

TRAVELING ABROAD, WRITING NATIONALISM, AND PERFORMING IN
DISGUISE: PEOPLE ON THE JAPANESE COLONIAL BOUNDARIES, 1909-1943

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A DISSERTATION

in

East Asian Languages and Civilizations

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2016

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To my wife, Chialin Lee, and my son, Ryan Lai

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I first came to the University of Pennsylvania, I believed this is the best place for me to pursue my Ph.D. degree. Years later, I realized the University was not only the place where I achieved my Ph.D., but also the origin of where I began my journey in search of knowledge and truth. All of this comes from my mentor and advisor, Professor Ayako Kano. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to her for the relentless support of my Ph.D. study, for her patience, intelligence, solicitude, and immense knowledge. She not only guided me to the ways of teaching and researching, but also showed me what it is like to be a great scholar and teacher. She is the best mentor and a paragon of humanity. I would never have completed this dissertation and my Ph.D. study without her continuous support.

At the University of Pennsylvania, I also had the fortune to have Professor Frederick R. Dickinson and Professor Xiaojue Wang as my dissertation advisors. Professor Frederick R. Dickinson opened the door for a literary person, like me, to the field of modern Japanese History. His charming personality and intellectual guidance inspired me to become fascinated in history and helped me to think and see things in different ways. Professor Xiaojue Wang is one of the most knowledgeable scholars, who introduced me to the study of modern Chinese literature. It was in her class, I began working on Chinese literature and cinema. I am especially indebted to them.

My sincere thanks also goes to Professor Linda H. Chance, a model of generosity and responsiveness, who suggested thoughtful revisions for the dissertation and was always willing to help. I am deeply indebted to Professor David Spafford and Professor Julie Nelson Davis for their insightful suggestions, intellectual generosity, and enthusiastic inspiration throughout my study at Penn. I am also thankful to Dr. Paul Goldin, Dr. Nancy S. Steinhardt, Dr. Siyen Fei, Dr. Frank L. Chance, Dr. Hsiao-wen Cheng, and Dr. Jolyon Thomas for their extraordinary help and support. I would like to thank Dr. Molly Des Jardin, and Dr. Brian Vivier at the Van Pelt Library, who constantly offered their assistance and help for my research, and Linda Greene, Diane Moderski, and Peggy Guinan for their help over the years. I am also thankful to my M.A. thesis advisor, Professor Doris G. Borgen, at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and Professor Robert Tierney at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, for their warm encouragement and academic inspiration.

I am happy to acknowledge my colleagues and friends at Penn, without whom my graduate studies and dissertation writing would not have been so meaningful: Zhenzhen Lu, Jooyeon Hahm, Alex Martin, Harry Schley, Thaya Saxby, Kirsten Seuffert, Daria Melnikova, Frank Clements, Mark Bookman, Robert Heywood, and Gregory Loh. I also gratefully acknowledge the following sources of financial support. The Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations and School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania provided funding for my graduate study. For my summer research abroad, I was fortunate to receive the Cecilia Seigle Prize from the Japanese

Studies program at Penn. Without this generous financial support, I would not have completed my study and this dissertation.

I am grateful to my parents, Mai Xiu and Lai Rendi, and siblings, Lingzhen and Shuling, for their unselfish and unconditional support during these years. Finally, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my wife, Chialin Lee, who stood by me throughout this long journey, and to my son, Ryan Lai, whose sweetness and cuteness helped to cheer me up. They are my reasons for living.

ABSTRACT

TRAVELING ABROAD, WRITING NATIONALISM, AND PERFORMING IN DISGUISE:
PEOPLE ON THE JAPANESE COLONIAL BOUNDARIES, 1909-1943

Huang-Wen Lai

Ayako Kano

This dissertation investigates the relationships and discourse among “in-between” people under Japanese colonial rule. Featuring three case studies including literary travelers in Manchuria, colonial writers in Taiwan, and transnational performers in East Asia that each provide multiple evidentiary examples, this study is centered on three dimensions of colonial discourse that deliberately challenged normative identity, nationality, and coloniality: writing as empowerment of local authors, traveling as a project of identity and state building, and cultural performance as imperial propaganda. By examining specific instances in which colonial writers and performers such as Natsume Sōseki, Yosano Akiko, Satō Haruo, Nishikawa Mitsuru, and Ri Kōran in Taiwan and Manchukuo engaged in colonial discourse, this dissertation re-contextualizes and fully portrays the relationships between colonizer and colonized, empire and colonies and, most importantly, human beings and society.

Chapter One argues that Sōseki and Yosano’s travel writing not only reveals their ambition to shape the empire but also provides their opinions that reconstructed the borderlines of the Japanese empire. Chapter Two examines the views of colonial identity and binaries through Satō and Nishikawa’s journeys and literary works of Taiwan.

Chapter Three analyzes voices and performances from the semi-colonized territory of Manchuria, mainly through the discussion of cinematic representations of Japanese colonialism within the region. This chapter shows that Ri's cheerful cinematic image portrayed a different dimension of colonial conversation and created a multi-layer conversation between empire and the colonies, and temporarily pacified the tension and anxiety of the war-time period. The concluding chapter explores the question: What is the cultural legacy of the Japanese empire? By examining two Taiwanese colonial writers, Zhang Wenhuan and Long Yingzhong, and their literary works as well as their respective journeys to Tokyo for the first Greater East Asia Writers' Conference, I claim that their actions amplified colonized voices that attempted to create a counter-discourse from the empire's edges. To conclude, this dissertation demonstrates that one cannot fully understand colonial reality without acknowledging a multi-dimensional discourse between colonized, colonizer, and people in between.

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INTRODUCTION

Beyond the In-Betweenness

Colonial Stories of In-Betweenness

“I had become a fan of Kagi Nōrin from the moment the school played against Kanagawa Shōkō. I find myself somehow unwittingly moved to tears when I see the various ethnic groups such as Naichijin [Japanese], Hontōjin [Taiwanese], and Takasagozoku [Taiwanese aborigines] cooperating and striving for the same goal.

「僕は嘉義農林が神奈川商工と戦った時から嘉義びいきになつた、内地人、本島人、高砂族といふ変つた人種が同じ目的のため協同し努力してをるといふ事が何となく涙ぐましい感じを起こさせる。」

--Kikuchi Kan, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Aug. 22, 1931¹

In 1931, members of a high school baseball team from southern Taiwan, Tainan District Kagi Agriculture and Forestry Institute (Tainan Shūritsu Kagi Nōrin Gakkō 台南州立嘉義農林学校), abbreviated Kanō 嘉農, lined up and marched in the Kōshien

¹ Kikuchi Kan, “Moved to Tears: The Coordination of the Three Ethnic Groups” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, August 22, 1931.

stadium 甲子園 near Osaka for their first-ever competition in Japan's annual National High School Baseball Tournament. Team Kanō eventually advanced to the championship game. This inspiring story was rewritten and adapted to become the Taiwanese film *Kanō*, released in 2014. As a high school baseball team from the periphery, Kanō had become legendary for displaying the ability to advance to the center of the empire. Twelve years after team Kanō's tournament in Kōshien in 1931, a transnational film, *Sayon's Bell* サヨンの鐘 (*Sayon no kane*), was shown on the big screen in 1943. *Sayon's Bell* was based on a real incident in which a Taiwanese aboriginal girl, Sayon, drowned while helping her Japanese teacher carry luggage down a steep mountain path during a severe storm and became a symbol of Japanese patriotism. The two stories together with their adapted films, in fact, reveal a double-sided reality of Japanese coloniality.²

In contemporary cultural studies, as Peter H. High has astutely observed and expanded from Japanese historian Narita Ryūichi's theory, Taiwan, the former Japanese colony, finds itself in an era in which the mainstream of research is about the "recognition of wild diversity of 'memory,' arising from the varied experience of the witnesses."³ Those witnesses' diverse memories are deemed not only as the basic documents and texts of Japanese colonialism, but also as resources for diverging

² The double-sided reality consists of fictional realism and colonial realism. Fictional realism often comes from literary works which depict the authors' visions and observations, while colonial realism is largely described by the official views and records. "Fictional realism" is a term that appeared in David Dewei Wang's book *Fictional Realism in Twentieth-Century China: Mao Dun, Lao She, Shen Congwen*. Wang interprets modern Chinese writers' fictional works as embodying literary realism. I borrow this term here in order to explain the different "realities" that appeared in the colonial space.

³ Peter B. High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), XXV.

interpretations of colonial realities. Present-day cultural and historical studies in Japan, as High has further explained, interpret these official documents, private texts, and public materials “not for the purpose of condemnation (or exculpation), but for the purpose of clarification.”⁴ The trend of Japanese historical studies on the war-time period did not undergo sudden, radical changes. Instead, it changed gradually following the tendencies of society from post-1945 to the present time.

Roughly speaking, the first period of research in Japan, according to High and Narita’s assertion, dated from 1945 to the 1960s. While people still had memories about how “We Japanese” [*wareware kokumin* われわれ国民] had suffered during the catastrophic war, scholars tended to think about the questions of who and what were to blame for the tragedies. The research during this time period was full of a “victim consciousness,” and the scholarship was strongly influenced by the Marxist perspective. From around 1960 to the early 1990s, Japanese scholars no longer focused on looking for the responsibility of the war by blaming others. Instead, they tended to be imbued with a “We-the-Victimizers” [*kagaisha* 加害者] consciousness and explored Japan’s aggression and cruelties toward its colonies. As current research trends often shed light on previous histories with new evidence and interpretations, cultural studies and film studies generally follow these new trends and look for new interpretations of the previous narratives of the colonial empire.

⁴ Ibid.

The 2014 film *Kanō* further advanced from the consciousness of being victimized and the sense of being victimizers, and is a clear parallel to the current trend of Japanese colonial studies, which seeks to provide a new sense of clarification to the history of the colonies. Unlike most previous films which often address the brutality and inhumanity of Japanese colonialism, *Kanō*—a 2014 Taiwanese film—tells an inspiring story of the colonial period. In *Kanō*, with “sports” as the main theme, the director Chih-Hsiang Ma focuses on the bright side of the empire. While the film does not glorify Japanese colonialism, it does offer a view of colonial harmony by eliminating the images of powerless colonized subjects. As Andrew D. Morris has pointed out, the actual baseball team *Kanō* was especially significant at this historical moment because of “its triethnic composition.” The starting nine players of the *Kanō* team in 1931 consisted of three ethnic groups, including four Taiwan aborigines, two Han Taiwanese, and three Japanese players.⁵

Significantly, one year before this *Kanō* team advanced to Kōshien, one of the bloodiest rebellions of Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period—the Musha incident of 1930—erupted among the aboriginal tribes in central Taiwan. The rebellion killed more than 130 Japanese and approximately 700 Taiwanese aborigines were killed or committed suicide.⁶ The impact of this incident was huge. Before it occurred, Musha was

⁵ See Andrew D. Morris, *Colonial Project, National Game: A History of Baseball in Taiwan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 31.

⁶ The Musha Incident was the most notorious rebellion in the Japanese colonial history of Taiwan. It was triggered by the Japanese rulers’ discrimination against the aborigines. In early October of 1930, a Japanese police officer patrolled through a tribe of Taiwanese aborigines who were holding a wedding ceremony. The groom of the ceremony offered the police officer a traditional glass of wine, but the police officer refused and insulted the groom and other

a point area for implementing Japanese policies toward the aborigines. Although the Japanese colonial government had this area under surveillance, the incident still occurred, with the degree of resentment reached its peak among the Seediq tribe when the Chief, Mouna Rudao, believed he was insulted by a Japanese police officer and attacked the Japanese residences. After this uprising, the Japanese authorities were forced to make an overall change in aboriginal policy. As Jonathan Manthorpe has observed, “the incident was deeply troubling for the Japanese, especially because the hints that the Taiwanese porters at least knew of the plans and slipped away from the scene. An alliance between Taiwanese and the aborigines would have been a severe threat to the Japanese rule.”⁷ The incident made the Japanese colonial government rethink its discriminatory rules toward the Taiwanese aborigines.

Given the desire of repairing the relationship with the aboriginal tribes, the successful story of team Kanō provided a great opportunity for the Japanese authorities to fix the problem at the time. As Morris has claimed, “the game of baseball was one of the most transformative and assimilative forces in colonial Taiwan,”⁸ and the inspiring Kanō team advancing in a nationwide baseball tournament, in fact, shifted the focus away from the Musha incident and further symbolized the cooperation between the Japanese and the colonized subjects (especially the Taiwanese aborigines).

tribesmen. This event became the direct cause of the Musha incident. The Japanese immediately sent an army to suppress the rebellion. It took three weeks to suppress it.

⁷ Jonathan Manthorpe, *Forbidden Nation: A History of Taiwan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 175.

⁸ Morris, *Colonial Project, National Game: A History of Baseball in Taiwan*, 32.

In addition, although the film *Kanō* avoids the complex issue of identity in its story, the real Kanō team actually brought up the confrontation between “Japanese” and “Taiwanese” within the empire. This issue will be further discussed in the conclusion. Yet the Kanō story still functioned as a remedial bridge between the empire and the colonized, and could be seen as a wonderful and timely propaganda of Japanese colonialism. The team Kanō was eventually defeated by the powerful Japanese high school team Chūkyō, and finished second place in the tournament, which, as Morris notes, “was perhaps the perfect ending for Japan’s baseball world.”⁹ After the Chinese Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang (also Guomingdang or KMT), took over Taiwan in 1945, the legend of Kanō gradually faded away until the recent revival of interest. Nevertheless, the 2014 Taiwanese film *Kanō* represented a departure from the previous films depicting Japanese colonialism in which the former focus of “We-the-Victims” and “We-the-Victimizers” have been replaced by the senses of nostalgia and reminiscences of the “good old days” of the empire.

Stories such as Kanō and Sayon, which were told by the witnesses and created/recreated based on their colonial experiences, are frequently interpreted into different versions. Under Japanese colonial rule, many writers, performers, and travelers—whether voluntarily or forced—strived to describe their own experiences through the genres of literature and film. Yet their stories did not propose a single or official view based on the power relations of colonial hierarchies, but actually showcased

⁹ Ibid., 39.

multiple dimensional conversations between the colonizers and colonized under Japanese rule.

As the opening quote shows, when the prominent Japanese writer Kikuchi Kan (1888-1948)¹⁰ commented on team Kanō's final championship game at Kōshien, he emphasized one point: the multi-ethnic composition of the team. As a matter of fact, this was not only Kikuchi's personal impression. Kikuchi Kan's viewpoint represented a large proportion of the Japanese at that time. Morris has indicted that "Newspaper reporters fawned on these Taiwanese 'barefoot spirits' and their 'lion-like spirit of bravery and struggle' that marked them as the newly (if just barely) civilized product of a successful colonial model."¹¹ The newspaper reports showed the trace of power relations and the impact of colonial hierarchies on mass media. In addition, similarly to how Kikuchi Kan viewed the Taiwanese baseball team, the version that was told from the empire/colonizer stance was inevitably in favor of Japanese colonialism. On the other hand, following current research trends, the film *Kanō* tells a colonial story that does not emphasize the multi-ethnic composition of the players, but rather the interactive situation of both the empire and the colony. The Japanese coach and the Japanese, Han-Taiwanese, and Taiwanese-aboriginal players indeed belong to the people-in-between in the colonial empire at this moment. This dissertation explores these kinds of stories as well as the

¹⁰ Kikuchi Kan 菊池寛 (1888-1948) was a famous writer and a screenplay writer. He was also an entrepreneur. Kikuchi established a famous publishing company, Bungeishunjū 文芸春秋, and created both the Akutagawa Prize and Naoki Prize for literary works.

¹¹ Morris, *Colonial Project, National Game: A History of Baseball in Taiwan*, 32.

people who were caught in-between the boundaries of the empire, and interprets new evidence not for the purpose of condemnation, but for the purpose of clarification.

Trends in Japanese Studies

While they do show similar progress in terms of developing new ideas in different phases, what Peter High has elaborated regarding the trends of colonial and cultural studies in Japan takes different routes compared to that of the English-language scholarship of modern Japanese history from 1945 to the present. In the early years, the pioneer scholar E. Herbert Norman provided a relatively dark version of Japan's modernity and modernization in which the peasants suffered, the samurai class who once controlled the entire country was overthrown under the slogan of modernity, and the aberrant politics and militarism finally brought the autocratic state to World War Two. Norman's approach to modern Japanese studies can be seen as the earliest trend—the Marxist interpretation—in English-language scholarship around and after 1945. Norman, however, was not a Marxist scholar, although his works do represent a left-leaning scholarship which echoed the other Japanese Marxist scholars at that time.¹²

The Marxist interpretation of Japanese history often emphasizes two aspects: first, the early modern period of Japan was evil and feudal, and second, the Japanese empire

¹² See E. Herbert. Norman, *Feudal Background of Japanese Politics* (New York: AMS Press, 1978).

and the emperor system (*tennōsei* 天皇制) were full of the remnants of feudalism.¹³

Scholarship on Japan during the war-time and occupation periods tended to agree with the mainstream Marxist interpretation of the evil and feudal elements of Japan. However, other scholars argued that the Marxist interpretation is actually a western ideology that cannot be fully applied to Japan. As the result, the next approach of modern Japanese history studies—the modernization theory—emerged.¹⁴

Historians who were not satisfied with Marxist theory brought western modernization theory to Japan around the early 1960s. The Hakone conference¹⁵ in Japan in 1960 is often regarded as the inception of the modernization school of Japanese history studies. A group of historians attending the conference, including such people as Marius Jansen and John Hall, believed that the scholars of Japanese history should take a systematic and positive approach to Japan's modernization process. Moreover, they tried to convince Japanese scholars to offer their models of Japanese modernization to other countries and territories as good examples. Marius Jansen, one of the leading American scholars of Japanese history, chronologically portrayed a positive Japanese story of modernization in his works. Jansen claims that "In Japan, as elsewhere, there was no lack

¹³ The Japanese emperor system (*tennōsei* 天皇制) is based on a spirit in which the Japanese emperor (*tennō*) is the highest leader who has the absolute authority.

¹⁴ See Carol Gluck, "The People in History: Recent Trends in Japanese Historiography." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 38, no. 1 (November 1978): 25-50. Gluck has indicated that the emergence of modernization theory had a close relationship with the Cold War policy and Japan's high growth economic policy of the 1960s.

¹⁵ The Hakone conference was organized by the members of the Conference on Modern Japan, which was an activity of the Association for Asian Studies. Also see Harry Wray and Hilary Conroy, *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 11-12.

of alternatives and of contingencies, human, national, and international.”¹⁶ Jansen shows how Japan as a nation was constantly progressing in every aspect including economics, military affairs, literature, education, social organization and both high and popular cultures.¹⁷ Jansen’s theory confirms that Japan’s success in economy and society during the postwar period largely relied on its successful modernization progress.

Yet the modernization school, like the Marxist school, is by no means a completely successful endeavor. To many scholars, it is not convincing that Japan’s modernization experience can be used as a positive model for other countries. The modernization school claims that once an alleged modern society appears, the nation has been successfully modernized. This hypothesis often leads to a successful end only. As a result, modernization scholarship often produces a happy “dead end” that does not present the full vision of various possibilities. Consequently, a new type of scholarship focusing on the issues of modernity emerged and became mainstream in the 1980s and 1990s. This modernity scholarship does not portray the extreme darkness of Tokugawa society as much as the Marxist historiography does. However, modernity scholarship does not completely agree with what the modernization school would claim, i.e. that there is always a sweet fruit after the process of modernization, either. Modernity scholarship turns its attention to several challenging questions regarding the relations between state and society in which modernization is in progress.

¹⁶ Jansen, Marius B. “Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization.” In *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization*, 1965. 44.

¹⁷ See Jansen, Marius B. *The Making of Modern Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.

The pioneer scholar of the modernity school—Sheldon Garon—shows us the double-sided consequences of social/state problems during Japan’s modernization progress in the 20th century. For instance, Garon points out that while gender problems, such as women’s social positions and rights in patriarchal society, made substantial progress in the modern society of Japan, Japanese women implicitly became a governmental tool and “serve[d] as the state’s agents for daily life improvement.”¹⁸ The modernity school focuses on the complex relationship between society and state. While the progress of modernization brings many advantages, there are also drawbacks beneath the surface.

The trends of Western scholarship on Japanese history may not completely overlap with what High has observed about the tendencies of historical, cultural, and film studies in Japan. This dissertation does not necessarily follow any of the above schools, but will take these different perspectives as supplementary as I develop the theory of “in-betweenness” through case studies on Japanese colonialism.

Colonial Studies and In-Betweenness

In recent decades, a growing body of scholarship has examined such essential aspects of Japanese colonialism and imperialism as identity, race, and border crossing.

¹⁸ Garon, Sheldon. “Rethinking Modernization and Modernity in Japanese History: A Focus on State-Society Relations.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 2 (1994): 362.

For example, historians such as Louise Young, Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie have shown how the imperial periphery influenced Japan's internal development, thus shaping the empire's political, economic, and cultural dimensions.¹⁹ Additionally, scholars such as Faye Kleeman and Leo Ching have examined the impact of imperialism through the interpretation of literature and have shown how writing portrayed colonized subjects' identity struggles vis-à-vis Japanese colonial policy.²⁰ Such studies, however, have mostly presented a one-dimensional view of Japanese coloniality: While significant progress has been made to render Japanese colonialism visible as historical narrative, and while it has been clearly shown how the colonized were assimilated and how the colonizer dominated, scholars have not yet fully developed a comparative framework that examines how both ruler and subject were largely situated "in between" these colonial discursive positions.

To fill this gap, this study counters the theories of Frantz Fanon²¹ and Albert Memmi,²² which view colonialism as built on psychological identity struggles between two mutually exclusive groups—the colonizer and the colonized—proposing instead a

¹⁹ Peter Duus takes Japan's annexation of Korea as an example to claim that Japan was a "backward or follower country" and that Japanese imperialism was after all "an act of mimesis" in *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910*. Louise Young gives a great sense of the so-called "metropolitan effects" in her book *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, in which she tells how Manchuria became the center of the empire building project.

²⁰ See Leo T S. Ching's *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* and Faye Yuan Kleeman's *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*. Both discuss the issues of colonial identity through historical and literary interpretations.

²¹ See Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 1967.

²² See Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1991.

multi-dimensional view of colonialism that expands Homi K. Bhabha's notion of various possibilities for colonial subjects as they encounter different cultures.²³ In this way, this study will describe more accurately the relationships and discourse among “in-between” people under Japanese colonial rule.

While recent scholarship in Japanese history such as Jun Uchida's *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945* and Eiichiro Azuma's *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* explores the complexities of empire, the issue of “in-betweenness” remains not fully discovered.²⁴ The lack of a neutral position of “in-between” in Japanese colonial studies, especially within literary and cultural analysis, limits the point of view to either the positive perspective of empire or the negative pictures of colonialism—resulting in fixed scenarios and the immobilization of inquiry. This study seeks to move beyond this restrictive binary—specifically in regard to studies of colonial border crossing—by examining particular instances in which writers and performers in Taiwan and Manchukuo engaged in colonial discourse, thereby re-contextualizing and fully portraying the relationships between ruler and ruled, empire and colonies and, most importantly, human beings and society. Through this project, it is my intention to answer

²³ See Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.

²⁴ See Uchida, Jun. *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011, and Azuma, Eiichiro. *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

the question of how “in-between” actors responded to Japanese colonialism, and how they communicated between the center and peripheries of the Japanese empire.

Featuring three case studies that each provide multiple evidentiary examples, this project is roughly centered on three dimensions of colonial discourse that deliberately challenged normative identity, nationality, and coloniality: writing as empowerment of local authors, traveling as a project of identity and state building, and cultural performance as imperial propaganda.²⁵ Through close examination of historical events, writers and travelers caught “in between,” and performers disguised in colonial masks, this project challenges the concept of a one-dimensional Japanese colonial experience—that of domination, cooperation, assimilation, and oppression—and uncovers through literary and cultural analysis a multi-dimensional perspective of discourse.

Empire Studies and Historical Background

As an attempt to explore this framework of “in-betweenness,” this study uses the concept of empire building/state building to theoretically reconceive Japanese colonialism. The study of empire has become one of the most active fields in modern Japanese history studies in recent decades. The issues around empire building and nation-state building are often examined through different perspectives. While sometimes

²⁵ I discuss the actions and reactions of colonial writers, travelers, and movie stars respectively to fulfill these three dimensions of colonial discourse.

different scholarship examines a similar period of time, their conclusions are almost completely inconsistent with each other.

While scholars trace the origin of Japanese colonial expansion, W. G. Beasley tells us that imperial expansion needs no reason, and the Japanese informal empire, which originated from the West, was relatively weak, dependent, and feudal.²⁶ Moreover, Peter Duus further confirms that the Japanese empire was an unexpected empire because it arose naturally.²⁷ The idea of Japan as a mimetic empire—an Asian empire which completely imitated the operations of Western empires—was confirmed again by Robert Eskildsen when he developed the terminology “mimetic imperialism” to explain the rise of the Japanese empire in Asia.²⁸ Louise Young, on the other hand, astutely argues that the Japanese empire was a “total” empire with multiple dimensions including the colonies, and that the center was not necessary in its metropolis.²⁹ Janis Mimura seconded Young’s idea of the “total empire” and has added that Manchuria was actually the center of opportunity in which the Japanese middle class bureaucrats were able to develop a technocratic fascism and create a self-sufficient Asian empire. These ideas on empire provide the background and theoretical information for this dissertation.

²⁶ See Beasley, W. G. (William G.). *Japanese Imperialism 1894-1945*. Oxford [Oxfordshire]: Clarendon Press, 1987.

²⁷ See Duus, Peter. *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

²⁸ See Eskildsen, Robert. “Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan’s 1874 Expedition to Taiwan.” *AHR* 107, no. 2 (2002): 388–418.

²⁹ See Young, Louise. *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

As victor in both the Sino-Japanese War (1894–5) and Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), Japan began to extend its power and territory throughout East Asia. Specifically, the Japanese empire officially acquired its first colony, Taiwan, in 1895 and became the dominant military and political power in Manchuria in 1906 through the South Manchuria Railway Company (or Mantetsu). Within the new territories, certain cultural events—e.g., the Greater East Asia Writers’ Conference 大東亜文学者大会 (*Dai Tōa Bungakusha Taikai*),³⁰ held annually from 1942 to 1944—played significant historical roles by functioning as medium of colonial relations. Although such events were strongly supported by colonial institutions, implicating them in the production of political and military propaganda, they also provided Japan’s peripheral subjects with a valuable platform for expression and shed light on the relationship between empire and colonies. Noteworthy historical occurrences, such as visits to Manchuria by Japanese writers Natsume Sōseki and Yosano Akiko in 1909 and 1928, respectively, and the notorious Nihon Gekijō incident of 1941 in which the Manchurian film star Ri Kōran attracted the attention of the Japanese public, have much to tell us about colonial cultural relations and will be examined in this study.

Crossing between the center of the Japanese empire and its periphery, travelers, writers, and performers played important roles as not simply “colonizers” or “colonized” but as actors “in between” these two identity poles. On the basis of research into areas such as culture, identity, nationalism, and empire, I organize this project around three

³⁰ The discussion of the Greater East Asia Writers’ Conference 大東亜文学者大会 can be found in Chapter Two.

principle discussions concerning the Japanese colonial boundaries: cultural events, transnational writers and travelers, and transcultural performance.

Japanese Colonial Literature and Film

During the last few decades, a growing body of English-language scholarship, such as W. G. Beasley's *Japanese Imperialism, 1894-1945* (1987) and Peter Duus' *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895-1937* (1989), has discussed the Japanese empire using theoretical and historical approaches developed through the lens of Western imperialism and colonialism. However, researchers like Leo Ching, Faye Yuan Kleeman, and Kimberly Kono are also increasingly examining Japanese colonialism through cultural and literary analysis and are conducting scholarship not from a Western perspective but from the perspective of the Japanese colonial periphery such as Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria. This group of English-language scholars distinguished themselves by shifting attention to the cultural dimension of Japanese colonialism and its legacy.

Using Taiwan as an example, these scholars attempted to demonstrate how Taiwanese colonial writers struggled with and vacillated between different identities (e.g., Japanese subject, Taiwanese resident, and Chinese descendant) through their literature, and their studies examined Taiwan's troubled experience under Japanese colonial rule through discussion of identity formation and analysis of its post-colonial

politics. Around the same time, other scholarly works echoed such studies and contributed further textual analysis of colonial writers, including both “Japanese” and those colonized by them. Such scholars as Robert Tierney argued that through colonial literature, one could catch a glimpse of contradictory visions of the colonial empire, ranging from complete rejection of Japanese colonial policy to acceptance of assimilation under Japanese rule. Adding to these early efforts, recent scholarship such as Faye Yuan Kleeman’s *In Transit: The Formation of the Colonial East Asian Cultural Sphere* (2014) and Bert Scruggs’ *Translingual Narration: Colonial and Postcolonial Taiwanese Fiction and Film* (2016) offers new cultural and literary interpretations of Japanese colonialism, including visions of identity, romance, family, marriage, and nation. Contemporary scholars are attempting to produce studies that are not necessarily wholesale rejections of Japanese colonialism but rather represent colonizing subjects’ various visions and fluctuating identities.

The aforementioned English colonial literary scholarship presents a mixed method of theoretical argument and literary interpretation in terms of Japanese colonial policy in Taiwan, while the follow-up works attempt to recuperate the discipline by showing how geography, culture, history, and politics could affect the creation of colonial literature in Taiwan. Recent scholarship, in turn, focuses on literary interpretation of Japanese colonialism and reflects varying visions of colonizing writers toward Japanese colonialism. While the earlier scholars paint a relatively dark picture of the Japanese empire, the follow-up scholarship identifies agency within its colonized subjects and shows hope for the future. Recent works, on the other hand, select Japanese

colonizer-writers as research subjects and also offer them agency through intensive literary interpretation. However, when compared to scholarship on modern Japanese literature, the literary productions of Japanese colonialism are still treated as “other”—an irregular subject out of the mainstream.

Comparing recent Japanese-language literary colonial studies with similar Chinese scholarship, while they both share some features with Western scholarship, it can be said that the Japanese efforts focus largely on Japanese colonization as the “big picture,” while Chinese studies emphasize the details of colonial life and legacy. Japanese scholars such as Kawamura Minato, Tarumi Chie, Fujii Shōzō, and Oguma Eiji have also played a significant role in establishing research models that influenced both Chinese and Western scholarship. Taking such recent scholarship as a foundation, this study demonstrates multi-dimensional conversations between the people who contested the boundaries of the Japanese empire by examining literature, history, and cinema, thereby contributing to pre-existing theoretical analysis and interpretation of Japanese colonialism.

This project draws from the methodologies of literature, history, and film studies, combining literary analysis of selected texts with archival research on publications and films in Japan, Taiwan, and Manchuria during the colonial and post-colonial periods. First, to elucidate the facts, implications, and ideas inherent in colonial writing, I examine the original texts of authors who wrote and lived in the Japanese colonial space, including Natsume Sōseki, Yosano Akiko, Satō Haruo, Zhang Wenhuan, Long Yingzhong, and Nishikawa Mitsuru. Moreover, other primary sources such as newspapers (e.g., *Taiwan*

nichinichi shinpō 台湾日日新報, *Asahi Shimbun* 朝日新聞, *Yomiuri shinbun* 読売新聞, *Shen Bao* 申報) and magazines (e.g., *Literary Taiwan* 文芸台湾 and *Taiwan Literature* 台湾文学) also constitute an essential portion of my archival research. In addition to such written texts, I also analyze Ri Kōran's films (e.g., *Sayon's Bell* サヨンの鐘 (1943) and *Ying Chun Hua* 迎春花 (1942)) as well as several political films produced by the Manchukuo Film Association between 1937 and 1945. In terms of secondary source material, Western, Japanese, and Chinese theoretical scholarship in literature and history form the core of my research.

Synopsis: Travelers, Writers, Performers, and Their In-Between Years

Japan's imperial project and colonial expansion involved various people and groups including the major players—writers, travelers, and performers—of this dissertation. Those major players—whether voluntarily or not—provide their visions and observation through their works on Japanese colonialism, the empire, and the people. Many of the players were not simply colonizers or colonized, but were the people in between the boundaries of empire. They played under the powers of colonial strategies, policies, and regulations. This focus on “in-between” people sets my project apart from those by other recent scholars. Mark Driscoll, for example, has sketched a blueprint to

describe how the Japanese empire rose to be a world power in only several decades.³¹ Identifying Japan's political and capital expansions, he periodizes the stages of empire into three phases: biopolitics, geopolitics, and necropolitics. In Driscoll's blueprint, human bodies—including coolies, pimps, human traffickers, farmers, and sex workers—all become strategic commodities of the colonial empire.

While these “bodies” transformed into different figures—from kidnapped women sex workers to comfort women; from pimps to state-sanctioned advisers; from coolies to forced laborers—in different phases, the main players in Driscoll's scheme are in fact all the capitalists' and imperialists' commodities. In this dissertation, the main players are literary writers, colonial travelers, and cinematic performers. The players in this dissertation are not colonial commodities that accumulated capital for the empire, as Driscoll would argue. Rather, they are privileged individuals who lived in the colonial boundaries, described what they have experienced, and offered suggestions regarding the empire, the colonies, and the people.

In this introduction, I have hinted at the diversity of colonial memory through a brief glimpse of the two films, *Kanō* and *Sayon's Bell*. I have also specified the groundwork of my thesis and explained my methodology—a literary approach to Japanese colonialism—which highlights my overall theme: the individuals caught “in between” various positions and the multi-dimensional nature of Japanese colonial discourse. As the scholarship of Japanese studies changed from time to time, the different

³¹ See Driscoll, Mark. *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1895-1945*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

research trends impacted scholars' thoughts on the empire and colonialism as well as literature and culture.

Chapter One and Chapter Two will discuss the two types of native Japanese literary travelers who influenced the empire during their visits to the *gaichi* (outside territories). By contextualizing such travel writings, I investigate the colonial ideas of the writers—whether from *naichi* (inner territory) or *gaichi*—in order to discover how the colonial space was portrayed and interpreted, as well as how such “spaces” metamorphosed and gradually shaped the people on the boundaries. It is my contention that examination of literary works from both the center and the colonies can reveal a more accurate picture of such “in-between” people.

Chapter One—“Travel as Colonial Strategies”—focuses on the first group of literary travelers who journeyed to Manchuria before 1931. The first group of famous writers—such as Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916) and Yosano Akiko 与謝野晶子 (1878–1942)—traveled to the colonial frontier with various motivations and shared their opinions and observations on the empire and colonies through their writing (e.g., ideas on nationalism, reflections on exotic places, encounters with “pitiful aborigines”). Regarding this group of writers, I argue that their travel writing not only reveals their ambition to shape the empire through their unique literary nationalism but also touches upon political, social, and cultural debates and provides their opinions that reconstructed the borderlines of the Japanese empire.

After the Russo-Japanese war ended in 1905, Manchuria formally became an important oversea base of the empire of Japan. The Japanese relied on the South Manchuria Railway not only to develop the new lands of Manchuria, but also to connect economic and political pipes between the island and the continent. Celebrities and writers were invited to see and write about the new lands in order to attract new immigrants from Japan and consolidate their control in semi-colonial Manchuria. As such, Natsume Sōseki and Yosano Akiko were invited to visit Manchuria at different periods of time. While these two writers had similar causes to travel to Manchuria, the results of their trips were not the same. In his travelogue, Sōseki's vision of Manchuria is relatively dark. He sees himself in trouble with the Japanese authorities (e.g., Mantetsu), but is obsessed with colonial power. On the other hand, Akiko portrays a beautiful and nostalgic image of the colony in her travel writings, but subtly distances herself from the otherness (e.g., the colony, the Chinese people). While they had different strategies to describe the relations between the colony and the empire, both travelers generated a sense of nationalism. Eventually, the two literary travelers were unintentionally able to use this literary nationalism to shape the empire.

We should keep in mind that the two literati's colonial travels can be treated as a type of empire-building project from the very beginning. The project put them in the position of in-betweenness in which they unconsciously practiced the national project in Manchuria. However, this national scale project of empire-building no longer existed by the time as the main players Satō Haruo and Nishikawa Mitsuru were stuck on their personal matters. Instead, the binary between *gaichi* (outer territories) and *naichi* (Japan

proper) which reveals the writers' uncomfortable feelings and sense of alienation in their travel writings and colonial literature, is the main discussion in Chapter Two.

Chapter Two—"Landscape in Binary"—compares two writers who went to Taiwan—the southern colony of Japan, rather than the northern territory of Manchuria: the literary traveler Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫 (1892-1964) and the colonial writer Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満 (1908-1999). Compared to the uncertain and blurred images of the Japanese colonial empire in its semi-colonized Manchuria in the north, the southern colony of Taiwan presented a different landscape that emphasized diversity rather than nationality to colonial writers. Unlike Sōseki and Akiko, Satō Haruo traveled to Taiwan without any official invitation from the government. Nevertheless, it does not mean Satō's trip was completely personal. The Japanese writer was treated very well and received gracious hospitality from the Japanese authorities in Taiwan. His voyage began with personal problems (i.e. a love triangle), but actually ended with a larger issue of national identity. After twenty-five years of colonization, the landscape of Taiwan was still full of clear shapes in Satō's eyes. Satō's portrayal of the colonial landscape not only comes from his personal imagination, but also implies a national view of gender, race, identity, and colonial policy.

Nishikawa Mitsuru's literary works were largely influenced by Satō. As one of the most important writers of colonial Taiwan, Nishikawa was not particularly popular in Japan. As a native Japanese who was born in the *naichi* but lived in the *gaichi*, Nishikawa tried to depict the colony using his "local consciousness." What Nishikawa represented in

the colonial landscape was a Japanese fabricated-Taiwanese-ness. Nishikawa had a close relationship with local Taiwanese writers, and was one of the representatives of Taiwan in The Greater East Asian Writers Conference. These facts made him a natural candidate to present Taiwan from the perspective of Japanese/colonizer. Nevertheless, Nishikawa and his works were still treated as “the other” compared to the local Taiwanese writers. By analyzing Nishikawa’s works, I work against the standard views on Nishikawa and his literature which is often seen as representing exoticism and romanticism, and as being full of the local taste of Taiwan. However, it is my contention that Nishikawa actually tried to blur the boundaries between the colonizer and colonized by masquerading his sense of Japanese/*naichijin* in his magnificent portrayal of Taiwanese local customs and culture. Satō and Nishikawa’s cases in Chapter Two shift the focus of this study from the national project of colonialism to the views of colonial identity and binaries in Taiwan. The two writers are the in-between people who were caught in the confrontation of national identity between *naichi* and *gaichi* in the Japanese empire.

Chapter Three—“Empire on the Screen”—analyzes voices and performances from the semi-colonized territory of Manchuria, mainly through the discussion of cinematic representations of Japanese colonialism within the region. Here I examine Manchukuo superstar Ri Kōran (1920–2014), also known by her Chinese names Li Xianglan (李香蘭) and Japanese name Yamaguchi Yoshiko (山口淑子), as well as her English name Shirley Yamaguchi, and her roles on the colonial boundaries between Manchuria and Japanese empire, and between Manchukuo and the Chinese world during the 1930s and 1940s. As a Japanese citizen born in China who was “marketed” as a

Chinese woman, Ri was an intriguing figure who represented not only the colonized subject but also the colonizer during her time in northeast Asia. I argue that through her complex identity and her disguised performance on screen as well as in public, she functioned as a medium for the advertisement of Japanese militarism and colonialism, for which her charm, mixed cultural background, and female figure made her the perfect vehicle. Further, Ri's cheerful cinematic image portrayed a different dimension of colonial conversation in an empire whose leaders exerted control through the big screen. While colonized subjects suffered from the psychological trauma of war and politics, and while colonizers exercised their power and authority, both colonized and colonizer at least experienced temporary relaxation and exchanged communications through mass media on the borderline.

Indeed, Ri's performance on the big screen during the final years of the Japanese empire was apparently to advertise their militarism and colonialism. Disguised by various identities and names, Ri Kōran was the most obvious example of the in-between people discussed in this dissertation. Ri was caught in-between the complexity of coloniality and the stardom of entertainment in which she was unable to state her own opinion and concealed her Japanese identity. She wore a colonial mask which kept her true identity hidden before the end of the war. Nevertheless, her excellent performance on the big screen created a multi-layer conversation between empire and the colonies, and temporarily pacified the tension and anxiety of the war-time period.

The concluding chapter—"Retreating From Empire: The Literati's Greater East Asia and Cultural Legacy"—explores the question: What is the cultural legacy of the

Japanese empire? I first briefly examine two Taiwanese colonial writers, Zhang Wenhuan 張文環 (1909–78) and Long Yingzhong 龍瑛宗 (1911–99), and their prize-winning literary works. I pay attention to their respective journeys to Tokyo in 1942 for the first Greater East Asia Writers' Conference, at which they served as representatives of the Taiwanese literary circle. The fact that these Taiwanese writers were considered members of the Greater East Asian literary world shows that Taiwanese were not excluded from the Japanese colonial discourse; on the contrary, the conference provided an opportunity for the Taiwanese literati to declare their positions and communicate with the center of the empire. Moreover, both writers' works won Japanese literary prizes under Japanese colonial rule. It is fair to say, then, that the conference in general and these particular awards not only displayed the diversity of Japanese colonial discourse but also conveyed messages from the colonial periphery to the empire's innermost territory. I argue that while certain literary events and the concept of "Greater East Asia" had, on the surface, everything to do with traditional notions of colonialism and discipline, in reality, they amplified colonized voices that attempted to create a counter-discourse from the empire's edges. While their participation in such propagandistic events linked them to collaboration with the Japanese, it cannot be ignored that these writers seized the opportunity to display their agency and speak for the people on the colonial margins.

I conclude this dissertation by illustrating the concept of "Japanese colonial legacy"—which still remains in twenty-first century Taiwan—and to reconceptualize Japanese colonialism through a postcolonial perspective. I continue to discuss the 2014 Taiwanese film *Kanō*, an evocative mixture of nostalgia and resistance to Japanese rule.

Evidence such as this film's complex portrayal of the colonial experience as well as literary commentary found in travel writing supports this study's claim that, while current Japanese colonial literary scholarship clings to a limited vision of Japanese colonialism and imperialism, one cannot fully understand colonial reality without acknowledging a multi-dimensional discourse between colonized, colonizer, and people in between.

CHAPTER 1

Travel as Colonial Strategies

1.1. Natsume Sōseki and Yosano Akiko's Literary Nationalism

In addition, the room gave off a strange odour. It was a clinging smell that the Chinese leave behind them on their departure and that persists, however hard the fanatically clean Japanese try to remove it.

其上室の中が妙な臭を放つ。支那人が執拗く置き去りにして行った臭だから、いくら綺麗好きの日本人が掃除をしたって、依然として臭い。

Natsume Sōseki, 1909¹

I had the sense that, on the whole, the prisoners—men and women both—seemed in better physical shape than the laborers we had seen in private homes; perhaps their standard light blue prison uniforms afforded them this air.

一体に囚人が男も女も民家に見る労働者より見綺麗に感ぜられたのは、その一定した浅葱色の囚人服のためであらう。

Yosano Akiko, 1928²

Following the victory in the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, the Japanese government acquired rights and properties in Manchuria from imperial Russia. One of the

¹ Natsume Sōseki, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki - Celebrating the Centenary of Sōseki's Arrival in England 1900-1902: With the First English Translation of Travels in Manchuria and Korea*, edited by Inger Sigrun Brodey and Sammy I. Tsunematsu (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2000), 126.

² Yosano Akiko, *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia: A Feminist Poet from Japan Encounters Prewar China*, translated by Joshua A. Fogel (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 45.

most important acquisitions was the right to operate the southern section of the China Far East Railway. In 1906, the Japanese empire founded the South Manchuria Railway Company, or Mantetsu, in order to operate the business of the railroad as well as promote Japanese imperialism in northeast China. As a type of propaganda, the company invited famous Japanese writers (and journalists) to visit Manchuria and travel on the railroad.

Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867-1916) was among the earliest group of writers who were invited to visit Mantetsu.³ Just like many other Japanese visitors who recorded their trips, Sōseki wrote a travelogue, *Mankan tokorodokoro* 満韓ところどころ (“Travels in Manchuria and Korea”) to depict his journey in 1909. Although Sōseki’s depiction of China and Manchuria in this travel writing was, arguably, full of negative points of view toward the Chinese people, the travel writing indeed brought public attention to the Japanese empire.

Nearly twenty years later, another famous Japanese writer, Yosano Akiko (1878-1942) was invited to travel on the Mantetsu together with her husband, Yosano Tekkan (1873-1935). After the trip, she wrote many essays and published them in installments entitled “Man-Mō no tabi” 満蒙の旅 or “The Journeys in Manchuria and Mongolia” in newspapers in 1928.⁴ These essays together with her poems and her husband Tekkan’s poetry were collected in *Man-Mō yūki* 満蒙遊記 or *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia*

³ The names are given in East Asian order, according to which the family name/surname comes first, followed by the personal name. I follow this East Asian order throughout this dissertation for Japanese and Chinese names.

⁴ Yosano Akiko published her travel experience in *Yokohama bōeki shinpō*, *Yokohama business news*.

and published in 1930. Unlike Sōseki's travelogue, Yosano Akiko's portrayal of China embraced the feelings of nostalgia and affection regarding the literature, scenery and history of China. While these travel writings depicted the landscape in entirely different ways, it can be said that not only did Sōseki's travelogue influence the Japanese audience at that time, but Akiko's essays impacted the Japanese empire as well.

These two Japanese writers were not the only writers who were invited to visit Manchuria or China at that time. Besides the writers who traveled in China by invitation of Mantetsu, many other famous Japanese writers such as Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892-1927), Yokomitsu Riichi (1898-1947), and Nakajima Atsushi (1902-1943) also traveled to China or other Japanese colonies, and wrote travelogues, essays, or novels to record their visits during the colonial period.⁵ Moreover, many of them also participated in the *Pen butai* ペン部隊 (Pen Corps)—a group of literati who were sent by the Japanese government to military fronts and colonies in order to support the military missions and attract public attention during the war. These writers wrote essays and articles to praise military actions and inspire Japanese soldiers and the subjects in the colonies. The literati who joined the first *Pen butai* included many famous writers such as Kikuchi Kan 菊池寛 (1888-1948), Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫 (1892-1964), Yoshikawa Eiji 吉川英治 (1892-

⁵ Akutagawa was invited by *Ōsaka mainichi shimbun* and went to China as a reporter in 1921. He later published a travelogue “Shina yūki” 支那遊記 and a short story entitled “Konan no ōgi” 湖南の扇 to describe this trip. Yokomitsu was influenced by Akutagawa and visited Shanghai in 1928, and later published a novel *Shanghai* in 1931. Nakajima spent several years living in Korea during his youth, and later visited Manchuria and worked in Nanyō (Micronesia). After Nakajima returned to Japan, he wrote a total of nine literary works, including “Nantōtan” (“Tales of the Southern Islands”) and “Kanshō” (“Atolls”), which were all based on his southern experience.

1962), Kojima Masajirō 小島政二郎 (1894-1994), Kitamura Komatsu 北村小松 (1901-1964), Hamamoto Hiroshi 濱本浩 (1891-1959), and Yoshiya Nobuko 吉屋信子 (1896-1973). These *Pen butai* writers' travels were widely reported by the mass media in both Japan and its colonies. According to Joan E. Ericson, the Ministry of Information included a total of "twenty-two popular writers who were to tour the front and write about the circumstances and sacrifices of soldiers for readers back home."⁶ Among these writers, Hayashi Fumiko 林芙美子 (1903-1951) along with Yoshiya Nobuko were the only two female literati who participated in the *Pen butai*.

Undoubtedly the Japanese writers' experiences of traveling in the frontiers gave them plenty of ideas and resources for their creative writings. Their journeys and literary works, of course, greatly impacted the Japanese audience and even people all over Asia. For instance, along with a series of newspaper reports, their writings were frequently published in *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*, so the Taiwanese were familiar with the journeys. The Taiwanese readers even knew that Satō Haruo wore a military uniform, carried a bag on his back, and held a fan with his right hand.⁷ While not every Japanese writer who traveled to the peripheries of the empire left written evidence through literary works, for those who did write something about their journeys, it is for sure that their travels and

⁶ Joan E. Ericson, *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 80. Ericson has indicated that there were a total of twenty-two writers in the first recruited "Pen Squadron" based on a captioned photograph of the dinner celebrating the departure of the group in *Tokyo nichinichi Shimbun* on September 7, 1938, 2. However, there was no official record to indicate the numbers of the Pen Squadron members.

⁷ According to a report on September 15, 1938 on the *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*, Satō dressed like this. The report depicted the leader, Kikuchi Kan's dress as well.

works provide certain information about the empire. Given the different time periods of their travels, it is possible for the readers to perceive the changes of the empire by reading their travel writings. So, how do these writings represent different visions of the Japanese empire?

By analyzing and deciphering Natsume Sōseki and Yosano Akiko's travel writings as well as inspecting the representations, responses, and communications between the Japanese empire and the colonies through the lens of literature, this chapter focuses on conceptualizing the positions and visions of Japanese colonialism toward Manchuria through the eyes of Japanese literati between 1909 and 1928. At this early period of empire, these Japanese literati could not help but being a part of a monologue from the center of empire. There was almost no dialogue with local voices. Hence, these writers were not aware of a hidden message that they were in-between the center and peripheries. In this chapter, particularly, I highlight the Japanese writers' suggestions for building the colonial empire and their efforts to conceptualize an ideology of Japanese nationalism from their travelogues. Recent scholarship like Noriko J. Horiguchi's *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body* interprets Yosano's travelogue as a discourse of *gaichi* (outside territories) whose purpose is to recreate "the relationship between the Japanese empire and its peripheries."⁸ My research, on the other hand, sheds light on interpretations and metaphors that reveal the writers' ambitions of shaping the Japanese colonial empire by a new type of nationalism through their writings. In this

⁸ Noriko J. Horiguchi, *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 69.

chapter, Yosano's travel writing is not only the bridge between *naichi* and *gaichi*, but a marker to erase the borderlines between the empire and peripheries. Instead of being a discourse to recreate the relationship between *naichi* and *gaichi*, as Horiguchi has claimed, I demonstrate that Yosano's travelogue conceals the differences between the empire and the colony. Moreover, the writers' travel writings also touch upon the political, social, and cultural aspects that reformed the borderline of the Japanese empire. What we can see from Sōseki and Yosano's travel writings is that their notion of the boundary between the frontier and the empire fluctuates, and that this is one of the most significant reasons their visions of the Japanese empire change from one point in history to another. Contrary to Peter Duus' claim that Japanese empire is an unexpected empire, in this chapter, I argue that the writers' travel writings not only recreated the relationship between the empire and colony, but most importantly, they also shaped the Japanese empire through a new nationalism, what I would like to call literary nationalism.⁹

1.2. Institutional Affect: The South Manchuria Railway Company

Gotō [Shinpei], the president of South Manchuria Railway Company, based on his administrative experience in terms of opening up the undeveloped culture and humanity of Taiwan, advocates that it is the first priority to undertake the issues of medical care and hygiene [in the south Manchuria area] ... ("Ruling South Manchuria by Medicine").

⁹ Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 435-7.

後藤南滿鐵道總裁は既往に於ける台湾の施政に鑑み未開の人文風物を開發するには第一に医事衛生方面より着手せざるべからざるを主張し・・・。

Yomiuri Shimbun, March 9, 1907¹⁰

The *naichi* government officials have selected about one thousand students from private universities and will send them to Manchuria for a three-week observation visit. This magnificent plan is a historical and impressive feat that has a budget of fifty *yen* per person and one hundred and ninety thousand *yen* in total. The subsidies from Mantetsu, Kantocho, and others are also substantial. Besides, the Army also supports this activity with all its strength by providing ships for them to use. (“Observation Visit to Manchukuo”)

内地官私立大学より一千名の学生を選抜約三週間満州を視察させることになった、こんな大きな計画は全く歴史的の壮挙で予算は一人当たり五十圓で全費用十九萬圓。満鉄、関東庁その他よりの補助も相当あり、また陸軍でもこの挙に双手を挙げて御用船えを提供されることになった。

Asahi Shimbun, April 15, 1933¹¹

On March 9, 1907, an article entitled “Ruling South Manchuria by Medicine” was published in *Yomiuri Shimbun*. The article, as partly shown in the quote above, suggests that the Manchuria Railway Company’s president, Gotō Shinpei (1857-1929), proposed a method similar to one he adopted in Taiwan in order to rule Manchuria. Moreover, the article also indicates that the expenses for this project would be acquired from the Japanese government. It is worth noting that the article is not talking about a governor or administrator of Manchuria, but rather an official of a regional railway company.

¹⁰ “Ruling South Manchuria by Medicine 医術を以て南満州統治,” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, March 9, 1907.

¹¹ “Observation Visit to Manchukuo 満州国視察旅行,” *Asahi Shimbun*, April 15, 1933.

Apparently, this newspaper article tells us not only a phenomenon of promoting medical care in this semi-colonial land, but also an unquestionable truth that the South Manchuria Railway Company was not just a regional transportation company, but in fact, the ruler of Manchuria.

The second quote was an excerpt from a report in *Asahi Shimbun* in 1933. The report pointed out that there will be an observation visit to Manchukuo and about one thousand students in Japan would be elected to participate in this “magnificent” project. The report portrayed a travel plan that was supported by the Mantetsu and the Japanese army, and absolutely free for Japanese members. According to the report, the journey was to begin in Osaka and then travel by ship to Manchuria. After they arrived in Manchuria, the members would start to visit various industries throughout Manchukuo. They were to be divided into groups and spend around a week observing different Manchurian industries—mainly agriculture and manufacture industries—and then assemble at Hsinking,¹² the capital of Manchukuo, to cheer for their completion of the observation trip. The report indicated that this observation visit would be a difficult tour for the students since “there is no place in Manchuria which has a capacity to accommodate 1000 students” (“Observation Visit to Manchukuo”), however, with support from the Kwantung Army, the students should be able to survive under these tough conditions.

¹² Hsinking 新京, or Shinkyō in Japanese, is now Changchun 長春, the capital and largest city of Jilin Province. Changchun was renamed Hsinking—“the new capital”—by the Japanese and became the capital of Manchukuo between 1932 and 1945.

From the content of the report, three things are evident. First, the journey is not a simple school field trip but a clear political announcement that declared the authority of Japan in Manchuria. The fact that the journey was financed by the colonial government and supported by the Kwantung Army implied that the Japanese held superior authority in Manchuria in political and military aspects. Second, given the description of the toughness and insufficiency regarding life in Manchuria, it is apparent that the country was poor and weak. Third, the Japanese students were to travel around Manchukuo and arrive at the capital Hsinking in the end by the railway that was run by the South Manchuria Railway Company, or Mantetsu. From the two excerpts above, it is not difficult to realize how important and influential the transportation institute, Mantetsu, was in northeast Asia in terms of economy, politics, and education. While the importance of Mantetsu is self-evident, it is still worth knowing that the degrees of transparency and mobility in Manchuria were largely increased through Mantetsu's economic, political, and military powers as well as its construction and railroad system. As a transportation company that mainly focused on building railroad and transporting passengers, merchandise, and commodities, Mantetsu also conducted other business such as operating hotels and coal mines, building hospitals, and establishing schools.

The South Manchuria Railway Company was founded by the Japanese empire in 1906 in order to take over the properties and businesses from imperial Russia, which had just lost the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. The initial capital was two hundred million Japanese *yen* and half of the funding came from the Japanese imperial government. Inger Sigrun Brodey has precisely defined the South Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu)

as “a curious hybrid of an independent, profit-generating business venture and a political mission with an implicit agenda.”¹³ In other words, Mantetsu worked as an agency of the Japanese imperial government in Manchuria, which aimed to achieve both the Japanese empire’s economic needs and political missions. Interestingly, one should note that both the Russo-Japanese War and the establishment of Mantetsu took place in Manchuria, which was allegedly still a territory of China at that time. It is apparent that Mantetsu—a foreign power in Manchuria—actually controlled a large portion of northeast China. It is worth mentioning that the protagonists of this chapter, Natsume Sōseki and Yosano Akiko, traveled under this Japanese dominated circumstance.

To give a sense of how extensive and profound the institutional influence that Mantetsu was able to provide in Manchuria, according to Walter C. Young, there was an unofficial “South Manchuria Railway Zone” where the Japanese *de facto* built an independent regime which actually collected taxes and had its own administrative and jurisdictional rights in the area.¹⁴ Yet, the boundary of the so-called “South Manchuria Railway Zone” was not clearly defined. As Young has indicated, “The official figures of the South Manchuria Railway Company, describing the area of the ‘railway zone,’ do not state clearly what types of area are included within the total figure.”¹⁵ Brodey has further explained the function and mechanism of Mantetsu that “The Railway Zone operated almost like an independent state within Manchuria, with the power to levy taxes,

¹³ Sōseki Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 17.

¹⁴ Walter C. Young, *Japanese Jurisdiction in the South Manchuria Railway Areas* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1931), 171.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 141.

maintain police forces, handle real estate, operate schools, undertake public works, and provide medical service for the inhabitants of the lands adjacent to the railway line.”¹⁶

Furthermore, the economic influence of Mantetsu expanded to almost everywhere in the Railway Zone after the company took over the railroad. According to Brodey, “[b]etween 1906 and 1931, the SMR dominated and monopolized the economic life of Manchuria very successfully, through the management of its harbours and water transportation. The SMR also controlled warehousing, coal mines, electric power, real estate, iron works, industrial plants, natural resources, the labour market, and monetary facilities.”¹⁷ Specifically, given the fact that Sōseki visited many Mantetsu-related institutions including an electricity company and a park, an oil refinery, hospitals, a shipbuilding yard, etc. in *Mankan tokorodokoro*, it is not difficult to understand the massive scale of the Mantetsu enterprise in Manchuria. As such, compared to other travelers, the Japanese writers who traveled with Mantetsu in the Railway Zone should have felt comfortable and were well-protected by the company.

1.3. Literati to the Frontier

Travel—a word that often refers to tourism—in fact had different meanings in the early twentieth century. Referring to the early modern period, Harry D. Harootunian has

¹⁶ Sōseki Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 17.

¹⁷ Ibid.

mentioned that “When the Edo period poet Bashō took a trip by foot (in one of his journeys), it took him a long time to get there and allowed him to record the journey in a poetic diary.”¹⁸ In contrast to modern times, when traveling by train became very common, Harootunian believes it was significant for the great Edo poet to travel by foot because “the time he spent on the road was necessary to allow him to see and grasp the meaning of the scenes he was encountering rather than numbly recognize a blurred landscape from the window of a railway car.”¹⁹ To the great poet, traveling slowly is important for him to see people and villages, grasp scenes, and experience nature. Speed is damaging to an early modern travel experience. However, in contrast to travel in early modern Japan, for travel in the early twentieth century, speed is essential for moving around and between sceneries. It can be seen from a pioneer Japanese ethnologist Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962) who had the experience of the modern type of travel in Europe in the early 1920s. Yanagita traveled around countries, visited scholars, and toured museums and universities in Europe for about eleven months.²⁰ Taking Yanagita Kunio’s experience as an example of how the popularity of tours to the battlefields became a symbol of peace culture, Frederick R. Dickinson quotes Yanagita’s witness that in post-World War I “one could not pronounce anti-war sentiments without viewing Great War battlefields.”²¹ To extend the application of this phenomenon, it can be seen

¹⁸ See Harry D. Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 72.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ See Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914–1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 127.

²¹ Frederick R. Dickinson, *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919-1930* (New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 146.

that travel to the frontier served different purposes depending on political, cultural, or social contexts.

Between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), China gradually became a penetrable country for the western powers and the Japanese empire. Many Japanese writers traveled throughout China and wrote travelogues during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Natsume Sōseki was one of the Japanese writers who traveled in China during that period. By 1928, in addition to Sōseki, writers such as Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909), Tayama Katai (1871-1930), Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886-1965), Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892-1927), Satō Haruo (1892-1964), Yosano Akiko, and others were also following the trend to travel in China.²² Since each of the writers mentioned above played a significant role in the history of modern Japanese literature, it is fair to say that the phenomenon of traveling in China was prevalent among Japanese literary circles at that time. Literati traveled to China and to the Japanese colonies, and showed their observations on those places in their writings. Natsume Sōseki and Yosano Akiko were among the writers who strategically provided their views towards the colonies.

1.4. An Unpleasant Colony: Natsume Sōseki and His *Mankan tokorodokoro*

²² Yosano, *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia*, 5.

It is worth noting that although Natsume Sōseki was not the first literatus who traveled in China, he was among the very first group of Japanese literary celebrities who were invited by Mantetsu to visit Manchuria in the early twentieth century. Precisely speaking, his visit was from the first set of invitations that Mantetsu had ever offered to a Japanese literatus to travel in Manchuria. As a result, Sōseki's experience of traveling in Manchuria and Korea became extremely significant, not only because of his pioneering image as a modern Japanese writer in the frontier, but also because of the political, cultural, and social implications of his journey.

Sōseki's journey to Manchuria and Korea started from Tokyo. He first went to Kōbe and then traveled by steamship—a symbol of modernity—to Dalian, then proceeded by the South Manchuria Railway through the Liaodong peninsula and Manchuria as well as Korea. This journey took him approximately six weeks, from September 2 to October 17, 1909. The trip was almost cost-free for Sōseki since Mantetsu provided him with everything he needed during his stay in Manchuria and Korea. Mantetsu's hospitality included free rides on the railway, sumptuous meals, luxurious accommodations, and also local guides. Nevertheless, the journey was by no means a pleasant trip for Sōseki in terms of his physical condition. He experienced stomach discomfort throughout the trip. Because of his stomach illness, Sōseki was not able to concentrate on an animated discourse in the Shagekiba Theater in Dalian (Chapter 9), had no enthusiasm to eat (Chapter 10), could not read the "Report of the Company's Operation" of Mantetsu (Chapter 11), almost declined the requests to give a lecture for his old friend (Chapter 13), failed to enjoy the Port Arthur specialty—quail (Chapter 30),

and finally he had no choice but to ask one of his new friend who happened to be a doctor to examine his stomachache in Port Arthur (Chapter 31). Sōseki's stomach discomfort not only decreased his interest in going on excursions in Manchuria, but also nearly prohibited him from accepting Mantetsu's offer in the first place. Sōseki describes the situation in the first chapter as follows, "Just at that time, however, I suffered an attack of acute gastritis. As a result, I...found it very difficult to say for certain whether or not I would be well enough to travel by the proposed departure date. When a spasm came on, promises no longer counted."²³ Apparently, his physical condition so was incredibly poor that even his doctor forbade him to take the trip.²⁴

Despite his stomach discomfort, however, Sōseki was able to travel freely without many other concerns in China. In fact, compared to his official trip to England in 1900, Sōseki received special treatment and hospitality everywhere during his journey in Manchuria. Shuwen Fan agrees with Etō Jun's point of view and claims that "This trip is exactly what Etō Jun has called a *daimyō ryokō*—a luxurious tour."²⁵ Moreover, Inger S. B. Brodey, the English translator of *Mankan tokorodokoro*, also points out that "Rather than feeling ashamed of the impoverished figure he cut as a Japanese representative in London, Sōseki could now glory in the modern accommodation and economic prowess

²³ Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 34.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

²⁵ See Shuwen Fan, ed., *Nihon Kin-Gendai Bungaku Ni Naizaisuru Tasha to Shite No "ChūGoku"* Nihongaku Kenkyū SōSho (Taipei: Kokuritsu Taiwan Daigaku Shuppan Chūshin, 2012), 87. The word "daimyō ryokō" literally means the feudal lord's travel, which also refers to the daimyōs' luxurious journeys to Edo in order to fulfil their duties of *sankin kōtai*—the alternate attendance which enforced a daimyo's alternate-year residence in Edo.

displayed by the Japanese in Manchuria.”²⁶ In other words, the figures of Sōseki in London and China are completely different. We may wonder why does this happen to the same person on different trips? And what does this change mean? To answer these questions, it would be helpful to take a look at the political and social circumstances regarding Sōseki’s travel experience in Manchuria.

After Sōseki returned to Japan from Manchuria and Korea, he immediately published a series of essays in the *Asahi Shimbun*—one of the national daily newspapers in Japan. Sōseki published the first chapter of *Mankan tokorodokoro* on October 21, 1909, and finished the series with chapter 51 on December 30, one day before the last day of distribution in 1909. Brodey has assumed that the instalments could continue for “at least 100 issues, rather than stopping at instalment number 51” and a possible explanation that it stopped at the 51 issue is, as he quotes Beongcheon Yu’s words, “[it seemed] unnatural to continue past the end of the calendar year.”²⁷ However, Yu’s explanation is apparently not sufficient. It is worth mentioning that Soseki does not include any of his Korea travel in *Mankan tokorodokoro*, despite the title. Given that Korea had just been declared a protectorate of Japan in 1905 and was about to be annexed by Japan in 1910—the very next year after the release of Sōseki’s travelogue—we can assume that mentioning “Korea” in *Mankan tokorodokoro* could have been a taboo at that time.

In the very early sentences of chapter one, Sōseki has already enunciated his purpose for the trip. He writes, ““What exactly is the South Manchurian Railway

²⁶ Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 10.

²⁷ See Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 21.

Company anyway?’ In reply to my perfectly serious question, the President of the Railway Company looked slightly disgusted and replied: ‘Old boy, you really are a fool!’”²⁸ The sentences above explained Sōseki’s ambition to recognize the rise of the Japanese colonial empire in Manchuria. When Sōseki was asked to take a tour with his old friend Nakamura Zekō—the second President of Mantetsu—to Manchuria, Sōseki was hesitant to accept the offer but Zekō persuaded him by saying, “You know, it is interesting to go and have a look at what the Japanese are doing abroad. Guys like you who know nothing at all take patronizing attitudes and create misunderstandings. A tour will be just what you need.”²⁹ In response to Zekō’s enthusiastic and sincere invitation, Sōseki eventually agreed to accept Zekō’s offer. As all these passages have suggested, it can be said that the initial and superficial plan for Sōseki to go to Manchuria was to observe the development of Mantetsu and witness the lives of the Japanese people in the frontier. Nonetheless, Sōseki’s true intention of traveling with Mantetsu in Manchuria was much more complicated than his explanation in *Mankan tokorodokoro* presented. Shuwen Fan has indicated that “Both Sōseki’s trip in Manchuria and the literary work *Mankan tokorodokoro* are significant in terms of its political meaning rather than its literary meaning. No doubt, Sōseki must have perceived this kind of atmosphere at that time.”³⁰ Yet if what Fan has indicated is true, it is worth taking a look at the alleged political strategies in *Mankan tokorodokoro*.

²⁸ Ibid., 33.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Shuwen Fan, ed., *Nihon Kin-Gendai Bungaku Ni Naizaisuru Tasha to Shite No "ChūGoku"* Nihongaku Kenkyū SōSho, 84.

If we simply think through all his works as a whole, Sōseki is usually not considered an overtly political writer in the history of modern Japanese literature. However, Mantetsu was a company that had a hybrid function as the agent in Manchuria to achieve the Japanese empire's economic, political, and military goals in China. Invited and hosted by Mantetsu, Sōseki traveled with many political officials in the higher ranks such as Nakamura Zekō 中村是公 (President of Mantetsu), Tachibana Masaki 立花政樹 (Customs Director in Dalian)³¹, and Satō Tomokuma 佐藤友熊 (Chief of Police in Port Arthur). As a result, it was almost impossible for Sōseki to avoid touching upon political and military issues in his essays. If we recall Dickinson's claim that tourism functions as a kind of peace culture in the interwar period, it is clear that Sōseki's portrayal of the reminiscences and residues of the Russo-Japanese War in *Mankan tokorodokoro* serves as a compliment of the Japanese empire's glorious victory when he visited the battlefield. One example can be found from his frequent mentions of the battle at Hill 203, the fiercest and decisive battle of the war, in which the Japanese army finally achieved victory. In addition, Sōseki often mentioned the organizations and business of Mantetsu, since his travel life in Manchuria was closely embedded in the Mantetsu enterprise. One example is the Yamato hotel—a chain hotel run by Mantetsu—in which Sōseki had lodged several times during his trip. For instance, when Sōseki first arrived in Manchuria

³¹ Duke Masaki 政樹公 is not his full name. Natsume only mentions his first name throughout this travelogue. His full name is Tachibana Masaki 立花政樹. Tachibana was Customs Director of Dalian at that time.

and lodged in one of the Yamato hotels in Dalian, he described a situation in which he encountered a British Vice Consul's dog:

[H]is dog's countenance was strange as could be. As a bulldog, it already had an unusual face by virtue of its breed. It may be cruel to persecute a dog with insults, but there was no getting round the fact that its head was indeed bizarrely shaped. Later, after we had put in at Dairen, the same young man entered the Hotel Yamato...It was certainly not a dining-room where dogs should have been welcome. I had the impression that the dog had entered it by mistake. It was, however, accompanied by its master...Carrying his dog, he held the awkward and heavy load with as much ease as if he had been carrying a *furoshiki*...The bulldog emitted neither a single yelp nor any other sound...As I have already mentioned several times, this dog had an extraordinary face; there was nonetheless a kind of majesty in its demeanour at this moment. I never had the chance to see that face again.³²

This paragraph reminds us of Sōseki's satirical novel *I Am a Cat* 吾輩は猫である which was published between 1905 and 1906. In this novel, Sōseki skillfully portrays the satirical and contradictory perspectives between western culture and Japanese tradition through the eyes of a nameless cat. Likewise, it is interesting to see that Sōseki spent more than half a chapter to describe a bulldog in *Mankan tokorodokoro*. As Sōseki used an animal to make his satire in *I Am a Cat*, we can also find an implication of cultural and political satire in this chapter. The bulldog, while it has an unusual face and bizarre shape, was able to travel by a modern ship and enter the dining-room of the luxurious Yamato Hotel because it was accompanied by its master—a British Vice Consul. What the steamship and luxury hotel represented in this context is the so-called *bunmei kaika*

³² Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 36.

文明開化, or civilization and enlightenment.³³ Also, behind the context, the Yamato Hotel was run by Mantetsu—a railway company, which is another important indication of *bunmei kaika*. Ironically, this modern and peaceful implication is sabotaged by a westerner and his dog. Moreover, Sōseki paralleled the bulldog with a Japanese traditional fabric—*furoshiki*, and implied that the dog was tamed because it “emitted neither a single yelp nor any other sound.” This was a satirical moment when the bizarre animal from the West was domesticated in the modern hotel of Mantetsu, or the East.

In addition, Sōseki shows his applause and trust to the Yamato Hotel several times. For example, Sōseki got the suggestion to stay in the Yamato Hotel from a Japanese friend when he visited Harbin and said “As the Hotel Yamato is one of the Company’s hotels, I think it would certainly be a very good choice” (chapter 5).³⁴ Also, when Sōseki arrived at Port Arthur, his company further confirmed the reputation of the Yamato Hotels by saying that “There is no Japanese-style inn available. You would do better to go to the Hotel Yamato” (chapter 22).³⁵ The Yamato Hotel’s cuisine seems to have been sumptuous as well, as the whole group’s meals (thirty or so people) were frequently provided by the Yamato Hotels, although Sōseki was not able to enjoy the food due to his physical condition.³⁶ Nevertheless, the Yamato hotels indeed represent

³³ According to the *Encyclopedia of Japan*, *bunmei kaika* 文明開化 is a term that applies to the movement of thought and belief during the early part of the Meiji period (1868–1912) when the Meiji government adopted a policy of modernization and began to introduce Western civilization into the country.

³⁴ Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 42.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

³⁶ See Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 52. It describes, “I was told that the meals came from the Yamato Hotel. The thirty or so diners at the table had already emptied their plates.”

not only a modern and luxurious service of Mantetsu, but also a superior structure of the Japanese empire in Manchuria.

Needless to say, Zekō was hoping that Sōseki's visit would become a positive propaganda piece for Mantetsu. However, literary critic Yoshimoto Takaaki has claimed that "Zekō, in the end, definitely thought that it would be enough if Sōseki come to Manchuria for sight-seeing only."³⁷ In spite of being unable to completely escape from the political implications in *Mankan tokorodokoro*, Sōseki skillfully and sarcastically counteracted these factors by emphasizing his stomach illness and describing the poor hygiene of the Chinese in the episodes, so that the boundary between political writings and non-political writings turns out to be blurred and indefinite. One obvious example can be found in chapter 9 in which Zekō took him to visit the central laboratory and planned to bring him to Shagekiba.³⁸ Sōseki writes,

Perspiring profusely, I noticed that the skin of my face was starting to itch; I also had bad stomach pains. I asked Zekō where we were heading. He replied that he was taking me to the Shagekiba [Theatre].³⁹ Out of consideration for his generosity in taking me there, I put up with my abdominal agony and collapsed into a chair as soon as we reached our destination. Zekō treated me to an animated discourse concerning guns. At all events, I think that was what it was. I did not understand very clearly what he was saying at the time. However, I thought I gathered that hid firm had subsidized this one building. Two or three thousand yen, it seemed, had been paid over for the purpose of collecting guns. That is all that my ears registered.⁴⁰

³⁷ Takaaki Yoshimoto, *Sōseki No Ōkina Tabi* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2004), 118.

³⁸ The English translator made a mistake on the meaning of Shagekiba. Shagekiba should refer to a shooting gallery, but not a theater.

³⁹ Here should be a shooting gallery too.

⁴⁰ Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume SōSei*, 50.

Here, the places Zekō took Sōseki to visit were the central laboratory and Shagekiba—two highly politicized institutions, especially the latter, which was closely related to Japanese militarism. Taking his stomach illness as an excuse, Sōseki clearly avoided talking about the Shagekiba. What he “remembered” about his visit to Shagekiba was only a trivial thing that Mantetsu subsidized the building for collecting guns. Along with the illness, which made Sōseki’s memory fade away in *Mankan tokorodokoro*, these highly politicized places were turned into simple touring locations only.

Yet it is fair to say that Sōseki’s political and personal stance as a patriot can be seen from his depictions of Chinese people in *Mankan tokorodokoro*. As a scholar of British literature, Japanese *haiku*, and Chinese *kanshi*, Sōseki never hid his interest in China and the western world. Sōseki’s disdainful descriptions of the Chinese coolies in this travelogue, however, exceeded the readers’ expectations of the general images of what China was like at that time. Brodey indicates that “Many readers, Japanese as well as Western, have blamed Sōseki for his prejudicial attitude towards the Chinese in *Travels*. The most oft-cited instance of this is his use of the pejorative terms ‘*chan*’ and ‘*rosuke*’.”⁴¹ Sōseki, on the one hand, frequently refers to the West in his travelogue. The narrator talks about western clothes, foods, tableware, and the usage of English as well as his memories of studying abroad in London. On the other hand, as the excerpt of *Mankan tokorodokoro* at the beginning of this section shows, Sōseki portrayed the opposing

⁴¹ Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 21. *Chan* or *chankoro* チャンコロ is a discriminative word which simply referred to “Chinese people,” but was turned into a prejudiced name of Chinese during the Sino-Japanese War. *Rosuke* 露助 is also a discriminative form of address referring to Russian people in general.

images between the Chinese and Japanese that contrasted with the images of hard-working and “fanatically clean” Japanese, with the Chinese who were described as lazy and stinking. This interpretation indeed reminds us of the images of the colonizer and the colonized in Albert Memmi’s discussion of colonialism in his *The Colonizer and the Colonized*.

Memmi has pointed out that “The mythical portrait of the colonized therefore includes an unbelievable laziness, and that of the colonizer, a virtuous taste for action. At the same time the colonizer suggests that employing the colonized is not very profitable, thereby authorizing his unreasonable wages.”⁴² In addition to Memmi’s observation, Sōseki further inferred that the Chinese/colonized is not even worth hiring and the Japanese/colonizer has to clean up for the colonized people. Moreover, Memmi claims that the colonizer establishes the colonized as being lazy, and as such, all individuals of the colonized group are accused. He mentions, “By his accusation the colonizer establishes the colonized as being lazy. He decides that laziness is constitutional in the very nature of the colonized. It becomes obvious that the colonized, whatever he may undertake, whatever zeal he may apply, could never be anything but lazy.”⁴³ Apparently, Memmi clearly differentiates between colonizer and colonized. He believes that “Whenever the colonizer states, in his language, that the colonized is a weakling, he suggests thereby that this deficiency requires protection. From this comes the concept of a protectorate.”⁴⁴ Coincidentally, in Sōseki’s portrayal of the semi-colonial land, the

⁴² Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 123.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 125-6.

Chinese and the Japanese are separated groups; and the Chinese requires the protection from the Japanese since the Japanese has to clean up the “smell that the Chinese leave behind them.”⁴⁵

Nevertheless, it would not be truthful to say that Sōseki completely condemned the Chinese/colonized throughout the travelogue. In an episode, Sōseki has a conversation with his friend. He saw several Chinese after visiting Shagekiba, “At that moment, two or three dirty-looking Chinese made their appearance, holding pretty birdcages,” and Zekō praised,

The Chinese are refined people, you know! Even if they are poor, with hardly a rag to put on their backs, they have birdcages dangling from their hands. They wander to the depths of the forest and hang the cages on branches, sit down underneath them and peacefully listen, even with empty stomachs, to the song of their birds. If there are two of them, they will even organize song competitions. Oh, they really are refined, you know!⁴⁶

そこへ汚ない支那人が二三人、奇麗な鳥籠を提げてやって来た。支那人て奴は風雅なものだよ。着るものもない貧乏人のくせに、ああやって、鳥をぶら下げて、山の中をまごついて、鳥籠を樹の枝に釣るして、その下に坐って、食うものも食わずにおとなしく聞いているんだよ。それがもし二人集まれば鳴き競べをするからね。ああ実に風雅なものだよ。としきりに支那人を賞めている。

Scholars like Joshua Fogel believe that Sōseki, like his contemporary Japanese, was prejudicial to China and the Chinese people.⁴⁷ However, Brodey has indicated that “It is

⁴⁵ Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume SōSeiki*, 126.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁴⁷ Joshua A. Fogel, “Rediscovering Natsume Soseki: Celebrating the Centenary of Soseki’s Arrival in England 1900-1902: With the First English Translation of ‘Travels in Manchuria and Korea’ by Inger Sigrun Brodey, Sammy I. Tsunematsu,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 4 (November 2002): 1372-1373.

also not clear that Sōseki portrays any consistent opinion regarding the Chinese—instead, the narrator’s opinion is marked by its ambivalence. For every negative remark regarding the Chinese, there is another scene that tends to balance the impression.”⁴⁸ What Brodey has claimed is partially true. Indeed, the writer tries to strike a balance on the impression of Manchuria and the Chinese. However, if we read closely the example above, it is not hard to find out that these are much closer to satirical and discriminatory expressions rather than true compliments. As the example above shows, Zekō seemed to praise the spirit of those dirty Chinese people. But the contradictory expressions between refined/dirty, poor (Chinese)/beautiful (birdcages), and empty (stomachs)/song (birds, poem), are extremely bizarre, and hardly to be seen as compliments. It is even clear if we take a close look at the original Japanese version. The words and phrases that the narrator used to describe the Chinese in the paragraph such as 汚ない支那人 (dirty Shina people)⁴⁹, 支那人て奴 (these Shina types), 貧乏人のくせに (in spite of being poor), contained every meaning of discrimination. Therefore, it is very difficult to believe Sōseki struck a successful balance in his *Mankan tokorodokoro*.

Moreover, it was not just once, but many times in the travelogue that Sōseki shows his detestation toward the Chinese coolies regarding their poor hygienic conditions. One example is that when he saw crowds of Chinese coolies at sea, the

⁴⁸ See Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 22.

⁴⁹ Shina 支那 was originally a Sanskrit word and a neutral term in both Chinese and Japanese used to call China. According to *Encyclopedia Nipponica*, in the process of invading China, Japan tried to legitimize its military actions by despising the Chinese residents during the Sino-Japanese War. The term Shina, therefore, turned into a derogatory word.

narrator wrote that “Looking at any one of them, I had the immediate impression of dirt. Any two together were an even more unpleasant sight.”⁵⁰ Ironically, given his knowledge of Chinese history, culture, and literature, Sōseki, a master of Chinese *kanshi*, portrays the Chinese world—a world he is supposed to admire—as a dirty, dark, and unpleasant place. It is even more ironic to see that Sōseki took a modern steamship, wielded western tableware, and attended a western style party in semi-colonized Manchuria. Given his stature as a pioneer writer and the representative of modern Japanese literature, Sōseki was well aware of the semi-colonial situation of Manchuria and the tension between the Japanese empire and Korea in 1909—the year in which Itō Hirobumi was assassinated and one year before Japan’s annexation of Korea. Therefore, even though he tactically rejected Mantetsu’s political implications from his travel writing, it can be said that instead of condemning Japanese imperialism and colonialism, which perhaps not many Japanese people would do under the colonial circumstance, Sōseki unconsciously depicts the dark side of Manchuria and the Chinese people in order to give the Japanese nationalists a justification to shape the Japanese empire and apply their nationalism in Manchuria and Korea through literature.

1.4.Tracking the Nostalgia: The Emergence of Nationalism in “*Man-Mō yūki*”

⁵⁰ Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 38-9.

About two decades after Sōseki's expedition in Manchuria, Yosano Akiko together with her husband Yosano Tekkan (1873-1935) received an offer from Mantetsu to travel in northeast China via the South Manchuria Railway. The Yosanos traveled by a similar route as Sōseki did in 1909. They departed from Tokyo and traveled across the sea to Dalian by steamship from Kōbe. In contrast with Sōseki's hesitation to visit Manchuria, the Yosanos seemed to have had more enthusiasm and passion regarding the journey. Tekkan described their joyfulness when they departed in the prologue of "Man-Mō yūki," writing that "I could not recall whether I had had several extremely pleasant trips like this during my life..."⁵¹ Akiko and Tekkan's trip through Manchuria and Mongolia took about six weeks from May 6 to June 17 in 1928. During their journey, they unexpectedly experienced a significant historical accident—the Huanggutun Incident 皇姑屯事件⁵²—which forced them to change their schedule and the content of Akiko's travel writing. On June 4, 1928, one of the most powerful Chinese warlords, Zhang Zuolin 張作霖, who controlled most parts of the northeast China, was assassinated by a bomb near the Huanggutun rail station in Manchuria. The assassination was said to have been plotted by the Japanese Kwantung Army, but the Kwantung Army did not admit it. The truth of the incident was concealed in Japan at that time. The reports in *Asahi Shimbun* tended to claim that a mystery Chinese was the assassin. A report on June 6, 1928—two days after the incident—even shows an official announcement from The

⁵¹ Hiroshi Yosano and Akiko Yosano, *Tekkan Akiko Complete Works*, Edited by Kumi Itsumi, Vol. 26 (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2001), 9.

⁵² The Huanggutun Incident 皇姑屯事件 was often referred to as "An important incident in Manchuria" in Japan at that time. The incident was also called "Zhang Zuolin Assassination Incident" (張作霖爆殺事件) in Japan.

Ministry of War of Japan (陸軍省), which is entitled “Our Security Team had no responsibility” (我警備隊には責任なし).⁵³ Because the warlord Zhang had a great impact in Northeast China and maintained a close relationship with Japan, the incident was widely reported in the mass media at that time.

Yosano Akiko remarked upon the impact of the incident. She writes that “The bomb explosion that killed Zhang Zuolin 張作霖,⁵⁴ however, was about to transform the images in our minds into the observations of journalistic travelers. It was awful, but we could not be indifferent and ignore it.”⁵⁵ What Akiko said about the political influence was true. After the incident, Akiko spent many pages in her travelogue discussing the incident, the social changes, and the reactions of their friends. Yet Akiko was never afraid to touch upon political issues even before the incident. She described the inspection by the Japanese customs officials at the station of Andong 安東 and criticized the officials,

I felt great pity for these [Japanese] students who had not yet reached the smoking age at the sight of the cigarettes lined up on top of their personal things and quickly looked askance as we passed by... This is not something the state is taking much of a loss on. Because the avenue for tolerance to this extent is not open to the state, teachers must, it appears, resort to using their pupils to carry cigarettes for them. I was exceedingly sympathetic at this unpleasant scene in which the law did not take into consideration human feelings and the sense of humanity.⁵⁶

⁵³ See “Our Security Team had no responsibility (我警備隊には責任なし),” *Asahi Shimbun*, June 6, 1928.

⁵⁴ Zhang Zuolin 張作霖 (1875-1928) is a warlord of China who controlled most parts of Manchuria from 1916-1928.

⁵⁵ Yosano, *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia*, 122.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 49-50.

Unlike Sōseki's non-political stance towards literature, Yosano directly condemns the inhumane policy of the Japanese customs officials in Manchuria. Also, the episode showed the Japanese empire's powerful economic control over Manchuria. These students were Japanese who were on their way back to Japan through Korea after sightseeing in Manchuria. The fact that the Japanese students were able to go to Manchuria for sightseeing implies the extensive mobility for the Japanese to travel across the boundaries of Manchuria and Korea. This kind of mobility certainly represents the military and political powers of the Japanese empire overseas. As Horiguchi has noted, Yosano's travelogue displayed a discourse of *gaichi* (Outside territory) that recreated "the relationship between the Japanese empire and its peripheries."⁵⁷ It seemed that the relationship between the Japanese empire and its colonies (Manchuria and Korea) was re-created under the power of the empire. The extensive mobility and the transparent borderline between the empire and the colonies (Manchuria and Korea) indeed showcase not only the power of the empire, but also the re-constructed relations between the colonizer and the colonized since the Japanese students were portrayed with no difference from the local/colonized people, and the Japanese customs gave no privilege to the Japanese teacher and students.

Indeed, according to Yosano's travel account, the boundary between the empire and the so-called peripheries was under a process of destruction and recreation. As one

⁵⁷ See Noriko Jane Horiguchi, *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c2012), 68.

can see from Yosano's travel writing, the Japanese colonial power not only controlled Manchuria in terms of its political, economic, and cultural aspects, but also confronted the Chinese local power. Particularly, the confrontations of these mutual powers were portrayed in Yosano's *Man-Mō yūki*. Yosano pointed out that,

When I consider the Sino-Japanese issue from the perspective of a Japanese, or when I try to consider it from the perspective of our neighbor the Chinese, or from my position as a citizen of the world, I cannot remain indifferent as these despicable bloodcurdling facts press in before my eyes. I imagine that Japan will end up isolated from the world.⁵⁸

Yosano was critical of Japanese militarism on the one hand, and she also worried about the future of the Japanese, i.e., the empire and the nation, on the other. As the example shows, it is clear that not only the Japanese power tried to recreate the boundary, the opposing power also intended to shape the borderline. Therefore, it can be said that the process of destruction and recreation was not dominated by only one side, but controlled simultaneously by both powers, the Japanese Empire and the peripheries.

The English translator of *Man-Mō yūki*, Joshua A. Fogel, has observed the unique circumstance of this trip that unlike the other Japanese travelers before them, the Yosanos met with few Chinese, and barely met with any Chinese writers and poets. Fogel indicates that "There were Japanese-speaking Chinese guides at several places and a prolonged, lovely meeting with the wives of two Chinese warlords. Otherwise her encounters in Manchuria were exclusively with other Japanese—innkeepers,

⁵⁸ Akiko Yosano, *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia*, 56.

businessman and their wives, and especially many employees of the South Manchuria Railway Company and their wives.”⁵⁹ Fogel’s observation points to a problem which has recurred from the Edo Period that the Yosanos had also noticed in their writings: “At one point, Akiko stresses that, for all their studies of things Chinese, Japanese of the Edo period (1600-1868) could not really have *understood* it, because they could never have seen it.”⁶⁰ What Fogel has observed and Akiko has stated are the same thing: the imagined landscape of China. China was a place that the Japanese could only see/imagine from outside of its center, as Fogel further claimed that “China, Manchuria, Mongolia—in the form of their mountains, their temples and shrines, their cities and thoroughfares—are there to be seen, but only rarely interacted with.”⁶¹

By taking the trip to Manchuria and Mongolia, the Yosanos tried very hard to change the situation. Akiko frequently shows her reminiscence of the past of China in her prose, poems, and logs in *Man-Mō yūki*. To Akiko, viewing the landscapes of China is to see “a scene from bygone days befitting a trip to China.”⁶² However, her views of China are from the position of ancient time. In *Man-Mō yūki*, China, Manchuria, and Mongolia are still left in the good old days. Fogel has pointed out that “Akiko definitely wants to experience this foreign reality herself, but she never penetrates beyond the scenery...At the same time, Japan appears to remain the only reality that has meaning for her and

⁵⁹ See Akiko Yosano, *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia*, 5-6.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Akiko Yosano, *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia*, 17. The original text is 支那旅行らしい懐古的な情景であつた。

enables her to gain peace and serenity or overcome loneliness.”⁶³ Perhaps Fogel has overtly emphasized Akiko’s alienation of the Chinese people and modern landscapes, but it cannot be denied that Akiko’s portrayal of those places possesses literary meanings, while it also contains many political implications as well.

What then was Yosano’s vision of the Japanese empire in *Man-Mō yūki*? To answer this question, one should take a close look at the themes in her travel writing. In fact, except for some episodes that discuss social and political issues, Yosano focuses on portraying the beauty of Manchuria and Mongolia and expressing feelings of reminiscence and nostalgia towards historical China. Joshua A. Fogel claimed that “Yosano Akiko never once mentions that all the extraordinary courtesies she and her husband received during their weeks in Manchuria and Mongolia may in any way influence what she was writing about Japanese activities there.”⁶⁴ If Fogel’s statement is right, the purpose of writing about Japanese activities in the colonies without mentioning the extraordinary courtesies was to obscure the boundary between otherness and self (the Japanese). Since the mentioning of extraordinary courtesies is missing in the passages, there is no otherness in the Yosanos’ Manchuria and Mongolia. By depicting the reminiscence, nostalgia, and beauty of the frontier, China/Manchuria/Mongolia has become of great relevance to the Japanese travelers—since the images fit their imagination dating back to the Edo period. From these implications, it is fair to say that

⁶³ Akiko Yosano, *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia*, 6.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

Yosano tried to break the boundary between self/us (the Japanese people and empire) and the other (the frontier) by adopting her unique strategy in the travel writing.

In *Mankan tokorodokoro*, at one point, Sōseki was invited by Itō, a Japanese journalist of *Manchurian Daily* 満州日日新聞 (*Manshū nichinichi shimbun*), to give a lecture while visiting Yingkou. It was not Sōseki's intention to give a talk during the trip, especially when he was suffering a stomach illness. The narrator mentions that "According to Itō, he had already printed a notice in his newspaper, publicizing the fact that I had agreed to give a talk...I suddenly recognized what an embarrassing position I was in. Itō had pressured me to give the lecture, but I felt incapable of it. I sank into an armchair, burdened by this conflict and feeling extremely annoyed. Itō laughed at me mockingly and taunted. 'You'll simply have to give that talk now!'"⁶⁵ Ultimately, even being unwilling to give talks, Sōseki still had to walk up to the podium at least twice during his journey.

From the passage, it seemed like Sōseki had a responsibility to give lectures as a return to the hospitality of Mantetsu, even though Zekō had authorized him to decline the requests if he did not want to do them. Under the pressure, Sōseki gave a lecture in Yingkou on September 17th, 1909.⁶⁶ The title of the lecture is "Regarding Hobbies" (趣味に就て). This lecture is the only extant speech of Sōseki's during his trip in Manchuria, and the first half of this lecture is no longer available. In the second half of

⁶⁵ Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume Sōseki*, 82.

⁶⁶ See Figure 1. The illustration was from *Manshū nichinichi shimbun*.

the lecture, Sōseki, first, pointed out the ways which the resident aliens [the Japanese] should develop appropriate hobbies and apply them to increase the quality of their lives when they stay in foreign lands. Nonetheless, Sōseki changed his tone suddenly in the final part of his lecture to discuss his idea about the West. He mentioned that “Japan nowadays is a first-class country in which we feel the East and the West to be well matched. And yet we are habituated from the transitional period and are still under the oppression of the West” (日本は今や第一等国として東西相匹敵して居るやの感あるも、過渡期以来の習慣としてか矢張西洋の圧迫を受け居ると思はれる).⁶⁷ Apparently, Sōseki treated the western powers as oppressive to Japan. Overwhelmed by the influence of Western culture, Sōseki still admitted that “it is the general trend of the world” (天下の大勢上やむを得ぬことである). At the end of the speech, Sōseki encouraged the Japanese expatriates (在外人) to develop an eminent taste (エミネント テースト) and show it to the people who come to the land after them.⁶⁸ While Sōseki had experience of studying abroad in England, he felt the threat from the Western powers. This lecture also shows the tendency of the Japanese to be fond of Western culture even in the colonies.

⁶⁷ Sōseki Natsume, *Sōseki Zenshū* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1965. Vol 25), 29.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

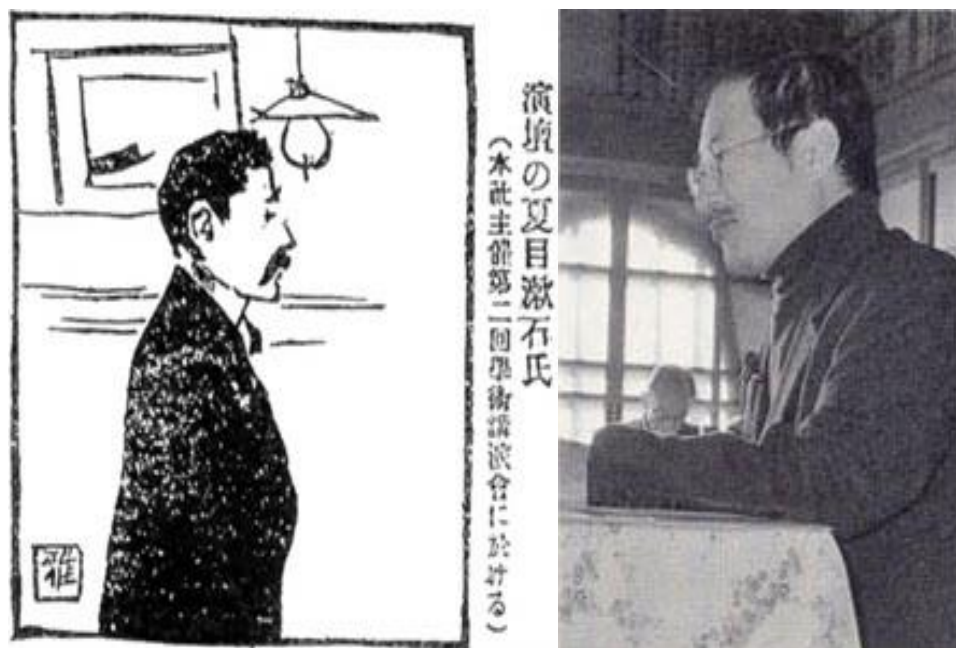


Figure 1. Sōseki on the podium.

Sōseki also talked about his observation on the Yamato Hotels. He mentioned that “When I stayed at the Yamato Hotel in Dalian, I found out that the facilities and everything are all westerner-oriented or are in the process of becoming so. The facilities which fit into our Japanese tastes are left out.” (私は大連の大和ホテルに止宿しましたが其設備万端総てのもの皆西洋人本位になって居る、又成りつゝある。我々日本人の趣味に適した設備は省かれんとして居る).⁶⁹ While the Yamato Hotel chain was one of the most important affiliated enterprises of Mantetsu, it seems that the hotel is another product of the West in Sōseki’s eyes. However, even though Sōseki criticized the structure of Yamato hotels, he had no choice but to stay at the hotels throughout almost the whole trip. The Yosanos, on the other hand, stayed at different hotels (including the

⁶⁹ Natsume, Sōseki. *Sōseki Zenshū*. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1965. Vol 25, 29.

Yamato hotels) when they traveled in Manchuria and Mongolia.⁷⁰ The name of the Yamato Hotel almost completely disappeared in her travelogue.⁷¹ Not to mention that there was no description of western influence in *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia*.

1.5. The Colonial Travelers' Hot Springs

The Mukden-Antung branch of the South Manchuria Railway runs N. to Mukden (Fengtian), where main line trains come in from Dairen (Dalny), the S. terminus. The Yamato Hotel, at Dairen, is under the rly. management...The Rly.⁷² Co. also operates a regular steamship service to *Shanghai*.

Excerpt from an English guidebook, 1914.⁷³

The excerpt above is from an English guidebook published in Boston in 1914. From the instructions, it is obvious that those places are under institutional control. However, the boundaries between nations were still blurred. Since the boundaries were obscured, the

⁷⁰ Yosano does mention she stayed at some hotels affiliated with Mantetsu. For instance, when she visited Tanggangzi, Yosano indicates "The hotel was indirectly managed by the South Manchurian Railway Company, its structure immense in scale and its proprietors scrupulously attentive to conveniences within."

⁷¹ She mentions the "Yamato Hotel" once when she stayed in Dalian.

⁷² Rly. Refers to railway, i.e. Mantetsu.

⁷³ Philip T. Terry, *Terry's Japanese Empire, Including Korea and Formosa, with Chapters on Manchuria, the Trans-Siberian Railway, and the Chief Ocean Routes to Japan; a Guidebook for Travelers; with 8 Specially Drawn Maps and 21 Plans* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin company, 1914), 756-7.

mobility should have been increased because there are no barriers. It looks like one can go everywhere by train from these places. To readers of Natsume Sōseki and Yosano Akiko's travel writings, this excerpt shows the significant influence of Mantetsu, and is indeed quite familiar in terms of the concepts of mobility and blurred boundaries.

Invited by Mantetsu, Natsume Sōseki visited Korea and Manchuria, while Yosano Akiko traveled in Manchuria and Mongolia. During/after the trips, they both published their travelogues in newspapers. However, they adopted different strategies to portray their visions of the Japanese empire in their writings. In order to compare their different strategies, let us contrast the descriptions of the Xiongyue Hot Springs from a 1922 English guidebook and the travelogues of Sōseki and Yosano as follows,

The hot springs, simple thermal, situated on the bank of the river Hsiung-yao, are reached (1.1/3 m. from the station) over a level, shaded carriage road by donkey-car service on a light railway (20 sen). Besides the springs on the river bank, clear thermal spring water bubbles up wherever a hole is bored in the river bed—furnishing in summer a most refreshing and exhilarating bath encircled as it is by the cold river water. In the stretch of sand along the river bank it is possible to obtain an 'exclusive' bath by merely scooping out a hole anywhere. In addition, the much favored sand-bath may be enjoyed.

The Springs of Japan, 1922⁷⁴

Water was gushing out from every spot on this piece of land, no matter where one wandered. You could take off all your clothes, dig a hollow in the sand with your hand, and then stretch out in it: it cost absolutely nothing. Furthermore, if you fell asleep after covering your belly with sand, you could make yourself a kind of padded garment. If you immersed yourself directly in the sand, the gushing water was very hot. When you

⁷⁴ Tetsudōshō, Japan, *The Hot Springs of Japan (and the Principal Cold Springs) Including Chosen (Korea) Taiwan (Formosa) South Manchuria. Under Direction of Frederic De Garis*. Vol. A, Official Guide-Books, Japanese Government Railways (Tokyo, Japan 1922), 415.

filled a basin with the water that burst forth, the color was extremely pure, but this was deceptive. And if you then plunged in without due care, you could have a humiliating experience. Hashimoto and I tore off our *yukata* and vied with each other in immersing our hairy legs. But very soon, after exchanging a look, we quickly drew back. When a man has stripped himself completely naked and subsequently loses his reason for remaining so, he finds himself in an embarrassing position and loses face.

Natsume Sōseki, 1909⁷⁵

The Xiongyue Hot Spring is rich in mountain, river, and willow scenery, and the quality of the springs is on a par with Hakone in terms of beauty. The starkly bald rocky mountain that juts out nearby has an unusual shape. They call it both Wang'ershan (Watching boy mountain) and Wangxiaoshan (Small watching mountain). The story is told that in olden days a lad traveled to the capital to compete in the civil service examinations; his mother climbed this peak and waited day after day for his return until she finally died of agony.

Yosano Akiko, 1928⁷⁶

From these paragraphs, the writers' strategies and intentions are apparent based on their different ways of portraying the hot spring. The guidebook's vision of the spring focuses on its functions and utilities/facilities. Here I take advantage of three pictures that were taken by random Japanese tourists or journalists around the times when Sōseki and Yosano traveled in Manchuria and the English guidebook was written. The photos along

⁷⁵ Natsume, *Rediscovering Natsume SōSeiki*, 97.

⁷⁶ Yosano, *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia*, 18-9.



Figure 2. The Xiong Yue Hot Spring in 1926.

with the descriptions in the guidebook, *Mankan tokorodokoro*, and *Man-Mō yūki* provide us different visions between the West/East, Japan/China, and Sōseki/Yosano. From the guidebook, the readers are able to figure out quick and basic knowledge of the spring, just like the figure 2⁷⁷ shows us that we can only see a simple and clean image of the hot spring. Similar to his *Mankan tokorodokoro* in which the main subject—Manchuria—disappeared, Sōseki's version of the spring also missed the subject of the spring. As in figure 3,⁷⁸ the reader would not learn the name of the spring from his depiction. we can find many objects such as the laundress, the people, the water, and the houses, but we would never recognize that the hot spring is the main subject. Also, rather than describing

⁷⁷ See Figure 2. The photo credits to *Manshū nichinichi shimbun* 満洲日日新聞, June, 1912.

⁷⁸ See Figure 3. The photo credits to *Nanmanchū tetsudō corp.* 南満洲鉄道株式会社, March 20, 1926.

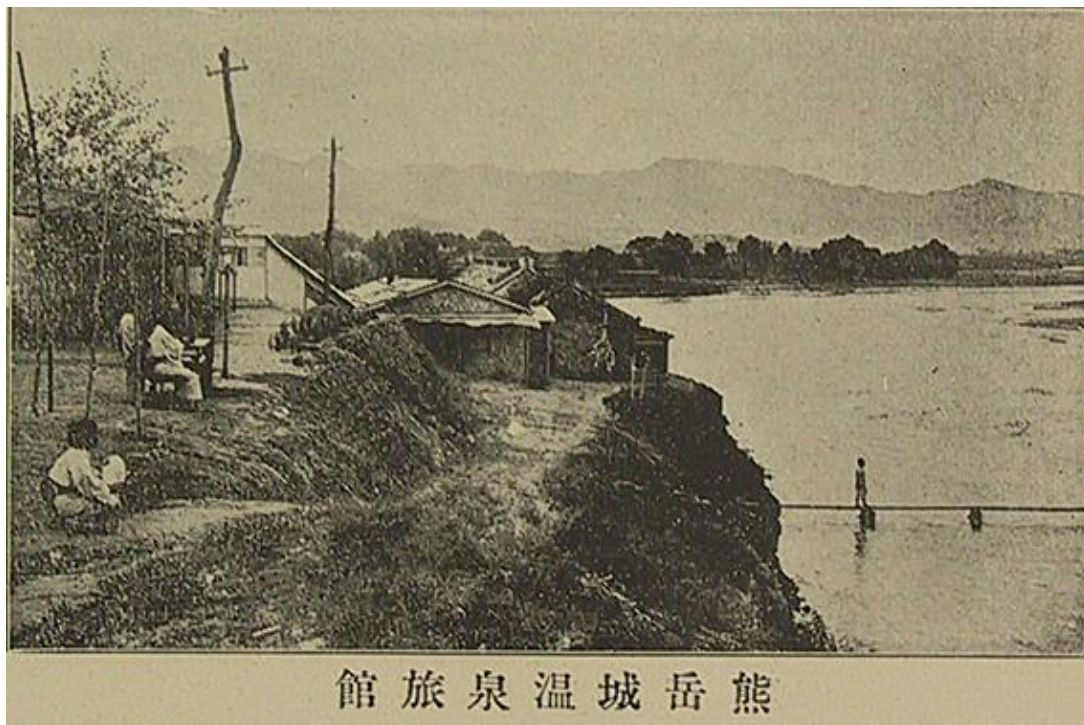


Figure 3. The Xiong Yue Hot Spring in 1911.

the landscape or the functions of the spring, Sōseki emphasizes more the human affection which brings up his struggle with the issue of adjusting himself to the circumstances. Failing to enjoy the spring, Sōseki ends up going back to take a modern bath. Moreover, Yosano, by contrast, portrays attractive sceneries about the spring and its peripheries, and tells a beautiful story behind the sight. As also in figure 4,⁷⁹ the hot spring is not in the center of the picture and the whole picture consists of many important elements that cannot be omitted and look like they are telling a beautiful story.

⁷⁹ See Figure 4. The photo credits to *Buneitō shoten* 文栄堂書店, March 10, 1931.



Figure 4. The Xiong Yue Hot Spring in 1929.

1.6. Conclusion

We may use the expression “literary nationalism” to refer to the actions of a group of people who keep themselves in a solid community or polity with no particular political background or tendency but dedicate themselves to consolidating the community or nation by their talents in the works of literature, art, and performing fields. It is clear that Natsume Sōseki and Yosano Akiko were two of the famous writers in the literary circle who applied this literary nationalism to their writings after they finished their trips in Manchuria, with the support of Mantetsu, in the early twentieth century.

Again, from the different views of the same hot spring, if we replace “the spring” with “Manchuria,” Sōseki and Yosano’s different visions of the Japanese empire are even more easily discovered. Sōseki, on one hand, rejects the political request from Mantetsu, but unconsciously reveals his nationalism when he depicts the dark side of the frontier. Yosano, however, while portraying the bright side (the beauty, reminiscence, and nostalgia) of the frontier, diminishes the boundary between self and other, and claims her nationalism to the otherness by dissolving the uniqueness of Japan into the classical beauty of China. Regardless of their different strategies in representing their visions of the Japanese empire, the two writers’ travel writings not only recreated the relationship between the empire and frontier, but also shaped the Japanese empire with their unique literary nationalism. Contrary to Peter Duus’ claim that Japanese imperialism was a mimesis of Western imperialism, and that the Japanese empire was an unexpected empire,⁸⁰ the Japanese empire that was shaped by Sōseki and Yosano’s literary nationalism, was, by all means, an expected empire.

⁸⁰ Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 435-7.

CHAPTER 2

Landscape in Binary

2.1. Satō Haruo and Nishikawa Mitsuru in Colonial Taiwan

During the reign of the third shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604-1651), the Tokugawa bakufu implemented edicts that forbade most foreigners from entering Japan as well as most Japanese from leaving the country. As a result, travel to other countries including China became nearly impossible for Japanese literati until the government abolished the ban in 1862.¹ As Chapter One shows, following the expansion of Japanese colonialism and militarism in East Asia, many Japanese literati—like Natsume Sōseki and Yosano Akiko—went to China and other Japanese colonies for various purposes. Because of their different purposes and achievements, the Japanese literati brought impacts on various angles of the empire.

Satō Haruo (1892-1964) is one of the literati travelers who was able to visit Taiwan—the first and most southern colony of Japan. He traveled in Taiwan and south China for several months in 1920—twenty-five years after Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895. Unlike Satō, —a *naichijin* (person from Japan proper) who only visited Taiwan for

¹ See Joshua A. Fogel, “Japanese Literary Travelers in Prewar China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 49, no. 2 (1989): 576.

a short time, Nishikawa Mitsuru (1908-1999) spent almost all his productive years as a professional writer in Taiwan, and his career was discontinued after being repatriated to Japan. While Satō wrote many literary works on Taiwan after returning to Japan, Nishikawa wrote an even greater number of pieces of “Taiwanese” literature before going back to Japan. It can be said that the two Japanese writers provide completely different experiences and perspectives through their works on Taiwan. From their literary works, it is clear both writers intended to portray the colonial landscapes through their exoticism and romanticism. While Satō sketches a clear and binary scenery of the colony, Nishikawa tends to color his colonial picture in blurred brushstrokes.

2.2. From Love Triangle to Colonial Journey

Satō Haruo traveled to Taiwan in the year 1920. He stayed there from June to October. It was Satō’s first and only visit to that southern island during his lifetime. From the very beginning, it was as a result of his personal matters that Satō decided to make his trip. Just before Satō made his journey to Taiwan, he was involved in a love triangle with one of his best friends and contemporaries, Tanizaki Jun’ichiro (1886-1965) and Tanizaki’s first wife Chiyoko (known as Chiyo). This love triangle was a big scandal in the Japanese literary circle at that time and became a publicly well-known incident through the press in 1930 when the three sent out a postcard to their family and friends

indicating Tanizaki had divorced Chiyo, and she had married Satō.² Because of this famous love triangle, these two literary giants not only created literature about the occurrence, but also broke off and then rebuilt relations between each other ten years later.³ This special incident even became the material of a great detective fiction writer, Matsumoto Seichō (1909-1992), and was adapted as a detective novel in 1965, a year after Satō's death.⁴ Margherita Long has provided a basic chronology for this love triangle and recorded their long relationship from the marriage of Tanizaki and Chiyo, to the recovery of the friendship between Tanizaki and Satō.⁵ The duration of this incident lasted around fifteen years.⁶

Nevertheless, Satō and Tanizaki's friendship can be traced back to Taishō 6 (1917) after Satō had published one of his famous works *The Ailing Roses* 病める薔薇 (*Yameru sōbi*, 1914) in *Kokuchō* and continued to write *Melancholy in the Country* 田園の憂鬱 (*Den'en no yūutsu*, 1919)—a work that made Satō famous in the literary circle

² This incident is known as the “Odawara Incident” 小田原事件 of 1911 (Taishō 10). The incident has been named because their love triangle actually broke out in Odawara when Satō visited Tanizaki's house after his journey to Taiwan and China. Their story was not public knowledge until much later when the three released an open letter, and was reported as the Wife-Passing incident (夫人譲渡事件/細君譲渡事件) in the media.

³ According to *Shinchōsha's Satō Haruo*, the story and characters of this love triangle were portrayed in detailed in Satō's *Ko no mitsu no mono* この三つのもの (1925). Tanizaki also described his point of views in his *Between God and Human* 神と人との間 (1923). It is clear that this incident inspired works like Satō's *The Song of Saury* 秋刀魚の歌 (1922) and Tanizaki's *Some Prefer Nettles* 蓼食う虫 (1929).

⁴ Kimie Imura, and Tōru Haga, eds., *Satō Haruo* (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 1997), 39.

⁵ Margherita Long, *This Perversion Called Love: Reading Tanizaki, Feminist Theory, and Freud* (Stanford University Press, 2009), 43.

⁶ Tanizaki married Chiyoko in 1915, and Satō recovered friendship with Tanizaki in 1930.

and is arguably his most popular work as a young writer.⁷ Acknowledging Satō's literary ability and potential, Tanizaki invited Satō to his house many times. Satō became a regular guest of Tanizaki family and was able to get acquainted with Chiyo from his frequent visits. Meanwhile, the marriage between Tanizaki and Chiyo was not working as Tanizaki even had an affair with Chiyo's sister, Ishikawa Seiko.⁸ Thus, Chiyo finally fell in love with Satō who frequently visited and talked with her. The pressure of this love triangle made Satō have a nervous breakdown and he eventually had to return to his hometown of Shingū in Wakayama Prefecture to recuperate from his mental illness.

2.3. Travel with Personal Matters

While Satō was recuperating in Shingū, he ran into an old friend, Higashi Kiichi, who was living in Taiwan, and was invited by him to visit the island in Taishō 9 (1920).⁹ Satō has described the episode related to his Taiwan voyage in his essay *A Record of That Summer* かの一夏の記 (1936). He writes, "Because of one thing, I was in a depressive state and thus I missed the long lost homeland and came back to my home town."¹⁰ Obviously, Satō's journey to Taiwan and China had everything to do with his personal

⁷ *The Ailing Roses* 病める薔薇 is the early version of *Melancholy in the Country* 田園の憂鬱.

⁸ Long, *This Perversion Called Love*, 43.

⁹ Higashi Kiichi 東熙市 was often referred as H in Satō's writings. Higashi was a dentist and ran a hospital in Taiwan. The reason he came back to Shingū was to raise funds for the enlargement of his own hospital.

¹⁰ Haruo Satō, *Teihon Satō Haruo Zenshū* Vol. 6 (Kyōto-shi: Rinsen Shoten, 1998), 225.

matters, especially his love for Chiyo. As Yamaguchi Rie has pointed out “It is well known that, for Haruo, a person who was suffering from a nervous breakdown due to the love problem with Tanizaki Chiyo, this trip was supposed to have a curative effect on his heart-broken condition.”¹¹ It is clear that Satō was desperate to do something to remedy his broken heart, and this trip to the south was closely related to his personal problem.

Satō began his trip to Taiwan at the end of June and wrote a series of literary works regarding his journey to the south after coming back to Japan. Satō published the first work related to his voyage, *The Stars* 星 (*Hoshi*), in 1921, a year after his return from the south, and continued to write about Taiwan until 1937 when he published his final work about the colony, the essay “A Travelogue in Sharyō Island” 社寮島旅情記 (*Sharyōjima ryojōki*). During his writing career, Satō published thirteen works in total that either featured the island of Taiwan as the story’s background, or directly portrayed the customs, landscapes, and people of the colonial island. These works cover a broad range of literary genres from poems, short stories, children’s tales, to travel memoirs and novels.

During his trip in Taiwan, Satō also took time to travel across the sea to visit mainland China. While Satō also wrote about his trips to the Chinese mainland in literary works such as *Record of a Journey to the South* 南方紀行 (*Nanpō kikō*) and *Stars* 星 (*Hoshi*), we can find clues from his works that he enjoyed his Taiwan trip much more

¹¹ Yamaguchi mentions Satō’s condition in “The Things about the Trip in the South” 南方旅行の事. The original text is: “この旅は、ちょうど谷崎千代との恋愛問題だどから神経衰弱に陥っていた春夫にとって、傷心旅行の意味あいも大きかったことが知られている”

than his journey to China. Faye Yuan Kleeman has commented that “Compared to the critical and, at times, contemptuous gaze he directed at China, his depictions of the colony are more complex, studied, and subtle; often they reveal a sympathetic attitude toward the aboriginal peoples and native Taiwanese intellectuals.”¹² Although Satō traveled to China three times during his lifetime, it is for sure that the first China trip was not as pleasant as his experience in the southern colony of Japan.¹³ Nonetheless, Robert Thomas Tierney has mentioned that “Satō’s 1920 voyage to Taiwan and China proved extremely fruitful in terms of his later literary production.”¹⁴ The experience of traveling around Taiwan and China indeed expanded Satō’s literary varieties and turned his vision to look at landscapes from different angles.

2.4. Into the Mountains: A Trip with Privilege

Invited by an old friend from his hometown, Satō was able to travel freely in Taiwan with the help of several people and officials who worked and lived there at that time. Among those who helped Satō during his Taiwan trip, Shimomura Hiroshi 下村宏

¹² Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 88.

¹³ See “Japanese Literary Travelers in Prewar China.” Satō traveled to China three times in 1920, 1925, and 1927.

¹⁴ Robert Thomas Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 90.

(1875-1957),¹⁵ the chief of the Civil Administration of Taiwan, and Mori Ushinosuke 森丑之助 (1877-1926),¹⁶ a pioneer anthropologist and ethnographer in Taiwan, were the two most important individuals who made Satō's trip safe and successful. One of the key supports he received from Shimomura was his official permit to visit the Taiwanese aboriginal tribes. Satō has described the treatment he received throughout his voyage in *Musha* (1925). He mentions that "The lodging in which people guided me to stay is the best one..." and "people enthusiastically treated me like this because Chief S of the Civil Administration of Taiwan ordered them to treat a literary person like me as a distinguished guest."¹⁷ In the passages, we can see Shimomura is referred to as "Chief S." Under Japanese colonial rule, it was impossible to visit aboriginal lands without official permission.

The reason Satō was able to travel to aboriginal lands such as Musha, one of the principal administrative towns of the aborigine right after the outbreak of the Slamao uprising in July in 1920, was because of the support from colonial authorities.¹⁸ Satō was escorted by policy throughout his stay. As such, it is not hard to understand why Satō

¹⁵ Shimomura Hiroshi 下村宏 is better known by his pseudonym Shimomura Kainan 下村海南. Shimomura was a government official and journalist. In 1915, he was commissioned the Chief of the Civil Administration Bureau of the Government-General of Taiwan. Shimomura was also a politician and a writer. His writings include *Entering into the press world* 新聞に入りて (1926), *Secret Story of the War's End* 終戦秘史 (1950), and also many essays and collections of poems.

¹⁶ Mori Ushinosuke 森丑之助 was a Japanese ethnographer who studied the Taiwanese aborigines for decades. He became the Director of the Museum of Taiwan in 1916. The famous Japanese anthropologist Torii Ryūzō (1870-1953) has praised him as "The number one researcher of the Taiwanese aborigine."

¹⁷ Haruo Satō, *Teihon Satō Haruo Zenshū* Vol. 5 (Kyōto-shi: Rinrisen Shoten, 1998), 120.

¹⁸ Slamao Incident 薩拉矛事件 occurred in 1920. It was a Taiwanese aboriginal tribe's revolt in which the Slamao aborigines fought against the Japanese rule for its unfair treatment.

himself realizes and says that “If not for the directive of this high official, I would not have obtained permission to travel to the aboriginal lands so quickly, and even if it had been granted, it may have been canceled from one minute to the next.”¹⁹

Besides the support from the chief Shimomura, the anthropologist Mori Ushinosuke was the one who not only set up Satō’s travel plans, but also introduced Satō to local officials and literati, and treated him at home in Taipei for several days. To Satō, Mori was not just a new friend who happened to live in Taiwan, but a Taiwan specialist who explained the customs and people to him throughout his journey. As Robert Thomas Tierney indicates, “Satō cites Mori’s views at length (Mori is referred to as M) in the final chapter of his travel memoir “Musha,” a detailed account of his travel to the aboriginal lands that is profoundly informed by Mori’s work.”²⁰ Mori was one of the three Japanese anthropologists who studied Taiwanese aborigines.²¹ His work *Taiwan banzokushi* 台灣蕃族志 (1917) was frequently referred to by Satō in his Taiwan writings.²²

It is often mentioned that Satō Haruo’s trip in Taiwan was just like a typical anthropologist’s field trip. The reason why scholars see Satō’s travel in this way is because Satō not only had his travel plans created by the anthropologist Mori

¹⁹ See Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery*, 89.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ The other two are Torii Ryūzō 鳥居龍藏 (1870-1953) and Inō Kanori 伊能 嘉矩 (1867-1925).

²² *Taiwan banzokushi* 台灣蕃族志 (1917) contains a research of the records of the Taiwanese aborigines. There are ten volumes in total. The first volume is about the Tayal tribe, followed by Bunun tribe, Tsou tribe, Paiwan tribe, Amis tribe, Yami tribe, and Taiwanese Plain tribe, etc. This anthropological research focuses on the histories and languages of these tribes.

Ushinosuke, but he also visited Taiwanese aboriginal lands and wrote about it in his works. When he first arrived in Taiwan in 1920, Satō went to Taipei and visited Mori, who was the deputy director of the Taipei Museum and curator of the institution's collection of aboriginal artifacts at that time. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that Satō's visit to Taiwan is seen as an anthropological field trip.

Scholars also tend to read Satō's writings of Taiwan through an anthropological viewpoint. For instance, Isomura Mihoko has indicated in her article "Sato Haruo's 'Machō' and Taiwan Aborigines: Their Sufferings from Re-colonization" that,

Satō has noted in his work 'Musha' that he carried Mori Ushinosuke's work *Taiwan banzokushi* while traveling in Taiwan... *Taiwan banzokushi* is also considered as the main reference of 'Machō.' When we think of the relationship between Satō Haruo and Taiwan, it cannot be discussed without the very existence of Mori Ushinosuke. It was Satō who sees Taiwan through the eyes of Mori.²³

Moreover, while analyzing one of Satō's Taiwanese works, which is based on a barbarian legend "Demon Bird (Machō)," Tierney claims that "Even though the narrator of 'Demon Bird' impersonates an ethnographer, he is, of course, not literally an ethnographer but rather a pseudo-ethnographer."²⁴ By claiming the narrator to be a "pseudo-ethnographer," Tierney sketches the narrator's position and claims that the narrator "both imitates and distances himself from the ethnographer," which makes him "able to create a pastiche of colonial ethnographic discourse and to deconstruct it at the

²³ "Sato Haruo's "Machō" and Taiwan Aborigines: Their Sufferings from Re-colonization," 60.

²⁴ Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery*, 91.

same time.”²⁵ Obviously, Tierney parallels the narrator with the writer Satō who is not an ethnographer but experiences an ethnographic field trip in colonial Taiwan. Tierney may be partially true to claim that Satō was a pseudo-ethnographer. However, as I mentioned above, since Satō’s Taiwan trip began with personal matters, he was not able to keep himself absolutely neutral, not to mention how he frequently portrays the aboriginal people from his subjective perspective.

Yet, if we claim Satō Haruo’s Taiwan trip was a complete anthropological field trip, it may be not as precise as we could tell from his writings. Indeed, following Mori’s travel plan, Satō was able to catch sight of the life of the Taiwanese aborigines and portrayed the moments of encountering their lives in many of his writings. Nonetheless, when we read Satō’s colonial writings, it still remains in question: what is hidden behind these works? In order to discover what Satō actually saw during his trip in Taiwan, it is necessary to figure out what is the landscape in his eyes. In the following section, I examine Satō’s novella “Jokaisen kitan” 女誠扇綺譚 (1925) with a glance into his other writings on Taiwan to see what is the colonial landscape in front of his literary eyes.

2.5. Colonial Landscape in the Eyes of a Romanticist

²⁵ Ibid.

2.5.1. *The Discovery of Colonial Landscape*

Karatani Kōjin published his well-known *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* in 1980 in which he expounds on the following questions: what is modern Japanese literature? And what are the turning points of “modernity” in literature? Literarily speaking, *Origins* deals with the concept of the “modern.” Karatani claims that for Japanese or non-Westerners, the term “modern” is ambiguous and the concepts of “modern” and “Western” are often conflated in their minds. As a result, it is confusing for non-Westerners, such as Japanese, to think about what is modern Japanese literature. Since it is often said that the origin of modernity begins from the West, if one is seen as non-Western, that individual is not modern or even anti-modern. However, Karatani argues that “as long as a work is seen as the ‘expression’ of the ‘self’ of an ‘author,’ that work is already located within the apparatus of modern literature.”²⁶ In short, the definition of modern Japanese literature relies on its mechanism rather than depending on Western influence. Karatani tries to adopt the idea of what he calls “inversion” as his methodology to observe and discover the element of “modernity” in Japanese literature. This “inversion” brings along the overall theme for *Origins* and each of its topics—the landscape, the interiority, the confession, the sickness, and the child—is constructed or reconstructed through the intellectual discourse of shifts.

²⁶ Karatani, Kōjin. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Translation edited by Brett de Bary. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993, 192.

According to *Origins*, one of the fundamental changes to modern Japanese literature is what Karatani calls “the discovery of landscape.” The notion of “landscape” was developed during the third decade of Meiji period and did not exist before 1890. The so-called “landscape” is “an epistemological constellation”²⁷ in which the notions of inversion and interiority emerge through the process when the notion of landscape is realized and discovered. Taking Kunikida Doppo’s (1871-1908) works, —*The Musashi Plain* 武蔵野 (Mushashino, 1898) and *Unforgettable People* 忘れえぬ人々 (Wasure enu hitobito, 1898), as an example of discovering landscapes, Karatani has indicated that “For landscape...is not simply what is outside. A change in our way of perceiving things was necessary in order for landscape to emerge, and this change required a kind of reversal.”²⁸ In addition, Karatani further mentions “It is only within the ‘Innerman,’ who appears to be indifferent to his surroundings, that landscape is discovered. It is perceived by those who do not look ‘outside.’”²⁹ In short, the idea of the discovery of landscape is a process of literary modernization in which an inner vision or interiority can be discovered through the initiation of inversion. Of course, Karatani’s explanation of the discovery of landscape is not easily explained in several sentences, but it is not my intention to explicate Karatani’s theory of modern Japanese literature here. Rather, I am interested in how this very notion of “landscape” can be applied to Satō Haruo’s writing on colonial Taiwan.

²⁷ Ibid., 22.

²⁸ Ibid., 24.

²⁹ Ibid., 25.

There is no doubt that Satō's works belong in the genre of modern Japanese literature. What he wrote is absolutely modern, including his works related to the colonial island Taiwan. In 1925, about five years after he came back from his journey to the south, Satō published one of his most important travel works, "Jokaisen-kitan."³⁰ While the story contains the features of a travelogue and memoir-like style of writing, "Jokaisen kitan" creates a colonial space encompassing a bizarre atmosphere filled with Western exoticism, Chinese romanticism, and Japanese colonialism.

2.5.2. The Story of "Jokaisen kitan"

The story of "Jokaisen kitan" takes place in an obsolete port of An-pin harbor, located in the west suburban area of Tainan city. One day, the journalist "I" and his friend Segaimin 世外民³¹ visit Fort Provintia in Tainan and pass by an obsolete port, Kutsutaukan 禿頭港, in An-pin harbor. While wandering around the port, they discover a large two-story mansion that was apparently sumptuous in the old days but had fallen into disuse for a long time. Driven by curiosity, they decide to take a look inside. With the help of an old, local Taiwanese woman, they finally figure out where the entrance is and walk into the mansion. When they try to go to the second floor, they hear people's

³⁰ "Jokaisen-kitan" was published in the journal *Josei* 女性.

³¹ According to the protagonist, Segaimin is a pseudonym of his friend.

voices in Quanzhou dialect³² from the second floor. Knowing someone lives in the mansion, they leave the house immediately, and later learn a ghost story about the mansion from the old woman. It turns out that the mansion belonged to the rich family of Shen who made a large fortune by illegal means but is suddenly ruined by natural disaster. It is said that the voice is the deceased daughter of the Shen family who is eager to be married but starves to death in the end. After a series of investigations, the protagonist “I” seemingly finds out the truth that the voice is not from a ghost but from a maidservant who had a secret meeting with her lover in the mansion.

The reception of “Jokaisen kitan” was mostly positive. Shimomura Hiroshi, the chief of the Civil Administration of Taiwan, published an article in the newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* saying that “I only hope this kind of work will continue to be published for the sake of Taiwan.”³³ Even the writer himself expressed his satisfaction toward this work in an afterword. In response to some criticisms, Satō wrote, “Regarding the question of whether this work is good or bad, the author has no idea at all...but the author likes this work and it is true that he despises those critics who give a bad reputation to this work...this work is probably one of the author’s five favorites.”³⁴ As a matter of fact, it is very hard to say that there was any significant criticism against this work when it was published. Fujii Shōzō has further pointed out that “As far as I know, the review by Hashitsume Ken in *Yomiuri Shimbun* is the only commentary related to this work.

³² Quanzhou dialect 泉州話 is a branch of Hokkien dialect which comes from around the city of Quanzhou in southern Fujian.

³³ Shimomura’s article was published in *Asahi Shimbun*, April 3, 1926.

³⁴ Haruo Satō, *Satō Haruo Zenshū* Vol. 6 (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1966), 493.

Probably Satō understood Hashitsume's review of this work as 'exotic literature' to be a negative assessment, and thus 'severely despised' such criticism."³⁵ If this is true, we may need to reconsider how to evaluate this "exotic" work on Taiwan.

2.5.3. *Tale of a Binary: The Landscape of "Jokaisen kitan"*

As mentioned earlier, Karatani asserts that one important feature of modern Japanese literature is the discovery of landscape. When the protagonist in Kunikida Doppo's *Unforgettable People* finally realizes the link between landscape and an introverted, solitary situation, he has discovered the landscape by someone to be indifferent to his external surroundings. In other words, the discovery of landscape is evidence of modernity. So the question is: what kind of landscape does Satō Haruo see in "Jokaisen kitan"? Before taking a close look at the landscape, it is necessary to contemplate the reception and binaries in this bizarre work.

The story is set in the ancient city Tainan and its harbor An-pin, which the narrator describes as follows:

It is not an old town, but it has known much history, indeed the history of the island: the grand schemes of the Dutch, the exploits of Coxinga, and,

³⁵ See Shōzō Fujii 藤井省三, *Taiwan Bungaku Kono Hyakunen* 台灣文學この百年 (Tōkyō: Toho Shoten, 1998), 102. The original text is: "私の知る限りではこの作品に関する評論は読売新聞の橋爪健による批評一編だけである。おそらく佐藤は橋爪の「異国情趣の文学」論を悪評とみなし「甚だ軽蔑」したのである。"

more recently, the attempts of Liu Yung-fu to hold Formosa against the Japanese—they all had to do with this harbor. I do not propose to discuss these matters here, nor am I capable of doing so...

そこにはさまで古くないとは言へ、さまざまの歴史がある。この島の主要な歴史と言へば、蘭人の壮図、鄭成功の雄志、新しくはまた劉永福の野望の末路も皆この一港市に関連していると言っても差し支えないのだが、私はここでそれを説かうとも思わない...³⁶

The combination of Western ambition (the Dutch), Eastern aspiration (Coxinga), and local power (Liu Yong-fu) has provided “Jokaisen kitan” with a mysterious and elegant atmosphere from the very beginning, which explains why scholars often treat this as a work of exoticism. As Isomura Mihoko has mentioned, scholars such as Hashizume Ken have commented that “[This work] reflects a beauty of devastation which...intertwines the features of exoticism, legend and present sceneries.”³⁷ A former professor of Taipei Imperial University Shimada Kinji also points out that this work is typical exotic literature.³⁸ Shimada’s perspective is especially significant because it can be said that after Shimada, the views of “Jokaisen kitan” are generally fixed and become formalized. Moreover, Kleeman further confirms that “[“Jokaisen-kitan”] is often cited as an exemplary piece of exotic writing...As an established writer of the Taishō Romantic Movement, Satō Haruo’s writings surely drew attention to the colony.”³⁹ However, while most comments focus on the work’s exotic style of writing, Fujii Shōzō criticizes this kind of viewpoint as a “Japanese version of orientalism.” Fujii argues that this Japanese

³⁶ Satō, *Teihon Satō Haruo Zenshū* Vol. 5, 149

³⁷ See Ken Hashizume, “旧さの中の新しさ 五月創作評,” *Yomiuri Shimbun*, May 7, 1925.

³⁸ See Shimada Kinji, “台湾文学の過現未,” *Taiwan Times*, September, 1939.

³⁹ Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 88.

version of orientalism actually limits our thoughts on this work, and we should focus on the colonial context—which sheds light on the land/nation of Taiwan—rather than the feature of exoticism.⁴⁰ As I have mentioned above, it is still an open question whether Satō himself was happy about this work being categorized as an exotic writing.

Indeed, we cannot neglect the special feature that Satō frequently brings up throughout the story of “Jokaisen kitan.” In addition to its background setting, Satō also created several contrasting binaries that not only sharpen the contours of the landscape, but also spread a mysterious and grotesque air throughout the story. For instance, Satō particularly distinguishes the two main characters protagonist “I” and Segaimin in the story. While “I” is a Japanese journalist who does not care about this land, Segaimin is a Han Chinese poet who belongs to the race that “shares the rise and fall with this harbor.”⁴¹ It is apparent that the author intends to make comparisons between China/Japan, Han poet/journalist, and tradition/science. This can be seen from the fact that the two characters have completely opposite attitudes toward the ghost story. After they hear the story and have a drink in a restaurant, Tsushenko (醉仙閣),⁴² Segaimin seems to truly believe the ghost story. By contrast, the protagonist “I” takes the chance to show his stance as a modern and scientific journalist and condemns Segaimin. The protagonist says,

The aesthetic conception that something spiritual continues to live on in perished ruins is something rather traditional Chinese. If I may say so...it

⁴⁰ See Fujii, *Taiwan Bungaku Kono Hyakunen*, 102.

⁴¹ Satō, *Teihon Satō Haruo Zenshū Vol. 5*, 155.

⁴² Tsushenko 醉仙閣 was a real restaurant in Tainan in the Taishō era. It represented a prosperous place in contrast with the ghost house in the story.

seems the taste of a state that has perished (亡国の趣味). How can something that has already perished still go on forever? Don't we say it has perished precisely because it is no longer there?

亡びたものの荒廃のなかにむかしの霊が生き残ってゐるといふ美観は、——これや支那の伝統てきなものだが、僕に言はせると、．．． どうも亡国的趣味だね。亡びたものがどうしていつまでもあるものか。無ければこそほろびたといふのぢやないか⁴³

It is not difficult to figure out that the protagonist has paralleled the “state that has perished” with China (Shina) which, ironically, is also the culture that Segaimin represents in the story. The word “Shina,” as Chapter One has shown, was a derogatory word at that time.

There are consequent discussions about *Shina*/Chinese throughout the story. Although Segaimin, the guide, companion, and good friend of the protagonist, is a Han Chinese, or *Shinajin* (支那人), it does not decrease the degree of contempt which the protagonist “I” recurrently reveals in the passages. The narrator sees China/Chinese from different angles through which he expresses his perspectives of history, literature, culture, and even personalities of China and Chinese people following the progress of the story. We have already seen above that the protagonist thinks the superstition of ghosts is an outdated Chinese traditional idea, and this idea is “a taste of a state that has perished.”⁴⁴ It also applies to the ghost story as well as Chinese literature when the narrator says,

⁴³ See Satō, *Teihon Satō Haruo Zenshū* Vol. 5, 165, and ⁴³ Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 92. The English translation is based on Kleeman's version with my own revision.

⁴⁴ Satō, *Teihon Satō Haruo Zenshū* Vol. 5, 165.

It seems that Segaimin truly feels there is something uncanny about the dilapidated mansion in Bald Alley. Come to think of it, the story sounds so Chinese. A beautiful woman's spirit left behind in an old abandoned house is a clichéd motif in Chinese literature. The Chinese people must feel a particular affinity for this kind of story, but for me it just won't do... Still it is totally unpersuasive as a ghost story. In spite of this, Segaimin is totally fascinated by it. No, rather he is actually terrified by it! Perhaps he thinks he really had a conversation with a ghost.

世外民は禿頭港の廢屋に対して心から怪異の思ひがしてゐるらしい。そう言へばあの話はいかにも支那風に出来てゐる。廢屋や廢社に美女の靈が遺つてゐるのは、支那文学の一つの定型である。それだけにこの民族にとってはよく共感できるらしい。しかし、私はといふとどうもさうは行かない...総じてこの話は怪異譚としては一番価値に乏しい。それなのに世外民などは専らそこに興味を繋いでゐるらしい。いや、むしろ恐怖してさへゐる。彼は自分が幽霊と対話したと思つてゐるのかも知れない。⁴⁵

As a modern journalist, it sounds reasonable that the narrator argues with Segaimin.

There is actually a conflict between the modern and the traditional in the story. As

Kleeman has commented, "Here a casual conversation about apparitions between a

Japanese journalist with a modernist bent and a traditionalist native poet turns into a

critical discourse on national culture and aestheticism. Contrasts are made, mostly by the

narrator, between the old (belief in the old ghost tale) and the new (scientific reasoning

against it)."⁴⁶ "Jokaisen kitan" is a story told in a first person narrative in which the

journalist "I" is also the narrator. Because the story is in a first person narrative, the

boundary between the narrator and the author is quite blurred. As we have already seen,

⁴⁵ See Satō, *Teihon Satō Haruo Zenshū* Vol. 5, 164, and ⁴⁶ Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 91. The English translation is based on Kleeman's version with my own revision.

⁴⁶ Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 92.

because the main characters and locations in the story are actually existent, it is safe to assume the voice of the narrator is a representation the voice of the author. As such, the position of the author is clearly revealed: the group of China/tradition/ghost is not as good as the combination of Japan/new/science.

It is worth noting that compared to Satō's other writings on Taiwan, it is not easy to find direct references to colonialism throughout this story. One of the few clues we can see is a report at the end of the story, which tells that a maid—the actual identity of the ghost that the narrator has suspected—committed suicide by overdosing on opium. In addition to the report, the narrator further notes that “The reporter who wrote the story put this emphasis on the girl's reluctance to marry to Japanese, a stand which the reporter found lamentable.”⁴⁷ Here we finally see the implication of colonial discourse in which the identity/nationality and gender/sexuality are openly discussed. These implications also bring up another significant binary to the story: *naichi* (Japan proper) and *gaichi* (outside territory, here it is Taiwan).

The difference between *gaichi* and *naichi* is, arguably, most often mentioned in the Japanese colonial discourse. The ideas of *naichi* and *gaichi* often bring up significant conflicts between the colonizer and colonized. It turns out that the ghost we are looking for all over the story actually exists and is a maid of *gaichi* who avoids marrying a man of *naichi* by committing suicide. The reason that the maid refuses to marry a *naichijin* is

⁴⁷ The English translation is based on Edward Seidensticker's version and is revised by myself. See Satō, *Teihon Satō Haruo Zenshū* Vol. 5, 176. The original text is “この記事を書く男は、台湾人が内地人に嫁することを嫌がったといふところに焦点をおいて、それが不都合であるかの如き口吻の記事を作っている。”

because she is in love with a local Taiwanese man (*hontōjin*) who was desperate for her love and hanged himself in the room where the narrator hears the ghost's voice.

Ironically, it can be interpreted that the narrator tells the ending of the ghost story without a trace of sympathy. The narrator turns his attention to a romantic and exotic vision in the final sentences. The narrator says,

The young girl of the abandoned house, the young girl whose voice I heard twice but of whom I was finally to have no glimpse—I feel now that she must have been very different from the girl of my imagination.

不思議な因縁によって、私がその声だけは二度もききながら、姿は終に一瞥することも出来なかったあの少女は、事実に於ては、自分の幻想の人物と大変違ったもののやうに私は今は感ずる。⁴⁸

Rather than showing his sympathy, the narrator chooses to emphasize the illicit trysts of the young maid. It can be said that under Satō's romanticizing and exoticizing gaze, the young maid even becomes a fantastic illusion. Borrowing the narrator and Segaimin's voices, Satō has created several images of the young maid throughout his mysterious story—including a ghost, a crazy woman, a girl with a broken heart, and a rich local family's daughter. However, it turns out that these characters are not the actual protagonist of this love story. Satō probably also tried to create a love story to project his failed love affair with Chiyo. Taking the tragic ending as a vehicle, Satō eventually

⁴⁸ Satō, *Teihon Satō Haruo Zenshū Vol. 5*, 176. The English translation is based on Edward Seidensticker, "The Tale of the Bridal Fan," *Japan Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (1962): 335.

pointed out the fundamental difference between Japan and Taiwan—the traditional and exotic *gaichi* can never become the new and scientific *naichi*.

2.5.3. *Cultural Distance and the Heat*

By turning a colonial tragedy into romantic exoticism, Satō shows what Kikuchi Yūko calls “the cultural distance of colonial relations” in “Jokaisen kitan” and his writings on Taiwan. Kikuchi has claimed,

Another noteworthy feature of Satō’s writings on Taiwan is the centrality of “cultural distance” in colonial relations. Evidently, Japanese colonials intended to distance themselves from their colonial subjects, and this imposed distance was reciprocated by the *hontōjin* towards the Japanese. When Satō wanted to meet *hontōjin* cultural elites, his guide told him that many of these people disliked the Japanese, and that one poet had refused to meet them on many occasions.⁴⁹

While the poet she has mentioned is not Segaimin but another Taiwanese poet that appeared in Satō’s travelogue “Travels in the Colonies” 植民地の旅 (Shokuminchi no tabi, 1932), we can still find traces of “cultural distance” in “Jokaisen kitan” as well as other works on Taiwan. In my interpretation, the idea of cultural distance not only indicates the differences between the empire and colonies, but also implies Satō is unaccustomed to the southern colony. One example is that Satō frequently mentions the

⁴⁹ See Yūko Kikuchi, *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 28.

“heat” in his writings on Taiwan. When the two travelers go on an excursion to the Red Fort (Sekikanrō 赤崁楼), the narrator observes the landscape of this historical vestige and depicts it as,

Even the tropical sun just before noon would not reflect off the mucky surface of the waves. This strange sea without reflection... Burning white beneath the bright noon sun. A sea that absorbs all the light... Amidst this landscape of violent movement not a single sound reverberated. From time to time, a humid, dull breeze like the breath of a malaria patient would brush through. All these images congealed into an inner landscape. The symbols multiplied, filling me with an uneasy feeling like that aroused by a nightmare. No, it was not just the scene. After coming into contact with this seascape, there were two or three times when recovering from a hard night of drinking, I was frightened by nightmares of dreary seashores—when I stared at the sea of this kind, it was quite possible that Segaimin also felt the same as I did—this talkative man finally was becoming taciturn.

その濁り切った波の面には、熱帯の正午に近い太陽さへ、その光を反射させることが出来ないと見える。光のないこの奇怪な海。．．．白く灼けた真昼の下。光は全く吸い込んでしまっている海。水平線まで重なり重なる小さな浪頭。洪水を思わせるその色。．．．激しい活動的な景色のなかに闇として何の物音も響かない。時折にマラリヤ患者の息吹のやうに蒸れたのろい微風が動いて来る。それらすべてが一種内面的な風景を形成して、象徴めいて、悪夢のやうな不気味さをさへ私に与えたのである。いや、形容だけではない、この景色に接してから後、私は乱酔の後の日などに、ここによく似た殺風景な海浜を悪夢に見て怯かされたことが二三度もあった。——このやうな海を私がしばらく見入っている間、世外民もまた私と同じやうな感銘を持ったかも知れない、——このよく喋る男もたうとう押黙ってしまっている。⁵⁰

⁵⁰ See Satō, *Teihon Satō Haruo Zenshū* Vol. 5, 150-1, and Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 93. The English translation is based on Kleeman's version with my own revision.

From the narrator's depiction, the landscape becomes an extended nightmare that lasted for years. Kleeman has precisely commented that "This is not a casual observation by a random tourist. The disturbing seascape is inhospitable and foreign to this stranger in a strange land."⁵¹ Indeed, this paragraph is not simply a portrayal of a southern island or historical vestige, the implications such as "the tropical sun which cannot reflect the surface of the waves," "burning white beneath the bright noon sun," "a sea that absorbs all the light," "landscape of violent movement," and "malaria patient," in fact, reveal the author's unsettled feelings about the island of *gaichi*, and his unaccustomed attitude vis-à-vis this bizarre historical remnant.

Specifically, the "heat" that the narrator experiences in Taiwan—if we put it in a colonial context—is a metaphor of stressfulness in the society. Not only does the narrator emphasize the heat in the description of landscape in "Jokaisen kitan," the author Satō Haruo also mentions the hot weather several times in his travelogues and essays. For instance, there is an episode in his travelogue "Travels in the Colonies" when Satō arrives near Puli,⁵² where he is initially arranged to stay in a very hot and humid room, which makes him extremely uncomfortable. The narrator describes that he "even [when he] stretch his feet and lie down there, he still feels extremely uncomfortable."⁵³ The narrator turns to complain to the maid, "The room is too hot. I cannot bear it...Is there any cool place I can go?" However, the maid replies without hospitality, "you just came out from

⁵¹ Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 93-4

⁵² Puli was a formal fort built during the Qing dynasty. It is located near the geographical center of Taiwan.

⁵³ See Satō, *Satō Haruo Zenshū Vol. 7* (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1966), 398-9.

the mountains, so you will feel hot in any room here.”⁵⁴ The maid’s response not only shows harsh room service and the intense heat of the place, but represents an irony that Satō is mentally stressed and physically suffering in the colony even though he mentioned he is well-prepared for the trip before his departure.

In fact, Satō is not a person who is extremely sensitive to heat, as we can see from his writings on Taiwan. In his essay “A Record of That Summer” かの一夏の記 (1936), Satō clearly mentions his opinion on the Taiwan trip. He writes,

Someone may say that people should choose a better place to travel in the midsummer. The person who chooses Taiwan as a travel destination on purpose must be eccentric! Yes, I am indeed eccentric. I believe that people cannot comprehend true charm without visiting a hot place in the summer or going to the north on snowy days...And what is more, a skeletal person like me possesses a body that can tolerate any heat in any place.

盛夏の候に場所もあらうにわざわざ台湾とは物好き千万などいふ人もゐる。物好きには相違ない。暑い地方は炎天の下に、北方は雪中でなければ真の趣を得られないといふのが自分の持論だから・・・それに痩せつぽつちの自分の体質は暑気にならいくらでも堪へる方であった。⁵⁵

We do not know whether Satō is only bragging, but it is certain that the heat should not be a big problem given that there are also hot summers in Tokyo or his hometown, Shingū 新宮. It is possible that by intentionally highlighting the heat, Satō shows his direct and sincere impression of the southern island: it is different and stressful over here.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 399.

⁵⁵ Satō, *Teihon Satō Haruo Zenshū Vol. 21*, 225. The translation is mine.

As Xiaojue Wang has claimed, “the issue of Taiwan has been from the very beginning embedded in the contestation and negotiation of multiple forces: tradition and modernity, Chinese culturalism, Japanese colonialism and imperialism, and finally, Japanese and Chinese modernization,”⁵⁶ these binary forces also can be seen from Satō’s colonial travel and writings. During his voyage in Taiwan, Satō indeed traveled to many aboriginal sites and places that a normal visitor could never have had a chance to visit. However, as we can see from “Jokaisen kitan” and his other works on Taiwan, Satō is neither a pseudo-ethnographer, nor traveling for the reason of ethnographic studies. It is safe to say that Satō’s voyage began with a personal matter—a love triangle with Tanizaki and Chiyo—and ended with a national matter—another love triangle between *naichi* and *gaichi*. By emphasizing several binaries of the colony, the colonial landscape that Satō has portrayed is enlarged from the scale of personal emotions to the scale of race and nationality. From Satō’s literary eyes, the landscape is full of clear shapes that display the contradictions between ghost/science, tradition/modernity, and China/Japan. His distinct visions of nationality, identity, and cultural difference are not a result of being a temporary traveler, but rather a consequence of the cultural domination of *naichi*. After all, the landscape that Satō painted for the colony is not as much exotic and romantic as many people see, but relatively stressful and diverse.

⁵⁶ Xiaojue Wang, *Modernity with a Cold War Face: Reimagining the Nation in Chinese Literature across the 1949 Divide* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2013), 156.

2.6. Between the Boundary: The Otherness and Taiwanese-ness of Nishikawa Mitsuru

Mitsuru

2.6.1. *Life in the Colony: Nishikawa Mitsuru*

In a newspaper report entitled “To the Greater East Asian Writers Conference: Four delegates of Taiwan chosen, will depart soon” in *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* on October 16, 1942,⁵⁷ the picture next to the article shows the four delegates—Nishikawa Mitsuru, Hamada Hayao 濱田隼雄 (1909-1973), Zhang Wenhuan 張文環 (1909-78) and Long Yingzhong 龍瑛宗 (1911-99)—and their collective statement. In the collective statement, they declare that:

We think the purpose of The Great East Asian Writers Conference is for writers in the co-prosperity sphere to discuss the issues of constructing the new East Asian literature under the slogan of the East Asian Renaissance. It is a meaningful meeting for guiding the direction of the future of literature. As literati of Taiwan, our attendance in this meeting can lead us to understand the current situation of literature in the co-prosperity sphere, as well as introduce Taiwan and think about the future of the new Taiwanese literature under the scale of greater East Asia.

大東亜文学者会議は共栄圏内の文学者が東亜文芸復興の旗印の下に新東亜文学建設問題を討論するのださうですが今後の文学の方向を示唆する意義ある会合になるでせう、臺灣の文学人として我々がこの会議に出席することによつて共栄圏内の文学の現状も知りまた臺

⁵⁷ See “To the Great East Asian Writers Conference: Four delegates of Taiwan chosen, will depart soon 大東亜文学者会議へ: 臺灣代表四氏決る、近く出発,” *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* 台湾日日新報, October 16, 1942.

灣の紹介もし大東亜の規模に於ける臺灣の今後の新しい文学について考へて来たいと思つてゐます。⁵⁸

In this collective statement, the significance of participating in this great East Asian event is basically expressed in two ways: first, to know the status quo about literature in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere; second, to introduce Taiwan to the Great East Asia circle. It can be seen that the numbers of delegates between *naichi* and *gaichi* was balanced. Moreover, it is worth noting that two of the delegates are *hontōjin* who belong to Han Chinese ethnicity and were born in *gaichi*, and the other two came from *naichi*, but spent years living in *gaichi*. While the members consisted of both “Japanese” and “Taiwanese,” it is clear that their goals were focused towards Taiwan. Nishikawa Mitsuru was one of the delegates who was born in *naichi* but lived in the *gaichi*, and contributed to the place during the first half of his life. As such, it can be said that Nishikawa and his literary works are full of the atmosphere of Taiwaneseeness.

Nishikawa Mitsuru was born in Fukushima, Japan and moved with his family to Taiwan at the age of two in 1910. Compared with his contemporaries, Nishikawa had a relatively wealthy childhood in Taiwan because his father, Nishikawa Jun (西川純, - 1944), an entrepreneur later elected as a city councilor of Taipei, was able to run a successful mining business in Taiwan. Except for spending about six years at Waseda University in Tokyo, Nishikawa set his roots and spent most of his career as a writer in colonial Taiwan before being repatriated to Japan in 1946. Unfortunately, after

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Nishikawa came back to Japan, his professional writing career was almost entirely terminated. As such, it is fair to say that Nishikawa's career as a writer was completely rooted in Taiwan. Nishikawa began his literary career very early when he was a junior high school student. His first short story "Buta" 豚 or "The Swine," was awarded first place in a writing competition.⁵⁹ However, Nishikawa failed to pass the entrance examination of Taipei High School twice and had to go to Japan to continue his studies. During his days in Tokyo, Nishikawa studied French literature and became fascinated by romanticism. Faye Yuan Kleeman has noted that "His inclination toward romanticism was influenced, no doubt, by his personality and family background, but it must have been shaped as well by...teachers [at Waseda University]⁶⁰ of French romantic literature."⁶¹ Nishikawa finally returned to Taiwan in 1933 after six years of study in Japan. During his study in Japan, Nishikawa personally published several literary works including essays, short stories, and poems. It is frequently mentioned that Nishikawa's successful career of writing in Taiwan was built on his studies in Japan.

Nishikawa was a poet, a novelist, a script-writer, and a publisher during the colonial period in Taiwan. He led the Association of Taiwanese Writers and founded a famous literary magazine: *Bungei Taiwan* 文芸台湾 (*Literature Taiwan*).⁶² Also, as noted earlier, Nishikawa attended the Greater East Asian Writers Conference as one of

⁵⁹ Ying Xiong, *Representing Empire: Japanese Colonial Literature in Taiwan and Manchuria* (Leiden, the Netherlands; Boston: Brill, 2014), 52.

⁶⁰ Nishikawa worked with Yoshie Takamatsu 吉江喬松, Saijō Yaso 西條八十, and Yamauchi Yoshio 山内義雄 at Waseda University.

⁶¹ Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 71.

⁶² *Bungei Taiwan* was first published in 1940 and ended its publication in 1944.

the representatives of Taiwan.⁶³ As one can see from above, since moving with his parents to Taiwan at the age of two, Nishikawa intertwined with the land for about three decades. It is easy to believe that Nishikawa was one of the most influential writers in the Taiwanese literary circle at that time. Nevertheless, when Japan announced its defeat in the war, Nishikawa was even listed as one of the war criminals.⁶⁴ After being repatriated to Japan, he did not have opportunities to flourish in the Japanese literary circles. Nishikawa tried to continue writing several literary works but was never able to reach the center of the Japanese literary arena. Izumi Tsukasa has mentioned that Nishikawa's literary activities after his repatriation almost entirely relied on his "property" which was earned during his Taiwan era.⁶⁵ It seems Nishikawa was never able to move on from his experience in colonial Taiwan.

Nishikawa's literary works often portray the history and culture of Taiwan with his unique tone full of exoticism, romance, and beauty. Scholars often debate about the essence of Nishikawa's works because of his identity as a writer from *naichi* who describes the culture and custom of *gaichi* in his texts. Japanese scholars like Nakajima

⁶³ Hotsuki Ozaki, *Kyū Shokuminchi Bungaku No Kenkyū 旧植民地文学の研究* (Tōkyō: Keisō Shobō, 1971), 22.

⁶⁴ See Nakajima Toshio 中島利郎, "<忘れられた作家たち・一>「西川満」覚書: 西川満研究の現況," 聖徳学園岐阜教育大学国語国文学 12 (March 1993): 111–22. According to Nakajima Toshio, Nishikawa Mitsuru and Hamada Hayao were listed as Taiwanese war criminals because they were "the leaders of Taiwanese culture."

⁶⁵ See Tsukas Izumi, "<Hikiage>go No Shokuminchi Bungaku: Senkyuhyakuyonjunendai Kohan No Nishikawa Mitsuru O Chushin Ni <引揚>後の植民地文学: 一九四〇年代後半の西川満を中心に," 藝文研究 94 (June 2008): 63–81.

Toshio contend that Nishikawa's literature was written for people who are from Japan proper, or *naichi*. Nakajima has claimed that,

Even while his works talk about Taiwan, and show some usages of Taiwanese dialect, the people who understood and praised his works were all Japanese. That is to say these [works] reflect only the place of Taiwan from the eyes of the Japanese and the notion of Taiwan that he used was only to fulfill the expectations of these Japanese.⁶⁶

Moreover, compared with Nakajima's opinion, other Japanese scholars such as Tarumi Chie claim that Nishikawa actually wrote literary works based on his personal consciousness as a colonizer. She has asserted that, "In the end, Nishikawa could not escape from his perception as a 'colonizer' during his entire career. Besides, he did not even try to escape from it at all."⁶⁷ Apparently, Nishikawa and his works were treated as "the other" compared to the literature written by the local people. Not only that, as Fujii has mentioned, Nishikawa was regarded as a writer of *kōmin* literature who supported the national policy of assimilation and thus was banned by the Kuomintang after the war.⁶⁸ Most ironically, while Nishikawa and his literary works were treated as intruders in Taiwan since the colonial period, his exotic and romantic writing style was not fully accepted in Japan either. Indeed, it can be said that Nishikawa was a writer in between, and his position as a colonial writer was ambiguous.

⁶⁶ Toshio Nakajima, "Wasurerareta Sakka Tachi--Nishikawa Mitsuru Gakusho," *Shotoku Gakuen Gifu Kyoiku Daigaku Kokugo Kokubunngaku* 12 (1993): 108. Here I assume the "Japanese" were all from *naichi*.

⁶⁷ See Chie Tarumi, *Taiwan No Nihongo Bungaku: Nihon Tōchi Jidai No Sakkatachi* (Tōkyō: Goryū Shoin, 1995), 27. Tarumi tries to say that Nishikawa also believed himself to be a colonizer.

⁶⁸ Shōzō Fujii, *Taiwan Bungaku Kono Hyakunen* (Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten, 1998), 126.

Under these circumstances, how should we evaluate Nishikawa and his literature? What was his position as a colonizer who wrote literature regarding the culture, customs, and history of the colony? In the next section, I examine two of his short stories, “Spring on the Rice River” 稻江治春詞 (“Tōkō yashunshi”) and “Record of the Red Fort” 赤嵌記 (“Sekikan ki”), taking these works as examples to show how Nishikawa’s literature shaped the colonial space and constructed the boundary of Taiwanese-ness. By analyzing these works, I shed light on the issues of language, gender, history, as well as the elements of exoticism in order to expound the features of otherness and Taiwanese-ness in Nishikawa’s literature.

2.6.2. Triangle of Power, Right, and Truth: Foucault’s Power Theory on Literature

It is said that everything in the empire is about power. According to Michel Foucault, one is always inside power, and power is to be found everywhere, in science, politics, economy, and so forth.⁶⁹ As a result, there is no exception for the subjects of the Japanese empire. It can be said that both the colonized and the colonizer exercise power. On the one hand, the colonizers come under the power of the colonized people’s rebellion, resistance, and counterattack; on the other hand, the colonized are caught in the

⁶⁹ Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures.” In *Power/Knowledge*, edited by Michel Foucault (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 93-4.

powerful grip of the colonizers' oppression, surveillance, and forced assimilation. The two forces intertwine and interact with each other.

Foucault has further pointed out that there is an exercise of the triangle of power, right, and truth everywhere. He refers "On the one hand, to the rules of right that provide a formal delimitation of power; on the other, to the effects of truth that this power produces and transmits, and which in their turn reproduce this power. Hence we have a triangle: power, right, truth."⁷⁰ Moreover, Foucault has explained the interaction of the triangle of power, right, and truth as follows: "We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth... We are also subjected to truth in the sense in which it is truth that makes the laws."⁷¹ To expand this theory to the Japanese empire, it can be said that the colonizer produced the rule of right for the colonized in order to gain more power, and the colonized were forced to produce the truth that the colonizer demanded for supporting the colonial power.

As Michel Foucault has suggested, the vestige of exercising the triangle of power, truth, and right can be found everywhere. It can be further extended to explain the phenomena of colonial boundaries, especially from some essential elements such as history, culture, gender and body in the colonial space. Moreover, as Albert Memmi has asserted that "The bond between the colonizer and the colonized is both destructive and

⁷⁰ Ibid., 93.

⁷¹ Ibid., 94.

creative,”⁷² it is fair to say that the colonized subjects lived with this paradox of “boundary.”

By exercising the triangle of power, right, and truth, Japanese colonial discourse was deeply built into the people’s everyday life including the language, history, culture, customs, as well as literature in the colonial society. Taking the colonial discourse and truths into consideration in Nishikawa’s case, the first person narrator in his works frequently suggests a typical power relation between the colonizer and the colonized, which comes from the colonial truths provided by the colonizer. By building the rules of right in the colony, the Japanese colonizer was able to declare and practice power over the colonized, which often resulted in many tragedies within colonial Taiwan. Furthermore, the colonized Taiwanese also produced the “truth” for the Japanese colonizer. First of all, writing and speaking in Japanese is one of the most important truths that the Taiwanese subjects produced for the colonial authority at that time. The truth that the Taiwanese people were forced or volunteered to speak the Japanese language built up the orthodoxy and legitimation of the colonial law, and consequently, it provided the justified rules of right for the government-general of Taiwan to control the people. Eventually, the colonized Taiwanese were forced to speak and write in Japanese by the colonial power, and the colonial power was supported by the truth that the colonized Taiwanese had produced.

⁷² Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 89.

2.6.3. “Spring on the Rice River” and “Record of the Red Fort”

“Spring on the Rice River” or “Tōkō yashunshi” was published in the first issue of *Literature Taiwan* 文芸台灣 in 1940. Since “Spring on the Rice River” was the first literary work of Nishikawa published in his own magazine, it is not difficult to understand the significance of this short story to the author. The story of “Spring on the Rice River” begins with a description of a Taiwanese *geidan* 芸姐, Mari 抹麗, who has had a relationship with the protagonist “I” for more than a year.⁷³ The protagonist has some romantic sentiment for Mari, but it is dampened a bit when he hears she prays to the God of wealth, Hân-Tan-Iâ 玄壇爺,⁷⁴ for money on the evening of the Lantern Festival. They later go to visit Mari’s austere apartment near the river bank, where the protagonist discovers a photograph and eventually realizes the reason that Mari works as a *geidan* and prays for money: It is because she is a single mother who has to raise her teenage son. After knowing the truth, the protagonist reassesses his estimation of Mari and decides not to see her again in order to help accomplish her wish to be a strong mother. Two months later, a teenager appears and asks him to visit his mother. Realizing that the teenager must be Mari’s son, the protagonist immediately rushes to her apartment with

⁷³ The *geidan* or 芸姐 is similar to the *geisha* in Japan, a high-ranking courtesan who entertains men and may have sexual relationship with the patrons.

⁷⁴ hân-tan-iâ 玄壇爺 is a Daoist God who takes charge of wealth and is worshipped in China and Taiwan.

her son. However, Mari is very sick and about to die. At the final moment of Mari's life, the protagonist shares a sentimental moment with Mari overlooking the mountain across the river, which represents an unfulfilled dream of Mari for a better future.

Considering the story, first, it is worth noting that the protagonist appears to be a man from *naichi* who seeks a long-term relationship with a Taiwanese courtesan. From the story, however, the background of the protagonist is unknown. The readers can only speculate that the man is wealthy and fascinated with literature and history, loves beautiful women, and enjoys reading Chinese poetry. On the other hand, the female Taiwanese *geidan*, Mari, is more transparent than the protagonist in terms of personality and background in the story. Mari becomes a single mother because of the war. She refuses her parents' command to sell her own child and remarry, and decides to become a *geidan* to raise the child by herself. Mari's miserable past is told through the narrator. After seeing the picture of her son, the narrator says,

So I heard the story of her past from a woman whom I had not even thought of asking about it yesterday. 'Mari' lost her husband when she was eighteen. She fled from her parents' commands to sell her son and get remarried, and became a courtesan in Tōkō for her child...

そして私は、けふまで聞かうともしなかった女の、過去を耳にした。「抹麗」が夫を失ったのは十八の年。子を売って再婚せよといふ親の責苦をのがれ、子のために稲江の芸姐になって...⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Toshirō Nakajima, *Nihon Tōchiki Taiwan Bungaku Kenkyū Josetsu* (Tōkyō: Ryokuin Shobō, 2004), 198.

In other words, Mari has a miserable past but still decides to sacrifice herself for her child. Moreover, the unexpected “past” suddenly turns Mari from a greedy courtesan to a doting and suffering mother.

The character of Mari is presented as not only a high-rank courtesan, but also a strong mother. This setting is very interesting since Nishikawa superimposes the image of a materialistic courtesan (oppressed) and the image of a suffering mother (sacred) in the story. As Kleeman has indicated, “Maternal images were exploited during the war to exhort women to contribute to the war effort by giving birth, supporting the government’s domestic agenda, and enthusiastically sacrificing their older sons to the military,” Nishikawa’s portrayal of “mother” is exactly the opposite.⁷⁶ Kleeman has also pointed out that “The death of Mari’s first husband and father of her child can be read symbolically as the loss of the fatherland, China. When Mari reveals to the narrator her role as a mother, he can no longer see her as merely a sexual object to be enjoyed and appreciated.”⁷⁷ In Nishikawa’s story, the images of mother neither serve for governmental or military issues, nor become a sexual object. In contrast to the blurred personality of the male protagonist “I,” the image of the female character Mari is more than clear. Yet, if we take the colonial context into consideration, the colonizer is often depicted as male, while the colonized is always portrayed as female or a child. These images somehow fit into the story of “Spring on the Rice River” in terms of the perspective of gender.

⁷⁶ Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun*, 98.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

However, Nishikawa's effort of trying to light up the image of the colonized and blurring the background of the colonizer in the story indeed shows his intention to eliminate the boundary between the colonizer and the colonized. Furthermore, Mari's image is transformed from a miserly courtesan to a strong mother throughout the story. This conversion, in fact, increases the value of the female character from an oppressed woman to a sacred woman. But at the same time, it also undermines the war-time maternal image since the image of Mari as a strong mother is portrayed as sacrificing herself to help her son, rather than sacrificing herself to contribute to the war effort or the empire. Kleeman has further claimed that "By avoiding the formulaic structure of a romance between colonizer man and subaltern woman, bounded by erotic desire and domination, Nishikawa produces an innovative story."⁷⁸ In short, with this gender and structure setting, Nishikawa's literature has revealed a counter-orthodox ideology towards the colonial discourse. The images of the colonizer and the colonized have been changed in the process of destruction and reconstruction.

History and romance are often treated as polar opposites since history discovers the truth and romance creates the truth. Nevertheless, they are also often intertwined with each other in literature. In Nishikawa's literary works, the two elements often link together. One of the best examples is when Nishikawa brings up Lian Yatang 連雅堂 (1878-1936) in "Spring on the Rice River." Lian was a famous native Taiwanese poet and historian. His book, *General History of Taiwan* 台灣通史 (1920), is the first written

⁷⁸ Ibid.

history of Taiwan. In Nishikawa's story, when the protagonist hears the courtesan singing Lian's poetry, he is surprised to know that this famous historian and poet visited Mari several times before. Nevertheless, while the protagonist expects some romance between Lian and the courtesan, it turns out that Lian visited Mari only to teach her how to read poetry. As a matter of fact, there are multiple works of Nishikawa's in which the literatus Lian appears. In another of Nishikawa's famous works "Record of the Red Fort," which was also published in *Literary Taiwan* in 1940, Nishikawa continues to make Lian and his poetry the background of the story.

The story of "Record of the Red Fort" begins with the protagonist "I" who happens to give a talk about books in Tainan—the place where the Red Fort is located—and runs into a young man who seems to be familiar with the history of Taiwan. The young man promises to take the protagonist to visit a brothel to help him in finding inspiration for his next novel. They finally visit several historical spots, and arrive at a refined house where they meet a beautiful woman. The young man and beautiful woman then start to tell the story of Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 and the unofficial history of Zheng Kezang 鄭克塽 (1624-1662) and Chen Yonghua 陳永華 (1634-1680).⁷⁹ The protagonist is intrigued by the story and later is recommended to read the history book *Taiwan Waiji* 台灣外記, or *Unofficial Record of Taiwan*.⁸⁰ After reading the book, the

⁷⁹ Zheng Chenggong is the actual name of Koxinga. The story of Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 and Chen Yonghua 陳永華 is a well-known story even in contemporary Taiwan.

⁸⁰ *Taiwan Waiji* 台灣外記 is originally an oral history focusing on the history of the Zheng family. It starts from the year when Zhang Chenggong's father moves to Macau in 1621 and ends at the time when Zheng Keshuang surrenders to the Qing dynasty in 1683.

protagonist “I” further learns the story of Chen Yonghua’s daughter, who is also the wife of Zheng Kezang and committed suicide after the death of Zheng Kezang (1664-1681). The *Unofficial Record of Taiwan*, however, contradicts Lian’s version in his *General History of Taiwan*. The story continues as the scholar tries to find the young man from the address he provided, but eventually arrives at an old house where he finds the spirit tablets of Chen Yonghua and his wife. The narrative implies that the young man and beautiful woman could be the ghosts of Zheng Kezang and his wife—the daughter of Chen Yonghua.

By adopting a real historical spot (the Red Fort) and a real historian (Lian Yatang) and his official history of Taiwan (*General History of Taiwan*) into the story, it is clear that Nishikawa intends to emphasize the credibility of the narrative to his readers. When the protagonist and the young man visit the historical spots in Tainan, the young man recommends the *Unofficial Record of Taiwan* to the protagonist and says, “Sir, it is only *Taiwan Waiji* that we can trust. Have you read it yet?”⁸¹ Moreover, when the protagonist carefully reads the book, he is further convinced by the story in *Taiwan Waiji*. Since Nishikawa brings up the question of credibility in this text, it is very clear that the author intends to convey the idea that history is ambiguous. Yet it is interesting that the first-person narrator implies that *Taiwan Waiji*, or *Unofficial Record of Taiwan*, could be more reliable than the official *General History of Taiwan* written by Lian. From these plots, it

⁸¹ See Toshirō Nakajima, *Nihon Tōchiki Taiwan Bungaku Nihonjin Sakka Sakuhinshū vol.1* 日本統治期台湾文学日本人作家作品集 Edited by Toshirō. Nakajima (Tōkyō: Ryokuin Shobō, 1998), 214. The original text is “先生、信用出来るのは「臺灣外史」だけですよ。お読みになったことがありますか”

can be said that the boundary between the official history and the unofficial history is again blurred through the setting of the story.

The usage of language is another significant element in Nishikawa's stories. As a Japanese writer from *naichi* who only writes in the Japanese language, Nishikawa still tries to introduce the Taiwanese dialect and uses Chinese characters in these stories. In "Record of the Red Fort," the narrator is portrayed as "lacking the knowledge of Taiwanese dialect."⁸² When he listens to the young man's singing of poetry, the narrator says regretfully, "It is a pity that because it's in Taiwanese dialect, I didn't quite understand it."⁸³ Nevertheless, while the protagonist does not understand the Taiwanese dialect, the author still often notes down those pronunciations of Taiwanese dialect, and quotes Lian's classical Chinese poetry in the story. In the early 1940s, when Nishikawa wrote this work, the literacy of the Japanese language in Taiwan was pretty high. Fujii Shōzō has indicated that "...the school enrollment rate for the Taiwanese...reaches 61% in 1941, and 71% in 1943."⁸⁴ By implementing the *kōminka* policy and popularizing the Japanese-language general education system in Taiwan, Japanese became the official and the dominant language in Taiwan at that time.

Under these circumstances, although it is Nishikawa's intention to capture the customs, culture, and history of Taiwan in his story, the usage of local and traditional languages become a key element that not only helps to develop his exotic writing, but

⁸² Ibid., 208.

⁸³ Ibid., 214.

⁸⁴ Shozo Fujii, *Taiwan Bungaku Kono Hyakunen* (Tokyo: Toho Shoten, 1998), 34.

also obscures the boundary between colonizer and colonized. Due to the use of multiple languages in the same text, the readers would get used to the multi-linguistic style of writing and be unable to distinguish the borderline between Japan and Taiwan. Fujii has further supported this idea by indicating that this work is written to promote the slogans of national policy. He mentions, “In ‘Sekikanki,’ both “the new system” 新体制 and “the country with a high level of national defense” 高度国防国家 that Zheng Kezang has described in his scheme were the slogans used during the second Konoe cabinet, and were important policies for the system of total war.”⁸⁵ In order to support the national policy, Nishikawa further marketed the national ideology in his story. When Kezang recalls his ambition for the future, he says,

Grandfather’s mother is Japanese, and it is said that it was the only source of pride during my grandfather’s generation. Imagine this, it must be Japanese blood ceaselessly running in my five-foot body. To honor this blood, I will follow the order of this blood and proceed to the south.

祖父の母は日本人で、それが祖父一代の唯一の自慢であったと云う。してみれば、この俺の五尺の体内にも脈々として日本の血が流れてゐるに違ひない。この血をいとほしめ、この血の命ずるまま南方に進むのだ。⁸⁶

This unexpected paragraph in which Kezang—a descendant of Zheng Chenggong who was determined to recover the glory of the Ming dynasty—emphasizes his “Japanese blood” and the strategy of going south, explains the author’s intention to promote the national policy in Taiwan. It was during a time when Japan was

⁸⁵ Ibid., 122.

⁸⁶ Nakajima, *Nihon Tōchiki Taiwan Bungaku Nihonjin Sakka Sakuhinshū vol.1*, 226.

stumbling in the total war in East Asia. Under the circumstances of promoting the national policy in Taiwan, there is no question that Nishikawa—as a representative of the literati of Taiwan— must think about helping his country, and this work indeed reflected his patriotism. In fact, this work later received the first “Taiwan Culture Prize” in 1943 for its “tactical structure and pure impression.”⁸⁷ By skillfully imbedding contemporary political ideologies into Chinese classical history, Nishikawa, once again, was able to diminish the gap between the colonizer and the colonized, and conveyed his patriotism and ideology to the Taiwanese readers.

In his “Spring on the Rice River” and “Record of the Red Fort,” Nishikawa has shown his literary strategy to eliminate the boundaries between *naichi* and *gaichi*, Japanese and Taiwanese, and history and romance through his portrayal of gender, identity, history as well as language. If we take his literary strategy and background as vehicles to reconsider the features of Taiwaneseeness and otherness in his literature, it is not difficult to know that Nishiwaka’s Taiwaneseeness, which sheds light on the customs, culture, and people of the island, is not a real product of the colony Taiwan, but simply a tactical way to conceal the otherness in his works and life—under the mask of exoticism and romance.

⁸⁷ Fujii, *Taiwan Bungaku Kono Hyakunen*, 118-9.

2.7. Conclusion

It is worth noting that both Satō Haruo and Nishikawa Mitsuru's literary works on Taiwan are said to be works of exoticism and romanticism. Whether coincidentally or intentionally, they both adopted history to legitimize and increase the credibility of their stories and make them believable. The name Segaimin “the people out of the world”—reminds us of the narrators in *Ōkagami* 大鏡, a Japanese ancient history book. The narrators are two old men Ōyake no Yotsugi 大宅世継 and Natsuyama no Shigeki 夏山繁樹 whose names are also surreal and refer to “people who are not in the world.”⁸⁸ In addition, it can also be seen in Nishikawa's works that he frequently mentions a real historian Lian Yatang and his poems and history book. With these methods, the colonial boundaries had turned out to be neither real nor surreal since these stories portray a colonial space with real history/creative romance, ancient people/current people, and multiple languages.

A recent news broadcast on *Asahi Shimbun* revealed that the Taiwanese aborigines lost the court case in which they sued NHK over its usage of the discriminatory words “the zoo of human beings 人間動物園” in a program to describe the Taiwanese aborigines during the Japanese colonial period. The verdict says, “it is

⁸⁸ The author and date of *Ōkagami* 大鏡 are unknown. The historical text covers the period between 850 and 1025. The names Ōyake no Yotsugi 大宅世継 and Natsuyama no Shigeki 夏山繁樹 literally mean “world successor” and “flourishing tree.”

normal to understand that the program only shows the fact that Japan had a discriminatory treatment [before]...it does not damage the reputation of the female [aborigine].”⁸⁹ This court case indeed showed two facts: First, the verdict admitted the truth that Japan did discriminate against the Taiwanese aborigines before—even if they legally belonged to “Japanese” at that time. Second, Japan does not believe it was wrong to do so. Coincidentally, this news also resonates with what Satō Haruo and Nishikawa Mitsuru have shown through their literature.

While Satō may have had an anthropological trip in Taiwan and portrayed the culture and customs of the Taiwanese aborigines (as well as the Han Chinese/Taiwanese), the landscapes and people of the island in his eyes are exotic and different—just like in the zoo of human beings. Moreover, while Nishikawa showed his passion and involvement with the colony, as the above analysis shows, his Taiwanese-ness is only a masquerade which was intended to blur the boundaries of colonialism—just as the court admitted the fact of discrimination but claimed it was legal. All in all, when Satō viewed the landscapes of the southern island, we can tell from his written works that he probably saw many distinct binaries behind the colonial sceneries. Also, when Nishikawa portrayed his Taiwanese-ness in his works, we can assume that he actually tried to blur the boundaries between the colonizer and colonized. Nevertheless, the binary of their different visions of the landscape does not change their positions: they were the in-between people under Japanese rule.

⁸⁹ See *Asahi Shimbun*, January 22, 2016.

CHAPTER 3

Empire on the Screen

3.1. Nationalism, Commercialism, and Stardom

“Rather than laughing at the people who endured the freezing wind and stood in a long queue for many hours, we better be terrified by their fanaticism in which the vulgar and humble popular songs and singers brought about this sort of extreme and feverish popularity to our people.”

我々は寒風の内に幾時間も吹きさらされながら長蛇の列をつくつてゐる彼等を笑ふよりも卑俗低調なる流行歌と歌手に対するこのやうな度外れの狂熱的人気が国民の内に巻き起りつつあることを恐れるのである。

--*Yomiuri Shimbun*¹

“The incident of the Nihon Gekijō being besieged by a crowd of people, on the one hand, reflected how the citizens were eager to pursue happiness through entertainment under the urgent situation of the forthcoming war with the Western countries.”

日本剧场被围七圈半事件，从一个侧面反映了国民在对英美必定开战的紧迫而严重的时局中，何等追求快乐的娱乐。

--*Ri Kōran*²

¹ See K. O. Sei Mukajima 向島 K.O.生, “Philistine Entertainment of National Policy” (卑俗な国策娯楽), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, February 16, 1941.

² See Yoshiko Yamaguchi, *Wo de Qian Ban Sheng: Li Xianglan Zhuan* 我的前半生: 李香兰传 (Beijing: Shi jie zhi shi chu ban she chu ban fa xing: xin hua shu dian jing xiao, 1988), 132.

In 1941, a Manchurian superstar, Ri Kōran (1920-2014), visited Japan and caused a sensation in Tokyo. This Manchurian phenomenon set off a series of problems in Japanese society at that time. On February 11, 1941, the famous theater Nihon Gekijō 日本劇場, operated by a famous film production company, Tōhō 東宝, was surrounded by a crowd of people who tried to do all they could do to squeeze into the theater in order to see Ri Kōran's performance. Most of those people could not get tickets to enter the theater. They had no choice but to stay outside of the theater hoping for a chance to see the superstar. The people encircled Nihon Gekijō more than seven times and indeed caused a state of chaos at that time. The chaos also brought about a debate on this phenomenal Ri Kōran fever within the mass media.

The first quote is an excerpt from a column entitled “Philistine Entertainment of National Policy” in *Yomiuri Shimbun* on February 16, 1941, five days after the chaos of the Nihon Gekijō incident (日劇 7 回り 半事件). The excerpt, despite its critical attitude, shows at least two social phenomena: first, the boom of Manchurian popular culture was a big hit within contemporary society; second, the public was aware of the fever and afraid of the intrusion of what they believed to be lower culture—compared to the orthodox Japanese culture of the Japanese empire in Tokyo. At the center of the so-called “lower culture,” Ri Kōran was, of course, deeply influenced by this upsurge—especially since it was on the same day as her birthday.

The second quote was a sentence from Ri Kōran many years later when she reminisces on the Nihon Gekijō incident in her autobiography. In contrast to *Yomiuri Shimbun*'s criticism, Ri Kōran's memory shows only the bright side: the boom of popular culture which arose from colonized areas, and the Japanese pursuit of entertainment during the war-time period. It is worth noting that 1941 was also the year when Japan raided Pearl Harbor on December 8—a year in which, according to Ri Kōran's recollection, Japan was in a severe situation even in their home island in terms of military, political, and economic aspects—where food was rationed to the public and almost all the entertainment functions were shut down—Ri Kōran's performance being an exception.³ From these quotations, it is clear that Manchurian popular culture caused a great sensation in Japan, and the Japanese cultural empire was not a one-sidedly hegemonic entity, but rather incorporated aspects from the colonized subjects. In this chapter, I show this two-way path of mutual influence that the Manchurian film production and superstar Ri Kōran presented through mass media regarding the perspectives of nationalism, commercialism, and stardom.

In this chapter, I analyze voices and performances from the semi-colonized territory of Manchuria, mainly through discussion of cinematic representation of Japanese colonialism within the region. Here, I examine Manchukuo superstar Ri Kōran (1920–2014), also known by her Chinese names Li Xianglan (李香蘭) and Japanese name Yamaguchi Yoshiko (山口淑子), as well as the English name Shirley Yamaguchi,

³ Ibid.

and her roles on the colonial boundaries between Manchuria and Japanese empire, and between Manchukuo and the Chinese world during the 1930s and 1940s. As a Japanese citizen born in China who was “marketed” as a Chinese woman, Ri was an intriguing figure who represented not only the colonized subject but also the colonizer in northeast Asia. On the basis of her complex identity, I argue that through her disguised performance on screen as well as in public, she functioned as a medium for the advertisement of Japanese militarism and colonialism, for which her charm, mixed cultural background, and female figure made her the perfect vehicle. Further, Ri’s cheerful cinematic image portrayed a different dimension of colonial conversation in an empire whose leaders exerted control through the big screen. While colonized subjects suffered from the psychological trauma of war and politics, and while colonizers exercised their power and authority, both colonized and colonizer at least experienced temporary relaxation and exchanged communications through mass media on the borderline.

3.2. The Two-way Path of Popular Culture

Film production, especially under political, social, and economic pressures, is never an easy task for the people—including the directors, actors, actress, production staff—in the film industry. This, of course, also applied to the Japanese film industry during war-time and the occupation periods. The strategies and circumstances of the

Japanese film industry changed drastically during the war-time and post-war periods. There is no question that the purpose of film production at those times was not only for entertaining the public, but also for achieving national interests. Under the threats of colonial authorities as well as political and military powers, it can be said that the performers had no choice but to take up the heavy burdens to execute and promote the industrial and national missions while making films.

It was especially true in the case of Manchurian female superstar, Ri Kōran. Her female figure and body were manipulated on the big screen in order to fulfill the military, political, and social requirements of the empire. Under these circumstances, how was the female star advertised and marketed in the films? How do we interpret the images and roles of female characters in the movies? And how did social and national issues intertwine with cinema in the Japanese empire? To answer these questions, this chapter explores and examines the female superstar, Ri Kōran 李香蘭 (Yamaguchi Yoshiko) and her famous, but notorious, transnational films—mainly focusing on *Ying Chun Hua* 迎春花 (1942) and *Sayon's Bell* サヨンの鐘 (1943)—during the war-time period in order to discover the aspects of fierceness and cheerfulness in the cinematic world through the performance of this particular female star. Moreover, I claim that the actions and performances of Ri Kōran on the big screen, in fact, embodied another instance of what I have called “literary nationalism” in Chapter One.

Arguably, power and institution play a big role in film production. In the case of Ri Kōran, while the film production had to deal with the power of the colonial authority during the war-time period, the institution, Manchukuo Film Association (Man'ei), might be the most obvious example of the film institution collaborating with mass media to install Japanese colonial and imperial agendas at the time. In the following section, I introduce this particular institution, Man'ei, and its relations with Ri Kōran and the Japanese colonial empire.

3.3. The Rise and Fall of the Manchukuo Film Association (Man'ei)

The Manchukuo Film Association, or Man'ei, was established in 1937.⁴ It was co-founded and financed by both the Manchukuo polity and Mantetsu.⁵ It is hard to find any records of film production in Manchuria before the establishment of Man'ei. However, it is known that the first film screening was initiated in Dalian and Harbin in 1902.⁶ In the 1920s, following the boom of western cinema, many movie theaters were built in Manchuria. Until Manchukuo was established in 1932, there were only about thirty

⁴ Man'ei 满映 is an abbreviation of Manchukuo Film Association or Manshū Eiga Kyōkai 满州映画協会 in Japanese.

⁵ The South Manchuria Railway Company, or Mantetsu 满鉄, was founded and operated by the Japanese empire since 1906.

⁶ Quang Gu, and Chang Hu, *Man Ying--Guo Ce Dian Ying Mian Mian Guan* 满映国策电影面面观 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1990), 2.

theaters in Manchuria. However, by 1935, the numbers of theaters had increased to sixty-nine, including forty-two theaters operated by Japanese owners.⁷

As the film industry rapidly grew in Manchuria, the demand for local film production companies became extremely urgent. The initial idea of establishing Man'ei can be traced back to the Manchurian Film National Policy Research Association, which was established and supported by the Kwantung Army 關東軍 and Manchukuo Police Department in 1933.⁸ The initial purposes of founding this association were to support the development and exportation of Japanese films and to prevent western films from monopolizing the entertainment market in Manchuria. Due to the influence of the association, the initial plan of establishing Man'ei was proposed in 1936 and formally put into practice in 1937. Although it was not the first attempt at making films in Manchuria, Man'ei was indeed the most organized film distribution and production company in northeast China at that time.

As soon as Man'ei was founded, the Manchukuo government immediately published legislation to control its film production in Manchuria. On the surface, the legislation solidified the system of film production in Manchuria. However, the whole Manchurian film industry, as a matter of fact, was under severe surveillance by the Manchukuo government due to the legislation, not to mention that it also served as a tool

⁷ Ibid, 3-4。

⁸ Kwantung Army 關東軍 was an army group of the Imperial Japanese Army which was largely responsible for the creation of the Japanese-dominated Empire of Manchukuo.

for the Japanese to market its militarism in Manchuria and northeast China.⁹ Since Manchukuo was a puppet polity of the Japanese empire, Man'ei was largely controlled and developed to serve the political and military needs of the Japanese empire. For instance, taking Ri's early films as an example, Peter B. High has pointed out that "All of Ri's early Man'ei films reflected the company policy of turning out pure entertainment features in the hopes of luring Manchurian (and possibly Chinese) audiences away from the strongly anti-Japanese features being made by the Chinese in Shanghai."¹⁰

Unsurprisingly, Man'ei was following the national policy when making films. Geographically speaking, according to a contemporary Japanese director, Kondō Iyochi 近藤伊与吉 (1894-1944), the reasons to set up Man'ei were because Manchukuo was "under the threat of the Communist Soviet Union's invasion in the north, the anti-Manchuria and anti-Japanese scheme of Shanghai film production company in the south...and the overbearing commercialism of U.S. films which depicted only pornography and hedonism in the west."¹¹ As this quote indicates, even the ideology of western liberalism was a dangerous thought in Manchukuo. Therefore, it is not difficult to know that one of the functions of Man'ei was to control the thoughts of the public in its initial state.

⁹ Gu, Quan, and Chang Hu, *Man Ying--Guo Ce Dian Ying Mian Mian Guan*, 22-23.

¹⁰ Peter B. High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 273.

¹¹ Kondō Iyokichi, "Manshu Eiga Oitachi Ki," *Geibun: Manshu Bunka Sogo Zashi* 1, no. 9 (1942), 142.

During the first few years, Man'ei was highly dependent on support from Japan. In 1939, after a former officer of the Kwantung Army Amakasu Masahiko 甘粕正彦 (1891-1945) took charge of Man'ei, by cooperating with Japanese film production companies such as Shōchiku 松竹¹² and Tōhō 東宝,¹³ Man'ei also developed its own ability to make and distribute films. Man'ei not only distributed its films to Manchuria, but also to the Japanese metropole—Korea, Italy, Germany, and Taiwan. As Gu Quan has indicated in *Man Ying--Guo Ce Dian Ying Mian Mian Guan* 满映—国策电影面面观 (*Man'ei—Every Facet of National Political Films*), the relationship between Man'ei and Japan was very close and began from day one. Gu writes, “After Man'ei was established, the company immediately signed an agreement with many large film production companies in Japan in order to mutually distribute films between each other. Moreover, Man'ei also strived to establish a film exchange program and kept friendly relationships with Germany, Italy, and Korea.”¹⁴ In November 1937, Man'ei imported and distributed Gyu-hwan Lee's film *Nageune* (*The Wanderer*, 1937) in Manchuria. Brian Yecies and Ae-Gyung Shim have explained that,

By 1937, the artistic merits of Korean films such as...*Omongnyeo* ([The Five Dream Women], 1937)...*Shim Cheong-jeon* (*The Story of Shim Cheong*, 1937); and especially Lee Gyu-hwan's *Nageune* (*The Wanderer*, 1937, made by the Korean Sung Bong Film Co. and 'supervised' by the Japanese Shinkō Studio's Suzuki Shigeyoshi) had begun to attract the attention of audiences in Japan and Manchuria. Based on its commercial success, and the fact that it was considered by the Japanese film industry

¹² Shōchiku is one of Japan's leading film and theater companies. It was founded by Ōtani Takejirō (大谷竹次郎) and Shirai Matsujirō (白井松次郎) in 1895.

¹³ Tōhō is a Japanese film and theater production and distribution company which was founded in 1932 by Kobayashi Ichizō as Tokyo-Takarazuka Theater Company or 東京宝塚劇場株式会社.

¹⁴ Gu, Quan, and Chang Hu, *Man Ying--Guo Ce Dian Ying Mian Mian Guan*, 71-2.

as the ‘first outstanding work from Korea,’ Shinkō had planned to export *Nageune* to Europe and the United States.¹⁵

From the passage, it looks like Manchuria was a large market for film produced in the other colonies. After importing *Nageune*, in 1938 Man’ei signed contracts with Korea and Germany respectively for a regular relationship to exchange films between each other. Besides these places, Man’ei also established partnerships with China and Taiwan.¹⁶

Generally speaking, Man’ei produced films for three agendas—Entertainment, Culture and Education, and News. According to Xianwen Huang’s analysis, Man’ei produced a total of 108 entertainment films in contrast to 189 of other kinds of films at that time.¹⁷ The number of entertainment films is more than the number of any of the other kinds. As a result, it is apparent that the original motivation for Man’ei to make films was for the purpose of entertainment. After Amakasu took charge of Man’ei, he asked for help from many experienced Japanese film producers and staff. Amakasu also started to train Man’ei’s own Chinese directors such as Zhou Xiaopo 周曉波 (1916-1950?) and Zhu Wenshun 朱文順 (1920-1995)¹⁸ to produce various films. In addition, he further established a school to train new actors and actresses in Manchuria. The school

¹⁵ Brian Yecies, and Ae-Gyung Shim, *Korea's Occupied Cinemas, 1893-1948* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 97.

¹⁶ See Gu, Quan, and Chang Hu, *Man Ying--Guo Ce Dian Ying Mian Mian Guan*, 71-2.

¹⁷ Xianwen Huang, “‘Manyin,’ ‘Mantei’ de Jilupian Gaishuo,” *Journal of East Asian Libraries* 142 (2007): 15.

¹⁸ See Takeshi Yamaguchi, *Aishū No Manshū Eiga: Manshūkoku Ni Saita Katsudōyatachi No Sekai* 哀愁の満州映画: 満州国に咲いた活動屋たちの世界 (Tōkyō: Santen Shobō, 2000), 88-90.

trained more than 160 performers in total, most of whom were Chinese.¹⁹ Before Manchukuo and Man'ei came to an end, the institution produced more than three hundred films and became one of the best film production companies in northeast Asia. However, Man'ei met its doom after the defeat of the Japanese empire in 1945. From 1937 to 1945, Man'ei lasted only for eight years.

3.4. Stardom Shining in a Double-Sided Mask

During its eight years of film production, Man'ei had created many movie stars such as Meng Hong, Zhang Min, Ri Kōran, and Bai Mei through the big screen. Among those female movie stars, Ri Kōran was arguably the most famous and controversial. In the following section, I explore the superstar's complex and multi-national identity and the functions of her female body in terms of the aspects of fierceness and cheerfulness.

Ri Kōran (or Li Xianglan in Chinese, Yamaguchi Yoshiko in Japanese) was the only actress in Man'ei who was born as Japanese but had a Chinese identity in public. She grew up in China and received a Chinese education. Thus, she could speak both Chinese and Japanese fluently. When she was thirteen, Ri Kōran became the adopted daughter of a Chinese General, Li Jichun 李濟春 and her Japanese identity was hidden for a long time. Faye Yuan Kleeman has explained how Yamaguchi Yoshiko took up her

¹⁹ Gu, Quan, and Chang Hu, *Man Ying--Guo Ce Dian Ying Mian Mian Guan*, 95-98.

adoptive father's family name: "Ri's father was a friend of the Chinese general Li Jichun, to whom she was given as an adopted daughter. This gesture of friendship was an act of ritualistic bonding that was commonly practiced between patriarchs of families, whose daughters were adopted out to other households."²⁰ As such, it is fair to say that Ri Kōran, from the very beginning, was involved in the complicated social and cultural negotiations between Japan and China. Yamaguchi Takeshi has further pointed out that "Ri Kōran, after all, had to be a Chinese...It had nothing to do with her personal will, in public, she needed to be a Chinese. It is said that the image of Ri Kōran embodied Chinese woman which the Japanese had arbitrarily imaged."²¹ Film critic Peter High also has indicated Ri's uniqueness that "Ri Koran was uniquely suited to the task of portraying the sympathetic Chinese woman—an image almost completely new to Japanese audiences."²² Since Ri's image as a Chinese female star exactly fit the imagination of Japanese audiences, it was best to hide her true identity. This was the reason why Ri Kōran's real identity was not publicly revealed in East Asia until the end of the war, despite many people in the industry already knowing the truth.

Ri Kōran was scouted by Man'ei when she showed her talent as a singer on a Chinese radio station. As soon as she joined Man'ei, Ri Kōran's debut work, *Honeymoon Express* 蜜月快車 (1938), turned her into one of the most famous actresses in

²⁰ Faye Yuan Kleeman, *In Transit: The Formation of the Colonial East Asian Cultural Sphere* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 112.

²¹ Takeshi Yamaguchi, *Maboroshi No Kinema Man'ei: Amakasu Masahiko to Katsudōya Gunzō* 幻のキネマ満映: 甘粕正彦と活動屋群像 (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 2006), 77.

²² See High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945*, 273.

Manchuria.²³ After *Song of the White Orchid* 白蘭の歌 (*Byakuran no uta*) (1939) and *Vow in the Desert* 熱砂の誓い (*Nessa no chikai*) (1940), in which Ri Kōran played the leading roles, were released and became big hits in Japan, Ri Kōran gradually became more and more popular in the Japanese empire in the late 1930s and early 1940s.²⁴ In total, Ri Kōran appeared in nineteen films produced or co-produced by Man'ei. During her period of making films with Man'ei, Ri Kōran acted not only as a movie star but also was selected as “Manchu-Japanese goodwill ambassador” 日満親善大使 to represent Man'ei at the Foundation of Manchukuo Exposition in Tokyo in 1941.²⁵ Nevertheless, when Ri traveled with her Japanese passport to Tokyo, her Chinese appearance with a Japanese identity indeed caused trouble at that time. Peter B. High has transcribed a conversation between Ri and the Japanese immigration officer from Ri's autobiography, *Ri Koran: Watashi no hansei* (李香蘭：私の半生), as follows,

“Hey you! What do you think you're doing in that get-up, huh?” the immigration officer in Shimonoseki challenged her when she presented her passport. “Listen. You're a member of a first class nation. But here you are wearing the clothes and speaking the language of a third-class people like the Chinks. Aren't you ashamed?”²⁶

While we see that Ri caused a sensation in Tokyo later when she performed in *Nihon Gekijō*, this conversation in fact shows a different treatment between Chinese and

²³ *Mi Yue Kuai Che* (蜜月快車) was released in 1938.

²⁴ Takeshi Yamaguchi, *Maboroshi No Kinema Man'ei: Amakasu Masahiko to Katsudōya Gunzō* (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 2006), 77.

²⁵ See Peter B. High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003): 273.

²⁶ High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945*, 273.

Japanese nationals—even with Ri’s charming stardom. It was not the only case of controversy involving Ri. As a matter of fact, her films were also highly controversial in China at that time because many of them were deemed to promote the Japanese policy and were referred to as national policy films.

When Ri Kōran joined Man’ei, it was during the time when China officially declared war against Japan in 1937. As a consequence, in order to conceal her Japanese identity, she chose not to use her Japanese name Yamaguchi Yoshiko in public, but adopted her Chinese name Li Xianglan (李香蘭). Yet Furuichi Masako has mentioned that “During the war of Japanese invasion, she functioned as a symbolic model...therefore, even after she turned back to ‘Yamaguchi Yoshiko,’ she was unable to escape from the shadow of ‘Manchurian superstar Li Xianglan’... Most of the time, Li Xianglan was working under the control of the Kwantung Army.”²⁷ Under these circumstances, it is often believed that Ri Kōran was not a volunteer, but rather forced to participate in the project of Japanese cultural invasion in China during the war-time period.

In public, Ri Kōran was a Manchurian and Chinese superstar. However, in reality, her background as a China-born Japanese was, indeed, a perfect subject for supporting the Japanese military plans and promoting colonial propaganda through mass media. The fact that Ri Kōran’s body functioned as the vehicle to fulfill the Japanese military needs

²⁷ Masako Furuichi, *Man Ying" Dian Ying Yan Jiu* (Beijing Shi: Jiu zhou chu ban she, 2010), 75.

was, however, in Louise Young's words, "an action of marketing Japanese militarism."²⁸ So, why was Ri Kōran an ideal model for marketing Japanese militarism? And how did Ri Kōran's female body have anything to do with Japanese colonialism and militarism? As Young has further explained, "The entertainment industry obscured the realities of military aggression."²⁹ It is clear that the films that were produced by Man'ei worked under the cover of entertainment to conceal the realities of military and cultural invasions and also functioned as an agent to convey the military needs of the Japanese empire.

Yet despite the undeniable truth that Ri Kōran and the films of Man'ei functioned as tools for marketing Japanese militarism and colonialism, the nature of mass media—as a form of entertainment—still played its role. It is fair to say that the whole empire was, in fact, entertained and educated by the performances of Ri Kōran and the films produced by Man'ei. For example, in a prestigious and influential newspaper, *Shen Bao* 申報 in Shanghai, there were several reports and articles that applauded Ri Kōran and her performance in 1943. In an article on May 28th, a columnist commented on Ri Kōran's film *Ying Chun Hua* 迎春花 (1942) and wrote, "...you have to look at Li Xianglan's costume and listen to her song...if you want to build some emotional feelings with your 'good friend'...this film is exactly what you need."³⁰ As we can see, the columnist praised Ri Kōran's singing and even her costume.

²⁸ Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 78.

²⁹ Ibid., 74.

³⁰ Zongyue, "Watch Ying Chun Hua," *Shen Bao*, May 28, 1943.

It is not difficult to understand how the glamorous and fashionable Ri Kōran was represented to the Chinese people in Shanghai. Also, it is worth noting that the political and military issues were not even mentioned in this article. The article simply recommended the audience to see the superstar and enjoy the mood of the film. Moreover, this newspaper article also sheds light on Ri Kōran's various abilities and performance. It continued to write that "[The characteristics of] Li Xianglan's radiance and beauty, skating and singing [skills], Chinese and Japanese [language abilities] are fully displayed here in this film."³¹ The article's description about Ri Kōran's appearance and skills only shows that the female superstar was in the center stage of entertainment and had nothing to do with any political and military propaganda.

Ri Kōran's name appeared in *Shen Bao* many times in the early 1940s including many big advertisements of her films in the newspaper.³² Those reports not only discussed her performances in the films, but also her charitable activities in China. For instance, there was a charity party program announced in the newspaper on October 18th, 1942 in which it noted that Ri Kōran will be singing at a party in Shanghai.³³ Although the only thing we know from the report is that it was a charity party, it can be said that by

³¹ Ibid.

³² See figure 5. *Shen Bao*, February 19, 1943.

³³ "Charity Dancing Party--China Night Program," *Shen Bao*, October 18, 1942.

participating in social philanthropy, Ri Kōran served not only for the entertainment industry, but also acted as representative of education and humanity in public.



Figure 5. A Big Advertisement of Ri's China Night.

In the 1940s, when the war was at its peak in Asia, it was almost inevitable that the superstar Ri Kōran and the transnational institution Man'ei functioned as tools for marketing Japanese militarism and colonialism. The fierceness aspect of Japanese militarism and imperialism spread throughout the films and mass media. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the audiences in transnational Asia did also enjoy their entertainment. The “joyful” time when the audience cheered for their performances actually reveals a blithe and delighted side of a double-sided mask and is exactly what I would call the cheerful aspects of the film.

In order to discover the double-sided mask of Ri Kōran and Man'ei, it is necessary to examine their product: the transnational films. In this sense, *Winter jasmine* 迎春花 (*Geishunka* in Japanese or *Ying Chun Hua* in Chinese, 1942) and *Sayon's bell* サヨンの鐘 (*Sayon no kane*, 1943) are the films that are worth analyzing in terms of their

structure and symbolic implications to the Japanese empire. Nevertheless, other films in Ri's Man'ei period, such as her Continental Trilogy—*Song of the White Orchid* 白蘭の歌 (*Byakuran no uta*, 1939), *China Nights* 支那の夜 (*Shina no yoru*, 1941), and *A Vow in the Desert* 熱砂の誓い (*Nessa no chikai*, 1940)—are also helpful for my analysis. In the following section, I focus on analyzing two transnational films, *Ying Chun Hua* and *Sayon's Bell*, with references also to her Continental Trilogy (大陸三部作) in order to expound upon the aspects of fierceness and cheerfulness in more detail.

3.5. *Ying Chun Hua* 迎春花 (1942): A Transcultural Love Triangle

Ying Chun Hua was released in 1942. It was directed by Sasaki Yasushi 佐々木康 (1908-1993) and starred several popular Japanese movie stars including Konoe Toshiaki 近衛敏明 (1911-?)³⁴ and Kogure Michiyo 木暮実千代 (1918-1990). This film was co-produced and distributed by Man'ei and Shōchiku. Shōchiku supplied its top movie stars Konoe and Kogure for the leading roles in this film. From this evidence, it is not difficult to imagine that Shōchiku attached importance to this film. In fact, superstar Ri Kōran was very likely the most important reason for Shochiku to co-produce this film

³⁴ The death date of Konoe Toshiaki is unknown. His last appearance on TV or movie was in 1969.

with Man'ei. Peter High has indicated that “Although Man'ei films suffered a dreadful reputation in Japan, both Toho and Shochiku eagerly developed joint projects with the company in order to feature its top star...However, thanks to these joint productions, the Man'ei mark became familiar on Japanese screens, and an ever increasing number of Japanese directors—including the celebrated [Shimazu] Yasujirō—migrated to its Shinkyo studios.”³⁵ High has clearly pointed out the phenomena of Ri Kōran and the boom of Man'ei in Japan which pushed those leading film companies to make every effort to include Ri in the cast of their films. It was not a sudden change in the Japanese film industry. The boom of Ri Kōran can be traced back to the time when she acted in the Continental Trilogy.

After the release of *A Spring Dream of Wealth* 富貴春夢 (*Fu Gui Chun Meng*, 1938), Ri Kōran temporarily left Man'ei, and was recruited by Tōhō in Japan. Ri made a series of films with the film company from 1939 to 1942, and the famous Continental Trilogy was made during this period. After this experience, Ri returned to Man'ei and made the movie *Ying Chun Hua* in 1942. It is clear that *Ying Chun Hua* is influenced by the continental trilogy. Therefore, I will briefly introduce and analyze these three films in the next section.

³⁵ High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945*, 275. Shimazu Yasujirō 島津保次郎 (1897-1945) was one of the most famous directors of Shōchiku before the end of the war, and was one of the representative directors of the *shōshimingeki* genre 小市民劇 (lower middle classes drama).

3.5.1 *The Continental Trilogy*

As I have mentioned above, the Continental Trilogy contains three Tōhō films on the topics of Chinese civilians: *Song of the White Orchid*, *China Nights*, and *Vow in the Desert*. The first film of the Continental Trilogy is *Song of the White Orchid*, which was released in 1939, and was a joint production of Tōhō and Man'ei. Ri worked with Hasegawa Kazuo 長谷川一夫 (1908-1984), the top male actor of Tōhō at that time, as the leading couple in this film.³⁶ As a matter of fact, it is worth mentioning that this combination of Ri Kōran and Hasegawa appears in all the three films of the Continental Trilogy. The screenplay of *Song of the White Orchid* is based on Kume Masao's (久米正雄) novel of the same title. It was a serial initially published in instalments in *Mainichi Shimbun* (*Daily News*) between August 1939 and January 1940, and was collected and published by Shinchōsha 新潮社 in 1940—a few months after the premiere of *Song of the White Orchid*.³⁷ While the film portrays the lives of the continental inhabitants, Chikako Nagayama has pointed out that “the film was being realized so as to fulfill the sponsorship obligation to the South Manchuria Railway.”³⁸ The lives of the people on the

³⁶ Hasegawa Kazuo 長谷川一夫 was a top Japanese film actor. He first performed *onnagata*—woman role—in kabuki theater before entering the Japanese film industry. According to the Japanese Movie Database, during his life time, Hasegawa appeared in more than 290 films.

³⁷ See Chikako Nagayama, “The Flux of Domesticity and the Exotic in a Wartime Melodrama,” *Signs* 34, no. 2 (2009): 369–95.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 374.

continent is secondary to the producer, “as long as a woman and a man are snuggling [in the film].”³⁹

The plot of this film is simple: A Mantetsu (The South Manchuria Railway Company) engineer, Matsumura Kōkichi (played by Hasegawa) is in love with a Manchurian girl, Xuexiang, who is from a rich Manchurian family. They have encountered several difficulties throughout the story—Kōkichi has to resign from Mantetsu and join the Manchurian Exploitation Group⁴⁰ in order to pay back his family’s debt; Xuexiang’s step brother, a Chinese communist, constantly undermines their love and finally successfully recruits Xuexiang to join the communist party. At the end of story, they finally conquer these obstacles and sacrifice their lives for protecting the railway construction from the attack of Chinese communists.

The second film of the continental trilogy is *China Nights*, a joint production of Tōhō and China Film Company of Shanghai, directed by Fushimizu Osamu 伏水修. As before, Hasegawa and Ri were the two leading stars of this film. The 1938 film was made in response to a popular song with the same title, *Shina no yoru*.⁴¹ The story takes place in Shanghai where the male protagonist Hase Tetsuo—played by the familiar actor Hasegawa—meets and falls in love with the female lead—an anti-Japanese woman and a Chinese orphan—acted by Ri Kōran. After experiencing several events together, the

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Manchurian Exploitation Group, or 満蒙開拓団 in Japanese, refers to the people who were sent to Manchuria and Mongolia by the national policy of establishing a colony between 1931 to 1945. The number of these colonial immigrants was over 270,000.

⁴¹ *Shina no yoru* is Watanabe Hamako’s popular hit song in 1938.

female lead gradually alters her anti-Japanese attitude and falls in love with Hase.

However, she does not show her true feeling and still fights against Hase. Here comes the most famous sequence of the Continental Trilogy.⁴² High has precisely described this specific sequence: “Enraged by her ungratefulness, Hasegawa strikes her, and she falls to the floor, her hand pressed to her burning cheek. Hasegawa remorsefully apologizes as she looks up at him in deep thought. The strains of organ music well up in the background. Suddenly she jumps up and passionately embraces him, asking him to forgive her for her ingratitude.”⁴³



Figure 6. *The Sequence of Taming the Shrew.*

⁴² See Figure 6.

⁴³ High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945*, 280.

This sequence is arguably the most striking moment of the entire film. High has asserted that this sequence is “a kind of Japanese version of *Taming of the Shrew*” and “a metaphor for Japan’s application of ‘whip of love’ 愛の鞭 (*ai no muchi*) to the misguided Chinese people.”⁴⁴ While it caused cultural, racial, and national problems in China, *China Nights* was a big hit in Japan and its theme song was extremely popular in the colonies.

A Vow in the Desert is the last film of the Continental Trilogy, and was directed by Watanabe Kunio (1899-1981). The film was coproduced with Huabei Film Company 華北電影有限公司 and took place in Beijing. Hasegawa and Ri, again, play the main roles in this film. This time Hasegawa is a civil engineer, Sugiyama Kenji, who comes to China for a public construction project. Ri plays the role of the beautiful daughter of an upper-class Chinese intellectual, Li Fangmei, and has a romance with Hasegawa. The Chinese communists are still the bad guys in the film. Compared to the first two films of the trilogy, *A Vow in the Desert* focuses largely on the idea of “constructing a new nation,” and contains less romance and more national policy.⁴⁵

Through the release of the Continental Trilogy, Ri Kōran brought up the Japanese people’s interest in China and Manchuria, and the fervor of the continent. Japanese film scholar Washitani Hana has expounded the phenomon of Ri Kōran:

She appears on the Japanese domestic screen in which her appearances were in Hsinking (新京) in *Song of the White Orchid*; from Hsinking to Tokyo in *Journey to the East* (東遊記); in Shanghai in *China Nights*...in Beijing in *A Vow in the Desert*. She frequently appears in different lands,

⁴⁴ Ibid., 279-80.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 281-2.

speaks freely in multiple languages, and wears various clothes, while nobody knows who she is, where she is from, where she is now, and where she will be next...In the 1940s, Ri Kōran was another example of The Fiend with Twenty Faces.⁴⁶

While Washitani claims that it was Ri's various appearances in different lands with different languages that made the Japanese audience fascinated and crazy about her, literary and film critic Yomota Inuhiko believes it was because her "boundary crossing" love scenes with Hasegawa legitimated her legendary position as the goddess of film.⁴⁷ Either way, the fervor of Ri Kōran and the Continental Boom reached the peak during the Nihon Gekijō incident in 1941, and gradually faded away after the burst of the Pacific War. High has indicated, after the Continental Trilogy, "*Soochow Nights* along with Shimazu Yasujirō's *The Great Green Land* (*Midori no Daichi*, Shochiku, 1942) were the last major films about civilians in China. The spectacular victories over the United States and Britain caused popular interest to turn to the newly conquered regions in the south."⁴⁸ However, if what High's observes is true, the decline of the "Continental Boom" does not mean Ri Kōran's charm faded away immediately. Rather, it further pushed Ri to transform her performance to a different stage. As we can see from her later films such as Shimizu Hiroshi's *Sayon's Bell*, Ri dramatically turned her upper-class Chinese/Manchurian female image into that of a Taiwanese aboriginal girl. While High has noted that her performance as a Taiwanese aborigine is a "strange reincarnation," and the mise-en-scène is like "they actually are throwbacks to the ancient days when Japan

⁴⁶ Inuhiko Yomoto, *Ri Kōran to Higashi Ajia* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2001), 23-24.

⁴⁷ See Yomoto, *Ri Kōran to Higashi Ajia* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2001), 11.

⁴⁸ High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945*, 283.

was ‘Yamato’,”⁴⁹ I have found this “reincarnation” neither strange, nor a throwback, but a symbol of progress.

Given the social, political and economic circumstances in the 1930s and 1940s, the film industry within the Japanese empire had to cooperate with the Japanese national policy and the military propaganda. As such, the film industry was developed and prospered by cooperating with the imperial projects. Nagayama has said, “The incomparable success of the Ri Kōran and Hasegawa trilogy was achieved through the collaboration of multiple entertainment industries.”⁵⁰ Thanks to the Continental Trilogy, Ri Kōran was extremely popular in Japan in the early 1940s. However, High has further pointed out that “when the rage for continental films passed, Ri Koran’s impact on Japanese audiences also began to wane.”⁵¹ So, it was a time for Ri to return to Manchuria and make use of her experience from the continental trilogy to make the film *Ying Chun Hua*.

3.5.2. *The Features of Ying Chun Hua*

Like *China Nights* and the other two films of the Continental Trilogy, *Ying Chun Hua* inherits their melodramatic features and continental romance. The film depicts an

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Chikako Nagayama, “The Flux of Domesticity and the Exotic in a Wartime Melodrama,” *Signs* 34, no. 2 (2009), 373.

⁵¹ High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years’ War, 1931-1945*, 284.

elite Japanese man, Murakawa Takeo, who graduated from Tokyo Imperial University and is dispatched to work in his relative's construction company in Shinkyō, the capital of Manchuria. The rest of the story is quite simple: Murakawa, as an elite from Japan, is extremely popular in the company, and he gets involved in a love triangle with a beautiful Manchurian colleague, Bailan 白蘭, and a Japanese woman Yae 八重 who is the daughter of the president of the construction company. Compared to his strict and harsh attitude toward the Japanese woman Yae, Murakawa shows more interest and patience to the Manchurian woman Bailan. Bailan is a capable woman in terms of her ability at work. She not only helps Murakawa to acclimate to his life in Manchuria, but also teaches him the Chinese language as well as assists him at work. While both Bailan and Yae show their love to Murakawa, he never responds to their affection. Surprisingly, at the end, both women decide to leave Murakawa and look for their new lives in Tokyo and Beijing.

The opening long shots point out the essence of this film in which the camera pans from top to bottom and shows the smoking chimney of a factory first, and then



Figure 7. Opening Shots of *Ying Chun Hua*.

moves to a skating rink crowded with people.⁵² This sequence reveals the director's intention to emphasize two factors at once: industry and sports—which represent the symbols of modernity and entertainment respectively. The two symbolic implications make the spectators believe that life in Manchuria is advanced. In addition, life in the semi-colonial Manchuria is one of the most significant themes in the film. The plot revolves around the topics of eating, clothing, living, and transportation throughout the story. We can see the female protagonists make *sukiyaki* for Murakawa, as well as wear various clothes including Chinese *qipao* 旗袍 and western style clothes. The numerous conveyances such as the train, the horse-drawn carriage, the ox cart, and the rickshaw, imply the convenience and fleetness of living in Manchuria.

Moreover, the portrayal of the relationships and characteristics of the two female protagonists in the film is very interesting. While Bailan (Ri Kōran) and Yae compete for Murakawa's love, they never curse or fight with each other. Instead, they make concessions to each other. In addition, similar to the male protagonists in the Continental Trilogy, the Japanese male protagonist has more power and freedom in making choices.

From *Ying Chun Hua*, we only see the bright side of the empire. While the notion of “China” is nearly absent from the film, the director replaces it with “Manchuria.” Moreover, when the Japanese president of the construction company chats with his Manchurian friend and comments on ancient Chinese paintings, the Japanese owner claims that they have the same origin as Japanese ancient paintings. It is apparent that the

⁵² See figure 7.

director tries to promote the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere through the film. Nevertheless, the film contains a transcultural feature, which can be seen from the multilingual appearance of Ri Kōran. In the next section, I analyze Ri Kōran's *Sayon's Bell* and explore how her performance constructs the Japanese cultural empire.

3.6. A Transnational Film: *Sayon's Bell* サヨンの鐘 (1943)

3.6.1. *The Origins of Sayon's Bell*

The film *Sayon's Bell* is based on the real story of a seventeen year-old Taiwanese aboriginal girl Sayon Hayon who unfortunately drowned while helping carry luggage for her Japanese teacher Takita Masaki 田北正記 in a severe storm on September 27, 1938. This accident was recorded in the *Taiwan nichinichi simpō* with the title of “Aboriginal woman falls into river, still missing” two days after the accident.⁵³ The content of the report is as follows,

At five a.m. on the 27th, an aboriginal woman Sayon Hayon (17) with eleven members in her tribe saw the police officer Takita off and helped carry his luggage. While passing through the temporary wood bridge of the river, Sayon accidentally fell into the torrent and went missing. The body has not yet been found.⁵⁴

⁵³ The original Japanese title is 「蕃婦溪流に落ち、行方不明となる」.

⁵⁴ See *Taiwan Daily News*, Sep. 29th, 1938, page 7.

Despite the pathetic fate of Sayon, this tragedy attracted the eyes of the public because it precisely corresponded to the strategy of national policy in its features of loyalty. After the tragedy, a series of events were held in the southern island. At the end of the year of Sayon's death, the governor of Taipei, Fujita Injirō 藤田 倶治郎, paid tribute at her grave, and built a stone tablet in memory of Sayon the following year.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the 18th Governor-General of Taiwan, Hasegawa Kiyoshi 長谷川清 (1883-1970), was extremely



Figure 8. the 18th Governor-General of Taiwan Hasegawa Kiyoshi confers The patriotic maiden Sayon's bell to Matsumoto Mitsuko.

⁵⁵ See Junko Konishi, "The Soundscape of 'Sayon's Bell': The Memory of Sound and Identity of Atayal from Lejoxen," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, Shizuoka University, Social and Natural Sciences and Liberal Arts Series* 63 (2012): 207–23. The tablet is called "The maiden Sayon's tablet" (サヨン乙女の碑).

touched by Sayon's story and decided to send a customized bell as a gift to the Leyoxen tribe, which belongs to the Atayal tribe, in 1941.⁵⁶ The bell was thus named after Sayon and was called "The patriotic maiden Sayon's bell" (愛国乙女サヨンの鐘).⁵⁷

On the surface, the bell was a gift by the Governor-General of Taiwan who was moved by the action and sacrifice of Sayon in the tragedy. However, according to Konishi Junko, although the bell was made by Hasegawa's order, it was in fact a strategic movement of Ribanka 理蕃課—the Division of Aborigine Administration—which made the decision to build a special bell and gave it to Sayon's brother and "The Youth Group of Leyoxen Tribe" (リヨヘン青年団) as a gift in memory of Sayon. Oddly, the bell was not merely a gift intended for Sayon's family, but it was also given as a present to the youth group of the village. In other words, it is not only a simple gift but a symbolic object made for glorifying the honor of sacrifice as well as advocating the patriotism of the Taiwanese aborigine.

Under these circumstances, given Sayon's background as an aborigine and the pure, beautiful, and educational essence of the episode, it is not surprising to see that Sayon's death became a perfect story for promoting the national policy of *kōminka* 皇民化, taming the Taiwanese aborigine, and educating the Taiwanese colonized people. As

⁵⁶ The Atayal tribe is the third largest Taiwanese aboriginal tribe. The Leyoxen tribe is a branch of the Atayal tribes. The Leyoxen tribe is located in the Nan'ao Township in the southern part of Yilan County in Taiwan today. The tribe is located far away from the township administrative office and the road to the tribe is often damaged by typhoons.

⁵⁷ See Figure 8. April, 14, 1941.

the result, the story of Sayon's bell was adapted or rewritten into different versions during the final years of Japanese colonization.

According to Shimomura Sakujirō, there are at least five different versions of Sayon's bell which were written in different genres. These five versions include two screenplays, two novels, and a textbook lesson. The list of these versions is as follows,⁵⁸

Different versions of the story of Sayon

1. Screenplay: Written by Murakami Genzō 村上元三 (1910-2006).

Published in *Kokumin engeki* (国民演劇), December 1941.
2. Film Screenplay: Published in *Taiwan times*, May 1943.
3. Novel (Chinese): Written by Wu Mansha 吳漫沙 (1912-2005).

Published in July 1943.
4. Novel (Japanese): Written by Nagao Kazuo 長尾和男 (1902-1982). Published in July, 1943.
5. Textbook of the Volksschule (*kokumin gakkō* 国民学校): Published in 1944.¹

Table 1. Different versions of the story of Sayon.

⁵⁸ List 1. See *Zhong Xin Dao Bian Chui de Chong Gui Yu Fen Gui: Riben Di Guo Yu Taiwan Wen Xue, Wen Hua Yan Jiu* (Taipei Shi: Guo li Taiwan da xue chu ban zhong xin, 2012), volume 2, 38-62.

As the list above shows, the five different versions were all created after the beginning of the Pacific War and published between 1941 and 1944. In terms of the different versions of Sayon's Bell, Konishi has pointed out that "Except for Nagao's version, those works related to Sayon's Bell were created through the visions of the Japanese or the Taiwanese who were influenced by the Japanese."⁵⁹ Interestingly, among those versions, although it would seem likely to be the most efficient one to implement the national policy of *kōminka*, Shimomura believes that the textbook lesson is the most truthful version to the real story of Sayon.⁶⁰

It is worth noting that among these different versions, the film version particularly emphasizes several points: First of all, the protagonist Sayon is portrayed as an aboriginal teenage girl who is enthusiastic about national language education and loves to take care of children. It is the only version that emphasizes education in the national language. Secondly, the Japanese teacher Takita Masaki is depicted in the film version as holding multiple positions including that of police officer, teacher, drillmaster, and the supervisor of civil engineering. Finally, while the true story took place in a branch of the Atayal tribes, the Leyoxen tribe, we can only vaguely tell from the *mise-en-scène* in the film that the story is set in a Taiwanese aboriginal tribe in which people salute to the Japanese national flag. In addition, the historical background of the film is set in March 1942, which is completely different from the actual history. As Shimomura has explained, the

⁵⁹ Junko Konishi, "The Soundscape of 'Sayon's Bell': The Memory of Sound and Identity of Atayal from Lejoxen," 210.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

reason that the time frame of the film was set in 1942 is because it was right after the Takasago Volunteers 高砂義勇隊 were recruited into the Japanese imperial army.⁶¹

From these settings, it is not hard to know the film actually followed the national policy of assimilation during the war-time period. However, the film version is not the only one that is full of the phenomena of promoting the national policy and militarism. Shimomura has pointed out that, “Among the five versions, Wu’s version contains the most colorful portrayal about the war. The examples are: flying the national flag on New Year’s Day and worshipping the imperial palace...and the depiction that Sayon becomes a military nurse and is very active in the dream.”⁶² Intriguingly, while the most colorful one is Wu Mansha’s novel version, neither is this novel written in Japanese, nor is the writer Wu Mansha a Taiwanese aborigine. Wu is a Han Chinese who can only write in Chinese. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the target readers should be Chinese.

Yet it is surprising to see that the unfortunate accident of an aboriginal girl Sayon can be rewritten and recreated into multiple versions of stories. While the accident happened in 1938, these different versions of Sayon’s story were published after the start of the Pacific War. We cannot neglect the relationships between the story of Sayon and the Pacific War, and it is almost certain that the story was developed under the guidance of national policy and the mission of *kōminka* activity.

⁶¹ See *Zhong Xin Dao Bian Chui de Chong Gui Yu Fen Gui: Riben Di Guo Yu Taiwan Wen Xue, Wen Hua Yan Jiu*, vol. 2, 49.

⁶² Ibid.

3.6.2. *The Taiwanese Kōminka Activity*

Kōminka (皇民化) describes an intensive assimilation policy that the Japanese adopted to strengthen the sense of Japanese nationality of the subject. Since the Marco Polo Bridge Incident occurred in 1937, the second Sino-Japanese War was declared officially between China and Japan. With this war, the Japanese domination of Taiwan entered the third stage. The Japanese government restored the system of military officers to be the Governor-Generals and supervised the Taiwanese more strictly. Furthermore, in order to acquire more assistance from the Taiwanese, beyond assimilation activity, the Japanese empire decided to carry out the national policy of *kōminka* activity in Taiwan. According to Lamley, “*kōminka* policy embraced a number of government-sponsored assimilationist programs and reforms. These were implemented through colonial directives and staged mainly through a series of campaigns and local drives during the war.”⁶³ The *kōminka* activity can be divided into two different stages: The first stage, from 1936 to 1940, was the mobilization of the national spirit. The main points of this stage were to eliminate the Taiwanese concept of China as a fatherland, and to instill the Japanese *kōmin* spirit in the Taiwanese. For instance, the Governor-General of Taiwan, Kobayashi Seizō 小林躋造 promoted standard Japanese language (*kokugo*) in Taiwan as

⁶³ Murray A. Rubinstein, *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 240.

his initial *kōminka* activity. The result was to increase “the percentage of Japanese speakers among the Taiwanese population from some 37 percent in 1937 to 51 percent in 1940.”⁶⁴ The second stage was the activity of homage to the nation, which started from 1940 to the end of the war. The Japanese forced the Taiwanese to join the Imperial Subject Community, or 皇民奉公会 (*kōminhōkōkai*) which made them subject to the Japanese imperial state. The activity popularized the *kōmin*—the royal subject—concept to the basic level of Taiwanese society.

In order to promote the *kōminka* activity, the Governor-Generals of Taiwan compelled the Taiwanese to speak the “standard language,” or Japanese, wear Japanese kimono, abolish popular customs and religions, and change their Chinese names to proper Japanese names. Furthermore, following Japan’s reach of the stage of the “decisive conflict” 決戦 (*kessen*), or the so-called “total war” in the 1940s, the Japanese government started to conscript the Taiwanese to join the Japanese army in 1942, and further pushed conscription in Taiwan in 1945.⁶⁵ Davison explains,

Throughout the early 1940s, an intensified *kōminka* program filled school and newspapers with propaganda urging people to cast their futures and fortunes with the Japanese empire. A good many Taiwanese answered the call to military service in the Japanese army and navy. By 1945, Taiwan had supplied Japan with 80,433 servicemen and another 126,750 civil employees. Military service was listed in propaganda sheets as the first of “three great obligations”; payment of taxes and diligence in acquiring an education rounded out the list.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 235.

⁶⁶ Davison, *A Short History of Taiwan*, 71.

While the “three great obligations” is still applied to the modern society of Taiwan today, the enemy and the subject to pay loyalty have been changed. Nevertheless, one of the most loyal troops in Taiwan was the Takasago Volunteers recruited from the Taiwanese aboriginal tribes. The following is the timeline by which the Japanese executed military service in Taiwan.⁶⁷

List 2. Military Service in Taiwan

June 1941: Announced the Special Volunteers Program

March 1942: Recruited the Takasago Volunteers

April 1942: Implemented the Army Special Volunteers Program⁶⁸

May 1943: Implemented the Navy Special Volunteers Program⁶⁹

Sep. 1944: Implemented the initial conscription system

April 1945: Implemented universal conscription

After the military service system was implemented, while it only lasted for several years, the number of the Taiwanese who were conscripted into the regular Japanese military reached 207,183; and the number of the casualties was 30,304 at the end of the war.⁷⁰

3.6.3. The Story of Sayon's Bell

⁶⁷ See List 2.

⁶⁸ The original title is 陸軍特別志願兵制度.

⁶⁹ The original title is 海軍特別志願兵制度.

⁷⁰ John F. Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1999), 33.

The film *Sayon's Bell* サヨンの鐘, or *Sayon no kane*, was first released in 1943.

It was Ri Kōran's first and last film that was co-produced by three different film



Figure 9. *Educating Children*.

production companies from three different places including Man'ei of Manchukuo, Shōchiku of Japan, and the institution of the Governor-General of Taiwan. The director was Shimizu Hiroshi (1903-1966). Because this film was co-produced and Man'ei cooperated with other film production companies in Japan and Taiwan, it is not surprising that all these companies put forth a lot of money and resources together to make this specific film.

In *Sayon's Bell*, the protagonist Sayon, who was played by Ri Kōran, is simultaneously pure like a child and attractive as a woman to the villagers. Unlike female characters appearing in other Japanese war-time films in which they often played purely in supporting roles, Sayon is undoubtedly the center of the film. Sayon is depicted as a strong woman who takes responsibility for farming pigs, rearing ducks, taking care of babies, and even educating the children in the village.⁷¹ For example, there is a sequence of scenes in which Sayon commands the children to catch a fleeing pig. When they are on the way back to village after having caught the pig, Sayon takes the chance to teach the children some Japanese. This is a special setting as Sayon is not a teacher and both Sayon and the children are not “Japanese” but Taiwanese aborigines. This particular sequence makes the female lead not only a laborer and babysitter, but also an educator in the village.⁷²

However, the fact that the female protagonist plays such an important role in the village does not mean that the director tried to convey a message about women's elevated social position and status. Rather, as Furuichi Masako has mentioned, “[The film is] to

⁷¹ See Figure 9.

⁷² See Figure 10.



Figure 10. *Sayon and Her Burdens*.

make sure that the Japanese stands in a higher position than the Taiwanese does.”⁷³ At the end of *Sayon's Bell*, Sayon sacrifices her life on the way to see off her lover, who is also a police officer as well as teacher, as he leaves to join the Japanese army.

Ironically, the ending suggests that this diligent and pure Taiwanese aboriginal female figure exists only to promote Japanese militarism. In addition, the plot also shows that even a female subject should sacrifice herself in order to make just a little contribution to her suzerain—the Japanese empire. As Peter High further comments, “The film will stress the purity of spirit and the depth of the loyalty of the native

⁷³ Masako Furuichi, *Man Ying" Dian Ying Yan Jiu* (Beijing Shi: Jiu zhou chu ban she, 2010), 121.

Takasago peoples to His Majesty the Emperor.”⁷⁴ This is perhaps the main reason that the director depicted the Taiwanese aborigines and the images of the aboriginal women. Moreover, while the aboriginal men fall over one another to join the Japanese army, the women’s responsibilities are limited only to help work in the village. This set of plots, however, implies that women should focus on their obligations to their families and community. The portrayal of pure and beautiful female figures, in fact, does not praise the works of aboriginal women. Rather, it implies that the female figures are meant to be pure and beautiful colonial subjects who should sacrifice themselves for the Japanese empire.

One cannot deny that Man’ei was largely controlled by the Japanese, and thus, the films produced by Man’ei were also responsible for the aggressive agendas of Japanese militarism and imperialism. *Sayon’s Bell* was one of the clearest examples of films made for fulfilling the imperial tasks since it was, from the start, a political film co-produced by a Japanese film production company, Shōchiku, and the Governor-General of Taiwan. Throughout this film, the agenda to promote Japanese militarism and colonialism is apparent. At the beginning of *Sayon’s Bell*, the caption already shows the intention of making this film. The caption states,

Taiwan, which is still an advanced base to the south under the Greater East Asian War. Now, they are entirely covered with *kōka* [the royal assimilation] and are all royal subjects to the emperor. In the past, on this

⁷⁴ High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years’ War, 1931-1945*, 284.

island, the aborigines who were known as the “uncivilized people” and the
 “raw aborigines” are now experiencing Japanese assimilation and fighting
 as the emperor’s subjects on the front line.⁷⁵

それはまた
 大東亜戦下 南への
 前進基地である
 台湾—
 今はあまねき
 皇化に浴し
 大君の御民として
 前線に銃後に
 戦ってゐる
 嘗てこの島に
 「化外の民」と呼ばれ
 「生蕃」と呼ばれた
 高砂族も
 この映画を
 皇民高砂族の愛国と

⁷⁵ See Figure 11. The reading order is upper right, upper left, bottom right, bottom left. The captions are in Hiroshi Shimizu, "Sayon's Bell," Japan: Manchuria Film Production, 1943.

理蕃施政に献身せる

警察官の熱誠とに

捧げる

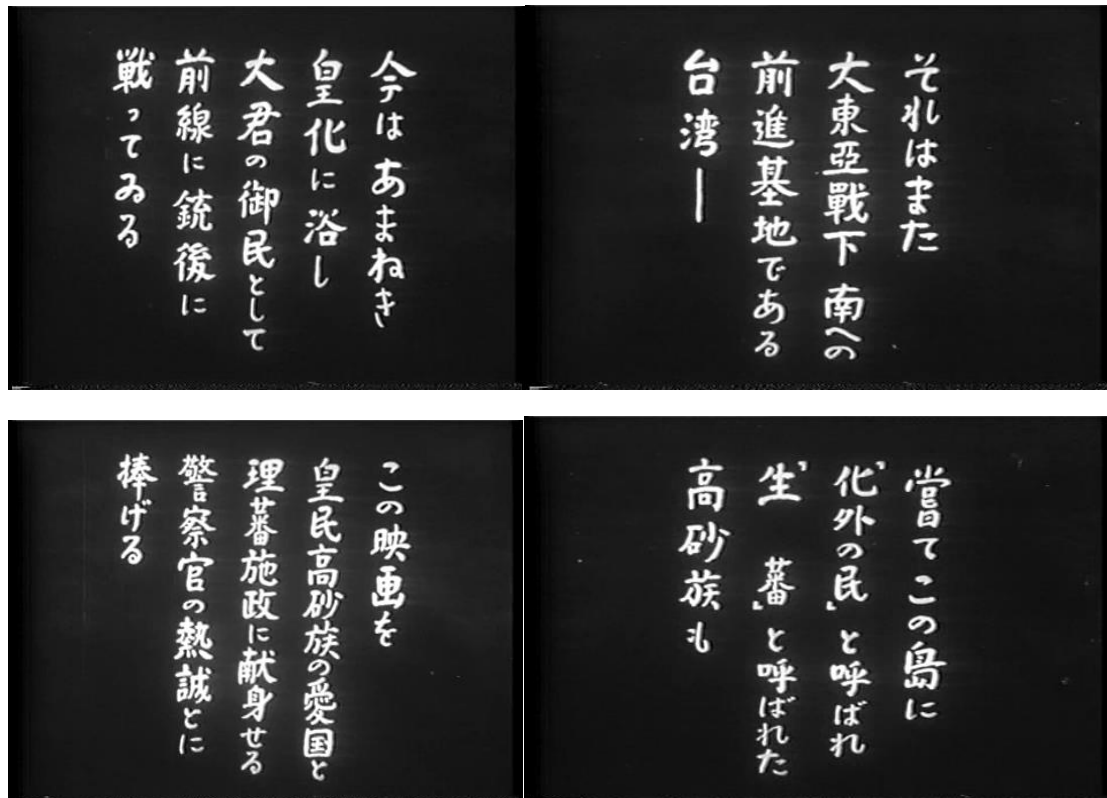


Figure 11. The Opening Captions of Sayon's Bell.

Apparently, the director tried to convince the audience that it is praiseworthy to be an imperial subject and fight for the empire. Moreover, although images of Taiwanese aboriginal culture—such as the group dance and costumes—takes up a large portion of this film, the implications of Japanese assimilation, militarism, and imperialism were, nonetheless, apparent throughout the entire film. For instance, the villagers and Sayon not only bow to Japan's national flag, but they also shout out “*banzai*” many times when



Figure 12. Villagers Bowing to the Japanese National Flag.

celebrating and sending the men off to the battle-field.⁷⁶ The phrase “*banzai*,” literally meaning “[may you live] ten thousand years” actually contains a military concept, which served as a battle cry for Japanese soldiers. The idea to intertwine gender and militarism becomes even clearer when Sayon mentions that there are many beautiful girls in Japan and teases her lover Saburō about it. Answering Sayon, Saburō replies that “all the Japanese women as well as the soldiers work very hard.”⁷⁷ Saburō’s response to Sayon is, however, unnatural and made to parallel “women” with “militarism” in order to

⁷⁶ See Figure 12.

⁷⁷ Shimizu, “Sayon's Bell,” 1943.

aestheticize the notion of militarism, as the images of women are assumed and portrayed to be pure and beautiful. Also, it is worth mentioning that all these symbolic implications are initiated by Sayon's actions in the film. In other words, the notions and propaganda of Japanese militarism and colonialism, in fact, are conveyed to the audience by the performance of Ri Kōran and her female body.

If we bring in film theory and see how Ri's female body has been created in the scenes, Laura Mulvey's visual analysis is helpful. Mulvey has astutely pointed out how the female image can be portrayed in cinema in her article "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." In this article, she claims that,

In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to the female form which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness.⁷⁸

From the passage, Mulvey tries to say that the female image is used to provide a pleasurable visual experience for men. The cinematic gaze is masculine and the woman plays the role of "to-be-looked-at-ness." Mulvey also claims that the female image is raw material for the man to look at in narrative film. In Mulvey's perspective, for man, the image of woman is raw material that is also an icon "displayed for the gaze and enjoyment of men."⁷⁹ Thus, as Mulvey has described, on the one hand, man stands in an

⁷⁸ See Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 6–18.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

active position and has become the controller of the look. On the other hand, woman is a passive object, which evokes anxiety because of woman's lack of a phallus, which implies the threat of castration. Furthermore, Mulvey believes that the ideas and values of patriarchy are the most important factor in terms of the male-female relationship. Indeed, if we take Ri Kōran and *Sayon's Bell* as an example, Ri's female body is absolutely the object of "to-be-looked-at-ness." While Ri plays the leading role in the film, the very existence of her images—a laborer, babysitter, educator, and martyr—is for the pleasure of the man, or the empire.

Yet, these plots and scenes not only represent the most brutal parts of the Japanese empire, but also display a less severe side of the empire. As mentioned above, in a sequence when Sayon and the aboriginal children are on their way back to the village after capturing the pig, Sayon practices Japanese with the children. At this time, while Sayon plays the roles of laborer, babysitter, and educator, she is obviously not a colonized subject. In fact, the sequence of practicing Japanese is full of humor and happiness in which the audience should feel relaxed and joyful. This particular sequence, however, is not the only happy episode of this film. As a matter of fact, this film, except for the drastic and tragic ending, is filled with happiness and humor throughout the story. This comedy-like film intentionally depicts the bright side of the empire, through which the mass media not only marketed Japanese militarism and colonialism, but also sought to educate and entertain the whole Japanese empire in transnational Asia.

3.7. Conclusion

“Literary nationalism” is a term that refers to the actions of a group of people who keep themselves in a solid community or polity with no apparent political agenda while dedicating themselves to consolidating the community or nation through their talents of literature, art, and performance. In the world of literature, as Chapter One shows, it can be said that Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916) and Yosano Akiko (1878-1942) were two famous writers in modern Japanese literature who applied this literary nationalism to their writings when they traveled around Manchuria in the early twentieth century. Despite how the two writers wrote in different ways to portray Manchuria, their purposes were the same: to solidify the nation by their talent of writing.

Likewise, as Sōseki and Akiko had done in literature, I claim that the superstar Ri Kōran also contributed to literary nationalism in her acting and singing in the cinematic world. In Ri Kōran’s case, as I have shown, her performance on the big screen was, on the one hand, to market the Japanese militarism and colonialism and on the other, to entertain and educate the whole empire. Both of these functions were in service of the Japanese empire.

One piece of evidence is that Ri Kōran’s identity as Japanese was not even revealed in Japan until a newspaper article titled “Ri Kōran is a screen name...she is not a Manchurian but a Japanese from Saga” was published in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* on

February 15, 1941.⁸⁰ However, in an interview also in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* two years before, Ri Kōran praised Japanese women but discriminated against the culture and attitude of Manchurian and Chinese women while she herself was publicly treated as a Manchurian and Chinese woman.⁸¹ Although it is safe to say that this interview had no strong political intention, her disguise as a Manchurian and Chinese woman, indeed, was a way to put literary nationalism into practice. In a cinematic magazine—*Kindai Eiga* 2—which was published in 1946, there is an interview of Ri Kōran talking about her return to Japan. In this interview, the writer still used her stage name Ri Kōran instead of switching to her Japanese name Yamaguchi Yoshiko. While Ri Kōran mentions that she is confused about her identity since both the Japanese and Chinese still identify her as a Chinese after the war, she firmly states that “I am Japanese. I cannot give up my home country especially when today Japan is a defeated country.”⁸² At the end of the interview, the article tells us that Ri Kōran decided that from this day onwards, she is no longer Ri Kōran but Yamaguchi Yoshiko and she will try her best to contribute to her country. This interview actually alludes to Ri Kōran’s determination to relinquish her Chinese identity and her dedication to literary nationalism with the change of name and identity.

To conclude, through the plots and scenes of her transnational films, Ri Kōran’s female body, in fact, functioned as a medium to advertise Japanese militarism and colonialism. As John Dower asserts “The [Japanese colonial] films are propaganda first

⁸⁰ “Ri Kōran Is a Screen Name,” *Yomiuri Shimbun*, February 15, 1941.

⁸¹ “Encouraging of Entering Japan,” *Yomiuri Shimbun*, October 30, 1939.

⁸² Kindai Eiga sha, “Ri Koran Ki,” *Kindai Eiga* 2, no. 7 (July 1946): 25.

and last,”⁸³ based on her complex identity and nationality, and through her disguised performance in cinema as well as in public, her roles functioned as a medium to advertise Japanese militarism and colonialism. Ri Kōran’s charming performances, mixed cultural background, and her female figure made her a perfect advertisement to promote the notions of Japanese militarism and colonialism through the big screen. Also, the positive image of Ri Kōran in films, in fact, showed a different dimension of colonial conversation in the empire in which the Japanese colonizers managed their reign and control through big screen. While colonized subjects suffered from the psychological trauma of Japanese military and political missions, both the colonized and the colonizer, at least, experienced a temporary relaxation through the mass media on the borderline during the stressful war-time period. This is how Ri Kōran, as an in-between person, stood in-between the darkness and brightness of the Japanese colonial empire.

⁸³ John W. Dower, *Japan in War and Peace: Selected Essays* (New York: New Press, 1993), 35.

CONCLUSION

Retreating From Empire:

The Literati's Greater East Asia and Cultural Legacies

Road Toward the Greater East Asian Writers' Conference

In November 1942, four literati, Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, Hamada Hayao 濱田隼雄 (1909-1973), Zhang Wenhuan 張文環 (1909-1978) and Long Yingzong 龍瑛宗 (1911-1999), were selected as the delegates of Taiwan to attend the first ever Greater East Asian Writers' Conference 大東亜文学者会議. The conference was held annually from 1942 to 1944. As one of the Japanese colonies, Taiwan sent four representatives to Tokyo to participate in the first Conference.

The news of the four Taiwan delegates epitomizes the efforts of the *gaichi* literati who strived to illuminate the colony on the stage of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In cooperation with the big literary event, *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* 台灣日日新報 (*Taiwan Daily New Newspaper*) published a series of reports describing the details of the conference. Before the opening day, *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* had already published several advertisements for the conference. From November 4th to 7th, the newspaper spent a large portion of space to report the progress and news of the conference. It also

Nov. 1	Arrive Tokyo. Stayed at Empire Hotel
Nov. 2	Visit Meiji Shrine, Yasukuni Shrine, government offices, broadcast bureau, and newspaper companies
Nov. 3	Conference Opening. Special performance by Empire Troupe in the evening
Nov. 4	Conference Day
Nov. 5	Conference Day. Kabuki theater at night
Nov. 6	Visit Bunri University and Todai in the afternoon.
Nov. 7	Visit Navy air fleet
Nov. 8	Visit Imperial Army Museum
Nov. 9	Arrive Ujiyama
Nov. 10	Visit Osaka. Arrive Nara in the evening
Nov. 11	Visit Nara
Nov. 12	Visit Kyoto

Table 2. Schedule of the first Greater East Asian Writers Conference

published interviews with the delegates after they came back to Taiwan.¹ Moreover, the newspaper even published an official schedule of the conference in advance of the proceedings.² According to the reports, the delegates stayed in the Empire Hotel when they arrived in Tokyo. The next day, they participated in a sightseeing trip in the city. The delegates visited many attractions such as Meiji Shrine, Yasukuni Shrine, several government offices and a few newspaper companies before the opening of the

¹ See Shuqin Liu, “Wai di de mo ruo: Tai wan dai biao men de di yi ci da dong ya wen xue zhe da hui 「外地」的沒落：臺灣代表們的第一次大東亞文學者大會” In *Kua wen hua qing jing: Cha yi he dong tai rong he- tai wan xian dang dai wen xue wen hua yan jiu* 跨文化情境：差異與動態融合——臺灣現當代文學文化研究, edited by Peng Xiaoyan, 39–9 (Zhong yan yuan wen zhe suo, 2013), 47-8.

² See Table 1. in *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*, October 25, 1942.

conference. Even during the conference, the participants were expected to attend entertainment scheduled at night. After the three days of conference, the delegates visited Tokyo, Osaka, Nara, Kyoto, and several military institutions. Obviously, their trips in the so-called *naichi*, just like Natsume Sōseki's travels in Manchuria which were discussed in Chapter One, were without question, luxurious trips. Through the positive reports and persuasive advertisements in mass media, the hospitality of the motherland was widely publicized throughout the Japanese colonies.

Nevertheless, not all those delegates enjoyed this luxurious trip in *naichi*. Taking one of the representatives of Taiwan, Long Yingzong, as an example, the Taiwanese writer revealed a different truth from that of the news presented in mass media. Huizhen Wang has indicated that "While Long Yingzong frequently recalled his memories about pre-war Tokyo in his essays, those memories are mostly about his first journey for receiving a literary award in Tokyo. However, he seldom mentioned or only mentioned in a blurred tone about his second journey to Japan."³ According to Wang, the reason why Long was reluctant to touch upon his travel memory related to the first Greater East Asian Writers Conference is because he thought he was forced to participate in the event and had to make speeches to applaud the Imperial Japanese Army.⁴ This episode does not mean Long played a role as one of the anti-Japanese colonial writers. Given the historical background that the literati who represented Taiwan belonged to the first generation born

³ Huizheng Wang, "Di Yi Hui Dadongya Wenxuezhedahui De Xu Yu Shi: Yi Long Yingzhong de Wenyi Huodong Wei Li 第一回大東亞文學者大會的虛與實：以龍瑛宗的文藝活動為例," *Monumenta Taiwanica* 1, no. 1 (2010): 34.

⁴ Ibid.

as pure “Japanese,” Long’s negative reaction to his experience of the first Greater East Asian Writers Conference was probably not because of the issue of nationality, but resulted from the separation between *naichi* and *gaichi*, and the resistance to Japanese militarism.

Chapter One showed that Natsume Sōseki and Yosano Akiko’s journeys to semi-colonial Manchuria had a huge political implication in which the two *naichi* writers, even if not intentionally, were involved in the empire-building project and practiced their literary nationalism in different ways throughout their travel writings. The Japanese empire, under their portrayals, was not an unexpected empire that rose from nowhere, but was a well-planned empire from the early stages. In contrast with Sōseki and Akiko’s journeys to the colonial peripheries, the Taiwanese delegates’ voyages to the center of the empire during this special literary event presented a reverse course in which the writers of the colonies wrote back to the center of the empire. However, while the *gaichi* writers took the chance to respond to the center, they also further confirmed that the Japanese empire was still under strict control even when the empire was near its fate of doom.

Before the end of the war, the Greater East Asian Writers Conference was held three times. The first and second conferences were located in Tokyo, while the third one was moved to the Japanese occupied territory of Nanjing. Taiwan sent delegates to participate in the first two conferences. Although the three conferences had their unique themes and slogans each year, the ultimate goal of the conference was to “defeat Anglo-

America and accomplish victory in the Greater East Asian War.”⁵ The countries or regions which were invited to the conference were from both the center and peripheries of the empire, including some semi-colonial regions such as China, Manchukuo, Mongolia, the Pacific islands, and the official Japanese colonies like Taiwan, Korea, and Okinawa. However, due to the severe situation during the middle of the Pacific War, some regions such as the southern islands did not send representatives to attend the conference, and eventually, Taiwan did not participate in the third conference in Nanjing either. After the war, many participants of the conference were accused of being traitors. Long was one of the victims who was accused of being a traitor due to him attending the conference and speaking for the empire.⁶ Long was classified as one of the *kōmin*⁷ literature (皇民文学) writers—writers who supported the national policy of assimilation and wrote about it—after the war. The writers who wrote or spoke for the empire and cooperated with the *kōminka* movement⁸ (皇民化) are categorized as *kōmin* literature writers.

Writing and Performing as Royal Subjects

⁵ Shuqin Liu, “Wai di de mo ruo: Tai wan dai biao men de di yi ci da dong ya wen xue zhe da hui,” 39.

⁶ Long made a speech entitled “Thanks for the Imperial Army” (皇軍に感謝) in the conference.

⁷ For details about *kōmin*, see Chapter Three.

⁸ As Leo Ching has defined, the *kōminka* movement is a movement that “aimed at the complete regimentation and Japanization of Japan’s colonial races, and justified these goals through endless moral platitudes couched in Confucian phraseology and centered on inculcation of a sense of obligation to the Japanese emperor.” The *kōminka* movement was the final stage of the Japanese assimilation policy which was implemented from 1937 to 1945.

Yet those who were called *kōmin* literature writers were indeed the people-in-between the colonial boundaries. Liu has precisely commented on the fates of these writers whose experience of participating in the Greater East Asian Writers Conference became evidence of their being traitors and a stain on their careers:

[T]hose delegates who were regarded as ‘the Greater East Asian Writers’ probably had no right to refuse to attend the conference before the end of the war, and had to be brought to trial and were criminalized. This phenomenon is just like what Ozaki Hideki has mentioned: it was Japan’s inexcusable guilt to the other East Asian nations.⁹

The situation was especially severe for the *kōmin* literature writers in Taiwan. They had to cooperate with the Japanese authorities before the end of the war when they were still “Japanese,” and they suddenly became “Chinese” and were treated as traitors after Kuomintang took over Taiwan. Shū Kinha 周金波, or Zhou Jingpo (1920-1996), was another victim who seemed to be a writer of *kōmin* literature after the war. Leo Ching has called Shū “one of the most notorious *kōmin* writers” and because of that, “Shū’s name (and the names of other *kōmin* writers as well) is conspicuously absent” in most recently published anthologies of Taiwanese literature under Japanese colonial rule.¹⁰ Nevertheless, echoing the Japanese colonial literature critic Tarumi Chie’s reconsideration of nationalists’ condemnation of Shū’s collaborative writing, Ching has

⁹ Shuqin Liu, “Wai di de mo ruo: Tai wan dai biao men de di yi ci da dong ya wen xue zhe da hui,” 40.

¹⁰ Leo Ching, “‘Give Me Japan and Nothing Else!’: Postcoloniality, Identity, and the Traces of Colonialism.” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 99, no. 4 (2000): 771-2.

suggested that “Tarumi should be commended for attempting to release *kōmin* literature and its writers from nationalism’s silencing and moral condemnation.”¹¹ What Tarumi has proposed through reading Shū’s colonial texts, including his most notorious *kōmin* literature “The Volunteer” 志願兵 (1941), is to deconstruct the virtue of the *kōminka* movement and reconstruct the juxtaposition of nationalism and colonialism. In other words, as he has further expanded on Tarumi’s implication, Ching claims that “the workings of late colonialism liquidated any possibility of a relationality where one form of identity can be juxtaposed or counterpoised with another, where the conflict over identity could be symbolically resolved either through colonial sublation or nativist restoration.”¹² By indicating the no-outlet-situation of the Taiwanese elite, Ching has suggested reading Shū or the *kōmin* literature through a multi-dimensional view in which Shū’s image as a *kōmin* literature writer turns out to become a nativist writer who was extremely fond of his homeland Taiwan.

The identity struggles over Taiwanese elites was not only the *kōmin* literature writers’ problem; it was a prevailing issue for many Taiwanese intellectuals. Ching has indicated the effectiveness of the movement. He writes,

With heightened tension and increased mobilization at the outbreak of the Second World War, the dominant discourses of both colonial oppression and Chinese nationalist resistance, in their ideologically different but structurally similar compulsions, had insisted on prescribing and solidifying exclusive identities to serve their respective political means. Hence, in Japanese colonial discourse, the contradiction between “naichijin” (people from Japan proper) and “hondōjin” (island people),

¹¹ Ibid., 772.

¹² Ibid., 775.

between “nihonjin” (Japanese) and “taiwanjin” (Taiwanese), is dissolved by an all-encompassing identification as “kōmin.”¹³

Ching has further discussed the identity issue of another Taiwanese elite Wu Cho-liu 吳濁流 (1900-1976) through his famous colonial novel *The Orphan of Asia* アジアの孤児 where he claims, “Finally, the process of colonial identity formation presented in *The Orphan of Asia* is instructive in conceptualizing a radical consciousness that insists on the contradiction and multiplicity of identity formation and refuses a finalized and holistic affirmation of ‘Japaneseness,’ ‘Chineseness,’ or ‘Taiwaneseness.’”¹⁴ In other words, those Taiwanese elite who were stumbling on the colonial boundaries were indeed in-between Japan, China, and Taiwan in terms of their identities and nationalities. The *kōminka* movement solidified the Taiwanese (and other colonized) identity as *kōmin*—the royal subjects of Japan. Nevertheless, it actually seriously confused the Taiwanese about their original identity as Taiwanese (or Chinese) at that time.

Ri Kōran’s case in Chapter Three partly resembles the situation the Taiwanese *kōmin* literature writers faced regarding their struggles of identity. Unlike those Taiwanese writers who were troubled by their in-between nationality and identity, Ri’s complex identity and nationality became a tool for the Japanese authorities to advertise militarism and colonialism. It is inevitable for a movie star like Ri to follow the national policy during the colonial period. However, it does not necessarily mean that Ri was a

¹³ Leo T S. Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 209.

¹⁴ Ibid.

collaborator who volunteered to promote Japanese militarism and colonialism. Ri's performance on the big screen along with her positive image and stardom in public did bring temporary relaxation to both the center and peripheries of the empire. Cinema critic Washitani Hara has collected and looked into the reports of mass media on the Nihon Gekijō incident (日劇 7 回り 半事件) and identified two general characteristics that the images of Ri Kōran represented in Japan at that time. The two characteristics she has pointed out are mobility and multiple identities.¹⁵ Following her frequent transfers and travels between continental China and the island of Japan, Ri's identity (as well as her nationality) metamorphosed in coordination with the different audiences. The uncertainty of her identity was not an obstacle to her career, but, in fact, a catalyst to her performance. While current scholarship on Ri Kōran basically focuses on three main discussions¹⁶—the discussions of Japanese orientalism in her screen images, the views on her mixed identity, and the perspectives of the colonial gaze on her—I have proposed a different perspective in Chapter Three in which I claim that instead of making Ri [as well as her images] a passive figure who was often treated as a medium of promoting national policy and seen as an object of the male gaze, we should consider her as an active personage who “educated” the whole empire through her performance in public and on the big screen. Ri's screen images were often seen as an ideal colonized woman, especially in her continental trilogy in which she often played similar roles as a Chinese

¹⁵ See Inuhiko Yomota, *Ri Kōran to Higashi Ajia* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2001), 40-1.

¹⁶ See Masumi Matsumoto, “日本語で話し歌う〈他者〉—李香蘭映画にみる〈東亜〉のジェンダーポリテクス,” *Annual Report Keiwa Liberal Arts Research Institute*, no. 6 (2008): 85–111.

woman who needs guidance from her Japanese lover. However, this idealized image of Chinese woman combined with her public images as the Manchu-Japanese Good Will Ambassador, the Manchurian and Chinese superstar, and the philanthropist, were metamorphosed to be a comprehensive expression of “the educator” in her film *Sayon's Bell*. In the film, she showed the desires of the colonizer to the colony as well as displayed the colonial realities such as the situations of the Taiwanese aborigines and the firm and persistent spirit of the colonized to the whole empire. Ri, in fact, teaches the audience that there is still a place for taking refuge during the severe war-time period.

However, compared to the complex identity problem with which the Taiwanese literati struggled during and after the colonial period, Ri's mixed identity and blurred nationality in fact provided her with a good opportunity to be successful in her career, and a chance to speak to both the center and peripheries of the empire through her cinematic and public performances. Nevertheless, not only did Ri take the chance to respond to the empire, but the Taiwanese elite as well, while struggling with their identity, also grasped a few opportunities to show themselves to the empire. The Greater East Asian Writers' Conference, as discussed above and in Chapter Two, was one example in which the colonial writers displayed themselves to the center of the empire. In addition, some of those selected delegates had even tried to achieve such a display before the conference. Long Yingzong was one of the strong examples who became famous and impacted the center of the empire by his prize-winning literary work, “The Town with Papayas” パパイヤのある街 (Papaiya no aru machi).

Long Yingzong and his “The Town with Papayas”

Long did not enter the Taiwanese literary circle until he published “The Town with Papayas” and won the prestigious *Kaizō* 改造 literary award in 1937.¹⁷ Despite his relatively late debut in the literary field, Faye Kleeman praises Long as “perhaps the most widely published Taiwanese writer in prewar Japan.”¹⁸ While “The Town with Papayas” won this prestigious literary prize from *Kaizō*—one of the most famous literary magazines in the *naichi* of the empire—the reputation of this work was not as good as people expected. Literary critic Izumi Tsukasa has implied that “The Town with Papayas” is just an above average literary work, and its success of winning the literary prize was because of two reasons: first, the decline of the magazine’s review standard, and second, the political and exotic interests toward the colony.¹⁹ Moreover, Izumi also indicates that Long’s work suffered from his insufficient writing ability in Japanese language and his overly lengthy conversational style.²⁰

¹⁷ “The Town with Papayas” actually only won honorable mention 入選作. There was no first place and second place award in that year. Izumi Tsukasa argues that it is because the quality of literary works in that year was extremely low.

¹⁸ Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 196.

¹⁹ See Tsukasa Izumi, “‘Papaiya No Aru Machi’ as a Prizewinning novel: ‘Kaizo’ novel Contest and ‘the Literary World’ of Colonial Taiwan,” 日本台湾学会報, no. 10 (May 2008): 119–39.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

“The Town with Papayas” depicts a young Taiwanese intellectual, Chen, a newly appointed lower official in a town hall in the center area of Taiwan, who strives to be successful in his career but encounters many difficulties which he, as a *hontōjin* (Taiwanese), is unable to overcome due to the barriers of being under Japanese colonial rule. Chen originally believes he can reach a higher position by studying hard and passing the civil service examination. However, his colleagues and friends provide opposite examples which only show a hopeless future in colonial Taiwan. These colleagues and friends compromise with the social and colonial realities—Su, a thirty year-old senior, has a great debt and a large family to raise; Dai, who married his sister to a rich guy for money, is only interested in wine and women; Liao, a former classmate who is always well-dressed, pretends to receive a higher monthly pay (50 yen) than he actually does (30 yen), and laughs at Chen for his studying hard for the exam. The actions and attitudes of these colleagues and friends discourage Chen, and he gradually loses his faith about being promoted to a higher rank. Not only does Chen fail to chase his dream, neither does he fulfill his love with his colleague Lin’s daughter who is arranged to marry a rich family in order to receive the betrothal money. A year later, Chen has lost his spirit and indulges in alcohol. At the end of the story, Chen occasionally sees his former colleague, Lin, who has retired from the city hall and has become insane. Finally, Chen finds out that there is no outlet for him to escape.²¹

²¹ See Long, Yingzong., and Wanyi. Chen. *Long Ying Zong Quan Ji. Ri Ben Yu Ban* 龍瑛宗全集. 日本語版. Tai nan shi: Guo li tai wan wen xue guan, 2008.

Through “The Town with Papayas,” it can be seen that Long tried to portray the figure of helpless middle class Taiwanese elite who are trapped in the colony and have no way out of the colonial space. While this work won a prestigious literary prize from the *naichi* and attracted the eyes of the Japanese literary circle, it did not bring too much attention in Long’s home country, Taiwan. As I mentioned above, “The Town with Papayas” became a prize-winning literary work in Japan largely because of its colonial features. Izumi further claims that the work did not even deserve a positive reputation in Japan. He writes “But, if this ‘favorable’ reputation is based on not questioning his immature usage of the Japanese language, and if it is not judged by the content of the text, but is only based on the fact that readers were able to derive information about little-known Taiwan, I do not think the work can be praised with a ‘high evaluation’.”²² It is apparent that Izumi does not like Long’s work, and regards it as undeserving of much praise.

Indeed, just like Izumi has observed, “The Town with Papayas” is relatively attractive to the *naichijin* (people from the Japan proper) because of its topic and material. A literary review by a famous critic Sugiyama Heisuke published in *Asahi Shimbun* right after *Kaizō* announced the prize describes, “[This work] explains things through the characters’ conversations. For readers who are interested in the life of

²² See Taukasa Izumi, “‘Papaiya No Aru Machi’ as a Prizewinning novel: ‘Kaizo’ novel Contest and ‘the Literary World’ of Colonial Taiwan,” 131. The original text is: しかし、「好意的」な評価が、日本語表現の未熟さは不問に付され、テキスト内容ではなく、よく知らない「台湾」についての情報を読み取ることができたから、という点に拠っているならば、それは「高評価」とは言えないのではないだろうか。

hontōjin, they will not complain and read through it. But when they read it two or three times, these obstacles will be removed and the fact that the story's observations and depictions are just about average will be revealed."²³ While "The Town with Papayas" did not receive all positive reviews from Sugiyama, its "exotic topic" and "novel material" were praised by the critic. Ironically, the reason that this work won the prize and was attractive in the public eye actually largely relied on its colonial features in which it frequently touched upon the issue of the unfairness and differences between *naichijin*/center and *hontōjin*/colony. Nevertheless, the Japanese literary circle was especially attracted by this exotic and colonial narrative.

Regardless of the harsh criticisms that Long received regarding the lack of maturity and literary value of "The Town with Papayas," there was no question that this short story won a prestigious literary prize. This award was not only significant to the writer Long, but also enormous to Taiwan, as the visibility of both Long and the colony were increased because of it. After the award was announced, Long was invited by the president Yamamoto Sanehiko 山本実彦 (1885-1952) of *Kaizōsha* 改造社, to visit Japan.²⁴ Unlike his Taiwanese elite contemporaries, Long had no experience studying abroad in Japan. Therefore, this reward trip was his first time traveling to the center of the empire. According to Huei-Chen Wang, Long took a Korean steamship, spent six days on the sea, and finally arrived in Tokyo in early June of 1937.²⁵ During his trip in Japan,

²³ *Asahi Shimbun*, March 31, 1937.

²⁴ *Kaizōsha* and Yamamoto

²⁵ See Huei-Chen Wang, "揚帆啟航——殖民地作家龍瑛宗的帝都之旅," *Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies* 2 (2006): 3.

Long took the opportunity to meet several famous *naichi* writers including Takami Jun 高見順 (1907-1965) and Ishikawa Tatsuzō 石川達三 (1905-1985),²⁶ and also established relationships with major publishing companies such as *Kaizōsha* and *Bungeishutoshu* 文芸首都社.²⁷ His experience of having conversations with those writers and publishers of *naichi* eventually became a catalyst for his writing career. Long, in fact, joined *Bungeishuto* as a member of the coterie (*dōjin*) and published several works in this magazine later on. After returning to Taiwan, Long still kept good relationships with those *naichi* literati. It is worth noting that before Long received the literary award, he was a banker working at the Bank of Taiwan, Taipei branch, and had no fame in the Taiwanese literary circles. After he received the award and returned from Tokyo, Long suddenly became a popular writer in Taiwan and was even selected as a delegate of Taiwan to participate in the first Greater East Asian Writers Conference. Apparently, the awarded trip to Tokyo was not only Long's road to fame, but it also built a bridge which enabled literary conversations between the *naichi* and *gaichi*.

Nevertheless, if one thinks that this journey was a one-sided overwhelming trip for the Taiwanese elite from the *gaichi*/colony, that is not completely true. While the trip in 1937 was Long's first time to *naichi*, everything was new to him, and one can image how excited Long was when he walked on the streets of Tokyo. In addition to a short

²⁶ In addition to meeting Takami and Ishikawa. Long also had chances to talk with several Japanese literati such as Abe Tomoji 阿部知二, Aono Suekichi 青野季吉, Sasaki Takamaru 佐佐木孝丸, Serizawa Kōjirō 芹澤光治良, and Moriama Kei 森山啟.

²⁷ Bungeishutoshu 文芸首都社 was a literary magazine publisher which published *Bungeishuto* between 1933 and 1970.

moment of excitement, however, Long was confronted with several surprising sceneries during his pilgrimage. Long recalls the memory of his first trip in Tokyo in his essays and mentions that one thing he was particularly surprised to see was the area of slums and vagrants in Tokyo. He goes on to describe the area of slums,

I saw some strange things there. Anyway, I saw caves in which people lived...going toward Fukagawa, after passing the slum in Hamazono, the chimney of the garbage disposal plant in which smoke suffuses everywhere, represents an epoch. Entering the plant, it is just like I am in a world full of dust. I never imagined something like this before. I feel like my chest is struck by something unclean.²⁸

Considering Natsume Sōseki's Manchuria trip in which he was troubled by the clinging smell of Chinese which the fanatically clean Japanese tried to remove, as we saw, in Chapter One, Long's experience of "unclean Japan" is especially ironic in contrast to the stereotype of *naichi*/empire and *gaichi*/colony. While the center of the empire still undoubtedly occupied the mainstream of everything, Long's experience in the capital of the empire demonstrated that the empire does not always dominate, and the colony does not always fall behind and backward either.

Identity, Ethnicity, and The Colonial Cultural Legacy

²⁸ See Huei-Chen Wang "揚帆啟航——殖民地作家龍瑛宗的帝都之旅," 25.

As discussed in the Introduction, years before Long's first journey to the capital of the empire, a high school baseball team known as Kanō represented Taiwan by participating in the Kōshien National High School Baseball Tournament in August 1931. The multi-ethnic composition of the Kanō team (Han Chinese, aboriginal Taiwanese, Japanese) aroused public interest not only in this high school baseball team, but also the social and cultural situations of colonial Taiwan. While the Kanō team eventually advanced to the championship game in Kōshien, the rise of this multi-ethnic baseball team caused confrontations between "Japanese" and "Taiwanese." For instance, after Kanō won a game against its local rival Kagi High School 嘉義高等学校—a school with only Japanese students—the Japanese students from Kagi High actually tried to make some trouble with the Taiwanese audience, and the Taiwanese students of Kanō later united to fight back against their foes for "justice."²⁹ The "justice" mentioned here represented the confrontation between *naichijin* and *hontōjin* in the southern colony.

The confrontation between Taiwanese and Japanese, in fact, brought up the issue of Taiwanese identity. While this Kanō team also had several Japanese players, the Han-Taiwanese and aboriginal Taiwanese players were the backbone of this team. There is no question that the Taiwanese audience saw the games in which the Kanō team played against teams with only Japanese players as a competition between Taiwanese and Japanese. As Andrew Morris has further explained, "the Kanō experience was understood as one of marginality—albeit often an attractive and authentic marginality; the tension

²⁹ See Morris, *Colonial Project, National Game: A History of Baseball in Taiwan*, 33. According to Morris, this is a real story told by a former Kanō alumnus Liu Jinyao.

between playing with and against “the Japanese” could often be resolved only by recourse to transcendent modern tropes of masculinity.”³⁰ If what Morris has mentioned about the “transcendent modern tropes of masculinity” means the competitions and fights between “the Japanese” and the colonized people, the official version of the Kanō story was totally written by the colonizer—for the purpose of consolidating the empire. The Kanō experience, as we saw in Kikuchi Kan’s notes quoted in the Introduction, is a touching story which displayed the cooperation and harmony among different ethnic people. From the story of Kanō, it is not difficult to realize that the colonial space was built by multiple layers of truth which was subjected to different interpretations.

The inspiring Kanō baseball team indeed reminds us of the story of Sayon—a Taiwanese aboriginal girl who was depicted as a truthful imperial subject and devoted herself to the empire. Similarly, the official version of Sayon’s patriotic story was created for the special purpose of the *kōminka* activity. However, if we piece together all the different versions of Sayon’s story, we can sketch some hidden pictures of the colonial reality. As Pei-chen Wu has pointed out in her introduction to Shimomura Sakujirō’s analysis of different versions of Sayon’s bell, the two common features of Sayon—purity and devotion—in these different versions coincide with the changes of Japanese colonial policy toward the Taiwanese aborigines after the 1930 Musha Incident. The Japanese colonial authorities tried to repair their relationship with the Taiwanese aboriginal tribes which had become worse after the Musha Incident that resulted from the problem of

³⁰ Ibid.

inter-marriage between Japanese and Taiwanese aborigines.³¹ Ri Kōran's film *Sayon's Bell*, as discussed in Chapter Three, portrays the pure and devoted aboriginal girl Sayon that exactly fit the image that the Japanese colonial authorities longed to create. Nevertheless, probably because of the popularity of Sayon's story and the big hit of Ri's film, the Japanese colonial authorities paid further attention to the issues related to the Taiwanese aborigines, and the Taiwanese aborigines even became the most loyal Japanese soldiers in the final stage of the war.

If the educational story of Sayon's bell represents the in-between people who were assimilated to the colonial empire, the inspiring baseball story of Kanō team indeed shows the in-between people who strived to fight back against the center of the empire. These stories are still resonating in various ways to the present day. The 2014 Taiwanese film *Kano* is a recent example which not only addresses the ambiguity of Japanese coloniality, but also implies the nostalgia and reminiscence of colonial memory. The film is particularly controversial because it mostly focuses on the bright side of the empire: The cooperation and harmony between different ethnic players and groups, the successfully assimilated Taiwanese people, the great opportunity to reach the center through sports, and the Japanese engineer's development of Taiwan. Interestingly, this film is made by a Taiwanese director, and is not a propaganda film like *Sayon's Bell*, which was made to support the national policy during the colonial period. Faye Yuan

³¹ See *Zhong Xin Dao Bian Chui de Chong Gui Yu Fen Gui: Riben Di Guo Yu Taiwan Wen Xue, Wen Hua Yan Jiu* (Taibei Shi: Guo li Taiwan da xue chu ban zhong xin, 2012), volume 2, 36.

Kleeman has precisely pointed out the attitudes of the Taiwanese people toward the former sovereign Japan in the present day. She writes,

Sentiments toward Japan, the Japanese people, and the Japanese language have recently been captured in a trio of related terms: ‘*meirizu*’ 媚日族 (fawner on Japan), those (mostly Taiwanese) who feel nostalgia for the good old colonial times; ‘*henrizu*’ 恨日族 (Japan haters), those (mostly mainlanders) who despise Japan; and ‘*harizu*’ 哈日族 (Japan fans), members of the young generation (mostly teenagers) who grew up with no burden of colonial memory and regard all things Japanese...as superior to both their Western and native counterparts.³²

While the social situation is not exactly the same compared to the time when Kleeman wrote this paragraph, and the terms, *meirizu*, *henrizu*, and *harizu*, are no longer the catchwords when referring to those people, the Japanese colonial phenomena and cultural legacy are still present in modern Taiwan.

In 2015, the former president of Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui 李登輝 or Iwasato Masao 岩里政男 (1923-), published an article written in Japanese in a Japanese magazine, *Voice*, to commemorate the end of the war order to clarify his attitude and ideas regarding the relations between Taiwan and Japan.³³ In this article entitled “The Dawn of the New Japan-Taiwan Cooperation,” Lee explains his early life as a Japanese subject and emphasizes the truth that he was Japanese and voluntarily fought for the empire based on

³² Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, 247.

³³ PHP Interface, “The Dawn of the New Japan-Taiwan Cooperation” (日台新連携の幕開け), *Voice*, no. 453 (September, 2015): 36-45.

the spirit of *Hagakure* 葉隠³⁴ during the war. Lee's article, of course, aroused a fierce debate in Taiwan on whether the former president of Taiwan should have made this kind of statement or not. Obviously, just like Ri Kōran, Long Yingzong, the players of Kanō, and the other protagonists in this dissertation, Lee did, and perhaps still does, belong to the in-between people who were/are stuck on the colonial boundaries, and were/are trying to explain and interpret their various visions of colonial truths about colonizer, colonized, and themselves—the people-in-between.

³⁴ *Hagakure* 葉隠 is a practical and spiritual guide for samurai, recording what Yamamoto Tsunetomo 山本常朝 thought of being a “right” samurai. Yamamoto was a former retainer of Nabeshima Mitsushige, the third ruler of Saga domain. *Hagakure* tells that a samurai must be willing to die at any moment in order to be loyal to his lord.

APPENDIX A

List of Characters

ai no muchi	愛の鞭
Amakasu Masahiko	甘粕正彦
Bailan	白蘭
Bungei Taiwan	文芸台湾
Bungeishunjū	文芸春秋
Bungeishutoshu	文芸首都社
bunmei kaika	文明開化
Byakuran no uta	白蘭の歌
chankoro	チャンコロ
Chen Yonghua	陳永華
Dai Tōa Bungakusha Taikai	大東亜文学者大会
Den'en no yūtsu	田園の憂鬱
Fu Gui Chun Meng	富貴春夢
Fushimizu Osamu	伏水修
gaichi	外地
geidan	芸妲
Hagakure	葉隠
Hamada Hayao	濱田隼雄
Hamamoto Hiroshi	濱本浩
Hân-Tan-Iâ	玄壇爺

Hasegawa Kazuo	長谷川一夫
Hayashi Fumiko	林芙美子
Hontōjin	本島人
Hoshi	星
Inō Kanori	伊能 嘉矩
Ishikawa Tatsuzō	石川達三
Iwasato Masao	岩里政男
Jokaisen kitan	女誠扇綺譚
kagaisha	加害者
Kagi Nōrin	嘉義農林
Kaizō	改造
Kaizōsha	改造社
Kanagawa Shōkō	神奈川商工
Kano hitonatsu no ki	かの一夏の記
Kessen	決戦
Kikuchi Kan	菊池寛
Kitamura Komatsu	北村小松
Kogure Michiyo	木暮実千代
Kojima Masajirō	小島政二郎
Kokumin engeki	国民演劇
kokumin gakkō	国民学校
kōminhōkōkai	皇民奉公会
kōminka	皇民化
Konan no ōgi	湖南の扇

Kondō Iyochi	近藤伊与吉
Konoe Toshiaki	近衛敏明
Kōshien	甲子園
Kume Masao	久米正雄
Kunikida Doppo	国木田独歩
Kutsutaukan	禿頭港
Lee Teng-hui	李登輝
Li Jichun	李濟春
Li Xianglan	李香蘭
Lian Yatang	連雅堂
Long Yingzhong	龍瑛宗
Machō	魔鳥
Mankan tokorodokoro	満韓ところどころ
Man-Mō no tabi	満蒙の旅
Man-Mō yūki	満蒙遊記
Manshū nichinichi Shimbun	満州日日新聞
Mantetsu	満鉄
Mari	抹麗
Mi Yue Kuai Che	蜜月快車
Mori Ushinosuke	森丑之助
Murakami Genzō	村上元三
Musashino	武蔵野
Nagao Kazuo	長尾和男
Naichi	内地

Naichijin	内地人
Nanpō kikō	南方紀行
Natsume Sōseki	夏目漱石
Natsuyama no Shigeki	夏山繁樹
Nessa no chikai	熱砂の誓い
Nihon Gekijō	日本劇場
Nishikawa Mitsuru	西川満
Ōkagami	大鏡
Ōyake no Yotsugi	大宅世継
Papaiya no aru machi	パパイヤのある街
Pen butai	ペン部隊
qipao	旗袍
Ribanka	理蕃課
Rosuke	露助
Satō Haruo	佐藤春夫
Sayon no kane	サヨンの鐘
Segaimin	世外民
Sekikan ki	赤嵌記
Sekikanrō	赤嵌楼
Sharyōjima ryojōki	社寮島旅情記
Shimomura Hiroshi	下村宏
Shimomura Kainan	下村海南
Shina no yoru	支那の夜

Shina yūki	支那遊記
Shinajin	支那人
Shinchōsha	新潮社
Shōchiku	松竹
Shokuminchi no tabi	植民地の旅
Shū Kinha	周金波
Taiwan banzokushi	台灣蕃族志
Taiwan nichinichi shimpō	台湾日日新報
Taiwan Waiji	台灣外記
Takami Jun	高見順
Takasagozoku	高砂族
Takita Masaki	田北正記
tennōsei	天皇制
Tōhō	東宝
Tōkō yashunshi	稻江冶春詞
Tokugawa Iemitsu	徳川家光
Torii Ryūzō	鳥居龍蔵
wareware kokumin	われわれ国民
Wasure enu hitobito	忘れえぬ人々
Wu Cho-liu	吳濁流
Wu Mansha	吳漫沙
Yae	八重
Yamaguchi Yoshiko	山口淑子
Yamamoto Sanehiko	山本実彦

Yameru sōbi	病める薔薇
Ying Chun Hua	迎春花
Yoshikawa Eiji	吉川英治
Yoshiya Nobuko	吉屋信子
Zhang Wenhuan	張文環
Zheng Chenggong	鄭成功
Zheng Kezang	鄭克塽
Zhu Wenshun	朱文順

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