Visual Studies, 2015
Vol. 30, No. 1, 1–18, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2015.996384

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Escaping Sugamo Prison with a no. 2 pencil: the drawings of Japanese war criminal Tobita Tokio

LINDSEY POWELL† and CHUNMEI DU

Tobita Tokio spent 10 years as war crimes suspect and convicted war criminal in Sugamo Prison, a facility recommissioned by American occupiers in 1945 as one element of a larger programme designed to refashion Japan into a more peaceful and cooperative member of the community of nations. From 1945 to 1955, Tobita produced hundreds of drawings depicting life in Sugamo Prison and gave most of them to American jailors and fellow Japanese inmates. As ephemera and souvenirs, some of the drawings were short-lived. But many were carefully preserved. The drawings constitute a visual diary of prison life. But they were more than that. They played an important role in defusing post-war animosity between American and Japanese soldiers. At times, Tobita used them as a personal form of art therapy helping him deal with the psychological torments of prison life, especially when he was facing trial and sentencing. His drawings both highlighted and softened the caste and class tensions that challenged Japan during the war and post-war periods inside and outside the military and prison. As widely distributed original artworks within a relatively narrow social network, they constitute an excellent case study for agency-based theories of art production, distribution and consumption. They offer an opportunity to evaluate the overlap between art practices and wartime and post-war magical charm production in Japan. We argue there are structural similarities between Tobita's drawings, the long tradition of ema *votive offerings, and the wartime production and circulation of* senninbari *protective sashes,* imon ningyo *comfort dolls and signed* Hinomaru *flags.*

TOBITA TOKIO AND THE SUGAMO PROJECT

Tobita Tokio was born on 8 June 1918 on the outskirts of Mito City an hour and a half northeast of Tokyo. His father was a peasant and a carpenter. The Japanese elite had profited from the industrial revolution, but the benefits were mixed at best for farming families like Tobita's. Modern medicines had ensured that fewer offspring were lost due to illness. But, unlike in other parts of the world where flat plains were conducive to fossil-fuelled mechanised agriculture, Japan's terraced rice paddy agricultural system had already been honed to perfection through the backbreaking toil of generations of farmers. There was little more sustenance to squeeze from the land. The Japanese archipelago had become increasingly overpopulated and hungry for food as well as raw materials needed for the buzzing industrial factories. The euphemistically titled Taisho Democracy Era of Tobita's youth saw an acceleration of Japanese expansion on the continent with increased migration to newly annexed Korea and a pressing of Japanese military might up against the warlords and Red and Kuomintang armies of northern China.

The 'cages of reason', Japan's Ministries of Finance, Industry, Army and Navy, insulated themselves from the whirling and often violent political activities outside their citadels and became increasingly brazen in their opportunism, their breaking of the Weberian dictum of non-ownership of the means of administration. The Imperial Japanese Army and Navy competed with each other to control territory, financial opportunity and war

According to American guard B.A. Langdon who provided artist Tobita Tokio with the pencil and paper, pencils used for drawing were mostly likely no. 2 as that was the standard issue. Its use in the title of this article is intended to signify the sense of humour, irony and tension inherent in the Sugamo drawings. The article is based on Lindsey Powell's decade-long research in Japan and the United States on the Sugamo Project. Chunmei Du completed the article after Lindsey's passing.

Lindsey Powell was Assistant Professor of Cultural and Visual Anthropology in the Department of Folk Studies and Anthropology at Western Kentucky University. He received a BA in East Asian Studies from Oberlin College, an MA in Organization Theory from the University of Chicago and a PhD in Cultural and Visual Anthropology from Temple University. His research focused on visual cultures in and out of Asia including rituals of kingship in the Thar Desert of India, Han tourism in ethnic minority areas of China, public protest spectacles in Japan and Asian art collecting in the West. He was also a practicing ethnographic film-maker producing media primarily for museum and classroom contexts. He passed away in February 2014.

Chunmei Du is Assistant Professor in History at Western Kentucky University. She received her PhD from the East Asian Studies Department at Princeton University. She studies modern Chinese and Asian intellectual and cultural histories in global and comparative contexts.

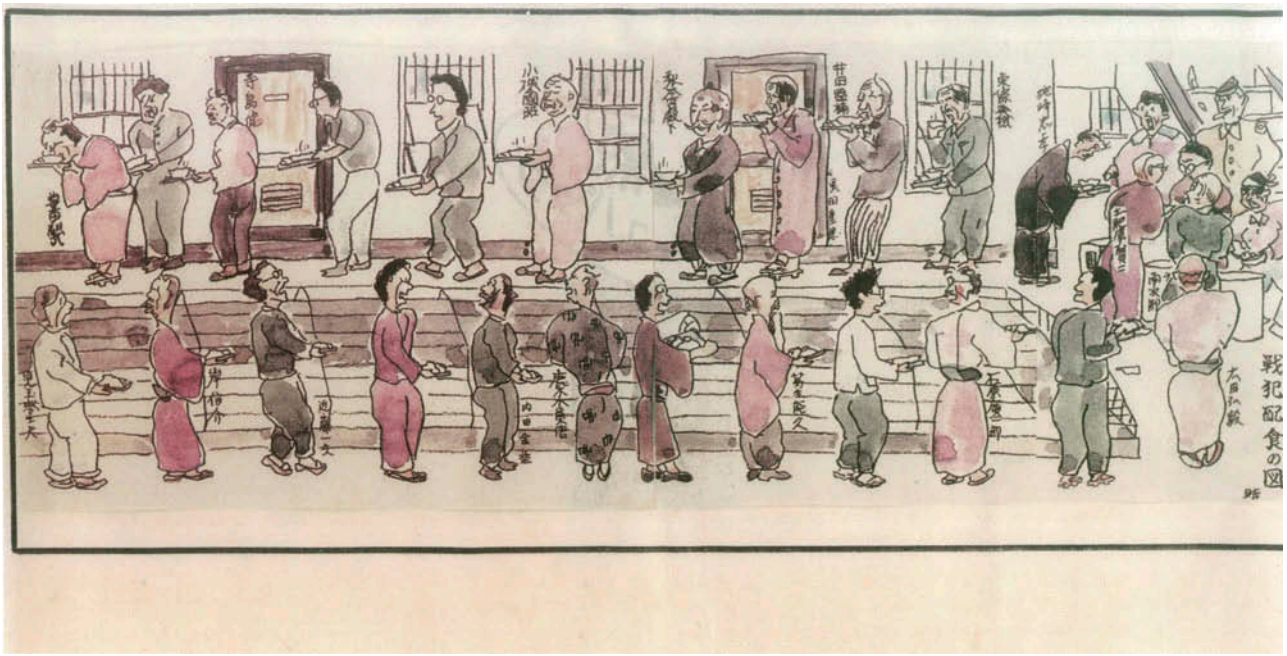

FIGURE 1. Tobita Tokio, Prince Nashimoto and other Class-A and Class-C suspects lined up for their meals. Japan, c1946. Ink and colour on paper. Tobita Tokio collection. Photograph courtesy of Tobita Tokio.

FIGURE 2. Tobita Tokio, Tobita Tokio washes Tōjō Hideki's back at Ōmori POW camp. Japan, 1947. Pencil on paper, 13.8 × 21.5 cm. Fujiki Fumio and Tobita Tokio collection, The Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library and Museum, Columbus, OH; no. CGA.SUG.1.022. Photograph courtesy of Bill Barrette.

materiel in the growing colonial footholds of the Japanese Empire. They also competed for conscripts back home among the growing reserve army of labour, among young men like Tobita. The Mukden Incident of 1931 and the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of 1937 sealed the deal. The Imperial Japanese Army thrust Asia into war.

Tobita Tokio was conscripted in 1938 and began his long wartime odyssey in 1939 as a foot soldier in the Imperial Japanese Army criss-crossing China on several tours of duty before returning home again in 1943. From November 1944 to the end of the war, he was assigned to Shinagawa Army Hospital in southern Tokyo servicing the Omori POW Camp, which sat nearby on a tiny POW-made island in Tokyo Bay. He had the rank of Corporal and was later promoted to Sergeant. Within a few weeks of surrender, the American occupation authorities announced his name over the radio as a person of interest. Tobita promptly turned himself in, was incarcerated first in Yokohama, transferred to Omori POW Camp and then, on 7 December 1945, transferred to Sugamo Prison in northwest Tokyo where he spent the next 10 years of his life and produced hundreds of drawings depicting prison life.

Since 1943, the Americans and Europeans had been discussing prosecuting Japanese and German leaders for what they, and especially the families of victims, were arguing was a growing list of war crimes. The Rape of Nanking, the Bataan Death March and even the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor were seen as such egregious acts of evil that unconditional surrender by the Japanese was not enough. There had to be examples set. The dos and don'ts of warfare had to be catalogued in courts of law and a new era of international justice established.

For a variety of reasons, not the least of which were racial and ethnocentric biases, the Allies were most concerned, at least measured by sheer number or prosecutions, with punishing specific Japanese for their mistreatment of Allied prisoners of war. The parents of British, Australian and American servicemen captured by the Japanese were voters, after all, unlike their Chinese, Korean and Filipino counterparts – the far more common victims of war crimes – and they were increasingly outraged by the images of starving and diseased white POWs freed from makeshift Japanese prison camps by United States (US) marines as they hopped from island to island on their way to Okinawa, Iwo Jima and, after surrender, the main islands of Japan. Sugamo Prison was not only to be a place where war criminals were held while undergoing trial and punishment, but also a showcase prison, a demonstration to the world and especially to its new Japanese inmates of the proper way to treat captured enemies during or after war. Ironically, the prison was first built by the Japanese in the 1920s to house political prisoners and earned a frightening reputation. After the war, it was one of a small number of building complexes intentionally spared by the Allies in the 1940s' bombings of Tokyo.

It was not for actions in China that Tobita was first sentenced to 30 years of hard labour. Instead, it was for mistreating ailing Allied POWs at the Shinagawa Army Hospital by beating, forcing to work and withholding rations. The charge was based on one affidavit of an American and the oral testimony of two British witnesses who had been former prisoners at the hospital. Tobita's defence counsel argued that legal responsibility for Tobita's actions lay with the camp commandant Captain Fukuda. But Tobita was found guilty. Although he only served 10 years, his sentence was much tougher than received by many others, especially compared to the temporary discomfort experienced by many Class-A suspects he befriended in Sugamo Prison before they were released either prior to the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) or a year after Tobita's sentencing, following execution of the seven Class-A.[1] Almost six decades later, Tobita expressed how his mind was spinning with all kinds of intense feelings at the time. There was anger, resentment, confusion, but also relief that he was not going to hang like many other Class-BC prisoners at Sugamo up to that point.

This article derives from a larger project involving a team of researchers, including Bill Barrette, Midori Sato and Toyota Narumi, collecting the surviving drawings, mainly in the US at reunions of military veterans and in Japan from artists Tobita Tokio and Fujiki Fumio, for scholarly analysis, exhibition and preservation. Three exhibitions of the Sugamo project have taken place, at the Jan van der Donk Gallery in New York City (January 2000), the Philadelphia Art Alliance (May 2002) and the Gest East Asian Library of Princeton University (April–June 2003). So far, we have produced extensive videotape interviews with American G.I. (soldier) collectors of Tobita's drawings, exhibition videos and interviews of Tobita and Fujiki Fumio, who died in 2004. While a 3-day symposium immediately following the Princeton exhibition in 2003 included both scholars and people at the prison, such as Tobita who presented two papers, a subsequent workshop in 2005 involved scholars who heatedly debated interpretations of the Sugamo art.[2]

TOBITA'S ART PRACTICE

Tobita was a Class-C war crimes suspect, a classification reserved for soldiers and civilians who had committed

crimes against humanity. As a result of his early incarceration, however, he was placed with Class-A and Class-B war crimes suspects, first at Omori POW Camp, and then for the first few months of his stay at Sugamo Prison until the IMTFE got underway in late April 1946. It was through his interactions with Class-A war crimes suspects that his art practice, at least the exchange component, began. The Class-A war crimes suspects were upper-level leaders, politicians, generals, admirals, business tycoons and heads of right-wing ultranationalist organisations believed to have conspired to wage aggressive war in Asia and the Pacific. They were upper-class men, some upper caste as well, including a member of the Imperial family.

It was Prince Nashimoto Morimasa, uncle-in-law of Emperor Shōwa, who commissioned the first artwork from Tobita Tokio (Figure 1). Tobita had been asked by Admiral Shigetarō Shimada to care for wartime-premiere Hideki Tōjō while at Omori. Tojo was recovering from his self-inflicted gunshot wound when he arrived at Omori POW Camp in early November 1945. Tobita helped bathe Tojo, clean his cell and do other odd jobs. When they were all transferred to Sugamo Prison, Tobita was assigned to do similar tasks for Prince Nashimoto. Before his release from Sugamo in April 1946, the prince asked Tobita to prepare a keepsake to take with him. As Tobita did not know what to do, Nashimoto requested a drawing. In our first round of interviews with Tobita in his home in Mito in December 2001, Tobita discussed how he came up with the idea for the drawing and watercolour.

Tobita had already done several drawings for himself. But he had not shared them with anyone. Though he lamented that he later gave most of his best drawings away, he was able to produce some early examples for his recent book, *Sugamo Prison as Sketched by a Class-C War Criminal* (Tobita and Okamura 2011, in Japanese). His earliest sketches depicted being strip-searched and doused with DDT upon arrival at Sugamo Prison. Though many of the Class-A prisoners kept prison diaries in prose form, Tobita sketched the scenes that stuck in his mind. Many of them were scenes that he found to be particularly funny or poignant, especially if they showed how far the mighty had fallen. Here is a short description of his first drawings produced after his DDT treatment along with Class-A war crimes suspects upon arrival at Sugamo Prison on 7 December 1945:

> I never thought that the treatment for fleas and lice could be less pleasant than being covered in them, as things seemed to be going from bad to worse. Even the premiere officers of wartime Japan were stripped of the visual emblems of their pride. The figure itself was tragicomic like the sad clown Pierrot with face make-up. But I couldn't laugh. It would have been inconsiderate of the others. Plus, once the stench hit your nostrils from the cloud of fine powder chemical spray, uncontrollable sneezing consumed you. (Tobita and Okamura 2011, 18; translation by the author)

In addition to his own dousing with DDT, his next few sketches showed right-wing ultranationalists Yoshihisa Kuzu and Shumei Okawa naked and forced to expose their genitals to American inspectors (Tobita and Okamura 2011, 19). Many Japanese like Tobita thought these men were the most culpable in Japan's war of aggression as they had created the ideological blueprint for Japan's domination of Asia. One drawing in a different vein that later became very popular among the American guards and jailors and was widely reproduced to meet the demand depicted Tobita washing Tojo's back in the communal bath overseen by an American jailor (Figure 2).

Though perhaps more staid than this example, his first commission had a touch of the humour, irony and class tension that he was fond of commemorating pictorially. It depicted Prince Nashimoto and other Class-A war crimes suspects lining up for mess. Nashimoto, sporting his characteristic waxed moustache, stands next to the right door at the top. In our interviews, Tobita commented how comical it was to see men of such high status, who had never had to serve food in their lives, being forced to queue for meagre rations and then carry their trays back to their cells. Though Prince Nashimoto was once head of the pinnacle of State Shinto, the revered Grand Shrine of Ise dedicated to the totem of the imperial Yamato clan, the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, he had stooped at Sugamo to the level of the lowborn like Tobita. There was something profoundly humbling and democratising about being branded a war crimes suspect, and, though Prince Nashimoto was released without charge on 13 April 1946, Tobita took pains to remind him of his sojourn among the *hoi polloi* in his parting gift.

One of the tensions that contributed to Tobita's early art practice was the fact that General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, had expressly forbidden any photography in Sugamo Prison.[3] Japan had a long tradition of photographic practices stretching back to Felix Beato's (1986) arrival with a camera in Yokohama during the late Tokugawa Era in 1863. Both elite and middle-class Japanese commemorated with photographs all kinds of events from graduation ceremonies and anniversaries to

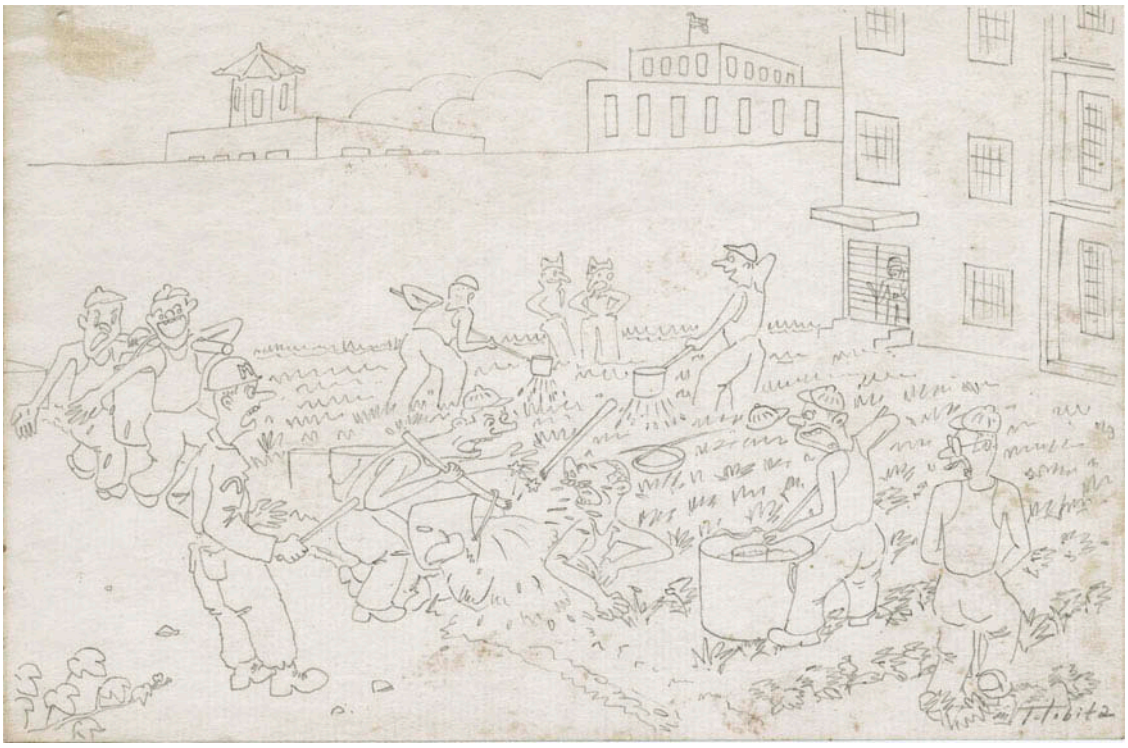

FIGURE 3. Tobita Tokio. Honeypot mishap in prison garden. Japan, 1947. Pencil on paper, 14.2 × 22.8 cm. Fujiki Fumio and Tobita Tokio collection, The Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library and Museum, Columbus, OH; no. CGA.SUG.1.020. Photograph courtesy of Bill Barrette.

FIGURE 4. Tobita Tokio, breaking rocks under B-29 bombers. Japan, 1947. Pencil on paper, 20.5 × 26.7 cm. Fujiki Fumio and Tobita Tokio collection, the Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library and Museum, Columbus, OH; no. CGA.SUG.1.003. Photograph courtesy of Bill Barrette.

FIGURE 5. Tobita Tokio, finding sweet potatoes in the prison garden. Japan, 1947. Pencil on paper, 20.5 × 26.7 cm. Fujiki Fumio and Tobita Tokio collection, the Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library and Museum, Columbus, OH; no. CGA.SUG.1.008. Photograph courtesy of Bill Barrette.

reunions, travels and chance meetings between old friends. It seemed only natural that Sugamo Prison inmates wished to commemorate their prison stays pictorially. The Class-A war crimes suspects on trial at the IMTFE were heavily photographed and filmed. But this only occurred outside the prison. Sugamo was meant to be a safe place, free from the indignities of the growing swarm of paparazzi outside the gates and in the IMTFE courtroom. As part of MacArthur's reform programme, Sugamo was to be a showcase of how civilised nations treated enemies. But, of course, the central dilemma was: how could a prison be a showcase if no one was allowed to show what was going on inside?

Though the administrators frowned upon it, American jailors and guards also wanted some visual representation of their proximity to the celebrity prisoners under their care. Soon, Tobita found himself inundated with requests of drawings from both Americans and Japanese. He found that he could get coveted cigarettes, Western magazines and lighter work duty if he fulfilled the Americans' requests. Though it was a court martial offence, many American jailors and guards worked clandestinely through intermediaries to acquire Tobita's drawings. Many drawings were promptly mailed home with letters to family and friends detailing the content of the pictures, the identities of the inmates and guards depicted, the background information required to understand the drawings and other conditions that the American soldiers were facing in Japan.

Tobita's art practice reached a peak in 1947 while he was facing trial and sentencing for his war crimes. Tobita recounted in our interviews his state of mind when he produced his 1947 drawing corpus. He was suffering from what could only be described as manic depression brought on by a confluence of forces. In late 1946, following the Nuremberg Trials, Hermann Göering had committed suicide hours before his scheduled execution. This set off an intense suicide watch at Sugamo Prison. There were routine oral and anal cavity searches for

FIGURE 6. Tobita Tokio, accidents at the prison incinerator. Japan, 1947. Pencil on paper, 20.5 × 26.7 cm. Fujiki Fumio and Tobita Tokio collection, the Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library and Museum, Columbus, OH; no. CGA.SUG.1.023. Photograph courtesy of Bill Barrette.

cyanide capsules and other devices like razor blades, cell shakedowns looking for similar contraband and limited exercise time. The prisoners were forced to sleep with the lights on and were awoken by the rattling of their cell doors if they kept their blankets too close to their heads. Sleep was becoming difficult in such a tense environment.

In addition, there was an increase in the number of executions taking place in the prison. American guards and prisoners recounted in our interviews the dreadful sound of the gallows trapdoor swinging open shortly after midnight on the frequent execution nights. Tobita heard stories of how men were being hung for the same crime he was accused of. The IMTFE was reaching a climax, but it was looking increasingly like the majority of Class-A war crimes suspects were going to get off lightly. Many of those who had not been indicted were being released. Several of the Class-B war crimes suspects had turned on their underlings and were testifying against privates like Tobita in exchange for immunity. Tobita's 4-day trial in Yokohama returned a guilty verdict and a sentence of 30 years of hard labour. He was distraught at the length of his sentence, yet glad to be alive.

It was in such a psychologically tumultuous environment that Tobita produced his most prized artwork. 'Honeypot Mishap in Prison Garden' (Figure 3) is typical of his drawings from this time period. Like so many of his drawings from 1947, the centre of attention was an accident that raised the ire of the overseeing American guard. It was exchanged through an intermediary with someone perhaps depicted in 'Breaking Rocks under B-29 Bombers' (Figure 4) as the overseeing guard, Buck Langdon, who preserved many of Tobita's drawings and recently donated them to the Billy Ireland Cartoon Library and Museum at the Ohio State University.

A popular theme among the American jailors centred on images of prisoners like Tobita serving their hard labour sentences. Buck Langdon was one of the administrators in charge of labour crews, which cleaned up rubble

around Tokyo in the long recovery process from the 1945 firebombing by the Americans. Aside from the ricocheted rock in the centre of the drawing, another focus of attention is the formation of B-29 bombers flying overhead. Perhaps, they were the ones responsible for the carnage Tobita's hard labour work team was cleaning up below. One wonders if that is what the prisoners on the right are thinking as they gaze up at them and why the overseeing guard has a slight frown of embarrassment. Planes figure prominently in Tobita's outdoor drawings. Though Omori POW Camp and Shinagawa Army Hospital were carefully avoided during the bombing raids, and Tobita was not directly impacted, he experienced the devastation nonetheless.

'Finding Sweet Potatoes in the Prison Garden' (Figure 5) provides another view of a labour crew detail, this time working on another section of the prison garden within the prison walls. In the background, one can see a plane flying above the prison incinerator, perhaps another subtle visual joke recalling the incineration of Tokyo and questioning what constitutes a war crime. It is noticeable how in Tobita's drawings from this period the eye is encouraged to wander from figure to figure piecing together storylines. There are often several small vignettes that cohere into a narrative usually involving embarrassment or, in this case, a stroke of good luck. The most prominent prisoner in this drawing has unearthed some sweet potatoes, which in occupation Japan were a prized delicacy both inside and outside the prison. Famed ultranationalist Yoshio Kodama (1951; 1960, 176) wrote about a similar incident in his Sugamo Prison diary. Kodama and Tobita became friends in Omori POW Camp and Sugamo Prison. After release, Tobita made the drawings for Kodama's prison diary including a scene similar to the one depicted in Figure 5, this time with Kodama pulling up the potatoes.

Tobita's artistic abilities are clearly shown in his 1947 drawings. His technical skill of performance is even more impressive. There were no erasures. The drawings were done rapidly, without mistake and from visual memory. The complexity of the storylines is such that one would expect a slower development of the pieces. Yet they came out quickly, in a frenetic frenzy, but still remained cohesive and meaningful. 'Accidents at the Prison Incinerator' (Figure 6) depicts a medium view of the incinerator depicted in the previous drawing. There is great depth of field depicted in the image with complex interlocking storylines and temporal dimensions. To be able to plan such an image and execute it quickly impresses even the most seasoned artists. Smoke rings belch from the incinerator as a prisoner gets splashed in the face with wood chips. Another prisoner falls from a wheelbarrow as the poor man at the other end gets launched skyward. Stars shoot from the rump of a fallen prisoner as others in the distance chop wood, garden and carry lumber. All this takes place as the American guard shouts and waves his baton.

Other drawings depict some of the other types of tensions between the American jailors and Japanese prisoners. As Tobita's reputation grew, several other prison artists emerged that began to copy his work and strike out on their own with new themes. We have identified nine Sugamo artists who did drawings similar to Tobita's, including Fujiki Fumio who went on to publish his work after release. Some of the Sugamo artists took prostitution as a theme; a recurring motif depicted forlorn Japanese prisoners standing at the fence watching American G.I.s just on the other side negotiating for sex with Japanese women at very low prices. It is no accident that another popular souvenir American veterans have given us can be best described as G.I. pornography. Though photography was forbidden within the prison walls, it was not forbidden outside the prison. There, dozens of Japanese prostitutes, women who would not normally have been in that line of work but who were driven to it out of the desperation of poverty-stricken post-war Japan, circulated waiting for the American G.I.s to come off duty. Many American veterans are now getting quite old and do not wish their families to inherit the private photographs they collected of prostitutes and legitimate Japanese girlfriends. So, in a few cases, they have embarrassingly passed bundles of images of Japanese women to us. They range from innocent shots of American men sharing drinks and dancing with Japanese girls at clubs to quite graphic shots of fully nude Japanese women in sexual positions.

Tobita had a few drawings on this theme, but he also took a more sophisticated approach to the issue. 'Nurses Escorted through the Prison Yard' (Figure 7) reverses the gaze. Instead of American soldiers ogling Japanese women, it depicts Japanese prisoners ogling female American soldiers, in this case nurses being escorted through the prison grounds. The Japanese prisoners walk with swagger as they push their phallic brooms and mops towards the women. And they all have lecherous grins. Some of the images also depict what could be considered mildly homoerotic tension. 'Collecting Raisers at the Prison Baths' (Figure 8) depicts another type of bath scene that Tobita was fond of recalling pictorially. Unlike the communal bath Tobita shared with Tojo (Figure 2), this drawing depicts the smaller baths on some of the floors of the prison cellblocks, which Tobita at various times shared with prisoners of

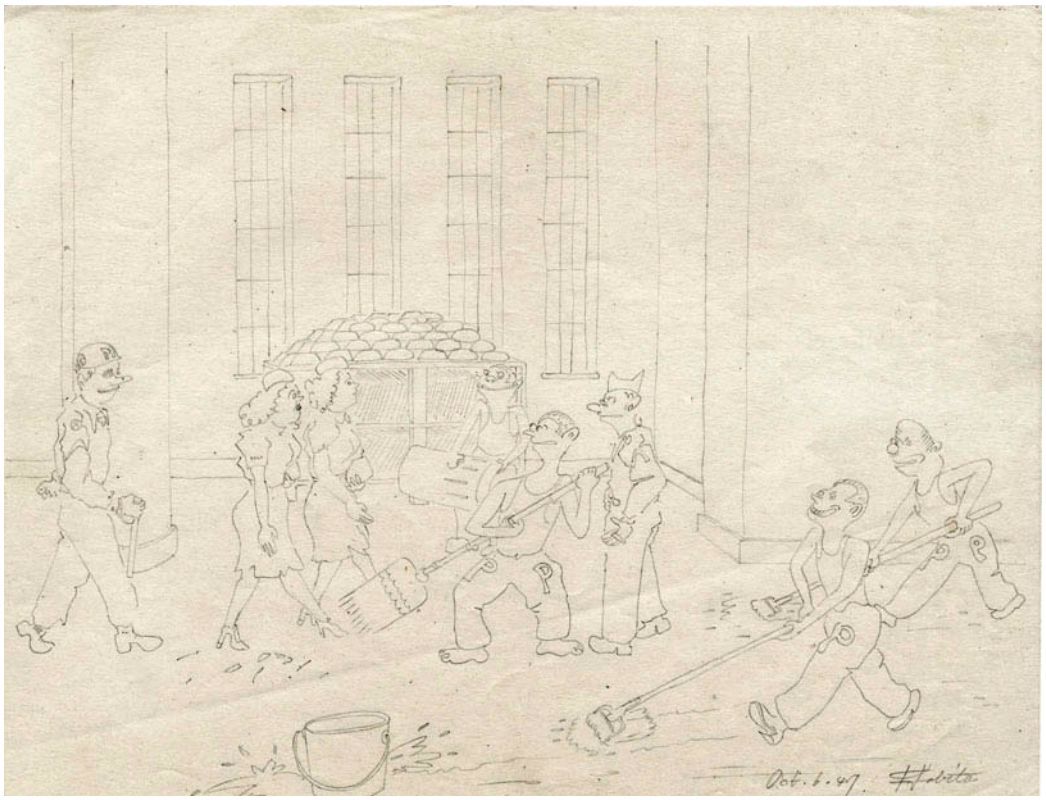

FIGURE 7. Tobita Tokio, nurses escorted through the prison yard. Japan, 1947. Pencil on paper, 20.5 × 26.7 cm. Fujiki Fumio and Tobita Tokio collection, the Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library and Museum, Columbus, OH; no. CGA.SUG.1.002. Photograph courtesy of Bill Barrette.

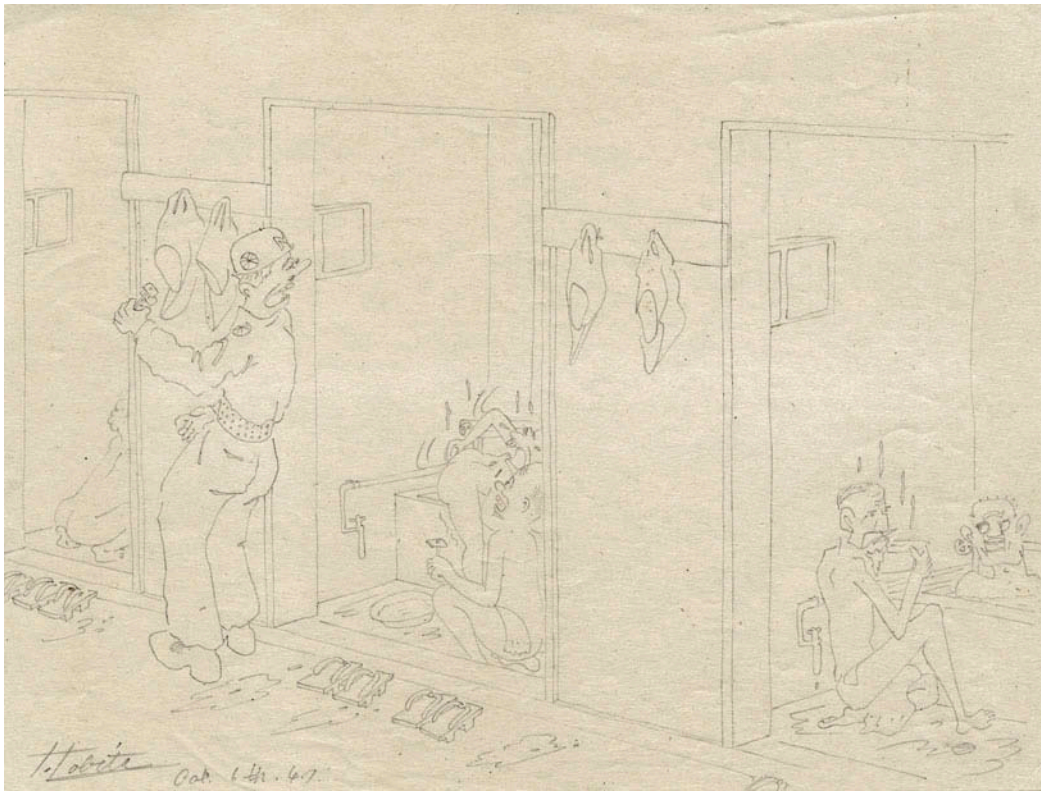

FIGURE 8. Tobita Tokio, collecting razors at the prison baths. Japan, 1947. Pencil on paper, 20.5 × 26.7 cm. Fujiki Fumio and Tobita Tokio collection, the Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library and Museum, Columbus, OH: no. CGA.SUG.1.004. Photograph courtesy of Bill Barrette.

all three classifications. The viewer is witness to an embarrassing moment when a jailor collecting razors happens upon a prisoner washing his bum. Tobita's expression of privacy issues was perhaps a little more discreet than some of the other artists like Fujiki Fumio who was fond of drawing American G.I.s with long noses peering into the rectums of Japanese prisoners during the reviled cavity searches.[4]

This drawing is particularly intriguing for what is occurring in the side scene on the right. The aged Baron Ida Iwakusu, often depicted in Tobita's drawings, is next door with what appears to be Admiral Soemu Toyoda fully submerged in the bath. Both Tobita and Fujiki were fond of drawing Toyoda. This instance is perhaps another subtle visual joke reminding the viewer of Toyoda's sending the Imperial Japanese Navy fleet to the bottom of the Philippine Sea. But Tobita often left that part of the story to be told by the American commissioners in their accompanying letters home, offering them an opportunity to embellish the drawings with their own insider knowledge.

In late 1948, after the IMTFE drew to a close and seven Class-A war criminals including Tōjō Hideki marched to the gallows, the intense prison rules were relaxed somewhat. Under the leadership of Dale Carnegie-inspired Lieutenant Lee Vincent, a new institutional framework emerged for the reform of the remaining war criminals in Sugamo Prison. *Sugamo Gakuen*, or the Sugamo Academy as it was called, included a series of classes and workshops designed to educate the prisoners for their eventual release and re-entry into Japanese society. Tobita's art practice came out of the shadows and into the light of the new Sugamo Prison Art Shop, of which Tobita was the assistant chief. Around a dozen inmates served their hard labour duties making art in the Art Shop. However, Tobita's artwork trailed off. He did contribute a serialised cartoon strip called 'Mr. Sugamo' to the prisoner-run Sugamo newspaper, the *Sugamo Shimbun*, but he preferred to spend most of his time getting the high school education that he had been denied back on the family farm and in the military. Aside from the artwork Tobita produced after his release for Yoshio Kodama, which gave him the cash to buy new farm and carpentry equipment, he spent most of his post-Sugamo life back in Mito thinking little about his Sugamo days or his drawings. That is, until we tracked him down and gave him a new platform to re-examine his impact on the visual culture of Sugamo Prison.

CHARMS AND WAR MEMENTOS

Made on cheap paper with hard pencils and with little more than a whirl of thought and activity, one might simply say that these drawings are the *chirashi* of history, the throwaway stuff, the ephemera. It could be argued that they are not as valuable as historical photographs, transcripts of IMTFE trials, the Sugamo newspaper or the written journals of inmates, and deserve only to be catalogued rather than treated as historical evidence. This article, however, is an attempt to show the multiple ways that these drawings can and should be analysed, as well as the complex layers of meaning they comprise.

In the light of General MacArthur's photography ban, the drawings served as a kind of visual diary. The inmates and jailors wanted, perhaps even needed, some kind of visual record of their lives within the prison walls, to bring the inside outside. At another level, the art represented tokens of exchange, a kind of currency used within the jail by jailor and jailed. Paper was in short supply. The US servicemen received paper rations from the American Red Cross and the inmates might get an extra sheet for themselves if they did a drawing for a guard. The guards would then write their letters home, often describing the scene on the reverse in more detail to their families. More often, the drawings were exchanged for cigarettes, magazines, food and even easier work duty. For the most part, one could say that Tobita Tokio's prison artwork was *sui generis*, emerging out of the contact he had with Class-A war crimes suspects and American guards. The cartoons in the American magazines that he received from the jailors in exchange for his artwork obviously influenced him, and he designed his pieces to appeal to his various audiences.

Foremost, interpretations of these drawings can benefit from the theory of visual anthropology proposed by Alfred Gell (1992, 1998), which privileges theories of magic and exchange over theories of communication, aesthetics and organisation when looking at art in social contexts. We believe that Tobita's drawings possess certain qualities that can best be understood with Gell's agency-based theory of the art nexus. In particular, there are structural similarities between Tobita's drawings, the long tradition of *ema* votive offerings and the wartime production and circulation of *senninbari* protective sashes, *imon ningyo* comfort dolls and signed *Hinomaru* flags. Despite the abrupt change of life in Sugamo Prison, Tobita's state of mind was not cut off from what he experienced before incarceration. It is necessary first to examine the broader historical contexts of art and exchange in wartime and post-war Japan and Japan's long tradition of magical charm production.

Tobita lived in a society that commonly used drawings as a form of wish fulfilment. *Ema*, or votive offerings hung in specially designed huts and on racks at Shinto

shrines and Buddhist temples, are examples of Japan's long tradition of magical charm production (Reader 1991). *Ema* are usually small wooden plaques purchased at religious sites and then drawn on to make a wish. Every year around the New Year, the shrines and temples ritually burn the objects to deliver the messages to the patron deities of the facilities. The wishes include such things as curing ailments, success in school, success in a relationship or, more generally, wealth and happiness. What is intriguing is how people visualise their wishes. Though there is usually writing, the written text is often accompanied by some sort of sketch of the issue, for example, what part of the body hurts, or what the object of desire is, whether it be a diploma, a boyfriend, a baby or a happy work environment.

Archaeologists have unearthed *ema* as far back as the Nara Period (710–794 CE), but there are strong indications that they predate that period by as much as a millennium. In fact, many indications are that *ema* are an extension of horse sacrifices that ancient Japanese likely picked up from other Central Asian peoples prior to their migration into Japan during the Yayoi Invasion (800 BCE to 300 CE). Indeed, most of the early *ema* were paintings of horses, and the name *ema* contains the characters for picture and horse. *Ema* were pictorial chits commemorating and then later standing in for what are perhaps best known as *Ashvamedha* in India, Aryan horse sacrifices central to Eurasian Steppes traditions when the Japanese were being pushed out of Mongolia by the expanding Zhou Dynasty in north central China.

By the early Kofun Period (250–538 CE), Japanese lifeways, so brilliantly reconstructed by archaeologist J. Edward Kidder (2007), had transitioned like so many other civilisations away from animal sacrifice towards a very strong variation of the blood taboo, which is characteristic of Japanese ritual today, and increasingly towards self-sacrifice, good works and martyrdom. This transition was partly brought on by the evolution of mortuary rituals when the spread of bubonic plague became increasingly associated with the handling of the dead. Japan switched in the time of Empress Himiko around 200 CE to cremation of their dead with few of the corpse washing and bone painting rituals that preceded her reign.

In the realm of animal sacrifice, however, because of the lack of good pasture in Japan compared to the ancient Japanese homeland on the Steppes, horse sacrifices became increasingly untenable. It was simply too costly to continue the ritual sacrifice of horses and other domesticated animals in the Japanese environment. *Ema* continued the tradition, but in a purely symbolic form. Where one once sacrificed a horse to deliver a request to a deity, one now simply burned an image of a horse. Over time, however, the image of the horse was replaced with an image of the request.

During the Tokugawa Period (1603–1867 CE), Shinto ritual increasingly became associated with rebellion against the Neo-Confucian Tokugawa regime and their parish administrators, the Buddhist temple complexes. *Kokugaku*, or Native Learning proponents, like Motoori Norinaga and his students turned to the ancient texts of Japan like the *Kojiki* to revitalise waning Shinto ritual. After Commodore Matthew Perry's arrival in 1853, samurai clansmen from the Satsuma and Choshu domains latched on to the Shinto fundamentalism of *Kokugaku* ideas and used them to garner popular support for their toppling of the Tokugawa regime and restoration of the Japanese emperor to full political and military hegemony, of course, with the Satsuma and Choshu leaders quietly pulling the strings behind the curtain.

To prevent Japan from being colonised, the Satsuma and Choshu clansmen, following the lead of the exiting Tokugawa regime, abolished *sakoku*, or the closing of Japan to the outside. They also adopted the self-regulating market, created a modern liberal democratic welfare state replete with a legal-rational bureaucracy and began the development of a modern army and navy. Samurai from the Satsuma and Choshu domains were sent abroad to study the modern militaries of Europe and America, but they were faced with a dilemma back in Japan. Only the *bushi*, the samurai caste, had up to that time been allowed to carry weapons. How were they going to convince peasants to arm and fight when peasants had for ages been prevented from developing martial institutions, especially under the long peace of the Tokugawa Period? Furthermore, while the samurai infantry clans had adopted Zen Buddhism as far back as the Kamakura Period (1185–1333 CE) and had cultivated a martyrdom ideal where one could extinguish all desires just prior to the last death charge in battle and thereby achieve *satori*, or release, the peasants of Japan, comprising upwards of 70 per cent of the population, were disinterested if not resentful of such institutions and their association with the samurai.

The Satsuma and Choshu clansmen responsible for the Meiji Restoration of 1868 devised what seemed to be an ingenious solution that set in motion the ethos that Tobita Tokio struggled to unshackle himself from while in Sugamo Prison and through his art practice. Yasukuni Shrine was instituted as an inversion of the Christian martyrdom ideal of one man sacrificing himself for all mankind. The shrine was to be an institution through

FIGURE 9. Unknown class-C prisoner. Cigarette packages transformed into slip cases. Japan, 1947. Paper, rice paste, Camel brand pack, 7.9 × 5.1 × 2.9 cm. George Picard collection. Photograph courtesy of Bill Barrette.

which all mankind would sacrifice itself for one man, the Japanese emperor. Wooden boxes containing the cremated ashes of lost peasant soldiers were carried home where the ashes were distributed to family members in Buddhist ceremonies to charge family *Butsudan* altars. Some of the ashes were sent to *Chidorigafuchi*, a Buddhist ossuary down the slope of Kudan Hill on which Yasukuni Shrine sits overlooking the Imperial Palace. And a parallel paper trail began at the home Shinto shrine that led to the priests at Yasukuni who would invite the spirit of the deceased to follow specially placed guideposts throughout Japan on their way to an apotheosisation ceremony periodically held at Yasukuni Shrine, a great festival pageant often attended by the emperor (Interview with priests at Yasukuni Shrine June 2005).

Yasukuni Shrine became a collective apotropaic charm that protected the divine nation through the growing number of peasant souls that were deified there. The more Japanese and foreign soldiers fighting on their side martyred themselves, the more the protective force field emanating from Yasukuni Shrine grew. This can be seen as the central losing strategy of Japan. While American soldiers fought to survive and fight another day, many Japanese soldiers and civilians fought to die and to be worshipped at Yasukuni. This led to lesser quality and inexperienced soldiers being sent to the front lines, as many of the best soldiers were killed early in battle.

There are now close to 2.5 million individuals worshipped as *kamisama*, or *eirei*, the term used for them, at Yasukuni Shrine. Though there was certainly resistance to Yasukuni Shrine, and the protests of wailing mothers could be heard over live radio broadcasts at the deification ceremonies (Nelson 2003, 454), it was a somewhat effective strategy for inculcating in young Japanese peasants like Tobita a willingness to fight. In addition, the old Tokugawa pulp fiction novels like the *Chushingura* and *Hagakure*, stories that were initially meant to be somewhat of a joke and light popular entertainment that poked fun at the martial spirit of a samurai caste whose swords had all but rusted during the *Pax Tokugawa*, were dusted off, de-humoured and used as spiritual guidance for the peasant soldiers heading off to battle in the new Imperial Japanese Army and Navy. Many US servicemen found worn-out copies of the *Hagakure* on corpses of fallen Japanese infantrymen as they hopped from island to island on their way to Okinawa and Japan.

Seeing Yasukuni Shrine as a collective charm sheds new light on other devices that we found in the same closets and suitcases of the Japanese and American veterans we met, often in the company of Tobita's and Fujiki's drawings. Three of the most common mementos of Japan's war years are *senninbari, imon ningyo* and signed *Hinomaru* flags. The characters for *senninbari* are 1000, person and stitch. Often called Thousand Stitch Sashes, they were made by supporters of Japanese soldiers heading off to battle. Participants in the One Stitch Movement would make one stitch in a cummerbund, often prick their finger with the needle and leave a dollop of blood on their stich, and then pass the cloth to the next supporter. Based on the principle of contact magic, the charms were worn around the waists of soldiers under their uniforms and were believed by some to protect the body from harm. All the prayers and well wishes of the supporters would surround the soldier much as the spiritual force field emanating from Yasukuni Shrine enveloped and protected Japan. Indeed, Yasukuni Shrine is based on the same principle of magic as *senninbari* and can be productively viewed as a giant sash with 2.5 million stiches.

Another common magical charm used during the war to ward off evil was the *imon ningyo*, or comfort doll (Schattschneider 2005). Many peasant soldiers like Tobita were unmarried when they were first conscripted. Supporters would collectively produce small female cloth dolls that were often tucked behind *senninbari* before heading into battle. The idea was that these dolls would be the soldiers' brides and accompany them to Yasukuni Shrine if the soldiers were lost in battle. Marriage ceremonies of the dolls and their *eirei* grooms often occurred as side rituals to the deification processes at Yasukuni Shrine (Schattschneider 2005, 332). The *Yushukan*, the museum of war memorabilia attached to Yasukuni Shrine, holds many *senninbari* and *imon ningyo* pairs in their archive, which they periodically cycle through their museum display cases. Based on many visits and videotape interviews with the priests and patrons of Yasukuni Shrine and the *Yushukan,* we see *Senninbari* and *imon ningyo* play a neglected but prominent role in the wartime narratives of the organisers and guests of the museum.

One might assume that Tobita's post-war drawings and the above-mentioned wartime charms had little in common, that their proximity in personal collections was simply a result of their both being labelled in the minds of collectors as war memorabilia. However, there was more in common between the drawings and the charms. Signed *Hinomaru*, or Rising Sun flags, were also a common keepsake carried by soldiers into battle and later commissioned by American jailors and guards from their Japanese prisoners. During the war, members of Japanese soldiers' units would all sign silk, cotton or hemp Rising Sun flags, often in blood, and the soldiers would keep them close as they fought in battle. After getting wind of these devices during the war and later during the occupation, American jailors purchased Japanese flags at the Post Exchange, the retail store in Tokyo operated by the army for enlisted men and their families, and made their rounds of the Class-A cellblocks at Sugamo Prison to get signatures of the celebrity inmates. These continue to be prized keepsakes from their tours of duty in Japan, and many of them are displayed proudly and compared at the Sugamo Prison veterans' reunions we attend in the US. The Post Exchange also sold trading cards, much like baseball cards, with photographs and information about the 28 Class-A war crimes suspects on trial at the IMTFE, which likewise were circulated for signatures and sent or brought home after tours of duty and now are compared at reunions.

TRICKSTERS AND UNFINISHED BUSINESS

For Class-BC prisoners like Tobita Tokio who did not have the big names to collect as signatures, drawings and other keepsakes were all that were left to enter into the game of exchange with American jailors. Aside from the drawings, perhaps the most prized prisoner-produced souvenirs were small crafts that were ingeniously made from wood, cigarette packs, magazines and by rolling tissue paper and rice paste together into sticky strings and then weaving them into figurines, boxes and other objects, a traditional craft called *koyori*. Bill Barrette included many of these items in his exhibitions, and I videotaped the interactions between prisoners, guards and guests as they viewed the objects.

The transcript of one such exchange between George Picard and a guest provides a fascinating insight into the perceptions of the US collectors of these objects. Picard was a Sugamo jailor who had frequent contact with Tōjō Hideki. He is a cousin of Bill Barrette's and first introduced him to Sugamo Prison through his personal collection of artefacts, including Tobita's drawings. Picard and Bill's friend are looking down at a vitrine containing four cigarette cases, two made with tissue paper and the other two by carefully dismantling and reconstructing actual cigarette packs (Figure 9):

Picard: I carefully took the cigarettes out of the bottom and then gave it to him. It's too bad I can't handle that now, but you see that's just a piece of cardboard. That wasn't the same kind. But

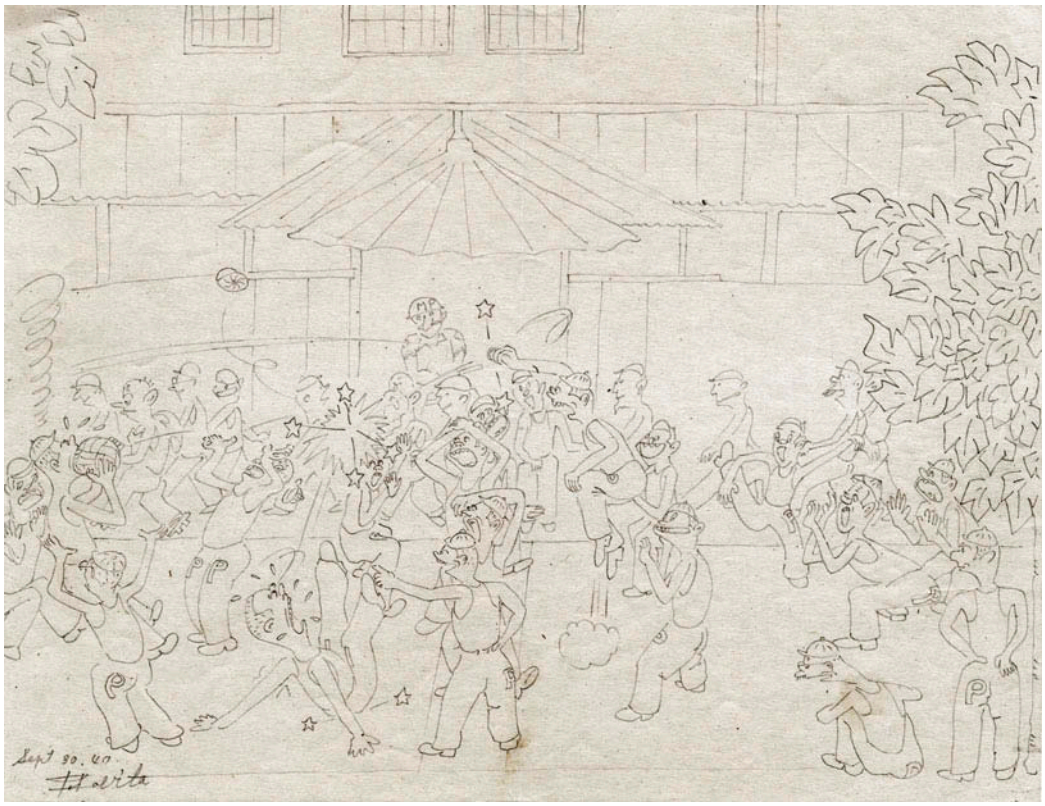

FIGURE 10. Tobita Tokio, volleyball game ball spike. Japan, 1947. Pencil on paper. 20.5 × 26.7 cm. Fujiki Fumio and Tobita Tokio collection, the Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library and Museum, Columbus, OH; no. CGA.SUG.1.007. Photograph courtesy of Bill Barrette.

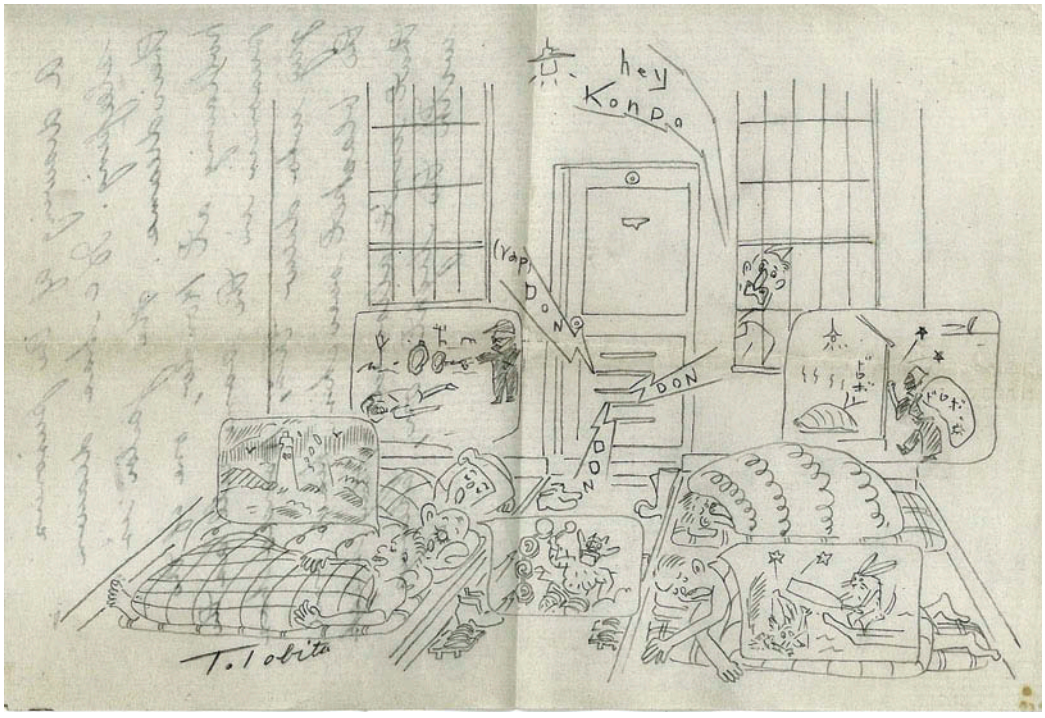

FIGURE 11. Tobita Tokio. Prisoner dreams. Japan, 1947. Pencil on paper, 15.7 × 23.2 cm. James P. Heindel collection. Photograph courtesy of Luke Heindel.

when you take this cover off, it actually pops. There's so much suction. It's so tight. And you can still read the fine print. And they didn't have any scissors. They folded it, creased it, and just tore it.

Guest: They had no tools at all?

Picard: No. [There is a pause as he looks at the object]. It's fascinating … they are very crafty people … They are very smart. [Shaking his head in amazement].

The interaction suggests a different way of looking not only at the crafts produced by Sugamo inmates but also at Tobita's drawings. Part of their magic, their charm, was that they congealed impressive performances. In Marcel Mauss' theory (2002), a gift is a way of extending oneself in space and time. A gift detaches a person's soul, in a sense, their agency, from their body and distributes it to recipients in little parcels. Art is a special category of gifts where the action of the creation of the artwork gets congealed and solidified in the objects of exchange. Because the creator's soul is distributed through the artwork, E.B. Tylor's theory of animism is at play (2010). Sir James Frazer's imitative and contagious magic is also at work, in that art pieces, of whatever variety, can usefully be treated within art nexuses as special kinds of animated spirits, what we call effigies, or more properly, fetishes, that not only imitate but also contain some effluvia of their creators (Frazer 1935). Gell (1992, 1998) proposed that when a recipient views a work of art, they abduct the agency of the artist. The recipient traces the steps of the production of the work in their mind and assesses the will and intentions, the skills and capacities, and the state of mind of the artist as they are congealed in the object.

Take the drawing 'Volleyball Game Ball Spike' (Figure 10) as an example. First assess the content of the drawing. At first glance, it looks like a synchronic snapshot of a volleyball game played in the prison yard. Lines have been drawn in the dirt. Prisoners stand in for the absent net. And an American guard looks over the prisoners, which are in an uproar over an accident with a spiked ball. Soon it becomes apparent that the piece is actually diachronic. There is a discernible sequence of events. A prisoner to the right of the human net has launched himself into the air leaving a dust cloud and rocket thrust under his feet. He twirls his hand a couple of times and blasts the ball across the net, leaving stars from the impact from his hand. The ball smashes into the face of a prisoner on the other side, leading to another blast and exploding stars. The impact shoots the opponent's hat skyward as he falls to the ground with a thud, dizzy, eyes bulging and sweat shooting from his brow. The ricocheted ball lodges into the gaping mouth of another player, as his side throws up their hands in disgust, and the other side cheers with glee. Onlookers laugh and grin, while others in the background parade by nonplussed.

Now look at the image again. This time, set aside the content, that is, do not think about the performance of the volleyball players. Think rather of Tobita's performance. How did Tobita make the drawing? Where did he start? Did he start with the foreground or the background? If he started with the background, how did he know what spaces to leave blank for the unfolding ball spike and the surrounding players? Remember, there are no erasures. If he started with the foreground, how did he know where to leave spaces for the middle ground players, where most of the action takes place? As you look, you might realise he probably started with the first event, the prisoner on the right leaping off the ground, perhaps even with the dust cloud he left in his wake. He then drew upwards showing the prisoner spiking the ball. Then there is a long expanding arc that Tobita was careful to indicate that the hat flew behind. Tobita next probably drew the facial impact burst and stars, the trajectory of the prisoner falling to the ground and his expression when he lands. Next came the ball flying into the teeth of the opponent. And then Tobita drew the various other players, the net men, the onlookers, the background parade including Yoshihisa Kuzu just next to the guard, the prison wall and then the paulownia trees that framed the scene, which incidentally figured prominently both in Tobita's work and in Yoshio Kodama's prison diary. Aside from the main action, it is especially worth noting the expressions on the prisoner just below and to the right of the face impact burst as well as the prisoner leaning back and watching the hat fly into the air. They express sheer pandemonium through their body and facial contortions.

It was difficult to get answers from the American jailors as to why exactly they were so attracted to Tobita's artwork. American men from their generation, especially those who joined the military, are rather macho and do not 'talk about art' much. Even the phrase bothered them. Yet, they would pass the drawings around at reunions and spend a great deal of time looking at them. Often, when they emerged from the drawings, they would strike up a conversation that centred on some content or peripheral issue, like, 'do you remember being stationed in those watchtowers? Boy, it was cold in the winters', or some other innocuous issue. If they did talk about the drawings in ways that did not focus simply on the content, it was usually about how talented

Tobita was, how he was able to pull off so many drawings on demand, on such short notice, and in mere seconds or at most minutes. They were as amazed by Tobita's facility with a pencil as they were with the subject matter he came up with to please them.

In this way, Tobita's performances worked as counterpoint to the performances depicted in the content of the drawings. There was a growing discourse late in the war and during the American occupation both among Americans and Japanese that Japan bumbled its way into and through the war. Incompetent political, military and business leaders had driven Japan into a war that they lacked the capacity to win. Poor Japanese peasant soldiers like Tobita, with faulty equipment, confused orders, and insufficient training had bungled one campaign after another. In a striking way, Tobita's drawings confirmed the suspicions of Japanese incompetence while resurrecting, through his own impressive artistic performances, the underlying talents of the Japanese. Tobita's drawings attracted American servicemen at first because they depicted what the Americans suspected, that the Japanese were prone to failure. Yet, the drawings kept the servicemen looking long enough to realise that they were not all that deficient, in Picard's words, that 'they were very crafty, very smart'.

Recipients of Tobita's drawings had little choice but to trace his steps. The lines of his drawings trapped them first in the figures that he presented to them, images of men bungling through a variety of activities. But the visual space that he designed for them also trapped them in the presence of his own artistic talent, in his talent not to bungle through things, but to execute them expertly and without flaw. In this way, Tobita's drawings can be viewed as conceptual puzzles. Their complexity sutures attention similar to how Indian *kolams*, labyrinths, mazes or even dreamcatchers ideally preoccupy a viewer (Gell 1998, 84). Like other complex charms, Tobita's drawings warded off evil by trapping the gaze. They forced jailors to settle into them, to follow the lines where they led and to only re-emerge after some time, after the magic had taken effect, after the jailors had merged with the mind of Tobita the artist, and a new and improved regard for him and his fellow inmates was achieved.

Tobita's drawings both overlapped and differed substantially from *ema, senninbari, imon ningyo* and *Hinomaru* flags. Though, like the wartime charms, they were subliminally designed to protect individuals, unlike the wartime charms, the individuals they were designed to protect were not the recipients but the givers. One can think of Tobita's drawings as inversions of *senninbari* or signed *Hinomaru* flags. Instead of 1000 individuals making a *senninbari* or 25 individuals signing a *Hinomaru* flag, one man, Tobita Tokio, made 1000 charms to protect himself and his fellow inmates. He did so by literally charming his recipients, perhaps restoring the original meaning of the word 'charm'. Tobita's circulation of the drawings among American servicemen challenged the inhumanity of the wartime and prison experiences. All sides were forced to deal with painful images, as the evidence presented in the IMTFE and Yokohama courtrooms mounted and became well known. Because of the drawings, American jailors saw Tobita and his fellow inmates in a new light with perhaps more admiration and respect. The notion that all war crimes suspects were bloodthirsty killers slowly evaporated in the context of Tobita's artistic exchange.

On a structural level, Tobita expressed to us how liberating it was to do the drawings. He never put it in exactly the terms laid out here, but he did stress how much his psychological turmoil was alleviated by producing and gifting his art. It was curious why drawing and gifting was such a release for Tobita. It was as if he needed to get something off his chest, and circulating the drawings lifted his burden, especially when he was facing trial and punishment. Could it have been the same motivation that produced Yakuza *irezumi*? Many Yakuza street warriors wore full body tattoos as a kind of body armour. Perhaps, Tobita's work offered a slight variation on the theme that Gell (1993, 1998, 86) proposes for interpreting Polynesian tattoos, which in some cases were more offensive than defensive, a way of frightening and destabilising an opponent with the abducted flashes of pain experienced by opponents. For Japanese Yakuza, tattoos were designed to preserve the body by wrapping it in something of such complex and extreme beauty that no one would want to harm the wearer. Did Tobita create and circulate his art to protect himself? Did he believe it would be harder for the Americans to condemn him to death if he proved that he could do such good things with a pencil and paper? Perhaps, drawings gave Tobita a sense of bodily security and thereby relieved his anxiety.

Of course, the most obvious reason Tobita produced his drawings was that he simply wanted to befriend his jailors and perhaps play a part in patching up the ill will between his people and the Americans. But we also believe that some of the pleasure came from unshackling himself from the wartime institutions that got him into so much trouble and that led to his punishment as a war criminal. He was in prison to be reformed after all, that is, to develop a new character far from the mindset that produced the criminal mischief that landed him in

prison in the first place.[5] But how did the art achieve this end?

Part of the charm of charm making is that it is versatile. One simply needs to change the wish, the state of mind when the charm is produced, to get a different result. Japanese from all walks of life, on the political right and the political left, have transformed wartime charm making, especially the *senninbari*, putting them to new uses in the post-war environment. The American occupation reform programme, which was undercut somewhat with the 'reverse course' at the onset of the Cold War when many of the Class-A war crimes suspects were de-purged, released from Sugamo Prison and enlisted, like Yoshio Kodama, to battle the spread of communism in the East, did not set out to remake Japan into America's image. Rather, it simply transformed many existing Japanese institutions into new forms that the Japanese felt liberated them in some way from the darkness of the war years. Tobita's drawing practice exhibited a touch of that transformative value. Exchange became less about protecting loved ones in battle and more about making one's way within the new democratic institutions imposed by the Americans, including within Sugamo Prison. Tobita felt the pressure of being in a showcase institution and played his part in demonstrating to the world that the Japanese could reform while retaining Japanese traditions.

Like a great deal of art and exchange, Tobita's artistic oeuvre also created unfinished business between himself and his collectors, a business that continues to this day. Tobita came twice to the US to visit Bill Barrette's exhibitions and reunite with US servicemen he befriended 60 years earlier in Sugamo Prison. Like the rabbit, which gets one over on the wily fox as depicted in the dream of the sleeping Tobita in 'Prisoner Dreams' (Figure 11), Tobita could rest easier in his darkest days knowing that he had won over his enemies and turned them into long-time friends. It took us a long time to finally understand what this drawing was all about, when a new version with the letter on the back explained the message. Kondo, a cellmate of Tobita's, was one of the secret police Kempeitai officers originally responsible for filling Sugamo Prison during the war years with political prisoners opposed to the war. As Tobita dreamed of tricksters, Kondo suffered from a nightmare of a robber triggered by the American night watchmen rattling the door to get him to remove the blanket from his head. Tobita could also rest easier knowing that the leaders of wartime Japan were at least getting some of the punishment they were due.

NOTES

[1] For details of Tobita's trial and defence motion, see 'United States vs. Tobita Tokio', Case docket No. 212, record group 153 (SCAP) Box 816, National Archives, College Park, MD, USA.

[2] See Barrette (2013, 2004) for descriptions of the Sugamo Prison exhibitions he produced in New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia and our Sugamo project in general. See also Wakin (2004) for a *New York Times* article about the exhibitions and the symposia on the material held at Princeton University. The publication of the Sugamo material still faces financial obstacles. But the work of Fujiki Fumio and Tobita Tokio, the most important Sugamo visual artists, is now accessible at the Billy Ireland Cartoon Library and Museum at Ohio State University.

[3] This did not prevent a few intrepid American soldiers, at least three that we have identified so far, most notably Walter Hood, from smuggling in cameras and taking pictures within Sugamo Prison at great personal risk of being court-martialled with the potential for heavy prison time (Barrette 2013, 63).

[4] See Barrette (2013, 77) for a reproduction of Fujiki Fumio's 'Prisoners undergoing oral and anal exams'.

[5] Ironically, slapping, the charge that Tobita was convicted of in his trial and for which he spent 10 years at hard labour in Sugamo Prison, can be thought of as a kind of dark contact magic. Though it undercuts the theory of the power of Yasukuni Shrine in motivating soldiers to fight, the institution of superiors slapping subordinates, who would then turn around and slap their subordinates, all the way down the line of command to privates like Tobita slapping POWs, was often used as both proof of a dysfunctional military and a defence in Class-C war crimes trials centring on the mistreatment of POWs.

REFERENCES

Barrette, B. 2004. "Art and Exchange at Sugamo Prison, 1945–52: Visual Communication in American-Occupied Japan." *JPRI Occasional Paper No. 33*, October. Accessed July 8, 2013. http://www.jpri.org/publications/occasionalpapers/op33.html

Barrette, B. 2013. "Sugamo Life: Prison Arts under American Occupation, 1945–1952." *Impressions: The Journal of the Japanese Art Society of America* 34: 55–84.

Beato, F. 1986. *Once Upon a Time: Visions of Old Japan*. Introduction by Chantal Edel. Photography by Felice Beato and Baron Raimund Von Stillfried. Contributor Pierre Loti. Translated by Linda Coverdale. New York: Friendly Press.

Frazer, J. G. 1935. *The Golden Bough*. Vol. 12. 3rd ed. New York: MacMillan Company.

Gell, A. 1992. "The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology." In *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*, edited by J. Coote and A. Shelton. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gell, A. 1993. *Wrapping in Images: Tattooing in Polynesia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gell, A. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kidder Jr., J. E. 2007. *Himiko and Japan's Elusive Chiefdom of Yamatai: Archaeology, History, and Mythology*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Kodama, Y. 1951. *I was Defeated*. Tokyo: Robert Booth and Taro Fukuda Publishers.

Kodama, Y. 1960. *Sugamo Diary*. Tokyo: Radiopress.

Mauss, M. 2002. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. London: Routledge.

Nelson, J. 2003. "Social Memory as Ritual Practice: Commemorating Spirits of the Military Dead at Yasukuni Shinto Shrine." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62 (2): 443–467. doi:10.2307/3096245.

Reader, I. 1991. "Letters to the Gods: The Form and Meaning of Ema." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 18 (1): 24–50.

Schattschneider, E. 2005. "The Bloodstained Doll: Violence and the Gift in Wartime Japan." *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 31 (2): 329–356. doi:10.1353/jjs.2005.0058.

Tobita, T., and A. Okamura. 2011. *C* 級戦犯がスケッチした巣鴨プリズン [Sugamo Prison as Sketched by a Class-C War Criminal]. Tokyo: Soshisha.

Tylor, E. B. 2010. *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wakin, D. J. 2004. "Occupied by the U.S., and by Art." *New York Times*, July 28. Accessed December 5, 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/28/nyregion/occupied-us-art-mementos-postwar-prison-depict-turning-point-for-japan.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm