt’ae”, 182–3.

<sup>607</sup> Kim, “Chosŏn ch’ongdokpu chejŏng ‘Ŭirye chunch’ik’ ŭi pogŭp kwa sihaengsilt’ae”, 182.

restaurants and hotels remained popular.<sup>608</sup> Shinto wedding ceremonies held at the largest shrines in Korea, the Korea shrine and the Seoul shrine, numbered only 165 between August 1940 and 1941.<sup>609</sup> Recommendations on clothing were also ignored, with wedding photographs from the 1940s indicating brides continued to wear white dress and even Western-style veils despite their prohibition.<sup>610</sup> The ability of the colonial state to successfully reshape marital practices in line with their new ideals of health, thrift and patriotism was limited at best. State control seems even less certain if we look beyond the realm of ceremonial reform to another ongoing target of educative campaigns: spousal selection.

Another prominent patriotic discourse attempting to influence young men and women's choice of marriage partner in the colony was that of interethnic marriage. Like the marriage improvement campaigns, discourse on colonial intimacy targeted marriages as a vehicle to spread assimilation and 'Japanise' daily life. Rhetoric endorsing interethnic unions also intensified after 1937, in line with increased state interest in managing marriage and a growing emphasis on the need to complete the "unification of Korea and the metropole as one body" (内鮮一體). Yet, as we shall see, beneath this increased state interest, however, lay serious doubt about both the direction of state policy and its feasibility.

### Interethnic Intimacy in Colonial Korea

On 21 March 1941 the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League held a public award ceremony to officially commend interethnic couples on their unions. This date was chosen as it was considered auspicious given that it was the date of the annual spring *kōreisai*, (春季皇靈祭) when Japanese subjects paid their respects to the Imperial family. A total of 137 *naichijin*—Korean couples were decorated at the ceremony, which was widely reported on in the colonial press. Of the 137 couples that were awarded, 106 were Japanese women and Korean men, and the remaining 31 Japanese men and Korean women. Awarded couples had married between January and December the previous year. Advertisements for the awards

<sup>608</sup> Jun, "Protestantism, Ritual Change and the Politics of Everyday Life in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945", 195–96.

<sup>609</sup> Jun, "Protestantism, Ritual Change and the Politics of Everyday Life in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945", 195–96.

<sup>610</sup> Jun, "Protestantism, Ritual Change and the Politics of Everyday Life in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945", 195–96.

stated that couples in common law marriages would also be eligible to receive a commendation but it is unclear if any were awarded. Each couple was presented with a handwritten scroll from Governor-General Minami, which congratulated them on being “a model for others” in their marriage.<sup>611</sup> Newspaper coverage, which had ran glowing reports on the decision to decorate interethnic marriages since the previous year, emphasised the “ultimate service” (至極히寄與하는) being undertaken by interethnic couples to further the project of unifying Korea and the metropole as “one body” (内鮮一體, *naisen ittai*).<sup>612</sup> Coverage of the awards described intermarriage as “extremely desirable because it promotes the completion of *naisen ittai*” (内鮮人相互の結婚は内鮮一體完成の促進上極めて望ましいこと).<sup>613</sup> Earlier that year, the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League published an article by prominent Japanese settler, Nakamura Kentarō (中村健太郎; 1883–1969), which praised the “timely” (機宜) announcement of the awards for interethnic marriages.<sup>614</sup> Nakamura was a leader of the Dōminkai and an employee at both *Maeil sinbo* and *Keijo nippo*.<sup>615</sup> Concluding his piece, Nakamura declared:

the time for debating the issue of Korean–metropolitan marriages has already passed. Now is the time to implement them.

内鮮ノ結婚問題は、最早や議論の時代は過ぎて、實行の時代となつた。

Despite such prominent voices of support, the debate over the feasibility, and advisability, of colonial intimacy was far from being resolved. Indeed, the focus of Nakamura’s own essay—despite his stated support for promoting intermarriage—was the need to overcome enduring cultural differences between Koreans and *naichijin*, which resulted in

<sup>611</sup> The awards were widely reported on in propagandist journals and in the mass media. See for example, “Hyōshosareta naisen kekkon no hitobito”, *Kokumin sōryoku* 3, no. 4 (1941): 39; “Hyōshosareta naisen kekkonsha”, *Naisen ittai* 2, no. 4 (1941): 66–71; “Naisen kekkon hōshō”, *Kokumin shinpō*, March 30, 1941, 7.

<sup>612</sup> See for example, “Naesŏn ilche kyōrhon Ch’ungbuk sŏ chosajung”, *Maeil sinbo*, December 24, 1940, 3.

<sup>613</sup> “Naisen kekkon no hōshōsha ketteisu”, *Chōsen* 311 (1941): 99; Kokumin seishin sōdōin Chōsen renmei, “Hyōshōsareta naisen kekkon no hitobito”, *Kokumin sōryoku* 3, no. 4 (1941): 39.

<sup>614</sup> Nakamura Kentaro, “Naisenjin no kekkon mondai”, *Kokumin sōryoku* 3, no. 2 (1941): 75.

<sup>615</sup> For more on Nakamura’s activities and position within the settler community, see also Jun Uchida, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876–1945*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 166–67.

“misunderstandings” (誤解) and eventually marital “breakdown” (破鏡).<sup>616</sup> Considerable concerns remained, not only about the appropriate nature of colonised–coloniser relations, but also about changing sexual morals and especially the authority of parents in making marital decisions for their children. Read alongside the contemporaneous marriage improvement campaigns, discourse on interethnic marriage reveals significant doubts over to what extent the state should directly intervene in marital decision-making—despite its growing attempts to do so. It further underscores the anxiety and indecision that continued to trouble official statements on marriage well into the 1940s.

The G GK frequently professed its support for interethnic unions from at least the late 1910s. As we saw in the case of colonial Taiwan in Chapter IV, colonial intimacy was intended to symbolise, and sentimentalise, the close bonds between colonised and coloniser. In Korea, the familial bond between Japan and its colony was further emphasised through the arranged marriage of Korean Crown Prince Yi Ŭn (李垠; 1926–1970) to Japanese Princess Nashimotonomiya Masako (方子女王; 1920–1989), more commonly known in Korea as Princess Banja, in 1920. While Governor-General Saitō Makoto (齋藤実; 1858–1936) proclaimed that the marriage signified “the intimacy of the Korean and Japanese peoples as a united family”, it was unpopular in both Korea and Japan.<sup>617</sup> Marriages between ordinary Koreans and Japanese were legally recognised in 1921.<sup>618</sup> In the context of wartime mobilisation and aggressive assimilation policies after 1937, calls to promote interethnic marriage intensified. In 1938, Governor-General Minami included the promotion of intermarriage as a policy goal in support of the broader strategy of “thoroughly strengthening *naisen ittai*” (内鮮一體ノ強化徹底).<sup>619</sup> The popular press ran frequent reports

<sup>616</sup> To rectify this situation Nakamura suggested that both Koreans and Japanese make efforts to further mutual understanding. Nakamura himself was one of few Japanese settlers proficient in Korean. He also recommended the formation of schools for unmarried Korean women to educate them in Japanese customs and “womanly virtues” (婦徳) in preparation for interethnic marriage. Nakamura Kentaro, “Naisenjin no kekkon mondai”, *Kokumin sōryoku* 3, no. 2 (1941): 75.

<sup>617</sup> Cited in Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea*, 135. For a discussion of the royal marriage and its popular reception see also Kim, *Imperial Romance*, 35–42.

<sup>618</sup> For a detailed account of the legalisation process and the implications of the *koseki* system see Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, esp. part 1. See also Brooks, “Japanese Colonialism, Gender, and Household Registration”.

<sup>619</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Chōsen sōtokufu jikyoku taisaku chōsakai shimondō shinan shian”, 1938, 422. Available in *Ilcheha chibae chōngch’aek charyojip*, vol. 15, ed. Sin Chu-baek. Seoul: Koryō Sōrim, 1999.



on interethnic marriage and interviews with real couples, which linked interethnic unions to the successful implementation of *naisen ittai* (Figure XVII).<sup>620</sup> In this pervasive political discourse, the crucial importance of interethnic unions lay not just in its symbolism but also in its potential to assimilate Koreans and further their transformation into imperial subjects (황국신민; 皇國臣民).

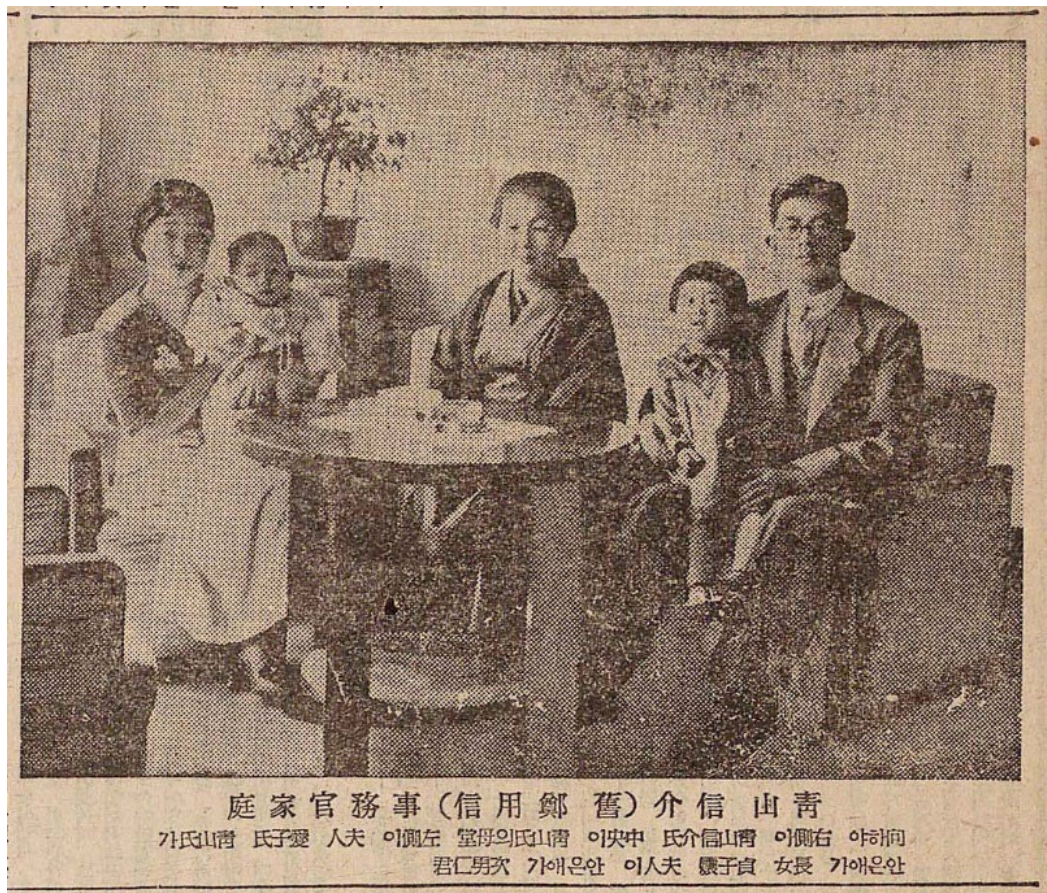


Figure XVI: Portrait of the Aoyama family in *Mael sinbo*

This portrait of the Aoyama family was printed on 28 August 1940. Mr Aoyama, who is referred to by his Japanese name, is pictured alongside his mother, his wife, Aiko, and their two children. It ran under the headline “Households pioneering *naisen ittai*” (內鮮一體를先覺한家庭).

Following the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937, Japan enacted a series of now notorious assimilation campaigns in its two major colonies of Taiwan and Korea, popularly referred to as the *kōminka* movement.<sup>621</sup> Censorship intensified, and the colonial

<sup>620</sup> “Naesŏn ilche rūl sŏn’gak’an kajŏng”, *Mael sinbo*, August 28, 1940, 4.

<sup>621</sup> In colonial Korea, the GKK referred to these reforms using both the terms ‘*kōminka*’ (皇民化; to transform into imperial subjects) and ‘*kokoku shinminka*’ (皇國臣民化; to transform into subjects of the imperial nation),

state restricted vernacular publications and aggressively promoted the uptake of Japanese language, which was referred to as the ‘national language’ (國語). Koreans and Taiwanese were compelled to worship at Shinto shrines, coerced to take on Japanese names, and recruited as military volunteers.<sup>622</sup> In sum, these policies amounted to a hitherto unprecedented attempt to ‘Japanise’ daily life and thoroughly integrate the colony and the metropole “as one body”. In colonial Korea, this was encapsulated in the new slogan, *naisen ittai*. As *Maeil sinbo* explained in 1940:

This thing called *naisen ittai*, as everyone knows, is not like a union [of two separate things] or a handshake, it is the metropole and the peninsula becoming one mind and one body with each other. Therefore it is like an understanding relationship between adults, a relationship between siblings or also a relationship between husband and wife. It is when two come together so that there is no longer any distinction between the metropole and the Korean peninsula.

내선일체라는것은 다아는바와가티 융화한다거나 악수한다는  
그런의미의것이아리라 내지와반도가 그마음과몸이  
서로한덩어리가된다는것이다 그럼으로 어른과이해관계에 잇서서나  
형제관계애잇서서나 또는부부관계애잇서서 내지와반도의 찰별이잇서서는  
안될것이니 <sup>623</sup>

This indicated a significant rhetorical shift. Former Governor-General Ugaki Kazushige (宇垣一成; 1868–1956) had likened Japan’s earlier assimilation policy, with its emphasis on “harmonious integration” (融和) to “holding hands”.<sup>624</sup> The complete melding of Korea and

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whereas in colonial Taiwan the term ‘*kōminka undo*’ (皇民化運動; *kominka* movement) was uniformly used. Chou, ‘The *Kōminka* Movement in Taiwan and Korea: Comparisons and Interpretations’, 42. Caprio notes that the use of *shinmin* (臣民) rather than *kokumin* (國民) to refer to Koreans, which he renders as “imperial subject” and “imperial national” respectively, indicates a desire to maintain a distinction between Japanese and colonial Korean subjects, wherein Koreans had an inferior status within the empire. Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea*, 84; 206.

<sup>622</sup> For more on Japan’s wartime assimilation policies in colonial Korea see Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea*, esp. ch 5. The *Kōminka* campaign followed the same broad policies, albeit with notable differences, in Korea and Taiwan, although it was seemingly met with more overt resistance in Korea than Taiwan. For a comparison of *Kōminka* policies in Taiwan and Korea see Chou, “The *Kōminka* Movement in Taiwan and Korea”. While many military recruits were clearly coerced into ‘volunteering’, some Korean and Taiwanese men seem to have genuinely desired to serve as soldiers. See Fujitani, *Race for Empire*; Chatani, *Nation-Empire*, esp. ch. 6.

<sup>623</sup> “Naesŏn kyŏrhon ūi changnyŏ”, *Maeil sinbo*, December 19, 1940, 2.

<sup>624</sup> Kim, *Imperial Romance*, 59.

the metropole imagined in the slogan *naisen ittai* was not only an intensification of existing assimilation efforts. As Leo T S Ching has explained, in the context of colonial Taiwan, *kōminka* differed from earlier assimilation campaigns in that it placed new emphasis on transforming colonised peoples into “loyal imperial subjects”.<sup>625</sup> This entailed an effort to not only elicit compliance, but also to induce colonised peoples to internalise their new identity as Japanese subjects and therefore, their commitment to the Japanese state. As Chou phrases it, the “primary and ultimate aim” of the *kōminka* movement was to transform colonial subjects into “‘true Japanese’, not only in deed but in ‘spirit’”.<sup>626</sup> This emphasis on “spiritual mobilisation” (精神動員) campaigns was intended to promote among colonial subjects a proper “self-awareness” (自覺) that they were, in fact, Japanese, which was considered necessary to secure the future stability of the empire. Here, interethnic unions, again, were imagined to play an indispensable role.

In December 1940 an editorial in *Maeil sinbo* explained the interconnected relationship between intermarriage, spiritual mobilisation and assimilation. It read

If we are to complete *naisen ittai*, first the thought of *naichijin* and Koreans must be identical. For the thought of *naichijin* and Koreans to become identical, first, more than anything else, we must promote intermarriage. Through our homes, we must make a new start as true imperial subjects...

내선일체를완성시키자면 먼저 내선인간의사상을통일시켜야할것이며  
내선인간의사상을통일시키자면 무엇보다도 먼저 내선인가의결혼을장려한다  
우리들의가정으로부터참똥황국신민으로서 새로운출발을해야할것이며

Achieving this, *Maeil sinbo* acknowledged, would “not be without its challenges” (곤란한점이엄는것은아니다) but if Koreans were committed to learning Japanese language and “adopting the Yamato *minzoku*’s cultural ways more and more” in their daily lives (대화민족의문물양식에 합지하도록) it could be done.<sup>627</sup> This project of promoting intermarriage was spearheaded by the Association for Practising *Naisen Ittai*.

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<sup>625</sup> Ching, *Becoming Japanese*, 92.

<sup>626</sup> Chou, “The *Kōminka* Movement in Taiwan and Korea”, 41–2.

<sup>627</sup> “Naesŏn kyŏrhon ūi changnyŏ”, *Maeil sinbo*, December 19, 1940, 2.



## Practising *Naisen ittai*: Interethnic Marriage and the Problem of Assimilation

The Association for Practising *Naisen ittai*, as their name suggests, was fundamentally concerned with encouraging subjects of the Japanese empire, and particularly Koreans, to enact the theory of unifying Korea and the metropole in their daily lives. Their purpose was not simply ideological indoctrination but also practical implementation. The Association outlined a ten-point mission statement to aid in this task, as follows:

1. Exalting the spirit of benevolent Imperial rule  
皇道精神の發揚
2. Embodying *Naisen ittai*  
内鮮一體の具現
3. Understanding and improving metropolitan and Korean customs and traditions  
内鮮風俗習慣の理解及改善
4. Implementing the Emperor's wishes  
上意の實踐化
5. Conveying the righteous views of the people [to the rulers]  
下意の善道上達
6. Leading a movement to implement Korean–metropolitan marriages  
内鮮結婚唱導實踐
7. Strengthening support on the homefront  
銃後後援の強化
8. Popularising health and hygiene organisations  
保健機關の普及化
9. Leading a movement to strive for self-education  
獨學力行の唱導
10. Thoroughly popularising the national language [Japanese]  
國語普及の徹底 <sup>628</sup>

In this way, the Association identified promoting colonial intimacy to be a core task in the securing Japanese rule of the peninsula, alongside more common platforms such as language education. Indeed, *Naisen ittai* frequently asserted that forging emotive and blood ties between Koreans and Japanese was “fundamental” (根本的) to successfully implementing *naisen ittai*.<sup>629</sup> Pak Namgyu even opined that if the Association succeeded in

<sup>628</sup> “Wa ga sha no kōryō”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 2 (1940): prepages.

<sup>629</sup> See for example, “Naisen kekkon sōdanbu kaisetsu ni tsuite”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 1 (1940): 88.

popularising interethnic unions, their mission would be “halfway” to completion.<sup>630</sup> One of the key avenues the Association for Practising *Naisen Ittai* used to popularise their message was their journal, *Naisen ittai*, which was published in Japanese between 1940 and 1944. The journal regularly featured articles authored by GGK officials, and prominent members of propagandist organisations such as the Chosŏn Spiritual Mobilisation League and Green Flag League (綠旗聯盟). The Oath of Allegiance of the Imperial Subject (皇國臣民ノ誓詞) was regularly printed at the start of the journal, alongside the Association’s mission statement. Despite their stated aim of building a “national movement”, given the low Japanese literacy rate in colonial Korea, its readership was likely limited to a highly educated minority of elite Korean men.<sup>631</sup>

One of the primary strategies the Association identified to achieve its goal of furthering the integration of Korea and the metropole was the promotion of intermarriage. The Association’s official magazine, *Naisen ittai*, ran frequent articles declaring the crucial importance of interethnic marriage and interviews with couples who had decided to further the cause of practising *naisen ittai* in their daily lives through marriage.<sup>632</sup> The president, Pak Namgyu, was himself married to a Japanese woman and the pages of the Association’s magazine often detailed his personal experiences. The journal reported on the number of actual marriages which, as was the case in colonial Taiwan, was small. In its inaugural issue in 1940, *Naisen ittai* published statistics on the number of interethnic unions in Korea, based on data collected by the GGK.

According to *Naisen ittai* report, by 1937 there was a total of 1206 Korean–Japanese marriages on the Korean peninsula, as outlined in Table VI.<sup>633</sup> According to these figures, the majority of marriages were between Japanese men and Korean women. The data also specified the number of *irimuko* (入婿) marriages, where a son-in-law is adopted into his bride’s family, usually as an heir. While the number in both cases was small, there were

<sup>630</sup> Pak Namgyu, “Zokukan ni tsuite”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 5 (1940): 67. Cited in Ōya, “Chapchi Naesŏn ilch’e nat’anan naesŏn kyŏrhon ūi yangsang yŏn’gu”, 9.

<sup>631</sup> “Naisen ittai jissensha sŏritsu shūshi sho”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 1 (1940): 19.

<sup>632</sup> See for example, “Ai no chikiri wa katashi: Naisen ittai kekkon no senku”, *Naisen ittai* 1:1 (1940): 39–45.

<sup>633</sup> “Tōkei ni shimesu naisenjŏn no kekkon”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 1 (1940): 87.

more instances of Korean men being adopted as sons-in-law. The existence of any cases of Japanese men entering Korean families, however, was concerning to the Japanese state as it could have enabled Japanese men to dodge the military draft.<sup>634</sup> Most couples lived in the colonial capital of Keijō (Kyōngsŏng), and surrounding areas, followed by South Kyōngsang province, near the major port of Pusan. The data also indicated the husband's occupation. As shown in Table VII, most Korean husbands who took Japanese wives were employed in commerce and trade, while most Japanese husbands were employed in industry. By 1942, the total number of marriages had increased by an additional 472 couples.<sup>635</sup> As Su Yun Kim has detailed there is significant doubt over the accuracy of these figures, however, due to both the existence of conflicting figures from different government institutions and the partial and flawed nature of the census in colonial Korea.<sup>636</sup> Indeed, the data reported in *Naisen ittai* contained inconsistencies in the cumulative total number of couples, which could reflect either separation or inaccuracies in government records. Statistical inaccuracies notwithstanding, reports on the number of marriages in the colonial press are noteworthy as marked attempts to normalise, and elevate, interethnic unions as already existing evidence of the strong bond between colonised and coloniser. *Naisen ittai* praised these existing couples as “noble pioneers” (貴き先覺者) who were leading the effort to unify Japanese and Korean households.<sup>637</sup> These couples, the report claimed, were evidence of the “clear fact that we are moving towards a place where there is no distinction between Korea and the metropole” (内鮮を区別なきものへゆくことは、明瞭な事実である).<sup>638</sup> The report ended with a call to readers to join them in their efforts to promote interethnic marriage.

<sup>634</sup> As noted in Chapter IV similar concerns were also expressed in colonial Taiwan. For more on concerns that interethnic marriage could be used to avoid military service see also footnote 471.

<sup>635</sup> Kim, *Imperial Romance*, 64.

<sup>636</sup> Kim, *Imperial Romance*, 61–66.

<sup>637</sup> “Tōkei ni shimesu naisenjin no kekkon”, 87.

<sup>638</sup> “Tōkei ni shimesu naisenjin no kekkon”, 88.

**Table VI: Number of Korean–Japanese Marriages and Adoptions**<sup>639</sup>

| Year | Number of marriages and adoptions |                   |                                          |                                          |                                                         |                                                         |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
|      | Total                             | Couples this year | <i>Naichijin</i> husband and Korean wife | Korean husband and <i>Naichijin</i> wife | Korean adopted son-in-law for a <i>Naichijin</i> family | <i>Naichijin</i> adopted son-in-law for a Korean family |
| 1923 | 245                               | --                | 102                                      | 131                                      | 11                                                      | 1                                                       |
| 1924 | 360                               | 115               | 125                                      | 203                                      | 23                                                      | 9                                                       |
| 1925 | 404                               | 36                | 187                                      | 197                                      | 19                                                      | 1                                                       |
| 1926 | 459                               | 55                | 222                                      | 219                                      | 18                                                      | --                                                      |
| 1927 | 499                               | 40                | 245                                      | 238                                      | 14                                                      | 2                                                       |
| 1928 | 527                               | 28                | 266                                      | 238                                      | 21                                                      | 2                                                       |
| 1929 | 615                               | 88                | 31                                       | 277                                      | 27                                                      | 1                                                       |
| 1930 | 786                               | 171               | 385                                      | 350                                      | 46                                                      | 5                                                       |
| 1931 | 852                               | 66                | 438                                      | 367                                      | 4                                                       | 6                                                       |
| 1932 | 954                               | 102               | 533                                      | 364                                      | 48                                                      | 9                                                       |
| 1933 | 1029                              | 75                | 589                                      | 377                                      | 48                                                      | 9                                                       |
| 1934 | 1017                              | 112               | 602                                      | 365                                      | 43                                                      | 7                                                       |
| 1935 | 1038                              | 21                | 601                                      | 391                                      | 40                                                      | 6                                                       |
| 1936 | 1121                              | 83                | 625                                      | 430                                      | 47                                                      | 19                                                      |
| 1937 | 1206                              | 85                | 664                                      | 472                                      | 48                                                      | 22                                                      |

<sup>639</sup> Data drawn from “Tōkei ni shimesu naisenjin no kekkon”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 1 (1940): 87.

**Table VII: Korean–Japanese Couples by Occupation**<sup>640</sup>

| Occupation                     | Number of marriages and adoptions |                                          |                                          |                                                         |                                                         |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
|                                | Total                             | <i>Naichijin</i> husband and Korean wife | Korean husband and <i>Naichijin</i> wife | Korean adopted son-in-law for a <i>Naichijin</i> family | <i>Naichijin</i> adopted son-in-law for a Korean family |
| Total                          | 1206                              | 664                                      | 472                                      | 48                                                      | 22                                                      |
| Agriculture and forestry       | 158                               | 106                                      | 52                                       | --                                                      | --                                                      |
| Fisheries and salt industry    | 30                                | 19                                       | 10                                       | 1                                                       | --                                                      |
| Manufacturing industry         | 241                               | 179                                      | 57                                       | 2                                                       | 3                                                       |
| Commerce and transportation    | 355                               | 128                                      | 196                                      | 24                                                      | 7                                                       |
| Government and self-employment | 294                               | 165                                      | 102                                      | 18                                                      | 9                                                       |
| Other professions              | 86                                | 53                                       | 29                                       | 1                                                       | 3                                                       |
| Unemployed and undisclosed     | 42                                | 14                                       | 26                                       | 2                                                       | --                                                      |

<sup>640</sup> Data drawn from “Tōkei ni shimesu naisenjin no kekkon”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 1 (1940): 87.

To facilitate interethnic unions, the Association also established a marriage consultation centre in 1940. The centre aimed to conduct research on interethnic unions, and offered consultations, matchmaking services, conflict resolution and confidential guidance for young people eager to put their belief in *naisen ittai* into practice.<sup>641</sup> It further provided services to assist existing couples in officially registering their marriage in their family registry (*koseki*; 戸籍) free of charge.<sup>642</sup> To be eligible for the centre's matchmaking services, interested individuals needed to supply seven items: An official copy of their *koseki*; personal identification; their resume; a recent photograph; any desired criteria for their prospective spouse; the reason for their separation if this was a second marriage; and a health certificate from a medical doctor, which certified that they were free of serious illnesses, particularly venereal disease and tuberculous.<sup>643</sup> Advertisements for the centre ran in every issue.

Only a small number of individuals, however, applied to the matchmaking centre. According to a report printed in *Naisen ittai* in 1941, between April and October that year 110 individuals had applied for assistance in finding a suitable spouse.<sup>644</sup> The vast majority of applicants, at approximately 70 per cent, were Japanese.<sup>645</sup> Significantly more men applied than women. Korean men who applied were typically from elite backgrounds and 23–24 year of age—slightly older than average marriage age in Korea. The matchmaking centre seemed to face particular difficulties in attracting suitable brides and in 1941 printed a call in their journal asking for brides to apply, alongside its regular advertisement for the centre.<sup>646</sup> The call for brides stressed the desirability and class status of the men who had applied so far, stating they had excellent occupations, living standards and academic records. There is also little evidence that the total number of marriages increased significantly following this

<sup>641</sup> "Naisen kekkon sōdanbu kaisetsu ni tsuite", 88–89.

<sup>642</sup> "Naisen kekkon sodanbu kaisetsu ni tsuite", 89.

<sup>643</sup> "Naisen kekkon sodanbu kaisetsu ni tsuite", 89.

<sup>644</sup> "Keijō shimin no kekkon sō", *Naisen ittai* 2, no. 11 (1941): 77.

<sup>645</sup> "Keijō shimin no kekkon sō", 78. Kim and Ōya state the opposite (that the majority of the applicants were Korean), however this appears to be an error. The original text, while difficult to read due to the deterioration of the document, seems to read "内地人側が十分の七位で後十分の三位が半島人側です". Kim, *Imperial Romance*, 121; Ōya, "Chapchi Naesŏn ilch'e nat'anan naesŏn kyŏrhon ūi yangsang yŏn'gu", 28.

<sup>646</sup> "Naichijin to hantōjin no hanayome o motomu", *Naisen ittai* 2, no. 5 (1941): prepages.

This call for brides was reprinted several times thereafter. See for example, "Naichijin to hantōjin no hanayome o motomu", *Naisen ittai* 3, no. 1 (1942): prepages.

advocacy. The annual increase in marriages remained remarkably similar to before 1937.<sup>647</sup>

In addition, Korean–Japanese couples in metropolitan Japan, where there had been no concerted campaign to promote colonial intimacy, far outnumbered those on the peninsula.<sup>648</sup>

Despite its strong advocacy for interethnic marriage, the pages of *Naisen ittai* also reveal continuing ambivalence over colonial intimacy. Interviews with existing couples, though packaged within an optimistic framework that claimed significant advances had been made, told familiar stories of racial prejudice and familial opposition to interethnic unions. Interviewees recounted stories of parental disapproval to their marriage and the article acknowledged the reality that some couples even try to conceal that they were in an interethnic romance due to prejudicial opinion.<sup>649</sup> One interviewee, Mr Yoshino, stated that despite initial hostility from his family and hometown now, 34 years after his marriage, his family “completely understand” (すつかり理解して與れてみますよ) his decision to marry across ethnic lines.<sup>650</sup> While this comment was introduced to reassure readers facing opposition to their own interethnic relationships and convince them to persevere, it also exposes the very real obstacles facing young couples. Indeed, Pak Namgyu even admitted that his own interethnic marriage faced opposition from his wife’s relatives who questioned why a perfectly healthy Japanese girl would marry a Korean man.<sup>651</sup> Persistent cultural differences were also evident in the scrutiny of the home lives of couples, and often revealed that—contra to the intentions of the colonial state—daily lifestyles reflected a combination of Korean and Japanese customs.<sup>652</sup> In this context the issue of whether Koreans had yet been sufficiently assimilated was commonly invoked.

<sup>647</sup> Kim, *Imperial Romance*, 62–65.

<sup>648</sup> Kim, *Imperial Romance*, 62–65.

<sup>649</sup> “Ai no chikiri wa katashi: Naisen ittai kekkon no senkunsha”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 1 (1940): 41–2, 45.

<sup>650</sup> “Ai no chikiri wa katashi”, 45.

<sup>651</sup> “Naichi o tabishite (shita)”, *Naisen ittai* 3, no. 6 (1942): 64. Cited in Ōya, “Chapchi Naesŏn ilch’e nat’anan naesŏn kyŏrhon ūi yangsang yŏn’gu”, 42. To my knowledge this particular issue of *Naisen ittai* is only available in the Hyundam Mun’go archival collection. Unfortunately I was unable to visit this archive due to disruptions to my fieldwork in South Korea in 2020 as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the subsequent closure of the collection to the public for restoration works. I have consulted all issues of *Naisen ittai* held by in the Yonsei University archival collections and the Tokyo Keizai Institutional Repository.

<sup>652</sup> For more on the media portrayals of domesticity see also Kim, *imperial Romance*, 117–125.

On 27 February 1944 *Naisen ittai* hosted a roundtable discussion on “establishing a new perspective on marriage” with a group of prominent Japanese and Korean commentators.<sup>653</sup> The discussion examined a host of problems surrounding marriage on the peninsula—from rising individualism and parent–child conflict over spousal selection to wartime difficulties and the population problem—before turning to interethnic marriage. Pak Namgyu (writing here under his Japanese name Ōtomo Saneomi) began the conversation in a markedly pessimistic manner. He stated:

*Naisen kekkon* is unthinkable without the assumption that Koreans will become good Japanese. Unless that happens, it will be extremely incoherent. We should quickly overcome the [present] social situation wherein *naisen kekkon* is considered unique. If we are not motivated by such a progressive idea, it will be impossible to complete *naisen ittai*.

内鮮結婚は朝鮮人がよき日本人になるといふ前提なしに考えられない。そうでないとすれば甚だちぐはぐなものになる。内鮮結婚を特殊視する社会状態が早く清算されねばならない、そう云ふ促進的意欲なれば何時たつても内鮮一体完成は不可能です。<sup>654</sup>

This statement highlights not only that Koreans were not yet considered to be “good Japanese” subjects but that there were popular doubts that they could indeed become so. The reason for this was implied to be “disparities in lifestyles” (生活様式の相違) between Koreans and *naichijin*, with several attendees stating in response the urgent need to create a “unified” (統一), “Japanese-style” (日本的な) lifestyle to overcome current obstacles to intermarriage.<sup>655</sup> Concerns that Koreans were not yet sufficiently assimilated for interethnic marriages to succeed had been raised previously. Indeed, Historian Yi Chōngsōn argues that by 1937, the GGK had begun to rethink its previous optimism about the potential for intermarriage to assimilate Koreans. Instead, rather than considering intermarriage to be an

<sup>653</sup> The participants in the roundtable discussion were: Ōtomo Saneomi [Pak Namgyu], president of the Association for Practising *Naisen ittai*; Ōshima Osamu (大島修; n.d.), of the Association for Practising *Naisen ittai*; Shiroyama Hyō (城山豹; n.d.), of the Association for Practising *Naisen ittai*; poet Arai Unpei (新井雲平; n.d.); author Kuroda Shinobu (黒田しのぶ; 1918?–); Fujimoto Midori (藤元緑; n.d.), a professor at Sungmyōng Girls’ School; and Noritake Kazuo (則武一雄, pen name Noritake San’o, 則武三雄; 1909–1990), a poet and employee of the GGK. Ōtomo Saneomi et. al. “Zadankai: Atarashiki kekkonkan no jyuritsu”, *Naisen ittai* 5, no. 5 (1944): 20–28.

<sup>654</sup> Ōtomo Saneomi et. al. “Zadankai: Atarashiki kekkonkan no jyuritsu”, 29.

<sup>655</sup> Ōtomo Saneomi et. al. “Zadankai: Atarashiki kekkonkan no jyuritsu”, 29.



effective method for assimilation, the GKK came to view it as possible only after effective spiritual and cultural assimilation had already been achieved.<sup>656</sup> This shift was due in no small part to the fact that most intermarriages occurred among members of the lower classes, not the educated elites the colonial authorities envisioned—a point which the *Naisen ittai* roundtable stated was “regrettable” (いゝかん).<sup>657</sup> Further compounding these doubts were concerns over the sexual conduct of interethnic couples, which it was feared suggested a concerning emphasis on individualism and an implicit challenge to parental authority.

### Interethnic Romance, Individualism and Family Authority

Supporters of interethnic marriage in colonial Korea, as in colonial Taiwan, also grappled with the presumed connection between colonial intimacy, romance and parental authority. The roundtable on “establishing a new perspective on marriage” in *Naisen ittai* dealt extensively with the problems of free love, individualism and family opposition. The roundtable discussion noted that there had recently been a concerning rise in individualism among youth—and especially among educated young women—throughout the empire. This new emphasis on “personal happiness” (個人の幸福) and especially “material happiness” (物質的幸福) posed significant challenges to existing marital practices as young men and women increasingly sought the freedom to choose a marriage partner for themselves, subverting the traditional parental prerogative to do so.<sup>658</sup> This emphasis on personal happiness, Shiroyama Hyō, an employee of *Naisen ittai* (城山豹; n.d.) stated, was also implicated in immoral sexual behaviour, including “free marriage” (自由結婚) and “free love” (自由恋愛) which, Shiroyama claimed, “in the extreme are the same kind of illicit union” (極端に言へばひとつの野合でさへあると言へる).<sup>659</sup> Particularly troubling was the tendency to overemphasise freedom, to the extent that the self was viewed in isolation from its social connections, which Ōshima Osamu (大島修; n.d.), also an employee of *Naisen ittai*, derided

<sup>656</sup> Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, 449.

<sup>657</sup> Ōtomo Saneomi et. al. “Zadankai: Atarashiki kekkonkan no jyuritsu”, 29. This comment was made by Noritake Kazuo.

<sup>658</sup> Ōtomo Saneomi et. al. “Zadankai: Atarashiki kekkonkan no jyuritsu”, 22–23.

<sup>659</sup> Ōtomo Saneomi et. al. “Zadankai: Atarashiki kekkonkan no jyuritsu”, 23.

as a form of “modern superstition” (近代の迷信).<sup>660</sup> Excessive individualism, which participants linked to troubling Western influences, it was generally agreed was a major concern and parental opinion on one’s marriage partner should be respected.<sup>661</sup> The more troubling problem arose, however, when considering the content of parental opinion on marriage. As poet Arai Unpei (新井雲平; n.d.) explained:

Our country is very different from America and England so, frankly speaking, it is only natural to respect the opinion of your parents [regarding your choice of marriage partner]. I don’t think it is right to defy your parents’ to the extent that you marry [someone they disapprove of]. Yet, when I think of the views of many parents in Korea, I think we should still think about this some more. In the end, I would like to see some flexibility on this issue.

わが國はアメリカやイギリスと大分違ふ國柄ですから、率直に言つて父母の意見を尊重するのが当然だち考へます。父母の意見に背いて迄結婚するのはどうかと思う。もっとも朝鮮における多くの親の考へた思ふ時そこにまだ考へるべき余地がありますがね。で結局こういう問題はひとつの流動性が慾しいんだ。<sup>662</sup>

The other participants generally concurred, stating that this problem of parent’s “fixed ideas” (固定観念) on marriage pointed to the very reason that a “new perspective on marriage” (新しい結婚観) and a “new morality” (新しいモラル) was necessary.<sup>663</sup> Such concerns about negotiating parental authority in marital decisions—alongside doubts about the basis on which parents made such decisions—underpinned conflict not just over marriage between Koreans, or between Japanese, but also interethnic marriages.

Interethnic relationships typically originated through unmediated encounters between young men and women. For this reason, as in colonial Taiwan, they were commonly

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<sup>660</sup> Ōtomo Saneomi et. al. “Zadankai: Atarashiki kekkonkan no jyuritsu”, 23.

<sup>661</sup> *Naisen ittai* further highlighted the ills of individualism by adding the subtitle “overcoming individualism” (個人主義の克服) to the previous discussion on girl’s education and marriage. The subtitle chosen for this section was “reforming morals” (モラルの更新).

<sup>662</sup> Ōtomo Saneomi et. al. “Zadankai: Atarashiki kekkonkan no jyuritsu”, 23.

<sup>663</sup> More specifically, Shiroyama tentatively agreed, stating that in any case parents should not have fixed ideas on marriage. Oshima replied that this was the reason why a new morality was essential. Pak agreed stating that a new perspective on marriage was necessary and that this effort would involve establishing a new morality. Noritake suggested that such a new morality would need to update Korean Confucianism. Ōtomo Saneomi et. al. “Zadankai: Atarashiki kekkonkan no jyuritsu”, 23–4.

associated with the liberal ideals of ‘free love’ (自由恋愛) and ‘free marriage’ (自由結婚), and the potentially troubling subversion of parental authority in marital decision-making. Indeed, the GGK criticised existing interethnic unions in 1938 as being “almost free marriage”, which, it cautioned, was “not well informed”.<sup>664</sup> Pak similarly identified this connection between interethnic marriage, passionate love and individualism as a barrier to creating “eternal” (永遠) interethnic marriages, making a distinction between the “path of love” (愛の道程) which could be the basis of a harmonious family, and the path of passion, which was generally a “blind rush” (盲目的突進) that would not necessarily result in a lasting, ideal relationship.<sup>665</sup> By bringing interethnic unions into the realm of socially acceptable, mediated marriages, his matchmaking centre sought to overcome this problem. That *Naisen ittai*’s interethnic marriage consultation centre also advertised conflict resolution services to assist couples facing the “predicament” (苦境) of being in a common law marriage, also suggests that the organisation expected that many existing couples were facing difficulties in formalising their unions. The promise that such services would be “strictly confidential” (秘密ノ厳守ス) implies that their *de facto* status was a source of shame.<sup>666</sup> For young couples that desired a formal marriage, parental opposition was a key obstacle as parental consent was both a cultural norm and a legal requirement under the Meiji Civil Code. Family opposition was considered concerning not least because it foreshadowed the real possibility of marital breakdown. The existence of these ongoing problems of failed assimilation, marital disharmony, sexual impropriety and family opposition fostered considerable anxiety within the colonial state over the feasibility of its efforts to promote interethnic marriage. This ambivalence was only exacerbated by the existence of competing views within the Japanese state writ large on the advisability—or lack thereof—of intimate relationships between colonised and coloniser.

<sup>664</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Dai 19-kai chūshuin kaigi sangi tōshinsho”, 1938, p226. Cited in Yi, “Ilchesigi ‘naesōn kyōrhon’ tamnon esō ūi kwa kajok”, 195.

<sup>665</sup> Pak Namgyu, “Naisen ittai kekkon e no ninshiki”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 1 (1940): 66.

<sup>666</sup> “Ai no chikiri wa katashi: Naisen ittai kekkon no senku”, *Naisen ittai* 1, no. 1 (1940): 39–45.

## Marriage, Miscegenation and Misguided Youth

In 1940, Harafuji Shuwe (原藤周衛; 1915–?) authored an article for the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League’s official magazine, *Kokumin sōryoku* (國民總力; National mobilisation), introducing the population problems facing the Japanese empire.<sup>667</sup> He explained that while the Korean peninsula faced the same key problems of improving the quality and quantity of the population that were present in the Japanese metropole, it should not be forgotten that the peninsula also faced another key problem: that of “race” (人種) and in particular “the major problem of miscegenation” (民族混血の大問題).<sup>668</sup> Harafuji, drawing on his stated expertise as a medical doctor, sought to reassure his readers that any concerns they may have regarding racial mixing between Koreans, referred to here as *Chōsenjin*, and *naichijin* and were unfounded. He explained:

In Korea, it goes without saying that, having already overcome the step of harmoniously integrating Korea and the metropole [*naisen yūwa*], the foremost guiding principle [of colonial policy] is *naisen ittai*. That being the case, the ultimate ideal [of *naisen ittai*] is completing the unification (standardisation) of daily customs and, regarding the population, it is essential to make progress towards the unification of blood ties. A serious examination, based on racial science, is necessary [to determine] that blood mixing between *naichijin* and *Chōsenjin* does not produce eugenically inferior offspring. However, because from every angle you might look at it the *naichijin* and *Chōsenjin* peoples are originally the most closely related in the world, it is unthinkable that that blood mixing between these two [peoples] should be avoided as it would cause a [negative] result in terms of racial quality. As is the case from time to time in the world, there are a few careless advocates who shriek that blood mixing between *naichijin* and *Chōsenjin* is inadvisable based on two or three special examples, but this has no scientific basis and for the most part is nothing more than a narrow-minded fallacy [comparable to that which claims] there are only three metropolises and 43 prefectures in Japan.

朝鮮に於ては、その最高指導指針が、既に内鮮融和の段階を突破して、内鮮一體にあることいふ迄もない。然らばその窮極の理想としては、生活儀式の完全な一體化（標準化）人口的には血液の一體化まで進むことが必要である。この場合にも内鮮の混血は優生學的に劣種を生ずることなきや民族科

<sup>667</sup> Harafuji Shuwe, “Kokka sōryokusen to jinkō mondai”, *Kokumin sōryoku* 2, no. 11 (1940): 54–57. The magazine’s name was changed from *Sōdōin* to *Kokumin sōryoku* from this issue.

<sup>668</sup> Harafuji, “Kokka sōryokusen to jinkō mondai”, 57.

學的の眞重な検討を要するが、元来内鮮両民族はあらゆる点より見て世界中最も相近縁せる民族であるから、この両者の混血は民族の素質に本質的に忌避すべき結果を来すとは考へられない。世上往々にして二、三の特殊事例を引い内鮮混血の不可を叫ぶ軽率な論者があるが、何等科學的根拠を有するものでなく、多くは偏狭な三府四十三縣的謬見の現はれに過ぎない。<sup>669</sup>

Despite such attempts to downplay opposition to racial mixing, hostility to miscegenation—and interethnic unions more broadly—was more widespread than “two or three” disgruntled activists. Rather, concerns over interethnic marriage were evident in both the central Japanese state and the GGK, as well as in society. Such concerns, encompassed anxieties not only about race but also about sexual morality, promiscuity and the maintenance of the family system.

In its infamous 1943 report *World policy with the Yamato minzoku as the nucleus*, the Ministry of Health and Welfare outlined its opposition to interethnic marriages in no uncertain terms.<sup>670</sup> The report explicitly criticised assimilation policy in the colonies for mistakenly asserting that intermarriage would act to raise the cultural standard of colonised peoples. On the contrary, it claimed, intermarriage would lead to the “deterioration” (低下) of the *Yamato minzoku* and amount to an “abdication” (放棄) of Japan’s leadership position in East Asia.<sup>671</sup> Interestingly, alongside overtly racist rationales that intermarriage undermined “racial purity” (種族の純血性), the Ministry also identified the supposed threat posed to existing sexual and marital norms.<sup>672</sup> The Ministry characterised intermarriage—

<sup>669</sup> Harafuji, “Kokka sōryokusen to jinkō mondai”, 57.

<sup>670</sup> Although the exact authors of this report are unknown, given it was authored by the Population Problems section which counted many influential eugenicists among its staff, and the content contained within the report, we can presume that the eugenicist social reformers from the JARH examined in this thesis were involved in its development. This multi-volume report has received significant academic attention since its discovery in the 1980s, with scholars interpreting it in polarised ways. See for example John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), ch. 10. Fujitani has criticised Dower’s interpretation in his *Race for Empire*, 14–17. For more on wartime debates on race, and Japanese racial theorising, see also Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan : Time, Space, Nation*. (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 88–102. In addition to these two strands of thought on racial purity and racial hybridity, Tessa Morris-Suzuki has identified a third which sought to avoid discussion of race, seeking justification for imperial expansion elsewhere.

<sup>671</sup> Kōseisho kenkyusho jinkō minzokubu, “Yamato minzoku o chūkaku to suru sekai seisaku no kentō”, 1943, 304. Available in Kōseisho kenkyusho jinkō minzokubu. *Minzoku jinkō seisaku kenkyū shiryō: Senjika ni okeru kōseisho kenkyubu jinkō minzokubu shiryō*, vol. 3. Tokyo: Bunsei shoin, 1981.

<sup>672</sup> Kōseisho kenkyūsho jinkō minzokubu, “Yamato minzoku o chūkaku to suru sekai seisaku no kentō”, 304.

which it referred to using the derogatory term *zakkon* (雑婚; lit. mixed marriage)—as being motivated largely by a desire to “satisfy sexual urges” (性欲衝動の満足).<sup>673</sup> For the Ministry, this connection between interethnic intimacy and sexual desire revealed not only the generally poor character of the individuals involved, who the Ministry claimed were typically of “inferior intelligence and social status” (社会的地位、知能に於て劣等) than average, but also the implicit threat it posed to the family system.<sup>674</sup> The report explained:

Parents do not choose someone from a different race as a spouse [for their child]. Therefore, since *zakkon* is mainly based on free love and both overtly and implicitly pushes past parental opposition, it would bring with it the dismantling of the family system.

親が配偶者を選択する場合は異民族を選ばない。従って雑婚は多く自由恋愛を基礎とし、親の反対を公然又は暗黒に押切って行はれるものであるから家族制度の解体を伴ふこと。<sup>675</sup>

This report was not simply an isolated criticism. The MHW had previously criticised interethnic couples that pursued a secret romance contrary to the wishes of their parents in 1942.<sup>676</sup> Concerns that young Japanese and colonial subjects were disobeying their parents’ wishes in selecting a spouse also reflected longstanding eugenicist claims that young people were ill-equipped to make a rational choice of marriage partner that would secure both their personal marital happiness and the future of the Japanese empire, as discussed in Chapter I. In the context of wartime mobilisation, these claims were reiterated and reframed as part of Japanese marital tradition—in contrast to the destabilising influence of the West as we saw in Chapter III. The Ministry of Health and Welfare further implicated interethnic unions in the realm of irrational and insensible marital decisions, by emphasising their connection to “free love” and sexual desire.

The views of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and the eugenicist activists affiliated with it, did not go unchallenged by colonial authorities, or by others within the central Japanese

<sup>673</sup> Kōseisho kenkyūsho jinkō minzokubu, “Yamato minzoku o chūkaku to suru sekai seisaku no kentō”, 305.

<sup>674</sup> Kōseisho kenkyūsho jinkō minzokubu, “Yamato minzoku o chūkaku to suru sekai seisaku no kentō”, 305–6.

<sup>675</sup> Kōseisho kenkyūsho jinkō minzokubu, “Yamato minzoku o chūkaku to suru sekai seisaku no kentō”, 305.

<sup>676</sup> Kōseisho jinkō mondai kenkyūsho, “Dai tōa kensetsu minzoku jinkō shiryō 14: Nachi zaijyū Chōsenjin shūsanryoku chōsa gaiyō”, 1942, 59. Cited in Yi, “Ilchesigi ‘naesŏn kyŏrhon’ tamnon esŏ ūi kwa kajok”, 195.

state. GKK officials criticised opposition to miscegenation from within the MHW as scientifically unsupported, overblown and evidence of an inappropriate preoccupation with Nazi racial ideology.<sup>677</sup> One official notably accused the metropolitan Japanese bureaucracy as being afflicted with a “German mania”.<sup>678</sup> Kurashima Itaru (倉島至; 1901–1993), the head of the Information Section of the GKK, criticised opponents of interethnic marriage as being “narrow-minded, intolerant and insular”.<sup>679</sup> The MHW’s own investigations into mixed-race children did not find evidence that children were weaker, or otherwise physically inferior, to “pure” Japanese children—a fact which was alluded to in the frequent assertions in colonial publications, as in the case of Harafuji’s essay discussed above, that eugenic research had revealed “good results”. Claims that eugenics provided scientific support for interethnic unions were also evident in colonial Taiwan as seen in Chapter IV.

Yet, while studies commissioned by the MHW did not provide evidence that mixed-race children were physically inferior, or any biological basis to oppose interethnic marriage, they did not necessarily express support for interethnic marriage. Rather, as Yi has revealed, the supposedly inferior mental capacity and reduced patriotic sentiment of mixed-race children were often invoked to justify opposition to miscegenation.<sup>680</sup> Yi reports several studies, commissioned by the MHW, found that mixed-race children had superior constitutions to Japanese supporting the thesis of “hybrid vigour”. Despite this, the studies cautioned against allowing the mixed-race population to increase on the Japanese mainland due to the lower-class origins of Koreans on the Japanese mainland as well as concerns about the loyalty and level of national consciousness of mixed-race children. At the same time, eugenicist researchers asserted that racial mixing could be useful in the colonies and other occupied territories considered more racially disparate from Japan, especially in Southeast Asia and

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<sup>677</sup> It should be noted, however, that Japanese eugenic thought, and related racial theories, were distinct from Nazi ideology, which was not met with wholesale support even among supporters of Japanese ‘fascism’. A more diverse set of international influences shaped Japanese ideas on eugenics, including close interaction with prominent American eugenicists. Moreover, wartime racial theorists, including those in support of Japanese military expansion often defined their positions in opposition to Nazi ideology. Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan*, 95–102. For more on the interactions between Japanese and American eugenicists see also Sumiko Otsubo, “Between Two Worlds: Yamanouchi Shigeo and Eugenics in Early Twentieth-Century Japan.” *Annals of Science* 62, no. 2 (2005): 205–231.

<sup>678</sup> Cited in Oguma, *A Genealogy of ‘Japanese’ Self-Images*, 224.

<sup>679</sup> Cited in Oguma, *A Genealogy of ‘Japanese’ Self-Images*, 212.

<sup>680</sup> For a detailed discussion see Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, 362–384.

the Pacific, as the level of “national consciousness” of mixed-race children—while lower than Japanese—was higher than “pure blood” local populations.

The JARH similarly voiced criticisms of racial mixing during the 1930s. As we saw in Chapter I, in 1935 Nagai advised visitors to the JARH private eugenic marriage counselling centre to be cautious regarding interethnic marriages, citing the need for further research. *Minzoku eisei* published an account of a lecture given by Nagai Hisomu in 1932 on miscegenation that reiterated such concerns.<sup>681</sup> He explained that there were currently two eugenicist theories miscegenation: the first held that miscegenation was beneficial as “inferior races” (劣等なる民族) could improve through racial mixing; the second, that held that miscegenation was harmful, proposed the opposite would occur and “superior races” (優秀民族) would decline through contact. In light of this Nagai maintained, that despite scholars calling for racial mixing as a method to continue to improve the race, “it was impossible not to have doubts” (疑なき能はずである).<sup>682</sup> While his discussion largely avoided discussing the case of Japan directly, drawing on examples of interracial marriage between “blacks” (黒人), “whites” (白人) and “South sea islanders” (南洋人), his positioning of Japan as a, perhaps, “unparalleled” (類例のない) people clearly implied that miscegenation was unnecessary and potentially risky.<sup>683</sup> That the JARH failed to more explicitly criticise miscegenation in the Japanese colonial context likely reflects concerns about overstepping the bounds of censorship.<sup>684</sup> Public discussion in support of blood purity was identified as serious threat, in that it could stir antagonism among the colonised and present a major obstacle to

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<sup>681</sup> Nagai Hisomu, “Minzoku no konkestu ni tsuite”, *Minzoku eisei* 2, no. 4 (1932–1933): 395–396.

<sup>682</sup> Nagai, “Minzoku no konkestu ni tsuite”, 396.

<sup>683</sup> Nagai, “Minzoku no konkestu ni tsuite”, 396. It should be noted that Nagai in this piece accepted the mixed racial origins theory of the Japanese race, but asserted that while racial mixing was the source of Japanese racial strength in the distant past it was inappropriate in the present. This stance reaffirms Tessa Morris-Suzuki’s insight that belief in theories of racial purity and racial hybridity did not necessarily equate to support for discrimination and tolerance, respectively, and adherents of each found reason to support Japanese imperial expansion. It also demonstrates that theories about Japan’s racial past did not determine support for future-oriented policy. For Nagai, racial mixing in the past had created the “pure blood” (純血) of the Japanese race, which had continued since, underscoring the slippery nature of concepts of purity and their rhetorical uses. See Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan*, 94.

<sup>684</sup> Other scholars such as Oguma Eiji have similarly concluded that this lecture represented a clear criticism of miscegenation, which nonetheless attempted to avoid overtly criticising colonial policy. See his *A Genealogy of ‘Japanese’ Self-images*, 216–217.



completing the assimilation project. As such, colonial publications, in particular, tended to downplay the existence of opposition to, or anxiety about, interethnic marriage.

Even so, colonial authorities, too, expressed significant indecision over the issue of interethnic marriage. Such ambivalence was evident even within the very institutions that were tasked with promoting interethnic marriage. Despite its involvement in awarding interethnic couples for their unions in 1940, the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League rarely covered interethnic unions in its official magazine. Moreover, in 1941, the Secretariat General of the League, Kawagishi Bunzaburo, rejected Pak Namgyu's suggestion that the organisation do more to promote interethnic marriage.<sup>685</sup> Existing scholarship is significantly divided over how to interpret these contradictory approaches towards colonial intimacy. Historian Yi Chōngsŏn points out that the GKK's decision to avoid directly, or forcibly, promoting interethnic marriage was in part a strategic one: The colonial state believed that more direct intervention would have adverse consequences and provoke resentment among the Korean populace.<sup>686</sup> Other scholars, following Kim Youngdal's influential thesis, have interpreted this ambivalence as evidence that the colonial state did not intend to promote interethnic unions in practice, but to utilise them only in the realm of propaganda.<sup>687</sup> The fact that prominent voices against colonial intimacy emanating from the MHW failed to successfully codify opposition to interethnic marriage and miscegenation into official state policy further complicates this picture. Existing research tends to interpret this in one of two ways, with some taking the existence of top-secret internal documentation as evidence of the 'true intentions' of the state, while others dismiss it as a marginal or irrelevant perspective. Yet just as racial theories were not unitary, neither were ideas about how to manage, and justify, the expanding empire.<sup>688</sup> Rather than attempting to resolve this

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<sup>685</sup> "Naisen kekkon shōrei hōshin o Kawagishi Nakashō ni kiku", *Naisen ittai* 2, no. 1 (1941). Cited in Yi, "Ilche sigi 'naesŏn kyōrhon' tamnon esō ui sarang kwa kajok", 194.

<sup>686</sup> Yi, *Tonghwa wa paeje*, 448.

<sup>687</sup> Kim, "Nihon no Chōsen tōchika ni okeru 'tsūkon' to 'konketsu'".

<sup>688</sup> I agree with Tessa Morris-Suzuki's argument here that questions over whether Japanese colonial rule should best be justified by asserting racial superiority, racial and/or cultural commonality or comparative civilisational advancement were "never answered". Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan*, 82. I further suggest that sexual politics and ideas about authority in the family further complicated debates over what type of family would best serve imperial interests.

considerable ambivalence, I suggest that we take the presence of divergent aspirations for the empire seriously.

In *Along the archival grain*, Ann Laura Stoler argues for reading archives not only as sources of partial and biased knowledge, but as “condensed sites of epistemological and political anxiety”.<sup>689</sup> In this frame, the existence of incoherent and even “infeasible policies for implausible arrangements that could neither be carried out nor sustained” become not a problem to be resolved, but a finding in their own right.<sup>690</sup> They reveal what Stoler terms “blueprints of distress”, revealing problems that officialdom frantically laboured to understand and manage—and which they failed to easily resolve.<sup>691</sup> For the capacious Japanese imperial state, marriage was one such problem. After 1937, in the context of mobilisation for total war, the Japanese state was attentive to the possibilities presented by direct intervention in the daily and reproductive lives of its subjects. In colonial Korea, this translated into a hitherto unprecedented attempt to manage the marital practices of young Koreans and Japanese on the peninsula. As part of broader spiritual mobilisation campaigns, colonial authorities launched educative campaigns, under the leadership of the Chōsen Spiritual Mobilisation League, designed to restyle marriage as an event of patriotic significance. Alongside a familiar emphasis on thrift and health, this also involved a concerted attempt to ‘Japanise’ marriage, and eliminate undesirable practices—whether old or new. At the same, the colonial state intensified public endorsements of interethnic marriage, linking it to the successful completion of integrating the empire under the banner of *naisen ittai*.

These unprecedented attempts to implement state visions of an ideal marriage did not, however, indicate increased clarity in what that vision actually was. Rather, doubts persisted over the viability of assimilation policy and the desirability of interethnic relations. Anxieties about potentially destabilising changes in society, with the purported rise of modern decadence and the threat of unmediated romance, also intensified. Harafuji may have been correct to state that the time for debate on what constituted an acceptable marital family

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<sup>689</sup> Stoler, *Along the archival grain*, 20.

<sup>690</sup> Stoler, *Along the archival grain*, 22.

<sup>691</sup> Stoler, *Along the archival grain*, 21.

was over, since colonial authorities took more concrete actions to promote their visions through marital awards and educative campaigns. Yet that did not mean that that debate had been resolved; nor that there was any real unity within established positions. This sense of ambivalence and uncertainty is further heightened when we consider the picture in the metropole, where eugenicists in the Ministry of Health and Welfare were convinced of the same need to reform the marital practices of ethnically Japanese subjects and deeply opposed to assimilationist endorsements of more intimate ties between colonised and coloniser. The existence of such incongruous perspectives cautions against the conclusion that there was a broader plan, or strategic vision, animating policy decisions on marriage even during the period of total war mobilisation. Common concerns about countering traditional parental prerogatives in marriage also suggests a surprising hesitation to more directly intervene in spaces of familial authority among officials, even as draconian and repressive policies were being enacted elsewhere. More than anything, it suggests the existence of a fundamentally anxious and uncertain imperial state, concerned about its limited control over the populace and internally divided over its strategy and future direction.



## Conclusion

### Affect and Anxiety: The Imagined Futures of Empire

In this thesis I have argued for the importance of examining how past social reformers imagined the future of the empire in unravelling patriotic discourses on the marital family in Imperial Japan. As Tani Barlow has argued, an emphasis on the “anticipated future”—what she terms the future anterior—foregrounds the heterogeneous nature of intellectual projects in the past, drawing our attention to unrealised and forgotten projects for change, as well as those we know came to pass.<sup>692</sup> My aim in examining discourses on both eugenic marriage and interethnic marriage is not to attempt to unify these two projects advocating for marriage in service of the empire, nor to resolve tensions both between and within them. Instead, drawing on Ann Laura Stoler’s method of reading “along the archival grain”, I have sought to emphasise the very contradictions, inconsistencies and uncertainties within patriotic discourses on marriage for what they indicate about the anxieties and dilemmas that troubled official, and semi-official, discourses.<sup>693</sup> My point here is to highlight contestation over the marital family. It is also to insist that this contestation reveals broader disputes over the future direction of social change, and the place of the marital family in imperial politics. In this conclusion, I suggest four ways in which this stress on how social reformers in the past imagined their future challenges existing understandings of eugenics, colonial intimacy and reproductive politics in Imperial Japan. First, a focus on the imagined future reveals important fissures between similar and overlapping projects seeking to reform marital and reproductive practices—both within and outside of the state. Second, it clarifies the troubled relationship between eugenics, modernity and progressive reform in Japan. Third, it highlights how patriotic discourses on marriage continued to emphasise the role of the family, and especially parental authority, in marital decision-making, suggesting important limitations of state power. Fourth, it suggests the Japanese imperial project remained contested until 1945, torn between incongruous, and often incompatible, ambitions for empire. Finally, this conclusion will end with brief epilogue on the afterlives of interethnic marriage and eugenic marriage after the end of empire in 1945.

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<sup>692</sup> Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*, 2–3.

<sup>693</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 19–22.

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## Eugenics, Eugenicists and Visions for Reform

In this thesis I have demonstrated the diversity of discourses seeking to reform the marital family in early twentieth-century imperial politics. A focus on the imagined future is beneficial in this project because it clarifies the differences and divergent agendas of social reformers. It also draws our attention to the individuals behind eugenicist reform efforts, and their varied visions for change. Here, I want to highlight how a focus on future visions of reform helps to clarify divisions between discourse on eugenic marriage and love marriage, and between plans for eugenic reform supported by the state and by leading eugenicists. In this thesis I have examined eugenicists in their roles as social reformers. A focus on *eugenicists*, as political actors, rather than *eugenics*, as a pervasive scientific discourse, is productive in that it allows us to disentangle the ambitions of eugenicist activists from eugenics as a field of knowledge production and a mainstream model for political and social change. In the early twentieth century, eugenics was popularly understood to be a credible and reputable field of scientific knowledge and was commonly invoked by social reformers to legitimate a wide variety of programs for change. By shifting from a focus on eugenics to eugenicists, however, we uncover key political differences between reform efforts and important disagreements in their visions. In particular, this focus reveals the sexual and social conservatism of prominent Japanese eugenicists in the 1930s and 1940s, and their comparative enthusiasm vis-à-vis the state for coercion.

A wide array of social reformers, political activists and commentators engaged in public debate over the future of the marital family in the Japanese empire. Many of them appealed to eugenicist rhetoric and concepts—to varying degrees and for varying ends. Activists in the emergent women's movement in Japan—as in colonial Korea and Taiwan, and in national movements elsewhere—frequently invoked concerns over maternal and racial health in their arguments for reforms to marriage and reproductive politics, including campaigns to restrict marriage and increase access to birth control. As a growing body of literature has shown, such appeals to eugenicist arguments were not merely strategic but also reflected a shared conviction that it was morally permissible—and even necessary—to limit certain individuals' ability to marry and reproduce. Even so, important distinctions remained between the political priorities and social programs of activists in the women's movement

and leading eugenicist organisations, such as the JARH. As we saw in Chapter I, despite important interconnections between contemporaneous discourses on ‘love marriage’ and ‘eugenic marriage’, eugenicist reformers in the JARH were deeply concerned about the potential for romantic love and desire to undermine their vision for eugenic marriage. The JARH sought a considerably more conservative future for marriage: Future couples should select a marriage partner based on rational decisions made with the consent and advice of one’s parents; and, while marital happiness was important as the foundation for creating stable, enduring relationships, romantic love and desire should be subordinated to eugenicist criteria of health and heredity. As I will discuss in greater detail below, this desire to temper youthful passions also fuelled social conservatism regarding family structure and parental authority.

The vision for eugenic marriage advocated by the JARH also differed from that held within the state in important ways. As we saw in Chapter II, the JARH identified securing state support for eugenics as a crucial step in popularising its ideas. After 1937, increased state interest in managing the health of the population to support intensifying war brought a new interest in eugenic policy. In this context, the newly established Ministry of Health and Welfare developed significant eugenicist legislation with the direct input of eugenicist activists from the JARH. The adoption of eugenic marriage as national policy, the opening of a state eugenic marriage counselling centre led by Yasui Hiroshi and passage of sterilisation legislation with the 1940 National Eugenic Law all represented major achievements in the JARH’s policy agenda. Yet, official support for eugenics was far from overwhelming. Rather, in a reversal of common assumptions that the wartime Japanese state straightforwardly sought to exert increasing and totalising control over the populace, the Diet remained reluctant to legally sanction coercive measures. This is not to claim that coercion was absent from wartime eugenics policy—extralegal sterilisations were clearly practised and the voluntary nature of purportedly consensual practices, made at the recommendation of medical specialists and powerful institutions, is highly questionable. It is, however, to point out that the state was less willing to force compliance than eugenicist social reformers desired.

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Highlighting this gap between state policy and reforms promoted by activist groups acts to unsettle common assumptions about state power in wartime Japan: Rather than assuming that the state naturally seeks greater power over the populace, it asks us to consider when, why and to what extent states seeks to intervene in the reproductive lives of the citizenry. It also serves to underline the importance of nonstate actors in campaigning for increased coercive control. Increased state intervention within reproductive politics was not a top-down phenomenon, but was actively sought by social reformers—often with only partial success. In a similar manner to what Susan Burns has identified in regard to leprosy policy, eugenics policy cannot simply be viewed as a “product of state disciplinary power”, but originated outside the state among eugenicist social reformers.<sup>694</sup> Instead, as Sumiko Otsubo has suggested, the state was in many ways a latecomer to support for eugenics and, as this thesis has shown, state interest in eugenics did not mean that eugenicist ambitions for state policy were realised.<sup>695</sup> Despite their not insubstantial gains in the late 1930s and early 1940s, eugenicists within the JARH remained frustrated at their ability to prosecute their agenda among an often-disinterested public. While themselves convinced of the persuasive potential of eugenics, eugenicist social reformers such as Yasui Hiroshi hoped for greater coercive options in the future. Their unease would only intensify amid growing concerns about the direction of progressive change.

### **Eugenicists, Progressive Change and the Crises of Modernity**

In her study on eugenic marriage and nation-building in metropolitan Japan, historian Jennifer Robertson writes that Japan experienced a “eugenic modernity” which saw “the application of scientific concepts and methods as the primary means to constitute both the nation and its constituent subjects.”<sup>696</sup> Undoubtedly, the development of Western science, industrial and military technologies was a key part of Japan’s modernisation strategy since the Meiji era. In the social realm, too, Japanese intellectuals showed extensive interest in how modern science and technologies, eugenics among them, could be utilised to ‘rationalise’ everyday life. However, as a focus on the imagined future makes clear, the

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<sup>694</sup> Susan L. Burns, “Rethinking ‘Leprosy Prevention’: Entrepreneurial Doctors, Popular Journalism, and the Civic Origins of Biopolitics.” *The Journal of Japanese studies* 38, no. 2 (2012): 297–323.

<sup>695</sup> Otsubo, “The Female Body and Eugenic Thought in Modern Japan”, 75.

<sup>696</sup> Robertson, “Blood Talks”, 192.



relationship between eugenics and modernity in Imperial Japan—or, more specifically, between *eugenicist social reformers* and modernity—was more complex and uneasy than this characterisation suggests.

Eugenicist social reformers were enamoured with the modern in that they were committed to ‘enlightening’ the Japanese public as to the importance of applying rational, scientific principles to their reproductive decisions. They identified scientific rationality as a key virtue and scientific knowledge as an important tool for reform. The expertise afforded to them by what they saw as the modern science of eugenics provided a model for progress that would ensure family and national prosperity. Alongside such enthusiasm for the modern, however, eugenicist reformers in the JARH were deeply concerned about the *direction* in which Japan was modernising. As intellectual historian Harry Harootunian has argued, the experience of Japan’s rapid industrialisation and urbanisation was one of “ceaseless change” and “unrelieved uncertainty” as modern life threatened to destabilise existing social relations.<sup>697</sup> In this context, intellectuals sought to grasp on to “an unenvisioned future that thinkers were trying to imagine on the basis on what had already changed”.<sup>698</sup> Japanese eugenicists similarly grappled with concerns over what the future might hold, and identified the family as a key site where they could make an intervention to secure a positive future for Japanese society, and the nation at large.

The JARH sought to reform traditional marriage practices to bring them in line with eugenicist concerns over improving Japan’s racial stock. Therefore, they sought to impress on the Japanese population the necessity of rationally choosing a spouse as the first step to ensuring the future health and strength of Japanese families—and, by implication, the empire. However, eugenicists were concerned that the ways in which Japan was already changing would undermine its ability to achieve this desired future prosperity and international prestige. As we saw in Chapter III, by at least the mid-1930s, eugenicists typically imagined the Japanese population as being in a state of decline. Anxieties about the ‘degeneration’ of the Japanese race due to the unchecked reproduction of eugenically ‘unfit’ Japanese as well as the spread of infectious diseases such as syphilis and tuberculous

<sup>697</sup> Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, xix.

<sup>698</sup> Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, xix.

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painted a bleak picture of Japan's future. This sense of impending crisis among eugenicists fuelled a sense of urgency. Immediate and thoroughgoing change to marital practices was necessary to avert this imagined fate.

Japanese society was, however, already changing and politically influential eugenicists within the JARH, Yasui Hiroshi among them, were deeply concerned with changes that had been brought by modern life. Rising individualism and frivolous consumerism among the urban middle class—as encapsulated in the slogan 'erotic, grotesque nonsense' and the controversial figure of the 'modern girl'—were identified as a serious threat to fostering marriages that served national interests. Moreover, the lack of a sense of duty to raise healthy children, particularly among the urban middle class, threatened to further worsen the ratio of 'fit' to 'unfit' children. Eugenicist social reformers were concerned that the strong and prosperous future they imagined for the Japanese empire would not be realised. In this sense, they were anxious to secure an imagined future that they felt was slipping away.

Modernity was experienced by eugenicists then as both a source of opportunity and a source of crisis. Modern technologies and scientific knowledge provided the tools for a more rational management of the population, and yet modern life was characterised by decadence, social irresponsibility and uncertainty. In this way, the embrace of eugenics by Japanese social reformers as a solution to pressing social, medical and political problems can be viewed, as Marius Turda has argued in the case of European eugenics movements, "as a modernist response to the perceived degeneracy of modernity".<sup>699</sup> An emphasis on the imagined future further indicates that eugenicist social reformers sought an alternative model of modernity. Eugenicists were part of a progressive reform program in the limited sense that they envisioned eugenics as providing a forward trajectory for rapid and thorough improvements to the population, but progress was not envisioned to entail any degree of increasing liberalism. Individualism, consumerism and modern freedoms, while all identified as features of Anglo-American modernity, were conceptualised not as signs of modern

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<sup>699</sup> Marius Turda, *Modernism and Eugenics*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 120–121.

progress, but of modern decay. Social conservatism thus retained a prominent place in eugenicists' visions for the marital family.

### **Individualism and Parental Authority in Marital Decision-making**

This issue of illiberal reform is also pertinent to my third key point concerning the proposed role of family and the individual in marital decision-making. Discourses on eugenic marriage and interethnic marriage were situated within contemporaneous debates over whether a spouse should be selected based on individual choice or parental prerogatives. What united patriotic discourses on marriage—in contrast to liberal arguments for 'freedom of marriage' or the more radical 'free love'—was a reluctance to challenge parental authority. Parental approval in selecting a spouse was upheld in the colonies and in the metropole as both a legal right and a marital ideal. As we saw in Chapter I, eugenicist social reformers opposed unmediated contact between young women and men not least because it could foster irrational marital decisions, and instead encouraged parental oversight as a bulwark against youthful passion. Official advice on colonial intimacy in the 1930s likewise navigated the difficult terrain of youthful passion, premarital sex and parental opposition, as I examined in the case of colonial Taiwan in Chapter IV. In the 1940s, such concerns about the selfish prioritisation of romance and the threat of both fleeting emotion and illicit sexual contact, were repackaged as part of a broader critique of the pernicious influence of Anglo-American thought, as shown in Chapter III and Chapter V.

The relationship between patriotic marriage discourses and the family was then vexed: both discourses on eugenic marriage and colonial intimacy sought to reimagine marriage beyond the purview of the family as an act of national importance that could—and should—be used to strengthen the imperial project; and yet each hesitated to place spousal selection within the hands of patriotic youth, instead reaffirming parental rights. As we saw in Chapter IV and Chapter V, this stance, at times, acted to undermine their rhetoric on who constituted a desirable spouse as officials in colonial Taiwan and Korea were reluctant to support young people looking to marry across ethnic lines if it meant going against their parent's wishes. Eugenicists in the Ministry of Health and Welfare further weaponised this stance to discredit all interethnic unions as necessarily challenging parental prerogatives in marital decision-

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making, who they insisted would never support such union, and by extension subverting the family system. While patriotic discourses on marriage sought to change the *basis* on which marital decisions were made, they did not necessarily seek to change *who* ultimately made that decision. This positioning is more easily understandable if we consider patriotic marriage discourses to be projects for illiberal reform.

Patriotic marriage discourses sought to influence who was considered to be a suitable spouse, but their ultimate aim—to foster an ideal of the marital family that supported the future prosperity and security of the empire—did not entail opening up marriage to potentially destabilising influences. Conversely, this vision lent itself to sexual conservatism and hierarchical family dynamics. Empowering youth to freely make their own sexual and marital decisions risked invigorating what Yasui Hiroshi referred to as the “demons of so-called freedom and individualism” that “haunted” Western families.<sup>700</sup> It also ran counter to the overarching message that marriage was an issue that was greater than the individual—while personal happiness was imagined to be a key component of stable marriages, this was not in itself the goal. Marriage, for advocates of both eugenic marriage and interethnic marriage, was emphasised for its ability to support—or imperil—the future security and prosperity of empire.

### **Uncertainty and Contestation: The Divergent Visions of Empire**

While patriotic discourses on marriage may have been united in their positioning of marriage as an issue of primarily national significance, their visions for what kind of families best supported the future of the empire clearly differed. Eugenicist social reformers principally sought to establish health and heredity as the basic criteria for selecting a spouse. The imagined role of Japanese subjects in marriage was primarily to produce many, ‘superior’ children who could support the future prosperity of the expanding Japanese empire. Individual desires—whether they be over choice of marriage partner, or hesitancy to wed and bear children in wartime—should be subordinated under this aim. Patriotic service to the empire was invoked in this context to recast both marriage and childbirth as civic duties;

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<sup>700</sup> Yasui, *Senji kekkon kyōtei*, 100.

Japanese subjects should do their part to support imperial expansion and escalating war by ensuring the next generation of healthy Japanese subjects.

If eugenic marriage was in this way animated by concerns over future imperial *expansion*, colonial intimacy was most concerned with the *consolidation* of the growing empire.

Discourses on interethnic unions similarly recast marriage as a patriotic act, however, the goal was first and foremost to strengthen affective ties between the Japanese state and colonial populations, and to further their assimilation. The imagined threat this time was not predominantly in the physical ‘quality’ of the population but in the spiritual (精神). At the core of the GGT and the GKG’s endorsement of interethnic relationships was a desire to create more loyal subjects with a stronger connection to the empire. The reality of interethnic relationships—characterised as they were by legal uncertainties, racial hostilities and conservative concerns about sexual conduct—was significantly more fraught.

Popular opposition to interethnic unions exposed both existing inequalities within colonial society and deep uncertainties over what the future held. Colonial authorities in both Taiwan and Korea were initially slow to act in legally recognising relationships that crossed the boundary between colonised and coloniser. As with eugenic marriage, the state came relatively late to the project of advocating and facilitating interethnic marriage. Such state inaction drew criticism in the mass media. As we saw in Chapter IV, Taiwanese intellectuals viewed the legal impasse on an interethnic marriage law as evidence that the colonial authorities were not committed to their professed ideals of rule by “impartial benevolence”, and the GGT felt compelled to clarify what it claimed to be the “true nature” of Japanese rule. In criticising colonial hypocrisy, Taiwanese supporters of interethnic marriage sought to leverage the issue of colonial intimacy in pursuit of a future wherein they had greater status within the empire. Legal reform did not, however, resolve these underlying tensions. Nor did war mobilisation and the resulting *kōminka* campaigns. As we saw in the case of colonial Korea in Chapter V, anxieties about the desirability—and feasibility—of colonial intimacy persisted even amid intensified assimilation campaigns after 1937. Despite increased state interest in utilising marriage as a vehicle to further assimilation in the 1940s, attitudes towards interethnic unions continued to be characterised by marked ambivalence. Even the very organisations most involved in the promotion of intermarriage—the Chōsen Spiritual

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Mobilisation League and the Association for the Practising of *Naisen Ittai*—remained doubtful, noting ongoing cultural differences and “civilisational disparities”, insufficient assimilation, and persistent racial prejudice and familial hostility as barriers to successful unions. The future of colonial relations here, too, was uncertain and deeply contested.

Eugenic marriage and interethnic marriage, while largely separate discourses, did not develop in isolation from each other, but in tense parallel. Advocates of each were keenly aware of the other and responded in a variety of ways: Sometimes with refusal to engage, sometimes with pointed analogies or even direct criticism, and sometimes with appropriation. In untangling these responses, I find it again instructive to make a distinction between eugenics and eugenicist social reformers. Just as the uses of eugenics in political discourse in metropolitan Japan often differed from eugenicists’ visions for social reform, eugenics as a field of scientific research did not always align with eugenicists’ policy aims. As discussed in Chapter V, supporters of marriages between Japanese and Koreans, and Japanese and Taiwanese subjects, in the colonies often appealed to eugenics to reassure an ambivalent public that interethnic unions—and the children they promised—were, from a scientific standpoint, perfectly acceptable. The eugenicist social reformers studied in this thesis, however, were decidedly unsupportive. Activists in the JARH had expressed concerns about miscegenation since the early 1930s, and in the 1940s eugenicists working within the Ministry of Health and Welfare expressed strong opposition to interethnic relationships on both racial and social grounds. Here, opposition to interethnic intimacy reflected anxieties about how intimate relationships should be conducted and the family—and social—structures they would support, alongside racial prejudice.

Popular political discourse on eugenics was in this way flexible, even if Japanese eugenicists were not. The varied uses of eugenics in political debates on marriage in the colonies discussed in Chapter V—in backing health-oriented reforms to marital practices, and in support of, and opposition to, miscegenation—raises key questions about the circulation of eugenics within the Japanese empire. Japanese eugenicist organisations also sought to disseminate eugenic knowledge on marriage in the colonies. Settler magazines and popular newspapers reprinted works by influential Japanese eugenicists, such as Yasui Hiroshi and Nagai Hisomu, and while metropolitan eugenicist legislation such as the National Eugenic

Law was not extended to the colonies, the colonial state supported calls to improve the quality and quantity of the population. The JARH held its annual conference in Taipei in 1939 while its president, Nagai Hisomu, was Professor and Dean of Medicine at Taipei Imperial University. Taiwanese and Korean activists were not absent from colonial-era eugenicist campaigns to intervene in shaping the marital decisions of colonial populations.

Interestingly, the leading eugenicist organisation in colonial Korea, the Chosŏn Eugenics Association, seemingly had linkages to the JARH and reprinted advertisements for JARH eugenic marriage counselling services in its official magazine. Future research could fruitfully consider the ways in which Korean and Taiwanese eugenicist organisations both engaged with eugenics, and Japanese eugenicist organisations, and navigated racial and colonial politics.

Criticisms of colonial intimacy did not only occur behind closed doors, in confidential missives and top-secret reports, but also in public: In the pages of popular magazines and newspapers, even those that claimed to endorse interethnic unions. In these pages, social reformers, popular commentators and officials, both implicitly and explicitly criticised government policies. This suggests that, despite the existence of intrusive censorship policies, open contestation over marriage was still possible as late as 1945. Why? One possible reason is that unlike liberal or socialist discourses, both eugenic marriage and interethnic marriage discourses were consciously patriotic. They did not challenge basic tenets of state policy—such as the necessity of the expanding war effort, the legitimacy of imperialism or the sanctity of the family-state system—but sought to mobilise the population, through marriage, to better serve these goals. Their support of sexual and social conservatism separated them from more liberal and feminist interventions in reproductive discourse, which ran afoul of the Peace Preservation Law. Another, more fundamental reason is that the state itself was not unified behind any one vision for the marital family. Instead, as this thesis has shown, it was beset by deep divisions over what kind of families would best serve the empire. These tensions defined patriotic discourses on marriage at all levels: Between different civil society groups, be they eugenicist social reformers, Japanese settlers or colonial elites; between civil society groups and the state; and within the state

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apparatus itself, between colonial and metropolitan jurisdictions, within ministries and among the various voices of officialdom.

In *Japan's Modern Myths*, Carol Gluck refers to the making of imperial ideology in Meiji Japan as a “fitful and inconsistent process”.<sup>701</sup> By the 1930s, she argues, the contours of acceptable thought had “rigidified” into an imperial orthodoxy supported by increasing coercion and unwillingness to tolerate even “minor doctrinal deviations”.<sup>702</sup> If the latter description rings true for the realm of formal politics, persistent anxieties in the micropolitical sites of marriage and family resonate more strongly with the former. Interventions into marital life appeared at once carefully considered and haphazard. Awards for model marriages were painstakingly planned, and abruptly abandoned. Advice on spousal selection was inconsistent and riddled with obvious contradictions. Incompatible visions for model families continued uneasily alongside each other. Copious ink was spilt to persuade ordinary subjects to reform marital practices with little clear effect. There may have been widespread consensus that the marriage—and especially the moment of spousal selection—offered a prize opportunity to shape the character of future families to the greater benefit of the empire, but there was little agreement on what form those families should take. I seek to highlight this continued ambivalence not only to make the narrow point that the project of defining the ideal marital family was unfinished and contested even among self-consciously patriotic actors, but also to suggest that it exposes deeper tensions that remained unresolved and, perhaps, unresolvable. On the broadest level, debates over the future of the marital family defied easy resolution as they invoked the specter of another incomplete political project—that of empire itself.

In this thesis I have argued that debates over the idealised marital family focused attention on the imagined imperial future. For families and individuals, the moment of choosing, and wedding, a spouse is clearly laden with the promise and possibilities of what the future might hold. I suggest that this moment of spousal selection was a similarly overdetermined event in imperial politics. By focusing attention on how new families should be formed, and

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<sup>701</sup> Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 4.

<sup>702</sup> Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 281–282.



the formations they should take, it stirred broader questions about the future society those families would live in. And, in doing so, exposed deep insecurities in the Japanese imperial project. These were points of insecurity in both senses: They revealed places of precarity and sources of anxiety. If empire is necessarily an incomplete political project, as scholars of ‘new imperial history’ have suggested, this incompleteness was felt as a source of intense insecurity. It was felt in the urgency underpinning calls to cease debating interethnic unions as “now is the time to implement them” and in warnings of the looming threat to Japanese imperial prestige implied in theories of racial decline. It prompted attempts to assure colonial critics on the “true nature of colonial rule” and campaigns to extend state power over reproductive life. It animated the anxious efforts to elicit change in marital practices and lingering doubts about the feasibility of assimilation. While if, as Janet Poole suggests, a sense that the future was “disappearing” prompted a retreat to the everyday in colonial literature as a future outside of the bounds of empire become “unimaginable”, in patriotic marriage discourses the everyday issue of choosing a spouse reveals an anxious effort to imagine—and plan for—that uncertain imperial future.<sup>703</sup> This was a vexed project. Efforts to articulate a prosperous future for the empire could provide indictments of the present, exposing points of contestation over assimilation, family structure and the direction of social change. For the state officials and social reformers engaged in producing patriotic marriage discourses, the imperial future was not difficult to imagine in so much as it was difficult to agree on. The lack of a shared vision or unified plan may, in part, reflect the compressed pace of Japan’s experience of modernisation, imperial expansion and war mobilisation. Yet, these disagreements also reflected fundamental tensions that would likely have proved difficult, if not impossible, to resolve even with a more prolonged debate. These tensions revolved around how to approach three crucial and intersecting relationships that all had a stake in discourse on patriotic marriage: Between colonised and coloniser; between parent and politicised youth; and between imperial state and loyal subject. Disagreements turned on how to manage these relationships and which to prioritise in instances of disagreement. Navigating these divergent interests was a considerable challenge. The writings, policies and plans pro-state actors produced in response reveal a multitude of possible pathways for

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<sup>703</sup> Poole, *When the Future Disappears*, 2.

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empire, complete with overlapping, inconsistent and incoherent reform agendas which often seemed implausible—if not impossible—to implement. In the end, Japan’s total defeat in 1945 foreclosed these possibilities, and the divergent aspirations and anticipated futures for the empire, which had been the subject of such anxious attention, abruptly faded from view.

## **Epilogue: The Afterlives of Eugenic Marriage and Interethnic Intimacy in Postwar Japan**

In 1945 the Japanese empire came to a sudden end. The end of empire in some ways simplified patriotic visions of the idealised marital family. As historian Oguma Eiji has influentially shown, the postwar era brought with it a narrowing of the parameters of Japanese subjecthood, as former colonial subjects were stripped of any claim to Japanese citizenship.<sup>704</sup> The Japanese nation was reimagined as an ethnically homogenous polity and memories of Japan’s capacious empire, like former colonial subjects themselves, were publicly marginalised. The shifting boundaries of who constituted a Japanese subject drastically altered the lives of millions of ethnic Koreans and Chinese in metropolitan Japan, many of whom had been relocated as part of forced labour mobilisation during the war. It also had major implications for interethnic families in Japan and in the colonies.

After 1945, Japanese settlers lost any claim to residency in Japan’s former colonies in Taiwan and Korea and were repatriated to Japan. For interethnic families, postwar nationality posed significant difficulties. Perhaps the most contested population was that of Japanese wives who had married Korean and Taiwanese men during the colonial era. Women who had separated from their husbands, or been widowed, during the war faced particular hardships. In Korea, there were approximately 3000 Japanese women who had married Korean men seeking repatriation. As Mooam Hyun has revealed, the postwar Japanese state was reluctant to acknowledge these women as “pure Japanese” (純然たる日本人), and deemed them to be “former Japanese women with Korean nationality” (鮮籍元日本婦人).<sup>705</sup>

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<sup>704</sup> Oguma, *A Genealogy of ‘Japanese’ self-images*.

<sup>705</sup> Mooam Hyun, “Zaikan Nihonjin jyosei no sengo: Hikiage to kikoki no hazama”, in *Teikoku Nihon no idō to dōin*, eds. Imanishi Hajime and Kazuyuki Iizuka. (Osaka: Osaka daigaku shuppan kai, 2018), 312. See also

Parliamentary debates in the 1950s over whether these Japanese women should be classified as Japanese repatriates or Korean immigrants to Japan questioned whether their choice to enter their husband's *koseki* upon marriage, as was the legal norm for women, was motivated by a desire to “abandon Japan” (日本を放棄) and take Korean nationality, implying a lack of loyalty to the Japanese nation.<sup>706</sup> Some of these women had received official commendations from the GGK for their interethnic unions during the colonial period and now felt betrayed by the Japanese state.<sup>707</sup> Beginning in the 1960s, the predicament facing these women—who were dubbed “abandoned people” (棄民)—received significant media attention in Japan.<sup>708</sup> Japanese women who had been married to Taiwanese men have received less popular media attention, however, legal journals indicate that questions remained over their ability to regain Japanese nationality well into the 1980s.<sup>709</sup>

Recent research has also indicated the ways in which this narrowing of the notion of ‘Japaneseness’ in the postwar era intensified eugenicist policies in Japan. In the immediate aftermath of the war, eugenics was invoked in policing the new racialised boundaries of the nation. Historian Matsubara Yōko has shown how efforts to legalise abortion—as well as the extralegal practice of abortion—in response to high rates of sexual violence, and unwanted pregnancy, among Japanese women returning from Manchuria and North Korea in the immediate postwar period were motivated, in part, by eugenicist concerns that mixed-race children threatened the “purity of the Japanese bloodline”.<sup>710</sup> Similarly, Kirstin Roebuck posits that eugenicist concerns over racial purity gained increased traction in the postwar state amid “moral panic” over mixed-race children, derogatively referred to as *konketsuji* (混血児) in the wake of the US-led occupation.<sup>711</sup> In the main, eugenics in postwar Japan, as in

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Mooam Hyun, “Japanese women in the postwar: Between repatriation and returning home”, in *New Frontiers in Japanese Studies*, eds. Akihiro Ogawa and Philip Seaton. (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2020).

<sup>706</sup> Hyun, “Zaikan Nihonjin jyosei no sengo”, 314.

<sup>707</sup> See for example, “‘Kimin’ ni sareta Kankoku ni Nihonjin tsuma no shōgen”, *Ushio* 153 (1972): 129–136.

<sup>708</sup> For a discussion of the postwar media coverage of Japanese wives see also Baba, “Policies, Promoters, and Patterns”, esp. ch 6.

<sup>709</sup> Baba, “Policies, Promoters, and Patterns”, 187–188.

<sup>710</sup> Matsubara Yoko, “The Eugenic Border Control: Organised Abortions on Repatriated Women, 1945–1948”, *Japan Forum* 33, no. 3 (2021): 326.

<sup>711</sup> Kristin Roebuck, “Japan Reborn: Mixed-Race Children, Eugenic Nationalism, and the Politics of Sex After World War II”. (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2015). For more on postwar debates over *konketsuji* and child

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the wartime state, underscored internal threats to the racial health of the Japanese nation. Eugenicist policies targeting the Japanese population not only continued after 1945, but were strengthened.

As early as 1946, the president of the JARH, Nagai Hisomu, called for advocates to renew their efforts to popularise eugenics, including by strengthening the National Eugenic Law.<sup>712</sup> In 1948, the Japanese Diet passed new eugenicist legislation with the Eugenic Protection Law, with the tacit approval of the US-led occupation. While the Eugenic Protection Law legally sanctioned contraception and abortion, it also significantly extended the coercive power of the state in preventing those deemed ‘unfit’ from reproducing. Importantly, it legalised forced sterilisation for the first time in Japan under Article 4 for a wide range of supposedly hereditary conditions.<sup>713</sup> In 1952 the grounds for involuntary sterilisation were expanded to include nonhereditary mental illnesses under Article 12. Approximately 16 500 people were subject to forced sterilisation procedures before the bill was overturned in 1996.<sup>714</sup> The majority of victims were women, many of whom were minors at the time. Recent investigations have shed new light on the reproductive abuses permitted under postwar legislation, and their deep impact on victims.<sup>715</sup> Recently uncovered documents indicate that the Ministry of Health and Welfare sanctioned the use of physical force and deception in performing sterilisation procedures from as early as 1949.<sup>716</sup> During the 1950s, the MHW further urged prefectural governments to make greater efforts to identify

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welfare see also Kristin Roebuck, “Orphans by Design: ‘Mixed-Blood’ Children, Child Welfare, and Racial Nationalism in Postwar Japan.” *Japanese Studies* 36, no. 2 (2016): 191–212.

<sup>712</sup> Nagai Hisomu, “Kantōgen”, *Minzoku eisei* 13, no. 2, 3 (1946): 25–6.

<sup>713</sup> The text of the Eugenic Protection Law is available in Miho Ogino Matsubara Yokō and Saitō Hiraku (eds.) *Sei to seishoku no jinken mondai shiryō shūsei*, vol. 25. (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2000). For an English translation see Norgren, *Abortion Before Birth Control*.

<sup>714</sup> This number however seems likely to increase as ongoing investigations by prefectural governments are uncovering a greater number of sterilisation procedures performed than held in national records. Recent reporting also suggests that sterilisation procedures continued to be performed after the law was overturned.

<sup>715</sup> For testimonies of victims of forced sterilisation in English see for example, Nagase Osamu, “Voices from Survivors of Forced Sterilisations in Japan: Eugenics Protection Law 1948–1996”, in *The Routledge Handbook of Disability Activism*, eds. Berghs et. al. (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2020); Astghik Hovhannisyan, “The Testimony of a Victim of Forced Sterilization in Japan: Kita Saburō.” *Japan Focus* 18, no. 7 (2020): 1–11.

<sup>716</sup> “1949 Documents Show Japan’s Approval of Forced Sterilisations”, *Kyodo News International*, 19 March 2018. The use of coercion was further sanctioned in the MHW’s 1953 guidelines on the enforcement of the Eugenic Protection Law which stated that “[i]t is permissible to restrain the patient’s body, administer an anaesthetic, or deceive the patient, etc.” in order to perform an involuntary sterilisation. Cited in Takashi Tsuchiya, “Eugenic Sterilizations in Japan and Recent Demands for Apology: A Report”. *Newsletter of the Network on Ethics and Intellectual Disability* 3, no. 1 (Fall 1997), 1.

appropriate individuals for sterilisation and “enlighten related parties” as the number of procedures performed each year was falling below the number budgeted.<sup>717</sup> Japan’s history of forced sterilisation on eugenic grounds has gained intense public and academic interest following a series of ongoing lawsuits by victims of forced sterilisation beginning in January 2018.<sup>718</sup> In 2019, the Japanese government officially apologised, and authorised a one-off compensation of 320 000 yen, to victims of forced sterilisation.<sup>719</sup> Legal action over the issue of compensation is, however, ongoing and in February 2022 the Osaka High Court ordered the state to further compensate three victims. A second ruling in March 2022 by the Tokyo High Court similarly ordered compensation. Both decisions are currently subject to appeals.

In 2019, the Board of Directors of the former Japanese Association of Race Hygiene—which was renamed the Japanese Society of Health and Human Ecology (日本健康学会) in 2017—published a statement on the organisation’s involvement in Japan’s eugenic history.<sup>720</sup> The statement acknowledged the Society bore historical “responsibility” (責任) for the passage of coercive eugenics legislation, including the National Eugenic Law and its postwar successor the Eugenic Protection Law, which had violated the rights and freedoms of targeted individuals. As this thesis has argued, eugenicist policies in Imperial Japan not only played out in coercive legislation but also in popular educative campaigns that sought to reshape how individuals made marital and reproductive decisions. These eugenic marriage policies, too, have a postwar legacy. In the postwar era, while wartime emphasis on pronatalism and “marriage mobilisation” subsided, eugenicist ambitions to create a “new system for

<sup>717</sup> “Letter Shows Ex-Health Ministry Pressured Pref. Gov’ts to Boost Eugenic Surgeries”, *Mainichi shimbun*, February 20, 2018.

<sup>718</sup> For an overview of recent investigations into forced sterilisation in Japan see *Mainichi shimbun shuzaihan, Kyōsei funin: Kyū-yūsei hogohō o tō.* (Tokyo: Mainichi shimbun shuppan, 2019). Notably, Matsubara Yōko has recently edited an eight-volume collection of documents relating to the Eugenic Protection Law and its implementation Matsubara Yōko (ed). *Yūsei hogohō kankei shiryō shūsei.* (Tokyo: Rikka shuppan, 2019–2021). For recent academic research on forced sterilisation in English see for example, Astghik Hovhannisyan, “Preventing the Birth of ‘Inferior Offspring’: Eugenic Sterilizations in Postwar Japan.” *Japan Forum* 33, no. 3 (2021): 383–401.

<sup>719</sup> The text of the apology and information about compensation procedure is available on the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare’s website at Kōsei rōdōsho, “Kyū-yūsei hogohō in yoru yūsei shujyutsu nado o uketa kata e”, accessed August 03, 2022, [https://www.mhlw.go.jp/stf/kyuuyuuseiichijikin\\_04351.html](https://www.mhlw.go.jp/stf/kyuuyuuseiichijikin_04351.html).

<sup>720</sup> Its journal, *Minzoku eisei* [Race Hygiene] was also renamed in 2017. This reflected a previous addition of the parallel English title, *Japanese Journal of Human, Health and Ecology*. For the Society’s statement see Nihon kenkō gakkai rijikai, “Rijikai hokoku: ‘Nihon minzoku eisei gakkai’ to Kokumin yuseiho”, *Nihon kenkō gakkai shi*, 85, no. 4 (2019): i–vi.

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marriage” did not. Rather, eugenicist activists continued their advocacy for eugenic marriage. The president of the JARH, Nagai Hisomu, continued to promote eugenic marriage until his death in 1958, publishing numerous books and articles on the subject.<sup>721</sup> Popular scientific magazines and women’s magazines alike continued to print ‘specialist’ advice on how to choose a spouse based on the modern science of eugenics.<sup>722</sup> The Tokyo Metropolitan Marriage Counselling Centre continued to include eugenicist concerns regarding health and heredity in its advice to prospective couples. Its 1962 volume, *Marriage: Towards a correct understanding*, for example, notably included an extensive discussion of health and heredity. It included familiar exhortations to select a marriage partner who was “healthy in body and mind” (心身ともに健康な人) and “did not have inferior hereditary traits” (悪質な遺伝のない人) and recommended prospective spouses exchange premarital health certificates following extensive medical testing.<sup>723</sup> Amid ongoing public concern over Japan’s historical eugenics policies, this legacy of postwar eugenic marriage policy also warrants further investigation.

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<sup>721</sup> For Nagai’s postwar works on eugenic marriage and heredity see for example Nagai Hisomu, *Kekkon dokuhon*. (Tokyo: Shunjyūsha, 1947); Nagai Hisomu, *Yūseigaku gairon*. (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1947); Nagai Hisomu, *Minzoku no unmei: Nihon kokumin ni uttafu*. (Tokyo: Muramatsu shoten, 1948); Nagai Hisomu, *Shin kekkon dokuhon: Sei no ue ni shukufuku are*. (Tokyo: Izumo shobō: 1949).

<sup>722</sup> For a discussion of postwar discourse on eugenic marriage see also Takeuchi-Demirci, *Contraceptive Diplomacy*, esp. 165–7. While existing research on postwar eugenics policy has largely focused on the politically pertinent issue of forced sterilisation, Takeuchi-Demirci’s work is a notable exception to this general trend and includes a discussion of eugenic ideology in postwar marriage counselling.

<sup>723</sup> Tokyo-shi kekkon sōdansho. *Kekkon: Sore o tadashiku rikaisuru tame ni*. (Tokyo: Tokyo-shi minseikyoku fujinbu, 1962), 92–99.

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## Appendix I: Visitors to the JARH Eugenic Marriage Counselling Centre, 1935<sup>724</sup>

| Gender | Age | Occupation       | City of origin       | Education      | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|--------|-----|------------------|----------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| F      | 23  | Farmer           | XX district<br>○○郡   | Middle school  | <p>Advisability of marriage for a young women, who on is one the mother's side a child of an uncle and niece relationship, on the father's side the child of cousins. In addition, that uncle and her younger brother both died of tuberculous.</p> <p>母方より云へば、叔父と姪の關係、父方より言へば従妹の子の關係たる二十年の健康なる女子と結婚するの可否、尚も其の叔父及其の弟共に結核で死亡</p> | <p>As there are unnatural deaths, nervousness, epilepsy and tuberculous in the family line, and in addition it is a consanguineous marriage, marriage is inappropriate.</p> <p>變死、神經質、癲癇、結核の家系で、尚は血族結婚のために結婚は不適と認む</p> |
| M      | 28  | Company employee | XX City<br>○○市       | Primary school | <p>Should marriage be avoided due to consumption [pulmonary tuberculous]</p> <p>肺結核なりしが結婚して差支えなきや</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | <p>Marriage is permissible. The current candidate for a spouse is a blood relative, a cousin, so it is particularly important to choose a healthy person.</p> <p>結婚は可なり現在配偶者候補が血族、即ち従妹であるがため特に健康者を選んで結婚する必要がある。</p>    |
| F      | 23  | Farmer           | XX prefecture<br>○○縣 | Primary school | Advisability of a consanguineous marriage                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <p>There is no obstacle to marriage</p> <p>結婚して差支へなし</p>                                                                                                                                                               |

<sup>724</sup> This material is drawn from Ikemi, 'Yūsei kekkon sōdansho ikka nen hōkoku', 120–129. The report also included the first character of each visitors last name, which has been excluded from this table. \* denotes illegible character

## Appendix I

| Gender                     | Age | Occupation              | City of origin | Education                                    | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                         | Advice given                                                                                                                                                            |
|----------------------------|-----|-------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                            |     |                         |                |                                              | 血族結婚の可否について                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                         |
| M                          | 23  | <i>Ikebana</i> business | XX City        | Completed first year of trade school<br>商業学校 | Contracted gonorrhoea two years ago, received treatment and have fully recovered, should marriage be avoided<br>二年前淋病罹患、絶へず治療を加ふるも全快に至らず、結婚差支なきや              | Gonococcus [bacteria that causes gonorrhoea] is present, [negative] response to Wasserman's [blood test for syphilis], suitable for marriage<br>淋菌認めす、ワッセルマン氏反応徴性、結婚に適す |
| F                          | 21  | Book publisher          | XX City        | Girl's school                                | Suitability of physical condition suitable for marriage<br>身体状態結婚に適するや、居や                                                                                     | Suitable for marriage<br>結婚に適す                                                                                                                                          |
| M                          | 30  | Company employee        | XX prefecture  | [omitted]                                    | Married at 28 (wife is now 25). She miscarried first child in 1932 and second child in 1933.<br>廿八歳の時に結婚（妻現在廿五歳）一九三二第一子一九三三年第二子に流産                            | There is nothing abnormal in the husband's health, a health examination for the wife is essential<br>主人健康状態異常なし、妻の健康診断必要                                                |
| F<br>[incorrectly listed?] | 21  | Liquor business         | XX City        | Three years' supplementary schooling         | The person in question as well as the wife have pleurisy [inflammation of the lungs], negative response to Wasserman's [blood test],<br>本人及びに妻が、本人ワッセルマン氏反応陰性 | Test again<br>再調                                                                                                                                                        |
| M                          | 25  | Sugar business          | XX City        | Physics school graduate<br>物理学校卒             | Concerning heredity (atrophy of the kidney)<br>遺傳について（萎縮腎）                                                                                                    | Don't worry<br>心配なし                                                                                                                                                     |

| Gender | Age | Occupation           | City of origin | Education               | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                                            | Advice given                                                                                                           |
|--------|-----|----------------------|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| F      | 24  | [omitted]            | XX City        | [omitted]               | Pulmonary apicitis<br>[inflammation of the lung](fever<br>from two months after<br>marriage)<br>肺尖加答児なりや（結婚ニヶ月<br>目から発熱）                                                                         | [omitted]                                                                                                              |
| F      | 24  | Envelope<br>business | Tokyo          | Primary school          | Married someone whose father<br>was [the child of a] cousin<br>marriage in March this year, will<br>there be a special impact on the<br>descendants?<br>父が従兄妹の結婚なりし人と本<br>年三月結婚せり子孫の特別の影<br>響なきや | Based on the results of an<br>investigation into the family line there<br>is nothing to worry about<br>家系調査の結果何等心配の要なし |
| M      | 28  | Company<br>employee  | XX prefecture  | [omitted]               | Mother and father are cousins,<br>wants to also have a cousin<br>marriage. Is seeking [specialist]<br>opinion on the matter<br>父母従兄妹、再び本人、従兄妹<br>の結婚を繰返さんとするそれに<br>ついての意見如何                      | You should avoid a twofold<br>consanguineous marriage as much as<br>possible.<br>二重血族結婚は成可く避くべきを可と<br>する               |
| F      | 20  | Liquor business      | XX City        | Senior Girl's<br>School | Visited to submit a marriage<br>health certificate and request<br>[an investigation into] their<br>spouse's health<br>配偶者の健康を冀ひ當方の結婚<br>證明書を提出したきため来所す                                           | N/A                                                                                                                    |

## Appendix I

| Gender | Age | Occupation               | City of origin | Education               | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                          | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|--------|-----|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| M      | 30  | Company employee         | XX City        | Primary school          | Health examination [in preparation] for marriage<br>結婚のため健康診断                                                                                                                  | N/A                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| M      | 29  | University student       | XX prefecture  | [omitted]               | (1) Preventing the inheritance of nervousness (2) preventing inheritance of hypertrophic rhinitis (3) nose types (4) head types<br><br>(一) 神経質遺傳防止 (二) 肥厚性鼻炎遺傳防止 (三) 鼻型 (四) 頭型 | There is no risk of passing on chronic nervousness. You should have an operation, then there [will be] no direct obstacle to marriage.<br>慢性神経衰弱は遺傳の虞れなし、手術を加ふべし結婚に直接障碍とならず                                  |
| M      | 28  | Secondary school teacher | XX City        | University              | [Am I] healthy or not?<br>健康か否か                                                                                                                                                | Marriage is permissible<br>結婚可                                                                                                                                                                               |
| M      | 28  | Office worker            | XX City        | Foreign language school | wants to get married soon and requests a health check<br>近く結婚せんとするに當り、健康診査を乞ふ                                                                                                  | negative response to Wasserman's [blood test], pulmonary hilum [in lungs] is weak, retest<br>ワッセルマン氏反応徴性、肺門部弱君、再調                                                                                            |
| M      | 24  | Cotton business          | XX prefecture  | Commercial school       | Nervousness<br>神経病                                                                                                                                                             | There is no need to worry<br>心配の必要なし                                                                                                                                                                         |
| F      | 21  | Entertainment industry   | XX prefecture  | Girls' school           | Permissibility of a consanguineous marriage to someone with a predisposition for tuberculous<br>結核性素質の者同志従兄妹結婚の可否                                                              | There is cancer and predisposition for tuberculous on both sides of the family, and in addition, it is a consanguineous marriage. From a eugenic point of view, this marriage would be all pain and no gain. |

| Gender | Age | Occupation          | City of origin | Education                         | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                     | Advice given                                                                                                                |
|--------|-----|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|        |     |                     |                |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                           | 癌、結核素質が双方にあつて、尚その上血族結婚なるがため、この結婚は優生學上百害あつて一利なし                                                                              |
| M      | 49  | Government official | XX City        | [omitted]                         | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                 | [omitted]                                                                                                                   |
| M      | 25  | Company employee    | XX City        | Middle school                     | Degree to which [visitor has] recovered from venereal disease<br>性病の治療の程度                                                                                                 | [omitted]                                                                                                                   |
| M      | 28  | Company employee    | XX district    | [omitted]                         | Health examination, particularly regarding venereal disease<br>健康診断殊に性病について                                                                                               | [omitted]                                                                                                                   |
| F      | 22  | Company employee    | XX prefecture  | Specialty Girl's School<br>女學校専攻科 | Health examination, wants a health certificate for marriage<br>健康診断、結婚證明書希望                                                                                               | [omitted]                                                                                                                   |
| F      | 25  | Teacher             | XX City        | [omitted]                         | Aunt and nephew married six years ago, how will this affect the descendants? Also requests instruction about contraception<br>既に六年前叔母は甥との間の結婚せり、これが子孫に及ぼす影響、並びに避妊に就いて教を乞ふ | [omitted]                                                                                                                   |
| F      | 22  | Metalware merchant  | XX City        | [omitted]                         | Wants to marry the son of her mother's younger sister. Is that advisable?<br>母の妹の子供と結婚せんとする、その可否                                                                          | Based on the results of an investigation into the family line, it is not strictly necessary to stop this<br>家系調査の結果強て制止の要なし |

## Appendix I

| Gender | Age | Occupation                | City of origin | Education        | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                                | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                               |
|--------|-----|---------------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| M      | 33  | Bank employee             | XX City        | Secondary school | Health condition<br>健康の状態                                                                                                                                                            | A close examination for gonorrhoea is essential. Psychasthenia [anxiety] is not a direct obstacle.<br>淋病は精査の要あり、精神衰弱は直接の障碍を認めず                                                             |
| F      | 25  | Farmer                    | XX prefecture  | [omitted]        | Married in May this year, getting a divorce as sexual intercourse is not possible.<br>本年五月結婚、性交不能にて離婚す                                                                               | A surgical procedure is essential due to the strength of this women's hymen<br>處女膜強靱のため切開手術を要す                                                                                             |
| M      | 24  | Commerce                  | XX prefecture  | Middle school    | Despite receiving treatment for XX [type of venereal disease], has a strong response on the Wasserman's blood test. Is marriage permissible?<br>**療法を行ひたるにかゝらず、ワッセルマン氏反応強陽性、結婚して可なりや | Marriage is permissible, but treatment is essential for a few more months. After you marry it is essential that your wife also has a blood test.<br>結婚可なるも、尚ほ數ヶ月治療の必要あり、婦人も同様結婚後は血液検査の必要あり |
| M      | 27  | [omitted]                 | XX City        | [omitted]        | Concerning consanguineous marriage<br>血族結婚に就いて                                                                                                                                       | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| M      | 31  | Government official/clerk | XX prefecture  | [omitted]        | Investigation into health condition for marriage<br>結婚に付健康の状態調査                                                                                                                      | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| M      | 29  | Teacher                   | [omitted]      | [omitted]        | The father of the woman he wants to marry has dementia. Is it hereditary?                                                                                                            | It was necessary for you to visit [today]. Dementia is a recessive trait and there is no signs of mental illness on your side of the family, so in your                                    |



| Gender | Age | Occupation          | City of origin | Education            | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                                    | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|--------|-----|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|        |     |                     |                |                      | 結婚せんとする娘の父が早發性<br>痴呆のためその遺傳せざるや                                                                                                                                                          | case marriage is permissible.<br>However, when your children get<br>married you should also sufficiently<br>investigate this.<br>相手の来所を必要とす、貴下の方には<br>何等精神病の家系としては認められな<br>い、早發性痴呆は劣性遺傳のため貴下<br>の場合は結婚して可、然れども子供の<br>結婚にあたっては充分調査してなすべ<br>し |
| M      | 30  | [omitted]           | XX City        | Primary school       | Permissibility of marriage given<br>that visitor has nervousness<br>神経質なるもの結婚して可なり<br>や                                                                                                  | Marriage is permissible. You should<br>get sufficient treatment.<br>結婚は可なるも當分治療を加ふべし                                                                                                                                                        |
| F      | 22  | [omitted]           | [omitted]      | [omitted]            | Permissibility of a<br>consanguineous marriage<br>血族結婚について可否                                                                                                                             | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| M      | 29  | Company<br>employee | XX City        | Primary school       | Permissibility of marriage given<br>visitor has chronic intestinal<br>catarrh. If marriage is possible,<br>requests a marriage certificate.<br>慢性腸加答兒なりしが結婚して<br>可なりや、可なれば結婚證明書<br>を戴きたい | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| M      | 30  | Office worker       | XX City        | Commercial<br>school | Health condition<br>健康状態                                                                                                                                                                 | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| F      | 44  | [omitted]           | XX City        | [omitted]            | Health examination                                                                                                                                                                       | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

| Gender | Age | Occupation               | City of origin | Education                                                | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|--------|-----|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|        |     |                          |                |                                                          | 健康診断                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| M      | 26  | Lacquerware manufacturer | XX City        | [omitted]                                                | <p>[A couple that] from the view of the family register they are not uncle and niece, but in reality are uncle and niece want to marry. Also is it possible to establish the blood type [of future children]?</p> <p>戸籍上は叔父、姪にあたつて居ない、實際は叔父、姪と結婚せんとす、且つこれを血型によつて制定可なりや</p> | <p>You should avoid as much as possible. It is not possible to establish the blood type, there is no recognised hereditary relationship</p> <p>成可く避くべし、血型制定不可能、遺傳的間係は認めない</p>                                                                                                                  |
| F      | 23  | [omitted]                | [omitted]      | <p>Girl's School, teaching department</p> <p>女學校師範科卒</p> | <p>Partner's hereditary disease</p> <p>相手の遺傳病について</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <p>It seems to be essentially epilepsy, which is hereditary. Moreover, on both sides of the family there is paralysis and the person themselves is near-sighted. Therefore, you should avoid [this marriage] if possible.</p> <p>眞性癲癇と考へられる、これも遺傳性のものである、更に両家系に中風を認め、本人同志は近視のため成可くなら避くる可とす</p> |
| F      | 27  | Pharmacist               | XX prefecture  | Specialist school                                        | <p>Health condition (permissibility of marriage given that 34 years ago visitor was ill with pulmonary apicitis.)</p> <p>健康の状（三四年前肺尖加答兒を病む結婚して可なり）</p>                                                                                                                     | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

| Gender | Age | Occupation               | City of origin | Education  | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|--------|-----|--------------------------|----------------|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| M      | 32  | [omitted]                | XX City        | [omitted]  | 10 years ago for approximately half a year lived as a married couple [with someone], have had a mild fever since five or six years ago. Is marriage appropriate?<br>十年前約半ヶ年間結婚生活をなす、五、六年前より微熱あり、結婚に適するや                            | You should consider whether it is appropriate based on the results of an x-ray and the erythrocyte sedimentation red [blood test for inflammation]<br>レントゲン並びに赤血球沈降速度測定の結果より考慮すべきを適當とす                                                                          |
| M      | 24  | [omitted]                | XX prefecture  | [omitted]  | Health consultation<br>健康相談                                                                                                                                                                                                        | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| M      | 29  | Secondary school teacher | [omitted]      | University | Suitability for married life<br>結婚生活に適するや否や                                                                                                                                                                                        | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| M      | 31  | Company employee         | XX City        | [omitted]  | Sexual hygiene for marriage<br>結婚に付き性の衛生に就いて                                                                                                                                                                                       | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| M      | 28  | Textile industry         | XX City        | [omitted]  | About venereal disease<br>性病に就いて                                                                                                                                                                                                   | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| M      | 25  | Liquor business          | XX City        | [omitted]  | Consultation about heredity<br>遺傳の相談                                                                                                                                                                                               | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| F      | 22  | [omitted]                | XX City        | [omitted]  | Sister's mental ability is poor (undeveloped – retardation) and that has damaged her marriage prospects. Is her retardation is a hereditary thing or is it due to childhood illness?<br>次妹の精神能力不良（不發育－低能）のため妹の縁談につき障害あり、次妹の低能は遺傳性の | The results of the sister's mental examination [show that] she has nervousness. There is nothing particularly noteworthy about the family line. The individual [sister] had peritonitis when she was six, but that is not the cause. It is probably hereditary. |

## Appendix I

| Gender    | Age       | Occupation         | City of origin | Education | Topic of consultation                                            | Advice given                                                                                                                                       |
|-----------|-----------|--------------------|----------------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|           |           |                    |                |           | ものなりや、本人の幼時疾患によるものなりや                                            | 次妹精神検査の結果患鈍に神経質である、家系に特別の點を認めず、本人が六歳の時に腹膜炎を病む、然しこれは原因とならず、遺傳性のものである                                                                                |
| M         | 27        | Teacher            | XX prefecture  | [omitted] | Consultation about consanguineous marriage<br>血族結婚の相談            | [omitted]                                                                                                                                          |
| M         | 28        | Bathhouse employee | XX City        | [omitted] | Wants to marry his niece<br>叔父と姪との間結婚をなさんとす                      | It is essential to consider this from a eugenic perspective, from a legal perspective it is also completely unacceptable<br>優生學上は考慮の必要あるも、法律上は絶対不可 |
| M         | [omitted] | [omitted]          | [omitted]      | [omitted] | Cousin marriage<br>従兄妹の婚姻                                        | unacceptable<br>不可                                                                                                                                 |
| M         | 27        | Company employee   | [omitted]      | [omitted] | Requests an investigation into hereditary illness<br>遺傳病調査乞ふ     | [investigation into family lineage listed]                                                                                                         |
| F         | 23        | [omitted]          | XX City        | [omitted] | Health consultation<br>健康相談                                      | [omitted]                                                                                                                                          |
| M [proxy] | 23        | [omitted]          | [omitted]      | [omitted] | Regarding appendicitis<br>蟲様突起炎に就いて                              | [omitted]                                                                                                                                          |
| M         | 38        | Textile industry   | XX City        | Primary   | Regarding tuberculous arthritis<br>結核性関節炎に就いて                    | [omitted]                                                                                                                                          |
| [omitted] | 24        | Shoe manufacturing | XX City        | Primary   | Regarding poor development of reproductive organs<br>生殖器發育不良に就いて | [omitted]                                                                                                                                          |

| Gender | Age | Occupation                | City of origin | Education                                 | Topic of consultation                                               | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|--------|-----|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| M      | 26  | University student        | XX City        | [omitted]                                 | Regarding consanguineous marriage<br>血族結婚のに就いて                      | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| M      | 26  | Company employee          | XX<br>oo       | Higher technical school<br>高等工業           | Regarding venereal disease<br>性病に就いて                                | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| F      | 22  | [omitted]                 | [omitted]      | Girl's School of Arts<br>女子美術             | Health examination<br>健康相談                                          | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| M      | 32  | Unemployed                | XX City        | First year of law and politics<br>法政専門部一年 | Health consultation, regarding hereditary illness<br>健康相談、本人遺傳病に就いて | As the individual has hebephrenia [a form of schizophrenia] and, in addition to that, pulmonary apicitis, as much as possible you should not enter into a married lifestyle.<br>本人が破瓜病のために其の上肺尖加答兒であるがため成可く結婚生活に這入らなり事を可とす |
| F      | 22  | Wood carver               | [omitted]      | Primary                                   | Health consultation<br>健康相談                                         | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| F      | 30  | [omitted]                 | XX prefecture  | Commercial school                         | Underdeveloped sexual organs<br>生殖器發育不全                             | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| M      | 30  | Government employee/clerk | XX prefecture  | [omitted]                                 | Inheritance of hearing loss<br>難聴の遺傳                                | Referred to a specialist<br>専門家に廻す                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| M      | 27  | Company employee          | XX prefecture  | Commercial/trade school                   | Regarding venereal disease<br>性病に就いて                                | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| M      | 25  | Farmer                    | XX prefecture  | [omitted]                                 | Regarding venereal disease<br>性病に就いて                                | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |

## Appendix I

| Gender | Age | Occupation                | City of origin | Education | Topic of consultation                                                                           | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|--------|-----|---------------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| M      | 22  | Government employee/clerk | XX City        | [omitted] | Should [the visitor] marry young? Doesn't have venereal disease, tuberculous<br>早婚でなきや、性病、結核なきや | It is a bit too early to be married, but not unreasonably so<br>婚婚年齢としては少し早過ぎるも不合理に非ず                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| M      | 24  | Company employee          | XX City        | [omitted] | Regarding venereal disease<br>性病に就いて                                                            | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| M      | 30  | Company employee          | [omitted]      | [omitted] | [omitted]                                                                                       | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| M      | 30  | Company employee          | [omitted]      | [omitted] | Regarding hereditary illness<br>遺傳病に就いて                                                         | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| M      | 27  | Food sales                | [omitted]      | Primary   | Regarding consanguineous marriage (cousin marriage)<br>血族結婚（従兄弟結婚）に就いて                          | A marriage between cousins who have a predisposition tuberculous is inappropriate<br>結核の素質ある従兄妹の結婚は不適當と認む                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| F      | 30  | [omitted]                 | [omitted]      | [omitted] | Matters relating to tuberculous arthritis<br>結核性関節炎に關する件                                        | You came to the office as you were worried that your partner's siblings' aptitude for marriage, but you should recognise that it is not a bad family line. In addition to that, life is long so even if you are married, that should not be considered an obstacle.<br>結婚性素質が相手の兄弟にあるを心配して来所せしも本人には何等認むべき悪い家系でなく、其上長命であるから結婚しても差支へなきと看做す |
| F      | 23  | [omitted]                 | XX City        | [omitted] | Opening mouth when asleep                                                                       | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

| Gender    | Age       | Occupation        | City of origin | Education     | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                 | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----------|-----------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|           |           |                   |                |               | 睡眠中に口を開く                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| M         | 24        | Salesperson       | XX City        | [omitted]     | Health consultation<br>健康診断                                                                                                                                           | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| F         | 24        | Company employee  | XX City        | [omitted]     | Regarding consanguineous marriage<br>血族結婚に就いて                                                                                                                         | The woman's older sister has dementia, and [we can] recognise some tendencies [for dementia] on both [sides] and in the woman herself. Besides, you should as much as possible avoid a double [consanguineous] marriage.<br>女の姉早發性痴呆、両も女も幾分その傾向を認む、それに二重結婚のため成可く避けるを可とす |
| F         | 22        | Pharmacy employee | XX City        | Girls' school | Health consultation<br>健康診断                                                                                                                                           | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| M [proxy] | 30        | Company employee  | XX City        | Primary       | Older sister has seizures and convulsions (epilepsy), is now on the road to marriage. Is that [epilepsy] easily passed on?<br>姉に發作的に出現する痙攣あり（癲癇）此度結婚通行中なるものその遺傳する優ありや | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| M         | 30        | Unemployed        | XX City        | University    | Decline in pleasure during sexual intercourse<br>性交の際の快感減退                                                                                                            | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| F         | [omitted] | [omitted]         | XX City        | [omitted]     | The person she is betrothed to has had an anal fistula since                                                                                                          | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

## Appendix I

| Gender  | Age       | Occupation       | City of origin | Education | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                                                              | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|---------|-----------|------------------|----------------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|         |           |                  |                |           | June this year. Is that connected to his future health prospects?<br>婚約者本年七月より痔瘻、その本態、獎來の健康に對する關係如何                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| M       | 30        | [omitted]        | XX City        | [omitted] | Wife is 22 years old. When she was 18 she developed a mental illness. What is the affect [of this] on his wife's mental condition and how will it impact their children?<br>廿二歳の妻、十八歳の時に精神病に罹患、妻の精神状態並びに子供に及ぼす影響如何 | There are abnormal aspects and unhealthy tendencies in your wife's personality, and it is not possible to adapt to these ups and downs. From the perspective of raising children, special caution is necessary.<br>妻の性格、病的傾向變質的のものにして消長あるもの改造は不可能なり、その小兒は養育上特別の注意を要す |
| [proxy] | 23        | Cabinet maker    | XX City        | Primary   | On father's side, uncle and aunt are cousins, wants to also have a cousin marriage<br>父方の叔父母従兄妹の結婚、再び従兄妹の結婚を繰返さんとす                                                                                                 | Further investigation is necessary<br>尚ほ調査の必要あり                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| M       | 31        | [omitted]        | XX City        | [omitted] | Health consultation<br>健康診断                                                                                                                                                                                        | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| M       | 30        | Company employee | XX City        | [omitted] | Regarding venereal disease<br>性病に關して                                                                                                                                                                               | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| M       | [omitted] | [omitted]        | XX City        | [omitted] | Regarding a marriage between an uncle and a niece<br>叔父、姪の結婚に就いて                                                                                                                                                   | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |



| Gender | Age       | Occupation | City of origin | Education     | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Advice given                                                                                    |
|--------|-----------|------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| F      | 24        | [omitted]  | [omitted]      | Girls' school | The person who she is seeing has long hair on his back. Why is this?<br>相手にならんする者の背部に長毛がある、發生理由如何                                                                                                                                                                                         | [omitted]                                                                                       |
| F      | [omitted] | [omitted]  | XX City        | [omitted]     | Received a marriage proposal from someone whose family is said to have had leprosy 100 years ago. There has been no instances of the same sickness in her family line since. Could that same sickness appear after 100 years?<br>約百年前癩病ありしと云ふ家の子供縁談ありその家系並びに娘家先等にはその後同病なし、百年後でも同病發生の憂ひありや | There is scope for further investigation into whether it was really leprosy<br>果たして癩病か尚ほ調査の餘地あり |
| F      | 23        | Commerce   | [omitted]      | [omitted]     | Spouse's uncle is mentally ill. Is there a risk that this could be inherited?<br>相手の尊叔父に精神病患者あり、遺傳の虞れなきや                                                                                                                                                                                  | [omitted]                                                                                       |
| M      | 30        | [omitted]  | XX City        | [omitted]     | Regarding tuberculous osteitis<br>カリエスとは如何                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | [omitted]                                                                                       |
| M      | 30        | [omitted]  | XX City        | [omitted]     | Wife's sister and uncle both have nervousness. Individual concerned also have venereal disease                                                                                                                                                                                            | Further examination is necessary<br>尚ほ精査の必要あり                                                   |

## Appendix I

| Gender | Age | Occupation              | City of origin | Education               | Topic of consultation                                                                                          | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|--------|-----|-------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|        |     |                         |                |                         | 婦人の妹並び叔父が神経質、本人は性病に就いて                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| F      | 23  | [omitted]               | [omitted]      | Girl's secondary school | Regarding heredity<br>遺傳に就いて                                                                                   | You should select a partner that does not have a propensity for tuberculous or stroke<br>脳溢血、結核の素質なき人を配偶者として選ぶ可し                                                                                                                                                |
| M      | 50  | Government worker/clerk | XX prefecture  | [omitted]               | Question relating to consanguineous marriage and children<br>子供の件で血族結婚の質問                                      | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| M      | 27  | [omitted]               | XX City        | Primary                 | Matters relating to marriage hygiene and reproductive ability<br>結婚衛生、生殖能力に関する件                                | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| M      | 29  | [omitted]               | [omitted]      | Primary                 | Spouse's mother's brothers have a mental illness, is marriage permissible?<br>配偶者の母の兄弟に精神病者あり、結婚可なりや           | The mental condition in the spouse's family line is dementia. [The advisor] explained that it is possible to inherit this. If possible you should marry someone who doesn't have this in the family line.<br>配偶者の家系の精神質に早發性痴呆なるがため遺傳を説明し出来得るならば遺傳性なき家系と結婚するを可とす |
| F      | 22  | [omitted]               | XX City        | [omitted]               | Cousin marriage, the prospective spouse's mother's elder brother, mother and two sisters have tuberculous. The | It is not permissible to get married<br>結婚せざるを可とす                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

| Gender | Age | Occupation         | City of origin | Education | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                           | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|--------|-----|--------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|        |     |                    |                |           | second oldest sister is mute.<br>She married another mute and they had two mute sons.<br>従兄弟結婚、配偶者となるべき人は母の兄長男母の妹二人結婚、次妹啞、それと他の啞と結婚して二人の啞の男児を産む |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| F      | 25  | [omitted]          | [omitted]      | [omitted] | Prospective spouse's aunt died of tuberculous<br>配偶者となるべき人の伯母結核で死亡                                                                              | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| M      | 48  | [omitted]          | XX City        | [omitted] | Permissibility of a cousin marriage<br>従兄妹の結婚をなせしが可なりや                                                                                          | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| M      | 29  | University student | XX City        | [omitted] | Advisability of a marriage given that [the visitor] contracted tuberculous five years ago<br>五ヶ年前から結核罹患結婚可なりや                                   | The individual concerned has already been living with tuberculous, and their mother died of tuberculous. In addition, it is a cousin marriage. Therefore from a eugenic perspective it is not desirable.<br>本人結核既往*あり且つ母結核死、之に加へて従兄妹の結婚なるがために優生學上好ましくらず |
| M      | 25  | Student            | XX City        | [omitted] | Issues concerning haemophilia, regarding sexual decisions                                                                                       | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

| Gender    | Age       | Occupation       | City of origin | Education        | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                               | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-----------|-----------|------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|           |           |                  |                |                  | 血友病の問題、性の決定に就いて                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| F         | 25        | [omitted]        | XX prefecture  | Girl's School    | Consultation about hereditary disease and consanguineous marriage, hopes to be sterilised<br>血族結婚と遺傳病に就ての相談、斷種希望                                                                    | Deformity is a dominant hereditary trait, in addition a consanguineous marriage is not good. Therefore it would be reasonable for a eugenic perspective if this person was sterilised, in accordance with their wishes, and then married.<br>奇形は優生遺傳、尚ほ血族結婚のためよくない、そのため本人の希望通り斷種をなして結婚する事が優生學上至當である。 |
| M         | 26        | [omitted]        | XX prefecture  | Secondary school | Are twins or ordinary children superior? What are the chances of a woman having twins if she is also a twin? Is nearsightedness hereditary?<br>双生兒と普通兒との優秀、双生兒を生む母が双生兒を産む率、近視は遺傳なりや | There is no difference between twins and ordinary children. Having twins is hereditary so there is a greater chance than in other cases.<br>Nearsightedness is hereditary.<br>双生兒と普通兒とは差異なし、双生兒と生む事は遺傳性なるがために他の場合よりも多い、近視は遺傳する                                                                       |
| [omitted] | 35        | Company employee | [omitted]      | [omitted]        | Concerning heredity<br>遺傳に就いて                                                                                                                                                       | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| M         | [omitted] | Button business  | XX city        | [omitted]        | There is a rumour that the person he is betrothed to's father died of leprosy in 1889. At present there are no [signs                                                               | If [that rumour] is true, consider your partner to have leprosy.<br>若し事実とすれば相手には癩病がある<br>と考ふる                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

| Gender | Age | Occupation | City of origin | Education                 | Topic of consultation                                                                                                        | Advice given                                                                                                                                                               |
|--------|-----|------------|----------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|        |     |            |                |                           | of leprosy], is there a risk of developing [leprosy]?<br>縁談相手[幅?]父明治廿二年癩病にて逝去せるとの風説ある現在なきも發病の虞れなきや                           |                                                                                                                                                                            |
| F      | 21  | Student    | XX city        | [omitted]                 | Misgivings about a consanguineous marriage<br>血族結婚に對する危惧                                                                     | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                  |
| M      | 35  | [omitted]  | XX prefecture  | [omitted]                 | Should a marriage between cousins be avoided?<br>従兄妹の結婚なりしも差支へなきや                                                            | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                  |
| F      | 23  | [omitted]  | XX             | Girls' school             | Health consultation<br>健康診断                                                                                                  | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                  |
| M      | 27  | [omitted]  | XX City        | Japan University<br>日本大卒業 | The aunt of the woman he is supposed to marry died of tuberculous. Is that an obstacle to marriage?<br>配偶者となるべき女の叔母結核死差支へなきや | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                  |
| M      | 55  | [omitted]  | [omitted]      | [omitted]                 | Wants daughter to have a consanguineous marriage<br>娘が血族結婚をなさんとす                                                             | Since there is retardation on both sides of the family and, on top of that, it is a consanguineous marriage, it is completely unacceptable.<br>相方に低能遺傳質があり、その上血族結婚のために絶対不可 |
| M      | 27  | Farmer     | XX City        | Secondary                 | Regarding consanguineous marriage                                                                                            | Since there is a high frequency of heavy drinking and mental illness on                                                                                                    |

| Gender    | Age       | Occupation       | City of origin | Education  | Topic of consultation                                                                                                        | Advice given                                                                                                                                               |
|-----------|-----------|------------------|----------------|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|           |           |                  |                |            | 血族結婚に就いて                                                                                                                     | both family lines, you should avoid [this union] as much as possible.<br>大酒家精神病が両系に濃厚なるため成可く避けると可とす                                                        |
| M         | 32        | [omitted]        | XX City        | university | Health consultation<br>健康診断                                                                                                  | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                  |
| M         | 35        | [omitted]        | [omitted]      | [omitted]  | Regarding venereal disease<br>性病に就いて                                                                                         | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                  |
| M         | 31        | Railway employee | XX prefecture  | Secondary  | Regarding venereal disease<br>花柳病に就いて                                                                                        | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                  |
| M         | 21        | [omitted]        | XX City        | [omitted]  | Is epilepsy hereditary? How about dementia?<br>癲癇は遺傳するか、早發性痴呆は如何                                                             | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                  |
| M         | [omitted] | [omitted]        | XX City        | [omitted]  | Marriage certificate<br>結婚證明書                                                                                                | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                  |
| F         | 23        | [omitted]        | XX City        | [omitted]  | Advisability of marriage given she has congenital heart disease. Also issues relating to pregnancy<br>先天性心臓病のため結婚の可否、及び妊娠の問題 | It is absolutely not good<br>絶対によくない                                                                                                                       |
| [omitted] | [omitted] | [omitted]        | [omitted]      | [omitted]  | Regarding inheritance of mental illness<br>精神病の遺傳に就いて                                                                        | Since you have a propensity for tuberculous and dementia it is essential to be particularly cautious about marriage.<br>結核、早發性痴呆の素質あるがため結婚にあたって特に注意する必要がある |

| Gender | Age       | Occupation     | City of origin | Education         | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Advice given                                                                                       |
|--------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| M      | 34        | [omitted]      | XX City        | Secondary school  | Health consultation<br>健康診断                                                                                                                                                                                            | [omitted]                                                                                          |
| M      | 27        | Bank employee  | XX prefecture  | [omitted]         | Suitability of health for marriage<br>健康が結婚にするや                                                                                                                                                                        | [omitted]                                                                                          |
| M      | 31        | [omitted]      | XX City        | [omitted]         | Consultation about someone whose mother has tuberculous osetitis and whose father lost his eyesight due to syphilis. The mother of the spouse died of tuberculous osetitis<br>母の結核性脊椎カリエス、父梅毒のための失明相手の母が結核性カリエス死について相談 | As much as possible you should avoid marriage<br>結婚は成可避くるべし                                        |
| M      | 27        | Store employee | XX City        | Commercial school | Permissibility of an approaching marriage given that [the visitor] has neurasthenia [nervous breakdown]<br>神経衰弱のため最＊に近ふ結婚の可否                                                                                           | As the neurasthenia is [due to] traumatic epilepsy, marriage is permissible.<br>外傷性癲癇に神経衰弱なれども結婚と可 |
| M      | 32        | [omitted]      | XX City        | [omitted]         | Regarding venereal disease<br>性病に就いて                                                                                                                                                                                   | [omitted]                                                                                          |
| M      | [omitted] | [omitted]      | XX prefecture  | [omitted]         | Elder brother died of tuberculous of the larynx, youngest child died of tuberculous<br>兄喉頭結核死、末子結核にて死                                                                                                                  | [omitted]                                                                                          |

## Appendix I

| Gender | Age | Occupation | City of origin | Education          | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                                                                               | Advice given                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|--------|-----|------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| F      | 24  | [omitted]  | [omitted]      | XX School graduate | Advisability of consanguineous marriage<br>血族結婚の可否                                                                                                                                                                  | Since there is no uterine cancer on your partner's side and there is only one case of tuberculous, it is not particularly necessary to avoid marriage<br>子宮癌は相手方とは関係なし、ただ結核のみなるも特別避ける必要なし                     |
| M      | 28  | [omitted]  | [omitted]      | [omitted]          | Inheritance of squint<br>斜視遺傳                                                                                                                                                                                       | [omitted]                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| M      | 34  | Commerce   | XX City        | Secondary          | [prospective] spouse's mother developed consumption [pulmonary tuberculous] after having a miscarriage. Mother also died of consumption. Should this marriage be cancelled?<br>配偶者の母流産後肺結核本人の母も肺結核で死亡此結婚は中止すべきものなりや | First investigate [the condition of] your spouse and their family line<br>先づ配偶者とその家系を調査せしむ                                                                                                                    |
| F      | 60  | [omitted]  | XX prefecture  | [omitted]          | Concerning a cousin marriage with someone who has deaf-muteness, idiocy, suicide and cancer in the family line<br>聾啞、白痴、變人、自殺、癌の家系のある者との従兄妹の結婚に就いて                                                                  | The muteness is irrelevant since the relation is the aunt on the father's side. You only need to be careful about cancer, but it is permissible even if you marry<br>父系の叔母の関係のため啞は無関係、但し癌だけは注意の要ある、然し結婚しても可なり |



| Gender | Age       | Occupation                | City of origin | Education               | Topic of consultation                                                                                                                                               | Advice given                                                                          |
|--------|-----------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| M      | 32        | Government official/clerk | XX City        | [omitted]               | Inheritance of partner's asymmetrical forehead<br>相手の額の不整についての遺傳                                                                                                    | [omitted]                                                                             |
| M      | 29        | [omitted]                 | XX City        | [omitted]               | Mental illness on partner's side and birth control<br>相手方の精神病並びに産兒調節                                                                                                | [omitted]                                                                             |
| M      | 23        | [omitted]                 | [omitted]      | Liberal arts university | Health consultation concerning everyone in the family line<br>健康相談家系歴總人員                                                                                            | It is essential that a physician further investigates your partner<br>内科にて尚ほ相方調査の必要あり |
| M      | [omitted] | [omitted]                 | XX City        | [omitted]               | The men and women that are trying to act as a matchmaker [for this man] have long faces. Is there a risk that that is hereditary?<br>安○氏の媒酌せんとする男女顔が長いのでそれ遺傳する恐れなきや | [omitted]                                                                             |