

# Utopia/Dystopia: Japan's Image of the Manchurian Ideal

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of  
Art, Art History, and Visual Studies in the Graduate School of  
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ABSTRACT

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## **Abstract**

This project focuses on the visual culture that emerged from Japan's relationship with Manchuria during the Manchukuo period (1932-1945). It was during this time that Japanese official and popular interest in the region reached its peak. Fueling the Japanese attraction and investment in this region were numerous romanticized images of Manchuria's bounty and space, issued to bolster enthusiasm for Japanese occupation and development of the region. I examine the Japanese visual production of a utopian Manchuria during the 1930s and early 1940s through a variety of interrelated media and spatial constructions: graphic magazines, photography, exhibition spaces, and urban planning. Through this analysis, I address how Japanese political, military, and economic state institutions cultivated the image of Manchukuo as an ideal, multiethnic state and a "paradise" (*rakudo*) for settlement in order to generate domestic support and to legitimize occupation on the world stage. As there were many different colonial offices with different goals, there was no homogenous vision of the Manchurian ideal. In fact, tensions often emerged between offices as each attempted to garner support for its own respective mission on the continent. I examine these tensions and critique the strategic intersection of propaganda campaigns, artistic goals and personal fantasies of a distant, exotic frontier. In the process, this project explores how the idea of Manchuria became a panacea for a variety of economic and social problems plaguing Japan at both a national and individual level.

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## CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Located in northeastern Asia, the vast region known as Manchuria has been a nexus for geopolitical and economic convergences.<sup>1</sup> Manchuria's proximity to the Han Chinese, Mongolian, Korean, and Russian empires has contributed to the contentious overlapping of interests there for centuries. In the first half of the twentieth century, its expansive space and abundant resources drew the attention of the Japanese empire as well. It was the homeland and traditional seat of power for the Manchu Qing monarchs who ruled China from 1644 to 1912. During this period, Qing rulers attempted to limit immigration to what they designated "the Three Provinces." Yet, Manchuria's vast tracks of fertile land drew tens of thousands of poor Han Chinese and Korean peasants seeking new agricultural opportunities. The largest of these migrations occurred in the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Since the seventeenth century, there also had been a concerted effort to define more concretely the region's borders (and, by extension, the scope of Qing rule). This led to border conflicts with the Russians who had been actively promoting agricultural

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<sup>1</sup> This region is identified in many ways, including "Manchuria," "the Northeast," "northeastern China," and "the Three Provinces" (a designation used under the Qing Dynasty, 1644-1912). Each of these names has strong geopolitical meanings. Chinese discourse associates "Manchuria" with Japanese occupation so they prefer to refer to the area simply as "the Northeast." While I understand the political implications of these terms, my use of "Manchuria" and "the Northeast" is intended as a geographic reference. I will sometimes use the term "northeastern China" in order to acknowledge the territory's formal relationships to China.

<sup>2</sup> During the Qing Dynasty, the Chinese tolerated and, at times, even encouraged Korean settlements because they provided a buffer zone between China and Russia; also, according to Hyun Ok Park, Chinese landlords and local governments allowed Korean immigration as they considered the Koreans to be skilled in cultivating rice. Later, under colonial pressure from Japan, Koreans were relocated north to Manchuria in order to help secure growing Japanese interests there. See Hyun Ok Park, "Korean Manchuria: The Racial Politics of Territorial Osmosis," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 99, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 196.

development along the Amur River in the north.<sup>3</sup> In the nineteenth century, Russia signed the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the Treaty of Peking (1860) with the weakening Qing rulers. These treaties expanded the geographic scope of Russian control, securing interests north of the Amur River and east of the Ussuri River.<sup>4</sup> In 1898, Russia pushed further south and developed transportation infrastructures such as the Chinese Eastern Railway as it sought to utilize Lüshun (also known as Port Arthur) as an ice-free, warm-water port on the eastern coast.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Japanese empire also staked a claim to Manchuria. Initially, the Japanese were attracted to this area as a strategic military location to provide the Japanese Kwantung Army a position from which to protect the Japanese homeland and its expanding imperial interests on the continent.<sup>5</sup> The region's abundant resources and untapped market were additional enticements. Indeed, these factors attracted Euro-American interest in the region as well. The lure of these military and economic incentives eventually led the Japanese to expand their control of the region. Eventually, the Kwantung Army founded the puppet-state, Manchukuo (1932-1945), a

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<sup>3</sup> Peter C. Perdue, “Boundaries, Maps, and Movement: Chinese, Russian, and Mongolian Empires in Early Modern Central Eurasia,” *The International History Review* 20, no. 2 (June 1998): 268. Border conflicts continued between China and Russia/ the U.S.S.R. regarding the Northeast after the war, only finding resolution in 2004 when Russia ceded half of Yinlong Island (also known as Tabarov Island) and Hexiazi Island (also called Bolshoy Ussuriyskiy) to China. See John W. Donaldson and Martin Pratt, “Boundary and Territorial Trends in 2004,” *Geopolitics* 10, Issue 2 (July 2005): 405.

<sup>4</sup> Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Dominion*, trans. Joshua A. Fogel, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 249. Yamamuro’s study was originally published in Japan as *Kimera: Manshūkoku no shōzō*. See Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Kimera: Manshūkoku no shōzō*, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> The Kwantung Army is also written as “Guandong Army.”

supposedly sovereign nation in which the different races and ethnic groups in the Northeast could live in harmony.<sup>6</sup> During this time, Japanese corporations such as the South Manchuria Railway Company (Minami Manshū kabushiki kaisha, hereafter referred to as “Mantetsu”) and government offices like the Manchuria Immigration Council (Manshū ijū kyōkai) promoted the idea of Manchuria as a utopian frontier of unlimited possibilities in order to cultivate Japanese investments, immigration, and tourism on the continent. The Kwantung Army also embarked on promotional campaigns, targeting domestic and international audiences. Its media sought to foster support of military expansion and occupation of the region. These different groups effectively acted as colonial apparatuses, securing Japanese imperial authority in the northeast. This was despite the fact that Japan never claimed Manchuria outright as a colony like Taiwan (Formosa) and Korea (Chōsen).

While acknowledging the complicated entanglement of international claims to the region that continued to resonate long after the war, this project focuses on the visual

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<sup>6</sup> Common ways to transliterate the name of the nation-state “滿州國” (Manshūkoku) are “Manchukuo,” “Manchoukuo” (which is the romanization that often appeared in Japanese-published media from 1932 to 1945) and, using the *pinyin* system of romanization, “Manzhouguo.” According to Yamamuro, postwar Chinese histories written on both the mainland and in Taiwan refer to the nation-state as “wei Manzhouguo” (illegitimate Manzhouguo) or simply “wei Man” in order to emphasize how Japanese occupation created a puppet state. See Yamamuro, 3. Prasenjit Duara challenges the designation of Manchukuo as a “puppet state,” stating that it does not accurately reflect how governmental structures and institutions implemented in Manchukuo under the Japanese differed from older forms of colonial states. See Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*, (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), 60. Though I agree with Duara’s call for a more nuanced understanding of the forms of control and authority at stake in Manchukuo, I subscribe to Yamamuro’s argument that, “if we consider a ‘puppet state’ one in which—despite its formal independence as a nation—its government rules not on behalf of the people of that nation but in accordance with the purposes of another country, then Manzhouguo was a puppet state.” See Yamamuro, 3.

culture that emerged out of Japan's relationship with Manchuria during the Manchukuo period (1932-1945). It was during this time that Japanese official and popular interest in the region reached its peak. Fueling the Japanese attraction to and investment in this region were numerous romanticized images of Manchuria's bounty and space, designed to bolster enthusiasm for Japanese occupation and development of the region. While many scholars have addressed Japanese political and economic expansion in the region, very little has been written on the wealth of visual media that accompanied these developments. An analysis of the kinds of images produced to support Japan's occupation of Manchuria provides a richer understanding of the multifaceted goals of the Japanese empire. It also reveals the profoundly affective ways that Japanese artists and colonial offices mediated the relationship between the metropole and sweeping Manchurian frontier. This project reveals how the physical and symbolic construction of Manchuria as a utopia operated in Japanese media that targeted domestic Japanese and international audiences.

This project builds on several ground-breaking studies on Japan's relationship with Manchuria that have appeared in Japanese and English in the last twenty years. These studies have been enormously influential on the development of this project. Scholars such as Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, Yamamuro Shin'ichi, Louise Young, and Prasenjit Duara have focused upon the private and public, economic and political agents of the Japanese colonial project on the continent. Matsusaka has primarily focused on the first decades of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, writing on the pivotal role the

South Manchuria Railway Company played in establishing the foundation of colonial rule in the region and the ways in which colonial strategies gradually evolved from 1904 until the formation of the nation-state of Manchukuo in 1932.<sup>7</sup> Yamamuro's indispensable study, *Manchuria under Japanese Dominion* (originally published as *Kimera: Manshūkoku no shōzō*), examines the violent and coercive Japanese rule over the puppet state of Manchukuo as the empire endeavored to build a “paradise” on the continent, addressing the involvement of Chinese and Koreans in addition to that of the Japanese.<sup>8</sup> Young's work in this field has been of particular importance to this project as she addresses how cultural vehicles such as radio and magazines generated support for Japan's “total empire” on the continent.<sup>9</sup> Duara has taken a slightly different approach. While acknowledging the indisputable role Japanese played in forging the new, multiethnic state, he addresses other contributing factors as well: the role that Chinese played in the state's formation, the new global rhetoric of decolonization, nativism, folklore, and shifting conceptions of Pan-Asianism.<sup>10</sup> Most importantly, Duara investigates how Manchukuo was a regional nexus for multifaceted, global discourses of

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<sup>7</sup> Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka. *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904-1932*, (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001); see also Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, “Managing Occupied Manchuria,” *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*, ed. Peter Duus et al, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>8</sup> Yamamuro, 2006.

<sup>9</sup> Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1998); Louise Young, “Imagined Empire: The Cultural Construction of Manchukuo,” *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*, ed. Peter Duus et al, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003).

the modern nation state and national authenticity (expressed in Manchuria, for example, through tribes living in the northern territories). Duara's study exposes how Manchukuo was not a singular Japanese idea but emerged from a complex international rhetoric of imperialism and multiple interactions between Japanese and Chinese.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to these more general histories of the region, one of the richest fields of research regarding Manchukuo is the construction of urban space undertaken by the Japanese. For research in English, the work of David Tucker and Bill Sewell stands out.<sup>12</sup> Each has addressed the important transformation of the once modest railroad town of Changchun into the grand, new Manchukuoan capital of Xinjing.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, their work underscores how urban planners viewed Manchuria as an ideal "spatial laboratory" where modern urban ideas could take form. Tucker's work on the formation of model villages examines the Japanese planners' conception of the Manchurian frontier as a "white page" (*hakushi*), erasing existing bodies and structures that did not conform to the idealistic

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<sup>11</sup> As Duara demonstrates, it is crucial to understand Chinese contributions to the conceptual and physical development of Manchukuo. This is beyond the scope of this project, however, as I focus on how Japanese visual media mediated relationships between the metropole, the continent, Europe and America through internationally circulating pictographic practices.

<sup>12</sup> Sewell has focused on how Japanese development of the Manchurian city, Changchun, was meant to serve as an idealistic symbol of Japanese modern progress and beneficence, particularly for domestic Japanese. William Shaw Sewell, "Japanese Imperialism and Civic Construction in Manchuria: Changchun, 1905-1945" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2000); see also Bill Sewell, "Reconsidering the Modern in Japanese History: Modernity in the Service of the Prewar Japanese Empire," *Japan Review* 16 (2004): 213-258; see also David Vance Tucker, "Building 'Our Manchukuo': Japanese City Planning, Architecture, and Nation-Building in Occupied Northeast China, 1931-1945" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Iowa, 1999); see also David Tucker, "City Planning without Cities: Order and Chaos in Utopian Manchukuo," in *Crossed Histories: Manchuria in the Age of Empire*, ed. Mariko Asano Tamanoi, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005).

<sup>13</sup> Xinjing is also written in English as Hsinking and romanized from Japanese as "Shinkyō" (which literally means "new capital").

socio-spatial conception and adaptation of Manchurian space.<sup>14</sup> There are also several important scholars publishing in Japanese, namely Koshizawa Akira and Nishizawa Yasuhiko.<sup>15</sup> Koshizawa claims that while the Japanese planned many cities throughout their empire in Manchuria, Korea, Taiwan, and in China, the new capital city of Xinjing was, more than any other, an experimental site wherein the latest urban planning ideas from Japan could be put into practice. Importantly, he reads the significance of Japanese city planning in Manchuria beyond the boundaries of Xinjing by pointing to the dialogue it established between colony and metropole, resonating even in the contemporary moment. Nishizawa has addressed the Japanese architects who accompanied the overseas expansion of the Japanese empire and the kinds of architectural styles they deployed for colonial authorities such as Mantetsu and government offices. Interestingly, he also draws attention to how Japanese architects mediated the multi-nodal power relationships involving Euro-American interests at work in northeast China. By focusing on the production of dynamic urban spaces in Manchuria, these studies begin to articulate how imperial goals translated in visual terms.

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<sup>14</sup> The concept of erasing non-conforming bodies is consistent with the tenets of “authoritarian high modernism” discussed by James C. Scott. He contends that, “[s]trong versions of high modernism, such as those held by Lenin and Le Corbusier, cultivated an Olympian ruthlessness toward the subjects of their interventions. At its most radical, high modernism imagined wiping the slate clean and beginning from zero.” See James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 94.

<sup>15</sup> Koshizawa Akira. *Manshūkoku no shuto keikaku: Tōkyō no genzai to mirai o tou*, (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 1988); Nishizawa Yasuhiko, *Umi o watatta Nihonjin kenchikuka: 20-seiki zenhan no Chūgoku Tōhoku chihō ni okeru kenchiku katsudō*, (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1996).

The study of Japanese visual culture in Manchuria—such as print media, photography, posters, and exhibitions—is a much less studied field. Indeed, there is a dearth of books on the cultural history of Japan’s occupation of the Northeast in English.<sup>16</sup> However, two studies in Japanese have made major contributions to understanding the diverse kinds of visual culture that accompanied the Japanese development of Manchukuo: *Ikyō no modanizumu* (alternatively titled, *The Depicted Utopia: Another Facet of the Japanese Modern Photography in Manchoukuo*), the catalogue accompanying a Nagoya City Art Museum exhibition curated by Takeba Jō in 1994; and *Manshū no bijuaru media: posutā, ehagaki, kitte* (Manchurian Visual Media: Posters, Postcards, and Stamps) by Kishi Toshihiko, published in 2010.<sup>17</sup> For the exhibition and catalogue, Takeba examines the art photography, posters, and graphic magazines produced by Fuchikami Hakuyō and the members of the Manchuria Photographic Artists Association (Manshū shashin sakka kyōkai). He discusses their relationship to international and domestic trends in art and design while also addressing the ways in which they functioned as promotional media. Kishi examines different types

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<sup>16</sup> While art historical analyses of Japanese visual culture in Manchuria are virtually non-existent, historian Annika Culver has written on the cultural history of Japanese, addressing avant-garde (particularly Surrealist) literary and artistic production. She has also examined the art photographer Fuchikami Hakuyō and his work for Mantetsu’s public relations magazine, *Manshū Graph*. See Annika Culver, “The Making of a Japanese Avant-Garde in Colonial Dairen, 1924-1937,” *History Compass* 5, no. 2 (2007): 347-361; Annika Culver, “‘Between Distant Realities’: The Japanese Avant-Garde, Surrealism, and the Colonies, 1924-1943,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2007).

<sup>17</sup> Takeba Jō. *Ikyō no modanizumu* (also titled: “*The Depicted Utopia*”: *Another Facet of Japanese Modern Photography in Manchoukuo*), (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Bijutsukan, 1994); Kishi Toshihiko, *Manshū no bijuaru media: posutā, ehagaki, kitte*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010).

of media, focusing on ephemera such as postcards and posters. Covering a broad array of themes such as “travel in Manchuria” and “the founding of the nation” and images published by numerous colonial offices including Mantetsu and the Japan Tourist Bureau, Kishi argues that the idealistic Japanese image of Manchuria was unchanging over the many decades of Japanese occupation. His observation points to how deeply the idea of utopian Manchuria became entrenched in the Japanese popular imagination.

I examine the Japanese visual production of a utopian Manchuria during the 1930s and early 1940s through a variety of interrelated media and spatial constructions: graphic magazines, photography, exhibition spaces, and urban planning. Through this analysis, I address how Japanese political, military, and economic institutions cultivated the image of Manchukuo as an ideal multiethnic state and a “paradise” (*rakudo*) for settlement to generate domestic support and to legitimize occupation on the world stage. As there were many different Japanese colonial offices with different goals regarding the region, there was no homogenous vision of the Manchurian ideal. In fact, often tensions emerged between the respective visions of each office as each attempted to garner support for its own respective mission on the continent. This resulted in a multifaceted image of the continental northeast. Media at once posited Manchuria as a strange, exotic land, a space of thriving urban modernity, a site of nostalgic, rural fecundity, and a place for mourning fallen soldiers. Manchuria was peaceful and bucolic. It also necessitated constant militaristic vigilance. It was both a sovereign nation for multiethnic idealism and a space of Japanese inhabitation. While emerging from different offices often with

competing interests, these tropes also worked in concert with each other. This project examines the tensions between and overlap of differing colonial visions of Manchuria. Importantly, it also reveals the strategic intersection of propaganda campaigns, artistic goals, and personal fantasies of a distant frontier.

In order to understand the visual tropes featured in Japanese media and exhibition spaces in the 1930s and early 1940s, it is important to examine briefly several points that contributed to their formation. The following section describes how Manchuria came to occupy a place in the Japanese popular imagination. An analysis of the early relationship between Japan and Manchuria demonstrates the evolution of a deeply emotional connection to the region. I then contextualize the Japanese occupation of Manchuria via Japan's other colonial holdings in Taiwan and Korea. This shows the recurrent importance of the urbanization in all three projects and helps to account for the important role continental cities would play in images of Japanese Manchuria. Lastly, I address the shift in international colonial discourse following World War I that resulted in the call for national self-determination. This would have a profound effect on the Japanese production of the image of Manchukuo as a sovereign nation, liberated from corrupt Chinese warlords by the Kwantung Army.

## **The Development of the Japanese-Manchurian Relationship**

Japanese army circles began discussing the need for a “foothold in Manchuria” in the 1880s as way to secure Korea, often referred to as the “dagger pointed at the heart of

Japan.”<sup>18</sup> It is no coincidence that romanticized images of the region came to occupy a place in the Japanese popular imagination soon after that during the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), which was fought to establish control over Korea. Though some major battles took place in the northern part of the Korean peninsula around Pyongyang, many took place on the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria. On their way to the China front, war correspondents such as Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908) poetically conveyed the sense of space they encountered, describing the dramatic cliffs along the coastline, the vast plains, and the undulating mountains along the distant horizon.<sup>19</sup> Often, the expansive space was shown emptied of people. This was even the case in battle reportage. Asai Chū’s lithograph *Battle at Torayama, the First Army at Koryukuhan River* (Figure 1.1) describes a recent battle; yet, Asai locates the viewer’s perspective high in the composition, drawing the eye back toward the faded forms of distant mountains. As a result, the seemingly limitless landscape dwarfs the soldiers and the event itself. The battle becomes secondary to the expression of the vast frontier.

This is not to say that representations of people were completely absent. The 1894 woodblock print, *Strange-Looking Manchurian Horseman on Expedition to Survey the Japanese Camp in the Distance near Sauhoku* (Figure 1.2) by Taguchi Beisaku (1864-1903) demonstrates how Meiji-era Japanese artists imagined and exoticized indigenous people. Beisaku draws on a deprecating Orientalist vocabulary to construct his image of

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<sup>18</sup> Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 24.

<sup>19</sup> Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Bijutsu to iu Misemono: Aburae-chaya no jidai*. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993), 216.

two Manchurian horsemen. Their painted faces and the terrifying painted visage upon the shield suggest Manchurian barbarity. The horseman who looks off into the distance to spy upon the Japanese camp holds his mouth open in a grimace that is repeated by his rough-haired horse and the face on his painted shield. Imaging the Manchurians as “strange” was a strategic marketing tool to sell prints as it piqued interest in what seemed to be a foreign and distant land. Also, the primitivizing image of the Manchurians intersected with negative wartime images of the Chinese who were shown as mawkish, cowardly, and even animalistic.

These demeaning representations visually manifested a shift in opinion regarding Japan’s relationship to China, Asia, and the West. The new Japanese position was most famously stated by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901) in his infamous essay “Departure from Asia,” penned in 1885. Here Fukuzawa sternly argued that Japan could wait no longer for China and Korea to “accept (Western) ‘civilization’.”<sup>20</sup> According to historian Kimitada Miwa, Fukuzawa felt that “[s]hould Japan wait any longer and continue to associate with those stubborn, uncivilized nations of East Asia [ . . . ] Western countries were likely to confound Japan with them, and would remain apathetic towards Japan’s supreme national desire for being treated as the equal of European nations.”<sup>21</sup> For the sake of security and its still-developing national reputation, Fukuzawa called for Japan’s

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<sup>20</sup> Kimitada Miwa, “Fukuzawa Yukichi’s ‘Departure from Asia’: A Prelude to the Sino-Japanese War,” *Japan’s Modern Century*. Edmund Skrzypczak, ed., (Tokyo, Japan: Sophia University in cooperation with Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1968), 1.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

disassociation from Asia. This does not mean that he meant for Japan to cut off all ties to China and Korea. Rather, he suggested Japan, in seeking parity with the West, treat its Asian neighbors as Euro-American powers do. In other words, Japan should become the colonizer to avoid becoming the colonized. By depicting the Manchurians or Chinese as backwards or primitive, images such as the one by Beisaku affirmed Japan as the rightful agent of Asian enlightenment.

In April 1895, Japan emerged victorious from the Sino-Japanese War, thereby staking a claim as the dominant power in East Asia. In addition to a monetary indemnity and ceding the Pescadores Islands and Taiwan to Japan, the Treaty of Shimonoseki awarded Japan concessions on Manchuria's Liaodong Peninsula.<sup>22</sup> It was a strategic military acquisition, helping to secure Japanese interests in Korea. The victory and resultant concessions stirred Japanese national pride in the country's modern military accomplishments. However, pride soon turned to outrage when the Tripartite Intervention by France, Russia, and Germany resulted in the Japanese loss of the peninsula, which Russian forces quickly occupied.

The conflict between Japanese and Russian claims to the peninsula resulted in increasing tensions between the two nations and contributed significantly to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). The war was precipitated by the encroachment of Russian influence from Manchuria into Korea. The Russian empire refused a

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<sup>22</sup> This is also transcribed as "Liaotung."

compromise that would have provided Japan with a “free hand” in Korea in exchange for unchallenged acknowledgement of Russian claims in Manchuria.<sup>23</sup> As a result, Japan (to borrow from Mark Peattie) “drew the sword.”<sup>24</sup> After eighteen months of bloody fighting, the Japanese emerged victorious. It was a turning point for the Japanese empire. By besting one of the world’s great powers, Japan proved its modern military might. The Treaty of Portsmouth (1905) restored to Japan rights to the Liaodong Peninsula, a territorial sphere of influence in southern Manchuria called the Kwantung Leased Territory. It included the important commercial port of Dalian and the naval base of Lüshun (also known as Port Arthur) where one of the most important naval battles of the Russo-Japanese War took place.<sup>25</sup> The treaty also transferred control of the southern trunk of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan. The resultant company—the South Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu)—became the primary apparatus of Japanese colonial expansion in Manchuria. Japan held firm control over all the land abutting Mantetsu’s rail lines. This railway zone initially extended from Lüshun to Changchun, the city that the Japanese would eventually transform into the new Manchukuoan capital, Xinjing.<sup>26</sup> Importantly, with Japan’s foothold on the Liaodong Peninsula secured, its colonial and military designs on Korea could proceed. Within a few months, Japan made

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<sup>23</sup> Mark R. Peattie, “Introduction,” *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, Ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 17.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Dalian is also written as “Dairen”.

<sup>26</sup> In 1935, this zone pushed further north up to the internationally cosmopolitan city of Harbin when Mantetsu took control of the northern trunk of the China Eastern Railway from the Soviet Union.

Korea a protectorate. In 1910, the empire officially annexed Korea and began a period of strict military rule.

Despite these spoils of war, many Japanese felt that the treaty brought about a “humiliating peace.” Riots broke out as people expressed their disappointment in what they felt were insufficient indemnities.<sup>27</sup> The nation had taken on enormous debt to finance the Russo-Japanese War and, once it was over, had sunk into an economic depression.<sup>28</sup> Feelings of frustration and bitterness were also due in large part to the large number of Japanese casualties. Of the 1,088,996 Japanese mobilized for the war, 81,455 lost their lives and more than 380,000 were wounded.<sup>29</sup> These profound losses affected many across the nation. Families mourned their fallen fathers, sons, and brothers. Mutilated soldiers returning home were also a sad reminder of the high cost of the conflict. Consequently, the Japanese relationship with Manchuria reached new emotional depths. Northeast Asia was no longer just a vast, distant land inhabited by “strange” and seemingly primitive people. It was now the site of numerous costly battles, the place where much Japanese blood had been spilt. Soon, Japanese monuments to the war dead dotted the Liaodong Peninsula, acting as somber reminders of the “blood debt” Japanese owed to those who had sacrificed their lives.

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<sup>27</sup> Carol Gluck, *Japan’s Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 90; Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 90.

<sup>28</sup> Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 90.

<sup>29</sup> Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 59-60. According to Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, the Japanese army alone lost more than 60,000 and 130,000 were wounded. See Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904-1932*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2001), 55.

The memory of the war dead would continue to resonate in the following decades, taking on a renewed potency in media in the early 1930s. In September 1931, Japanese forces sabotaged their own rail line outside of Mukden to frame Chinese dissidents. This event, called the “Manchurian Incident” or “Mukden Incident,” provided an excuse for the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. The memory of the Japanese who had lost their lives in the Russo-Japanese War acted as a powerful tool in countering the voices of critics who spoke out about Japan’s military advance in Manchuria. As Young has written, the old slogan regarding “the payment of 100,000 lives and a billion yen in blood and treasure for Manchuria” interestingly suggested that Japan had gone to war with Russia over Manchuria rather than Korea.<sup>30</sup> Politicians such as Matsuoka Yōsuke (1880-1946), who would act as president of Mantetsu from 1935 to 1939, posited Manchuria as a Japanese “lifeline” (*seimeisen*), an integral part of the Japanese empire, which needed to be protected at all costs.<sup>31</sup> In this way, the Japanese relationship with Manchuria transcended mere economics; it was entrenched in affective terms. Stirring tributes, stating “First the father in the Russo-Japanese War and now the son in the present incident, their heroic bones abandoned to the elements on the Manchurian plain,” connected the feelings of duty and sacrifice in the microcosm of the individual family to

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<sup>30</sup> Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 89.

<sup>31</sup> According to Young, Matsuoka himself coined the phrase “lifeline” for Manchuria during a speech to the Diet in January 1931. Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 88.

the expression of patriotic duty in the macrocosm of the “family-state” under the emperor.<sup>32</sup>

Given the lasting strength of the emotional connection between the metropole and Manchuria, one might ask: Why did the Japanese empire not seize Manchuria as an official colony after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 or after the Manchurian Incident in 1931? Indeed, as the following sections demonstrate, Japanese Manchuria shared several things in common with Taiwan and Korea; however, the shifting colonial discourse in the interwar period changed the stakes of empire. As a result, propaganda meant to laud an empire transformed to focus on benevolent development rather than outright military subjugation.

## Japan’s Growing Empire

By the time Japan obtained Taiwan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, it had already begun to develop a colonial “consciousness.”<sup>33</sup> It had officially secured the northern island of Hokkaido in 1869 and, to the south, Okinawa in 1879. Hokkaido (formerly known as “Ezo”), had long been considered a distant frontier, the fringe of the empire.<sup>34</sup> The decision to fully occupy Hokkaido was predicated on the desire to exploit new

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<sup>32</sup> Young quotes this tribute to the first war dead. See Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 93.

<sup>33</sup> Mark R. Peattie, “Japanese Attitudes Toward Colonialism, 1895-1945,” *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, Ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 80.

<sup>34</sup> Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2000), 258.

marine resources in the north, impede the encroachment of Russian interests, and accommodate a growing population.<sup>35</sup> The annexation of Okinawa in the late nineteenth century concretized Japanese control of the southern island kingdom (also called the Ryukyu Islands) that had been under shadow rule by the Satsuma clan in Kyushu since the early seventeenth century.<sup>36</sup> On one hand, these early cases of Meiji expansionism can be understood as defining Japanese borders by consolidating control over spheres of economic interest. On the other hand, by couching expansion of the empire in the terms of “exploration,” “development,” and “colonization,” the Meiji government demonstrated its ability to define the nation in the terms of Western imperialism.<sup>37</sup> This was a crucial component in presenting Japan as a militarily and economically modern nation-state on the world stage.

Japan’s acquisition of Taiwan and Korea exemplifies the flurry of global imperial activity at the end of the nineteenth century in the age of “new imperialism.”<sup>38</sup> According to Mark R. Peattie, the stimuli for colonial expansion in the age of “new imperialism” varied greatly, ranging from “missionary zeal” to the desire for a militarily strategic location and trade. Though Taiwan was not of strategic importance, per se, it did provide the opportunity to demonstrate Japanese military might. Even before it was ceded to

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 258-259.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 86.

<sup>37</sup> Peattie, “Japanese Attitudes toward Colonialism, 1895-1945,” 80.

<sup>38</sup> The designation of “new” in this paradigm differentiates it from the “mercantilist imperialism” that had defined the European conquest and settlement of new territory since the sixteenth century. Mark R. Peattie, “Introduction,” *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, Ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 3.

Japan following the Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan evidenced the ability of the Japanese modern military to subdue hostile indigenes. In 1874, the Meiji government sent troops to Taiwan to “discipline” the native Taiwanese over the murder of 54 people from the Ryukyu Islands, implying that China was unable to control the “savages” in its jurisdiction.<sup>39</sup> Also, by militarily pacifying the indigenous people of Taiwan, Japan demonstrated that it understood the role an “enlightened” empire must play in subordinating otherwise chaotic and “uncivilized” bodies. This Japanese military intervention established Japan as an emerging imperial power and set the stage for the confrontation between Japan and China (which controlled the eastern side of Taiwan) two decades later.

While providing a stage for performing modern military power, Taiwan’s role in the Japanese empire was, for the most part, to act as a sign of prestige.<sup>40</sup> To showcase its new colonial territory, Japan undertook a program of modernization and industrialization in the capital, Taipei City.<sup>41</sup> The move to transform Taipei’s urban infrastructure, upgrade sanitation, and construct grand new buildings was informed by the scientific vision of

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<sup>39</sup> See Robert Eskildsen, “Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan’s 1874 Expedition to Taiwan,” *The American Historical Review*, 107, no. 2 (April, 2002): 388.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 8.

<sup>41</sup> For a detailed description of Japanese modernization projects in Taiwan, see Ping-Sheng Wu, “Walking in Colonial Taiwan: A Study on Urban Modernization of Taipei, 1895-1945,” *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering* 9, no. 2 (November 2010): 307-314; see also Peattie, “Japanese Attitudes towards Colonialism, 1895-1945,” 83-85.

colonial administrator Gotō Shinpei (1857-1929).<sup>42</sup> This project of spatial transformation was a means to demonstrate the Japanese ability to create healthy living environments based on modern urban values.<sup>43</sup> Initially, planners focused on hygiene and fire prevention, then turned their sights on widening streets and creating new green spaces. In short, the spatial transformation of Taipei was a means for Japan to demonstrate the latest Western knowledge in scientific urbanization.

Of course, the codification of Japanese authority in Korea had long been the primary goal of proponents of Japanese military expansionism during the Meiji period and even earlier. Under General Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), a Japanese army invaded the Korean peninsula in 1592 and 1597. Hideyoshi was interested in expanding the newly consolidated Japanese empire onto the continent. His invasion was also an attempt to improve Japan's economic standing and imperial reputation with China. Once Hideyoshi died, the Japanese withdrew their troops from the peninsula.<sup>44</sup> As the "dagger" pointed at the heart of Japan, Korea continued to be of strategic significance, so much so that Japan fought two wars in just over a decade (1894-1905) in order to secure its influence there.

The annexation of Korea in 1910 was, therefore, deeply significant in the realization of Japan's goals to expand the empire. It was also a crucial part of Japan's

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<sup>42</sup> After acting as the head of civilian affairs in Taiwan, Gotō went on to become the first president of Mantetsu (1906-1908). For a detailed account of his career, see *Nihon no kindai o dezainshita senkusha: Seitan 150 shūnen kinen Gotō Shinpei ten zuroku*, (Tokyo: Tokyo shisei chōsakai, 2007).

<sup>43</sup> Wu, 309.

<sup>44</sup> Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 19-20.

recognition as a major colonial power on the world stage. Just as Taiwan was the site for the Japanese military subjugation of Taiwanese natives in the 1870s, Korea provided a space for the performance of Japanese military domination over subjects who resisted colonization. Lasting a decade, this period of “military rule” (*budan seiji*) (1910-1919) resulted in an authoritarian regime under which the Japanese policed the minutiae of Korean life. Even when the governance paradigm shifted to the relatively gentler “cultural rule” (*bunka seiji*) in the 1920s, the police remained heavily involved in the peoples’ daily lives and possessed a mandate to act directly on the populace.<sup>45</sup>

As with Taiwan, the trope of modernization also played a significant role in Japan’s governance of Korea. During the Japanese colonial occupation, Seoul underwent many changes, becoming a showcase for new commercial districts and grand buildings to house the colonial authority. According to Se-Mi Oh, the spatial transformation of Seoul by the Japanese “represented and naturalized [the] new political order” and attempted to legitimize the colonial state.<sup>46</sup> Working in concert with this spatial modernization was the modernization of the Korean people themselves. This form of social modernization took many different forms. For example, the new commercial districts of the city produced cosmopolitan consumer subjects; more troubling was the erasure of traditional beliefs such as burial practices because the Governor General ruled that they were “harmful to

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<sup>45</sup> Chulwoo Lee, “Modernity, Legality, and Power in Korea under Japanese Rule,” *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, ed. Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1999), 36-37.

<sup>46</sup> Se-Mi Oh, “Consuming the Modern: The Everyday in Colonial Seoul, 1915-1937” (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2008), 2, 65.

moral order and hygiene,” two foundational concerns for a regime applying the ‘civilizing’ tenets of “new imperialism.”<sup>47</sup> Ultimately, the changes undertaken in Taiwan and Korea exemplify a kind of codified, Western vision of modernity. It was crucial that, in performing these colonial acts, the Meiji government (and, later the Taishō government) utilized a language of empire that was legible in the global theater as Euro-American public opinion played an important role in legitimizing its empire.<sup>48</sup>

In some ways, development of Japanese concessions in Manchuria in the first two decades following the Russo-Japanese War had much in common with that of Taiwan and Korea. In order to more fully exploit the resources and railway infrastructure won from the Russians, administrators spearheaded a campaign of modernization in the Kwantung Leased Territory and Railway Zone. This resulted in the construction of modern facilities such as schools, hospitals and housing in the Railway Zone and the development of model station towns, complete with sewer, electricity, gas and water systems.<sup>49</sup> In fact, this modernization in the Zone contributed to the Japanese image of

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<sup>47</sup> Oh, 66; see also Lee, 39-40.

<sup>48</sup> Alexis Dudden underscores the masterful way in which Meiji leaders utilized European diplomatic rules and “vocabulary of power” in order to win international recognition of and support for its growing empire. For example, she notes how Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi used the subtle nuances of Western rhetoric to call the Sino-Japanese War the “Korean War of Independence” and refer to the Japanese as “victorious liberators” and “benevolent protectors.” See Alexis Dudden, *Japan’s Colonization of Korea: Discourses of Power*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005), 48.

<sup>49</sup> Matsusaka, 175.

the railway as a “civilizing force,” the means of transforming the Japanese Meiji landscape at home, and then deployed in the Manchurian frontier.<sup>50</sup>

That said, there were also several notable differences that set the Japanese occupation of southern Manchuria apart from its colonial standing in other territories. First, the geographic scope of its influence was relatively limited. The Kwantung Leased Territory was only about 1,300 square miles and the land in the Railway Zones amounted to only a few hundred square miles. Second, its authority was not consolidated. This meant that Japanese diplomats continually negotiated territorial and railway rights with the Chinese and Euro-American powers while the Japanese Foreign Ministry and Kwantung Army found themselves in a recurrent debate over whether or not to expand Japanese interests. The Foreign Ministry, seeking to protect the lucrative trade relationship between Japan and China, argued for restraint in Manchuria; on the other hand, the army continued to call for expansionist initiatives both in Manchuria and in “China proper.”<sup>51</sup> Lastly, the modernizing mission of the Railway Zones was not done to create new, modern Chinese and Manchurian subjects (though many Chinese reportedly moved to the Railway Zones to take advantage of educational opportunities). Rather, these new, modern spaces and systems were put in place to help promote Japanese

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 147. Railway companies such as Mantetsu were one of the primary vehicles through which imperial expansion took place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They were highly successful because, along with facilitating colonial control in a region, they offered the chance of economic growth and regional development such as the railway zones mentioned above. See Clarence B. Davis and Kenneth E. Wilburn Jr., eds., *Railway Imperialism*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1991.)

<sup>51</sup> Matsusaka, 154-155.

settlement of the area. In fact, according to a 1913 report prepared by the National Railway Board in Japan, “promoting the growth of the Japanese population in Manchuria” was “one of the most important tasks of the SMR [Mantetsu].”<sup>52</sup> The imperative to settle Japanese populations in the Northeast was fueled by the ongoing immigration disputes with the United States, Canada, and Australia.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, administrators such as Gotō Shinpei—the first president of Mantetsu—claimed that, by settling a large number of Japanese immigrants in Manchuria, formal annexation of the region would naturally follow in time.<sup>54</sup> Before Gotō’s plan could be realized, however, the discourse of empire drastically shifted from “new imperialism” to “liberal imperialism.” Under this new paradigm, global powers held each other’s empires up to new critical scrutiny. As such, the rhetoric and images used to sell the idea of empire dramatically changed.

## **The Shift from Subjugation to Sovereignty**

Liberal imperialism was the economic and political transformation of nineteenth-century military expansionist imperialism into a “kinder” and “gentler” form that claimed to return agency to the colonized. Drawing on the Monroe Doctrine, Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, and the horrors of World War I, liberal imperialism was the complex

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 174-175.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 148.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 81.

result of renewed claims for autonomy, sovereignty, open markets, and the sickening memory of Europe's own technological savagery during the Great War.<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, it marked several notable changes in the discourse of imperial power. Michael Adas states that this was apparent in the new image of the military. The larger implication of this was the way in which European powers—formerly models of civilization—were perceived. Adas writes, “Like Valéry, Hesse and other critics of the West from within, Tagore explored the ways in which the war had inverted the attributes of the dominant and revealed what the colonizers had trumpeted as unprecedented virtues to be fatal vices.”<sup>56</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century, military might had been one of the measures of a great nation and world power. Scientific progress had once been one of the rationales behind the civilizing mission and a foundation of modern Western society. Yet abhorrent military practices like chemical warfare changed perceptions of science and the so-called “civilized” West. Within a decade, technology became a horror rather than something to be venerated. The old mandates of imperialism fell under critical scrutiny.

Of course, there were critics of colonialism overseas and in Japan prior to World War I. For example, as Marius Jansen has shown, Kōtoku Shūsui (1871-1911) charged in *Imperialism: The Specter of the Twentieth Century* (1901) that imperialist expansion was “the product of militarism and jingoism, emotions based on the least admirable

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<sup>55</sup> See Rudolf von Albertini, “The Impact of Two World Wars on Colonialism,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, 4, no.1 (January 1969): 17-35; and Michael Adas, “Contested Hegemony: The Great War and the Afro-Asian Assault on the Civilizing Mission Ideology,” *Journal of World History* 15, no. 1 (2004): 31-63.

<sup>56</sup> Adas, 52.

characteristics of selfish man”; and, in 1902, British economist John Hobson (1858-1940) averred that imperialism was an immoral activity, resulting from industrialists seeking surplus capital.<sup>57</sup> Nonetheless, these voices were a minority in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For the most part, many different population segments living in colonial powers such as England, France, and the United States perceived “imperialism” as a civilizing mission that would transform “backward races.”<sup>58</sup> Concurrently, “imperialism” elevated the civilized status of nations that embarked on this supposedly moral task. Granted, Japanese colonialism operated on a slightly different paradigm from that of the West. Whereas Euro-American powers subjugated populations racially and culturally distinct from their own, Japan shared a common cultural and ethnic heritage with colonial subjects in Taiwan and Korea. Therefore, the language of domination also changed. Meiji activists championed Japan’s role in “liberating” Asians from weakening Manchu rule or the corruption of the *yangban* in Korea.<sup>59</sup> In this way, Japan was to be a modernizing agent of reform. Proponents of Japan’s colonial mission argued that the Japanese empire had a moral mission to lead progress and development in Asia.

Despite this new colonial paradigm, imperial powers such as England or France would not give up their prized holdings easily. Rather, the shift toward international calls for decolonization resulted in new rhetoric to legitimize continued occupation of

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<sup>57</sup> See Marius B. Jansen, “Japanese Imperialism: Late Meiji Perspectives,” ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 64-65.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Peattie, “Introduction,” 9.

territories seeking autonomy and sovereignty. Also, the politics surrounding the interwar colonial debate were only made more complicated by Western resettlement plans in the 1920s and 1930s. While some plans, such as those begun by the Roosevelt administration in 1933,<sup>60</sup> looked to promote strategic, domestic population migration, other plans took advantage of the space, indigenous labor, and further economic potential of colonial holdings. According to David Tucker, for example, Italian fascists planned new agricultural towns and resettlement communities in the 1920s in Libya and Ethiopia.<sup>61</sup> In British-occupied Palestine, Zionist agricultural colonies were also developing garden-city suburbs during the 1920s.<sup>62</sup> The German Nazi regime also embarked upon a rural resettlement program in the 1930s that was meant to “ease its substantial urban problems.”<sup>63</sup> Though not specifically colonial by definition, the German resettlement program was dependent upon Hitler’s “acts of aggression,” the conquest of new land, and the expulsion of the “natives” in Europe as well as Africa.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Tucker, 73.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. See also John C. de Boer, “Circumventing the Evils of Colonialism: Yanaihara Tadao and Zionist Settler Colonialism in Palestine,” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 14, no. 3 (2006): 567-595.

<sup>63</sup> Tucker, 73.

<sup>64</sup> Robert L. Koehl, *RKFDV: German Resettlement and Population Policy 1939-1945: A history of the Reich Commission for the strengthening of Germandom*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 2. Though not initially a high priority for the Third Reich, the desire to reclaim colonial territory lost after World War I—to realize the creation of the German Central African Empire, for example—eventually reemerged in the late 1930s. See Mary E. Townsend, “The German Colonies and the Third Reich,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 53, no.2, (June 1938), 186. See also Wolfe W. Schmokel, *Dream of Empire: German Colonialism, 1919-1945*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964), 3. Hitler claimed in 1937 “the colonies are our lost property and the world will be obliged to return them.” Hitler as quoted in Townsend, 186

Germany's military aggression in Europe aside, ambitious settlement programs such as these and colonial relationships might have found a relatively peaceful co-existence, free from international scrutiny fifty years earlier. However, the League of Nations, which formed after the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, brought "the injustices of past colonial administrations"<sup>65</sup> onto the world stage. Consequently, according to Thomas G. August, great imperial powers such as Britain and France were held accountable by international opinion for the first time.<sup>66</sup> Further compounding this colonial debate was the anti-imperialist position of the Soviet Union.<sup>67</sup> World opinion was no longer fully supportive of the imperialist cause as a means of performing a nation's power. Instead, colonies, it seemed, risked becoming an international public-relations liability.

This resulted in two significant shifts in colonial governance and public relations. First, colonial powers attempted to deflect criticism of their own rule by charging others with grievous imperialist offenses. Second, to create a "more favorable image of empire"—a "correct" image—powers such as Britain, France and Germany began a series of propaganda campaigns that would target both domestic and foreign audiences.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Thomas G. August, *The Selling of Empire: British and French Imperialist Propaganda, 1890-1940*, (Westport, Connecticut and London England: Greenwood Press, 1985), 56.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 56-57.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 56-57. Though he does not name specific publications nor go into detail about how such propaganda was imaged, August argues that the Ministry of Colonies in Paris "subsidized colonialist organizations" mostly through periodicals. The Maison de la Presse and the Quai d'Orsay also

For example, The German colonialist movement and, eventually the German government, angered by British and French charges of “German misgovernment and brutality in its overseas empire” prior to the first World War, used the Pan-German colonialist press to direct international attention to (what they charged was) British and French colonial “misrule” in their respective colonies.<sup>69</sup> More specifically, in the 1920s, France was criticized for what the German press called the “black horror on the Rhine.” This was, the French “deployment of black colonial troops in the occupation of the left bank of the Rhine” which caused, the Germans charged, “syphilis, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and rape to rain down upon the Rhenish population.”<sup>70</sup> Insinuations were lobbed on all sides.

These new stakes of colonial (or anti-colonial) discourse undoubtedly informed the international response to the Manchurian Incident and Japan’s military advance into China in the early 1930s. In 1932, the Japanese army declared the formation of Manchukuo and claimed it had liberated the region from corrupt Chinese landlords. The Qing monarch Pu-Yi (1906-1967) was installed the head of state (and, eventually, emperor) of the new nation. The Foreign Ministry had not condoned the military’s course of action. It recognized that the Japanese empire was not immune to the critical gaze of

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disseminated a great deal of information to the press. By 1937, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) had established foreign-language broadcasting through which they could project the British position. Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

international public opinion. As a result of the Manchurian Incident, the Ministry and Japanese foreign representatives were faced with the difficult task of balancing the image of Japanese military “self-defense” in Manchuria and diplomatic amelioration of Euro-American fears of Japanese aggression in Asia. In 1933, Japan embarked on a new phase of diplomatic isolationism when it left the League of Nations over the Lytton Commission’s report that refused recognition of the state of Manchukuo. According to Ian Nish, the report was not entirely dismissive of Japan’s claims to the region; for the most part, it was the method of securing its interests that invited condemnation.<sup>71</sup> Japanese media contributed to the feeling of public outrage at the report’s findings, fueling support for the military.<sup>72</sup> Nonetheless, the Japanese empire could ill afford to alienate Western powers. For one, it relied on countries like the United States to supply oil and other core materials that fueled its expansion on the continent. Furthermore, foreign economic investment was also a continuing necessity.

In an effort to present an image of the empire as a benevolent, peaceful partner in Asia rather than as a militarily aggressive imperialist presence, the Japanese government and military embarked on a campaign of what Prasenjit Duara has called “disguised imperialism.”<sup>73</sup> On the surface, Manchukuo exemplified the Wilsonian call for

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<sup>71</sup> Ian Nish, *Japan’s Struggle with Internationalism: Japan, China, and the League of Nations, 1931-1933*, (London and New York: K. Paul International, 1993), 177.

<sup>72</sup> Sandra Wilson, *The Manchurian Crisis and Japanese Identity, 1931-33*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 47.

<sup>73</sup> Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*, (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), 60.

sovereignty and self-determination. With the cooperation of the Japanese army, a supposedly sovereign utopian state emerged, founded on multiculturalism and the modern blending of Eastern cultural authority and Western modernity.<sup>74</sup> Yet, the Kwantung Army continued to exercise supreme control over the ruling bodies of the emperor and Manchukuo government while corporate interests, namely Mantetsu, cultivated a protected sphere of economic authority. Maintaining the guise of sovereignty under Japanese imperial rule was a delicate and complicated task. From 1932 to 1945, Japanese public and private public relations offices promoted the ideals of the new nation-state on the world stage. Media targeting Euro-American powers, other Asian nations, and Japanese citizens sought to legitimize development in Manchukuo under Japanese military occupation. While some audiences eagerly supported the new state of Manchukuo, others dismissed it as “Japanchukuo,” merely a puppet of Japanese domestic politics.<sup>75</sup> Consequently, public relations offices were tasked with balancing foreign and domestic opinion of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, utopian ideals of the new state and the coercive politics of the Japanese administration in the region. This led to a multifaceted approach to the production of the “Manchuria” idea, one that capitalized on national and individual fantasies of what the vast continental frontier could provide.

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> According to Yamamuro, an American businessman coined this phrase after visiting Manchukuo. Yamamuro, 188-189.

## **Outline of the Project**

My project examines the confluence of space, media, and discourses of Japanese colonial power. To expose the tensions and convergences that emerged from the multiple Japanese interests on the continent, I investigate the visual culture of this fraught period at both the official and the individual level. This acknowledges both the institutional violence at work in the conceptual and spatial development of Manchuria and the more nuanced, idealistic relationship individuals brought to the project. As an important extension of this idealism, Japanese public relations offices often posited Manchuria as a utopia. This recurrent theme acts as the foundation of this project. Terms such as “utopia” (written in the *katakana* syllabary as *yutopia*, revealing its foreign origins), “ideal” (*risōteki*), and “paradise” (*rakudo*) often appeared in captions for bucolic scenes of expansive grasslands and thriving urban spaces. On one hand, the repeated use of these terms speaks to the hope and optimism Manchuria conjured. It was a land of abundance and a nation-state wherein multiethnic, Pan-Asian ideals could be expressed. It was the lifeline (*seimeisen*) to Japan and a crucial part of the empire’s expanding economic autarky in Asia. In Manchuria, planners could realize theories of urban modernity and tourists could satisfy their consumer appetites. It was modern yet bucolic, nostalgic yet progressive. Most importantly, it was *spacious*. It was a vast frontier onto which the dreams of many Japanese, whether occupying the right or left of the political divide, could be written.

Though a space of hope, utopian Manchuria was, in fact, an elusive “no-place.” As with other utopias, it was an idea that existed in the interstices between what Louis Marin argues is “the free play of imagination” and the totalizing (and limiting) rule of law, between the visible and the invisible, between the objective and subjective gaze.<sup>76</sup> He states that “utopia” has existed in this continually shifting, liminal space between imagination and Kantian reason since Sir Thomas More’s book *Utopia* in 1516.<sup>77</sup> According to Marin, a crucial component in the formation of More’s Utopia in the sixteenth century was the frontier.<sup>78</sup> Since that time it often has been a recurrent motif in utopian constructions, acting as the edge of a domain or, more symbolically, the limit between two states.<sup>79</sup> In *Utopia*, the frontier was a new world of exploration and travel.<sup>80</sup> This is true, too, of the way in which the Manchurian frontier operated in Japanese popular media during the 1930s and early 1940s. Mantetsu, in particular, posited Manchuria as “virgin territory” that awaited discovery. This is not surprising, as the railway was an important apparatus for making this supposedly undiscovered country known and accessible. Despite the frontier’s allure and role in promoting expansion, it was bounded by totalizing borders. Working in concert with the frontier was the “limitless horizon.” Marin describes the horizon—the primary element in a “romantic

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<sup>76</sup> Louis Marin, “Frontiers of Utopia: Past and Present,” *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 397-403.

<sup>77</sup> Marin clarifies that “utopia” was first the proper name of More’s book but became a common noun shortly thereafter. Marin, 407.

<sup>78</sup> More’s book addressed the relationship between England and the “New World” of America. Ibid., 405-406.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 408.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 406.

landscape”—as “a bridge between the visible and the invisible” and “a ‘beyond-space’ encountered through the poetic and rhetorical figure of the twilight.”<sup>81</sup> Beyond the horizon, lies imagination. Utopias, then, exist in the interval between the limit of the frontier and the transcendent horizon. “Utopia,” claims Marin, “could be the name of the horizon that, as we have seen, makes the invisible come within the finite [ . . . ], a name that would constitute a distance, a gap neither before nor after affirmation, but ‘in between’ them, a distance or a gap that does not allow any affirmation or negation to be asserted as a truth or a falsehood.”<sup>82</sup> As a “no-place” existing in the gap between the limitless imagination and the limits of reason, it can accommodate multiple (at times, paradoxical) visions. This is how Manchuria-as-utopia became a space of limitless potential: modern, rural, multiethnic, Japanese, sovereign, peaceful, defensive, conservative, and progressive.

As a land of paradox, the concept of “utopia” in a colonial context inevitably evokes its antithesis: dystopia, a bleak space of totalitarian oppression. Undoubtedly, the Japanese military occupation of the Northeast and the subsequent violent displacement of many Han Chinese and Manchu populations as well as the razing of existing domestic or public spaces to make way for Japanese development evince the trappings of a dystopian, reactionary regime. In the context of imperial expansion, the innocently optimistic sheen of utopia quickly tarnishes. Angela Yiu examines the destructive entanglement of utopia

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 407.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 411.

and empire, focusing on how Japanese military leaders and politicians such as Ishiwara Kanji (1889-1949) and Kishi Nobusuke (1896-1987) manipulated the rhetoric of utopia to rationalize military expansion on the continent.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, Charles Burdett describes how Italian fascists utilized the trope of utopia—the image of an ideal society and “a magnificent future”—to mold Italian dreams and secure their support of Mussolini’s fascist vision.<sup>84</sup> These ideals were both spatial and temporal. Mussolini modeled his idea of the perfect society on ancient Rome; Italian settlements like Littoria and developments in Italian East Africa also operated in the utopian paradigm, offered up as a paradise or “Promised Land” of progress.<sup>85</sup>

Yiu and Burdett’s studies exemplify how “utopia” acted as a tool for propaganda. Under these ultranationalist regimes of the Japanese and Italians in the 1930s, it became a means of persuasion rather than a flight of fancy. This begs the question: Where does coercion end and idealism begin? Certainly, as a contemporary scholar who examines the role of media during this politically fraught epoch, I remain cynical of the use of the term by the Japanese Kwantung Army or government agencies. Nonetheless, how can we discuss “utopia” in the context of empire without stripping it of the poetic positivism and desire for happiness that also informed its meaning in the 1930s and early 1940s? This point is crucial as the meaning of “utopia” was not generated solely by official offices or

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<sup>83</sup> Angela Yiu, “From Utopia to Empire: Atarashikimura and *A Personal View of the Greater East Asia War (1942)*,” *Utopian Studies* 19, no.2 (2008): 214-217.

<sup>84</sup> Charles Burdett, “Italian Fascism and Utopia,” *History of the Human Sciences* 16, no. 1 (2003): 95.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 100-101.

the media; rather, it was made possible by the longing of some cultural producers as well as readers and viewers who consumed the images for the positive possibilities of an “other place.” Had the idea of the ideal, utopian state of Manchukuo merely been an empty slogan, it would have quickly lost its efficacy. Instead, the idea of Manchuria, which was framed as a “utopia” or “paradise,” resonated strongly within the Japanese popular imagination for much of the Manchukuo period. Yamamuro underscores the difficulty of negotiating individual perspectives in the context of empire. He states:

The notion that ‘what drew them to Manchuria was neither self-interest nor fame, but a pure aspiration to participate in the opening of a new realm and the building of a new nation’ cannot be completely denied as false consciousness. That they firmly believed this in their own subjective minds would scarcely be strange, but selfless, unremunerated, subjective goodwill does not necessarily guarantee good deeds as a final result, especially in a world of politics. Also, no matter how pure the emotions behind one’s actions, in politics [sic] responsibility for ultimate results is an issue, and one cannot elude the blame that one deserves. One individual’s ideal may for one’s counterpart be an intolerable hypocrisy, indeed a form of oppression.<sup>86</sup>

This statement articulates the tensions at work between the idealism of utopia and dystopian oppression. Yamamuro rightly identifies the contentious issue of culpability as one of the stakes of examining Manchukuo and the utopian rhetoric that informed its conceptual and physical construction. It is undoubtedly important to understand both the idealism and violence that operated in this fledgling nation-state.

In this project, I explore how Japanese colonial offices, artists, and designers contributed to the formation of the utopian idea of Manchukuo. My first chapter

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<sup>86</sup> Yamamuro, 7.

examines the ways in which Japanese media imaged ideal physical and conceptual spaces for Japanese occupation. First, I focus on two monthly magazines, *Manshū Graph* (1933-1944) and *Hirake Manmō* (1936-1939), to compare how the utopian Manchurian narrative operated in publications with differing demographics. I argue that the former, published by Mantetsu for a primarily urban readership in Japan, used dramatic, constructivist montages and evocative art photographs to heighten the perception of Manchuria as both a dynamic space of urban modernity and an exotic land ripe for tourism and exploration. On the other hand, *Hirake Manmō*, published by the Manchuria Immigration Association, presented a staid, didactic image of utopian Manchuria, pragmatically presenting portraits of bustling rural life and smiling farmers to promote emigration to the new frontier settlements on the continent. In the second section of this chapter, I explore the conceptual space Japanese occupied in the slogan, “*gozoku kyōwa*” (the harmony of the five races). I show that, while “racial harmony” promotional media evinced the egalitarian, multiethnic idealism supposedly at work in Manchukuo, it also revealed subtle references to Japanese domination in a racial hierarchy. I show how this racial hierarchy became spatially manifest in Japanese photographs of old, walled Chinese cities in Manchuria.

My second chapter investigates the art photography of pictorialist photographer Fuchikami Hakuyō and the romanticized images produced by his colleagues in the Manchuria Photographic Artists Association. Fuchikami, who moved to the Manchurian city of Dalian from Japan in 1928, was not only a renowned art-photographer but also

worked for Mantetsu's public relations department as editor of the monthly magazine *Manshū Graph*. In this chapter, I reveal how Fuchikami and his colleagues reconciled their dual roles as propagandists and artists. For example, I argue that, despite the pragmatic, economic conditions of Fuchikami's emigration, he romanticized his role on the continent by presenting himself as a *kaitakusha*, or pioneer, and likened his artistic development to what he saw as the "noble" endeavors of the *nōfū* peasant farmer. Through an analysis of highly evocative landscapes and portraits of farmers and laborers, I examine how the utopian idea of Manchuria became, then, not only a tool for propaganda but also a means for cultural producers like Fuchikami to continually regenerate their own privileged, middle-class fantasies of Manchukuo over many years.

World fairs and expositions acted as a theatre in which many countries performed their imperial identities. My third chapter explores the relationship between photographic/graphic arts and Japan's exhibition of its continental project. I consider the spatial and conceptual construction of Manchuria in domestic and international contexts, comparing the Manchuria exhibit featured on the Japanese exhibition grounds at Chicago's A Century of Progress World Exposition in 1933 with the Great Manchuria Exhibition held in Manchuria in 1933 and the Japan-Manchuria Industrial Exhibition held in Japan in 1936. The Chicago exhibition is of particular importance as it demonstrates how the imaging of Manchuria operated on the world stage, visually manifesting a doctrine of modernization and development in an effort to solicit international goodwill and foreign capital. Moreover, I compare the Manchuria exhibit to those featured at the

International Colonial Exposition in Paris in 1931 to show how Japanese fair organizers were cognizant of European exhibition trends and interwar debates on colonialism that informed those exhibition practices.

In my final chapter, I examine the ways in which Mantetsu posited Manchukuo as a space untouched by the ongoing Sino-Japanese War in the late 1930s. In my first section, I show how cities like the new Manchurian capital of Xinjing were infused with both the ideals and anxieties plaguing the urban population of the metropole. Manchurian cities were posited as a peaceful, modern ideal and a soothing counterpoint to the images of gas masks and fire bombings inundating the urban Japanese of the homeland as they prepared for total war. My second section examines how Fuchikami's art photograph *Evening Sun (Sekiyō)* (1939) contributed to the aesthetic abstraction of war on the continent in the late 1930s. I argue that abstraction and memory were crucial components in the production of a discreet war narrative in Manchuria that was consistent with Mantetsu's goals of advertising Manchukuo as a place of continuing peace even during a time of great conflict and upheaval.

Through this project, I expose how the physical and symbolic construction of Manchukuo as a utopia operated in media for colonial offices and for individuals. Where applicable, this project relates Japanese visual practices to larger global trends in North America, Europe, and the Soviet Union. I pay particular attention to the visual cultures produced in Germany and Italy which, like Japan, were late-developing imperial powers governed by authoritarian political regimes that consolidated power in the 1930s. While

offering new insight into the relationship between the romanticized Japanese visual rhetoric used to promote the project in Manchuria and international design trends, this analysis will also provide a richer understanding of the role the utopian/dystopian puppet state played in the Japanese empire and on the world stage.

## **CHAPTER 2: A Japanese Place in the Land of Abundance and the Land of Harmony**

Utopian images of fertile, expansive, faraway lands abounded in the 1930s. They acted as beacons of hope that offered idealized spaces of opportunity in which fantasies of a new life might relieve, if only temporarily, the dark economic pall that settled over people's daily lives around the world in the interwar period. For example, the African colonies that Germany lost in 1919 served as sites to reclaim national pride for Germans living under the National Socialist Party and were spaces for the idealistic projection of expanding empire and bourgeois fantasy. Africa was also an important topic in popular media under the Italian Fascist government, presented as a "land of plenty" awaiting Italian expertise and exploitation.<sup>1</sup> For various Japanese imperial institutions and citizens desirous of a new life, the vast territory of Manchuria could accommodate a multitude of economic and social possibilities. It was a utopian paradise.

The space of Manchuria was not meant to function for just an elite few; therefore narratives of this "ideal" (*risōteki*) continental region were as varied as the readers who consumed them. Some public relations offices targeted the desires of the urban bourgeoisie by positing Manchuria as a land of metropolitan idealism. Through Japanese urban planning ingenuity, what was once just a "blank slate" (*hakushi*) had become a spatial laboratory for modernity, featuring broad boulevards, vast green spaces, and the

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Burdett, "Italian Fascism and Utopia," *History of the Human Sciences* 16, no. 1 (2003): 101.

latest in domestic and institutional architecture. Other offices focused on vast fertile tracks of land where farming pioneer families could settle and prosper. Some media focused on Manchuria as an expansive frontier and a space for the realization of a rural village ideal, romantic conceits that stirred nostalgia in both urban and rural readers. These various representations capitalized on the fantasies of their respective audiences; at the same time, they were also meant to help Japanese readers understand how they might inhabit the new state of Manchukuo. In other words, readers consumed a virtual ideal in the space of the magazine but media suggested that the represented spaces were also for occupation. This was a crucial link as the function of these magazines, posters, and pamphlets was to solicit support for Japanese occupation of the region and promote physical movement to the continent.

Understanding how these Manchurian spaces operated—as sites for lived experience and representation—is difficult as they were constantly shifting in meaning. As Jeremy Foster importantly argues, this is due to the fact that such spaces were in an ongoing “iterative dialogue,” the result of the photographic transformation of “space on the ground into place in the mind.”<sup>2</sup> He states that, “communing with a specific terrain is both practical *and* imaginative, an identification with and an introduction of the self into

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<sup>2</sup> Jeremy Foster, “Capturing and Losing the ‘Lie of the Land’: Railway Photography and Colonial Nationalism in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa,” Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, trans., *Picturing place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2003), 142.

that terrain through a form of ‘body-world dialectic’.”<sup>3</sup> In short, ‘place’ and identity become entangled through the photographic process.

In this chapter, I examine the complex relationship between the viewing subject and the Manchurian spaces offered up for occupation in Japanese media in two ways. The first section of this chapter focuses on two magazines, *Manshū Graph* (Pictorial Manchuria) (1933-1944) and *Hirake Manmō* (Opening Manchuria-Mongolia) (1936-1939), to compare the differing kinds of ideal spaces posited for varying demographics. Published by the South Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu) from 1933 to 1944, *Manshū Graph* (Pictorial Manchuria) spanned almost the entire Manchukuo period. As such, it is particularly useful in assessing the kinds of thematic trends Mantetsu promoted to Japanese readers living in major Japanese cities. Catering to this readership, it presented the new state of Manchukuo largely as a site for exploration by upscale tourists and enjoyment of a sophisticated urban lifestyle. *Manshū Graph*’s editor, Fuchikami Hakuyō, spoke to the metropolitan consumer by framing these various subject positions in sophisticated layouts that evoked both romanticism and chic modernity. This magazine not only featured spaces where Japanese readers might live or visit on the continent but itself acted as a space created for Japanese occupation, a media window through which armchair travelers could peer to enjoy the exotic frontier.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 143.

The target readership of *Manshū Graph* was in sharp contrast to that of *Hirake Manmō*, a monthly magazine published in the late 1930s by the Manchuria Immigration Council (Manshū Ijū Kyōkai). *Hirake Manmō* targeted rural readers in Japan with the express purpose of promoting immigration to the Manchurian frontier. The magazine did not tout individual adventure and leisure like *Manshū Graph*; instead, it dedicated its pages to articles describing life on the frontier and related agricultural practices. Together, text and image conveyed how an immigrant could both contribute to the development of space in the hinterland of Manchukuo and a new rural economy. *Hirake Manmō* presented the image of a bureaucratic ideal that was informed by governmental agricultural and colonial ministries and the Japanese army. It titillated its readers with scenes of expansive fertile plains that would accommodate ambitious emigration settlement plans; it also provided a regimented matrix into which the individual could insert himself or herself and thereby contribute to a patriotic collective endeavor.

These various roles fulfilled dual purposes. On one hand, they contributed to the individual's participation in the betterment of the Japanese empire. By acting as an emigrant, tourist, or agricultural pioneer, Japanese citizens strengthened the imperial foothold in the Northeast, using their bodies and skills to secure Japanese interests. On the other hand, these roles also promised great economic and social mobility that was absent at home in the cities and small towns of Japan. In this way, the occupation of Manchuria forged personal dreams of new prosperous lives in the vast spaces of a promised land.

The second half of this chapter addresses the trope of “*gozoku kyōwa*” or the “harmony of the five races.” This concept helped Japanese *naichi* (domestic or homeland) readers identify their place in the new state of Manchukuo.<sup>4</sup> Unlike the magazines that presented physical spaces for occupation, the slogan *gozoku kyōwa* operated more conceptually, providing Japanese with a racial/spatial matrix into which they could insert themselves. This matrix had a crucial imperial function as it allowed Japanese from the left or right of the political spectrum to rationalize occupation of the new state. In order to identify the larger significance of *gozoku kyōwa*, I first address the concept’s relationship to shifting Pan-Asianist ideals that culminated in the formation of the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in the early 1940s. I then explore the ways in which this concept symbolically operated for the respective races it referenced, drawing out the meaning of this ideological construct for Chinese, Manchurians, and Koreans living in the region.

Most important, however, is the examination of the meaning this construct had for the Japanese. The slippage in the supposed equality of people—a quality that acted as the idealistic foundation of the concept—reveals how Japan occupied a top-tier position in a hierarchy of races. To demonstrate the impact of this hierarchy, this chapter shows how new Manchurian cities such as Xinjing were effectively segregated and undermined the egalitarian ideals of “racial harmony.” Rather than serving as a space of equality,

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<sup>4</sup> *Naichi* translates as “homeland” or “mainland” and is a useful term for differentiating between Japanese living in Japan and those living overseas (*gaichi*).

Manchukuo was dominated by a voyeuristic Japanese gaze that consumed the objectified bodies of Chinese and Manchurians. This is evident in the transformation of old Chinese walled cities in Japanese media into sites of containment for the so-called “exotic” local color of Manchuria.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Manshū Graph* and the Middle-Class Continental Fantasy**

Mantetsu’s public relations department published the graphic magazine *Manshū Graph* bi-monthly from September 1933 to August 1935, and monthly thereafter until January 1944. Mantetsu distributed the magazine through the Korea-Manchuria Information Offices (*Sen-Man annaijo*) in major Japanese cities, including Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya. There it attracted potential tourists and emigrants among a predominantly urban Japanese readership by imaging Manchuria as both a rugged, romantic frontier and a space of ultramodern urbanization. Such images, however, obscured the very real military tensions between Chinese and Japanese interests in Manchuria, positing instead the harmonious image of an ideal continental space in which colonial fantasies of the Japanese empire—investment, labor, travel, and resettlement—could be realized.

As the first issue of *Manshū Graph* quickly followed the founding of Manchukuo, scholars such as Kishi Toshihiko and Takeba Jō associate it with the flurry of promotional material that appeared in support of the new nation. This was certainly one

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<sup>5</sup> *Manshū Graph* 3, no. 3 (June 1935): unpaginated.

of the magazine's functions. According to a press release featured in the Japanese-published Manchurian daily newspaper, *Manshū Nippō*, *Manshū Graph* was meant to cover a variety of topics in the new state, from economics to current events and culture.<sup>6</sup> Throughout its eleven-year run, it fulfilled this role. It relayed information about the culture and happenings of Manchukuo to eager readers caught up in the "Manchuria Boom" in Japan following the founding of the new nation. However, to say that *Manshū Graph* "conveyed information" oversimplifies the magazine's purpose. In fact, it did much more. The magazine was not just a news source but also a public relations vehicle for the company. Public relations emerged at the end of the nineteenth century as a means to define corporate image. As Roland Marchand details, the idea quickly gained traction because it allowed one corporate entity to differentiate itself from its competition. This was particularly useful for smaller niche corporations like urban department stores that cultivated favorable store images and name recognition in order to better attract customers.<sup>7</sup> Public relations helped to counter the perception that large corporations like General Electric and the Pennsylvania Railroad Corporation were "soulless" and thereby lacking "social legitimacy."<sup>8</sup> In short, the public had to be reassured of the benevolent role such potentially far-reaching entities would play in society. While scholars such as Anne Cooper-Chen and Michiyo Tanaka discuss the development of Japanese public

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<sup>6</sup> "Mantetsu gurafu o Mantetsu de teiki kankō," *Manshū Nippō* (August 8, 1933): 7.

<sup>7</sup> Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1998), 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

relations (*kōhō*) as a postwar phenomenon, it is clear that Japanese zaibatsu (financial conglomerates) and corporations developed campaigns similar to the American model of public relations much earlier.<sup>9</sup> Takashi Inoue notes how the publishing house Maruzen (the first joint stock company in Japan) issued a public relations magazine in 1897; Mitsui Gofukuten (what would become Mitsukoshi Department Store) published its public relations magazine shortly thereafter in 1899.<sup>10</sup> Certainly, the Japanese application of this relatively new field was evident in Mantetsu's own dedicated public relations division in the office of the President (Mantetsu sōsaijitsu kōhōka). It was this office that published *Manshū Graph*.

Mantetsu was a semi-public company and, according to Young, Japan's largest corporation. Financially autonomous from the state, it was highly profitable by the 1930s. It ran lucrative passenger and freight services and acted as an administrator of the railway zones that abutted its lines, running public institutions such as schools and hospitals as well as managing public utilities.<sup>11</sup> Mantetsu also operated port facilities in several cities

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<sup>9</sup> Anne Cooper-Chen and Michiyo Tanaka, "Public Relations in Japan: The Cultural Roots of Kouhou," *The Journal of Public Relations Research* 20: 94-114. Takashi Inoue also comments on the later emergence of public relations in Japan, remarking that there is no "confirmation of a systematic introduction of public relations by any external source before World War II." See Takashi Inoue, "An Overview of Public Relations in Japan and the Self-Correction Concept," *The Global Public Relations Handbook*, (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2003), 69.

<sup>10</sup> Takashi Inoue, 69-70. See also Ikari Seiya, ed. *Kigyō no hatten to kōhō sen'ryaku: 50nen no ayumi to tenbō*, (Tokyo: Nikkei BP-Kikaku, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> *Second Report on Progress in Manchuria to 1930*, (Dairen [Dalian]: South Manchuria Railway Company, 1931), 97. According to a 1931 report, transportation accounted for a profit totaling 74,890,234.92 yen at the end of the 1930 fiscal year, whereas its local public works facilities ran at sizeable deficit; one can see a similar trend in the 1935 fiscal year, with railway services bringing in 84,030,382 yen in revenue. This was almost seven times that of the coal mines, the next largest income generator.

in Manchuria, including Dalian, the most important transportation hub in northeast China. Since its founding in 1906, Mantetsu had become a vital part of the transportation sector on the continent by commanding what Matsusaka calls “an effective monopoly.”<sup>12</sup> It also played a key role in industrial expansion, including coal mining, shale oil refinement, and the production of iron. *Manshū Graph* drew attention to these industrial projects in addition to the urban modernity Mantetsu continued to develop in towns and cities along the rail lines from Dalian to the new capital of Manchukuo, Xinjing.

In order to develop Mantetsu’s corporate image, the magazine aligned the company’s brand with the desires of its modern bourgeois urban readership. This strategy was fitting given Mantetsu’s original mandate to promote Japanese emigration to the Northeast by creating modern spaces and infrastructures. By the 1930s, tourism also played an important role for the company. While it created much less revenue than the company’s freight operations, tourism itself was a valuable public relations tool. Mantetsu sponsored tours of Manchuria for Japanese artists and writers who, in turn, wrote of their travel experience on the continent. The company also sponsored tours for Western tourists who would, it was hoped, relay stories of the exciting modernity

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According to the 1931 report, the loss for Mantetsu’s public works was 13,598,502 yen. See *Second Report on Progress in Manchuria to 1930*, (Dairen [Dalian]: South Manchuria Railway Company, 1931), 104; see also *Fifth Report on Progress in Manchuria to 1936*, (Dairen [Dalian]: South Manchuria Railway Company, 1936), 141.

<sup>12</sup> Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka. *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904-1932*, (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 5.

Mantetsu had helped cultivate in the new state.<sup>13</sup> In order to generate interest in emigration, tourism, and (more generally) the company itself, Mantetsu capitalized on the new middle-class's attraction to comfortable travel to exotic distant locales, dynamic city spaces, and access to leisure activities as well as their nostalgia for picturesque rural farming villages. Mantetsu benefited greatly from aligning its interests with those of the Japanese bourgeoisie. The company became synonymous with modernization, progress, and, most importantly, prestige. It was the conduit through which the urban subject could realize a modern Western lifestyle. In this way, the space of *Manshū Graph* acted as a multifaceted tool for the production of knowledge about Manchukuo, Mantetsu, and the bourgeois role the reader could play on the continent.

The magazine's editor, Fuchikami Hakuyō, played an important role in balancing reportage with advertising and public relations in *Manshū Graph*. Fuchikami was a noted art photographer when he emigrated from Kyoto to Dalian in 1928. While in Kobe, he published several art photography portfolios and small-run magazines. As he was well versed in the language of affective imagery, he was a strategic choice to spearhead the company's new public relations vehicle, *Manshū Graph*. By the early twentieth century, publishers in Japan and abroad increasingly drew on modern fine art, avant-garde and

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<sup>13</sup> These tours continued even into the Second Sino-Japanese War. I discuss one of these tours in Chapter Five and the way in which it mediated the war experience for a foreign audience.

graphic practices to enhance content and advertising.<sup>14</sup> Also mass “graphic” magazines flourished in the 1920s with the emergence of affordable, half-tone printing processes, which allowed for easier reproduction and consumption of photographs.<sup>15</sup> As a result of these trends and developments, the lines between fine art, reportage, advertising practices, and national propaganda had begun to blur by the 1930s.<sup>16</sup> Fuchikami was well suited to adapt to the multifaceted demands of this publishing environment. His experience with art photography, including the evocative ambiance of pictorialism and the urban dynamism associated with constructivism, provided him with the visual rhetoric to communicate the many different aspects of Manchuria and Mantetsu. Under Fuchikami’s guidance, the magazine itself became a site for the cultivation of the modern subject.

According to Takeba Jō, Fuchikami collected and closely analyzed art and design magazines from around the world. Of the many international trends with which Fuchikami was familiar, photomontage was one of the most significant. Takeba writes that Fuchikami was quite familiar with the influential, large-scale, photo-illustrated magazine, *USSR in Construction* (also known as *SSSR na stroike*), a magazine in which

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<sup>14</sup> John Clark, “Indices of Modernity: Changes in Popular Reprographic Representation,” Elise K. Tipton and John Clark, eds., *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000), 26.

<sup>15</sup> Gary Bowden, “Reconstructing Colonialism: Graphic Layout and Design, and the Construction of Ideology,” *Canadian Review of Sociology*, no. 2 (January 23 2009): 222.

<sup>16</sup> For a discussion of the entanglement of these visual practices in Japan, see Gennifer Weisenfeld, “Touring Japan-as-Museum: NIPPON and Other Japanese Imperialist Travelogues,” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 8, no. 3 (Winter 2000): 748.

photomontage was a cornerstone design principle.<sup>17</sup> Certainly, it appears that he adopted many of this magazine's design elements. Published from 1930 to 1941 and then again in 1949 by OGIZ (the Federation of State Publishing Houses of the RSFSR), *USSR in Construction* was a means to promote a positive image of the Soviet state among (primarily) foreign readers.<sup>18</sup> *USSR in Construction* used photo-essays and photomontage to propagandize the rapid advances made in the Soviet Union. The magazine utilized the skills of some of the most important Soviet photographers and avant-garde designers, including Aleksandr Rodchenko and El Lissitzky. The photomontages of German designer John Heartfield (born Helmut Herzfeld) also shaped the look of the magazine in the first few years of its publication.

Montage was both artistically and politically radical. For German Dadaists like Heartfield, George Grosz, and Raoul Haussmann, photomontage afforded them a tool for destruction of bourgeois culture and existing art institutions. While Victorians had employed photomontage as a careful, aesthetic exercise to replicate academic painting, Dadaists seized on the deconstructive nature of the practice to create new, jarring

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<sup>17</sup> Takeba Jō, *Ikyō no modanizumu* (also titled “*The Depicted Utopia*”: *Another Facet of Japanese Modern Photography in Manchoukuo*), (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Bijutsukan, 1994), unpaginated.

<sup>18</sup> The magazine was published in Russian, English, German and French. According to Erika Wolf, the first issue appeared in December 1929 rather than in 1930 although most scholars date the magazine from 1930. Erika Wolf, “When Photographs Speak, To Whom Do They Talk? The Origins and Audience of *SSSR na stroike* (*USSR in Construction*), *Left History* 6, no. 2 (1999): 53-62. According to Maria Gough, the magazine averaged a monthly circulation of approximately a hundred thousand. Maria Gough, “Back in the USSR: John Heartfield, Gustav Klucis, and the Medium of Soviet Propaganda,” *New German Critique* 36, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 160.

juxtapositions.<sup>19</sup> These, in turn, challenged established hierarchies. Taken further, the German Dadaists endeavored to use the recontextualized images to permanently upset dominant authority.<sup>20</sup> Some Dadaist photomontages, like Haussmann's *Tatlin at Home* (1920), were somewhat whimsical in their absurdity. This work depicts machines emerging from the head of a man who reminded the artist of Vladimir Tatlin, one of the leading figures in the Russian avant-garde and Constructivist movement. The man is surrounded by a large ship propeller, a display of internal organs, and another man with his pockets turned out. Molly Nesbit states that these disjunctive associations "cut the viewer's emotional response into bits and sent out dislocated shocks," the result of the "desecration of the modern mechanical reproduction and [...] the absence of any traditional notion of art."<sup>21</sup> According to Nesbit, Heartfield used these "shocks" to forge a scathing critique of fascist politics. Heartfield's *The Meaning of Geneva / Where Capital Lives/ Peace Cannot Survive* (1932) epitomizes this darker, political application of photomontage. Heartfield transforms the cover of *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (AIZ, The Workers Pictorial Newspaper), which was an anti-fascist, pro-Communist magazine, with the figure of a dove impaled on a bayonet bisecting the League of Nations building over which a flag with a swastika flies.

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<sup>19</sup> Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present*, (New York: Museum of Modern Art : Distributed by New York Graphic Society Books, c1982), 210.

<sup>20</sup> James Hamilton, "Visualizing Critique: Montage as a Practice of Alternative Media," *Media History* 7, no. 2 (2001): 163.

<sup>21</sup> Molly Nesbit, "Photography, Art, and Modernity (1910-1930)," Jean-Claude Lemagny and André Rouillé, eds., Janet Lloyd, trans., *The History of Photography: Social and Cultural Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 117.

Heartfield's use of photomontage both for biting political indictment in *AIZ* and ideological advertisement in *U.S.S.R. in Construction* points to the multiple ways in which it functioned. Photomontage's capacity to function as a revolutionary critique on one hand and an effective advertising tool on the other results from the rupture and suture that characterizes the medium.<sup>22</sup> In effect, it provides the opportunity to wrest images away from their original photographic contexts and repurpose them. A work, then, may provoke an anarchistic free association of ideas that undermines the previously established reading of the image (as with the Dadaists); or, in the case of *U.S.S.R. in Construction*, it may become a potent vehicle for political ideology. Heartfield's once disjunctive Dada photomontages transformed in the late 1920s into "seamlessly fused pictures."<sup>23</sup> As Sabine Kriebel argues, this kind of "unified" imagery was an effective tool for political propaganda as "its mode of psychological suture [was] compelling and immediate."<sup>24</sup> Heartfield, the OGIZ, and, eventually, Fuchikami recognized photomontage's persuasive potential.

Matthew Teitelbaum has addressed this affective aspect of photomontage. He states that montage had a dramatic effect as it "reflected a fast-paced, multi-faceted

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<sup>22</sup> Kaneko Ryūichi discusses how German developments in photomontage traveled to Japan as a new form of visual expression in the 1920s and 1930s. Different media utilized this revolutionary practice, including the sub-culture magazine *Hanzai kagaku* (Crime Science) and the literary magazine *Chūō kōron* (Central review). See Kaneko Ryūichi, "Gurafu montāju no seiritsu: *Hanzai kagakushi o chūshin ni*," Omuka Toshiharu and Mizusawa Tsutomu, eds., *Modanizumu/ nashonarizumu: senkyūhyaku sanjūnendai nihon no geijutsu*, (Tokyo: Serikashobō, 2003): 156-177. Certainly, this demonstrates how influential photomontage had become in Japan prior to Fuchikami's use of it in *Manshū Graph* in the 1930s.

<sup>23</sup> Sabine Kriebel, "Photomontage in the Tear 1932: John Heartfield and the National Socialists," *Oxford Art Journal* 31, no. 1 (2008): 101.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

reality seamlessly suited to a synthesis of twentieth-century documentary, desire and utopian idealism.”<sup>25</sup> Consequently, it became an extremely useful tool in conveying progress. More importantly, however, montage severed old contexts and object relations to create what Teitelbaum describes as “new paradigms of authority and influence.”<sup>26</sup> It was a useful design strategy as the U.S.S.R. sought to negotiate and reinterpret socio-political and economic relationships abroad. It was also a savvy tool for Mantetsu; the use of photomontage in *Manshū Graph* provided a means to remove references to old inhabitants and structures while creating vibrant, inhabitable spaces for Japanese occupation.

The sophisticated visual language featured in *USSR in Construction* was as important as the magazine’s content in communicating to its sophisticated readership, which included Soviet and foreign workers, foreign political representatives, intellectuals and industrial executives.<sup>27</sup> According to Erika Wolf, OGIZ published both a “deluxe” and “economy” version for each issue in the first two years, the latter targeting workers and intellectuals, and the former distributed to “foreign business concerns.”<sup>28</sup> Establishing a positive relationship with these business concerns was of utmost importance for OGIZ. Wolf states that the origins of the magazine were closely tied to

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<sup>25</sup> Matthew Teitelbaum, “Preface,” *Montage and Modern Life, 1919-1942*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 1992), 8.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Gough, 160; Wolf, 62.

<sup>28</sup> Wolf, 62. Wolf does not indicate what constituted the difference between the two versions although it is likely that the economy version used a lesser grade materials than the slick and glossy foreign edition, which was printed using high-quality inks, paper stock, and general production values. See Gough, 160.

“financial and trade interests of the Soviet Union.”<sup>29</sup> Therefore, the desired readership was, in fact, elite foreign capitalists and politicians who might invest in the kinds of Soviet resources and agricultural products often featured in *USSR in Construction*. This would, in turn, fund continued industrialization. The use of photomontage coupled with slick, high-quality materials framed Soviet development as modern and progressive. The sutured media spaces within the magazine contributed to the construction of the reader as a modern, refined subject.

The lesser quality of *Manshū Graph*’s materials suggests that its readership was not as elite as that of *U.S.S.R. in Construction*.<sup>30</sup> Its occasional use of English in addition to Japanese in captions points to the potential (English-speaking) international audience who might consume the magazine in major Japanese metropolitan areas.<sup>31</sup> Even if English readers were few, the use of English served as a means to mark out the magazine as a cosmopolitan media space that could operate on the world stage. In addition to using language to underscore the sophistication of the publication, the use of a similar visual rhetoric points to a shared interest in cultivating a dynamic modern subjectivity among its readers. This would have had several effects. First, it transformed *Manshū Graph*’s

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>30</sup> The Soviet publication was quite large, measuring a grand 42 centimeters, whereas Mantetsu’s magazine was notably smaller. From September 1933 until March 1938, it was just 30.5 centimeters; it increased to 33.5 centimeters from April 1938 to March 1941; from April 1941 until the final issue in January 1944, Mantetsu reduced the scale to just 29.5 centimeters. Materials used for *USSR in Construction* were also of greater quality. The paper was thicker and the inks were more nuanced. Also, the Soviet magazine featured accent colors in the interior layouts while *Manshū Graph* only occasionally used color on its cover.

<sup>31</sup> The use of English was not consistent. This underscores how a foreign audience was not the target of the magazine. Rather, the use of Japanese and frequent imaging of Japanese enjoying Manchukuo speaks to how Mantetsu published *Manshū Graph* primarily for Japanese consumption.

middle-class *naichi* readers into participants in the modern developments on the continent; second, it associated Mantetsu with a modern, international subject.

Consequently, both the virtual space of the magazine and the represented space of Manchuria were offered up as modern spaces for Japanese bourgeois occupation.

Fuchikami frequently employed montage to convey the vitality and speed of the modern spaces in the new state of Manchukuo. In the first issue, a photomontage of bustling streets, grand buildings, and axial boulevards comprise the layout dedicated to the “New Capital Hsinking in the Making” (Figure 2.1). The impressive stone and concrete facades of the buildings layer into the composition at dynamic angles, lightening the physical presence of otherwise heavy architectural structures. The vortex of roads, people, and buildings occupying a multitude of perspectives dynamically engages the reader’s gaze. As a result, the eye quickly moves around the image and establishes a metaphorical relationship with the rapid development of the space of the city. Lest the reader becomes disoriented, the silhouettes of two enormous laboring bodies anchor the layout on each side.

*Manshū Graph* repeatedly utilizes photomontage in a similarly dramatic fashion in other layouts dedicated to the new urban spaces of Manchukuo. It is notably present in the March 1936 issue that celebrated the near-completion of the first five-year building plan in Xinjing (Figure 2.2). On the cover, an enormous water tower from a reservoir in southern Xinjing juts out of a modern street scene receding toward the horizon. The water tower itself speaks to the massive development of infrastructure in the new capital. The

style, though, transforms the photographic documentation of the new structure into an exciting compositional tool that expresses the rapid drive toward modernization. The striking diagonal of the tower conveys progress, dramatically propelling the eye forward.

An interior layout also utilizes photomontage to show the “General Aspects of the Capital” (Figure 2.3), layering a street sign over a dizzying array of government buildings, streets, apartments and factories. Photomontage effectively isolated each building and site from its respective landscape. In the September 1933 issue, this was useful because it obscured the limited progress that had been made in the first year of construction. In other words, montage elided the still-empty space around the buildings, giving the impression that the space of the new capital was more developed than it was. In 1936, the buildings’ relationships to space was also an issue, although for a different reason. The capital’s vast boulevards and squares were a spatial articulation of modern urban design; however, they also diminished the structures’ dramatic monumentality. By collapsing the space around them, the montaged layouts emphasized the size and architectural grandeur of the new buildings. Moreover, cityscapes depicting the buildings *in situ* revealed the vast, alienating scale of the new urban spaces. Individuals (both the reader and those people featured in the image itself) could become lost in the relatively empty urban landscapes. Spatial intimidation was useful for asserting governmental authority and, thus, informed the production of space under the Nazi party and Italian fascists. However, it was not in Mantetsu’s best interests to intimidate readers; rather, the company endeavored to welcome them to the continent. Montage provided the means to

forge a more intimate relationship with the new capital by erasing distances between sites and bringing the reader into closer proximity

Imaging leisure activities was another way in which *Manshū Graph* harnessed Mantetsu's brand to the bourgeois aspirations of its urban readership. It was common to represent activities such as golf and skiing, which had largely developed during the Taishō period. Skiing and ice skating were particularly popular themes for winter issues and those published in early spring. Photographs of rosy-cheeked Japanese men and women, fashionably outfitted in the trappings of their chosen sport, transformed the unforgiving cold of the Manchurian winter into an opportunity to engage in relatively new hobbies imported from Europe and North America.<sup>32</sup> In the summer, these themes shifted to smiling figures enjoying golf, swimming, strolling in sun-dappled parks, and reading next to picturesque lakes. Certainly, some of these leisure pastimes, such as strolling in a park or reading a book, could be enjoyed easily in the metropole. Other activities such as golf and skiing were still fairly novel, imaged as hobbies for a new middle-class, modern subject in Japan.<sup>33</sup> Yet, given the limitations of space and expense in Japan, golf courses and ski resorts were still privileged activities during the 1930s. As

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<sup>32</sup> Initially, the adaptation of foreign leisure activities was a means of attracting Western tourists to Japan; however, soon the Ministry of Railways in Japan came to recognize the economic benefit of advertising such activities to the domestic market. See David Leheny, "'By Other Means': Tourism and Leisure as Politics in Pre-war Japan," *Social Science Japan Journal* 3, no. 2 (2000): 174-178.

<sup>33</sup> Although golf was introduced to Japan at the turn of the century, the first public course did not open until 1913. Even then, interest in the sport did not really begin to grow until the latter half of the Taishō period; during this time, it was associated with a Western-style resort hotel culture. On the other hand, skiing was not as exotic. It had been adopted by the army as an effective means to move through the snow during the winter. Like golf, it developed as sport during the Taishō period; the first championship series was held in 1923. See Tomita Shōji, *Tabi no fūzokushi*, (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2008), 42-48, 51-52.

such, these pursuits did not become popular pastimes for the masses until after the war.<sup>34</sup>

Through *Manshū Graph*, Mantetsu framed these sports as part of the larger experience in Manchuria. *Manshū Graph* advertised an affluent lifestyle and posited the company as the means (visually or through the tour itself) of making it accessible to a larger public.

Of course, the activity most resonant with the Mantetsu corporate image was the train tour of the vast frontier. On one hand, advertising the tour provided the opportunity for the company to showcase its high-speed, ultramodern “Asia Express” that ran between Dalian and Xinjing. Building on the perception of the train as the bearer of modernization and industrialization, the sleek, iconic image of the Asia Express (Figure 2.4)—frequently featured in *Manshū Graph*, on postcards, and even emblazoned on a silver cigarette case—testified to Mantetsu’s ability to harness technology equivalent to the fastest railways in the West to conquer the so-called “virgin territory” of northeast Asia.<sup>35</sup> It was a symbol of the company’s prestige.

The tour also allowed Mantetsu to draw on romantic fantasies of the expansive Manchurian hinterland and link its corporate image to mastery of the frontier. *Manshū Graph* facilitated this association by presenting the region as a largely depopulated wilderness that was sparsely inhabited by exotic, foreign people. For example, *Manshū*

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<sup>34</sup> Wolfram Manzenreiter and Eyal Ben-Ari discuss the building facilities during the postwar period of high economic growth following the war. See Wolfram Manzenreiter and Eyal Ben-Ari, “Leisure and Consumer Culture,” Joseph Kreiner, Ulrich Mohwald, Hans-Dieter Ölschleger, eds., *Modern Japanese Society*, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 505.

<sup>35</sup> Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1998), 246.

*Graph*'s second issue in November 1933 featured vast grassy plains, smiling Mongolian natives, and camels in a layout dedicated to Mongolian "local color." Prasenjit Duara has argued that these kinds of timeless images of Manchuria undermined imperialist claims to the area as it transformed the region into a contested borderland for which Chinese, Russians, and Japanese fought for control.<sup>36</sup> I concur; however, this supposedly "undiscovered country" provided a space where *naichi* readers could satisfy their appetite for discovery and excitement. This, in turn, created a strong emotional (and, arguably, national) connection to the distant landscape. Foster has remarked on the productive, cooperative relationship between the railroad and photography in fostering nation building. He states that, in addition to its application in topographical surveys, which allowed for the construction of new rail lines, photography was "an ideal means for engaging the growing middle class's curiosity about, and desire to travel to, places where they were not."<sup>37</sup> Through *Manshū Graph*, Mantetsu sold the Manchuria tour, cultivating the *naichi* bourgeois desire to see the wild Manchurian frontier. Moreover, it inserted itself as the ideal conduit through which one could experience what might best be described as the "continental sublime." This culminated in the recurring *Manshū Graph* travel series "From the Train Window through Manchuria" wherein the Japanese reader-

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<sup>36</sup> Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 49.

<sup>37</sup> Foster, 141.

traveler experienced the exhilarating and rugged Manchurian landscape through the virtual space of the first-class train car in Mantetsu's magazine.<sup>38</sup>

A photograph from June 1939 (Figure 2.5) exemplifies the mediated relationship between Mantetsu, the frontier, and the reader. The photographer shoots the image from inside the train. The train curves around the edge of the composition, arcing around the grassy plain. In this photograph, the train obfuscates much of the landscape while the text partially obscures the distant horizon. This image illustrates how both the train and the photo-illustrated magazine mediated seeing and knowing the Manchurian frontier. Each acts as a colonial apparatus for the production of knowledge about Japan's imperial project on the continent. Interestingly, in the course of his study on the photographic imaging of South African landscapes from 1910 to 1930, Foster analyzes an image (Figure 2.6) that is remarkably similar to that featured in *Manshū Graph* in 1939. Captioned "Through the 'Little Karoo' known as Aagenaam Valley are the Teniquoata Mountains of Zwartkops range," it was taken by an unknown photographer in 1920. The photograph was also part of a "view from the carriage window" genre that appeared in *South African Railways and Harbours Magazine*, the monthly publicity magazine published by the SAR&H publicity department.<sup>39</sup> Foster states that this kind of image framed the landscape in three different ways: by the photograph's border, the train window, and the train itself. The train, then, is not only an important device in the

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<sup>38</sup> This series started in June 1939.

<sup>39</sup> Foster, 146-156.

mediation of the relationship between the landscape and the reader but also a way to measure the landscape that is otherwise empty.<sup>40</sup> What is equally significant is that this “train window” genre was not one Mantetsu alone employed; rather, it was an established, evocative means for railway companies to insert themselves into the media space between the expansive frontier landscape and the reader.

Interestingly, one of the most emotionally powerful ways Mantetsu utilized the desires of the urban bourgeois subject to enrich perception of its corporate brand was through nostalgia for the agrarian village. Images of bucolic farms and fertile landscapes recurred in *Manshū Graph*. In fact, the first layout of the first issue of the magazine is not dedicated to the Manchuria tour or new urban spaces that Mantetsu had helped to develop; rather, it depicts quiet scenes of farming life on the continent. Facing a page reading “Let’s take a new look at the new Manchuria!” (Atarashiki Manshū o, atarashiku miyo!) is a photograph of an expansive field (Figure 2.7). White walled wooden buildings dot the middle and background, reaching toward a distant horizon. Two farmers and two large (albeit slightly wilted) sunflowers occupy the foreground. The photograph is stable and static, grounded by the strong symmetry of the sunflowers. The line of the horizon offsets their verticality. Even the bodies of the farmers convey stability, their hands placed squarely on their hips and their feet rooted firmly in the ground. The nine photographs that comprise the layout on the following two pages are equally quiet and

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 155.

conservative (Figure 2.8). Narrating the caption, “Manchuria, an Agricultural Country” (nōgyōkoku Manshū), four images focus on the agricultural bounty cultivated in the region. Expanses of hay and *kaoliang* (Chinese sorghum) dominate the composition, demonstrating the wealth of the harvest yielded by the fertile land. Three photographs running along the bottom of the layout depict quiet scenes of a rustic village and an old, stone grain grinder.

Two other photographs show farmers working in the field. One smiling farmer holds two small scythes as he returns from the harvest. His cheeks are round and robust; interestingly, his clothes are remarkably tidy. The image of the smiling farmer was a recurrent theme in *Manshū Graph* and in other international media during the 1930s. For example, it was deployed under the Italian Fascists to promote Italian immigration to Libya; the image of the smiling farmer was also recurrent in Soviet photography, used as a means to promote Soviet collective farms championed by Stalin and women’s labor in the field.<sup>41</sup> This figure symbolized abundance, fertility, and health of both the happy individual in the photograph and, when read as a signifier of traditional “folk,” the nation as a whole. The relationship between the figure of a strong, youthful, smiling farmer and

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<sup>41</sup> An example of the Italian use of the image of the smiling farmer can be seen in *I ventimila: documentario fotografico della prima migrazione in massa di coloni in Libia per il piano di colonizzazione demografica intensiva anno XVII-1938*, (Tripoli: Istituto Poligrafico Editoriale Plinio Maggi, 1938), 48; A brief discussion of the “smiling farmer” motif as featured in the influential graphic *U.S.S.R. in Construction* (1930-1941) can be seen in Victor Margolin, “Stalin and Wheat: Collective Farms and Composite Portraits,” *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 3, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 14-16; the theme of the female smiling farm worker and the tractor and one of the idols of this kind of image, Pasha Angelina, is briefly addressed in Leah Bendavid-Val, “Photographing the 1930s: Differences in Focus,” Leah Bendavid-Val, ed., *Propaganda and Dreams: Photographing the 1930s in the USSR and the USA*, (Zurich; New York: Edition Stemmle, c1999), 40-41.

a nationalist narrative is clear in *Neues Volk*, a monthly magazine published between 1933 and 1943 by the Nazi Party's Racial Politics Department to promote Nazi theories of the ideal German race.<sup>42</sup> This disturbing racial meaning is not embedded in the body of the farmer in *Manshū Graph*. Here, the smiling farmer is part of the fertile and picturesque landscape. It is the photographic realization of a yearning for a kind of traditional, agricultural communalism thought to be vanishing with Japan's rapid modernization and industrialization.<sup>43</sup>

The emphasis on rural Manchuria at the beginning of *Manshū Graph* demonstrates one of the ways in which the region occupied the popular imagination in Japan. Its vast tracks of land were a panacea for the social and economic crises that had been plaguing the Japanese countryside for decades. It was a place of abundance and opportunity where the second and third sons or daughters of farming families might relocate and improve their lot. Many of these young men and women, faced with few options at home, had sought work in new industrial centers such as Tokyo, Osaka, and

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<sup>42</sup> The “smiling farmer” motif can be seen in an article titled “All the people help on the farm” (Das ganze Volk hilft dem Bauren). In this magazine, the robust figure of the young farmers act as icons of what the Nazi Party argued was the ideal race. These figures were contrasted with images of physically and mentally handicapped people in order to underscore the definitions of the “ideal” German race and, conversely, the “degenerate” race. See *Neues Volk*, (June 1939): 6-11.

<sup>43</sup> Carol Gluck addresses how this desire for the agrarian community, thought to be disappearing, operated during the late Meiji period. See Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*, (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), 178-204.

Nagoya in the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>44</sup> There, they could have come into contact with *Manshū Graph*.

Yet these images convey more of a romantic idealization of rural Manchuria than a practical imaging of what it might offer potential settlers. This suggests a different target demographic than the youth who had just arrived in urban centers seeking new working opportunities. Rather than provide specific information on ways in which readers might move to the region to cultivate the land, *Manshū Graph*'s photographs of the old stone walls and the sun-dappled crops were much more romantic and sentimental. The images were quaint. As such, it is more productive to consider *Manshū Graph*'s agricultural imagery as a means of expressing nostalgia for rural Japan. It was a sentimental visit to the *furusato*, the “old village,” symbolized by winding dirt paths and “a cluster of thatch-roof farmhouses.”<sup>45</sup>

These idealized photographs epitomize how Mantetsu often treated the theme of rural Manchuria throughout the eleven-year publishing run of the magazine. An exception to this can be seen at the end of 1936 when Mantetsu published an issue of *Manshū Graph* dedicated to Japanese settlers in northern Manchuria.<sup>46</sup> The photographs accompanying the story depict the countryside in a slightly more modern way, showing one farmer cultivating the land with a tractor. Yet the sentimental tropes established in

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<sup>44</sup> Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan*, (Princeton, NJ; Oxford, England: Princeton University Press, 2000), 11.

<sup>45</sup> Jennifer Robertson, “*Furusato* Japan: The Culture and Politics of Nostalgia,” *Politics, Culture, and Society* 1, no. 4 (Summer 1988): 494-496.

<sup>46</sup> *Manshū Graph* 4, no.12 (December 1936).

the first issue are present here as well, entangled in the rhetoric of the vast Manchurian frontier. A freshly harvested field extends to the horizon (Figure 2.9). Placed below this photograph is an image of a man moving a flock of sheep across a plain. The faded shapes of distant hills appear on the horizon. Each of these images expresses the virtually limitless space available on the continent as bold print claims the land is “a settler’s paradise” (*imin no rakudo*) and that “Manchuria beckons” (*Manshū wa maneku*). Also present in this issue are the familiar figure of the clean, robust, smiling farmer and highly aestheticized scenes of village life. In these images, light plays across barrels in a storeroom. Here, the fall harvest is put on artful display. While it is clear that the issue itself advertises Manchuria as a space for immigration, it is still inflected by nostalgic fantasy. By presenting the Manchurian frontier as quaint and beautiful, Mantetsu provided sites for the projection of sentimental, urban longing for a timeless and fertile agricultural community.

In the pages of *Manshū Graph*, Mantetsu was able to harness a complex web of urban bourgeois fantasies of its readers in Japan as a means to shape its corporate image. In Manchukuo, Mantetsu was a leader in modernization and progress and a conduit through which readers could enjoy Western leisure activities such as golf or a privileged seat on the “Asia Express” as it cut across the expansive Manchurian landscape. Mantetsu also facilitated a nostalgic, symbolic return to old farming villages. Each of these visual themes acted as a public relations vehicle for the company as it forged an evocative connection with readers in Japan. In other words, the pages of *Manshū Graph* acted as a

vehicle that transported the modern, middle-class (Japanese) subject into a tantalizing media utopia and, by extension, associated the Mantetsu brand with middle-class culture. Yet, Mantetsu was just one of the colonial apparatuses that shaped the image of the continent. Others targeted a far different demographic.

### **Patriotism and the Promise of the Frontier in *Hirake Manmō***

In April 1936, the Manchuria Immigration Council (hereafter, MIC), published the first issue of the monthly magazine *Hirake Manmō* (Opening Manchuria-Mongolia).<sup>47</sup> This publication mediated the space of Manchuria in a different manner than *Manshū Graph*. Rather than advertise the state of Manchukuo as a space of bourgeois fantasy accessible through Mantetsu (and its public relations magazine), *Hirake Manmō* presented a far more staid, didactic image of life in Manchuria. Focusing on hard-working (ostensibly) self-sufficient farming collectives, it pragmatically deployed a bureaucratic ideal of Japanese agricultural settlements on the continent. The MIC hoped that such an ideal would appeal to Japanese ready to leave the social and economic hardships in their own rural villages to start a new life on the continent.

According to Young, the MIC was, for the most part, a propaganda organization that targeted select villages and prefectures every year to promote immigration to

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<sup>47</sup> The MIC then changed the name of the magazine to *Shin Manshū* (New Manchuria) in April 1939; and, in January 1941, it changed the name once more to *Kaitaku* (Pioneering). The MIC published *Kaitaku* until January 1945. There was a brief break in *Kaitaku*'s publication from January through April 1944.

Manchuria.<sup>48</sup> The Colonial Ministry established the MIC in 1935. It was one of many governmental institutions that emerged in the 1930s, as a part of what Young calls the “migration machine” that formed to encourage Japanese resettlement.<sup>49</sup> The push to relocate Japanese farmers in Manchukuo was predicated on two primary factors: the need to solve pressing socio-economic problems in rural Japan and the army’s desire to buttress its position in the northern frontier. First, bureaucrats viewed emigration as a solution to the agricultural depression that had plagued rural Japan for years.<sup>50</sup> The rural economy had been volatile since the end of World War I as the unstable prices of staple crops such as rice and silk increasingly tightened agricultural profit margins.<sup>51</sup> Then, with the crash of the U.S. Stock Exchange in 1929, the market for silk in the United States collapsed, resulting in a precipitous drop in the price of silk cocoons.<sup>52</sup> Also, according to Anke Scherer, farming households saw their household debt dramatically increase because a bad grain harvest in 1931 negatively impacted the cost of staple foods.<sup>53</sup>

The government attempted to help struggling farm families by extending low-interest credit while also offering education on chemical fertilizers, produce

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<sup>48</sup> Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 359-360.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 352-398.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 354.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 324.

<sup>52</sup> This had a double effect on the rural economy. It meant the closure of silk factories that employed a number of female workers who came from rural families. Consequently, the daughters returned home, placing a greater economic burden on their families who also lost the extra income their daughters had previously sent home. Anke Scherer, “Japanese Emigration to Manchuria: Local Activists and the Making of the Village-Division Campaign,” (PhD dissertation, Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 2006), 51.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 51-52.

diversification, and mechanization.<sup>54</sup> Rural relief programs cost an exorbitant amount; the Ministry of Agriculture's budget doubled between 1930 and 1934 as it spearheaded programs targeting rural reform.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, as Scherer has demonstrated, this reform primarily assisted the middle and high-income segments of the village population, leaving the landless, rural poor vulnerable to continuing hardships.<sup>56</sup> As such, the Rural Economic Revitalization Campaign had to consider a different tack. Thinking that the problem lay in rural overpopulation and a shortage of land, those in charge of solving the rural dilemma decided to promote migration to Manchuria.<sup>57</sup> This eventually culminated in the “Millions to Manchuria” (*Manshū e hyaku-manko*) program, launched in 1936.<sup>58</sup>

The “Millions to Manchuria” program was based on a plan presented by the Kwantung Army at the Second Settlers’ Conference held in Xinjing in May 1936.<sup>59</sup> It boldly (if unrealistically) proposed sending one million farming households—for a total of approximately five million people—from Japan to Manchukuo over the course of twenty years, from 1937 to 1956.<sup>60</sup> This would result in the Japanese population eventually representing ten percent of the total population of the state. It was proposed

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>55</sup> Kerry Douglas Smith, *A Time of Crisis: Japan, the Great Depression, and Rural Revitalization*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2001), 12.

<sup>56</sup> Scherer, 59.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> I use Louise Young’s translation here. As Young points out, the literal translation for “*Manshū e hyaku-manko*” is “a million households to Manchuria” but bases her interpretation on the fact that Japanese ministries expected each household would average five members. Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 321.

<sup>59</sup> Scherer, 35.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

that each household would receive ten *chō* of farmland, an ambitious number considering there was only 30 million *chō* of total arable farmland in Manchukuo.<sup>61</sup> Should the plan have been fully realized, this land-grab would have seen ten percent of the population in Manchukuo holding thirty percent of the land. This demonstrates how agrarianist proponents of Japanese migration envisioned the continent as a fertile *lebensraum*, a “living space,” that would ameliorate the problems facing farming families in Japan, particularly those holding little or no land.<sup>62</sup> Yet, the planners of this “empire of space” (to borrow from Young), imagined the fecund landscape of Manchuria to be empty.<sup>63</sup> In the event that existing native settlements interfered with plans for Japanese settlements, they would simply be “relocated.”<sup>64</sup> It also would have been a powerful and violent colonial act, resulting in the *en masse* displacement of tens of thousands of Chinese and Manchurians (and even Koreans) already working the land. As Young has so eloquently stated, settlement planners problematically suggested that “people, like forests, could be cleared at will.”<sup>65</sup>

This latter point demonstrates some of the reasons why the Kwantung Army took a proactive interest in Japanese immigration to Manchuria: military domination and defense of the expanding empire. On one hand, emigration advocates recognized the

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<sup>61</sup> Scherer, 35. 1 *chō* equals approximately 2.5 acres of land. I base this calculation on Young’s ratio of 1.6 *chō* to 4 acres. Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 335.

<sup>62</sup> Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 334.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> The “Basic Outline of Manchurian Settlement Policy” of 1939 detailed the provisions for moving native settlements to make way for Japanese development. See Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 348.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

strain such mass agricultural emigration would have on Sino-Japanese relations; therefore, the proposal that went forth in May 1936 stipulated that Japanese should settle in the sparsely populated northern frontier of Manchukuo.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, the Japanese displacement of indigenous bodies would also mean clearing the territory of potential anti-Japanese forces. In other words, the army envisioned the settlers taking part in fighting “Chinese resistance forces.”<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, the resettlement of Japan’s rural poor in northern Manchukuo also provided a militarily strategic buffer zone between the Soviet border and Japanese economic interests further south. The army thought that the farmers would act as a crucial line of defense, protecting Manchukuo—Japan’s economic “lifeline”—against a Soviet incursion.<sup>68</sup>

The MIC developed and published *Hirake Manmō* in 1936 in response to the multifarious roles that the government and army thought Japanese settlers would play on the continent. It was a visual and textual vehicle that had to both persuade Japanese to move to Manchuria and inform them of the circumstances they would face once there. While *Manshū Graph* utilized affective, romanticized images to spark the curiosity of its urban readers, *Hirake Manmō* took a far more practical approach. The MIC magazine primarily used text to communicate. The goal of articles such as “Immigrants to

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<sup>66</sup> Scherer, 35.

<sup>67</sup> Sandra Wilson, “The ‘New Paradise’: Japanese Emigration to Manchuria in the 1930s and 1940s,” *The International History Review* 17, no. 2 (May 1995): 250.

<sup>68</sup> Though Mantetsu and the Kwantung Army often disagreed on methods for securing Japanese interests on the continent, both recognized the benefits of emigration. According to Wilson, Mantetsu’s first president, Gotō Shinpei, recommended the migration of 500,000 Japanese farmers in order to help secure Japanese interests, using the slogan “military preparedness in civilian garb” (*bunsōteki bubi*). See Wilson, 252.

Manchuria and the reorganization of the rural economy” (seen in the third issue) was to edify the reader.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, it was important for both the text and image to be as easily legible as possible. The use of *furigana* (phonetic glosses) next to the more complex *kanji* (Chinese characters) contributed to the readability of the text. The images illustrated key points and themes in the article or helped to dramatize the text. Certainly, the photograph of “The newly established Senburi Station,” (Figure 2.10) accompanying the aforementioned article in the third issue of *Hirake Manmō* helped to communicate that the new rural economy on the continent was predicated on space. This image was not only practical; like the photographs featured in *Manshū Graph*, it carried important emotional meaning as well. Though it is less romantic than the sunflowers and tilled field featured in the inaugural issue of *Manshū Graph*, “Senburi Station” captivates the reader as a quintessential frontier image. The grassy, expansive landscape seems to stretch on indefinitely, dwarfing the large, multi-story station in the distance. The empty plain invites exploration and excites the imagination.

The dual nature of the photographs featured in *Hirake Manmō*—both pragmatic documents that narrate the article and bearers of emotional meaning—contributed to the images’ efficacy in both educating and persuading would-be settlers. Recruiters spoke of farmers’ ability to pay off mounting debt, secure land, and/or contribute as patriotic

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<sup>69</sup> “Nōson keizai kōsei to Manshū imin,” *Hirake Manmō* 1, no. 3 (October 1936): 4-5, 15.

citizens to Japan's expanding empire.<sup>70</sup> The magazine was able to complement this utilitarian approach with images that could elicit a more emotional attachment to the continental project. For example, the bucolic image of sheep grazing on a vast grassy plain often appeared in the magazine and constituted several covers, including one from October 1936 (Figure 2.11) and another from August 1938 (Figure 2.12). Though the image of grazing sheep on a grassy field are often seen in agricultural images (particularly in the West), such images posited an undeniably foreign space for Japanese occupation. Again, the expansive enormity of the landscape invites discovery and stimulates the imagination. In addition to this seemingly endless, unpopulated space was the relatively strange sight of sheep. Sheep, like camels, were a common trope associated with Manchuria. In the context of tourist literature, each might function as an exoticism to spark the curiosity of the reader. Sheep and camels likely evoked a similarly unfamiliar feeling in Japanese *naichi* readers of *Hirake Manmō*. Yet, as sheep were also animals Japanese settlers were expected to raise, they took on another layer of meaning. As Young has pointed out, many settlers had never before seen a sheep and certainly had no experience with raising them.<sup>71</sup> Consequently, their strangeness may have also been intimidating. Therefore, it is important to consider how such an image both presented a

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<sup>70</sup> This created tension between the needs of settlers as individuals and the demands of empire. Though struggling farmers hoped the continent would provide them with a better life, including land and a life liberated from the crushing debt they had accumulated, planners tried to discourage settlers from moving to the continent for a profit or to satisfy dreams of "upward mobility." Rather, proponents argued it was a "patriotic exercise." See Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 320, 343.

<sup>71</sup> Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 344.

captivating, exotic frontier and, through the repetition of the image of sheep, helped to naturalize an otherwise foreign animal for Japanese readers.

In addition to these evocative images, *Hirake Manmō* drew on a potent symbol of agricultural modernity in order to sell resettlement: the tractor. From the first issue, images of farmers cultivating great tracts of land using a tractor became a regular feature. Whereas the train collapsed the expansive frontier into a knowable space in *Manshū Graph*, the tractor made it possible to conquer the expansive plains featured in *Hirake Manmō*. Each was an iconic modern apparatus that facilitated Japan's "empire of space" in Manchuria. Considering that emigration planners saw agricultural technology as the means by which Japanese settlers would be able to compete with Chinese farmers, it is not surprising that it appeared regularly in *Hirake Manmō* and other emigration promotional media. It became a symbol for agricultural resettlement in Manchukuo, the tool that allowed for the economy of scale necessary for the realization of self-sufficiency.<sup>72</sup> What is remarkable is that, despite numerous images of modern, mechanized agricultural equipment such as tractors and harvesters in pamphlets and magazines, this kind of agricultural technology was *not* part of the standard issue for new immigrants.<sup>73</sup> Rather, the "Proposed Standards for the Management of Collective Farm Immigrants in North Manchuria" published in 1935 by the Colonial Ministry promised immigrants the following: animals, including a cow, a horse, a pig, and ten sheep; a plow,

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 319, 346.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 345.

various farming tools, three storage sheds and a wagon; and shared access to the larger community's well, barns, flour mill, rice huller, oil press, and a truck.<sup>74</sup> Nowhere in the emigration plans did a tractor appear. It was a shiny, elusive beacon of a kind of agricultural modernity on the continent that the settlers would not actually experience.

The image of industrious farmers using the latest in modern agricultural equipment to cultivate the otherwise “wild,” expansive landscape was a vital trope also used in Italian fascist images promoting settlement in its colonial holding in Africa. The visual language used to frame the tractor’s meaning was remarkably similar, as well. This is evident, for example, in a graphic from the back cover of the April 1938 issue of *Hirake Manmō* (Figure 2.13) and a cover of a pamphlet from the triennial exhibition of Italian lands held overseas (Mostra Triennale delle Terre Italiane d’Oltremare) held in Naples in 1940 (Figure 2.14). The text on the Italian pamphlet reads “Field of production” (Settore della Produzione), indicating the essential role the machine plays in making its African colonial holdings prosper. A muscular figure drives the tractor across the colorful landscape, rendered exotic by the palm tree on the left. The Japanese graphic depicts a stylized figure with an upraised arm riding a tractor across a rugged landscape. The black characters at the top of the page extol the reader, “Go quickly, young people, to the fertile plains of North Manchuria” (Ōke wakōdo hokuman yokuya).

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 343.

The compositions on the cover and the pamphlet bear many similarities. Both emphasize the power of the modern equipment to dominate the foreign landscape by using strong lines, dramatic angularity, and geometric reduction of the forms. The tractors appear to do more than simply cultivate the soil. As “crawler tractors,” they used tracks rather than wheels; this allowed them to traverse more difficult terrain than equipment on wheels. In these images, the tractors’ heavy, powerful forms crush the soil beneath their tracks, demonstrating how modern technology facilitates a forceful mastery of the land. Each tractor dominates its respective frame as it cuts a strong, upward diagonal to the edge of the image.

The tracks of the tractors also bring to mind military equipment, specifically tank treads. This speaks to how each image expresses the blurring of agricultural and military ideals in the colonial holdings of Japan and Italy. Though the short-sleeved shirt that the figure of the farmer wears in the Italian pamphlet seems consistent with what one would wear to cultivate the land in a warm-weather environment, his pith helmet (not unlike those worn by the Italian fascist army in Africa) lends him a commanding military presence. According to Charles Burdett, the association with the ancient Roman empire often accompanied contemporary travel accounts to East Africa, defining Italians as “dominatori.”<sup>75</sup> Therefore, one may read this as a visual connection between past and

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<sup>75</sup> Burdett, “Italian Fascism and Utopia,” 215.

present, between Mussolini's war in Ethiopia and the defeat of Carthage.<sup>76</sup> This image effectively expresses the inextricable link between Italian cultivation and militarism in Africa.

The figure of the Japanese farmer in the 1938 cover image is also ambiguously militaristic. He appears to wear a cap, the shape of which is similar to those worn by the Japanese army. More telling, however, are the crisscrossed black shapes positioned behind the tractor. Though one might argue that, because of the black line that connects them to the back of the tractor, they simply constitute a cultipacker, a piece of equipment that attached to a tractor and broke up the soil to form a seedbed. However, the jagged edges of the forms are also reminiscent of a *cheval de frise*, an old defensive obstacle used through the end of World War II. Read in this way, the farmer then becomes a soldier. He raises his arm and turns his head slightly to call his men to advance to the battlefield. In short, the ambiguity of this shape transforms the scene from one of modern agricultural development into that of military posturing.

Interestingly, the large characters in white at the bottom of the page read “Taking applications for the Manchuria-Mongolia Pioneer Youth Brigade” (Manmō kaitaku seishōnen giyūgun boshū), a reference to an organization that had been inaugurated in 1938, the same year as the cover’s publication. The Youth Brigade was a continental youth corps that recruited young men ages fourteen to twenty-one to spend three years in

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<sup>76</sup> Charles Burdett, “Journeys to Italian East Africa 1936-1941: Narratives of Settlement,” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 5, no. 2 (2000): 215.

Manchukuo training camps and, should they elect to stay on in the farming settlements with the older colonists, exempt them from the draft.<sup>77</sup> Ostensibly, signing up for the Youth Brigade would mean a commitment to agricultural development rather than war. However, this image suggests that they would be cast in the role of a hybrid soldier-farmer once on the continent.

This hybrid image exemplifies what Young has identified as the “soldier of the hoe.”<sup>78</sup> This term appeared in speeches made by colonial ministers who exhorted Japanese to immigrate to Manchuria as a means of developing the “Yamato race” and a “new order in Asia.”<sup>79</sup> Coupling the image of the soldier with that of the farmer was a means to emphasize the preferred ideological stake of immigration, framing it as a patriotic act rather than one of economic opportunity. It was a difficult shift to negotiate, as the major impetus for the agrarian immigration movement had been economic and social hardship. On one hand, recruiters had to address these concerns, assuring would-be immigrants that relocation to Manchuria would allow them to escape a vicious cycle of debt or the stifling socio-economic hierarchies in the villages. For poor, landless farmers, the material incentive was there. The army and government ministries that crafted the resettlement plan recognized the need to shape the ideological stakes of relocation as well. To this end, it was necessary to locate the interests of the Japanese empire above the

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<sup>77</sup> Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 357.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 364.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

interests of the individual, constructing a socio-spatial identity for those who would move to the frontier. One might leave Japan as an individual father, son or brother in order to find new opportunities on the continent and/or escape the draft. However, if he did not become a soldier, he would be subsumed instead by the collective national body as an immigrant soldier-farmer.

Given the ideological power of the image, the soldier-farmer was a common sight in *Hirake Manmō* and other media promoting emigration (Figure 2.15). In images, he became a regimented body, marching past training barracks or along the horizon, his uniform stripping away his individual identity. He fit into the detailed colonial schema crafted by the Colonial Ministry, eating a proscribed amount of food and providing a proscribed amount of labor; he was a perfect, standardized colonist.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, he was a cog in an important collective machine, the goal of which was to establish a self-sufficient system. If successful, it would mean limited economic contact between the settlement community and the destructive fluctuations of the market. It would also limit physical contact with Chinese, Manchurian, and Korean settlements in the area.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, the collective was of utmost importance to the realization of the settlement's

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<sup>80</sup> Young discusses the social engineering the ministry undertook in creating the “Proposed Standards” for new immigrants. *Ibid.*, 343-344.

<sup>81</sup> Emigration planners stressed limited contact with Chinese, Manchurian, and Korean settlements because they were competitors in the agricultural market. Also, despite Japanese claims that Manchukuo was a multiethnic nation, Japanese planners tried to contain Japanese interests and people from indigenous people. I discuss the racial and ideological ramifications of this in the following section.

goals, even if they were untenable in practical application.<sup>82</sup> As the July 1938 and February 1939 issues demonstrate, for the most part, the images of the soldier-farmer focus on construction and vigilant defense. This speaks to the roles he was meant to play. As a farmer, he was there to build and cultivate with his community, transforming the supposedly empty landscape into a fertile plain. Images also show him protecting this noble endeavor from unseen forces that would seek to undermine the Japanese position in the northern frontier. In this regard he acts as the soldier. It is notable that, in this capacity, he is often shown alone, in silhouette, watching the horizon vigilantly for would-be threats, be they Chinese dissidents or Soviet forces. In such images, he is able to work in physical isolation because he acts in defense of his settlement, which is a microcosm of the Japanese empire. He is alone but he is not an individual. He represents the national, patriotic body.

The figure of the soldier-farmer in *Hirake Manmō* is far removed from the modern, urban individual that occupies the graphic spaces of *Manshū Graph*. These differences in representation articulate the divergent demographics that consumed each publication. Moreover, they point to the multivalent goals of various corporate, government, and military offices promoting the Japanese occupation of Manchukuo.

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<sup>82</sup> The goals of self-sufficiency were completely unrealistic. Settlement planners did not account for the difficulty in learning to farm such large tracts of land for Japanese settlers used to acreages, on average, a tenth in size. Also, the “Proposed Standards for the Management of Collective Farm Immigrants in North Manchuria” laid out numerous details regarding what would be sufficient materials for both an individual family and the extended settlement community; however, it neglected to include any margin of error. As such, though the plan seemed well thought out on paper, it proved unrealizable in practice. See Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 342-346.

However, I next consider one of the foundational conceptual platforms that each of these groups drew on to legitimize the Japanese occupation of the region: the myth of Manchuria as an ideal, multiethnic state.

### **Gozoku Kyōwa: The Myth of Racial Harmony**

One of the critical frameworks used to rationalize the Japanese occupation of Manchuria was the concept of “*gozoku kyōwa*” or “the harmony of the five races.”<sup>83</sup> The “harmony of the five races” was introduced in 1932 as part of the slogan “*gozoku kyōwa ōdō rakudo*” or “Paradise Ruled by Virtue, where Five Races Harmonize” in the propaganda campaign that promoted the founding of Manchukuo. According to this idealistic slogan, Manchuria was “paradise” (*rakudo*) informed by the tenets of Confucian virtue (*ōdō*), also translated as “the kingly way.”<sup>84</sup> Here, the five races—identified as Manchurians,

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<sup>83</sup> Young translates “*gozoku kyōwa*” as “Harmony of the Five Races.” Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 276. Other scholars such as Angela Yiu translate the slogan as “harmony of the five ethnic groups.” Angela Yiu, “From Utopia to Empire: Atarashikimura and A Personal View of the Greater East Asia War,” *Utopian Studies* 19, no. 2 (2008): 213-232. One translation is not necessarily more accurate than the other. As Mariko Asano Tamanoi has observed, scholars of nationalism and imperialism face a difficult task in translating *minzoku*. It usually translates as “ethnicity” whereas *jinshū* and *shuzoku* translate as “race.” However, Tamanoi rightly points out the absence of a clear distinction between the culturally defined ethnicity and biologically determined “race.” Therefore, it is common to see *mizoku* translated as “people,” “ethnicity,” “race,” or even “nation.” In this section, I too use “race” and “ethnicity” interchangeably as the difference between the two in the context of the Japanese empire are decidedly blurry. See Mariko Asano Tamanoi, *Memory Maps: The State and Manchuria in Postwar Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, c2009), 166.

<sup>84</sup> According to Louise Young, right-wing Kyoto University Professor Yano Jin’ichi was central to adaptation of the concept of *ōdō* to the philosophical foundation of the new state of Manchukuo. See Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 274-75.

Mongolians, Japanese, Han Chinese, and Koreans—were supposedly able to live in harmony in an ideal multiethnic state.

This theme became a popular subject in the many propaganda posters created after the founding of Manchukuo, such as one the Manchukuo Ministry of Police (Chianbukeimushi) sponsored in 1933 (Figure 2.16). Advertising “The Mutual Prosperity of the Five Races” (*gozoku kyōei*), it shows five women, dressed in different ethnic costumes, walking toward a raised, open-air pavilion. Each woman bears a Chinese character designating her race: Chinese, Manchurian, Japanese, Korean, and Mongolian, from left to right respectively. They hold aloft the flags of Manchukuo and Japan. The flag of Manchukuo signifies the nation-state in which their ethnic harmony came to be realized; the Japanese flag represents the nation that facilitated Manchukuo’s formation. The pavilion, bearing a sign that reads “*ōdō rakudo*” or “Paradise of the Kingly Way,” stands on a foundation on which is inscribed “The Imperial Nation of Manchuria” (*Manshū teikoku*). Golden rays extend from a lantern at the top of the pavilion, radiating out across a red sky. The pavilion symbolically commemorates the founding of the new, multiethnic state and the enlightened virtue that will guide its citizens.

*Gozoku kyōwa* emerged from the more general and ambiguously defined concept “*minzoku kyōwa*” or “racial harmony.” Promoted by the Manchurian Youth League (Manshū seinen renmei) in the late 1920s, the idea of “racial harmony” was a founding

principle for the Japanese occupation of Manchuria.<sup>85</sup> The earlier concept of *minzoku kyōwa* was more malleable than *gozoku kyōwa* as it encompassed numerous races and ethnic groups not represented in the “five race” paradigm. Nonetheless, *minzoku kyōwa* borrowed from the discourse of Chinese nationalism, specifically Sun Yat-sen’s call in 1912 for a “civic nationalism” which was predicated on the unification of China’s five major ethnic groups: the Han Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Muslims.<sup>86</sup> In fact, the use of tropes of Chinese nationalism to build symbols for the new nation of Manchukuo is also evident in the flag of the fledgling nation, which used bands of red, blue, white and black on a field of yellow. A flag representing the unification of the five races, similarly using distinctive bands of red, blue, yellow, white and black, served as the national flag in China during the early years of the republic from 1912 to 1928.

Mantetsu officials acted as directors for the Manchurian Youth League and promoted *minzoku kyōwa* to consolidate control of the region. Initially, the League directed this message to the government in Tokyo to solicit greater support from the metropole for expanding Japanese interests on the continent. The League maintained that Japanese colonial offices would, in turn, foster unity and prosperity for all racial groups in Manchuria.<sup>87</sup> In 1931, the League began cooperating with the Kwantung Army to

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<sup>85</sup> The Manchurian Youth League formed in 1928 and used *minzoku kyōwa* to solicit support for Japanese living in Manchuria. Kevin McDowell, “Colonizing Manchuria: Racial Harmony and Agricultural Emigration in the Japanese Empire,” (masters thesis, University of British Columbia, 2002), 11.

<sup>86</sup> Mariko Asano Tamanoi, “Introduction,” *Crossed Histories: Manchuria in the Age of Empire*, Mariko Asano Tamanoi, ed., (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005), 11.

<sup>87</sup> McDowell, 11-12.

combat the economic and political control Chinese warlords continued to exercise, jeopardizing the authority and power of Japanese colonial institutions in the region.<sup>88</sup>

Though members of the Manchurian Youth League were not all sympathetic to ultranationalists, the concept of “racial harmony” that they championed was easily adapted by the militarist cause. Recognizing the potential political and social benefits of *minzoku kyōwa* in Manchuria, the Kwantung Army created new propaganda campaigns to promote the concept in both the metropole and on the mainland. According to Tomoko Hamada, Ishiwara Kanji (1889-1949), a high-ranking officer in the Kwantung Army and one of the primary architects of the Manchurian Incident, invented the slogan, “*gozoku kyōwa ōdō rakudo*.<sup>89</sup> This seems plausible as Ishiwara played a key role in strategizing the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. Though he was an ardent Japanese nationalist and desired Japanese global domination, he also recognized the necessity for Chinese and Manchurian cooperation in what he thought would be the inevitable confrontation between East and West.<sup>90</sup> He reconciled these seemingly incongruous positions by adapting (at least formally) the philosophy of Pan-Asianism and the premise of equality among Asian nations.<sup>91</sup> Also, though the ideological formation of *gozoku kyōwa* and its

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid. 14.

<sup>89</sup> Hamada transliterates “石原 莞爾” as “Ishihara Kanji.” This is an alternative reading of the Chinese characters of his name that are more commonly read as “Ishiwara Kanji.” Tomoko Hamada, “Constructing a National Memory: A Comparative Analysis of Middle-School History Textbooks from Japan and the PRC,” *American Asian Review* XXI, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 124.

<sup>90</sup> Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*, (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), 62.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

symbolic national deployment in the flag of Manchukuo borrowed heavily from the visual and political rhetoric of Chinese nationalism, it was also a strategy to sever ties with China by redefining the “five races” and unifying them through the new state. Eventually, through the influence of the military, this construction of “racial harmony” culminated in the conceptual formation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (Dai tōa kyōeiken) in 1940.<sup>92</sup>

The concept of “The Harmony of the Five Races” speaks to the kind of Pan-Asian idealism about which Okakura Tenshin (1862-1913) wrote in *Ideals of the East with Special Reference to the Art of Japan* in 1903, a book that found new ultranationalist cultural currency in Japan when it was reissued in the 1930s.<sup>93</sup> The image of five races living peacefully in Manchuria instantiates Okakura’s famous declaration that “Asia is one.” Through this statement, Okakura claimed that a shared cultural and spiritual heritage connected Asia and its peoples. He wrote that this “spiritualism” differentiated the East from the West, which was guided by materialism and militarism. Key to the message of *Ideals of the East* was an “us/them” paradigm, a response to the continually encroaching pressures of Western imperialism in Asia.<sup>94</sup> Within this paradigm, Okakura

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<sup>92</sup> Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe began planning the Sphere – consisting of Japan, China, Manchukuo, and parts of Southeast Asia – in 1940.

<sup>93</sup> Okakura Tenshin is also known as Okakura Kakuzō.

<sup>94</sup> F.G. Notehelfer, “On Idealism and Realism in the Thought of Okakura Tenshin,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 16, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 330. In this article, Notehelfer details how Okakura’s Pan-Asian philosophy was influenced by formative international events such as the Tripartite Intervention of France, Russia and Germany in 1895 that stripped Japan of continental concessions won in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-95).

claimed Japan's central role was as the "museum of the Asiatic civilization" and a repository for cultures such as those in China or India that had been compromised by Western invasion.<sup>95</sup>

The first years of the twentieth century were largely defined by the imperial posturing of nations seeking recognition of their military and political authority on the world stage. For example, the United States was in the midst of the Philippine-American War (1899-1902) and British forces were occupied in South Africa by the Second Boer War (1899-1902). Despite the militarism and imperial aggression that helped to inspire the writing of *Ideals of the East*, Okakura described peace and sacrifice as essential to the unification of Asia. He wrote:

[T]he glory of Asia [...] lies in that vibration of peace that beats in every heart; that harmony that brings together emperor and peasant; that sublime intuition of oneness which commands all sympathy, all courtesy, to be its fruits, Making Takaura, Emperor of Japan, remove his sleeping-robes on a winter night, because the frost lay cold on the hearths of his poor; or Taiso, of Tang, forego food, because his people were feeling the pinch of famine.<sup>96</sup>

As F.G. Notehelfer argues, Okakura was not necessarily a pacifist; rather, he was well aware of how military traditions in Japan had shaped its history. Nonetheless, Okakura made the utopian claim that shared Asian cultural ideals were the product of a gentle "agrarian communalism" and, therefore, were not "militarily aggressive" or

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<sup>95</sup> Okakura, *Ideals of the East*, 7.

<sup>96</sup> As quoted in Notehelfer, 338. See also Okakura Tenshin, *Ideals of the East*, 238.

“economically exploitative.”<sup>97</sup> The passion with which Okakura argued this suggests that he strongly believed in these fundamental cultural differences; these statements were not mere ideological posturing.

In the course of just a few decades, the peaceful, spiritual, anti-imperialist vision of Asian unification presented by Okakura in 1903 had been transformed into the tenets of the imperialist Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Perhaps in a nod to the cultural currency that Okakura still exerted in the 1930s and early 1940s, layouts promoting Pan-Asianism continued to echo his original rhetoric. This is evident in the Manchukuo issue of *FRONT* (1942-45) magazine in 1943 (Figure 2.17). On the second page of the issue, a bold headline reads, “Asia was one—in her destiny.” As the article below communicates, “destiny” here refers to the shared experience of Western imperial subjugation and the subsequent fight for “emancipation.”<sup>98</sup> Eleven faces representing various East and South Asian ethnic groups flank the text on the right, acting as visual examples of those races that have suffered under Euro-American oppression. Their expressions underscore the seriousness of their respective experiences. Though one woman smiles as she engages the gaze of the reader, the remaining figures convey a range of sober emotions, from worry

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 338-339; see also Prasenjit Duara, “The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism,” *Journal of World History* 12, no.1 (Spring 2001), 110.

<sup>98</sup> *FRONT: Manchoukuo, an Epic*, Vol. 5-6, unpaginated. Of course, the reference to “emancipation” here is extremely problematic as the Japanese were also responsible for inflicting war atrocities on many of those who were supposedly liberated from Western oppression. Moreover, sovereignty of nations such as Burma that the Japanese army helped to secure was merely a façade. Even today, this issue of whether the Japanese army acted as an agent of “emancipation” or violent domination in Asia continues to fuel debates regarding how Japanese history textbooks refer to this historical period.

and resignation to hopeful defiance. Though this strikes a fairly somber tone for the issue, it serves to enhance the idealistic optimism the state of Manchukuo afforded. This becomes evident a few pages later in another layout which also features nineteen faces of various racial and ethnic groups, including four who appear to represent the White Russian population (Figure 2.18). In contrast to the earlier layout, each person smiles broadly as the text proclaims, “Once again with Japan, Manchoukuo has built a state of racial harmony, and established a land of security and happiness of the people.” This layout, refers to the more flexible term of “racial harmony” rather than the “harmony of the five races,” providing an idealistic multiethnic space that may include White Russians and Jewish refugees in the nation-state.

Here, *FRONT* presents the broader, utopian theme of “racial harmony” but its meaning is tempered by repeated references to Pan-Asianism, thereby positing the nation-state as an Asian domain. A Pan-Asianist reference occurs at the end of this Manchukuo issue as well (Figure 2.19). In large red capital letters, the final page reads, “Asia must be one—in her aim, in her action and in her future. When Asia becomes one in truth, a new order will be established throughout the world.”<sup>99</sup> This issue of *FRONT* clearly draws on Okakura’s famous statement made forty years earlier. However, there is a notable contextual difference between this utterance and Okakura’s. Perhaps pointing to the adaptation of the concept of “racial harmony” by the Kwantung Army, the facing

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<sup>99</sup> *Front: Manchoukuo, an Epic* 5-6 (1943): unpaginated.

page features a soldier, holding a rifle and vigilantly looking toward the icy horizon. It is unclear which border the soldier is protecting; although, it is quite possibly the northern borders of Manchukuo threatened by Soviet invasion.<sup>100</sup> What is clear, however, is that this new world order—the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere—and the unity of Asia in the early 1940s is predicated on a strong (Japanese) military presence.

The entanglement of militarism with the ideals of racial harmony in *FRONT* is not surprising. Though it was not an official military agency, the publishing company Tōhōsha created *FRONT* in cooperation with the Japanese army's General Staff office.<sup>101</sup> Published in fifteen languages, it was a vehicle for disseminating pro-Japanese propaganda to Euro-American and native readers throughout the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.<sup>102</sup> As such, it was unapologetic in its promotion of the army on the continent. For Asian readers, the Japanese army officer looking off to the distant horizon as he vigilantly guards his post was indicative of the tropes of defense and liberation that

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<sup>100</sup> Protecting Manchukuo from Soviet military advancement would also problematize the inclusion of White Russians in the “racial harmony” layout in the middle of the issue. Russians were an economic-military threat to the Japanese, having played an important role in developing the northern city of Harbin, having run the Northern Railway until 1937, and had been instrumental in linking Soviet military interests in the region. However, the Russian population in the north was sizable enough that it could not be overlooked. Though Russians played a part in the general “racial harmony” matrix, they were not included in the more exclusive paradigm of *gozoku kyōwa*. As I will soon discuss, they are treated as outsiders. Therefore, the inclusion of White Russians in this layout can be understood as giving a nod to the demographic while making it clear that they are subject to the same disciplinary gaze of the Japanese Army as the Soviet soldiers patrolling the northern Manchuria-Soviet border.

<sup>101</sup> Shirayama Mari, “Major Photography Magazines,” Stan Anderson trans., *The History of Japanese Photography*, Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryūichi, Takeba Jō, eds., (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 382; Inoue Yūko, *Senji gurafu zasshi no sendensen: jūgonen sensōka no nihon imēji*, (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2009), 223-224.

<sup>102</sup> These languages included Chinese, Mongolian, Korean, Thai, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Burmese, German, English, French, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, and Russian. Shirayama, 382; Inoue, 224.

army propaganda had continually disseminated since the Manchurian Incident in 1931.

Magazines such as *FRONT* communicated how the Japanese army must defend the (purported) utopian realization of an ethnic utopia in Manchukuo even as it “liberated” neighboring Asian countries from the yoke of Western imperialism.

By using a strong Pan-Asian rhetoric to present the Japanese project in Manchukuo, this issue of *FRONT* suggests that this key region of Asia was “for Asians,” demarcating a separation between Eastern and Western interests. In creating this binary, it operated much in the same way as Okakura’s *Ideals of the East*. As an extension of the formation of the state of Manchukuo, it expressed a Japanese response (albeit military rather than cultural) to Western interests in this highly prized region. It made a claim for those races that belonged in Manchukuo and identified those that did not. Concurrently, it acted as a rallying ideal for the different ethnic groups living in Manchuria. Therefore, operating as an extension of the trope of “racial harmony,” the more specifically defined races in the “harmony of the Five Races” paradigm served dual purposes: 1) acted as a tool for military public relations, cultivating goodwill among other Asian ethnic groups that already had a stake in the region; 2) marked out Manchukuo as a space for Asian occupation and domination despite the presence of Euro-American or Soviet interests.

It goes without saying that there were many differences between Okakura’s peaceful, idealistic vision of Pan-Asian unity and that developed through *gozoku kyōwa*. First and foremost, Okakura wrote his book in English in order to target Euro-American readers whereas the army and other Japanese colonial offices largely directed the concept

of the “harmony of the five races” toward other Asians. It is true that foreign audiences in Europe and North America would have seen references to racial harmony in Manchuria in magazines such as *NIPPON* (1934-1944) (Figure 2.20), which published a special issue dedicated to Manchukuo in October 1939.<sup>103</sup> The image of smiling, ethnically diverse men and women living together in peaceful harmony on the Asian continent was consistent with the idealistic images presented to foreign audiences throughout the 1930s. Such layouts invited a sympathetic cultural and political understanding of Japan, a particularly important objective during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) when bleak images of the Japanese devastation of Chinese cities like Nanjing and Shanghai abounded in the international press.

Nonetheless, the concept of “racial harmony” operated primarily for Asian audiences. Generally, it was a means for Japanese colonial apparatuses such as the Kwantung Army and Mantetsu to persuade various ethnic groups in Manchukuo and people in neighboring Asian countries that Japanese military expansion would secure and protect Asia from “outside” (i.e. Western, non-Asian) interests. In this way, it fulfilled what Prasenjit Duara describes as the underlying role of Japanese Pan-Asianism in Manchuria: a way to build an empire based on the perception of a common

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<sup>103</sup> *NIPPON* was published by Nippon Kōbō, a design studio headed by Natori Yōnosuke. As Gennifer Weisenfeld has discussed, *NIPPON* was meant to advertise Japanese culture to foreign audiences, promoting an international understanding of Japanese and Oriental culture. Gennifer Weisenfeld, “Touring Japan-as-Museum: *NIPPON* and Other Japanese Imperialist Travelogues,” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 8, no. 3 (Winter 2000): 747-793.

civilization.<sup>104</sup> In developing the concept of *gozoku kyōwa*, the Kwantung Army harnessed this idea of solidarity yet tempered it with the image of racial/ethnic autonomy in order to motivate colonized and semi-colonized people. As the aforementioned promotional posters demonstrated, this created a new binding national identity for those living in Manchukuo, wherein different ethnic groups could find harmonious co-existence.

Consequently, the idea of “racial harmony” and “the harmony of the five races” had specific meaning for each of those ethnic groups included in *gozoku kyōwa* promotional materials. Notably, the differentiation of the Manchu ethnic group from Han Chinese served a particularly important political purpose. It disrupted Chinese claims to the region by reinscribing the separate ethnic and regional identities strongly asserted during the era of Manchu rule (1644-1911). In an effort to protect their homeland as an unspoiled “preserve of Manchu heritage,” Qing rulers had restricted Han Chinese immigration to Manchuria.<sup>105</sup> According to Duara, some Chinese maps in the early twentieth century even imaged the region as a separate entity, contributing to the conceptual and spatial construction of Manchuria as an exclusive space altogether removed from the Chinese empire.<sup>106</sup> That said, the regional and cultural exclusivity desired by the Manchu rulers of the Qing Dynasty was a failure. With no real land

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<sup>104</sup> Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*, (Lanham MA; Oxford, England: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., [2003] 2004), 14.

<sup>105</sup> Duara, 41.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 41-42.

barriers to overcome, many poor Chinese peasants seeking land and access to the region's tremendous natural resources immigrated to Manchuria, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, it was advantageous to differentiate the two groups, acknowledging how the Manchu people were, in fact, separate from the Chinese. On the other hand, Japanese propaganda could not ignore the Chinese in Manchuria as the population numbered in the tens of millions in the 1930s.<sup>108</sup> Young notes how the concept of *gozoku kyōwa* promised the millions of poor Chinese peasants in the region freedom from the oppression of greedy landlords and a way to reconcile Chinese nationalism with Japanese expansionism.<sup>109</sup>

Inclusion in the Manchukuo five-race paradigm was also significant for Koreans. Under Japanese colonial administration since 1910 when Korea was officially annexed, Koreans were subject to a policy of assimilation (*dōka*) designed to transform them into Japanese imperial subjects (*kōminka*). As a result of these campaigns, Koreans were forced to use Japanese names and use Japanese language in schools. They were also forced to forgo their traditional white dress in favor of colored clothing because the

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<sup>107</sup> Robert H.G. Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 6.

<sup>108</sup> According to the *Manshū nenkan*, 8 kōtoku [Manchuria Annual, 1941], the Chinese population was far larger than the Manchu population, the former numbering 29,731,585 and the latter numbering 4,352,940. *Manshū nenkan*, 8 kōtoku, (Shinkyō: Manshū shinbun, 1941), 17. Interestingly, some annuals erased the distinction between the Chinese and Manchus by referring to them as one "Manchoukuoan" population, then treating Japanese, Koreans (Chosenese) and foreigners separately. See *Report on Progress in Manchuria 1936*, (Dairen: South Manchuria Railway Company, 1936), 151.

<sup>109</sup> Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 276.

colonial administration did not consider their native dress conducive to hard work.<sup>110</sup>

Therefore, images of Koreans dressed in traditional costuming in *gozoku kyōwa* promotional media are significant. For example, a Japanese poster that targeted a Korean audience (Figure 2.21) depicts the man on the far right wearing a traditional *kat* (a horsehair hat) and *top'o*, a traditional white Korean cloak. Granted, this figure is not that of a laboring body. Rather, the man is dressed as a member of the upper-class intelligentsia (*yangban*).<sup>111</sup> Regardless, posters and media such as this do not treat Koreans as assimilated Japanese subjects but as a culturally autonomous group. More importantly, imaged as a supposedly equal race to the Japanese in Manchukuo, Korean colonial subjects could be understood as a potentially potent anti-colonial narrative that challenged Korean subjugation under Japanese rule. The idealistic paradigm of *gozoku kyōwa* transformed Manchukuo into a utopian space that erased geo-racial tensions, whether acknowledging the heritage of the Manchu people, offering a sense of place and opportunity to Han Chinese, or depicting Koreans as distinct subjects dressed in (otherwise taboo) indigenous dress.

This strategic racial matrix was far from stable as the slogan was not representative of the many different races that inhabited the region. For example, “White Russians” (exiles or emigrants from the USSR) occasionally replaced Chinese or Koreans

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<sup>110</sup> Chulwoo Lee, “Modernity, Legality, and Power in Korea under Japanese Rule,” Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson, eds., *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 39.

<sup>111</sup> My thanks to Dr. Dafna Zur for providing the names of the constituent parts of the Korean costume and their class signification.

in layouts and exhibitions dedicated to the concept of “racial harmony” in Manchukuo. The replacement of the Korean body was rare; although, as Yamaji Katsuhiko notes, it happened in a display at the Great Japan-Manchuria Industrial Exposition (Nichi-Man Sangyo Dai Hakurankai) sponsored by Toyama City in 1936. The expo featured life-sized sculptures dedicated to the promotion of *gozoku kyōwa*, depicting a scene of Japanese, Manchurian, Chinese, Mongolian, and Russian boys and girls talking and playing.<sup>112</sup> Surprisingly, Koreans were not included. Representations of the Chinese (or lack thereof) differed. It does not seem that the category of “Chinese” was ever deleted entirely; rather, it was often folded into a larger category of “Manchurian.” For example, the special 1939 “Manchoukuo” issue of *NIPPON* also strategically omits references to the Chinese. Multi-lingual captions next to pictures of various ethnic, smiling faces state, “In Manchoukuo, with Manchurians as the nucleus, the Mongolians, Koreans, Japanese, White Russians and various other races combine in mutual harmony to carry on agriculture.”<sup>113</sup> Though it is not clearly indicated, it may be that the category of “Manchurians” here is a combination of Manchu and Chinese. These exclusions may also speak to how respective colonial or public relations offices defined Manchukuoan races for their respective audiences. In the case of the exhibition held in Japan in Toyama City, Japanese may not have considered Koreans a separate group as Korea had already been a Japanese colony for more than twenty-five years. *NIPPON*, on the other hand, targeted a

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<sup>112</sup> Yamaji Katsuhiko, *Kindai nihon no shokuminchi hakurankai*, (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2008), 158

<sup>113</sup> *NIPPON: Special number Manchoukuo*, (October 1939), unpaginated.

Euro-American audience. By erasing the Han Chinese body from the matrix and replacing it with the figure of the White Russian, the magazine diminished Chinese claims to the region, an important message during the ongoing Sino-Japanese War. Meanwhile, it presented Japanese-occupied Manchukuo as a space in which the white, Western body (and its capital) would be welcome. Interestingly, the presence of these figures in “racial harmony” imagery also suggested Russians approved of Japan’s claims to the region.

The layout (Figure 2.22), titled “Manchoukuo, the Land of Racial Harmony” and “*Minzoku kyōwa no koku*” in the January 1940 issue of *Manshū Graph* further exemplifies how media alternatively referred to the different races of Manchukuo. Through photomontage, this layout sutures together the figures of five, smiling women—Japanese, Chinese/Manchurian, White Russian, Mongolian, and Korean—in different ethnic dress. Unlike the *NIPPON* piece, this article makes it clear that it counts the populations of Manchurian and Chinese in the same category, referring to them as “*Kan-Manzoku*.<sup>114</sup> Other population categories further speak to the racial diversity in the region: Mongolian, Hui (*Kaizoku*), which is an Islamic ethnic minority group in China, Japanese, “*Hantōjin*” or “peninsular person” (an old pejorative reference to Koreans), and White Russians.

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<sup>114</sup> This is clear in the Japanese caption. The English text does not reference this collapse of ethnic groups.

These various slippages, omissions, and inclusions in racial categories articulate how Japanese media delicately negotiated representations of the diverse populations in the region. For example, even when acknowledged, the Russian population was repeatedly marked as an outsider population that was on the decline.<sup>115</sup> Understanding how to reference the many different ethnic groups and races in Manchoukuo was also problematic because of a fundamental difficulty in differentiating one race from another. Tamanoi addresses this at length as she examines the ways in which the racial narratives related to the Japanese metropolitan government.<sup>116</sup> In her study, she posits several crucial questions: “If Manchukuo was, at least for the Japanese leaders, an independent nation, why were the ‘Manchukuoans’ [ . . . ] not inclusive of the ‘Japanese?’”; “Who were the ‘Manchukuoans’ after all?”; and “Could the inhabitants of Manchuria distinguish, for example, the ‘Han Chinese’ from the ‘Manchus?’”<sup>117</sup> She argues that these blurred definitions were entangled in the space between “idioms of dominance” and “idioms of ambivalence and confusion.”<sup>118</sup> In other words, the fluidity of these taxonomies was the result of disinformation and the strategic need for colonial legitimization. I certainly agree

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<sup>115</sup> For example, in *Manshū Graph* they were often referred to as “émigrés” (*emigurantotachi*). Furthermore, the May 1935 issue (which was dedicated to the transfer of the Soviet-controlled Northern Railway to the South Manchuria Railway Company) emphasizes how many Russians had been returning to their “native land.” These kinds of rhetorical strategies emphasized how they belonged to another place rather than Manchukuo. In this way, media recognized the Russians and the important role they played in developing spaces such as Harbin; on the other hand, I argue that these kinds of layouts repeatedly presented the relationship between the Russian population and their homeland as a means to stress their relationship to a space outside of the paradise of Manchukuo, a land ideally meant for Asian settlement.

<sup>116</sup> Mariko Asano Tamanoi, “Knowledge, Power, and Racial Classification: The ‘Japanese’ in ‘Manchuria,’” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 2 (May 2000): 248-276.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 250.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 251.

with this assessment, particularly the former statement. It was very difficult to separate definitively populations such as Han Chinese and Manchus who had been living in close proximity in the region for hundreds of years.

Nonetheless, it is also productive to examine these layouts as purposeful. Japanese colonial administrators were aware of the potential effects of these inclusions and exclusions in the media, depending on the respective demographics. Yet, at times, these effects were just as difficult to articulate as the definition of “race” itself. For example, the transformation of a people’s designation from “Chinese” (*Kanzoku*) into “Manchurian” (*Manzoku*) contributed to the textual erasure of “China” from the region. This worked to neutralize claims that Manchuria was, in fact, part of China. On the other hand, combining the Han Chinese and Manchu peoples into the category “Manchurian” naturalized the close physiological-cultural ties between the people, arguably strengthening claims to the territory.

While these variations created contestable grey areas that blurred the designation of who belonged in Manchukuo, there was one component in the “racial harmony” paradigm that was constant: the inclusion of the Japanese. Indeed, the constant presence of the Japanese in promotional *gozoku kyōwa* media tempered the variance in its meaning, making it clear that they were not just an important part of the “harmony of the five races” but, in fact, the crucial element in its realization. Without the Japanese-Manchurian cooperation in Manchukuo, such an intra-Asian paradise could not have been achieved. Yet, a closer analysis of the central position that the Japanese occupied in the

visualization of *gozoku kyōwa* also exposes how the races were far from equal. Rather, informing the construction of the “racial harmony” was a strict hierarchy that symbolically and physically subordinated other races to the Japanese.

## Japanese Dominance in the *Gozoku Kyōwa* Paradigm

Prasenjit Duara has rightly argued that Japanese Pan-Asianism and the so-called multiculturalism of Manchukuo were political forms of domination.<sup>119</sup> These constructs provided colonial powers such as the Kwantung Army with the opportunity to position Japan as the de facto leader in Asia, a supposedly beneficent “older brother” or patriarch in the family of Asian nations. Japan was a protector, a nation that could “rescue” Asia from Western imperialism. This was not only an issue of military occupation. It also had cultural roots, predicated on the view that Japan could “harmoniz[e] East and West civilizations” by acting as both a protector of Asian traditions and a bearer of Western modernity.<sup>120</sup>

Manchukuo provided the ideal conceptual and physical space for Japanese institutions to exercise this hybridized authority. One can read the subtle expression of this power dynamic claimed by the Japanese in numerous *gozoku kyōwa* promotional posters and media despite the utopian claim of equality among the races in the new state.

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<sup>119</sup>Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 2.

<sup>120</sup>Prasenjit Duara, “The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism,” *Journal of World History* 12, no.1 (Spring, 2001), 110.

For example, in the pages dedicated to “racial harmony” in the January 1940 issue of *Manshū Graph* (Figure 2.22), the Japanese woman commands the most prominent position, furthest to the right. She stands almost a head taller than the Chinese-Manchurian woman next to her. In fact, as the eye moves across the two-page layout, each subsequent figure grows increasingly smaller, culminating in the figure of a Korean woman who appears half the size of her Japanese counterpart. Moreover, the healthy roundness of the Japanese woman’s face and her fine kimono indicate that she is a woman of a middle or upper economic class. The modern styling of her hair demonstrates that she is at once modern and traditional in her kimono. Her affluence and modernity contrast with the rather abject figure of the Mongolian woman second from the left.

The hybrid cultural identity of the Japanese is evident in the aforementioned *gozoku kyōwa* promotional poster targeting a Korean audience (Figure 2.21). This poster, issued by the Concordia Association (*Manshūkoku kyōwakai*) and written in Korean *hangul* and *hanja* (Chinese characters), reads “Let the five peoples living under the five radiant colors of the Manchurian flag live in togetherness and glory.”<sup>121</sup> The poster features the figures of five men, each dressed distinctively, linked together physically and symbolically. Each figure holds the hand, or rests an arm on the shoulder, of the man next to him. Unlike the *Manshū Graph* layout, each of the figures here is of the same size; the poster expresses Japanese dominance through costuming. The figure of the Japanese

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<sup>121</sup> This is translated by Dr. Dafna Zur.

man—shown standing second from the left between two men wearing variations of the Chinese *changshan*—stands out because he is dressed in Western attire, set apart by his trench coat, trousers, and hat.<sup>122</sup> Due to the dress, one might argue that this figure stands for a Euro-American presence in Manchukuo. However, the poster specifically refers to the “five races” of Manchuria. Despite variance in representation of other races, the Japanese were an omnipresent part of this concept. Therefore, as the other races in the poster appear to be Korean, Mongolian, Chinese, and Manchu, this figure must represent Japan. Moreover, by depicting the Japanese in this manner, it is clear that their role in Manchuria is more than just another racial demographic. While the others are marked by tradition, the Japanese man acts as a symbol of Western modernity, the conduit through which the modernization of Manchukuo could be realized.

This poster demonstrates how colonial offices conceptually posited Japan’s role in an idealized intra-Asian relationship in Manchukuo. The Japanese were meant to act as the bridge between Asian tradition and Western modernity in the new state. Of course, this was not just a role claimed in print. It was realized spatially as well, as Japanese companies such as Mantetsu and the Kwantung Army spearheaded the construction of new urban spaces and industrial centers. Given that the concept of *gozoku kyōwa* and *minzoku kyōwa* were crucial components in rationalizing Japanese occupation of the region and entangled in Pan-Asian discourse, it is important to consider the following

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<sup>122</sup> The men flanking the Japanese man likely represent Chinese and Manchurian ethnic groups. The men who are furthest right wear Korean and Mongolian clothing.

questions: How did the newly built spaces of the Manchurian cities manifest the racial hierarchies at work in *gozoku kyōwa* promotional media? What position did the Japanese occupy *vis-à-vis* the other races?

As the following section details, the spatial realization of “harmony” among the races necessitated separation and distance. While this separation might be understood as a means of affording the ideal of cultural autonomy, I show that it functioned more as a tool for containment. Moreover, the distinct ethnic zones reinforced the hierarchies at work in media promoting *gozoku kyōwa*. Here, the Japanese occupied a top-tier position in the newly built city spaces that allowed them to consume the exotic bodies and culture of the Chinese and Manchu people who resided in the old cities. Facilitating this distance and the dominant Japanese gaze was the old walls surrounding the Chinese cities.

## Racial Containment and the Chinese Walled Cities

To a certain extent, one could read the concept of the “racial harmony” in media describing the relationship between Japanese agricultural settlers, Korean settlers, Chinese farmers, and the cultivation of the vast Manchurian frontier. Careful scrutiny, however, reveals that these settlements were not presented as sites of cultural or agricultural exchange; rather, they are treated as largely removed from each other. This seems to speak to the kind of separate-but-equal idealism that informed the construction of *gozoku kyōwa* and *minzoku kyōwa* in print. These separate socio-spatial relationships are even more evident in the spaces of the new cities built by the Japanese under the

auspices of the Manchukuo government, Kwantung Army, and Mantetsu. Just as costuming had differentiated each ethnic group, space came to have specific racial designation. Though, at first glance, it may appear that these cities acted as harmonious sites for the different people of Manchuria, a closer analysis reveals that these spaces were far from equal. Rather, they reinforced the hierarchy at work in the “racial harmony” paradigm.

Cities such as Mukden and Xinjing were divided into different ethnic zones.<sup>123</sup> The most prominent was the South Manchuria Railway zone (the SMR zone) that was the modern face of the city. Featuring new lush parks and expansive axial boulevards, this zone dominated media coverage of Manchukuo. It was in this zone that Japanese residents most often lived and worked. It was also where they stayed as tourists, enjoying luxurious accommodations such as the Yamato Hotel. Next to the SMR zone was the International zone where Europeans and Americans often resided. This district received far less media attention than the SMR zone. This was perhaps a way to minimize in print the symbolic and physical place Westerners could occupy in the new state. As a result, it helped to maintain a balance between the advertised international cosmopolitanism of Manchukuo and the Asian claim of the region. Lastly, and most significantly, were the old walled cities where many of the native Chinese and Manchurians lived.<sup>124</sup> Acting as

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<sup>123</sup> Mukden is now known as Shenyang.

<sup>124</sup> For a 1917 map and a comparative 1945 map of Shenyang land distribution and brief discussion of the ethnic divisions of Shenyang under the Japanese, see Chor-Pang Lo, Clifton W. Pannell and Roy Welch,

counterparts to the modern spaces of the new SMR zones, the old city spaces were framed in Japanese media as exotic repositories for “local color.”

These different urban zones speak to the ways in which the tenets of *gozoku kyōwa* and *minzoku kyōwa* translated spatially. On one hand, the spaces represented the idealism at work in these concepts. Each group had in Manchukuo its own space for occupation, a way to maintain cultural traditions even in the face of modernization. In this way, each group was able to preserve its ethnic identity even while participating in the romanticized, multiethnic nationalism of the new state. On the other hand, these separations worked to reinforce the socio-political hierarchies constructed by the Japanese in Manchukuo. I argue that these divisions were a means of containing political and military threats to Japanese rule.

The troubled entanglement of the tropes of “racial harmony” and spatial development in semi-colonial urban spaces were not the sole purview of the Japanese. As Gwendolyn Wright has argued, European colonial powers used urban design in the early twentieth century as a means of making colonialism more palatable to critics in the West and “tolerable to the colonized peoples.”<sup>125</sup> In order to reconcile these two positions,

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<sup>124</sup>“Land Use Changes and City Planning in Shenyang and Canton,” *Geographical Review* 67, no. 3 (July 1977): 271-274.

<sup>125</sup>Gwendolyn Wright, “Tradition in the Service of Modernity: Architecture and Urbanism in French Colonial Policy, 1900-1930,” Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Culture in a Bourgeois World*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1997), 322.

urban planners simultaneously created modern spaces—with new administrative buildings, large boulevards, water and electrical infrastructure, gardens, and transit systems—while trying to preserve traditional culture. This “dual city” was evident in Casablanca in the French protectorate of Morocco. Departing from overtly assimilationist practices of the *mission civilisatrice* of the nineteenth century, resident-general Hubert Lyautey allowed for historic districts that maintained ancient artifacts, mosques, street fronts, and other kinds of Moroccan cultural forms. These historic sites were separated from the “new cities” built by the French by no-build zones or a “sanitary corridor” such as a green belt, or a ravine (some natural inclusion).<sup>126</sup> This spatial segmentation played multiple roles. It gave indigenous people a feeling of cultural autonomy, limited contact between colonizer and colonized, and provided the French with the opportunity to market the “quaint charm” of traditional spaces as a tourist commodity.<sup>127</sup>

As Paul Rabinow argues, French administrators undertook these projects under a false sense of *fraternité*, mirroring to a certain extent the Asian paternalism Japanese colonial offices advertised in the development of Manchukuo. However, the kind of egalitarianism claimed through the Japanese slogan of *gozoku kyōwa* (even if perverted by colonial goals) was not present in French colonial territories. Nonetheless, the way in which Japanese planners created new urban settlements and recoded the old, indigenous

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<sup>126</sup> Wright, 327-332; See also Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, (Cambridge, MA; London, England: The MIT Press, 1989), 286.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 325.

spaces is remarkably similar to colonial urban practices at work overseas. The wall surrounding the old Chinese cities in Manchuria acted in a similar fashion to that of the sanitary corridor, simultaneously containing the racial/ethnic Other and framing indigenous culture as a marketable commodity.

According to Sen-Dou Chang, the walls surrounding Chinese cities had great symbolic and functional significance. They were important to the defense of the city against military attack, acted as protection from natural disasters including floods, and provided shelter for rural people during periods of civil disorder.<sup>128</sup> Made of baked clay, brick, pounded earth, or cut stone, the walls were formidable in scale. For example, the inner wall surrounding the old Manchurian provincial capital city of Mukden reached more than 10 meters high and was over 6 meters thick.<sup>129</sup> As Chang argues, these walls were virtually indestructible before the advent of modern military artillery.<sup>130</sup> Yet, once these cities came to be surrounded by Japanese military camps in the 1930s and ruled by a supposedly sovereign government that was in fact under direct influence of the Japanese Kwantung Army, the military function of these walls eroded.

The resignification of Chinese walled cities under the Japanese occupation of the Manchukuo period occurred both physically and symbolically. First, just as French planners developed new urban spaces separate from old Moroccan cities, Japanese urban

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<sup>128</sup> Sen-Dou Chang, "Some Observations on the Morphology of Chinese Walled Cities," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 60, no. 1 (March 1970): 63-64.

<sup>129</sup> *Manshū Graph* 3, no. 3 (June 1935): unpaginated. Also, the capital was moved from Shenyang to Xinjing in 1932 with the founding of the new state of Manchukuo.

<sup>130</sup> Chang, 64.

development in Manchukuo did not occur directly over existing city centers. Rather, the SMR zones were built along the railroads, resulting in the geographic marginalization of the old walled cities relative to the new spaces. For example, the modern Manchukuo capital of Xinjing was built to the northwest of the old city of Changchun whereas the new section of Mukden was located west of the extant walled city. This geographic recentering also resulted in the displacement of authority. Indeed, moving the capital to Xinjing from Mukden in 1932 meant that the old capital lost much of its provincial authority leaving only local administrative agency. Then, in Xinjing, the Japanese built large, concrete and stone buildings in the new SMR zone to house new government and administrative offices. Imperial authority also moved to the new capital. While the ancient palace of the Manchu Qing dynasty was in Mukden, the new palace for Pu-Yi, the emperor of Manchukuo, was also built in the SMR zone of Xinjing.

Japanese media facilitated the symbolic stripping away of what remained of Sino-Manchurian authority in the walled city by creating a virtual space of Japanese scopic domination. This subsequently offered up much of the old city as a spectacle of Manchurian customs and life for the curious consuming gaze of Japanese visitors. A photograph titled “The Walled City of Mukden,” that was featured in the June 1935 issue of *Manshū Graph* and repeatedly in Mantetsu’s annual publication *An Overview of Manchuria* (*Manshū Gaikan*) demonstrates how Japanese media contributed to undermining Sino-Manchurian agency within the walled space. Here, the photographer captures an image from high atop the wall, looking down on the bustling street scene

below. The wall consumes half the composition. Its massive scale is as much a subject as the historical city or the people. It testifies to what has been conquered visually and militarily. In this photograph, the wall has been breached. Its former defensive capabilities have been completely neutralized. The Japanese gaze dominates the Chinese and Manchurian inhabitants below.

Photographs of the walled city utilizing the dramatic perspective seemingly shot from the top of the wall were not uncommon as the image of “The Wall at Chinchou” (Figure 2.23) and a different view of the walled city of Mukden (Figure 2.24) demonstrate.<sup>131</sup> Granted, not all photographs of the old walled, fortifications were shot from above. Photographs of the gate at Liaoyang (Figure 2.25) and another of the wall at Mukden (Figure 2.26) exemplify how some walls were photographed as spectacles unto themselves, shot from the street level. This emphasized the monumentality of the structures. These dual perspectives (taken from above and from street level) enhance each other: The more monumental the wall, the greater the Japanese achievement in surmounting it. Also, shots taken from an elevated perspective were not only used to image the old city. The new city spaces were framed from above as well, dramatically highlighting the vast, developed spaces of the new cities. Yet these scenes were likely taken from one of the tall, multistory buildings built by the Japanese. In other words the view was made possible by a structure that, itself, symbolized a position of authority.

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<sup>131</sup> The “Walled City of Chinchou” is from *Manshū Gaikan*, 2597 and the second scene of Mukden was featured in *Manshū Gaikan*, 2598.

In some respects, it is productive to consider how the walls of the old cities functioned in a similar manner to Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon. As Michel Foucault argued, the Panopticon facilitated the disciplinary gaze that, in turn, formed docile bodies.<sup>132</sup> While the walled city reverses the centrality of the disciplinary gaze at work in the model of the Panopticon, the displacement of authority and surveillance that the wall made possible is consistent with the unequal gaze and the skewed power relations Foucault described. Certainly, it contributed to the subordination of indigenous Chinese-Manchurian bodies living in the old city below. In addition to providing a symbolic and physical position of power for the Japanese, the wall was also a means to order the scene as a cultural spectacle. This latter function was, at times, at odds with the creation of docile bodies. This was because Japanese media such as *Manshū Graph* posited the old walled cities as sites of danger in order to make them more alluring and thereby stoke readers' voyeuristic interest in virtually or physically visiting the site. This tension between the wall's contribution to discipline and commodification expresses how the goals of Mantetsu and the Kwantung Army overlapped and diverged. The wall facilitated political and military control while also enabling distance from the racial and cultural Other. Importantly, it also framed local culture as a commodity for the Japanese consuming gaze.

The caption used to describe this often repeated image of the walled city in

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<sup>132</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans., (New York: Pantheon Books, [1975] 1977).

Mukden in the 1935 issue of *Manshū Graph* (Figure 2.27) demonstrates how the wall acted as a framing device: “This wall embraces the most thriving business quarter with the ancient palace of the Ching monarchs in the centre. It is here within this wall that the local colour of Manchuria can best be seen in all its various exotic forms [ . . . ].”<sup>133</sup> This statement expresses the ways in which the walled city—separated by both the distance from the new city and the wall itself—acted as a cloistered space for the apprehension of an exoticized form of Sino-Manchurian culture.<sup>134</sup> To further sell the spectacle as an adventure, the magazine made the culture behind the old Chinese walls synonymous with danger. The English caption for the 1935 Mukden photograph highlights the exoticism of the local color. The Japanese caption explicates the scene further, describing (in a somewhat pejorative way) the “squalid” (*waizatsu*) and “noisy” (*kensō*) outdoor street markets and labeling them as distinctively “Manchurian.” Operating in much the same way as Oriental bazaars featured at French fairs, the Manchurian street markets were often advertised as one of the primary attractions for tourists interested in witnessing an authentic form of Manchurian culture. Japanese media highlighted the tantalizingly foreign nature of the street market by also referring to it as a “thieves [*kosodoro*] market.” *Manshū Graph* described these markets in its May 1936 issue (Figure 2.28), stating, “In practically every Manchurian walled city, there is at least one open market. Popularly,

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<sup>133</sup> *Manshū Graph* 3, no. 3 (June 1935): unpaginated.

<sup>134</sup> Though English captions in *Manshū Graph* do not specifically articulate the ethnic segregation of the new zones, the Japanese captions describing the same scenes do. The Japanese caption states that, of the city’s total population of 480,000 people, 80% were Manchurian, and that they lived within the walls of the old city.

these markets are known as ‘markets for petty thefts’ and the wide range of articles displayed there tends to make one believe that nothing in this world is fit to be discarded.”<sup>135</sup>

The framing of these markets through the trope of the “thief” is significant, as the concept had played an important role in marketing the Manchurian frontier as a space of adventure since 1905 when Japan won concessions in Northeast China following the Russo-Japanese War. The “thief” or the “bandit” was often used to refer to outlaw Manchus on the frontier who attacked Japanese travelers and settlers, belying Chinese military or peasant attacks on the Japanese stationed on the continent. By framing violence in Manchuria through the “bandit,” colonial public relations offices obfuscated ongoing colonial and military tensions between Japanese and indigenous people. This added another layer of dangerous, exotic mystique to the already romanticized “virgin lands” of Manchuria, enhancing its value as a destination. Of course, one would reach this destination via Mantetsu, experiencing the exhilarating and dangerous frontier from the safety of the train. The train window functioned as a screen that mediated the relationship between the Japanese traveler and the “thieves” of the hinterland.

Through the “thieves market,” the provocative danger of the Manchurian hinterland enters the urban space. Yet, the viewer, either experiencing the market for himself in the walled city or vicariously participating in the scene as an armchair tourist

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<sup>135</sup> *Manshū Graph* 4, no. 5 (May 1936).

through the pages of *Manshū Graph*, does not necessarily feel threatened by the scene. The 1936 layout leads the reader through market stalls selling various wares and trinkets. Another layout takes a different vantage point, capturing the market from above. As a result, the viewer takes on a commanding, elevated position of dominance over the raucous scene below. This particular image allows the viewer to enjoy the titillating view of the would-be “thieves,” the potentially dangerous, ethnic Others who inhabit the space from a safe distance.

The physical wall of the city also provided this kind of scopic distancing featured in the magazine. The Japanese staying in the posh new hotels in the SMR zone could visit the supposedly dangerous old, walled city and thereby experience a cultural adventure, the exotic spectacle of indigenous life. Yet, as the wall contained the bodies of the Sino-Manchurian ethnic Other and, by extension, the threat of the “thieves,” Japanese visitors could maintain the fiction of safety once they left the historical city. Safety added to the allure of the experience.

This tension between contact and distance was common in colonial sociopolitical discourse. As the colonies became increasingly connected to the metropole, fear of physical proximity also increased. This can be linked to the colonial perception that the body of the Other was somehow diseased or unhygienic; this point accounts for the

construction of the sanitary corridors in spaces like French Casablanca.<sup>136</sup> Fear of miscegenation and the subsequent blurring of racial and ethnic divisions that informed colonial taxonomies also played a role in the perceived threat of physical colonial encounters.<sup>137</sup> On the other hand, *cultural* contact did not necessarily pose the same kind of risk. In fact, the opposite was often the case. Culture was an important commodity. Indeed, having an authentic cultural experience was a key part of the Manchuria tour. That said, if one follows the argument of Chris Ryan in his study “Tourism and Cultural Proximity,” the allure of culture for tourist consumption is, first and foremost, predicated on spatial distance.<sup>138</sup> The exoticism beget by distance likely contributed to the vogue for “Chinese dress” (*shinafuku*) in Japan. As Ikeda Shinobu details, “Modern Girls” (“modan-gāru” or *moga*) in Tokyo took up this sartorial statement in the 1920s. The fad of “Chinese dress” intersected with an artistic interest in Japan in representing the

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<sup>136</sup> Ming-Cheng M. Lo also discusses this from an interesting perspective in *Doctors within Borders: Profession, Ethnicity, and Modernity in Colonial Taiwan*. Lo addresses how Taiwanese doctors, who were both mentored and oppressed by Japanese doctors, were called on to protect the health of the nation by severing racial and ethnic ties to China. China, writes Lo, “was both the site of the enemy and the source of disease, against which Taiwan needed to defend itself.” See Ming-Cheng m. Lo, *Doctors within Borders: Profession, Ethnicity, and Modernity in Colonial Taiwan*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 115.

<sup>137</sup> Ann Stoler discusses the sexual contact between colonizer and colonized and how it led to cultural and social anxieties in the metropole. See Ann Stoler, “Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia,” Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997): 198-237.

<sup>138</sup> Chris Ryan, “Tourism and Cultural Proximity: Examples from New Zealand,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, no. 4 (2002): 952-971.

“Other,” including colonial subjects.<sup>139</sup> These hybridized articulations of Chinese culture in the metropole exemplify how culture moved easily across national borders. It is remarkable, then, that in marketing the Manchurian tour, *Manshū Graph* frames contact with the people and culture of Manchukuo as a one-way conduit for Japanese consumption.

It goes without saying that these images were not without resistance. For example, Ranna Mitter has shown, journalist Du Zhongyuan, writing for a magazine in Shanghai, forged an identity in his columns as a Northeasterner and Chinese and railed against the Japanese occupation of the region.<sup>140</sup> He responded to Japanese expansion in Manchuria by writing in an “earthy language,” stating “I fear dogs, I fear bandits/ I fear little Japanese devils.”<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, the Japanese readership to which this media was primarily directed was not homogeneous. For example, a two-week Manchuria tour would cost many months’ salary for a well-educated, white-collar worker. Therefore, tourists were often from the upper-middle class, a position of privilege even among

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<sup>139</sup> Ikeda Shinobu, “The Allure of a ‘Woman in Chinese Dress’: Representation of the Other in Imperial Japan,” Doris Croissant, Catherine Vance Yeh, and Joshua S. Mostow, ed., (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008): 347-382.

<sup>140</sup> According to Mitter, Du wrote for a magazine called *Shenghuo*, gaining fame for writing anecdotes and personal narratives about the Manchuria crisis. Rana Mitter, “Manchuria in Mind: Press, Propaganda, and Northeast China in the Age of Empire, 1930-1937,” Mariko Asano Tamanoi, ed., *Crossed Histories: Manchuria in the Age of Empire*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005), 33-34.

<sup>141</sup> Du Zhongyuan as quoted in Mitter. Ibid., 33. Norman Smith also offers a compelling study of these counter narratives, examining Chinese women writers who challenged Japanese attempts to sever ties between Manchuria and China. See Norman Smith, “Disrupting Narratives: Chinese Women Writers and the Japanese Cultural Agenda in Manchuria, 1936-1945,” *Modern China* 30, no. 3 (July 2004): 295-325. Certainly, there are many other examples of these acts of resistance. A proper treatment of this subject requires much greater attention and is beyond the purview of this project.

Japanese settlers immigrating or traveling to the continent.<sup>142</sup> Nonetheless, it is important to consider how the segregated spaces of the cities operated in a similar manner to the images of *gozoku kyōwa* featured in promotional media. Both the spatial and conceptual constructions of “racial harmony” presented an idealistic vision of the different races and ethnic groups of Manchukuo living in political and social harmony. When one looks more closely, however, it becomes clear that the premise of equality between the races was a slippery ideal as the Japanese dominated media and city spaces, subordinating the other races to cultural commodities.

As this chapter has demonstrated, the creation of a Japanese place in the new state of Manchukuo occurred in a multitude of ways. Magazines such as *Manshū Graph* and *Hirake Manmō* focused on presenting their respective urban and rural Japanese readers with images of the physical spaces they might occupy on the continent and the roles they might fulfill. *Manshū Graph* fed white-collar fantasies of continental life and the Manchuria tour by balancing middle-class nostalgia for a picturesque countryside with images of bustling cityscapes. In contrast to the modern ethos of *Manshū Graph*, *Hirake Manmō* was much more conservative in style and content. It relied more heavily on text although photographs and graphics continued to play an important role in persuading would-be settlers to emigrate from *naichi* villages plagued by socio-economic hardships.

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<sup>142</sup> Young talks about the salary one would have needed to do the tour. See Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 263. Though a tour of Manchuria would have been beyond many workers, school children were sometimes sponsored to go on a tour of Manchuria. Also, workers eager to see Manchukuo could opt to move to the continent as rural, blue-collar or white-collar immigrants.

The magazine attempted to frame resettlement as a patriotic act rather than one of individual, material gain. To this end, the magazine often featured images of the soldier-farmer who filled the dual role of cultivator and protector.

*Gozoku kyōwa* promotional media contributed more conceptually to the construction of a Japanese place on the continent, legitimizing the supposed harmonious inhabitation of a space primarily occupied by the Chinese and Manchu people. This slogan asserted that, though many different groups lived in the region, Manchukuo was a space for Asians, a category repeatedly defined as Japanese, Korean, Manchurian, Mongolian, and Chinese. This transformed Japanese immigrants from “outsiders” into an integral component in the formation and maintenance of this new idealized, multiethnic state. Yet the Japanese were far from equal partners in the Pan-Asian matrix presented in posters and magazines. Rather, they constituted the top tier in a racial hierarchy. This skewed relationship with the other races and ethnic groups in Manchukuo is evident in the urban centers of Mukden and Xinjing. While imaged as multicultural spaces, in fact the Japanese gaze dominated the Sino-Manchurian inhabitants of the old walled Chinese cities next to which the new, Japanese SMR zones were built. Here, the Chinese and Manchurian people and their culture were put on display.

## **CHAPTER 3: Fuchikami Hakuyō, Corporate Image, and Art Photography in Manchuria**

When assessing the production of Japanese media during the Manchukuo period, it is easy to forget the role individual artists and designers played in shaping themes and styles. It is important to take note of their personal contributions for several reasons. First, such an analysis demonstrates that Japanese propaganda was not the product of a unified, homogeneous idea. It was a composite of multiple visions that cohered through colonial offices such as Mantetsu. Secondly, acknowledging the artistic voices of individuals exposes how their work expressed their own personal relationship with the space of the expanding empire. By addressing these relationships, this chapter seeks to overcome a methodological limitation that often plagues an analysis of propaganda. The term “propaganda”—as used to describe a tool for ideological persuasion—usually suggests a kind of Marxian “false consciousness” that obstructs a singular “truth.” Moreover, a treatment of visual production as a top-down, state-centered project produces an artificial binary of collaboration and resistance. Such assumptions fail to acknowledge the varied experiences of artists and designers involved with the state project and their multiple experiential “truths.”

This chapter examines the art photography of Fuchikami Hakuyō and his colleagues who were members in the photography club, the Manchuria Photographic

Artists Association (Manshū shashin sakka kyōkai, hereafter the MPAA).<sup>1</sup> As mentioned in the last chapter, Fuchikami was the editor of Mantetsu's public relations magazine *Manshū Graph*. He did much more, however. He also was a leading figure in the development of art photography in Manchuria during the 1930s. A discussion of the Japanese art photography movement in Manchuria reveals the personal stakes Fuchikami had in immigrating to Manchuria in 1928. I show how the continental frontier provided a space wherein the photographer could realize his romanticized artistic identity as a "pioneer" or *kaitakusha*. In turn, his experience in this "new world" shaped his poetic engagement with rural, urban, and industrial subject matter. I do not intend to argue that Fuchikami was the originary inspiration for an idealized relationship to Manchuria. The romanticized vision of the artistic and socio-economic possibilities on the continent was shared by other photographers who were members of the photo clubs and worked in Northeast China as well. Rather, I see Fuchikami and his cohort as part of a shifting, dynamic, popular ethos in the late 1920s and 1930s that looked to the new frontier as a site where one might realize new social opportunities, project oneself into a frontier fantasy, and achieve new heights of artistic expression. The resultant works by Fuchikami and the MPAA exemplified international trends in art photography, coupling nostalgic lyricism with a modernist interest in compositional geometry and photographic

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<sup>1</sup> Fuchikami was born as Fuchikami Kiyoki (淵上清喜) but used the name Fuchikami Hakuyō throughout his professional career. His name is also transliterated as "Fuchigami." See *Nihon no shashinka: Kindai shashinshi o irodotta jin to tenki/sakuhinshu mokuroku*, (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2005), 356-357. See also Takeba Jō, ed., *Kōseiha no jidai: Shoki modanizumu no shashin hyōgen hikari to kage*, (Nagoya: Nagoyashi Bijutsukan, 1992), 72.

objectivity. These evocative works played an important role in the promotion of Manchuria in the 1930s. They provided cultural capital for Mantetsu and, more generally, the Japanese colonial project in North China. They also served as valuable aesthetic vessels through which deeply emotional connections between metropole and colony could be made. This chapter addresses this overlap of individual artistic pursuits in Manchuria and larger corporate colonial goals.

Japanese photographers worked in many different capacities on the continent during the Manchukuo period. Some, such as the renowned commercial photographer Kimura Ihee, acted as photojournalists and war correspondents on the battlefield following the Mukden Incident in 1931 and again after the Marco-Polo Bridge Incident in 1937.<sup>2</sup> Many professional photographers, like Fuchikami, were hired by public relations departments to design and supply images for the multitude of graphic magazines, pamphlets, and guides that communicated the colonial perception of the continent. As discussed in my second chapter, this media invited tourism, foreign and domestic investment, and immigration.

Amateur photographers also played an important part in the proliferation of Manchurian images both within the public sphere and in the more intimate domestic realm of the family household. As cameras became less expensive and more portable,

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<sup>2</sup> “Ihee” is also transliterated as “Ihei.” Kimura was a commercial photographer who used a 35mm Leica camera to emphasize “realism” in photography. During the 1930s, he briefly worked with Natori Yōnosuke in the “Japan Workshop” (Nippon Kōbō) but worked for Tōhōsha (Far East Company) during the war as a correspondent. *Nihon no shashinka*, 149;

amateur photography boomed in popularity. Inexpensive cameras like the “Baby Clover” enabled families to take snapshots of each other on special occasions and to remember their vacations.<sup>3</sup> More serious amateur photographers joined art photography clubs like the Japan Photographic Society (Nihon shashinkai) in Japan or one of the clubs on the continent such as the Xinjing Photographic Association (Shinkyō shashin kyōkai).<sup>4</sup> Through meetings, competitions, and exhibitions, these groups allowed amateurs to mingle with professionals, creating a crosscurrent of ideas, styles, and modes of expression that at times blurred the distinction between private expression and professional practice.

Fuchikami straddled all of these spheres, acting as editor, photography club founder, and critically acclaimed artist. As editor of *Manshū Graph* for eight years, Fuchikami balanced reportage with dynamic photo-essays that communicated Mantetsu’s bourgeois, corporate vision of the continent. This in itself was a significant contribution to legitimizing Mantetsu and the Japanese empire. Yet, he was also the cornerstone of the art photography movement in Manchuria from 1928 to 1941. He founded the MPAA in 1932 and participated with them in a number of exhibitions in Manchukuo, Japan, and

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<sup>3</sup> According to an advertisement in the July 1935 issue of *Photo Times*, the Baby Clover camera cost 5 yen. See *Photo Times* 12, no. 7 (July 1935): unpaginated. Of course, not all cameras were as inexpensive as the Baby Clover. As I will discuss later in the chapter, some like the Roloflex (the preferred camera of Fuchikami) were quite expensive and spoke to the privileged economic and social position held by some art photographers working in Manchuria during the 1930s.

<sup>4</sup> The Xinjing Photographic Association was founded in 1932, soon after the transformation of the city of Changchun into the new capital of Manchuria, Xinjing. See the announcement of the clubs formation in the monthly photography magazine *Photo Times* 10, no. 1 (January 1933): 140. The development of such groups along with the rapid transformation of the cities and their spaces was a means of coupling the immense city planning projects of Manchuria with a kind of cultural capital.

overseas. In Manchuria, Fuchikami grew immensely as an artist. This begs the question: To what extent was Mantetsu able to benefit from his artistic path? This is more difficult to assess than his role as editor as his photographs were much more ideologically ambiguous. Closer scrutiny reveals that, in fact, Fuchikami's art photography was a critical part of his work for the company. This chapter investigates how Fuchikami's role as an esteemed artist and cultural connoisseur greatly advanced Mantetsu's public relations goals, exposing the symbiotic relationship Fuchikami had with the company.

In order to expose this dynamic relationship, I first discuss Fuchikami's early career in Kōbe, Japan (1918-1928). This first section investigates the kind of photographic expression he developed, and the various artistic, economic, and political influences on his work. During the decade Fuchikami worked in Kōbe, he developed the photographic foundation for what I call "nostalgic modernism," a fusion of pictorialist and constructivist styles and subjects that would play an important part in the aestheticization of the Manchurian frontier and city spaces during the 1930s and early 1940s.<sup>5</sup> In the following section, I examine the circumstances of Fuchikami's emigration to Manchuria in 1928 and the projects he and his colleagues in the MPAA undertook. These works constructed politically ambiguous, aestheticized images of Manchuria and

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<sup>5</sup> The term "nostalgic modernism" has been used by other scholars to address a number of diverse subjects, from the urban development of Paris in the twentieth century to the historiographical reconciliation of the "modern" with the "traditional." See Rosemary Wakeman, "Nostalgic Modernism and the Invention of Paris in the Twentieth Century," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 1, (Winter 2004): 115-144; see also Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, (New York, Knopf, 1991). However, I use this phrase as a means to describe a very specific artistic practice that saw pictorialism and constructivism merge in the work of Fuchikami and his cohort in the MPAA.

acted as an extension of Fuchikami's romanticized vision of "pioneering" continental artists living on the exotic frontier.

My third section considers the multifaceted way Mantetsu benefited from the exhibitions in which Fuchikami participated along with other members of the MPAA. This section also addresses how these exhibitions and the critical acclaim they received contributed to the cultural authority of Fuchikami, the MPAA, and, by extension, their sponsor Mantetsu. Moreover, the aesthetics of the objects distracted the viewer from the political stakes of representation while, as a public relations tool, they created an evocative, cultural link between the viewer, Mantetsu, and the Manchurian subject. In short, they associated Mantetsu's corporate brand with culture and prestige.

## Fuchikami in Kōbe: The Cultivation of Nostalgic Modernism

Art is the expression of deep inspiration that is received from the object. It is the expression of feelings that come through the individual, the artistic effect received from revered nature and the tragic-comedy that human life weaves [ . . . ]

Fuchikami Hakuyō "Geijutsu no teigi ni oite" (On the Definition of Art) (1923)<sup>6</sup>

Fuchikami Hakuyō was born in the Kikuchi district of Kumamoto Prefecture on the southern island of Kyūshū in 1889.<sup>7</sup> Though his father was involved in the textile

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<sup>6</sup> Fuchikami Hakuyō, "Geijutsu no teigi ni oite," *Hakuyō* 2, no. 2 (1923), quoted in Takeba Jō, "Fuchikami Hakuyō to 'Manshū Shashin Sakka Kyōkai'- 'Hyōgenshugi' kara, mō hitotsu no 'riarizumu' e" in Iizawa Kōtarō, *Fuchikami Hakuyō to Manshū Shashin Sakka Kyōkai*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), 61.

<sup>7</sup> Iizawa Kōtarō, *Fuchikami Hakuyō to Manshū Shashin Sakka Kyōkai*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), 4.

industry, Fuchikami eschewed the family business to pursue his interests in the photographic arts.<sup>8</sup> After studying photography in Nagasaki and Saga, Fuchikami moved to Kōbe in 1918 to begin his photography career. In 1919, he rented a residence from Kawasaki Yoshitarō, the president of the Kawasaki Shipbuilding Corporation. Here, Fuchikami opened the Hakuyō Photography Studio (Hakuyō Shashinjō).<sup>9</sup> Though information regarding the relationship between Fuchikami and Kawasaki is scarce, curator Takeba Jō has speculated that Kawasaki was Fuchikami's patron and sponsor. This financial relationship would explain how Fuchikami was able to support himself and his projects while in Kōbe. Fuchikami did not come from a wealthy family that could support him in his artistic endeavors; nor does any source refer to commercial work by Fuchikami at this time. Moreover, as Takeba argues and I will discuss later, it may not be a coincidence that Fuchikami's immigration with his family to Manchuria came right after Kawasaki suffered serious financial troubles in 1927 and 1928.<sup>10</sup>

While in Kōbe, Fuchikami founded two photography associations: the Kōbe Red Window Society (Kōbe Sekisō Kai) in 1920 and the Japan Photographic Arts Association

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<sup>8</sup> *Nihon no shashinka*, 356-357. As most sources discuss Fuchikami from the start of his professional career in Kōbe in 1918, little to no information is available for Fuchikami's childhood. Though it is difficult to know more about his background and how it might have informed his work, according to curator and photographic historian, Takeba Jō, what can be surmised is that Fuchikami's family had little money. His father apparently went bankrupt. From an interview with Takeba Jō, at the Nagoya City Art Museum on March 19, 2009. Therefore, Fuchikami did not enjoy any sort of allowance from his family for the pursuit of his photographic studies. He had to generate income on his own which, as will be discussed, led him to certain economic hardships and, eventually, his emigration to Manchuria.

<sup>9</sup> Kaneko Ryūichi, *Nihon no Pikutoriarizumu: fūkei he no manazashi*, (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1992), 130. See also See *Nihon no shashinka*, 356.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Takeba Jō at the Nagoya City Art Museum, Nagoya Japan, March 19, 2009.

(Nihon Kōga Geijutsu Kyōkai, or JPAA) in 1922. Through these organizations Fuchikami promoted the development, exhibition, and collection of art photography. In 1922, Fuchikami began publishing the art photography magazine *Hakuyō* under the publishing company name of Hakuyō Gashūsha.<sup>11</sup> Published monthly, the magazine featured high-quality, detailed collotype prints and soon became the journal for the JPAA. This was the first of several art magazines Fuchikami spearheaded. Indeed, the medium seemed to be one he most favored. In April 1925, he published one issue of an avant-garde magazine called *Zōkei* (Modeling), which focused on the work of MAVO, Sanka, and Action artists.<sup>12</sup> In 1927, he went on to publish two issues of a photography criticism magazine titled *Photo Review* (Foto Rebyū) (June-July, 1927). Eventually, Fuchikami would edit and publish *Hikaru Oka* (Shining Hills) (November 1937-November 1938, June 1939) while living in Manchuria.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See Iizawa, 4; and Kaneko, 130. Also, cultural historian Annika Culver translates Fuchikami's art-photography magazine *Hakuyō* as "White Willow." See Annika Culver, "'Between Distant Realities': The Japanese Avant-Garde, Surrealism, and the Colonies, 1924-1943," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2007), 370. This may well be the case however it should also be noted that the characters for "Hakuyō" as used for his magazine, photography studio, and publishing company are the same as those in the photographer's name (Fuchikami Hakuyō) and, therefore, may be simply named after Fuchikami himself. As such, the name may be understood to operate in two ways, then: First, as a poetic reference to nature (the White Willow, not unlike the highly influential art journal *Shirakaba*, or "White Birch"); second, as a means for Fuchikami to locate himself at the center of media that mediated the development of photographic expression.

<sup>12</sup> Gennifer Weisenfeld, *MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-garde, 1905-1931*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 314.

<sup>13</sup> Dates for *Hakuyō*, *Photo Review*, and *Hikaru Oka* are noted in: Shirayama Mari, "Major Photography Magazines," Stan Anderson and John Junkerman, trans., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryūichi, and Takeba, Jō, eds., *The History of Japanese Photography*, Exhibition catalogue, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 379 and 382.

In its first year of publication, *Hakuyō* focused on works that exhibited a lyrical pictorialism and meditated on nature, such as those by Nakajima Kenkichi of the Besu-tan School, Fukuhara Shinzō, and Sakakibara Seiyō. Pictorialist art photography emerged in Japan around the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> With an open exhibition of art photography in March 1910 by the Tokyo Photographic Research Society, the photographic language of pictorialism quickly grew in popularity, influencing the work of many amateur photographers. In the following decade, up to the early 1920s, pictorialism captured what historian of photography Kaneko Ryūichi describes as a

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<sup>14</sup> Pictorialism was an art photography movement that emerged in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. The product of artists Camille de Silvy, Roger Fenton, Oscar Gustav Rejlander and Henry Peach, pictorialism was at once the pursuit of the artistic value of images produced by the camera itself and the experimentation with images of picturesque landscapes. Though pictorialists began by emulating painting in an attempt to acquire its cultural prestige, photographers such as Peter Henry Emerson pursued a kind of artistic expression based on the qualities of the photograph itself (see *Naturalistic Photography for Students of Art*, 1889). Influenced by Emerson, photographers used processes specific to photography – lens coatings, special filters, and special darkroom developing, for example – to create romantic, soft-focus effects that idealized the subject. Despite the mechanical nature of the medium, the pictorialists created works of profound, subjective, individual expression. In Europe, pictorialism was associated with the Linked Ring salon (England) and the Photo Club de Paris (France). The American photographer Alfred Stieglitz famously promoted the movement in his art photography magazine *Camera Work* (1903-1917). The movement followed in Japan about 10 years after it began developing in Europe and America. See Thomas Padon, *Truth Beauty: Pictorialism and the Photograph as Art, 1845-1945*, Exhibition catalogue, (Vancouver: Vancouver Art gallery, 2008); Christian A. Peterson, *After the Photo-Secession: American Pictorial Photography, 1910-1955*, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Minneapolis Institute of Arts in association with W.W. Norton, New York, 1997); Kaneko Ryūichi, “Nihon pikutoriarizumu shashin to sono shūhen,” edited by Kaneko Ryūichi, *Nihon kindai shashin no seiritsu: Kantō daishinsai kara shinjuwan made, 1923-1941*, (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 1987), 14. See also Kaneko Ryūichi, “The Origins and Development of Japanese Art Photography,” Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryūichi, and Takeba, Jō, editors, *The History of Japanese Photography*, Exhibition catalogue, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 102. Also, the Besu-tan School was named after the small, inexpensive cameras like the Kodak Vest Pocket camera that quickly became popular during the first decades of the twentieth century. Practitioners produced expressive, artistic photographic effects through such means as opening the aperture fully, the “deformation” of the image by bending the paper during the enlargement process, and using oil pigments to retouch a silver-gelatin print (called the *zōkin-gake* or “rag wipe” effect). See Kaneko Ryūichi, “The Origins and Development of Japanese Art Photography,” 111.

“spirit of romanticism” and became a means by which the photographer could express his or her “inner world.”<sup>15</sup>

Though some pictorialists captured scenes of everyday life, for the most part landscapes dominated the subject matter. In these images, the rural landscapes of the Barbizon School and painterly effects of the Impressionists that inspired European pictorialists comingled with a “traditional [Japanese] contemplation of nature.”<sup>16</sup> Scenes in which a human figure dominated the composition were more rare. When the image included a figure, often their presence was deemphasized. The figure would often be alone, in silhouette, seen from the behind, or made small so as not to compete with the expanse of the natural world. The soft-focus atmospheric effects, rich expressive tones, and compositional strategies seen in works such as Sakakibara’s bromide landscape *Afternoon at Koromoga Bay* (*Koromogaura no gogo*) (Figure 2.1) published in *Hakuyō* in 1922, epitomize pictorialist photographic expression of the early 1920s. Tightly packed tile roofs of a village frame the seascape in the middle ground. Though human presence is suggested, no figures are seen.

The direction of art and art photography changed dramatically in 1923 with the Great Kantō Earthquake. With the widespread destruction of Tokyo and Yokohama,

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<sup>15</sup> Kaneko, “The Origins and Development of Japanese Art Photography,” 108. Also, it should be noted that photographs of amateur photography clubs show that some women in Japan participated in the art photography movement and joined these groups. However, their membership was more the exception than the rule. Membership was predominantly male.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

many artists relocated (either temporarily or permanently) to the Kansai area,<sup>17</sup> bringing with them avant-garde influences from Europe such as Futurism, Dadaism, and constructivism. In Kōbe, Fuchikami came into contact with artists such as Asano Mōfu Murayama Tomoyoshi, and Toda Tatsuo, the latter being the likely subject of Fuchikami's photograph, *Portrait of a Mavoist* (Ma-boisuto no shōzō) (1925) (Figure 3.2). Soon, Fuchikami became a leading member of the Constructivist School (Kōsei-ha). He began exploring constructivist aesthetic expression through the “conscious construction” of line, mass, light, and shadow.<sup>18</sup> Fuchikami’s new interest in shapes, patterns, and the contrasting play of white and black, shadow and light is exemplified by *Composition with Circle and Body* (En to jintai no kōsei) (1926) (Figure 3.3) and *Still Life* (Seibutsu) (1925) (Figure 3.4). These works demonstrate Fuchikami’s interest in formal compositional patterns. The head of the man in *Composition with Circle and Body* becomes another circular shape, creating a triangular composition that underscores the geometry of the picture plane; the diagonals of his arms and legs repeat the diagonals. Taken as a sum, his body and the circles create harmonious, compositional balance. Fuchikami takes up the play of diagonal lines, shapes, and patterning of white and black objects in *Still Life* as well. Here, geometry and the strong diagonals of the central

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<sup>17</sup> The Kansai area occupies the South-Central region of Honshū, the main island in the Japanese archipelago. It includes major cultural and metropolitan centers such as Osaka, Kyoto, and Kōbe.

<sup>18</sup> “Conscious construction” is a phrase commonly associated with MAVO artists as well. See Weisenfeld, *MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-garde, 1905-1931*; see also Weisenfeld, “Mavo’s Conscious Constructivism: Art, Individualism, and Daily Life in Interwar Japan,” *Art Journal* 55, no. 33 (Autumn 1996): 64-73.

triangle take precedence. This forces the teacup and pots (objects traditionally given primacy in works of this genre) to the extreme edge of the image. The flattening of space and layering of objects and shapes in both images point to the influence of montage, which had been explored by constructivists and the Dada movement in Europe as well as MAVO artists like Murayama.

In addition to the new exploration of “abstract beauty” of form and composition by Fuchikami and the Constructivist School, the subject matter also changed.<sup>19</sup> Whereas Besu-tan photographers and pictorialists had favored scenes of nature, the Constructivist School looked to urban motifs and still lifes with manmade objects for inspiration. This is evident in Fuchikami’s 1925 photograph, *Dynamic Description* (Dōteki byōsha) (Figure 3.5).<sup>20</sup> Here, the influence of the Futurist movement becomes more noticeable.<sup>21</sup> The subject of the train, one of the most important symbols of Japan’s modernization since the Meiji Restoration in 1868, becomes a vehicle for expressing the more abstract concept of movement and time. More specifically, the dynamic agitation of the object commands a modern sense of *speed*. The attention Fuchikami pays to the power and motion of the train calls to mind Futurist paintings such as Gino Severini’s *Suburban Train Arriving in Paris* (Train de banlieue arrivant à Paris) (Figure 3.6) from 1915. Here

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<sup>19</sup> Kaneko, “Origins and Development of Japanese Art Photography,” 112.

<sup>20</sup> Fuchikami published this work in his magazine *Hakuyō*, 4, no. 6. The following month, Fuchikami published a virtually identical photograph in his magazine, this time titling it *Jikan Byōsha* (Depiction of Time) (also 1925). See Takeba Jō, ed., *Kōseiha no jidai*, 66.

<sup>21</sup> Futurism was an Italian art movement founded by the writer Filippo Tommaso Marinetti in the early twentieth century. Artists of the movement championed images of speed, technology, and even violence. Though Italian, parallel movements occurred elsewhere in the world as well, including England and Russia.

Severini uses a fractured picture plane to communicate energy and movement. Billows of steam, seemingly emerging from three separate points in time and space, evince the train's momentum. While the Futurists expressed their interest in the dynamic machines of the modern age, Fuchikami was more interested in what he would repeatedly refer to as the “truth” of the object. As such, his photograph of a train could not be static. The train in Fuchikami’s *Dynamic Description* vibrates with kinetic potential.

Though Fuchikami’s work changed dramatically with his participation in the Constructivist School in the 1920s, he did not entirely cast off his earlier pictorialist influences. Instead, the two movements converged, producing a kind of photographic expression that could be called “nostalgic modernism.” These dual influences on Fuchikami’s photography would play a critical role in the development of his photographic expression on the continent and serve as an important means for reconciling some of the many paradoxes of the Manchurian project. First, several scholars have noted how many pictorialists drew on the idyllic and aesthetic conceits of the nineteenth-century French Barbizon School of landscape painting. Kaneko ascribes the pictorialists’ affinity for Barbizon School painters like Jean-Francois Millet and Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot to a “lyrical style of expression” which was “suffused with nostalgia” and “manifested a yearning for what has been lost on the part of the masses that live and work in a modern urban environment.”<sup>22</sup> According to Takeba and Iizawa, Fuchikami, too,

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<sup>22</sup> Kaneko, “Origins and Development of Japanese Art Photography,” 111.

utilized the idealized pictorial rhetoric of Millet and Corot.<sup>23</sup> I will address the implications of this visual language in the following section. For the time being, it is important to consider how Fuchikami's position as a privileged urban subject with an increasing predilection for urban subject matter in the 1920s came to be reconciled with his nostalgia for the rural.

The evocative ambiance of pictorialism acted as a kind of aesthetic screen not only between the photographer and the subject, but also between the object and the viewer. This in turn created a vital distance—a subjective space—into which both the creator of the image and the viewer could project their own nostalgic desires. In other words, the atmospheric romanticism of pictorialism created an emotional, spatial, and temporal distance. As a result, the subject became a utopian “no-place” of fantasy. These kinds of images acted more as a glimpse into some nameless past, an emotional link to an idyllic time or place from long ago. In Japan, this nostalgic artistic expression often focused on the disappearing countryside. In Manchuria, however, the emotional appeal of the image could be harnessed for the national memory of the “blood debt” the current generation owed Japanese soldiers lost during the Russo-Japanese War, or the sentimental, urban yearning for a rural life and a closer relationship to nature.

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<sup>23</sup> Takeba Jō. *Ikyō no modanizumu* (also titled: “*The Depicted Utopia*”: Another Facet of Japanese Modern Photography in Manchoukuo), (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Bijutsukan, 1994), 2; Iizawa, *Fuchikami Hakuyō to Manshū Shashin Sakka Kyōkai*, 4.

On the other hand, the language of constructivism tempered this abstract nostalgia with a dynamic vision of the modern present and future. The image of Manchuria as a new modern industrial center of Asia was one of the central themes in public relations materials generated by Mantetsu and the Japan Tourist Bureau. The visual and ideological balance of these seemingly polar opposites—the rural frontier and the urban dynamo, the natural and the industrial—was no easy feat. The same photographic expression used to capture the nostalgic pastoral frontier also came to be applied to the dynamic, steaming spaces of the factory. Through Fuchikami's influence, the atmospheric screen of pictorialism coupled with constructivism's dynamic perspectives, modern imagery, and play of light and shadow would allow for the reconciliation of many paradoxes endemic to the constructed ideal of Manchuria.

### **Artistic Identity and the Ambiguous Politics of Representation**

In 1928, Fuchikami moved his family from metropolitan Japan to the “new world” of Manchuria. Nowhere are the reasons for his emigration stated clearly. As such, there is much speculation. While there were certainly some sound economic and professional reasons, photographic historians have also considered artistic justifications. Iizawa Kōtarō states, “[f]or Fuchikami, who was concerned with the gap between reality and the ideal, Manchuria was literally a new world.”<sup>24</sup> Though this statement does not specify

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<sup>24</sup> Iizawa, *Fuchikami Hakuyō to Manshū Shashin Sakka Kyōkai*, 4.

what “reality” and “ideal” Fuchikami sought to reconcile, it suggests he felt an artistic dissatisfaction in Japan that life in Manchuria was able to rectify.

Takeba postulates that Fuchikami’s move to the continent was akin to European and American artistic migrations to the frontier that occurred in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>25</sup> Takeba writes that during this period artists groped for identity and reflected on modernism as they responded to new social and political developments.<sup>26</sup> Two major currents emerged from this. In one trend, surrealism and abstraction contributed to the flourishing of a lyrical urban modernism in the photographic avant-garde. The other saw artists looking for new sources of inspiration. Europe had been the center of modernist movements up until the end of World War I. Then, with the emergence of the new anti-colonial (and anti-Western) discourse and the rise of new ideologies such as fascism, Europe’s claim as a cultural authority began to weaken. Artists sought escape to alternative spaces through emigration, defection, and travel. Takeba remarks that it was a time of “border crossings.”<sup>27</sup> Photography played an important role in the expression of these artistic journeys.

Mantetsu capitalized on the desire of artists to seek out new modes of expression on the “fringes.” In the late 1920s, the company actively sought out Japanese artists,

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<sup>25</sup> Takeba references, for example, the photographer and filmmaker Paul Strand who spent time in the late 1920s and early 1930s in the Southwest United States. In the late 1930s he went to Mexico. Takeba points out that it was during this period that Mexico and its culture exerted a great deal of influence over American and European artists. Takeba, *Ikyō no modanizumu*, unpaginated.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

writers, and designers to bring to the continent. Organizations such as Mantetsu had been promoting Manchuria—imagined as a sublime, distant frontier overflowing with romantic inspiration—as a cultural destination for artists and writers for several decades. This marked out the space not only as a culturally stimulating destination for tourists but also an important international site for artistic development. Mantetsu harnessed a variety of esteemed talent, from author Natsume Sōseki, who wrote *Man-kan tokoro dokoro* (Here and There in Manchuria and Korea) in 1909, to yōga painter and futurist, Yanase Masamu in the late 1920s.<sup>28</sup>

One of the key cultural figures solicited by Mantetsu was Yaginuma Takeo (1895-1944), the former bureau chief of *Asahi Shinbun* in the Manchurian city of Harbin, and the new head editor of the Mantetsu Employees Association newsletter *Kyōwa* (Harmony).<sup>29</sup> Yaginuma likely became familiar with Fuchikami's work when the photographer visited Manchuria in 1923. Fuchikami had acted as a judge for the "All Manchuria Photographic Excellence Exhibition" (Zen-Man yūshū inga ten), one of the first official photography exhibitions in the region. Mantetsu invited Fuchikami to travel to the continent in November 1927. Fuchikami spent a month traveling throughout north China and gave a lecture in Tianjin in December that same year.<sup>30</sup> The following year in

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<sup>28</sup> Culver examines the early invitation of these cultural figures, and Natsume Sōseki in particular. See Annika Culver, “Between Distant Realities”: The Japanese Avant-garde, Surrealism, and the Colonies, 1924-1943”, 264-429.

<sup>29</sup> Takeba, *Ikyō no modanizumu*, 2. For Yaginuma's professional affiliations see Iizawa Kōtarō, “Shashin no yu-topia (Fuchikami Hakuyō to Manshū shashin sakka kyōkai),” *KAN* 10 (Summer, 2002): 234.

<sup>30</sup> Iizawa Kōtarō, “Shashin no yu-topia,” 234..

1928, Fuchikami showed his photographs at the Osaka Asahi Meeting Hall in an exhibit titled “Exhibit of Photographs from a trip to Manchuria” (Manshū ryokō shashin sakuhin ten). Following Fuchikami’s continental tour, Yaginuma extended him an invitation to work for Mantetsu in its public relations office.

It does not appear that Fuchikami had the intention of emigrating at first. Yaginuma continued to invite Fuchikami, but the photographer initially declined. He had hoped to continue working for the JPAA in Kōbe and rededicate himself to magazines like *Hakuyō* and *Photo Review*.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, these activities required capital that Fuchikami did not have at the time. Losing his patron Kawasaki Yoshitarō to bankruptcy in 1927 placed Fuchikami in dire economic circumstances. Therefore, when Yaginuma offered Fuchikami a high-level position in Mantetsu’s Public Relations Department, the economic incentive was too good to ignore. With a well-paid position, Fuchikami had the financial resources to continue his promotion and development of art photography.

Fuchikami’s artistic background soon influenced the look of Mantetsu’s publications. From his arrival, Fuchikami began overseeing publications like the *Manshū shashinchō* (The Photographic Album of Manchuria).<sup>32</sup> Mantetsu published this album annually as a means to pictorially describe Manchuria, its goods, industries, and notable scenery. In short, they published the *Manshū shashinchō* to act as a visual description of

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> See *Manshū shashinchō: showa 2 nen ban*, (Dalian: Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushikikaisha, 1927); and *Manshū shashinchō: showa 4 nen ban*, (Dalian: Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushikikaisha, 1929).

spaces in Manchuria controlled by the company. The collection opens with text discussing resources, people, and even the production of goods. Then, images lead the reader through the geographic space of Manchuria in an orderly fashion. The first layout brings the reader into the space of Manchuria as if by boat. After “disembarking” at Dalian harbor, the reader then moves into the new modern space of the city, traveling on to the city of Lüshun, and further into Manchuria, following Mantetsu’s rail lines. The effect of this proscribed movement is the creation of a kind of visual tour that imitated the ideal continental tourist experience.

Fuchikami’s initial influence on the 1929 iteration of *Manshū shashinchō* is not obvious. For the most part, the issue is largely the same in style and content as the 1927 edition that predated his tenure. Even the file photographs used for each issue are the same. Fuchikami’s artistic influence on the publication becomes apparent in the 1931 issue.<sup>33</sup> First, the subtle incorporation of montage into the layout and design of the images is much more dynamic, pointing to the constructivism that Fuchikami was exposed to in Kōbe. While Fuchikami continued to draw on some of the same stock photographs used in previous issues, he refreshed them through innovative design, using more dynamic layouts and overlapping images. More artistically significant, however, was his inclusion of high-quality collotype prints, the printing technique Fuchikami had used in the publication of photographs in *Hakuyō*. For example, the special collotype printing of

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<sup>33</sup> *Manshū shashinchō: showa 6 nen ban*, (Dalian: Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushiki Kaisha, 1931).

“Sheep-raising, Agricultural Experiment Station, Kunchuling” (Figure 3.7) enhanced the subtle mid-tones of the image, transforming what might have been another rural scene of grazing Manchurian sheep into a far more nuanced, aesthetically sensitive photograph.<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, this image also indicates a kind of play between aesthetics and didactic description. It drew heavily on pictorialist techniques and subject matter while being firmly rooted in a specific place through the caption below it, thus fulfilling the colonial educational—or descriptive—function of the publication. This balance between didacticism and aesthetics would continue in the art photography Fuchikami produced for Mantetsu throughout the 1930s.

Though the *Manshū shashinchō* from 1931 demonstrates the growing influence of Fuchikami’s art photography on Mantetsu’s public-relations media, his vision for art photography can be seen best in the photography annuals (*shashin nenkan*) he began editing and compiling from 1930. Through these annuals, Fuchikami highlighted the work of Japanese art photographers working on the continent.<sup>35</sup> The photographic annuals were also official publications of Mantetsu’s public relations department and distributed through the China-Japan Cultural Association (Chū-nichi bunka kyōkai). While the *Manshū shashinchō* and the photographic annual were both published annually by the same office, the function of the two publications was quite different. The former

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<sup>34</sup> *Manshū shashinchō: showa 6 nen ban*, 77. Also, it should be noted that the photograph’s caption was in both English and Japanese.

<sup>35</sup> It is important to note that participation in the art photography promoted by Fuchikami through Mantetsu publications, the Manchuria Photographic Artists Association, exhibitions, or his own magazines was all Japanese. I will examine the significance of this privileged authorial position later in this chapter.

was intended to advertise Manchuria through an ideal visual tour. On the other hand, the primary purpose of the *Manchuria Photographic Annual* (Manshū shashin nenkan) series was the introduction of noteworthy photographers and the presentation of developments in art photography on the continent.<sup>36</sup>

The difference in function is evident in many ways. First, whereas the *Manshū shashinchō* presented a balance of urban, industrial, and rural spaces, the photographic annual featured predominantly rural or village scenes. Of the forty photographs included, only two—*Daybreak* by Shiwa Yoson and *Dairen Station in Morning Light* by Kohama Naozo—were of explicit urban or industrial subjects.<sup>37</sup> Twenty-two focused on rural themes. The rest included a still life, beach scenes, portraiture, or ambiguous spaces such as houses, a temple, and a mausoleum not explicitly located in the space of the city. The emphasis on non-industrial themes exemplifies the subjects that Japanese photographers were exploring at the time as well as Fuchikami's editorial vision of continental photography. Despite showcasing the vision of many different photographers, the annual possessed artistic cohesion. One can clearly see the continuing dissemination of pictorialism both in the use of bromoil prints (a photographic process favored by pictorialists) and in the soft-focus ambiance that envelopes each image. The evocative, textural diffusion of light and the hazy pictorialist atmosphere is not surprising in

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<sup>36</sup>Fuchikami Hakuyō, ed., *Manshū shashin nenkan*, (Dalian: Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushiki Kaisha, 1930).

<sup>37</sup>These are the English captions for each image. Captions for the work were predominantly in Japanese; however, titles, artist names, and media were listed in both English and Japanese.

romantic landscapes such as Iwamoto Keinosuke's *Landscape of the Kaoli-Hill* (Komayama fūkei) or Sakakibara Masakazu's *Old Citadel-Wall* (Jōheki fūkei) (Figure 3.8).<sup>38</sup> Yet, even those photographs that imaged an urban or industrial subject matter utilized the same soft-focus ambiance as those of rural scenes. Consequently, the potential hardness or coldness that might be elicited in an industrial image disappeared. For example, Shiwa's *Daybreak* (Tokai no asa) (Figure 3.9) transforms the steaming smokestacks of a factory town into an intimate scene. Tranquil and peaceful, it is emblematic of the kind of "nostalgic modern" expression that can be seen in Fuchikami's work during the 1930s.

Fuchikami's remarks in the Editorial Preface demonstrate his belief in the importance of publishing this kind of compilation:

This is the first publication of a [photographic] annual from the Manchurian community. I want to show not only Japanese people but also the world community these exceptional works by just a few photographers. Therefore, I want to commend these photographers.

We [the photographers featured in this publication] are pioneers (*kaitakusha*) of Manchuria. The photographs gathered in this annual are not just simply art objects, but are made to bear important significance as well. I declare that this work is helping the public recognize the social value of art photography.<sup>39</sup>

In this statement, Fuchikami underscored the importance of these photographers and their work not only in the Japanese photographic community but also internationally, pointing

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<sup>38</sup> His given name is also read as "Masaichi." Sakakibara eventually became a member of the MPAA. See Iiazawa, *Fuchikami Hakuyō to Manshū shashin sakka kyōkai*, 69.

<sup>39</sup> Fuchikami Hakuyō, "Editorial preface," *Manshū shashin nenkan*, (Dalian: Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushikikaisha, 1930).

to a kind of transnational dialogue he would stress in the coming decade. Of course, Fuchikami's interest in the international community is also evident in the use of English in the text. Though the editorial preface, artists' statements, and editorial evaluations of the photographs were written entirely in Japanese, the photographs had English captions, providing the artist's name, title, print medium, and size of the image for a foreign Anglophone public. Through this annual, Fuchikami staked an artistic claim for the Japanese photographers on the continent and presented it not only to Japanese living in and visiting Manchuria, but also to foreign travelers as well. Ultimately, this claim to internationalism worked to codify the artistic authority of Japanese art photography developing on the continent.

Fuchikami's use of the term "pioneer" or *kaitakusha* to describe the photographers in his editorial preface provides further layers of meaning to the nascent development of Japanese art photography on the continent in 1930. Viewed through the lens of artistic practice, "pioneer" may have alluded to cutting-edge work and the exploration of new artistic "territory," although the word *senkusha* (also meaning "pioneer") was usually used in this particular case. On the other hand, the most common meaning for the term *kaitakusha* in a Manchurian context was that of the Japanese pioneer immigrant to the continent. Though perhaps linked to artistic practice, Fuchikami's use of the term was more likely a statement of artistic self-identification as he likened himself and the other photographers of the annual to the rugged settlers of the Manchurian frontier. Arguably, this was a means to legitimize his claim to a kind of

authorial authenticity. There was an honesty of experience at stake in the making of these images and, more specifically, in what Fuchikami defined as “art.” This was an important component in forging the culturally elite position that Fuchikami would claim during the tenure of his stay in Manchuria until 1941.

Fuchikami’s claim to an authentic experience as a pioneer in the vast, untamed land of Manchuria was complicated by the fact that his social and economic position on the continent was vastly different from many Japanese rural settlers striking out on the frontier to make a new life. Fuchikami earned a very good salary from Mantetsu. Moreover, many of the photographers featured in the photographic annual enjoyed a middle-class lifestyle—or upper middle-class in Fuchikami’s case—and lived in highly modern, affluent Manchurian cities like Dalian. Certainly, there were few (if any) Japanese rural settlers on the plains of Manchuria who would have been able to afford a “Flex camera,” the kind of high quality equipment preferred by many art photographers, particularly pictorialists. In fact, the Flex camera was the apparatus of choice for Fuchikami and for noted art photographer, Alfred Stieglitz. In 1932, a Flex camera cost several hundred yen. For example, the new Spring Button Rolleiflex cost 317 yen in the early 1930s.<sup>40</sup> This was at a time when a Japanese textile factory worker earned on average 1.16 yen per day.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> *Nihon shashinkai nenkan, Showa 7 (1932)*, (Tokyo: Shashinki kaisha, 1932), page B-4.

<sup>41</sup> *Japan-Manchoukuo Year Book*, (Tokyo: Japan-Manchoukuo Year Book Co, 1934), 248.

This claim to an alternative, romanticized subject position appears in Fuchikami's later writing as well. In the January 1940 issue of the Japanese monthly photography magazine *Photo Times* (Foto Taimasu), he cultivated a similar association in an article simply titled "The Manchuria Photographic Artists Association" (Manshū shashin sakka kyōkai). In this article, Fuchikami underscored the elite nature of the art photography undertaken by him and his colleagues of the MPAA. He wrote:

Our job starts from a love of nature. Those of us who adore nature can only pierce the truth of nature that is at the foundation of all things. We have to study what they are all the more deeply because we cannot work without kneeling in reverence to the mystery of nature and human solemnity [ . . . ]

[Human art] might have the beauty of an immediate strangeness and vulgar outward appearance but, after all, is equal to the luster of artificial pearls. Therefore, art has to be the product of a soul that has been heightened by the deep intelligence, discipline, admiration and deep emotion that are all learned from nature. The great poet Bashō kneels on the ground, kissing one blade of grass with a single sheet (of poetry): This love cannot help but be the foundational element in the union between art and religion. The greatness of Dostoevsky's art achieves a unique existence in the dissection of the real human being through the tear of loving sympathy and extolling the true human being.<sup>42</sup>

In this statement, Fuchikami identified with other great artists who drew "inspiration from nature" and, as such, possessed the depth of "emotion" and "intelligence" to "pierce the truth" of their subjects. This not only speaks to the elevated position in which he placed art photographers—equal to great literati such as Bashō and Dostoevsky—but also how art must be the product of an artist's innate sensibilities, such as intelligence, emotions, and spirit.

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<sup>42</sup> Fuchikami Hakuyō, "Manshū shashin sakka kyōkai," *Photo Times* 17, no. 2 (February 1940): 17.

Later in the article, Fuchikami further romanticized his artistic position and that of his colleagues in the MPAA by comparing their endeavors, informed by nature, to those of a peasant-farmer (*nōfu*). He stated:

The works of the MPAA lack momentary, clever, and modern charm. This is because they cannot stop seeking strong cultivation like that of the faithful peasant farmer. It is through this—by gazing at eternally quiet nature and man from the middle of serene loneliness like a pond and by deepening their earnest love of the spirit—that artists believe they can reach the equinox of art.<sup>43</sup>

In this statement Fuchikami distinguished the artistic endeavors of the MPAA by likening their work to that of the peasant-farmer. Granted, the “peasant-farmer” differs in meaning from the *kaitakusha* “pioneer,” although, *kaitakusha* in Manchuria (and then Manchukuo after 1932) were often rural, agricultural settlers. Despite this nuanced difference, I believe that both terms build on the same idea. More importantly, they express Fuchikami’s perception of art photography’s role on the continent. Through his identification with the *nōfu* peasant-farmer, Fuchikami sought a connection to nature and a means to ennoble his position, romanticizing his work on the great frontier of Manchuria.

The identification of the artist with a rural peasant points to the significant influence of the French Barbizon School of painting on both Fuchikami’s artistic identity and the development of his subjects. Several scholars have noted that Fuchikami was inspired by the nineteenth-century French Barbizon artists Jean-François Millet and Jean-

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<sup>43</sup> Fuchikami Hakuyō, “Manshū Shashin Sakka Kyōkai,” 18.

Baptiste-Camille Corot. For example, light was an important aesthetic component for Barbizon painters, including Millet. In fact, Millet, like Fuchikami, favored twilight scenes, painting many works just before or after sunset.<sup>44</sup> Members of the Barbizon School also possessed a strong affinity for rural subjects. Artists like Millet and Corot endeavored to capture the “unedited truths of landscape” while often heroizing peasant life and labor. These scenes greatly inspired Fuchikami.<sup>45</sup> Certainly, works Fuchikami created during his time in Manchuria such as *Sowing* (Tanemaki) (1935) (Figure 3.10), which was first featured in *Manshū Graph* in May 1937, exemplify almost a direct quotation of Millet’s nineteenth-century paintings. Here, the body of a farmer fills the frame in a monumental image that Fuchikami originally printed as an enormous drum-roll print.<sup>46</sup> The farmer stoops to plant a seed in the rich, freshly tilled Manchurian soil. His pose is strongly reminiscent of Millet’s famous painting of peasant women, *The Gleaners* (1857) (Figure 3.11). The monumentality of the figure and the atmospheric lighting also recalls Millet’s earlier painting, *The Sower* (1850) (Figure 3.12). In *Sowing*, Fuchikami balanced a sharp play of light across the farmer’s sinewy, muscled arm with a warm sepia tone and soft-focus filter that was in keeping with much of modern pictorialist expression.

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<sup>44</sup> Anne L. Poulet, Alexandra R. Murphy, *Corot to Braque: French Painting from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1979), 32.

<sup>45</sup> Robert Rosenblum and H.W. Janson, *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Art*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1984), 183.

<sup>46</sup> The enormous print can be seen in a 1935 photograph of his studio. See Takeba, *Ikyō no Modanizumu*, unpaginated.

Fuchikami's *Sowing* appeared not only in *Manshū Graph* in May 1937, but was also featured in Mantetsu's *Manshū Gaikan*, 2599 (also called *A Pictorial Outline of Manchuria, 1939*). It also transcended Mantetsu's publishing sphere by appearing in the June 1940 issue of *Shin Manshū* (New Manchuria), a magazine published monthly by the Manchuria Immigration Association.<sup>47</sup> Another image, almost a direct quotation of Millet's *The Gleaners*, appeared in *Manshū Graph* in June 1939, captioned in English as "Chosenese Immigrants Happy in New Home" (Figure 3.13). Interestingly, these respective images were not contextualized as artworks when published. The only caption accompanying Fuchikami's *Sowing* in *Shin Manshū* was "Manchurian sowing seeds" (tane o maku manjin).<sup>48</sup> Yet these repetitions expose how the rural idealization and aestheticization of Manchuria, informed by the conceits of the French Barbizon School, was more than an artistic means to apprehend the frontier; by 1939, it had become naturalized as a means of understanding the Manchurian landscape and the experience of agriculturalists on the continent. Moreover, its quotation acted as a demonstration of the artists' own artistic knowledge and cultural cachet.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> The photograph was used in conjunction with the article "Zen-Man de wa chiryoku ga gentai," *Shin Manshū* 4, no. 6 (June 1940): 161.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> The association of the Manchurian landscape with French painting practices is also evident in the 1930 book *Manshū Bikān* (Beautiful Sights of Manchuria) by the fine art critic Ōsumi Tamezō (1881-1961). In this book, Ōsumi details many different aspects of the Manchurian-Mongolian visual field, including pottery design, textiles, and the natural landscape. His treatment of the latter in his chapter "The Nature of Manchuria-Mongolia and Famous Occidental Masterpieces," (Man-Mō no shizen to taisei no meiga) drew on many pastoral scenes by Corot and Millet, demonstrating how cultural producers other than Fuchikami conflated the rural ideal of the continent with Western painting practices. Ōsumi and Fuchikami arguably came to their adaptation of Western aesthetics through different experiences. Ōsumi had specialized in

It is not surprising that Fuchikami drew on the Barbizon School's aesthetics and subjects. There was a long history of Francophile thinking in Japan. French painting grew increasingly popular due in large part to Antonio Fontanesi (1818-1888), an Italian painter of romantic landscapes in the French Barbizon style. Fontanesi was invited to teach at the Technical Fine Arts School (Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō) in Tokyo. There, he taught techniques in Western realism, such as chiaroscuro, perspective, and anatomy, for example. His work, informed by the Barbizon School, was also imbued with poetic sentimentality and "romantic beauty."<sup>50</sup> The painting, *Harvest* (Shūkaku) (1890), by one of Fontanesi's most notable students, Asai Chū (1856-1907), epitomizes the kind of idyllic rural scenes often seen in Barbizon imagery. These romanticized vignettes resonated with Japanese artists. Art historian Yamada Chisaburō remarks that this was because the Japanese possess a "strong poetical trend."<sup>51</sup>

Japanese artists responded to other aspects of the Barbizon School as well. For some, the lives of artists had become imbued with a romantic quality. Millet moved his family to the French village of Barbizon in search of an "authentic" peasant model.<sup>52</sup>

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Greek art at Tōyō University; furthermore, he had lived in France from 1905 until 1914, even studying at the Sorbonne. His background suggests a predisposition toward the implementation of this kind of European painterly framework for apprehending the Manchurian landscape. See Ōsumi Tamezō, *Manshū Bikān*, (Tokyo and Dalian: Chū-nichi Bunka Kyōkai, 1930), 77-94.

<sup>50</sup> Yamada Chisaburō, "Japanese Modern Art," *Monumena Nipponica* 3, no. 2 (July 1940): 573.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Susan Waller, "Rustic Poseurs: Peasant Models in the Practice of Jean-François Millet and Jules Breton," *Art History* 31, no. 2 (April 2008): 187.

Fuchikami may have drawn on this artistic precedent when he moved his family to the frontier. Of course, Fuchikami's relationship to rural Manchuria was more of an urban fantasy than a lived reality as he resided in the cosmopolitan city of Dalian, not the countryside.<sup>53</sup> In addition to the idealized lifestyle of the Barbizon artists, some Japanese artists and intellectuals may have also responded to the politics of the nineteenth-century painting school. French leftists championed Millet's works, such as *The Gleaners*, as images that highlighted the dire conditions of the rural poor. Though highly aesthetic as the sun illuminates the field and glints of the figures, the stooped backs of the three women in *The Gleaners* accentuate the weariness of their repetitive endeavor. The association of the Barbizon School with leftist politics is evident in the literary journal *Tanemaku Hito* (The Sower), which featured Millet's *The Sower* on its cover. *Tanemaku Hito* was founded in 1921 by leftist sympathizers, including MAVO artist, Yanase Masamu (1900-1945).<sup>54</sup> As Fuchikami came to know the MAVO artists in 1923 after the earthquake, it is likely he was familiar with the magazine.

It is difficult to speculate about the extent to which Fuchikami's romanticized self-identification indicated a sociopolitical sympathy between the artist and the laboring

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<sup>53</sup> Millet, too, was distanced from his subjects even as he lived in the same community. According to Robert L. Herbert, Millet may have been a peasant when he first moved to Paris in 1837 but he was a highly cultured intellectual by the time he moved to Barbizon in 1848. Therefore, his move to the country was an extension of his nostalgia for his childhood spent in the Normandy countryside. See Robert L. Herbert, "Millet Revisited- I," *The Burlington Magazine* 104, no. 712 (July 1962): 295. See also Waller, 195.

<sup>54</sup> Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Mavo's 'Conscious Constructivism': Art, Individualism, and Daily Life in Interwar Japan," 67.

pioneer or rural worker. Some of the artists and movements with which Fuchikami came into contact were influenced by leftist politics, indicating a position sympathetic with laborers both in the city and in the countryside. For example, many of the MAVO artists Fuchikami met following the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 championed anti-establishment individualism while advocating socially engaged artistic practice. In fact, following the earthquake, intellectuals and artists like Murayama were even accused of socialist activities and interrogated by authorities.<sup>55</sup> Although Fuchikami's other influences such as Millet from the Barbizon School also had leftist leanings, there is almost no evidence that Fuchikami adopted their politics. Certainly, there were many leftists among the artists and designers recruited by Mantetsu.<sup>56</sup> Cultural historian, Annika Culver, has argued for a left-wing reading of the images of laborers Fuchikami produced while living on the continent and working for the company.<sup>57</sup> Yet, Fuchikami's writing indicates that he was more preoccupied with art than ideology. He discussed several topics at length: aesthetics, the perception of photography as art, the way in which the artist mediated true artistic production, and the technical means of producing images. He did not address politics. Therefore, it is important to examine his work through a lens of greater political ambiguity.

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 64-73.

<sup>56</sup> The hiring of leftist researchers is a major theme addressed in: Itō Takeo, *Life Along the South Manchurian Railway: The Memoirs of Itō Takeo*, Joshua Fogel, trans., (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1988).

<sup>57</sup> Culver, 367-382.

His bromoil print *The Setting Sun* (Rakujitsu) (Figure 3.14), the last photograph featured in the 1930 annual, demonstrates the sociopolitical ambiguity of his artistic expression. At first glance, this work seems to have the potential to act as a criticism of the arduous labor many had to undertake on the continent in the name of Japanese progress. The image shows workers, bare to the waist and their clothes in tatters, laboring in a coal pit and hauling out rubble. In the beginning of his description of the image on the facing page, Fuchikami seemed to acknowledge their plight in the caption: “I saw the tragic, strenuous efforts of man living in nature. It was the expression of the serious anguish of human life.”<sup>58</sup> Indeed, the image, coupled with this description, demonstrates his sympathy for the toiling subject. Nonetheless, the remainder of the caption complicates this reading of the image and Fuchikami’s artistic intentions. It reads, “But still, it was the expression of the greatness of human work because small human beings can raise up great culture on the round face of the Earth.”<sup>59</sup> Fuchikami then describes the transformative aesthetics of the scene before him, stating, “[t]here, in a great canyon, is an open-cut coal mine that is developed before the setting sun. The light of the setting sun reflects a mysterious color and power in the coal mine that is being excavated. The enormous machine of civilization rolls and moves with a large roar like a monster.”<sup>60</sup> The meaning of this image, then, becomes multifaceted and politically ambiguous. Taken

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<sup>58</sup> Fuchikami Hakuyō, caption for *The Setting Sun* (Rakujitsu), *Manshū shashin nenkan*, 77.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

with the caption, this image is not merely a document of the hardships of the laborers but rather an image of Fuchikami's experience of an aesthetic sublime while viewing the hardship of mines. The once bleak place transformed for him into a space of "mysterious color and power." Even the title—*The Setting Sun*—speaks to the "transcendent" emotions it evokes. It does not refer to the workers or the mine; rather it refers to the time of day when the hardship of labor is transformed into something more poetic. In fact, the title *The Setting Sun* is provocative, especially given that the "sunset" itself seems subordinate to the workers' laboring bodies, which dominate the composition. Rather, the light of the sunset acts as a means to transform the scene of toil into one of aesthetic contemplation.

Fuchikami's constructivist influences are revealed in the play of light on the landscape and the bodies of the workers, creating a pattern of black and white, light and shadow. The hazy, atmospheric effect erases the individual identity of the workers and creates an evocative veil between the subject and the viewer, effectively transforming the stark subject into an aesthetic object for contemplation. Together, the "nostalgic modernism" of these photographic techniques transforms the scene into Fuchikami's personal form of artistic expression. The aestheticization of the scene, coupled with Fuchikami's poetic description of the mysterious color and power of the light, worked to romanticize (somewhat problematically) labor and the mines. This valorization of labor, common in Soviet photography during the 1930s, might speak to how his artistic inspirations informed his ideological position. Yet the image cannot be divorced from

Mantetsu, the apparatus of the “great machine of civilization.” Therefore, it can similarly be understood as lauding the colonial apparatus that puts such noble labor to use. Of course, Fuchikami’s description of the sound of civilization as like the “roar of a monster” does not seem to speak well of this machine in which these laborers are cogs.

The theme of the sunset would figure repeatedly in Fuchikami’s work throughout the 1930s. This is not entirely surprising as the theme of the “setting sun” had a special symbolic association for the Japanese on the continent, associated with the Japanese soldiers who died during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05).<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, this theme would not see a strong resurgence in Japanese popular media until the Manchurian Incident of 1931 when Japanese claims to this region took on new urgency. Indeed, though sharing the theme in title, this 1930 image is less a symbol and more a means for aesthetically transforming the bleak scene of the mines into a means of artistic expression. In other words, the setting sun is a vehicle for Fuchikami’s profoundly sublime, aesthetic experience. Nonetheless, through the deployment of a title that even in 1930 possessed the palimpsest of Japanese war dead, the image also speaks to the association of the laboring bodies in the image (likely Chinese coolies) with those Japanese lost during the war with Russia several decades earlier and a sublime aesthetic experience. This exposes an uneasy paradox in the image between the personal, artistic

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<sup>61</sup> I discuss this theme at length in Chapter 5.

experience of the artist and the ambiguous sociopolitical implications of the aestheticization of labor.

## **Forging Cultural Capital on the Continent**

While the politics of Fuchikami's photographs may have been ambiguous, they still had an important role to play in Mantetsu's multifaceted public relations campaign. This is because they were not meant to function as visual documents of Mantetsu's supposed good works on the continent or advertise the beneficence of the Japanese occupation. They were not vehicles of ideological persuasion. Indeed, if this had been the case, they would have been considered a failure as they lacked a clearly defined message. As such, the company would not have continued to support Fuchikami's artistic vision. Rather, these art photographs operated far more abstractly. They were a form of highly aesthetic 'soft propaganda' that created an affective connection between Mantetsu, *naichi* readers, and Manchuria. Moreover, Fuchikami's photography and that of the MPAA was a valuable cultural product with which Mantetsu could elevate the prestige of its corporate image. As Fuchikami spent 13 years promoting art photography through Mantetsu's offices, it is evident that the relationship between the company and its associated art photographers was mutually beneficial.

Mantetsu was not the only company that used culture as a public relations vehicle. Roland Marchand describes how a number of American corporations also sponsored cultural events in the 1930s and 1940s in order to communicate to the public their ability

to “recognize excellence.”<sup>62</sup> In other words, companies such as AT&T and General Motors linked the corporate brand to painting, sculpture, or orchestral music of the “great masters” in order to “bring before the public mind the [companies’] high standards of service.”<sup>63</sup> In doing so, these companies spoke to a sophisticated and culturally elite audience. A poll had found that members of this demographic were the “thought leaders” of society and more likely to be critical of corporations and cartel agreements.<sup>64</sup> This population segment was also more likely to pay attention to high art. Therefore, corporations used culture as a form of damage control.

Business interests in Japan also recognized the advantage of building an association with the arts. For example, Christine Guth has examined how Masuda Takashi (1848-1938), the director of the Mitsui Trading Company, cultivated a prestigious and refined self-image by collecting art and promoting cultural practices such as the tea ceremony (*chanoyu*).<sup>65</sup> Masuda’s pursuit of art served several purposes. According to Guth, it was a way to “affirm Japan’s cultural identity vis-à-vis the West” and prevent the nation’s art treasures from being “looted” by Western collectors.<sup>66</sup> It was

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<sup>62</sup> Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1998), 332-333.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 333.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Christine M.E. Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

<sup>66</sup> This was particularly important in the late nineteenth century in Japan as traditional culture was inextricably linked with the expression of national identity. Moreover, his acquisition of important Sino-Japanese works, including a twelfth-century *Tale of Genji* scroll, seventh-century camphor-wood figures from Hōryūji Temple in Nara, a piece of ninth-century calligraphy by the monk Kōbō Daishi, and a

also an important part of his “quest for social legitimacy.” This latter point not only contributed to his personal social relationships but also, by extension, perception of his company as well. Collecting tea utensils and participating in the tea ceremony were activities that he shared with his cohort of the industrial and culturally elite. This helped him forge stronger ties with fellow businessmen. More importantly, support of art and culture was a means to demonstrate taste and respectability. Masuda’s business associate and long-time friend Shibusawa Eiichi felt that the new entrepreneurs (what he called “*jitsugyōka*” or “one who does real work”) of the Meiji era had to demonstrate the qualities formerly associated with the samurai class that had been the nation’s cultural, social, and intellectual ideal for several centuries.<sup>67</sup> Tea ceremonies provided an excellent opportunity to display Masuda’s refinement. He held an annual tea gathering called the Daishi kai that was much like a salon. In addition to participating in tea ceremonies at this event, invited guests could also view, discuss, and even handle pieces from Masuda’s fine art collection. Through this occasion, Masuda furthered his business interests and those of the Mitsui Company as he culturally engaged the political, cultural, and business elite of Tokyo. The Daishi kai also functioned as a broader public relations vehicle. As the event was well publicized in newspapers run by the Mitsui Company, Masuda’s

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bamboo flower container made by the famous tea master Sen no Rikyū, kept foreign collectors from acquiring them and shipping them to overseas museums. Guth, 5-8.

<sup>67</sup> Guth, 144.

cultural sensibilities reached the larger public.<sup>68</sup> According to Guth, Masuda capitalized on the popular conviction that Japanese treasures were being looted by foreigners. His collecting, then, became an expression of patriotic duty.<sup>69</sup>

While Guth's study focuses on how an individual's cultural activities enhanced his image, her argument can be extrapolated to corporate branding as well. In the case of Mantetsu, it was not one individual who gained prestige through the demonstration of cultural expertise but rather an entire company. Whether drawing on American examples or that of Mitsui Company's influential director, Mantetsu's various presidents recognized the advantages of cultural sponsorship for bolstering the company's public image. Through association with painters, novelists, and renowned photographers, Mantetsu set itself apart as a company of distinction. On one hand, the powerfully evocative images these artists and writers created were crucial in cultivating the emotional connection between the viewer, the company, and development in Manchuria. On the other hand, the association itself took on a significant public relations role. Therefore, it was not necessarily detrimental to Mantetsu public relations goals that the meaning and politics of Fuchikami's photographs were ambiguous. More important was the recognized cultural cachet of Fuchikami and his artistic associates. In all respects, Fuchikami proved to be a valuable asset.

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<sup>68</sup> Guth, 8.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. It should be noted that, though Masuda's involvement with the arts benefited him and his company, it was not disingenuous. Rather, he was a man of great aesthetic appreciation. The scope and quality of his collection demonstrates a genuine passion for the objects rather than just a desire to promote a positive public image.

Fuchikami spearheaded many kinds of projects under the auspices of Mantetsu's public relations department. With the founding of Manchukuo on 18 February 1932, Fuchikami and Yaginuma were tasked with developing visual campaigns for the celebration and advertisement of the new nation. In December that same year, Fuchikami founded the MPAA. Almost every major city in Manchuria had an amateur art photography club such as the aforementioned Xinjing Photographic Association and the Dalian Photography Club (Dalian shashin kyōkai). There were also broader groups such as the Manchuria Photographic Research Association (Manshū shashin kenkyūkai) and the Manchuria Photography League (Manshū shashin renmei), which were both founded in Dalian. Some of the groups boasted a large membership. For example, the Liaodong Photography Association (Ryōtō shakōkai) had over 270 members.<sup>70</sup> In contrast, the MPAA was a select group that, through Fuchikami's vision, financial support, and connections, came to be the premier art photography association in Manchukuo. According to art photographer and MPAA member, Doi Yūji, there were four central members of the MPAA: Fuchikami, Sera Shōichi, Yoneki Zen'emon, and Sakakibara Masakazu.<sup>71</sup> That said, the announcement of the group's formation in the 1933 *Manshū nenkan* (Annual of Manchuria) listed 21 members by name as core figures in the group

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<sup>70</sup> Takeba, *Ikyō no modanizumu*, 2. It is important to note that some photographers were members of several groups at the same time. For example MPAA member, Terashima Manji, was a member of both the Manchuria Photographic Artists Association and the Liaodong Photography Association. And core MPAA member Isshiki was also a member of the Dalian shashin sakka shūdan (Dalian Photographic Artists Group). See Iizawa, *Fuchikami Hakuyō to Manshū shashin sakka kyōkai*, 69.

<sup>71</sup> Doi Yūji, quoted in Takeba, *Ikyō no modanizumu*, unpaginated.

and alluded to others.<sup>72</sup> Many of these photographers had participated in the 1930 photography annual. Other members such as Unoki Satoshi, Isshiki Tatsuo, and Chizaki Minoru (not listed in the original list) would also play an important role in the group.

The MPAA brought together both professional and amateur photographers under Fuchikami's guidance. Moreover, these photographers came from a variety of professions and backgrounds. For example, Isshiki was a photographer from Tokyo who also joined the public relations office of Mantetsu; Unoki trained in aviation photography and was invited by Fuchikami to work for Mantetsu; Tanaka Shiyō, who was a member of both the Kōbe Red Window Society and the Japan Photographic Arts Association with Fuchikami, also worked for Mantetsu's public relations division as well as the public relations office of the Manchuria Heavy Industry Corporation; Baba Yashio had been active in the art photography movement in Japan, participating in the Japan Photographic Arts Association and the Japan Photography Association prior to moving to Manchuria in 1931.<sup>73</sup> But not all members worked so closely with public relations. The MPAA also welcomed several talented amateurs, including Sakakibara, Chizaki, and Yoneki who worked in transportation, accounting, and drug manufacturing, respectively.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> *Manshū nenkan*, (Dalian: Manshū Bunka Kyōkai, 1933), 534. The annual lists the following names: Gunji Yoshio, Tamagawa Kenrō, Yamane Ryūzō, Shiwa Yoson, Iwamoto Keinosuke, Takatsu Bin, Date Yoshio, Aoyama Shunji, Mizuma Tetsuo, Yoneki Zen'emon, Ando Kōki, Yamamoto Haruo, Imoto Kōichi, Itō Ki'ichirō, Mangyoku Eiji, Mizukawa Tsukayo, Sera Masaichi, Nishizawa Yasu, Baba Yashio, and Kannō Shihō. Interestingly, Fuchikami was not listed in this announcement.

<sup>73</sup> Tanaka also was the leader of the Dalian New Photography Club (Dalian shinkō kurabu). Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

The MPAA soon distinguished itself and took on greater cultural cachet than other photography groups in Manchuria. Sponsored by Mantetsu, they held regular exhibitions of their work on the continent and in Japan. They held their first exhibition in Dalian in April 1933. Soon after, they gained international attention. Once again sponsored by the Mantetsu, the MPAA sent one hundred works by 26 photographers to be presented in a special art photography section in the Manchuria pavilion at the Century of Progress World Exhibition in Chicago that started in May 1933. The works of the MPAA were on display in a small room in the pavilion. They were an important part of “Manchuria Week” hosted by Mantetsu at the fair in October 1933.<sup>75</sup>

No official catalogue for the exhibit exists therefore it is unclear exactly which photographs were exhibited. A list of works and artists featured in the Japanese report on the Manchuria pavilion does provide some important clues. First, it suggests some continuity between those images and themes Fuchikami selected for the 1930 annual and the exhibit in Chicago. Most notably, the kind of sentimental pictorialism featured in the 1930 photography annual was also present in the 1933 exhibit.<sup>76</sup> There were many rural and village scenes as exemplified by titles such as Sera’s *Fishing Village* (Gyoson) and Baba’s *Image of an Old Farmer* (Rōnōfu no zō). Also, according to the list and a

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<sup>75</sup> Yamashita Kiyohide, ed. *Shinpo Isseiki Shikago Bankoku Hakurankai: Manshū shuppin hōkokusho*, (Tokyo: Shinpo Isseiki Shikago Bankoku Hakurankai Manshu Shuppin Sanka Zanmu Seiri Jimusho, 1934), 73. The specific months the works were exhibited are not given in this guide to the Manchuria exhibits. The fair itself, however, ran from May 27 to November 12, 1933 and from May 26 to October 31, 1934. Also the size of the room at the Manchuria pavilion was just 10 *tsubo* or approximately 360 square feet.

<sup>76</sup> Yamashita, 75.

photograph of the exhibition in the pavilion report, it appears that Sakakibara's *Old Citadel Wall* (Jōheki no fūkei) and Chizaki's *Mausoleum* (Byō) were exhibited in Chicago. Both of these photographs appeared in the 1930 photographic annual. The inclusion of such photographs speaks to the desire to cultivate an emotional response in the predominantly American viewers. The soft-focus ambiance of each of these photographs created a romanticized screen between the subject and the viewer and contributed to the images' nostalgic, timeless subject matter.

The 1933 exhibit also brought a new thematic dynamic that differentiated it from the earlier annual. Unlike the photographic annual, the Chicago exhibit included many urban and industrial scenes. These photographs depicted oil refineries, the open-cut coal mines, unloading cargo at the wharves, and (perhaps most importantly) the construction and development of Xinjing, the new capital of Manchukuo. The increase in this kind of imagery was fitting as the theme of the Chicago Exposition was "A Century of Progress" and the fair focused much attention on the scientific and industrial progress of participating nations.

Two works by Fuchikami stand out in particular on the list of Chicago works: *Crane and Coolie* (Kurān to kūrī) (Figure 3.15) and *Heat* (Netsu) (Figure 3.16). Takeba dates *Crane and Coolie* to 1940; yet, as it was included in a special art photography issue of *Manshū Graph* in 1936, it is evident that the work was created at an earlier date. Therefore, it is conceivable that it was included in the Chicago exhibit. If this work is the same as that exhibited in 1933, it would have likely resonated with an American public

that was familiar with the industrial photography of Charles Sheeler (1883-1965) and Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971).<sup>77</sup> In fact, though it does not feature a worker, Bourke-White's photograph *Pouring the Heat, Detroit* (Figure 3.17) from 1929 bears a strong resemblance to Fuchikami's *Crane and Coolie*. In addition to the centrality of the hook in both images, the black, crisscrossing structure on the right of *Pouring the Heat* is similar to the black, geometric pattern created by the arm of the crane in Fuchikami's work.

According to the list of artists and works in Chicago, Yoneki exhibited a work titled *Blast Furnace – Showa Steel Works* (Yōkōro – Shōwa seikōjo). Takeba refers to two photographs by Yoneki between 1931 and 1937 (Figure 3.18) which may have been the work exhibited in Chicago. Both are untitled but depict the interior of a steel factory. These photographs by Yoneki and Fuchikami are strongly reminiscent of another photograph in Bourke-White's *Pouring Heat* series: *Molten Steel Cascading in Otis Steel Mill* (1929) (Figure 3.19). In these images, steam creates the kind of atmospheric effect utilized by pictorialists, but the attention to the play of the light from the molten steel and the darkness of the shapes of the factory exemplify a modernist interest in texture and form. They evince a quiet, aesthetic transformation of the scene in a similar manner as the Sheeler painting, *American Landscape* (Figure 3.20) described by Leo Marx in *The Machine in the Garden*. Marx writes, “[o]n closer inspection, we observe that Sheeler has

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<sup>77</sup> Sean Callahan, ed. *The Photographs of Margaret Bourke-White*, (Greenwich, Conn: New York Graphic Society, 1972), 32.

eliminated all evidence of the frenzied movement and clamor we associate with the industrial scene. The silence is awesome.<sup>78</sup> Like Sheeler's painting, these images demonstrate the ways in which Fuchikami, Yoneki, and Bourke-White transformed the hard, cavernous and cacophonous spaces of the factory into intimate and highly aesthetic meditations on texture and form.

Certainly, if Fuchikami's *Heat* and either of Yoneki's photographs of the steel works were indeed the same photographs exhibited in Chicago, they would have played an evocative role in the exquisite mediation of art and industry on the fairgrounds. Moreover, the works' use of themes and styles reminiscent of Bourke-White's work would have added another layer of meaning. By 1933, Bourke-White had established a professional name for herself as a lead photographer at *Fortune*, a magazine founded just three years earlier by *Time* co-founder, Henry Luce (1898-1967). By the time of the Chicago Fair, the attractive and stylish Bourke-White was often in the public eye, even providing endorsements for Maxwell House Coffee and Victor Records.<sup>79</sup> Bourke-White had a strong visible presence at the fair itself, as well. The Aluminum Company of America had commissioned her to do a large photomural for their exhibit.<sup>80</sup> The inclusion of works that potentially reminded American viewers of Bourke-White's famous

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<sup>78</sup> Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, (London, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 356.

<sup>79</sup> Emily Keller, *Margaret Bourke-White: A Photographer's Life*, (Minneapolis: Lerner Publication Company, 1993), 63.

<sup>80</sup> Melissa A. McEuen, *Seeing America: Women Photographers between the Wars*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 230.

photographs would have demonstrated how the Japanese photographers were part of international photographic trends. Further still, Bourke-White's work provided a familiar (even popular) cultural framework through which American fairgoers could view the MPAA photographs of a distant and foreign land, arguably making them more receptive to the exhibit.

The Manchuria photographs seemed to inspire aesthetic dialogues rather than political debates, a stark contrast to the great political tension surrounded the Manchuria pavilion in 1933.<sup>81</sup> These works made an enormous impression on American photographers. Edward Steichen—himself considered a master of pictorialist photography at the turn of the twentieth-century—reportedly responded to the images as quality objects.<sup>82</sup> Following their successful debut in Chicago, the photographs then went on tour to twenty-three U.S. towns and cities, sponsored by American photography clubs.<sup>83</sup> In fact, Steichen was apparently so impressed with the quality of the work exhibited in Chicago that he arranged for the purchase of three of Fuchikami's works for

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<sup>81</sup> The politics of the pavilion were fraught as Japan had withdrawn from the League of Nations in 1933 in response to the Lytton Report and Manchukuo had annexed the Mongolian province Jehol in May. Moreover, though a separate pavilion, it was part of the Japan compound. This, in addition to the positioning of the pavilion by Chicago fair organizers between the Jehol temple and the China pavilion, also contributed to the heated politics that surrounded the Manchuria pavilion. This exhibition will be addressed in detail in Chapter Three.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 4. Iizawa, 5.

<sup>83</sup> See Takeba, *Ikyō no modanizumu*, 4. The photographs toured the United States during the Chicago Fair from February to May 1934; they continued the tour also after the close of the Chicago Exposition in the late summer and fall 1934. The tour included but was not limited to Evanston, Illinois, Philadelphia, New York, Washington, D.C. (where they were displayed in the Smithsonian), San Francisco, Milwaukee, San Antonio, and Omaha. See Takeba, *Ikyō no modanizumu*, timeline index.

the collection of the Museum of Modern Art in New York after the war.<sup>84</sup> This positive response must have been a welcome surprise to Fuchikami. Later, while reflecting on the Chicago exhibit and the American tour in a 1940 article, Fuchikami wrote that he and others in the MPAA had initially doubted that the audience in the “business country of America” would “understand art.”<sup>85</sup>

Following the success of the American tour, Fuchikami, the MPAA, and their sponsor, Mantetsu, began preparations for a two-year, international exhibition tour, this time in France. In the spring of 1936, the exhibit, titled “Manchuria now” (Sakkon no Manshū) arrived in Paris. Over the next two years, it toured the rest of the country. The tour coincided with the “Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques dans la vie Moderne,” the World Fair held in Paris in 1937. Though Japan created a pavilion for the exposition, it does not appear that “Manchuria Now” had any official relationship with the Exposition Internationale. Regardless, it received a great deal of critical attention and praise. According to Fuchikami, the Paris newspapers *L’Intransigeant* and *Le Jour* reviewed the art photography exhibit, the latter positively assessing the MPAA works relative to trends in French photography.<sup>86</sup> This was an important moment for the MPAA. Having received the nod of approval from French critics, Japanese art photography in Manchuria was recognized on a world-stage, gaining even greater cultural recognition.

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<sup>84</sup> Iizawa, *Fuchikami Hakuyō to Manshū shashin sakka kyōkai*, 5.

<sup>85</sup> Fuchikami Hakuyō, “Manshū shashinkai,” *Photo Times* 17, no. 2 (February 1940), 15.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

Fuchikami appreciated the international prestige these exhibitions bestowed on the MPAA. He also remarked on how the tours and the press they generated were a means for people to “discover Manchuria.”<sup>87</sup> It was a mutually beneficial arrangement as Fuchikami and his colleagues received sponsorship and even spaces for local exhibitions. In return, art photography lent Mantetsu’s project in Manchukuo cultural authority both in *naichi* Japan and abroad.

Fuchikami’s relationship with Mantetsu not only created occasions to exhibit but also provided Fuchikami with the opportunity to publish and promote the MPAA. As previously mentioned, one of Fuchikami’s passions was the publication of art photography magazines like *Hakuyō* which he published regularly in Kōbe from 1922 to 1926. Remarkably, by 1936, Fuchikami still had not established a new art magazine on the continent. It is doubtful that this was due to any sort of financial constraints. He was generously remunerated for his public-relations work with Mantetsu. It is more likely that, with his duties for Mantetsu and the MPAA exhibitions, he did not yet have the time to create another publishing company like *Hakuyō Gashūsha*. By the mid-1930s, Fuchikami was still without an art magazine to use as a promotional vehicle for the work of the MPAA. In 1936, he found an alternative vehicle to promote this work.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid. Arguably, this statement was written more from his role as chief editor in the public relations department of the President’s Office than as founder of the MPAA.

<sup>88</sup> In 1937, Fuchikami began publishing the art folio *Hikaru Oka* [Shining Hills]. *Hikaru Oka* was the official magazine of the MPAA and featured high quality collotype prints that could be taken out and enjoyed individually. As it was a very large, expensive folio to publish, Takeba speculates that it had a very small print run of only about 150 units per issue. These were distributed to the photographers in the MPAA

In June 1936, Fuchikami edited a special issue of *Manshū Graph*, dedicated to the art photography of the MPAA.<sup>89</sup> It would be the first of three special art photography issues published in *Manshū Graph*. Other issues followed in June 1937 and January 1939. In his editorial statement in the first art-photography issue, Fuchikami wrote of the MPAA's successful tours abroad and informed the reader that the photographs in the issue were featured in the MPAA's third exhibit, which had begun touring the major cities of Japan in May.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, in this issue, *Manshū Graph* became a temporary, virtual gallery space, promoting the MPAA and celebrating its achievements abroad. It became a means for Fuchikami to tout his successes abroad and advertise his heightened status as a cultural elite. As with Fuchikami's other projects developed through Mantetsu's public relations office, these special art photography issues were not for the sole benefit of Fuchikami and the MPAA. Mantetsu gained cultural prestige as well. Both the company's association with the works of a critically acclaimed photography club and the highly evocative images themselves contributed to this prestige.

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and other artists. Mantetsu did not sponsor this magazine, although the generous salary given Fuchikami made it economically feasible for him to publish it on his own. Interview with Takeba Jō, Nagoya City Art Museum, March 19, 2009.

<sup>89</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, *Manshū Graph* was first published in September 1933. Fuchikami acted as editor of the magazine until his return to Japan in 1941. For the special art issue, see *Manshū Graph* 4, no. 6 (June 1936).

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

In previous issues, Fuchikami's goal as editor had been to present images of life and progress in Manchuria through the use of image, text, and montage.<sup>91</sup> Regular issues of the magazine featured a multitude of images layered into dynamic montages and cut to enliven the page and the subject matter. In contrast, each two-page spread in the special art photography issues from June 1936 and January 1939 generally featured just one image per page along with its title and a caption, utilizing a format much like the layout used in the photographic annual in 1930. This allowed the focus to remain on the image itself. Moreover, it spoke to the temporary transformation of function in the magazine into a space for the contemplation of form, composition, texture, atmosphere, light, shadow, movement, and mood. Temporal and spatial context became secondary to the artistic engagement with the subject.

Demonstrating thematic continuity with the works featured in the photographic annual and the Chicago exposition, many of the images in the art photography issues focused on expressive scenes of rural and village life. Yagi Akio's *Homeward Bound* (Kiro) (Figure 3. 21) featured in the 1936 issue and *At the Height of Autumn* (alternatively titled *Morning Light* or Asa no hikari) (Figure 3.22) published in 1939 epitomize this trend. Though by the same artist, each image demonstrates some of the different techniques used to aestheticize the Manchurian frontier. The soft-focus ambiance and dappling of light across the composition seen in *Homeward Bound* speaks

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<sup>91</sup> Fuchikami Hakuyō, editorial statement, *Manshū Graph* 2, no. 1 (January 1934): unpaginated.

to the continuing resonance of pictorialism in Japanese art photography on the continent. Here, Yagi blurred individual faces to create a timeless, nostalgic scene divorced from the specificity of time and place. The background, too, is a painterly blur of texture. Grass and dirt form a thick, patchy roof over a small building emerging from the hillside. Further in the distance, the suggestion of a window peeks from the tall grasses. There is a quiet to the scene as the horses slowly plod down the road, perhaps weary after a day in the fields.

In contrast to this work, Yagi's later photograph, *At the Height of Autumn*, demonstrates the new modernist direction in art photography called "New Objectivity." Also known as "Precisionism," this style of photography, which started in Germany in the 1920s, focused on close-up formal treatments of decontextualized objects. In Yagi's image, gnarled tools lean against a sun-baked wall, casting clean, dark shadows against the roughly textured surface. Like *Homeward Bound*, this image is devoid of a specific spatial or temporal context. Yet, the image draws the reader into the tantalizing textures of the rustic tools and the parched cracks in the wall as well as the play of light and shadow across the uneven ground. While many photographs in the regular issues of *Manshū Graph* spoke to urban readers' nostalgia for the rural, village ideal, these photographs heightened the emotional connection to the scenes as highly aestheticized meditations on simple, timeless subjects.

By 1936, Japanese urban planners had nearly completed the first five-year building plan on the continent, significantly transforming urban spaces and industries in

Manchukuo. Therefore, it should be no surprise that modern, industrial themes also figured into the art photography featured in the special issues of *Manshū Graph* in the late 1930s. Interestingly, though Mantetsu tended to focus on the new, modern spaces of the continental cities in the regular issues of the magazine, the art issues tended to focus more on apparatuses of modernization such as trains, cranes, and factories. The photographs aestheticized what were otherwise cold industrial subjects, thereby creating affective monumental icons. For example, Tanaka Seibō's *Locomotive* (Kikansha) (Figure 3.23), which was featured in the 1937 art photography issue, took an already powerful symbol of modernity and further loaded it with emotional content. The image differed from other contemporaneous treatments of trains. Other imagery, such as that seen in the layout "Speeding toward Dalian" featured in Mantetsu's annual publication *Overview of Manchuria, 1937* (Figure 3.24), emphasized speed as the trains raced at a dynamic diagonal along the rail-lines. In contrast, Tanaka removed the train from its spatial context both through composition and title. The locomotive almost entirely fills the frame; yet, the weight and bulk of the engine disappear, as the train seems to float above the steam. There are no tracks, so its movement is limitless. The image is at once powerful in its monumentality yet atmospheric. The undulating steam softens the edges of the machine, providing an evocative, somewhat organic frame. Loosed from a reference to its daily function, it becomes an artistically meditative and emotionally imbued icon for Mantetsu. It also acts as a deeper, more personal expression of the artist's relationship to the modern machine.

Fuchikami's *Oil* (Abura) (Figure 3.25), which is also from the 1937 issue, further highlights the transformation of an industrial scene into a highly aestheticized composition. Like Yagi's *At the Height of Autumn*, *Oil* focuses on shape and texture. Here, a steaming cauldron of oil fills the frame, creating a monumental subject much like Tanaka's *Locomotive*. There are subtle differences as well. Fuchikami's photograph is more abstract, tipping the cauldron on an angle that divorces the image from an immediately recognizable subject matter. At first glance, it is not clear what Fuchikami photographs. The image loses its object-context as Fuchikami focuses on the intersection of a curved metal pipe—thick and gritty with a peeling patina—and the oil-slick wood beams cutting a diagonal across the vat of bubbling, steaming oil. In this photograph, Fuchikami transforms a formerly mundane vat of oil inside a Fushun factory into an aesthetic contemplation of composition, texture and form.

Interestingly, the 1937 issue, which featured *Oil*, was the only one of the three art issues that included text beyond the name of the work and artist. For example, a paragraph describing the development of industries in Manchuria and Mantetsu's role in their progress accompanies *Oil* and another factory image on the facing page. This may have been an attempt to more concretely utilize the abstracted art photographs as advertising for the company. The photographs operate in subtle tension with this text. *Oil* fills its page, the minutiae of its various surfaces blown up to overwhelm the writing. It operates as an art object rather than a document of Mantetsu's development of Manchurian industry. Mantetsu benefited from it not as a narrative tool but as a fine art

apparatus that could elevate the company's brand. Its abstraction was its message. No doubt, Fuchikami helped the President's Office better understand the role such images played as "soft propaganda." The 1939 issue returned to the original format seen in 1936 and included only the most basic information about the work itself. It was a return to the virtual gallery space.

While a discussion of Japanese media in Manchuria necessitates analyzing how different offices shaped their respective messages, it is also crucial to acknowledge the roles played by individual artists and designers. They were not merely cogs in an imperial machine. Rather, they brought with them their own fantasies and desires, greatly influencing the themes and styles of representation. Living in the so-called frontier of Manchuria provided Fuchikami with the opportunity to indulge in his romanticized self-identity as a "pioneering" artist who was in touch with nature. Mirroring this romanticized life, Fuchikami and his colleagues sought to draw out the essence of their subjects, which heightened the aesthetic experience of rural and modern industrial scenes. A result of this mutually beneficial relationship between Fuchikami and Mantetsu was the cultivation of new, expressive forms of art photography and the development of potent vessels for the promotion of the Japanese interests in Manchukuo.

In addition to the aesthetics of the images themselves, Mantetsu benefited greatly from the more general cultural cachet of Fuchikami and his cohort. Throughout the 1930s, the MPAA enjoyed great critical acclaim both domestically and overseas. As publisher of the group's photographic annuals and sponsor of their exhibitions, Mantetsu

transcended the pragmatism of its myriad of economic concerns on the continent. It was no longer a company defined only by its public works, coal factories, oil refineries, freight operations and transportation centers. Through the symbiotic relationship Fuchikami and Mantetsu shared throughout the 1930s, Japan's largest company cultivated an image of refinement and distinction. It was not necessary for the photographs to carry a clear ideological message. Instead, they functioned as abstract aesthetic objects, forging new, intimate relationships between the viewer, the company, and the continental frontier.

## **CHAPTER 4: Exhibiting Japanese Manchuria in Chicago, 1933-1934**

Constructing an image of Manchukuo as a utopian space for the realization of personal and national fantasies was a complex task in the metropole. Different colonial offices and individuals proffered their own divergent visions of an idealized Manchuria. This process was even more problematic on the world stage as Euro-American powers also had their sights set on the Northeast, its resources, and lucrative market. World fairs had provided a particularly valuable forum for displaying national interests and achievements since the nineteenth century. Employing diverse exhibitionary strategies such as maps, cultural displays, dioramas, reenactments, and contests, expositions brought audiences into more intimate relationship with the nation and its goals. As such, an examination of expositions created during the 1930s facilitates a richer understanding of how Japanese fair organizers negotiated competing interests to present a nuanced image of Manchuria, at once accommodating American ideals without upsetting Japanese claims to the region.

This chapter focuses on the Manchuria exhibit building—also called the “South Manchuria Railway Exhibit”—that was part of the Japanese exhibition complex at the A Century of Progress World Exposition held in Chicago in 1933 and 1934. This exhibit served as a nexus for the stakes and strategies of exhibiting Japanese Manchuria in the early 1930s.

Prior to the Mantetsu exhibit, there had been many Manchuria pavilions and displays at various industrial and city expositions in Japan, its colonies, and in Manchuria

itself. According to historian Yamaji Katsuhiko, the first appearance of a Manchuria exhibit occurred in Tokyo at the 1912 Colonial Exposition (Takushoku Hakurankai).<sup>1</sup> Called the “Manchurian Reference Pavilion” (Manshū sankōkan), it commemorated the war dead and the 203 battle sites on the continent. Through this display, it reportedly “appealed to the hearts of the Japanese people,” whose memory of the Russo-Japanese War was still fresh.<sup>2</sup> Memory of the war was just one of many subjects on which Manchuria exhibits drew. The 1925 Dalian Industrial Exposition (Dairen Kangyō Hakurankai), for example, focused on much broader themes including Manchuria as the economic facilitator of Sino-Japanese friendship and trade.<sup>3</sup>

Mantetsu’s Manchuria exhibit in Chicago provides a rich case study to understand how exhibitionary strategies mediated the relationship between metropole, colony, China, and the Euro-American powers. The Manchuria pavilion functions as a productive model for comparing previous Japanese exhibitionary strategies on the global stage and within the Japanese empire, as well as contemporaneous exhibitions in Europe. By considering earlier Japanese exhibits in Europe and the United States, I show how shifting exhibition practices in 1933-34 articulated Japan’s evolving position on the world stage during the twentieth century. The chapter then examines how Japanese fair organizers sought to

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<sup>1</sup> Yamaji Katsuhiko, *Kindai nihon no shokuminchi hakurankai*, (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2008), 151.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> This exposition was the first of its kind to be held in one of Japan’s colonial/semi-colonial holdings. Takemura Tamio, “1925 nen kindai Chūgoku Tōhokufu (Kyū Manshū) de kaisaisareta Dairen kangyō hakurankai no rekishiteki kōsatsu: Shichōkasareta Manmō,” *Nihon Kenkyū*, no. 38 (September 2008): 81-119.

present Japan as a world power, negotiating heated political debates surrounding Japan's aggressive, expansionist military actions on the continent in the early 1930s. This chapter compares the Mantetsu exhibit to contemporary events such as the International Colonial Exposition in Paris (*L'Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris*) in 1931 and the Great Manchuria Exposition (*Dai Manshū Hakurankai*) in Dalian in 1933. Though Japan was not invited to participate in the colonial exposition in Paris, the Chicago displays reveal the awareness of Japanese fair organizers of these European exhibitionary practices and the interwar debates on colonialism that informed them.

This chapter also critiques shifting subject positions, a critical element in understanding the multifaceted meaning of the Manchuria exhibit and the Chicago exposition in general. For this purpose, I draw upon Timothy Mitchell's "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order" and Tony Bennett's "The Exhibitionary Complex."<sup>4</sup> Each of these essays is a crucial foundation for understanding how exhibitions produce power hierarchies and knowledge about foreign culture and territories. Critical to the formation of the exhibitionary relationship was the construction of a privileged viewing position from which the viewing subject might apprehend the object in its entirety. In other words, the exhibition consisted of spectacles through which the viewing subject could easily apprehend and consume the object. Bennett associates the exhibition with a disciplinary

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<sup>4</sup> Timothy Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," Nicholas Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1992): 289-317; Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

gaze and “specular dominance,” arguing that the spectacle of the panorama, for example, invoked a gaze not unlike the panopticism described by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* (1975). Mitchell describes how spectacles such as panoramas and dioramas “set the world up as a picture.”<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Mitchell argues that, though spectators differentiated between the exhibit and the real world, they tried to grasp the real as a picture or a conceivable whole.<sup>6</sup> In this way, the exhibition became an organizing construct for the apprehension of the real beyond the borders of the exhibition. These essays are particularly useful as a means of understanding exhibition trends leading up to the 1930s, the hierarchy of the gaze at work in the exhibits, and the ways in which Japanese displays presented Manchuria as an object for consumption for varying demographics. It was ordered as an object for exhibition (becoming the “world-as-exhibition,” in Mitchell’s terms) that was predicated on a kind of lofty vision, a gaze from above that facilitated an appreciation of the vast expanse of territory the Japanese empire encompassed while also mapping its boundaries of influence.

Both Mitchell and Bennett posit excellent frameworks for understanding imperial exhibitions in the nineteenth century, particularly through their respective analyses of a universal perspective utilized in spectacles such as the panorama. This type of theoretical matrix is useful for identifying the dominant viewing position and the relationship to the object cultivated through that singular perspective. Specifically, their work is critical in

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<sup>5</sup> Mitchell, 293.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 304.

analyzing the ways in which the (Manchuria) exhibit demonstrated the goals of Japanese fair organizers and of state apparatuses such as Mantetsu. Building on their work, this chapter will also show that it is crucial to consider the slippages in and contestations of such a representation. For example, Angus Lockyer rightly questions the existence of a homogenous and cohesive state narrative in an exposition.<sup>7</sup> Lockyer poses this question in the context of the viewing subject. I endeavor to open up the mode of inquiry further, addressing the construction of these images and spaces as messy endeavors, under constant negotiation both between competing institutions such as the Kwantung Army and Mantetsu—two state-affiliated bodies whose goals and vision for leadership and expansion on the continent were in almost constant conflict—and within bureaucratic offices themselves. Certainly, this negotiation continued to occur on the invisible screen that separated the space of the exhibition and the viewer. Therefore, it is vital to examine the different layers of meaning in Chicago, drawing on the exhibits' location, sponsorship, and the physical and textual framing.

To articulate how the exhibition grounds became a site for competing subject positions, the last section of this chapter addresses the American-sponsored Lama Temple of Jehol. This temple disrupted the potential for a tidy, unified narrative at the fair. I discuss the ways in which the temple contested the new boundaries of Manchukuo advertised by Mantetsu in its exhibition hall and unsettled the Japanese imperial cultural

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<sup>7</sup> Angus Lockyer, "Japan at the Exhibition, 1867-1970," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 2000), 17-19.

claim to be what noted artist and scholar Okakura Kakuzō had called the “museum of the Asiatic civilization.”

## **Trends in Japanese Exhibitions Before and After World War I**

Imperialism is a kind of performance. Set upon a global stage, the imperialist nation demonstrates its military might as well as its power to subjugate other countries—often justified with a framework of civilization and savagery. As cultural historian Yoshimi Shun’ya has argued, it is not surprising, then, that world fairs, a potent public venue for performing national identity, emerged at the height of European imperialism in the nineteenth century. The cultural representations of fair displays were critical modes of performing imperial dominance. World expositions acted as tools for negotiating the complex relationships between the colonizer, colonized, and “world opinion.” Further complicating this relationship, nations endeavored to mark themselves as exceptional – displaying their history and culture as badges of distinction and national cohesion – while also performing established universalizing hegemonic tropes of progress and military strength.<sup>8</sup>

Japanese authorities quickly learned these rules of imperial display. By the beginning of the twentieth century, they had already become well versed in the multiple

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<sup>8</sup> See Yoshimi Shun’ya, *Hakurankai no seijigaku: Manzashi no kindai*, (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1992): 179-217.

languages of international exhibition practices.<sup>9</sup> The Tokugawa shogunate organized its first pavilion at an international expo in Paris, 1867. Another display was submitted under the auspices of the new Meiji government in Vienna, 1873.<sup>10</sup> Japan's exhibit only three years later in 1876 at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia – the first Japanese exhibit in America – helped to cultivate opportunities for export markets for its commercial goods, focusing on the exhibition of products made specifically for U.S. tastes.<sup>11</sup>

Taking advantage of the newly constructed American desire for Japanese products, from the most exorbitantly priced ceramics to the cheapest souvenir fans, Japanese fair organizers adeptly fed Western curiosity about the Orient to package and sell the idea of traditional Japan to a Western market. American curiosity about Japan was indeed piqued. According to historian Robert Rydell, one visitor wrote of the Japan exhibit in Philadelphia, “[t]he quaint little people with their shambling gait and gentle

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<sup>9</sup> By 1904, Japan had participated in 28 international exhibitions. Japan would be featured in another 17 exhibitions between 1904 and 1933 (including St. Louis but not counting the 1933 Chicago exposition itself). See Yamashita Kiyohide, ed., *Shinpo isseiki Shikago bankoku hakurankai: Manshū shuppin hōkokusho*, (Tokyo: Shinpo Isseiki Shikago Bankoku Hakurankai Manshu Shuppin Sanka Zanmu Seiri Jimusho, 1934), 92-93.

<sup>10</sup> Although the Paris Expo was the first time Japan organized a formal display, it was not the first time Japan had been culturally represented in a foreign exposition. In 1862, the first British consul general to Japan, Sir Rutherford Alcock, exhibited his personal collection of Japanese wares at the International Exhibition held in London that year. See William N. Hosley, *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America*, (Hartford, Connecticut: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1990), 30-32. Also, it should be noted that Hosley claimed the expo in Vienna in 1873 was the first time the Japanese actively participated in the international expositions. However, he overlooks the Japanese exhibit organized for the 1867 Paris exposition while still under Tokugawa rule.

<sup>11</sup> Hosley, 33.

ways, how can it be in them . . . to make such wonderful things?”<sup>12</sup> Building on this statement, Rydell states that the organization and beauty of the exhibits along with the quality of the works on display and craftsmanship were “incompatible with the prevailing stereotypes of nonwhite people” in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, in the decade following the Centennial Expo in Philadelphia, what William Hosley has termed the “Japan idea,” had grown into “a multi-million dollar industry” capitalizing on the desire for cheap ephemera, souvenirs, home décor and custom-made home-furnishings.<sup>14</sup> Though some critics felt the emphasis on aesthetics was too overwhelming, the Japanese exhibit garnered many accolades for its “refined” and “graceful” displays. The American audience wanted to know more about Japan, its people, daily life, and institutions.<sup>15</sup>

Taking advantage of Euro-American curiosity about foreign and exotic lands was not the sole purview of the Japanese in the late nineteenth century. Chinese fair exhibits also gave insight into Chinese culture in order to garner better international understanding of the nation, its people, and its goods.<sup>16</sup> World imperial powers also seized on interest in

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<sup>12</sup> Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 30.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Hosley, 42.

<sup>15</sup> Neil Harris, “All the World’s a Melting Pot,” *Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations*, Akira Iriye, ed., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 31.

<sup>16</sup> Carol Christ addresses this in the context of the St. Louis world fair in 1904. However, as Christ points out, the Qing government was not directly responsible for creating the exhibits in St. Louis. Rather, though the Qing government sent a delegation to St. Louis, the exhibits themselves were organized by Sir Robert Hart of the Chinese Maritime Customs. This exemplifies the largely passive role the Qing rulers took in shaping China’s presence in the world fairs and while foreigners and members of the Chinese diaspora

exotic lands, although to a much different effect. Japan and China were sovereign nations attempting to cultivate a positive image of their respective cultures, thereby subverting condescending, racialized perceptions of Asia held in the West. In contrast, Euro-American organizers used those exotic exhibits of their colonial holdings to advertise the strength of their empires. At the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1889, the French display of their colonial holdings came to be entrenched in the economics of selling goods representative of the colonies being exhibited. This added a new layer of meaning to the exhibition of a nation's colonies. Even from the outset of the first world's fair—the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851—colonies played an important role in the display of empire and imperial might on a world stage. British fair organizers included exhibits for the East Indies, Ceylon, Malta, the west coast of Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, Canada, Mauritania, British Guiana, Bermuda, Australia, and New Zealand, demonstrating the vast geographic breadth of the British Empire.<sup>17</sup> In 1889, the display of imperial dominance undoubtedly informed the construction of the French colonial pavilions for Algeria and Tunisia. Marking a difference between these colonial exhibits

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spearheaded exhibitions. See Carol Christ, “‘The Sole Guardians of the Art Inheritance of Asia’: Japan and China at the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair,” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 8, no. 3 (Winter 2000): 708. According to Abigail Markwyn, government officials in the newly established Republic of China took a far more active interest in world fairs as the China exhibit at the San Francisco Panama-Pacific Exposition in 1915 demonstrates. See Abigail Markwyn, “Economic Partner and Exotic Other: China and Japan at San Francisco’s Panama-Pacific International Exposition,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (Winter 2008):439-465.

<sup>17</sup> Yoshimi, 180.

and those in London, behind these pavilions was a garden, café, shop and bazaar, inviting the consumption of goods from the colonies.<sup>18</sup> Of course, this was not the first time that the French exhibited their colonies.<sup>19</sup> Yet it certainly demonstrates the shift toward marketing the colonies as sites of exoticism ripe for consumption and racialized symbols posited in antithesis to European civilization.

Japanese governmental and bureaucratic authorities also responded to the economic stakes of display, seeking to capitalize on curiosity about the Japanese. Japanese fair organizers even created self-orientalizing exhibits in order to promote key export industries such as textiles and ceramics. This was not an easy endeavor. Japanese exhibits had to strike a delicate balance on the world stage. The nation could not afford to become associated more with the exotic displays of colonized peoples than with the dominant world powers. At stake was how Japanese fair organizers and authorities could continue to stoke the curiosity of Euro-American spectators with Japanese *objectness* (to borrow from Mitchell) while maintaining its own position of power.<sup>20</sup> In short, the conundrum lay in how to cash in on the Japan-boom while portraying the nation as a serious world power.

Consequently, great care and attention went into planning the Japanese exhibits at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Arguably, the Columbian

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>19</sup> French fair organizers also included colonial displays in the 1867 and 1878 expositions in Paris.

<sup>20</sup> Mitchell, 292.

Exposition marked a crucial turning point for Japanese exhibitionary practices and the national desire for economic and political equality on the world stage. In Philadelphia, Japan was largely seen as an exotic object, deliberately served up for Euro-American consumption. The subsequent “Japan boom” in America allowed Japan to greatly increase its exports but it left little room for Japan to be taken seriously as an international power. By 1893, Japan had made many institutional advances. Most notably, the new Meiji constitution had been put into effect (1889) and the Diet, Japan’s new representative legislative body, had already convened. Therefore, Japan endeavored to project a more nuanced image, one that would begin to reconcile Japan’s dual identity as both a traditional and modern nation. Granted, the exhibits still relied on the presentation of a picturesque national aesthetic. The national pavilion (Figure 4.1), a variation on the Byōdōin (or Phoenix Hall) located in the city of Uji in Kyoto prefecture, was set among Japanese gardens on the Wooded Island near the Fine Arts Building; the tea house and bazaar that were situated on the Midway featured ever popular Japanese wares and contributed to the consumption of Japan as an enticing Oriental object.

Japan’s exhibits in Chicago also increased emphasis on manufacturing and education.<sup>21</sup> These exhibits testified to Japan’s successful modernization of industrial, educational, governmental, and military institutions. The exhibits, coupled with the many pamphlets, books, and assorted printed material which listed its recent advancements and

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<sup>21</sup> Harris, 40.

travel literature, helped Japan break out of the rigid taxonomies in the Western civilizational paradigm.<sup>22</sup> According to historian Neil Harris, American visitors' opinions of the Japanese consequently began to shift. He contends that, though they still maintained that the Japanese were a "childlike, humorous, artistic people," Americans "began to acknowledge that this oriental civilization had somehow managed to achieve a parity of sorts with the industrial West."<sup>23</sup> Japan's participation in the St. Louis Louisiana Purchase World Fair just over ten years later would work to buttress the nation's newfound position as a world power.

In keeping with its tendency towards larger and more elaborate displays at each fair, Japan's exhibits in St. Louis for the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition were positively monumental. A replica of the Yomei gate at Nikko towered 100 feet above the Pike. It was built to welcome visitors to Japan Village, replete with a bazaar, tea house, and Japanese theater.<sup>24</sup> With over 150,000 square feet of space (five times the area they had in Chicago in 1893), the Japanese fair organizers had plenty of opportunities to impress and excite fair-goers. Moreover, they used many different means to do so. Of course, "traditional" Japan was proudly on display. The Japan exhibit was called the Imperial Japanese Garden. The grounds featured a replica (Figure 4.2) of the Kinkakuji (The Golden Pavilion) in Kyoto and a main pavilion that drew on the *shinden-zukuri*

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 49.

style, surrounded by the kind of well-manicured gardens for which the Japanese had become famous; Japan Village provided spectators with what was billed as an authentic tea house and theater experience; and six of its seven galleries in the Fine Arts Palace were dedicated to traditional arts, including painting and sculpture.<sup>25</sup>

The mobilization of a historically informed Japanese visual vocabulary took on even more political meaning in St. Louis. The use of the Yomei gate, which was highly informed by Chinese style coupled with the guarded display of artworks that lacked overt Chinese references in 1904 epitomized Japan's new cultural and geo-political role in Asia.<sup>26</sup> The Japanese exhibits, spaces, and art seen in St. Louis staked out Japan's grand historical and cultural indebtedness to China while demonstrating how Japanese traditions had developed independently. The balance between Sino-Japanese traditions visually manifested Okakura Kakuzo's now famous 1903 proclamation that Japan was "a museum of Asiatic civilization" that could "welcome the new without losing the old."<sup>27</sup> This distinction secured Japan's image as a benevolent protector of cultural interests in Asia. No doubt Japan's assertion was reinforced by the reportedly poor organization of Chinese applied arts, which, according to Carol Christ, left many visitors "bewildered."<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, it spoke to the power dynamic that had officially shifted between the two

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<sup>25</sup> For images of Japan's Kinkakuji replica and a map of the grounds see Clay Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America*, (New York, New York: Walton H. Rawls, 1963), 138-140.

<sup>26</sup> Christ, 699.

<sup>27</sup> Okakura Kakuzo. *Ideals of the East with Special reference to the Art of Japan*, (London: John Murray, Albermarle Street, 1920 [1903]), 7.

<sup>28</sup> Christ, 700.

nations with China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. Japan had become the indisputable new leader of Asia. Japanese officials hoped to leverage this to earn new respect from European and American governments.

The exhibition of Japanese colonial and military accomplishments dramatically highlighted this new leadership position. For example, Japan's Formosa display in the main exhibition hall testified to the empire's new imperial dominance. Specifically, the Formosa exhibit was a further reminder of Japan's superiority over China as the former was able to "intelligently" exploit resources the latter had "failed to recognize."<sup>29</sup> But most importantly, the exhibit was a bold reminder of Japan's new status as a colonial power. Japanese fair organizers also took advantage of the language of (American) militarism that dominated the fair. Certainly, America—still involved in a bloody military conflict in the Philippines—had an ulterior motive in showcasing its troops and staging battle reenactments from the Spanish-American War (1898). Also, like Japan, the U.S. sought respect from the old European world powers.

Within the microcosm of the fairgrounds, such displays of successful military might work to remind world leaders of their presence in the macrocosmic stage of political influence. Japanese organizers, looking to compare themselves to the Americans, took up this theme as well. While the U.S. contingent repeatedly showed off their victory against the Spanish in a small-scale replica of Santiago harbor, and the

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 687.

British recreated scenes from the Boer War (1899-1902), the Japanese reenacted their own victories from the still ongoing Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).<sup>30</sup> This military performance was especially symbolic as it not only exhibited Japan's latest military advances but also demonstrated its domination of Russia, one of the white, well-established world powers. Consequently, Japanese fair organizers advertised their victory, not only through reenactments but also by issuing a variety of paraphernalia to fairgoers such as pins.

Japan's exhibits at the St. Louis Fair were fairly well received. Its Midway attractions in particular generated a lot of excitement.<sup>31</sup> Given the strength of the exhibits' reception, one wonders if Japan's success at the fair translated outside of the safe, performative confines of the Louisiana Purchase World's Fair. This is difficult to ascertain. On one hand, Japan commanded respect as a modern military power as it had defeated Russia. On the other hand, the Japanese demonstration of military might equal to that of modern Euro-American empires also resulted in political and social unease in the West. This may be attributed to Japan's defiance of easy categorization in the Western civilizational paradigm. Japan was an enigma because it did not fit the white Christian ideal that largely defined an imperial power. Rather than providing a model that supplemented Euro-American claims to superiority, the Japanese embodied a wholly

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 680.

<sup>31</sup> Harris, 49.

alternative path.<sup>32</sup> A period article in the serial *The Nation*, which asked the question “How can we take up the white man’s burden if our yellow and brown brothers are to act like this?” best sums up the consequent admixture of military and racial anxiety that Japan began to provoke.<sup>33</sup> Within just a few years, this anxiety would translate into “Yellow Peril” anti-immigration laws, and eventually the denial of a racial equality clause in the Covenant of the League of Nations in 1919. In short, while the feminized, consumable Japan of quaint tea houses, pretty kimono-clad ladies, and picturesque gardens was palatable and desired, a militarily advanced, imperialistic Japan was less digestable for the West.

## Negotiating Space and Politics: Japan in Chicago, 1933-34

The world’s fair held in Chicago from 27 May to 12 November 1933 and 26 May to 31 October 1934 opened with great pomp and electrifying grandeur. The lights of the grounds that bathed the monumental architecture of the pavilions were turned on the first night using, it was advertised, electricity from the star Arcturus. The star was 40 light years away from Earth so the rays used to “energize” the fair were emitted at the time of Chicago’s Columbian Exposition in 1893.<sup>34</sup> This opening night publicity stunt both symbolically referenced Chicago’s earlier exposition and dramatically demonstrated the

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<sup>32</sup> Harris, 46.

<sup>33</sup> Quoted in Harris, 52.

<sup>34</sup> Andrew Garn, Paola Antonelli, Udo Kultermann, and Stephen Van Dyk, *Exit to Tomorrow: World’s Fair Architecture, Design, Fashion 1933-2005*, (New York, NY: Universe Publishers, 2007), 29.

new science and technology of the modern age. It was a clever way to open a fair called “A Century of Progress.” Not only was it a spectacular kick-off to a fair celebrating the city’s centennial but it also set a precedent for the kinds of tantalizing spectacles fair-organizers hoped to deploy in order to bolster Chicago’s economy and rouse the spirits of American fairgoers still reeling from the economic effects of the Great Depression. Indeed, the fair ultimately proved to be an enormous success, so much so that the expo—originally slated to be open only for six months in 1933—reopened in 1934.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, the effects of the Depression profoundly affected the exposition as some of the leading economic powers in Europe, namely England, France, and Germany, chose not to participate.

In addition to being a much-needed source of economic stimulus for the city of Chicago, it provided an opportunity for the monumental expression of building design. Architecture played an important role in Chicago’s 1893 fair as well, as the site featured a series of grand Beaux-Arts buildings called “The White City.”<sup>36</sup> Chicago’s architecture at the fair in 1933 was far more colorful as architects utilized bright colors such as red, green, orange and blue in lieu of applied ornament as a means to unify the buildings and enliven the exteriors (Figure 4.3).<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the buildings took their visual cues from the graphic styles at work in the 1920s and 30s. Many exposition buildings such as the

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> The name “The White City” came from the color of the buildings, which, as the label suggests, was white.

<sup>37</sup> Lisa D. Schrenk, *Building A Century of Progress: The Architecture of Chicago’s 1933-34 World’s Fair*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 99.

Hall of Science and the Travel and Transportation Building were dressed in the latest Art Deco chic, a style that epitomized the fashion of speed and engineering in the modern machine age. The Ford and Chrysler Exposition Buildings shone as futuristic, highly aestheticized shrines of industrial capitalism. Cars, planes and the “House of Tomorrow” became shiny symbols of material progress as well as samples of the consumer delights one could fantasize about enjoying in the years to come.

As with other international exhibitions, the Chicago fair celebrated advances of industrialization and, by proxy, the seemingly dominant global position of Euro-American powers as the bearers of civilization. Buttressing this position were a myriad of exotic spectacles on the Midway designed to tantalize fairgoers’ eyes and imaginations. These attractions presented a different kind of fair experience from the grand pavilions. The inclusion of “typical Moors in costume” and camels in the reconstructed Moroccan Village helped to fulfill the spectators’ Orientalist desire to see different, static, and supposedly authentic indigenous cultures.<sup>38</sup> Remarkably, scenes such as these had changed little since the first live ethnographic displays in nineteenth-century European fairs. Certainly, displays in Chicago were emblematic of how the titillating spectacle of far-away lands or exotically different people continued to be utilized to draw in crowds despite the shift in colonial discourse towards sovereignty and self-determination following the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

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<sup>38</sup> Century of Progress International Exhibition, *Official Guide Book of the Fair, 1933*, 96.

Of course, the incongruity between the continued use of exhibits such as the Seminole Indian Village, where natives wrestled alligators, and interwar discourse on self-determination, points to the significant socio-cultural and economic functions these displays had on the fairgrounds. It goes without saying that the exhibit of the exotic Other continued to be deployed as a foil to a Western model of civilization that was dynamic and progressive. Indians, Moors, and people from “Darkest Africa” demonstrating tribal ceremonies were expected to be the same year after year. At the fair, spectators reveled in the mysterious and unchanging cultures put on display. These displays were not meant for some kind of educational elucidation. Rather they were marketable. The Seminole Indian Village was viewed with the same curiosity as other Midway attractions such as the Lion Drome, Oriental Village, Mills Freak Show, Gorilla Villa, the Two-Headed Baby, Ripley’s Believe it or Not, the Snake Show, or the Flea Circus. These displays were meant for entertainment. Exoticism invited the touristic gaze of the spectator back again and again.

Not all exhibits fit easily into these prescribed binary categories of progressive advancement or exotic Other. Most notably, Japan’s exhibition complex complicated the tidy, geo-cultural relationships fixed within the ongoing civilization/ primitive cultural paradigm of the Chicago fair. Japan’s participation in world fairs had long negotiated the border between what the Orientalist desired—timeless Japanese gardens, pretty kimono-clad girls, tea ceremony, decorative ceramics, and delicate silk textiles, for example—and its own symbols of agricultural, industrial, and imperial progress. Japan’s exhibit in

Chicago continued to play upon these Orientalist themes as it employed both new and old display strategies to create a complex web of signification. According to the *Official Guidebook of the Fair*, the Japan pavilion featured “fine examples of Japanese china, cloisonné, embroideries, silk work, and countless examples of the world-famous Japanese handicraft.”<sup>39</sup> The guidebook also describes the inclusion of a “typical Japanese tea garden” and how “dainty Japanese ladies” enhanced the “charming ceremony of tea drinking.”<sup>40</sup>

Certainly, the Japanese Exhibition Committee had designed a fitting site for cultural events at the complex such as the ever-popular tea ceremony, special events such as “Silk Day” when attractive Japanese and foreign women modeled kimono in a fashion show (Figure 4.4), and “Pearl Day” when Japan fair organizers gave away pearls to one hundred lucky winners.<sup>41</sup> According to historian Yamaji Katsuhiko, these events demonstrated the “showy” (*hade*) side of the Japanese exhibit. To a certain extent, I agree with this observation. Giving away pearls during such an economically distressed time would certainly have garnered the attention of fairgoers. Yet, when compared to the much flashier Japanese displays exhibited in St. Louis just thirty years before, the site was far quieter and modest. In Chicago, the focus was on textiles, pearls, ceramics, and tea, the *Japonisme* commodities first made popular during the “Japan Boom” in the late

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> The tea house on the Japanese grounds held a tea ceremony every afternoon, however, there was also a special Japanese Tea Day on August 25, 1933. Pearl Day was held on July 23<sup>rd</sup> and “Silk Day” was held on August 19<sup>th</sup> that same year. See Yamaji, 162.

nineteenth century. Japanese fair organizers also promoted Japan as a tourist destination.<sup>42</sup> Japan in Chicago was a commodity to be consumed.

Several things were notably absent from the Japanese exhibition complex in Chicago. For example, references to Japanese colonial holdings of Taiwan and Korea were conspicuously missing in the main Japanese hall of the exhibition complex and on the grounds, in general. This points to how Japanese fair organizers endeavored to focus American attention on trade rather than on Japan's status as an imperial power.<sup>43</sup> In fact, the monumental displays that had dramatically advertised Japanese cultural, military, industrial, and colonial prowess at previous expositions were also gone. Rather, the Japan exhibit, tucked away on the northwestern end of the fairgrounds, was quite diminutive when compared to its earlier exhibitions.

Some may argue that these more subdued exhibition grounds were a response to the continuing economic hardships of the Great Depression. Japan had felt the painful sting of the Depression, especially between 1929 and 1931. Fortunately, when the Inukai government took Japan off the gold standard in December 1931 and the value of the yen dropped, Japanese exports dramatically increased and helped to restart the domestic economy.<sup>44</sup> The Japanese exhibition grounds in Chicago provided an excellent opportunity to promote these lucrative exports. Additionally, the Manchuria exhibit itself

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<sup>42</sup> Yamaji, 161-162.

<sup>43</sup> This observation is based on the map of the hall and descriptions of the grounds. See *1933 nen Shikago isseiki bankokuhakurankai sankashuppinjigyō hōkoku*, (Tokyo: Nihon Chūō Sanshikai, 1934).

<sup>44</sup> Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 202.

was also a way to offset the negative press concerning Japanese militarism in northeast China. Therefore, the cost of participating in the exposition would have been weighed against the considerable stakes of the exhibits. These included the potential for a much-needed infusion of capital into the domestic economy and that of the new state of Manchukuo as well as a boost in international public relations in an otherwise tense political atmosphere.

## Constructing Japanese Manchuria in Chicago

The small Manchuria exhibition building at the edge of the Japanese complex was the nexus for debate even before it opened on 10 June 1933. This was due to the contentious status of Manchuria, recently renamed Manchukuo on 18 February 1932. In addition to being a clear geopolitical conflict of interest with the Soviet Union and China, Japan's presence in Manchuria had also been a point of consternation for countries such as the United States and England, which were eager to gain their own access to the vast region and its market of approximately thirty million people.<sup>45</sup> International tensions rose between the Manchurian Incident in September 1931 and May 1933 when China and Japan finally signed the Tanggu Truce. Even then, communist and nationalist guerilla

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<sup>45</sup> This is a rough statistic for the total population for Manchuria in the early 1930s. According to Mantetsu's *Second Report on Progress in Manchuria to 1930*, the population was 29,197,920. See *Second Report on Progress in Manchuria to 1930*, (Dalian: Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushikikaisha, 1931), 12; K.K. Kawakami lists the population as 30,000,000 in his 1933 book, *Manchukuo: Child of Conflict*. See K.K. Kawakami, *Manchukuo: Child of Conflict*, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1933), vi.

warfare along with the “bandits” of the frontier threatened to destabilize Manchuria, threatening exports such as coal and soybeans, as well as the much-valued Manchurian market. Further exasperating Euro-American powers, Japan continued to block foreign interference in the economic development of Manchuria, only allowing foreign investment that was controlled by Japanese interests.

The United States was particularly concerned about hostilities between China and Japan, as they were perceived as a threat to its Open Door Treaty rights on the continent.<sup>46</sup> Of course, it should be noted that even in the U.S. there was no firm consensus on how to respond to the bold actions of the Japanese Kwantung Army. Certainly, it gave politicians in Washington cause to reevaluate the readiness of the U.S. navy to fight in “Far Eastern waters” (should the need arise) and even influenced the creation of Senate Bill 51 in 1932, which provided authorization for building the American navy up to treaty limits.<sup>47</sup> Despite the growing concern about Japanese military movement on the continent, particularly in Manchuria, some politicians such as Senator William H. King (Utah) claimed that, due to the growing Japanese population and its position in Manchuria, Japanese policies seemed understandable. According to historians Eleanor Tupper and George McReynolds, Senator King did not excuse Japanese actions

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<sup>46</sup> Eleanor Tupper, Ph.D. and George E. McReynolds, Ph.D., *Japan in American Public Opinion*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), 295.

<sup>47</sup> Tupper and McReynolds, 264. Apparently the respective treaty limits for Japan and the United States became even more of a pressing issue when it was learned that Japan was building ships in Manchukuo for a new Manchukuo navy. *Ibid.*, 265.

in Shanghai; nonetheless, he questioned whether or not Japan should be conceived of as the enemy.<sup>48</sup>

In the meantime, popular opinion expressed in newspapers over Japan's conflict with China was split. Though many condemned Japan's actions, there was a debate as to what the role the United States should play in the League of Nations as the international body sought to resolve the dispute. Tupper and McReynolds write that newspapers such as *The New York Times* pondered the perceived rupture between Baron Shinohara's supposedly pacifist foreign policy and the "out of hand" actions of the army, whereas others such as *The Boston Herald* speculated that the conflict was the result of the ongoing Japanese desire to "lock up the northern territory."<sup>49</sup> Other newspapers, such as the *Worcester Evening Gazette*, claimed China was at fault, as it had proven unable to "protect foreign lives and property."<sup>50</sup> Regardless of the different position each newspaper or bureaucrat staked, it seems that all agreed that hostilities should be stopped immediately, thereby fulfilling the obligations held under their treaties.<sup>51</sup>

It was within this fraught political climate that fair organizers in Japan and Manchuria endeavored to propose a Manchuria Pavilion for the Chicago A Century of Progress World Fair. Consequently, there was much negotiation in Japan concerning not only whether or not it would be prudent to establish such a pavilion but also what the

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 296.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 297.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

building should be called. A committee called the Manchukuo Exhibition Association (Manshūkoku shuppin kyōkai) convened and, together with the Japan Exhibition Association, consulted with several parties: representatives from the American consulате-general in Mukden, the military advisor to the new state of Manchukuo and former Chief of Intelligence for the Kwantung Army Itagaki Seishirō, representatives from the Japanese Government, and Dr. Allen Albert (advisor to the president Rufus C. Dawes of the Chicago Exposition) who was visiting Tokyo.<sup>52</sup> Though authorities were aware that foreign powers were critical of the Japanese position in Manchuria, many perceived a Manchuria pavilion as a perfect opportunity to introduce Manchurian industry, manners, and customs to the world, while seeking recognition for the new nation.<sup>53</sup> In effect, a Manchuria pavilion in Chicago was seen as an excellent public relations vehicle, a means by which Japanese authorities could advertise how Manchurian culture and industry had supposedly flourished under Japanese guidance.

That said, not all government bureaus supported the participation of Manchukuo in the Century of Progress Exposition. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Gaimushō) was concerned about the inclusion of such an exhibit and the politics that the naming of the space—“The Manchuria Exhibit”—would conjure. This was because countries such as the U.S. had still not recognized the legitimacy of Manchukuo as an independent state and had raised objections over the “Manchuria Problem” that emerged in 1931. The

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<sup>52</sup> Yamashita, 1; See also Yamaji, 164.

<sup>53</sup> Yamashita, 4.

Department of Commerce (Shōmushō) acted as the voice of opposition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, insisting on the inclusion of the Manchuria pavilion. They finally reached a compromise by addressing the name of the exhibition space. Rather than refer to it as the “Manchuria Exhibit,” it was decided to call the exhibition the “South Manchuria Railway Exhibit.”<sup>54</sup> Interestingly, photographs of the exhibit hall show that the sign at the front of the building read “Manchuria exhibits”; yet, textual references to the exhibit referred to it as “The South Manchuria Railway Exhibit.” In other words, the name change was rather superficial. Nonetheless, the decision to rename the exhibit underscores how fair organizers endeavored to shift focus away from the contentious politics of the new state and onto the economic projects that Mantetsu had undertaken in the region. In short, they made Mantetsu the screen through which the international spectators would view Manchuria in Chicago. That said, Mantetsu would not be the sole sponsor of the exhibit. In meetings with Mantetsu vice-president Hatta Yoshiaki, the Mantetsu board of directors, and Commander Itagaki of the Kwantung Army, it was decided that out of the total 250,000 yen budget required for the exhibit, Mantetsu would provide 95,000 yen and the Manchukuo government would fund 155,000 yen.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>55</sup> Yamashita, 4-5.

The Manchuria exhibit building was fairly small at 50.25 *tsubo*, or approximately 1,800 square feet.<sup>56</sup> Attendance was relatively low as well: According to the “Century of Progress Notes” featured in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, the South Manchuria Railway exhibit had around 5,000 visitors per day.<sup>57</sup> As the Chicago Expo averaged 67,883 people a day during the 329 days it was open in 1933 and 1934, this means only around 7% of visitors to the fair went to see Mantetsu’s Manchuria exhibit.<sup>58</sup> Of course, as previously mentioned, the building and the Japan complex, in general, lacked the kind of flash and spectacle evident elsewhere on the exposition grounds. The Japan pavilion and Mantetsu exhibition building were unified in their use of subdued materials and style. Both were rather plain wood-clad buildings with muted green *wara buki* tile roofs (Figure 4.5). The Japan pavilion, consisting of a hipped-and-gable roof over a main hall and two wings, was based on Momoyama and Kamakura-style architecture.<sup>59</sup> A small *karahafu* cusped-gabled roof—one of the only decorative architectural elements on the pavilion—marked entrances to each wing and the main hall. Introduced during the Heian period (794-1185), *karahafu* were used in the Edo period (1600-1868) as a means to decorate elaborate

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<sup>56</sup> Yamashita, unpaginated. 1 *tsubo* equals approximately 36 square feet. The Mantetsu Pavilion was small compared to other national pavilions. For example, according to Yamashita, the Sweden Pavilion was twice the size of the Mantetsu Pavilion at 100 *tsubo* or approximately 3600 square feet. See Yamashita, 54.

<sup>57</sup> “A Century of Progress Notes,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 29, 1933: 6.

<sup>58</sup> This statistic is based upon the conservative total attendance figures of 22,197,920 for the exposition over 329 days. Data accessed at <http://www.expmuseum.com/1933/>, August 12, 2010. Although, according Anne Maxwell, the attendance for the 1933-34 Chicago fair was more than double that number at roughly 49,000,000. See Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the ‘Native’ and the Making of European Identities*, (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1999), 1.

<sup>59</sup> Akiko Takenaka, “The Construction of a War-time National Identity: The Japanese Pavilion at New York’s World Fair, 1939/40,” (master’s thesis, MIT, 1990), 18.

gateways called *onarimon* through which only the shogun could enter. Therefore, the *karahafu* on the Japan pavilion may be understood as subtle markers of prestige and authority. The Mantetsu exhibition hall differed only slightly from the Japan pavilion. Gone were the *karahafu*. Also the hip-and-gabled roof of the Manchuria pavilion featured tiered gabling and a slightly raised flat roof detail located over the large display window in the center of the front façade.

The small Mantetsu building was part of a unified, aesthetic whole in the complex, almost seamlessly blending in to the architectural style of the Japan pavilion, although its slightly distinctive characteristics subtly marked it as “independent” (if read through the lens of politics). Given Japanese claims that Manchukuo was a sovereign state, it is strange that the difference between the two pavilions was not made more pronounced or that Mantetsu’s building did not demonstrate stronger continental design elements. Designers had employed such features before. This is evident, for example, in the elegant and ornate Manchuria pavilion designed by Moritani Nobuo for the Enthronement Commemoration Exposition (Taiten kinen Kyoto hakurankai) held in Kyoto in 1915 (Figure 4.6).<sup>60</sup> Of course, the elaborate (Chinese) ornamentation employed by Moritani was not necessarily en vogue in the 1930s. As the Manchuria Pavilions in the Taiwan Exposition and the Great Yokohama Exposition in 1935 demonstrate, Japanese

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<sup>60</sup> Moritani used many Chinese motifs in the pavilion, including enormous, elaborate dragon roof ridge ornaments, the complex bracketing system supporting the roof, and the large Chinese-style lions sitting atop pillars framing the front entrance. *Botsugo 80-nen: Moritani Nobuo ten* (Sakura City: Sakura-shiritsu Bijutsukan, 2007), 23.

fair organizers seemed to prefer more modern architectural styles. They used an Art Deco-inspired façade in Taipei and a stripped down, modern entrance subtly inflected with Chinese decorative motifs in Yokohama (Figure 4.7).<sup>61</sup> Regardless of what informed the decision to utilize similar styles for both the Japanese and Manchuria pavilions in Chicago, the effect was unmistakable. Manchuria belonged to Japan. Even the garden greenery wrapping around the edge of the complex worked visually to unify and contain the buildings, associating the built structure and Manchuria itself with the commodities that the Japanese controlled.

The subtle statement of difference and symbolic sovereignty were at odds with the building's physical access on the grounds. A chain link fence, which delineated the edge of the fair, bordered the pavilion on the west side and the Japan pavilion flanked it on the east. Based on photographs (Figure 4.8), it appears that there was not much more than ten feet of clearance between the building and the fence on the one side and little more on its east side, greatly limiting any movement around the building. Visitors from outside the fair could enter directly into the Japanese exhibition complex as a large *torii* gate marked a point of entry and immediately access the Manchuria exhibition building (Figure 4.9). As the diagrams of the fair and photographs of the exhibition complex make clear, the

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<sup>61</sup> *Shisei shijisshūnen kinen Taiwan hakurankaishi*, (Taihoku [Taipei]: Shisei shijisshūnen kinen Taiwan hakurankai, 1939), unpaginated; *Yokohama daihakurankai yoran: fukko kinen*, (Yokohama: Fukko kinen yokohama daihakurankai kyosankai, 1935), unpaginated.

Japanese mediated any access to the new state of Manchukuo, both in the microcosmic context of the fair and the macrocosmic context of global geopolitics.

These kinds of subtle symbolic and spatial claims were useful given that overt political or military claims to the region would not have been tolerated. For example, Japanese fair organizers planned no great battle spectacles at the fair in Chicago. Though reenactments of Japanese victories in the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 worked to demonstrate new Japanese military power to spectators who had formed an image of Japan as “quaint,” similar reenactments from the Manchurian Incident or subsequent battles would have been wholly inappropriate in 1933. Japanese militarism was inextricably bound to its puppet state, thereby entangling any demonstration of military might in an intertextual relationship with international colonial representations. Japanese public relations offices suggested that the Kwantung Army had supposedly liberated Manchuria from despotic warlords, ostensibly a noble cause for conflict. Nonetheless, fair organizers understood that it was necessary to associate the new state of Manchukuo with peace, not war. Consequently, the Japanese army, which had been so critical in the formation of the nation, became invisible at the fair. Organizers of the Manchuria exhibit were not the only ones who were aware of the new stakes of military representations in the context of territorial conquest in the 1930s.<sup>62</sup> This erasure of the military in the

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<sup>62</sup> Mantetsu had a stake in promoting Manchuria as a peaceful place. Therefore, it is conceivable that Mantetsu officials swayed the content of the exhibits. That said, Mantetsu, the Kwantung Army, the Manchukuo Government, and the Japanese Foreign Ministry were well aware of the delicate public relations at stake in imaging Japanese Manchuria to foreign audiences.

context of promoting a dichotomous image of an occupied/sovereign state was also a method the Italian Fascists employed in regards to exhibitionary representations of Albania, the territory the fascist army had invaded in order to “liberate” the state from King Zog and armed bands in 1939.<sup>63</sup> These examples demonstrate a dramatic shift away from overt displays of military might that nations proudly performed at expositions only a few decades earlier.

It is important to note that the performance of militarism was not completely jettisoned from Japanese exhibitions of Manchuria in the 1930s. By and large, the military itself and newspaper companies sponsored exhibitions that showcased the Japanese continental army for primarily *naichi* audiences.<sup>64</sup> For example, the Manchuria-Mongolia Military Exposition (Man-Mō gunji Hakurankai) held in Sendai in 1932-33 (not surprisingly) had a strong military theme, featuring battle scene panoramas. The Building Great East Asia Exposition (Dai tōa kensetsu hakurankai) held in Nishinomiya City in Hyōgo prefecture in 1939 also featured an elaborate, outdoor battle panorama, complete with airplanes on wires executing raids on enemy forces on the ground. Given

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<sup>63</sup> The erasure of militarism after militaristic conquest was crucial in each of these cases because of the need to assert the image of a sovereign state in both the case of Japanese Manchuria and Italian Albania. This absence of militarism is evident in the Albania exhibit at the Triennale d’Oltremare in Naples in 1940, save for the figure of George Kastrioti Skenderbeu (also known as Skanderberg) (1405-1468), a national hero of Albania who I argue was appropriated by the Italian Fascists in order to underscore the sovereignty of Italian-occupied Albania and act as a symbol of historical Roman-Albanian ties. See *Il Padiglione dell’Albania alla Prima Mostra Triennale delle Terre Italiane d’Oltremare*, (Florence: Il Padiglione dell’Albania alla Prima Mostra Triennale delle Terre Italiane d’Oltremare 1940). I am grateful to Nicolae Harsanyi of the Wolfsonian Institute-Florida International University for introducing me to Italy-Albania materials in the collection and pointing out the remarkable similarities to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria.

<sup>64</sup> Yoshimi, 214-215.

that these expositions were held under the auspices of the Department of the Army (Rikugunshō), they would not have had the same “peaceful message” as a Mantetsu exhibit. Interestingly, even the Manchuria pavilion at the Building Great East Asia Exposition had a military inflection, displaying uniforms for Mantetsu railway guards. This exhibit operated in subtle tension with idyllic displays that advertised Manchuria as a space of the “Harmony of the Five Races” (*gozoku kyōwa*).<sup>65</sup> These types of militaristic displays specifically targeted a domestic Japanese audience. The 1932 exposition occurred soon after the Manchurian Incident and capitalized on what Louise Young calls the “war fever” that gripped the nation; the 1939 exposition contributed to the mobilization of the *naichi* population for total war as the Kwantung Army continued its bloody advance into China.<sup>66</sup> Needless to say, they would not have translated well in Chicago.

## Inside the Manchuria Pavilion

According to the catalogue for the Manchuria exhibit in Chicago, the Manchukuo Exhibition Association privileged the use of scientific exhibition strategies such as dioramas, maps, and graphs seen in natural history and ethnographic museums. Through these displays, Japanese fair organizers endeavored to educate the public about the

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<sup>65</sup> It is not clear from the exhibition catalogue who sponsored the Manchuria pavilion. See *Dai tōa kensetsu hakurankai daikan*, (Osaka: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1940).

<sup>66</sup> By 1939, Japan was already in the second year of the Second Sino-Japanese War, which began in 1937.

economic and urban development Japanese corporations and the government were spearheading in the Northeast. These displays showcased how both Manchurians and partner nations benefited from Japanese intervention in the region, a message meant to legitimize the relationship between Japan and Manchuria.

One of the first displays that fairgoers would have encountered at the Manchuria pavilion was a diorama in the front window of the pavilion (Figure 4.10). This exhibit set the tone of the pavilion, demonstrating how Manchurians enjoyed material prosperity under the auspices of Mantetsu's development in the region. Flanked by the two entrance doors, the front display window was an enormous diorama, featuring life-size dolls—2 women and a boy—in a scene of domestic affluence. One woman sits at a finely carved table embroidering. Behind her are more fine furnishings, including costly ceramic ware. The style of dress and the decorations that adorn the room and are meant to function as markers of Manchurian ethnic and cultural difference look remarkably Chinese. This is not surprising given the great cultural overlap between Manchurians and the Chinese over hundreds of years. The display was intended, according to Yamaji, as a means to convey a distinct Manchurian culture, more specifically, one distinct from *Japan*.<sup>67</sup> This was a crucial point to communicate in Chicago. If Manchurian culture could appear as different from Japan (and free from Japanese cultural imperialism), Mantetsu could better maintain the fiction of sovereignty for Manchukuo. Whether or not this was ultimately successful

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

is difficult to ascertain. As Yamaji notes, American fairgoers did not necessarily have the ethnological knowledge to recognize these cultural differences.<sup>68</sup>

The front window display is significant for another reason. It is one of the only exhibits in the Manchuria pavilion that represents Manchurians. Manchurians appear on postcards printed for the fair, but were noticeably absent from literature on Manchuria and in the pavilion itself, except for the occasional mention of the Manchurian regent Pu-Yi.<sup>69</sup> It is notable that, in this important, virtually singular, iteration of the “Manchurian,” the Manchurian people are represented through the female body and the child. This was a common way to represent the colonial subject. The indigenous body had long played a role at world fairs, usually offered up in live ethnographic displays as supposedly authentic exhibits of indigenous culture to testify to the *mission civilisatrice* of colonial powers and to legitimize colonial rule. Interestingly, despite the civilizing narrative the bodies were meant to elicit, the bodies never “evolved” in the space of the exhibition. For example, while indigenous peoples in Euro-American colonial cities could be seen in Western dress, they were always dressed in native costumes at the fair.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, colonial subjects did not demonstrate the new industrial production techniques that had been implemented in the colonies. Instead, they made native craftwork and practiced their “primitive occupations.” Morton rightly argues that this was a means of sustaining the

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<sup>68</sup>Yamaji, 167.

<sup>69</sup>Pu Yi is mentioned in the “Progress of Manchuria” pamphlet that accompanied the exhibition. In the pamphlet, Pu-Yi’s royal lineage was explained, as was his original removal from the throne in 1911.

<sup>70</sup>Morton, 91.

colonial imaginary of “eternal, if backward, civilizations” that legitimized on-going colonial rule.<sup>71</sup>

Given that Japanese fair organizers were not promoting Manchuria as a colony but rather as an independent state, it was not appropriate to locate Manchurians within the civilized/primitive binary matrix. Also, such a representation would not have worked to Japan’s benefit, as it would have instantiated “Asians” in that paradigm. This would have implicated the Japanese as well, undermining all that the government had done to present Japan as a modern nation on a par with those in the West. Therefore, Manchurians, like the Koreans, occupied a place in a kind of hierarchical Asian family of ethno-geographies in which modern Japan acted as the patriarch. Further exemplifying this alternative colonial representational paradigm, the figures in the diorama in the front window of the Mantetsu pavilion resisted a primitivist reading. The figures appear refined, perhaps from an upper-middle class family. They wear fine clothes and inhabit a well-appointed room. The bodies are not offered up for “civilizing” transformation. Instead, they are there to display continental luxury commodities: silk, finely carved tables, and ceramics. Japanese ideologues turned not to the body of the colonial subject, but rather to the Manchurian landscape as the primary site for modernization and transformation. Consequently, the spatial transformation of the continent dominated Mantetsu’s pavilion exhibits.

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

Mantetsu's interior pavilion display presented variations on two major themes: urban modernization and the development of rural resources. These were common themes in Japanese newspapers and magazines that had stoked public interest in Japan's project of industrial and urban development in Manchuria.<sup>72</sup> However, the way in which these themes were deployed for Japanese audiences in magazines such as *Manshū Graph* differed from exhibitionary methods utilized in Chicago. First of all, in Japanese publications intended for a Japanese readership, images of modernization and of the rural expanse were presented as two harmonious aspects of Manchuria. Rural Manchuria was largely a space for the projection of a Japanese urban fantasy; it was the idyllic, village-farm ideal with smiling farmers and fields that produced a bountiful harvest, such as that seen in the September 1933 inaugural issue of *Manshū Graph*. The same issue posited Manchurian cities such as Xinjing as markers of Japanese modern progress. For the Japanese public, the images of the expansive landscapes of rural Manchuria in magazines like *Manshū Graph* allowed the Japanese imagination to "fill in" personal or national possibilities for development.<sup>73</sup>

While the pavilion in Chicago also presented the spatial binary of developed/undeveloped, the effect was far different. In the Manchuria pavilion, fair planners left little room for the American visitor to complete the projected image. Japan had already

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<sup>72</sup> For images of Manchuria leading up to, including, and after the Manchurian Incident, see *Manshū jihen zengo: showa gannen junen*, (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1975).

<sup>73</sup> Japanese immigration to Manchuria by farmers and white-collar workers alike was strongly encouraged by the Japanese government. By 1930, there were 233,320 Japanese living in Manchuria. See Young, 314.

done so. The most notable example of this can be seen in the main exhibition room of the Manchuria exhibit. On each of two facing walls, there were two pairs of large oil paintings describing the transformation of Manchurian space (Figure 4.11). On the right hand side of the room, were large paintings of the city of Mukden. The painting on the far right reveals a sparsely populated landscape with a vast, largely empty horizon. Two wooden buildings sit off in the distance, visually overwhelmed by the space around them. What appears to be two snow-covered sets of train tracks cut across the canvas on a diagonal toward the horizon. This diagonal expanse is almost completely empty save for the small figure of a man in the distance. A man and two donkeys laden with bags occupy the foreground, moving toward the left of the frame. According to the label on the wall above the painting, this is an image of “Mukden of Yesterday.”<sup>74</sup> Situated to the left of this painting is another titled “Mukden of Today.” Here, new multi-storied modern buildings completely fill the open, empty Manchurian horizon that had once stimulated Japanese imaginations only a few decades before. It is a bustling street scene with automobiles rather than donkeys. The image asserts that Mukden has become a busy, thriving urban center. “Mukden of Today” completes the possibilities that the emptiness of “Mukden of Yesterday” invoked, leaving very little room for spectators in Chicago to participate in the transformation. In other words, there is no room for projecting fantasies

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<sup>74</sup> The catalogue for the Manchuria pavilion in Chicago elaborates further, stating that it is a scene from Mukden 30 years ago. It is unclear whether this information was also provided in the space of the exhibit as well. See Yamashita, unpaginated.

of development onto the rural landscape. The Japanese have already completed the project.

On the facing wall, fair planners employed a similar strategy of representing development. This time, the two scenes are of the port of Dalian. Unlike the paintings of Mukden, the perspective used to image Dalian is not at the eye level of the viewer. Rather the perspective is from high up in the air, creating a visual panorama of the changes made to this vital Manchurian port. The bird's eye view allows the viewer more fully to apprehend the spacious resources that had been neglected in the "Dalian of Yesterday." In this painting, the land appears unused and only sparsely populated except for a handful of tiny buildings scattered in a seemingly random manner across the landscape. In contrast, the perspective utilized in "Dalian of Today" creates a dramatic look into the massive urban infrastructure that has transformed the area. The port is now fully modernized and capable of handling the large volume of agricultural exports from the area. The once empty waters located in the distant horizon now teem with ships.

While the paintings left no room for the American spectator to imagine the completion of the project of the continent, the Japanese pamphlet "The Progress of Manchuria" repeatedly articulated the economic ties that bound Japanese and American interests in Manchukuo. This may have been a way to respond directly to American fears that the military and political events that had transpired since the Manchuria Incident in 1931 threatened American Open Door Policy. The pamphlet described Japanese economic development of Manchuria, targeting the period of time since the formation of

the new state of Manchukuo, in particular. It begins by stating “[c]ommercial relations between the United States and Manchuria scored a notable advance in the past year, imports of American commodities—chiefly iron and steel, petroleum, machinery and automobiles—gaining 58%.”<sup>75</sup> Yet, despite pointing to this direct trade relationship between the U.S. and Manchuria in this opening statement, the pamphlet also underscores the important role Japan plays in facilitating the economic relationship between the continent and U.S., selling many American products, such as cars, to Manchuria and China. The pamphlet goes on to detail Manchurian goods and foreign investment in the region, comparing British, French, and Soviet trade. It is clear that this pamphlet sought to encourage ties to the United States even as it endeavored to legitimize the formation of the new state of Manchukuo. On the reverse side of the pamphlet next to a large map of the new state of Manchukuo, the final sentence states, “[h]ere [the Chinese] found a land of peace and plenty until the war lords taxed and exploited them to the limit, so they declared their independence, as did the Americans in 1776.”<sup>76</sup> According to this pamphlet, Manchuria then, was not just a trade partner, but also a sister nation founded by people who, like the Americans, supposedly longed to be freed from unfair treatment.

The theme of economics also played a significant role in the Manchuria pavilion’s central exhibit. Called “Manchuria of Today” (Figure 4.12), the enormous display was a

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<sup>75</sup> “The Progress of Manchuria,” pamphlet for *A Century of Progress International Exposition at Chicago*, South Manchuria Railway Company, printed in the U.S.A.

<sup>76</sup> “The Progress in Manchuria.”

three-dimensional topographical map of Manchuria overlaid with the lines of the South Manchuria Railway. The map repeated the themes of modernization and progress seen on the walls of the room. Unlike the painted scenes discussed above, this exhibit did not posit an image of “Yesterday” to act as a counterpoint to the modern. Instead, it resonated in the present moment as it displayed the scope of Japanese economic interests on the continent. The map encompassed the whole of Manchuria, including the disputed territory of Jehol and Korea, showing where the rail line terminated at the tip of the Korean peninsula.<sup>77</sup> The map also represented parts of Mongolia and China. These spaces remained empty and unlabeled, but suggested the possibility of development into those regions as the rail lines spread out across the rest of the landscape. Furthermore, the map firmly demarcated the boundaries of both the Japanese colony of Korea and the new state of Manchukuo. This was arguably a risky juxtaposition as it blurred the lines between what was unequivocally within the Japanese military and political purview and what was independent.

Japanese planning committees had used maps such as these before. At the St. Louis Louisiana Purchase World’s Fair in 1904, they used a large topographical map labeled “The Japanese Empire,” which included its latest colonial conquest, Formosa. Exhibit labels identified the Formosans as “savages” and Formosa as an “unsurveyed

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<sup>77</sup> In May 1933, Manchuria (Manchukuo) annexed the province of Jehol, fueling an already tense diplomatic situation between Japan, China, and the League of Nations (by this time Japan had already issued its intention to withdraw in March of that year). See Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 190. Also it is interesting that though the province was not annexed until May 1933, it was included in the map.

land.” They told spectators that the Japanese, as Americans did with the Indians, were educating their colonial subjects and “‘intelligently’ exploiting Formosan resources” in a similar way.<sup>78</sup> The exhibit made a bold colonial statement. However, the approach that Japanese fair organizers took in Chicago was far more nuanced. Exhibits inside the pavilion, including the large “Manchuria of Today” map, did not reference Manchurians. Instead, the emphasis in the South Manchuria Railway map and in the central display room, in general, was on the development of industrial, economic, transportation, and urban infrastructures that would enable an efficient utilization of the natural resources available. In this way, Mantetsu’s map was much like the Pure Oil map display (Figure 4.13) also featured at A Century of Progress, mapping corporate interests onto the landscape. This marks a dramatic departure from the St. Louis exhibit, which mapped the embodiment of colonial indoctrination. The visual language in Chicago reveals how a new, less intrusive, less threatening form of economic imperialism had taken the place of outright displays of colonial subjugation.

The positioning of the viewing subject relative to the map had also changed dramatically in the interwar period. According to Carol Christ, spectators at the St. Louis fair in 1904 looked upon the enormous topographical map of “The Japanese Empire” from an elevated walkway, holding on to a velvet rope, which afforded them a position of

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<sup>78</sup> Christ, 687.

specular dominance described by Bennett.<sup>79</sup> This was indicative of the kind of privileged position often deployed by colonial powers. In 1933, however, the viewer was no longer in a commanding position that enabled him/her to look down and capture the entirety of Japan's colonies in a single glance. Rather, the map of "Manchuria Today" was elevated more than two feet off the floor; the metal rail surrounding the platform came to the waist. The new elevation made visually consuming the entire scene from one position difficult if not impossible. One would have had to move around the map platform in order fully to enjoy the display (Figure 4.14). Here, Manchuria was not offered up easily for specular domination. There was no ideal viewing position from which the totality of the scene could be apprehended. Rather, the height of the map slightly challenged the gaze of the spectator, creating a subtle rupture between Manchuria, the scope of Japanese economic imperialism, and the spectator. In other words, the map subtly disrupted Manchuria's objectification by the American viewer.

This delicate disruption can be seen in a compelling poster advertising the new state of Manchukuo. Titled "ReBirth of Manchukuo" (Figure 4.15), the poster was a risky display in itself as it directly referenced the new state that had yet to be recognized by the American government. As one of the more symbolically charged images in the exhibition, it appears at first glance to embody the mutually beneficial fusion of (Western) universal and (Chinese) regional ideals at work in the development of

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

Manchuria. The image depicts two god-like figures: a woman in a white diaphanous dress holding a luminous orb or mirror and a Manchu man, dressed in ancient clothing and holding a distinctive staff. This divine pair cast their warm, protective gazes upon the “enlightened” state of Manchukuo. The caption informs the spectator that the woman is the allegory for “Peace” and the man represents “the Kingly Way,”<sup>80</sup> or *ōdō*, the Confucian concept of “sage statesmanship.”<sup>81</sup> The image appears to be a harmonious balance between East and West coming together in Manchuria. Through Mantetsu (i.e. Japan), Manchukuo has become a utopian site of multicultural internationalism.

A closer analysis of the image, however, reveals a more complex layer of meaning. For example, though the long blonde hair, pale skin and Greco-Roman dress of “Peace” at first suggests a personification taken from a classical, Western visual vocabulary, the epicanthic fold on her eyes and unusual iconographic attributes such as the mirror rather than a typical olive branch complicate this reading. She appears to be an amalgamation of a female national symbol like Britannia and the Japanese goddess, Amaterasu, who is associated with light and the imperial line.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, though the inclusion of “the Kingly Way” possibly points to Manchurian indebtedness to Chinese

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<sup>80</sup> It is not clear whether or not an explanation of their identities would have been available to the fairgoers in Chicago. This caption information comes from guide to the Manchurian Exhibit published in Japan. See Yamashita, unpaginated.

<sup>81</sup> *Ōdō*, a Japanese term, is *wang dao* in Chinese. See Young, 285.

<sup>82</sup> The mirror is one of three imperial regalia transferred to each new emperor. Another Japanese reading of the figure is that of Yamato-hime, a medium of Amaterasu who traveled the land with her sacred mirror, looking for a proper place to construct a shrine to the sun goddess. See Matsume Takeshi, “Origin and Growth of the Worship of Amaterasu,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 37, no. 1 (1978): 8.

cultural traditions such as Confucianism, it had specific meaning in Japan as well. Young has written that during the First World War, “members of the Terauchi cabinet had appropriated the Confucian rubric of ‘kingly way’ to describe a new diplomatic Japanese initiative in China” that would “employ the virtues of conciliatory, economic diplomacy.”<sup>83</sup> Read in this context, what likely read to the fairgoers in Chicago as a utopian meeting of Eastern (specifically Chinese) and Western ideals, was in fact a poster that represented Manchuria as a state reborn under Japanese economic diplomacy and imperial grace.

### **Comparing Exhibition Methods: Japan and France**

The creation of dioramas and maps rather than monumental gates and spectacular testaments to Japan’s imperial might was a response to the shifting colonial discourse. As such the Colonial Exposition held in Paris in 1931 very likely contributed the conceptualization of Japanese exhibition grounds at the Chicago fair in 1933. According to Patricia Morton, French exposition organizers, led by Maréchal Hubert Lyautey, conceived of the Paris exposition as a means to publicize the “beneficial actions” of the West’s colonial activities, providing “good colonial news, pose the problems, resolve

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<sup>83</sup> Young, 285.

them, and diffuse the solutions, instruct, build, then inform.”<sup>84</sup> The exhibition was very likely a response to the aforementioned debates on colonialism that began to question the potentially damaging effects of Western colonial practices. French fair organizers wanted to create an exposition that avoided the kind of exotic, amusement-park spectacles commonly associated with the Midway. Instead, the Paris exposition strove to present an ostensibly authentic, scientifically informed “model city” that would show the actual state of the colonies or what they would become.<sup>85</sup> As Morton argues, this proposed shift marked a departure from what Mikhail Bakhtin called the “carnivalesque” in favor of its antithesis, the “official fair.”<sup>86</sup> In contrast to the carnivalesque, which often deployed exoticism and spectacle to titillate fairgoers, the “official fair” endeavored to assert an established “predominant truth,” drawing on a scientific model utilized by natural history museums and ethnographic displays through scales, written panels, and dioramas.<sup>87</sup> Lyautey and the other organizers drew upon this language of scientific display in Paris in an attempt to legitimize current colonial practices

If one compares the exhibits in Paris to the blatant exoticism of exhibits seen at earlier world fairs, they successfully de-sensationalized the displays to a certain extent. Previous exhibits such as the “Streets of Cairo” featured at the Paris Exposition

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<sup>84</sup> Marcel Zahar, “Batir! Informer!” *L’Art vivant* 7, no.151 (1931) as quoted in Patricia Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 2000), 3.

<sup>85</sup> Morton, 4.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

Universelle in 1889 drew upon a performative, sensory spectacle to underscore the cultural difference between the West and Orient. In contrast, exhibits in Paris in 1931, such as those featured inside the Angkor Wat pavilion, drew much more heavily on a scientifically ratified language of display. In the Angkor Vat exhibit, tidy models of buildings and city plans communicated the progress of Indochina under French occupation while charts and graphs plotted economic and social transformations. Yet, the element of spectacle was not completely expunged from the 1931 fairgrounds. According to Morton, the use of monumental indigenous architecture allowed colonial powers to continue perpetuating the image of the colonies as “unchanged” and “savage” while, inside the pavilions, fair organizers constructed scenes of the kind of modernizing progress that would legitimize ongoing colonial occupation.<sup>88</sup> As a result, this spectacular architecture provided a means to tantalize spectators. It was the residue of carnivalesque entertainment that would balance the much more dryly didactic displays inside.

Japanese fair organizers who helped to conceptualize the Manchuria exhibit in Chicago were undoubtedly aware of the Paris exhibition despite the fact Japanese participation in Paris was not invited, a racialized snub of a non-Western colonial power.<sup>89</sup> The Japanese government had participated in world fairs since the 1873 and

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 196.

<sup>89</sup> Yamashita, 92-93. Regarding Japan’s absence in Paris in 1931, the Colonial Exposition was (according to fair commissioner Marcel Olivier) an attempt to transport to the middle of Paris a “vision of the Orient and Far East” that built upon the “picturesque ambiance” of the colonial sections in the 1878, 1889, and 1900 expositions. Certainly, Japan would have upset this vision had Japanese authorities been allowed to

repeatedly demonstrated knowledge of the latest, international exhibitionary practices.

The trends seen in the 1931 Colonial Exposition served Japanese exhibition goals in 1933 in several ways. As with the French exhibits, the use of scientific displays such as dioramas in the Manchuria pavilion evidenced Japan's compliance with the new colonial paradigm that privileged sovereignty over subjugation. A secondary result of this exhibitionary model was the reduction of an emotional relationship to the display and, by extension, to Japan's intervention in Manchuria. With anxieties running high over Japanese military advancement on the continent and the threat of the "Yellow Peril" still resonating in the United States, it was important to present exhibits that would not unduly excite the American spectator. In other words, the effect of the Japanese exhibition complex, including the Mantetsu pavilion, needed to be one of gentle amelioration rather than spectacular excitement.

This is not to say that the Manchuria exhibits completely eschewed entertainment or what might be considered "carnivalesque" elements. In fact, like French exhibitors, the Manchukuo Exhibition Association understood that the inclusion of some "edutainment" was necessary in order to attract an audience. When compared to Japan's exhibits and events in St. Louis, the Manchuria exhibit was still decidedly much less spectacular. Nonetheless, they successfully drew attention to the exhibits. For example, the events that

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submit a pavilion as one of the dominant imperial powers on the world stage. Therefore, the Japanese were not invited to participate. See Marcel Oliver, as quoted in Morton, 70.

Mantetsu hosted during “Manchuria Week” in mid-October 1933 helped draw spectators in and further advertise Japanese Manchuria. These events included a prize contest, Manchurian Music Night, an exhibition of the aforementioned art photography of Fuchikami and the MPAA, an orchestral concert in front of the pavilion, and a banquet at the Steveston Hotel for A Century of Progress fair organizers.<sup>90</sup>

One of the more popular events that Mantetsu held during “Manchuria Week” at the fair was a Manchuria trivia contest wherein fairgoers could submit answers to various questions regarding the Manchurian economy, geography, flora and fauna, information that could be learned from the South Manchuria Railway pamphlet on Manchuria available at the fair.<sup>91</sup> The winner of the first prize in the contest could choose between \$500 cash or a free, first-class trip to Manchuria. Second and third place winners received a white fox fur coat. All of these prizes would have been enticing during the hard economic times still plaguing many people in Chicago.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, these were just the top prizes. Mantetsu awarded 500 prizes in total for the contest, claiming winners from 14 states, Alaska, and Canada.<sup>93</sup>

In October 1933, *The Chicago Daily Tribune* reported the winner was Miss Frances Robinson. The young woman was a perfect grand prize recipient. She was a well-dressed, fresh-faced 22-year old who had specialized in “oriental history and

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<sup>90</sup> Yamashita, 71-75.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>92</sup> “A Century of Progress Notes,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, (October 21, 1933): 6; Yamashita, 72; See also Yamaji, 167.

<sup>93</sup> “A Century of Progress Notes,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, (October 24, 1933): 7.

sociology” in her studies at Oberlin College and was currently studying at the Art Institute in Chicago.<sup>94</sup> Most importantly, she opted for the trip rather than the money, stating that “[she had] always wanted to visit the orient.”<sup>95</sup> Of course, this was an enormous boon to Mantetsu’s tourism advertising campaign. The city’s local papers reported the contest results and, more specifically, Miss Robinson’s choice to go to Manchuria rather than take the handsome sum of \$500. This underscored the desirability of Manchukuo as a tourist destination. In the fall of 1933, she was awarded the prize by Mantetsu’s representative in America, Toshi Go, at a ceremony complete with a decorated grandstand and fanfare from a high school orchestra.<sup>96</sup>

In considering the inclusion of displays and events that broke with the scientific model seen in Paris, it is useful briefly to return to a discussion of the Japanese art photography exhibited in Chicago. The exhibit, consisting of 100 photographs, did not command a large space. The works were limited only to one small room just 10 *tsubo* (approximately 360 square feet) and were hung in a grid of three and four photographs high (Figure 4.16). They completely filled all available wall space, saturating the room with a rich array of images from nostalgically pictorialist scenes of farms to constructivist images of Manchurian cities and factories.

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<sup>94</sup> “A Century of Progress Notes,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, (October 21, 1933): 6; “A Century of Progress Notes,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, (October 22, 1933): 7.

<sup>95</sup> “A Century of Progress Notes,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, (October 22, 1933): 7.

<sup>96</sup> Yamashita, unpaginated; “A Century of Progress Notes,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, (October 22, 1933): 7.

In sharp contrast to the kind of detailed textual framing that often accompanied scientific displays (detailing sites, samples, and territories), there were no wall captions for the photographs. Nowhere in photographs of the exhibit do any identifying wall tags appear. According to Yamashita, a Japanese female guide was on hand every day in order to provide an explanation for the works.<sup>97</sup> Ideally, this would have provided a more personal and intimate relationship with the work on display as spectators interacted with a Japanese woman rather than a wall card. It is unclear how many people would have heard her explanations, as a photograph of the exhibit shows a large group milling about the room looking only at the works. The Japanese guide is not pictured. Therefore, with a potentially limited exposure to the exhibit guide and without captions, the spectators would have been responding to the images not as narrative documents but as formal, aesthetic art objects.

This points to the multifaceted role that the works played at the fair. First, this would have been a compelling counterpoint to the more scientific maps, diagrams, and dioramas featured in the rest of the pavilion. Second, the aesthetics of the object worked to depoliticize the space. By deemphasizing names, subjects, and geographic context, the photographs could be appreciated as aesthetic objects rather than narrative vehicles for political propaganda. This is likely why photography historian Iizawa Kōtarō has stated that the photographs were not considered political but rather were deemed “quality

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<sup>97</sup> Yamashita, 73.

objects.”<sup>98</sup> In other words, the inclusion of these art photographs defused the heated politics of the site and created an alternative space of engagement with Manchuria. This alternative space was not limited to the Mantetsu pavilion on the Chicago fairgrounds. Though the art photography exhibit was housed there for most of the fair, it moved to the Hall of Science during “Manchuria week,” 12-19 October 1933.<sup>99</sup> This, in turn, took the aesthetic experience of Manchuria, which Japanese photographers and the imperial apparatus of Mantetsu mediated, to an even broader audience on the fairgrounds. Following their exhibition in the Hall of Science, the photographs were exhibited in Evanston, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago, for two weeks. The photographs proved to be so popular that they went on tour to 23 American cities after the fair, invited by American photography clubs. Despite the supposedly “apolitical” reception American photography enthusiasts gave these works, the photographs were first and foremost considered as advertising for Mantetsu’s Manchuria.<sup>100</sup> Ultimately, organizers for the Manchuria exhibit at the fair thought that the art photographs and other events held for “Manchuria Week” successfully promoted the name “Manchukuo” at the Chicago fair.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Izawa Kōtarō, *Fuchikami Hakuyō to Manshū Shashin Sakka Kyōkai*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), 5.

<sup>99</sup> “A Century of Progress Notes,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, (October 11, 1933): 15.

<sup>100</sup> Yamashita, 81.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 76.

## **Comparing Exhibition Methods: Japanese Fairs at Home, in Manchuria, and in Chicago**

Japanese fairs held in Japan, Taiwan, and Manchuria also employed scientific and carnivalesque exhibitionary lexicons to varying degrees. Industrial and commercial fairs often featured simple, descriptive displays to introduce goods or a company. Other exposition sites became sites for amusement and entertainment. The Great Manchuria Exposition (Manshū Dai Hakurankai) in Dalian in 1933 is an excellent example of the marriage between scientific ethnographic displays and far more spectacular “carnivalesque” spaces. It also provides a contemporaneous counterpoint to the much more subdued Manchuria pavilion in Chicago. The exposition was held in the port city of Dalian from 23 July to 31 August 1933. The city and the Manchukuo Government (which, as previously mentioned, had strong ties to the Kwantung Army) were the primary sponsors; however, the exposition had many promoters in Japan who, through advertising in newspapers, pamphlets, and on the radio, endeavored to promote sightseeing on the continent.<sup>102</sup>

One of the most important differences between the Dalian exposition and the world fair in Chicago was that the image of Manchuria was not limited to one exhibition hall relegated to the edge of the fairgrounds. Rather the component parts of the Manchuria idea such as industry, agriculture, Mantetsu, the formation of Manchukuo, and urbanization became monumental pavilions unto themselves: Mantetsu, the Kwantung

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<sup>102</sup> Yamaji, 180-81.

Army, and the new Manchukuo government all had their own buildings at the exposition as did the Manchuria Motor Company (Manshū Mōtāsu) and Yawata Iron Works. The tallest tower at the site—the Kenkokutō—was dedicated to the founding of the new state of Manchukuo. Save for pavilions dedicated to various Japanese cities, prefectures, or colonial holdings of Taiwan and Korea, the entire space of the fairgrounds acted as a site for the spectacularization of the Manchuria-idea, grand in size and lit with neon lights. Even the image of industrial progress became spectacular. The Specialty Hall of Yawata Iron Works (Figure 4.17) looked like a scaled down replica of one their factories, complete with scaffolding and smokestacks.

The goal of the spectacle in Dalian was much like that utilized in other major expositions. It was an integral part of drawing spectators to the site and the city, thereby attracting more capital. Amusement spaces were crucial in this construction. The fairgrounds featured the Manchurian Entertainment Theater, Dalian Newspaper “Paradise” (Dairen Shinbun Rakutenchi), the Arita Circus, Sports Land, and Children’s Land (Kodomo no Kuni) which had amusement park rides. Also, in a surprising nod to a popular attraction in Euro-American expositions, the Dalian fair also featured an Oriental Bazaar (Oriantaru uriba).<sup>103</sup>

The socio-political implications of the space in Dalian were profoundly different than that of Chicago. Through the Dalian exposition, Manchuria became a space of

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<sup>103</sup> See map of the fair in *Dairenshisai Manshū Dai Hakurankaishi*, (Osaka: Dairenshiyakusho, 1934), unpaginated.

interactive leisure and play whereas Manchuria in Chicago was a space where Japanese authority could be inscribed and quietly observed. The Great Manchuria Exposition in Dalian was (to draw on Bakhtin once more) the “carnivalesque.” It was at once a pleasurable destination for upper-middle class Japanese tourists and their families to travel from Japan during summer vacation and a site that Japanese emigrants, Chinese, Koreans, and Manchurians living in the Northeast could inhabit as well.<sup>104</sup> Therefore, as a space for play and entertainment, it could have potentially produced a site for subversion, a socio-political steam valve for a population weary of colonial occupation and Sino-Japanese military conflict. However, it cannot be forgotten that this was still a site controlled by the Japanese through the city government and Manchukuo government. The signs and tickets printed in Japanese acted as reminders of this.<sup>105</sup> In short, it may have been a dynamic space of play and amusement, but it was still a space dominated by the Japanese.

One might argue that the Manchuria pavilion in Chicago was necessarily dry in execution as it was somewhat officious in purpose: to advertise the newly formed state of Manchukuo and its economic relationship to the United States. Yet, the exhibits in both Dalian and Chicago were fairly similar in function. Each promoted investment, business,

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<sup>104</sup> I mention the class of the Japanese who might go to Dalian for the exhibition from the *naichi* because the trip was far from cheap. According to Young, a very small segment of Japanese could afford the Manchuria tour which would have cost several months wages even for a white-collar worker with and higher degrees travelling 3<sup>rd</sup> class. See Young, 263-264.

<sup>105</sup> Photographs of the site show that signage, tickets, and various paraphernalia used Japanese. Most often characters and the hiragana alphabet were used, however, some place names were romanized.

and tourism. Therefore, it cannot be said that the theme of economics and trade necessitated dryly-descriptive displays divorced of the titillation of spectacle. The Japan-Manchuria Industrial Fair (Nichi-Man Sangyō Dai Hakurankai) held in Toyama City in 1936 supports this observation. Sponsored by the city, the exposition was meant to promote awareness of Manchurian trade, transportation, and industry on the Japan Sea side of Japan. Like the fair in Dalian, the Toyama City exposition also featured elements of the “carnivalesque,” as evidenced by its own Manchurian Entertainment Theater and its “International Road,” which served as a foreign entertainment area.<sup>106</sup> Also, Toyama’s Manchuria Pavilion—sponsored by Mantetsu, the Kwantung Army, and the Manchukuo Government—included a highly emotive display called “Overview of Manchuria” (*Manshū Gaikan*), which glorified Manchuria as a peaceful land. The large diorama took up a large expanse of wall. It presented a bucolic scene of a farm with grazing sheep on one side, the horizon stretching out in the distance, and a thick grove of trees on the other. A sun set over the scene.<sup>107</sup> A caption for the scene read “[t]he land which is illuminated by the red setting sun.”<sup>108</sup> The organizers of the pavilion, coming from the same colonial offices that collaborated on the Manchuria exhibits in Chicago in 1933, posited one of the

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<sup>106</sup> Yamaji, 156-158.

<sup>107</sup> Nichi-Man sangyō daihakurankai, *Toyamashi shusai Nichi-Man sangyō daihakurankaishi*, (Toyama: Toyama City, 1937), 554-555.

<sup>108</sup> Yamaji, 158.

most evocative symbols of the Japanese relationship with the continent: the red setting sun, a poignant reminder of Japanese soldiers who had lost their life on the continent.<sup>109</sup>

Obviously, this emotional referent did not appear in Chicago as American fairgoers would not have understood the symbolic significance of this affective Japanese-Manchurian symbol. More broadly speaking, it is clear that Mantetsu, the Kwantung Army, the Manchukuo government and other members of the Manchukuo Exhibition Association chose to use very few of the kinds of emotionally charged and entertaining displays seen in Dalian and Toyama in Chicago in 1933. As I have argued, it is doubtful that budgetary constraints or the theme of the pavilion influenced this decision. Rather, it was the result of negotiating the delicate politics surrounding Manchuria in the early 1930s. The rather subdued exhibit was also a means to frame the complex economic relationship between Japan, the United States, and, importantly, China. Unlike exposition sites such as those in Toyama and Dalian where Japanese hegemony remained, for the most part, unchallenged, Chicago fairgrounds were much more volatile. In other words, there were other forces at work that undermined Mantetsu's (Japan's) positive image of Manchuria. One of the most critical sites that challenged Japan's symbolic claim to Manchuria in the space of the fair was the Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol.

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<sup>109</sup> See Chapter 5 for a more in-depth discussion of the meaning of this symbol.

## **Contested Boundaries: The Golden Temple of Jehol**

The China pavilion and Japan exhibition complex were in close proximity to each other on the Chicago fairgrounds. China, like Japan, was a country that had slipped into and out of the rigid taxonomies at work in a Western-centric “world as exhibition” model.

Neither a completely active subject nor an entirely mute object at the fair, China often occupied a similar liminal space that was defined by self-representation and constrained by the controlling vision of the Euro-American fairgoer. Therefore, one might conclude that American fair organizers, responding to China and Japan’s alterity and their shared Asian geography, simply grouped them together. This assumption would seem likely if earlier fairs had also located them next to each other. However, in St. Louis, the Japan exhibition grounds enjoyed a large central location far away from the Chinese exhibit. In 1904, Japan was flanked by the large Machinery Exposition Building, the Jerusalem Temple, and Morocco’s exhibit. China was grouped with other foreign pavilions, including Great Britain, Cuba, and Belgium.<sup>110</sup> Therefore, the decision to group China and Japan together in Chicago must be critiqued as a deliberate choice by the Chicago exposition committee. The inclusion of the Golden Temple of Jehol within this same grouping also points to what I see as an American desire to create a space where the heated politics of Asian sovereignty could play out.

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<sup>110</sup> Mark Bennett ed., *History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, (St. Louis, U.S.A.: Universal Exposition Publishing Company, 1905), 124.

The Chinese exhibition grounds were not overtly political. Guidebooks indicate that besides the display of “porcelain, lacquer ware, silks, embroideries, carved ivories, and old jades dated many centuries B.C.,”<sup>111</sup> the premiere attraction was an elaborate Chinese pagoda carved out of a single piece of jade. It stood over fifty inches high and, the guide states, “took 18 years and a small army of artists to achieve this very beautiful work of art.”<sup>112</sup> This display seems to have been in keeping with exhibits China had organized in the past. By emphasizing Chinese objects and objectification, China’s exhibit in 1933 was arguably reemploying “an entrepreneurial framework to bring sorely needed capital into Chinese coffers,” much like it had done in 1904. Of course in 1904, China was still recovering from indemnities it suffered during the Boxer Rebellion.<sup>113</sup> In 1933, its financial resources were not likely much better. The ongoing civil conflict between the nationalist Kuomintang party and the Communist Party of China and the one and a half years of continuous pressure from the Japanese Kwantung Army in the Northeast had contributed to the depletion of Chinese financial resources. Certainly, increased export of its products to the West would have been welcomed. Therefore, in a manner similar to the Japanese, Chinese fair organizers took advantage of the Orientalist gaze and used its exhibitionary agency to consciously offer China up as a cultural object for American consumption.

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<sup>111</sup> Century of Progress International Exhibition, *Official Guide Book of the Fair, 1933*, 95.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Christ, 700. Here Christ posited China’s need to “fill its coffers” because the Boxer rebellion had depleted its resources.

Though the China exhibit did not directly challenge that of Japan, the presence of the Golden Temple of Jehol (Figure 4.18) completed a political circuit that charged the entire group. The Kwantung Army completed its occupation and annexation of the Mongolian province of Jehol (Rehe) in May 1933, the same month the fair opened. Jehol had been a contentious region for many months. According to Young, Foreign Minister Uchida Yasuya had asked the army in 1932 to demonstrate restraint in its plans to occupy Jehol while the League of Nations discussed the Lytton Report. Uchida knew that a military seizure of the region would precipitate Japan's withdrawal from the League.<sup>114</sup> Yet, it is apparent from the exhibits at the Mantetsu pavilion that the annexation of the province was inevitable. The aforementioned topographical map "Manchuria Today" visually claimed the territory along with the rest of Manchuria and the Korean peninsula. Furthermore, several references to Jehol appeared in literature accompanying the exhibit: A pamphlet titled "Progress of Manchuria" states that "[t]he total area of Manchuria including Jehol, is about 460,000 square miles [ . . . ]"; map on the pamphlet's reverse side shows a map of Manchukuo that clearly locates Jehol within its borders. The same pamphlet lists the population of Manchuria at 34,460,000 and reminds the reader that this number includes the people of Jehol.<sup>115</sup> Though pamphlets could have been redesigned and printed quite quickly to reflect important geo-political changes in the region, the

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<sup>114</sup> Young points out, however, that even while Uchida asked the army to show restraint he had declared Japanese unity regarding the recognition of Manchuria in a speech to the Diet, demonstrating the ongoing political negotiations that transpired around not only Jehol but the recognition of the new state of Manchukuo as well. Young, 126.

<sup>115</sup> "The Progress of Manchuria."

inclusion of Jehol in the enormous, electrified, three-dimensional map speaks to the intention to claim the new territory at the fair.

The province of Jehol was a very delicate diplomatic subject that concerned many international parties. As mentioned above, the Japanese Foreign Ministry recognized that the fallout from the League of Nations over an invasion of Jehol would be significant, contributing to Japan's eventual withdrawal from the League on 27 March 1933. E.T. Williams, former U.S. Diplomatic Officer in China and Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs in the Department of State, wrote on the situation in April 1933. He stated that “[t]he allegiance of the Mongols [i.e. those in Jehol] [ . . . ] was not so much to Peking as to Mukden.”<sup>116</sup> In other words, allegiances in Jehol were more closely aligned with Manchuria than with China. This is not to say, then, that Williams accepted the Japanese seizure of the region. He addressed the military implications of occupation, stating “Japan, with an army in Jehol in possession of important gates of the Great Wall, would necessarily be regarded as a perpetual menace to Tientsin and its winter port, Ch'iwantao.”<sup>117</sup> Tientsin was an especially sensitive issue because it was the portal through which most foreign commerce of northwestern and northern China found access.<sup>118</sup> According to Williams's article, rumors had already begun to circulate that Japan promised not to occupy Tientsin should military action in China escalate. Yet he

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<sup>116</sup> E.T. Williams, “Japan and Jehol,” *The American Journal of International Law* 27, no. 2(April, 1933): 219.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 215.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 216.

cautioned, “we can not forget that Japan’s military leaders have not hesitated to ignore promises given by Japan’s Foreign Office.”<sup>119</sup> In 1933, the Temple of Jehol became a site that challenged the borders of Manchukuo claimed by Mantetsu and fair organizers, acting as a microcosm for international debates on Japanese occupation of the province.

The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala at Jehol (hereafter referred to simply as the “Temple of Jehol”) seen at the Chicago Fair in 1933 was a replica of the Golden Pavilion, itself a reproduction of the “Dalai Lama’s monastic citadel in Lhasa.”<sup>120</sup> According to Chicago fair literature on the temple, the building on which the Temple of Jehol was based had been built by Emperor Ch’ienlung between 1767 and 1771 “in honor of his own sixtieth anniversary and his mother’s, the Dowager Empress, eightieth anniversary, and in memory of the return of the Torgod tribe from the banks of the Volga in 1771.”<sup>121</sup> The official catalogue of the Chicago fair gives a slightly different history of the temple, stating that the original temple was the summer home of the Manchu emperors from the eighteenth century until “abdication of the dynasty” in 1911.<sup>122</sup>

It is notable that the temple replica was sponsored neither by the Chinese government nor the Japanese government. Rather, Dr. Sven Hedin, a noted explorer and

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Sven Hedin, “Preface,” *The Chinese Lama Temple Potala at Jehol*, (A Century of Progress Exposition, Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1932), 9.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Century of Progress International Exposition. *Official Book of the Fair, Giving Pre-exposition Information, 1932-1933, of A Century of Progress International Exposition, Chicago, 1933*, 44. In another guide, there was no mention of Manchu rulers. Instead, they were referred to as the “Chinese rulers.” See Century of Progress International Exhibition, *The Official Pictures of A Century of Progress Exposition*. (Chicago: The Reuben H. Donnelly Corporation, 1933), 3.

the head of the Sino-Swedish expedition into Jehol, selected this particular temple. He did this at the behest of Vincent Bendix, a wealthy Swedish-American industrialist from Chicago and one of the trustees for the 1933 Chicago fair. Bendix hired Hedin in 1929 to “purchase” two complete temples, “one for Stockholm, the other for Chicago, making available these exponents of Oriental cults for Western study.”<sup>123</sup> It was to be an educational and cultural artifact, something of beauty that could then be studied. In short, the Temple of Jehol was to take on a role similar to that of a museum on the Chicago fairgrounds.

It was referred to by two names on the fairgrounds: the Golden Temple of Jehol and the Bendix Lama Temple. This duality seems appropriate considering the dual Chinese/ American interests it seemed to serve. The guidebook to the temple has little to say about the selection of that particular location save for the following entry: “On April 27 [1932], it was decided that the temple should be located between the Hall of Science and Soldier’s Field, a most conspicuous and favorable site.”<sup>124</sup> The temple was located at the intersection of two perpendicular roads. To continue down one road would take the fairgoer to the Japan pavilion; to follow the other, one would arrive at the China exhibition complex. Therefore, it was a conduit through which the physical and political relationship between Japan and China could travel. Interestingly, no mention is made of the geo-spatial implications of that site selection for the temple. According to Lenox R.

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<sup>123</sup> Hedin, 8.

<sup>124</sup> *The Chinese Lama Temple Potala at Jehol*, 13.

Lohr, Vice President and General Manager of the fair, China had accepted the invitation to participate in the fair in April 1931, but did not concretize plans until early in 1933.<sup>125</sup> Consequently, it is difficult to ascertain when the location for the China pavilion was chosen. Japan had confirmed its participation in the fair in 1931.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, it is more than likely that the site for the temple was selected (after negotiations with Bendix and the Executive Committee for the fair) not just for its proximity to the Hall of Science and Soldier Field, but because larger geo-spatial issues were also taken into consideration. Of course, the kind of political significance the temple would command in 1933 (when the Kwantung Army invaded Jehol province) may not have been evident in 1932. Regardless, the temple's location was more “conspicuous” than the temple exhibitors could have anticipated.

The Golden Temple was a great architectural spectacle. It was a square temple that was 65 feet long and cost \$25,000.<sup>127</sup> Outside the hall was an enormous Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) incense burner made of bronze.<sup>128</sup> Spectators could enter the temple on any of its four sides although it did not really have walls save for the corner pieces

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<sup>125</sup> Lenox. R. Lohr, *Fair Management, the Story of A Century of Progress Exposition, a Guide for Future Fairs*, (Chicago: Cuneo Press, 1952), 158.

<sup>126</sup> 1933nen Shikago shinpo isseki bankoku hakurankai shuppin kyōkai jimu hōkoku, (Tokyo: Shikago Shinpo isseki bankoku hakurankai shuppin kyōkai, 1934), 1.

<sup>127</sup> For the dimensions see *The Chinese Lama Temple Potala at Jehol*, (A Century of Progress Exposition, Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1932), 13. Yamashita reported the dimensions (180 tsubo) which would have made the temple exhibit larger. Yamashita also reported the cost of the Temple. The significance of how the Manchuria Exhibition Association documented the temple will be discussed later in the chapter. See Yamashita, 43.

<sup>128</sup> *The Chinese Lama Temple Potala at Jehol*, 16.

where stone walls reached just 4 feet 6 inches high.<sup>129</sup> The temple roof—clad in shining copper with 23.12 carat gold gilding—was supported by 28 outer columns, 20 wall columns, and 12 inner columns that surrounded the central “sacred Temple hall.”<sup>130</sup> The structure was painted in brilliant red, yellow, and blue mineral pigments from China. According to the temple guide, inside the temple was a “gigantic gilded dragon carved in wood, which looks down fiercely from the center of the ceiling upon the human beings that dare to disturb his peace, and listening to the melodious tinkling of the golden bells in the eight corners of the two rooms [ . . . ].”<sup>131</sup> The temple was adorned with prayer rugs, paintings, lacquered prayer tables, benches, Lamaistic symbols, and even a drum “made of two human skulls joined together and covered with skins.”<sup>132</sup> This exotic and visually dazzling temple was posited as a way for the spectator to “transport” to “China of the eighteenth century.”<sup>133</sup>

Documentation of the temple’s replication in Chicago emphasized Chinese participation in assembling the structure. Hedin brought in W.H. Liang, a Chinese architect to make arrangements for the temple’s reproduction, including the preparation of plans, measurements, and notation of details from the original temple.<sup>134</sup> Eighty Chinese craftsmen created 28,000 pieces for the temple that would be fitted together in

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>133</sup> Century of Progress International Exposition. *Official Book of the Fair, Giving Pre-exposition Information, 1932-1933, of A Century of Progress International Exposition, Chicago, 1933*, 44.

<sup>134</sup> Hedin, 9.

Chicago without nails.<sup>135</sup> Chinese painters Hwa-Ting Shun and Ping Chen Chang decorated the interior. The replica of the Temple was largely constructed in Peking (Beijing). Therefore, stated the fair guide, “The Golden Pavilion in Chicago was made in China,”<sup>136</sup> although it was taken apart and reconstructed on-site in Chicago. Throughout the Golden Temple, Jehol, literature reinscribed the site as Chinese in the “world as exhibition” paradigm of the Chicago fairgrounds despite the fact it was claimed by Manchuria and militarily secured by Japan

There are several ways to understand the effect of the repeated assertion of the temple as Chinese. First, in order to attract visitors, the temple required a mark of authenticity. Given that the temple was openly known as a replica, constructing an aura of the “authentic” around it may seem a nearly impossible task. By employing a noted Chinese architect, Chinese craftsmen, and artists who all meticulously reproduced the temple by hand, it still became an authentic Chinese object even if it was not historical. Furthermore, noted for its beauty and fine craftsmanship, it became itself an art object of esteem. In this way, the aura of the authentic provided a useful hook with which to market the site as a must-see spectacle of the fair, making it economically significant.

Secondly, Bendix, the donor of the temple and the collection housed within, became a facilitator of Chinese culture and history, a benefactor through which

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid. See also Century of Progress International Exposition. *Official Book of the Fair, Giving Pre-exposition Information, 1932-1933, of A Century of Progress International Exposition, Chicago, 1933*, 44.

<sup>136</sup> Hedin, 9.

vulnerable treasures of China and Mongolia might be saved. Hedin underscores this point by stating that, “[w]hen the original Golden Pavilion of Jehol has become a pile of crumbling ruins and its glory is no more, its faithful replica on the shores of Lake Michigan will still withstand the ravages of time.”<sup>137</sup> Therefore, through this site, Bendix (and, by extension, America) had challenged Japan’s place as Okakura’s “museum of Asiatic civilization.”<sup>138</sup> Though these kinds of competing cultural claims may seem relatively innocuous, they were inextricably bound up in militarism and politics by the early 1930s as Japan and the United States vied for economic control over the region. In fact, despite being pacifistic in origin, the Pan-Asianist sentiment “Asia is one” that was coupled with Okakura’s famous statement on Japan’s cultural role in Asia, eventually came to take on a much different militaristic connotation in the decades following its initial iteration. Ishiwara Kanji was strongly influenced by Pan-Asian ideology. He was one of the officers in the Kwantung Army who, along with Itagaki Seishirō (one of the aforementioned advisors on the Manchuria Pavilion in Chicago), played a role in perpetrating the Manchurian Incident in 1931.<sup>139</sup>

The subtle power negotiations over the symbolic, cultural, and physical site of Jehol at the fair occurred in other ways as well. The official guidebooks published by the

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<sup>137</sup> Hedin, 12.

<sup>138</sup> This is one of several statements Okakura made in *Ideals of the East* which were taken up in the 1930s by proponents of Japanese expansion on the continent under the flag of Pan-Asianism. The original text was written in English (for Euro-American audiences) in 1903. Okakura, 7.

<sup>139</sup> For a discussion of Pan-Asianism in Japan, see Prasenjit Duara, “The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism,” *Journal of World History* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 99-130.

fair and a collection of official photographs from *A Century of Progress* published for the Encyclopedia Britannica in commemoration of the event marginalized the Japanese presence at the fair. Each book worked in a slightly different way. The guidebook helped the fairgoer anticipate what they would see, the importance of the exhibit (subtly indicated by the size of the photograph, its composition, and the accompanying text), and act as a souvenir once he/she had left the grounds. On the other hand, the official photograph collection was printed for commemoration. Therefore, it codified the spectator's individual memory through official visual vignettes. The photos ultimately reminded the fairgoer what he/she had seen and what was worthwhile.

Compared to the many pictures of Japanese exhibition complexes and events at past fairs, representation of Japanese exhibits in the guidebooks for the 1933 fair was notably sparse. Japan was no longer imaged through its picturesque gardens, demure kimono-clad women, national pavilion and lively bazaar. The brief textual entry for Japan in 1933 primarily focused on Japanese handicrafts and the Japanese tea garden. The only photograph of the Japanese exhibit featured in the guide (Figure 3.19) so greatly crops the view of the Japanese pavilion that it is virtually impossible to discern any architectural features from the building in the background. Based on the photograph, a spectator could be standing immediately in front of Japan's exhibition complex and fail to recognize it from the guide. Remarkably enough, the guide mentioned Japan's Manchurian exhibit. Yet it did so without actually using the designation, "Manchuria." It stated that, "[t]he resulting development of the surrounding countries, due to the

construction of the South Manchurian railway, will represent the more serious industrial and engineering genius of the Japanese nation.”<sup>140</sup> Through its limited visibility, visual fragmentation, and brief, ambiguously worded entry, the guide arguably contributed to the disavowal of Japan’s relationship with Manchuria and its displacement at the fair itself.

The guide imaged the Chinese exhibition complex in a slightly different way. Though offering a decidedly uninspiring view of the “Chinese Village,” (Figure 4.20) the photograph of the Chinese grounds lacks the close cropping of the Japanese photograph and thus marks it out as a recognizable space. It was visually accessible to the Chicago spectator through the guide. China achieved its greatest visibility through the Golden Temple of Jehol (Figure 4.21). Of course Chinese agency was largely erased once it became clear that an American industrialist mediated the fairgoer’s relationship with the exhibit. The temple commanded two and a half pages of image and text in the small guide. Additionally, the guide dedicated an entire page to a photograph of the interior. Only seven photographs in the guide commanded such space; five of those were expansive outdoor photographs of major exhibition halls like the Hall of Science or panoramic views of the fairgrounds. Thus, the guide marked out the Golden Temple of Jehol as one of *the* premiere attractions on the fairgrounds. Granted, the sheer spectacle of gilded luxury that the temple represented may have been a big draw for fairgoers

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<sup>140</sup> Century of Progress International Exposition, *The Official Guide Book of the Fair, 1933*, 96.

seeking escape from the economic hardship of the Depression. Nonetheless, the region played a significant role in American trade in China and had commanded much media coverage in the American press since the Japanese Kwantung Army seized it. Therefore, it is doubtful that the fair would feature the Temple of Jehol so prominently on the fairgrounds and in print only by coincidence.

The photographic compendium that was prepared for the Encyclopedia Britannica treated the Japanese exhibition complex, Chinese pavilion, and the Temple of Jehol in much the same way as the guidebook. Consequently, the two books can be seen as complementary, codifying an “official” experience as well as the position each exhibit held in the hierarchical “world as exhibition” paradigm. The photographic collection was an effective official photo album, featuring almost no text. With more than 525 photographs, the album appears as a comprehensive record of everything at the fair. An introductory statement by Rufus C. Dawes, President of the Chicago Fair confirmed its authority. He proclaimed, “[w]e regard this book as in every way an admirable pictorial souvenir of the exposition, and a most excellent interpretation of its spirit.”<sup>141</sup> Remarkably, this proud declaration was on the page facing a full-color, full-page image of the interior at the Golden Temple. Virtually identical to the photo included in the guide book, the image here is far more dramatic, as it takes on the large scale of the page and rich, red hues. It is one of only twelve color pages in the album and one of the very few

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<sup>141</sup> Century of Progress International Exhibition, *The Official Pictures of A Century of Progress Exposition*, 4.

that is a full page image. Again, America and China take center stage through the Golden Temple as a detailed caption under the image reminds the viewer that its presence at the fair was made possible by American interests.<sup>142</sup>

Further into the album, small black and white photographs mark out the official participation of Japan and China. Album editors cropped the photograph of Japan's pavilion (Figure 4.22), conspicuously removing the Manchuria exhibit building from official, archival memory in the United States. The only photographic documentation of the Japanese exhibit besides its national pavilion was of a pearl-encrusted model of Mt. Vernon (Figure 4.23). Officially, then, the Japanese exhibition in Chicago did not include the modern economic and industrial development in Manchuria. The album reduced Japanese participation to its ability to realize a precious curio modeled after an American landmark. Featured on the same page, the album also featured two small photographs of the Chinese exhibition complex: one of the entrance to the China Café (Figure 4.24) and the other of the exquisite attraction, the Jade Pagoda (Figure 4.25). As these images show, official Chinese participation at the fair was limited to food and precious curios, similar to that of Japan's pearl-encrusted Mt. Vernon. If not for the Golden Temple of Jehol, contextualized through Chinese history and craftsmen, Chinese participation in the fair would have been relegated to the margins of the fair and memory. Due to American intervention, China enjoyed a much greater emphasis on the fairgrounds and in print. Yet

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<sup>142</sup> This image was one of only a very limited number that had explanatory captions.

as this album made clear, the international debate taking place on the fairgrounds was less about China and Japan and more about inserting American interests, largely ignored by Japanese bureaucrats in the Foreign Office.

To a certain extent, the Manchuria Exposition Association spoke back to these visual claims over Jehol in the catalogue for the Mantetsu exhibit. Unlike the American fair catalogues which featured full page, full color images of the temple, the Manchuria catalogue dedicated only a quarter of a page to a small black and white photograph of the Temple of Jehol (Figure 4.26). It shared the page with a street view that included the side of the Transportation Pavilion, a photograph of the Education Pavilion, and the pearl-encrusted model of Mount Vernon featured in the Japan exhibition complex valued at \$500,000. The text dedicated to the temple—which had been effusive in the American catalogues—was quite brief in the Manchuria Exhibition catalogue. It reported the standard trivia about the temple in a scant four sentences, including the size, cost, the gilding of the roof, and the donor’s name. Most interesting is the final sentence in which the catalogue underscores under what jurisdiction Jehol belongs, stating that “Jehol is now under the rule of Manchukuo” and that, as such, “there is meaning associated with Jehol itself in seeing the Lama Temple at this exposition [ . . . ].”<sup>143</sup> Here, the Manchuria catalogue attempts textually to claim the spectacle of the temple on the fairgrounds, speaking to the significance of the site as part of the new nation of Manchukuo. Of

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<sup>143</sup> Yamashita, 43.

course, this claim was directed at Japanese readers touring the Chicago fair via a catalogue published after the fact. There is no evidence that Japanese or Manchurian fair organizers attempted to rebrand the temple as a part of the new Manchurian state on the fairgrounds themselves. Therefore, it seems as though American agency had the last word in the commemoration of the site in Chicago in 1934 when the fair came to a close.

The Temple of Jehol demonstrates how the stakes of exhibiting Manchuria extended beyond the boundaries of the Japanese exhibition complex. To a certain extent, this was true during Mantetsu's "Manchuria Week" when an orchestra played Manchurian music on the grounds outside the Hall of Science, the same site where Japanese art photography of Manchuria was on display. Furthermore, events such as Mantetsu's Prize Contest received media attention in newspapers and on the radio. These events, along with the maps and ephemera published for the Manchuria pavilion worked to promote the new name "Manchukuo" while advertising how the Japanese company, Mantetsu, had effectively transformed the region into a thriving industrial center. Yet, it should be noted that nowhere in the above-mentioned official literature for the fair or the mention of the exhibit in the "Century of Progress Notes" featured in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* did the name "Manchukuo" actually appear. Therefore, it is difficult to say whether the ambitions of the Manchurian Exposition Committee, Japan Exhibition Committee, Mantetsu, Kwantung Army, Japanese Foreign Ministry, and Manchukuo Government were actually satisfied. It is clear that the production of knowledge about Manchuria and, more specifically, the contentious geo-polity of Jehol were not entirely

left up to Japanese fair organizers. With the inclusion of the Temple of Jehol, the politics of Manchurian representation took on new meaning, creating a space for contestation, and rupturing the message of unity behind the carefully planned spaces of the Manchuria exhibits and their associated advertising ephemera. In short, the borders of Manchuria were far from stable at the Chicago fairgrounds in 1933 and 1934.

Certainly, Japan's triangulated relationship with the supposedly sovereign puppet state on the continent and American spectators was difficult to reconcile. In an attempt to bridge these multifaceted international interests, Mantetsu, the Kwantung Army, and the Manchukuo Government repeatedly posited a message of peaceful modernization and robust economic ties between the continent and the U.S. mediated by Japanese interests. Consequently, the idea of Manchuria presented in Chicago differed from that seen in Dalian for the Great Manchuria exhibition. There, it acted as a space for the promotion of continental tourism directed primarily to *naichi* Japanese, a place of "carnivalesque" pleasure, play, and leisure. The displays at the A Century of Progress exposition also demonstrated how the ideal vision of how to present the object of Manchuria was under constant negotiation by colonial apparatuses in the Japanese empire. For Mantetsu, Manchuria was a peaceful site that invited economic investment, industrialization, and tourism; for the competing power of the Kwantung Army, it was a space in which to display past and present military might. One vision tended to dominate each exhibit. Certainly, Mantetsu and the army attempted to cooperate in order to white wash the Japanese relationship to Manchuria, highlighting Japanese commercial, industrial, and

urban development rather than the military history of the region. Despite their best cooperative efforts, it was impossible to posit a positive image of Japanese Manchuria, completely extricated from the emotionally fraught politics of empire in the early 1930s. This was because the geopolitical idea of “Manchuria” featured at the Century of Progress exposition was in flux. It was a fluid idea lodged in the liminal space between multiple perspectives and interests both in Chicago and beyond its borders.

## **CHAPTER 5: War, Manchuria and the Fiction of Peace**

Despite the preponderance of images depicting Manchuria as a peaceful utopia, military conflict between the Kwantung Army and Chinese forces was ongoing between 1931 and 1945, albeit to varying degrees. Consequently, historians have used the designation “Fifteen Year War” to reflect the events that occurred during this period. Interestingly, Japanese media did not consistently recognize these clashes between the Japanese and Chinese as part of a ‘war’ (*sensō*) per se; in contrast to media coverage of the First Sino-Japanese War (Nisshin *sensō*) (1894-95) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) (Nichiro *sensō*), magazines often deployed the word “incident” (*jihen* or *jiken*) instead to describe military events in the 1930s. The “Manchuria Incident” or “Mukden Incident” (Manshū *jihen* and Mukden *jihen*, respectively) occurred on 18 September 1931, providing the Kwantung Army with an excuse to invade Manchuria and establish the puppet state of Manchukuo; on 7 July 1937, the “North China Incident” (hokushi *jihen*), also called the “Marco Polo Bridge Incident,” marked the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). This rhetoric had several effects. First, an ‘incident’ seemed far less serious than an outright ‘war.’ The term suggested a singular action undertaken by the enemy, necessitating defensive action by Japanese forces. Recurrent use of this word suggested

that fighting was only temporary and limited in scope, despite the years of conflict that the different ‘incidents’ encapsulated.<sup>1</sup>

This is not to say that the concept of ‘war’ was completely evacuated from Japanese media. The battles of the “North China Incident” were an extension of the so-called “Holy War” (*seisen*) that the Kwantung Army waged against anti-Japanese forces on the continent.<sup>2</sup> Also, following the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, ideologues began calling the now-global conflict “the Great East Asia War” (Dai Toa sensō). Nonetheless, Japanese propaganda issued between 1931 and 1941 demonstrate an intriguing trend: the abstraction and transformation of the kind of conventional war narratives that were utilized during the earlier Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War. These conventions include a clearly defined enemy and geo-political goals. For example, framing battles as part of a “Holy War” cast the conflict as an emotionally charged moral imperative. This allowed propaganda to posit Japanese armed forces as “‘friendly’ and ‘peaceloving’ [sic] troops engaged in a sacrifice for a holy cause.”<sup>3</sup> More importantly, the army ostensibly fought for a higher purpose than mere geo-political gain. The emotional tone of the “Holy War” helped to generate support for the cause and

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<sup>1</sup> For example, ideologues continued to use “China Incident” to refer to the continuing combat on the continent from 1937 to 1940. See David C. Earhart, *Certain Victory: Images of World War II in the Japanese Media*, (Armonk, New York and London, England: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2008), xi.

<sup>2</sup> After 1941, the Japanese mission in the “Holy War” shifted to include the liberation of Southeast Asians from European imperialism. See Wing-Tak Han, “Bureaucracy and the Japanese Occupation of Hong Kong,” *Japan in Asia, 1942-1945*, William H. Newell, ed., (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981): 20.

<sup>3</sup> David Nelson Rowe, “Japanese Propaganda in North China, 1937-1938,” *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (October 1939): 572.

sustained that support for a much longer period. This was advantageous when neither the enemy nor the goals were clearly stated and the conflict could continue without end. A ‘holy mission’ can be malleable. In short, rhetoric used from 1931 to 1941 rationalized aggressive military expansion on the continent as a moral imperative. It suggested that the Kwantung army defended (among other things) utopian Manchuria against those who would seek to destroy all that had been achieved.

This chapter examines the transformation of the war narrative on the continent. I begin by tracing the shift in representations of war in Manchuria and their relationship to foreign and domestic public relations. I show how Japanese media directed toward foreign readers whitewashed or obscured stories of the Japanese military activities on the continent in order to ameliorate international diplomatic anxieties. Images targeting a domestic Japanese audience took on an even richer significance, tapping into the emotional or psychological needs that emerged with the outbreak of war. Given that many historians focus on the apparatuses that prepared Japanese citizenry for total war, this latter point begs in-depth analysis. How did the image of a supposedly utopian Manchuria operate for *naichi* audiences?

To articulate the stakes and methods of representing Manchuria in the context of war in the late 1930s and early 1940s, I focus on two ways in which Japanese media and designers imaged the region for a *naichi* audience. These two studies demonstrate how colonial offices like Mantetsu balanced the image of Manchukuo as a site of peace, unaffected by war, with images promoting a pro-martial spirit that could rally the

Japanese masses back home in Japan. First, I address the ways in which the new, modern cities of Manchukuo became safe havens from the psychological trauma associated with the threat of air raids, serving as an ‘unburnable’ (*moenai*) urban counterpoint to the dangerous image of the *naichi* ‘burnable city’ (*moeru toshi*) that was deployed to remind citizens to stay vigilant during wartime.<sup>4</sup> I compare representations of Manchurian cities in *Manshū Graph* to contemporaneous layouts of Japanese cities of the homeland in domestic publications to show how the space of the continental and *naichi* cities came to operate in very different ways during the war.<sup>5</sup> To contextualize the significance of these publications, this chapter addresses how the conceptualization of this continental metropolitan space drew on the ideals that circulated among Japanese urban planners following the Great Kantō Earthquake (Kantō daishinsai) in 1923, particularly fire-prevention. With the outbreak of war between Japan and China in 1937, the image of the ‘unburnable’ continental city would come to have even greater significance as it not only provided a space seemingly safe and distanced from the war, but also acted as a site that could host bourgeois fantasies of continuing affluence at a time when material sacrifice was an important part of spiritual mobilization campaigns.

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<sup>4</sup> This urban anxiety and the psychology of Mumford’s “war metropolis” would have affected a significant proportion of the Japanese population. Scholars indicate that, by 1940, 37.6 % of the total Japanese population lived in cities. 20% of Japanese lived in the “Big Six” cities (Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe). See Gail Honda, “Differential Structure, Differential health: Industrialization in Japan, 1868-1940,” Richard H. Steckel and Roderick Floud, eds., *Health and Welfare during Industrialization*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 262; and David H. Kornhauser, “Urbanization and Population Pressure in Japan,” *Pacific Affairs* 31, no. 3 (September 1958): 277.

<sup>5</sup> I primarily focus on an article series titled “Japanese Life in Manchuria,” published in *Manshū Graph* in 1939 and 1940.

The second half of my chapter asks the following question: If the narrative of war was erased from Manchurian cities and, more generally, Manchukuo as a whole, how did Japanese promotional materials and media generate support for the war? I argue that public relations offices struck a delicate balance between advertising Manchukuo as a peaceful region and supporting the Japanese army in its bloody conflict with China through the strategic use of memory and symbolic abstraction. Fuchikami Hakuyō's 1938 art photograph *Evening Sun* (Sekiyō) symbolizes the aesthetic abstraction of war and the subtly evocative promotion of militarism on the continent. This photograph was part of a temporary change in the means of representation. Depictions of war became symbolic, drawing on the emotional connection Japanese had with Manchuria rather than a literal documentation of the advancing battlefield. *Evening Sun* operated as an aesthetic-emotional vessel for the memory of Japanese soldiers lost decades earlier during the Russo-Japanese War and during the Manchurian Incident (1931-33). I discuss the theme of the red setting sun, its association with Japanese soldiers who died in Manchuria since the turn of the century, and the way in which the cult of the martyred Japanese soldier contributed to the sacralization and colonization of Manchurian space.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Historian Ken Ruoff was the first to use the term “cult of the soldier” as a description for the importance the historical battle sites in Manchuria had for Japanese. See Ken Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire’s 2,600th Anniversary*, Columbia University Weatherhead East Asian Institute monograph series, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010). However, as I will discuss later in the essay, the “cult of the martyred dead” was a common trope in the interwar years, as seen in Fascist Italy in the 1930s and interwar France.

## **Distancing Manchuria from War: Trends in Representation**

In the summer of 1939, Canadian schoolteacher Margery McCuaig joined twenty-five other teachers from North America on a tour of Japan and Manchukuo, sponsored by the Board of Tourist Industry of the Japanese Government Railways in cooperation with Mantetsu.<sup>7</sup> Despite traveling to Japan and the Asian continent during the second year of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), the teachers had little (if any) exposure to images or experiences that referenced the war. In an interview in 2011, her daughter, Mavis Hall, astutely observed that, at that time of her mother's tour, the ongoing military conflict was "the war that was not seen."<sup>8</sup> This point was demonstrated by the numerous non-threatening scenes of Japanese culture—temples, tea ceremonies, and ladies in kimono, for example—along with images of continuing modern development in Manchukuo, that were featured in the postcard sets, prints, government-sanctioned photographs, menus, and various souvenirs McCuaig acquired during her sojourn.<sup>9</sup> Though much of the Japanese population had already begun preparations for total war through various

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<sup>7</sup> Margery (or Peggy) McCuaig was born Margery Scott. Reproductions of Margery McCuaig's collection and accounts of her experiences during her trip are available online at <http://tmmvhall.shawwebspace.ca/>. Accessed April 8, 2011. The site was established by Mavis and Thomas Hall, McCuaig's daughter and son-in-law.

<sup>8</sup> 24 February 2011 interview with Mavis Hall regarding her mother's photography and media collection gathered during her trip to Japan, summer 1939.

<sup>9</sup> McCuaig did not take the photographs in her collection herself as taking photographs became strictly forbidden once the teachers disembarked in Yokohama in July 1939. While on tour, the teachers were photographed so that they would have mementos of the trip. At the end of the tour, U. Kataoka, director of the Board of Tourism for the Japanese Government Railways, presented each teacher with a photo album, documenting her stay and the famous sites she saw. See <http://tmmvhall.shawwebspace.ca/>, 8 April 2011.

government propaganda campaigns in 1939, the war was simply erased from this public-relations tour for the Canadian and American teachers.

Indeed, the bucolic, peaceful images that McCuaig collected contrasted with the contemporaneous patriotic slogans and wartime images deployed in Japan in the late 1930s. For example, by 1939, the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement (*kokumin seishin sōdōin undō*) was already underway.<sup>10</sup> Spearheaded in large part by the Home Ministry and Ministry of Education, this movement endeavored to form and strengthen community groups in villages and cities, rallying an array of organizations that included women's groups, firefighters, and the more general neighborhood associations (*tonarigumi*).<sup>11</sup> These groups conducted hygiene campaigns and air raid drills. These activities contributed greatly to the consolidation of individuals into a greater national body, or *kokutai*. In effect, these associations took responsibility for organizing the local population. This was meant to strengthen the nation as a whole as each individual came to have a role. Also, in July 1939, the army sponsored the First Holy War Art Exhibition (*Daiikkai seisen bijutsuten*). Featuring ten war documentary paintings, the exhibition was held at the Tokyo Municipal Art Museum in Ueno in commemoration of the two-year

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<sup>10</sup> According to Thomas R. Havens, the spiritual mobilization movement took on new energy in 1938 and 1939. He states that it had been part of a larger, government-led endeavor to mobilize local community councils since the late nineteenth century and could even be linked to the seventh century when Japanese rulers compelled commoners to form community organizations for the purpose of monitoring the local population. See Thomas R. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War II*, (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1986), 39-40.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 36-7.

anniversary of the war with China.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, the war was featured heavily in the news. The teachers' tour took place at the same time as the Battles of Khalkhyn Gol, a series of disputes between the Soviet Union and the Japanese Kwantung Army on the Mongolian-Manchurian border with the U.S.S.R. That summer, the Japanese press widely discussed what was also referred to as the "Nomonhan Incident" (Nomonhan jiken), a grueling conflict that ultimately resulted in thousands of casualties and the defeat of Japan's Sixth Army.<sup>13</sup> By 1939, the war had become an integral part of the neighborhood, cultural, and media fabric of Japan. The nation was prepared for total war.

There are several reasons why the ongoing war would not have been visible to the teachers during their carefully planned and supervised tour. First, and most simply, the banners and rallies organized by the various groups of the spiritual mobilization movement would not have been culturally or textually legible to the foreign teachers who did not speak or read Japanese. The language barrier also would have impeded comprehension of daily Japanese newspapers.<sup>14</sup> Some Japanese magazines occasionally provided English captions for photographs, but these were not consistent and, certainly, the content communicated often differed from the explanation provided in Japanese captions. There were, of course, newspapers and magazines specially printed for foreign

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<sup>12</sup> Mayu Tsuruya, "Sensō Sakusen Kirokuga (War Campaign Documentary Painting): Japan's National Imagery of the 'Holy War,' 1937-1945," (PhD Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2005), 89.

<sup>13</sup> Katsu H. Young, "The Nomonhan Incident: Imperial Japan and the Soviet Union," *Monumenta Nipponica* 22, no. 1/2 (1967): 82-102.

<sup>14</sup> Also, because the tour was so carefully supervised, it is likely that exposure to such events and media would have been limited.

readers both in Japan and abroad, including *Asahi Graph: Overseas Edition* (Asahi gurafu kaigaiban) and *NIPPON*.<sup>15</sup> Publications such as these did not completely erase images of the Japanese military; rather, these magazines carefully reframed it so that its actions were perceived as serving a mutually beneficial purpose on the international stage. For example, the February 1938 issue of *NIPPON* addressed Sino-Japanese relations in the context of Chinese Communism. Featuring a large map (Figure 5.1) of the U.S.S.R., China, and surrounding nations, the layout features the figure of Stalin in the far left corner, overlaying the western half of the Soviet Union. The symbolism of the layout is not subtle. Color-coded to represent the penetration of communist ideology in each region, the U.S.S.R. is a deep red while “Sinkiang” (Xinjiang) in the far northwest of China and Outer Mongolia are shades of pink, denoting communist presence. The angle of Stalin’s body points toward the East as his hand crosses into China. *NIPPON* colors Manchukuo, Japan, and Korea in grey. This shows that they are “Anti-Comintern” regions. The issue as a whole suggests that the Japanese Army was the bulwark that stood between Asia (the larger common Communist threat) and Euro-American interests. The Japanese government felt that media outlets such as these were crucial in the 1930s to

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<sup>15</sup> *NIPPON* was edited by Natori Yōnosuke, and ran quarterly from 1934 to 1944. It was a multi-lingual illustrated magazine that was available in the United States, Canada, Italy, Germany, France, Switzerland, Brazil, and Mexico. See Gennifer Weisenfeld, “Touring Japan-as-Museum: *NIPPON* and Other Japanese Imperialist Travelogues,” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 8, no. 3 (Winter 2000): 747-793. Though originally started as a daily publication in January 1923, *Asahi Graph* was a weekly graphic magazine published by the Asahi Newspaper Corporation between November 1923 and October 2003. *Asahi Graph: Overseas Edition* ran nine years from December 1932 until October 1941. It primarily targeted an American readership. Inoue Yūko, *Senji gurafu zasshi no sendensen: jūgonen sensōka no nihon imēji*, (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2009), 12, 51-2.

promote a positive image to an international audience. This was of particular importance once Japan had withdrawn from the League of Nations in 1933, which had afforded a valuable place on the world stage for Japanese diplomats to defend the nation's cultural, and increasingly controversial political, position.<sup>16</sup>

Of course, the message of war was not sanitized and repackaged only for foreign audiences. It was carefully framed for domestic consumption as well. From the war's outset in July 1937, news from the front played a significant role in mediating the relationship between *naichi* Japanese and the escalating conflict in China. Particularly in the first year of the war, newspapers and magazines regularly featured news of Japanese victories as the Japanese army marched south to Beijing, Nanking, and Shanghai. Good news such as this was easy to sell, and buoyed the spirits of the nation. On the other hand, war was not concomitant with the goals of resettlement, tourism, and investment. The successful promotion of such things often relied upon a safe and peaceful region that would allow projects and people to flourish. War, however, conjured images of destruction, instability, and risk. Therefore, though stories of the warfront may have been good for media sales at the beginning of the conflict, a protracted war was not good for

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<sup>16</sup> Tomoko Akami, "The Emergence of International Public Opinion and the Origins of Public Diplomacy in Japan in the Inter-War Period," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 3 (2008): 119. Historian Inoue Yūko addresses a similar theme, examining the use of Japanese magazines such as *Front*, *NIPPON*, and *Asahi Graph Overseas Edition* in the context of the Fifteen-Year War (1931-1945). Inoue, 47-8.

domestic or international public relations.<sup>17</sup> This may be a reason that, from the beginning of 1938 to 1939, the army began shifting away from a focus on military conquest and victories to what Barak Kushner describes as “an economic and intelligence war with the Chinese.”<sup>18</sup> Japanese news agencies and design studios, influenced by governmental bureaus such as the Home Ministry, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Army endeavored to balance the production of images in order to both rally the nation and reassure a nervous domestic and foreign public.

The theme of the peaceful continent was not anomalous in the late 1930s. The Japanese media had been carefully negotiating the delicate balance between reporting battles and promoting an image of peaceful development in northeast China since the outbreak of military hostilities between the Japanese Kwantung Army and Chinese forces in 1931. Initially, from 1931 to 1933, “war fever” (to borrow from Louise Young) gripped the Japanese populace, as newspapers attempted to scoop each other with news from the front, thereby securing a larger part of the expanding media market.<sup>19</sup> Radio programs and films also eagerly relayed news of Japanese victories against the Chinese. Media outlets welcomed the surge of capital that the news of the Manchurian Incident

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<sup>17</sup> Stories of Japanese military atrocities began to seep out in these first months of the Second Sino-Japanese War, the most notorious of which came from the Japanese assault on Nanking (also known as Nanjing) in December 1937.

<sup>18</sup> Barak Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 130.

<sup>19</sup> Young, 57-68.

brought as they (along with many other Japanese industries) continued to struggle financially in the wake of the global depression.<sup>20</sup> To sell even more issues, the media sensationalized the news, blurring the lines between “hard” political journalism and “soft” entertainment journalism.<sup>21</sup> According to Young, multiple forms of mass media and popular entertainment including magazines, movies, and records seized upon the “national crisis” and “infused it with the boisterousness of a carnival, as Manchuria became the theme for vaudeville acts, Kabuki tragedies, and even restaurant menus.”<sup>22</sup>

The visual celebration of Japanese military victories had been a recurrent theme in the modern Japanese media, framing significant conflicts such as the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and the Russo Japanese War (1904-05). Woodblock prints such as Migata Toshihide’s *The Picture of our Great Victory, The Fall of Asan* (1894) (Figure 5.2) and Watanabe Nobukazu’s triptych *Picture of Our Valorous Military Repulsing the Russian Cossack Cavalry on the Bank of the Yalu River* (1904) (Figure 5.3) show the Japanese army engaged in pitched battles. These works are emblematic of the kind of wartime narratives published just three or four decades earlier. The faces of the Japanese soldiers remain calm and resolute as the thick smoke of artillery highlights the fierce drama of the scene. The medium of the print, utilizing bold, colorful compositions that place the action in the foreground like an unfolding play, also lent itself well to sensational storytelling.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 61, 68.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 69.

When compared to works such as these, it becomes evident that there were also notable departures from earlier war narratives in media reports on the Manchurian Incident in the early 1930s. First, rather than focus on a climactic scene in which the Japanese directly engage the enemy, photographs of the various battles following the Manchurian Incident, such as the layout featured in *Asahi Graph* on 10 February 1932 (Figure 5.4), tended to show Japanese soldiers marching in formation or crouching behind a barricade while their steadfast gazes and rifles fixed on the faceless enemy lurking beyond the frame of the composition. In the distance, a fire burned in the city. The action is no longer located in the foreground for easy apprehension of the battle. Instead, the narrative became more fractured as the composition of the photograph separates the Japanese army and its enemy. Certainly, this is due in large part to the shift from woodblock prints as a favored medium during the first Sino-Japanese War at the end of the nineteenth century to the photograph which acted as a document of the event. The camera functioned as an “eye” on the scene that could, in theory, report from the front with greater veracity. Nonetheless, as this *Asahi Graph* layout demonstrates, the image could still communicate great drama. Here, the soldiers steel themselves for attack, their bodies filled with tension and anticipation.

This layout points to another trend in the construction of wartime narratives that differs from those seen in earlier wars: the important role geography played in dictating how the media depicted the battle. The aforementioned *Asahi Graph* layout reported the Japanese siege of Shanghai. In this layout and others like it, such as those featured in

*Photographic Report on the Shanghai Incident* 2 in March 1932 (Figure 5.5), the Chinese city smolders. It has been caught in the destructive crosshairs of battle as the Japanese army forcibly subdues “anti-Japanese” forces.<sup>23</sup> Interestingly, Manchurian cities fared far better than their Chinese counterparts in the Japanese media. This difference is exemplified by photographs featured in *Asahi Graph*’s article on the Japanese advance into Mukden (30 September 1931), the *Manchuria Incident Pictorial* (18 October 1931), and the *Photographic Report on the Manchurian Incident* (20 November 1931). The layout in *Asahi Graph* is similar to some of the photographs of the Shanghai Incident; photographs reveal soldiers occupying a defensive position on top of the old city wall in Mukden with their rifles pointed out at an enemy who exists beyond the frame of the composition. For the most part, the soldiers do not participate in active fighting in these scenes. Rather, as David Earhart points out, they are shown simply marching along the streets or posing in front of Manchurian landmarks (Figure 5.6). He observes that there are no photographs of battle or destruction.<sup>24</sup>

While Earhart’s remarks are in reference to the photographs in *Manchuria Incident Pictorial* and the *Photographic Report on the Manchurian Incident*, by-and-large they are consistent with other representations of Japanese soldiers occupying Manchurian city spaces as well. A photo-essay in *Asahi Graph* from 17 February 1932

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<sup>23</sup> Japanese media often characterized the enemy in the early 1930s and late 1930s as “anti-Japanese” forces rather than specifically “Chinese.” I will discuss the strategic importance of this distinction later in this chapter.

<sup>24</sup> Earhart, 71.

(Figure 5.7) depicts the arrival of Japanese troops in the northern Manchurian city of Harbin. Here, there is no fighting. Smoke, associated with aerial bombing and a burning city in the *Asahi Graph* Shanghai layout only a week earlier, drifts up from great vats of liquid tended to by Japanese living in Harbin. Here, the smoke and steam associated with labor replaces the smoke of destruction seen in images from the China front. Soldiers do not point their rifles at a faceless enemy; rather, they sling them over their shoulders.

In a slight departure from these relatively subdued images of the Japanese army, the layout features a picture of a jagged hole in the outer brick wall of a warehouse. The caption, reading “The brick wall of the First International Warehouse of Harbin that has been blasted,” does not indicate who was responsible for the destruction and rubble. However, given that the essay illustrates the entrance of the Japanese army riding in an orderly procession into the city, it suggests that the city was found in this condition. The destroyed wall, then, may have been the result of Anti-Japanese insurgents similar to the Chinese guerillas who had supposedly blown up a part of Mantetsu’s railroad thereby sparking the Manchurian Incident. Therefore, this photo essay insinuates that the Japanese army acts as the means of restoring order out of chaos. It enters the city to restore peace.

This theme of protection rather than destruction would take on even greater meaning in the late 1930s when the new state of Manchukuo acted as an extension of the Japanese home front. It became critical to secure the recent Japanese-built urban spaces on the continent. As symbols of Japanese urban planning and industrialization, cities such

as Mukden and Xinjing acted as monumental public relations vehicles, advertising the so-called beneficence of Japanese development in Manchukuo in the five years since the state's founding. Protecting these spaces was important economically and symbolically. The Manchurian city was not only a significant international public relations symbol but also a repository of material affluence for the Japanese after the outbreak of the war with China. Consequently, it was no longer a matter of imaging soldiers as static in the space of the city but rather erasing the threat of war from the space of the city altogether. Once evacuated of violence, the concept of the Manchurian city could then become a safe and peaceful retreat—a psychological Other place—for *naichi* Japanese readers anxiously preparing for total war.

## **Responding to Disaster: Building the Unburnable City**

Following the passage of the City Planning Law and Urban Building Law in 1919, urban planners sought to reform Tokyo into a modern capital on a par with some of the greatest European cities. The devastating Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923 provided the opportunity to dramatically rethink the fundamental infrastructure of the city and create a new, modern space befitting of the capital of a leading world power. Governmental bureaucrat, Gotō Shinpei led this project. He was an influential colonial administrator, former Mayor of Tokyo and recent appointee as the Minister of Home Affairs. He and his committee envisioned a vast restructuring of the devastated city, including new street construction and paving, as well as the development of plazas and parks.

The disaster significantly informed the plans for Tokyo's restructuring in other ways was well, particularly the construction of new fireproof structures. Fire had long been a concern in Tokyo (formerly known as Edo) as the city's position on the Kantō Plain subjected it to strong winter winds. The fires, also known as the "Flowers of Edo" (*Edo no hana*), occurred with such regularity that the city's inhabitants came to have a sense of impermanence and ephemerality as well as feelings of resignation. These popular feelings persisted throughout the nineteenth century and into the beginning of the twentieth as the city continued to suffer regular conflagrations. After each fire, city officials and landowners often rebuilt destroyed sections of the city with the same kind of wood structures packed tightly together along narrow streets. Despite the regularity of the experience of fire in the city and the resignation of Tokyoites to such occurrences, the immense and unprecedented scale of destruction from the Great Kantō Earthquake and subsequent fires that ravaged much of the city significantly altered the nation's perception—and fear—of the "burnable city" (*moeru toshi*).

On 1 September 1923, an earthquake measuring almost 7.9 on the Richter scale shook the Kantō plain. The Great Kantō Earthquake and the resultant fires killed approximately 100,000 and left more than 2/3 of residents in Tokyo and Yokohama homeless.<sup>25</sup> It was also an economic calamity that cost over 6.5 billion yen. In 1923, this

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<sup>25</sup> Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Designing after Disaster: Barrack Decoration and the Great Kantō Earthquake," *Japanese Studies* 18, No. 3 (1998): 229.

amount was four times larger than Japan's national budget.<sup>26</sup> It was a disaster of unprecedented proportions, inflicting (as Gennifer Weisenfeld has observed) profound "physical and psychological trauma."<sup>27</sup> J. Charles Schencking's study on the "culture of catastrophe" that emerged from the earthquake describes novelist Uno Kōji's poignant reflection on the aftermath. Uno lamented "As far as the eye could see, Tokyo had been reduced to ash."<sup>28</sup> According to Schencking, others characterized the event in even more graphic and dramatic terms, calling it a "burning hell" and an "apocalyptic revelation."<sup>29</sup>

Prior to the earthquake, authorities had implemented some fire prevention measures as part of the restructuring and modernization of the capital and, more broadly, the expanding industrialization and urbanization occurring in other major Japanese cities. For example, the administration of Tokyo Metropolitan Governor Matsuda Michiyuki responded to a series of devastating fires in the winter of 1881 by dictating the creation of 22 fire-prevention zones in Central Tokyo and mandating a new, fire-proof building standard that utilized tile-roofs.<sup>30</sup> Later, the city planning system of 1919 included the creation of special Fire Prevention Areas (*bōkachiku*). Largely actualized in dense urban centers, there were two types of Fire Prevention Areas. In the first, only stone, brick and reinforced concrete buildings could be built; in the second, wooden buildings were

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<sup>26</sup> J. Charles Schencking, "The Great Kanto Earthquake and the Culture of Catastrophe and Reconstruction in 1920s Japan," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 34, Number 2 (Summer 2008): 296.

<sup>27</sup> Weisenfeld, 229.

<sup>28</sup> Uno Kōji quoted in Schencking, 295.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 296.

<sup>30</sup> André Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and Planning from Edo to the Twenty-First Century*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 65

allowed only if they had tile roofs and stucco, stone, or tile cladding over the wooden frame.<sup>31</sup>

Yet, as the Great Kantō Earthquake demonstrated, these new building and planning protocols proved to be either too little or came too late to stave off the totalizing disaster. American historian and municipal researcher Charles Beard remarked in 1923 on the still lingering danger in Tokyo. He noted that, as of 1 January 1921, there were 358,000 buildings in the capital, of which 326,214 were wood structures. Most of these were “crowded together in narrow streets, which sometimes dwindled down to four or five feet in width.” He went on to state that “[c]ongestion was especially intense in the Honjo, Fukagawa, and Shitaya wards where the havoc wrought by the recent disaster was particularly great. There some of the streets did not deserve a name, for they were mere pathways through which the pedestrian had to edge his way as he passed from section to section.”<sup>32</sup> Therefore, in addition to parks and a modernized infrastructure, the rebuilding of Tokyo after the 1923 earthquake necessitated new road networks, broad boulevards (which also acted as firebreaks), and the construction of fireproofed buildings, such as schools made of reinforced concrete, which were meant to act as shelters in times of disaster.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 117.

<sup>32</sup> Charles A. Beard, “Rebuilding in Japan,” *American Review of Reviews*, (October 1923): 376.

<sup>33</sup> Sorensen, 129.

Despite the ambitious building program undertaken by Gotō and his skilled board of advisors that included Beard, the reconstruction of Tokyo failed to completely meet expectations. Rather, hampered by a continually dwindling budget and landowners resistant to “land readjustment,” planners could not realize their vision of a fully reformed Tokyo. Beard, frustrated by the continued hamstringing of reconstruction, even noted “nothing but radical courage can prevent Tokyo from rebuilding substantially along the old lines—another fire trap.”<sup>34</sup> Sure enough, though planners successfully restructured some neighborhoods to widen streets and relieve the congestion of some fire-prone neighborhoods, the need for housing saw the rapid construction of about 250,000 wooden “barracks.”<sup>35</sup> These structures did not adhere to new fireproofing codes. Furthermore, much of the central area of Tokyo was rebuilt with these wood structures. The barracks even appeared in areas formerly designated as “fireproof” zones.<sup>36</sup> Though intended for temporary use, these wooden barracks remained until the firebombing of Tokyo in 1945 when they were destroyed. These apparent shortcomings of reconstruction notwithstanding, in March 1930, the Emperor led the city in a celebration of the completion of reconstruction. For the most part, the planners were justifiably proud of all they had accomplished in the seven years of reconstruction. In addition to rebuilding neighborhoods, engineers had built bridges, widened some streets and laid them with a

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<sup>34</sup> Charles Beard, as quoted in Tucker, “Building ‘our Manchukuo’,” 129.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Sorensen, 133.

fresh coat of asphalt. Others planners like Kasahara Toshirō, a member of the Reconstruction Bureau's Architecture Section, claimed that improvement to the city's buildings had not yet been effectuated. Many neighborhoods were still choked with wood structures and many streets remained unpaved and poorly lit.<sup>37</sup> In short, the plan for Tokyo's modernization and the implementation of fire safety protocols remained incomplete.

With the formation of the new, supposedly sovereign state of Manchukuo in 1932, many planners who trained in the Reconstruction Bureau in Tokyo saw the opportunity to develop their ideas on the so-called “blank page” (*hakushi*) of the continent, freed from the bureaucratic frustrations of planning and development on the mainland.<sup>38</sup> Of course, the idea of an “empty” Manchuria was highly problematic as it failed to acknowledge the Chinese, Manchurians, and Mongolians already living in northeastern China at the time. Nonetheless, the concept of a (supposedly) empty space, unhindered by the kind of local bodies or oppositional bureaucrats who hampered the realization of urban ideals in Tokyo, provided the opportunity to indulge the latest building practices.

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<sup>37</sup> Tucker, “Building our Manchukuo,” 131. See also Koshizawa Akira, *Manshūkoku no shuto keikaku: Tokyo no genzai to mirai o tou*, Tokyo: Nihon keizai hyōronsha, 1988), 27.

<sup>38</sup> Historian David Tucker has addressed the “blank page” (*hakushi*) of Manchuria in much of his work on urbanization and spatial planning in Manchukuo. See Tucker, “Building ‘our Manchukuo’”; see also David Tucker, “City Planning without Cities: order and Chaos in Utopian Manchukuo,” Mariko Asano Tamanoi, ed., *Crossed Histories: Manchuria in the Age of Empire*, (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2005). Also, for a more detailed assessment of the relationship between the reconstruction of Tokyo and the development of urban space on the continent, see David Tucker, “Building our Manchukuo” and Koshizawa Akira, *Manshūkoku no shuto keikaku: Tokyo no genzai to mirai o tou*, (Tokyo: Nihon keizai hyōronsha, 1988).

Japanese development of Manchurian cities had begun during what has been called the “Mantetsu era,” the period of Japanese domination over Manchuria prior to the Manchurian Incident in 1931.<sup>39</sup> According to historian Koshizawa Akira, the development of cities such as Mukden, Anshan, Harbin, and Fushun as well as the land abutting Mantetsu’s rail lines played an important role in the history of Japanese urban planning. Influenced by progressive thinkers such as Gotō, ideas and practices flowed between planners on the continent and those working in Japan.<sup>40</sup> Koshizawa argues that, following the Manchurian Incident, Changchun (which would become the new capital Xinjing in 1932) became a “great test site” (*ichidai jikkenjō*) or spatial laboratory, allowing for the application of Japanese urban planning techniques and ideologies.<sup>41</sup>

From 1932, Japanese planners, now largely working under the auspices of the Kwantung Army, the Manchukuo Government, and the Capital Construction Bureau (Kokuto Kensetsukyoku), spearheaded a dynamic building boom that resulted in the radical transformation of the once-provincial city of Changchun into a model capital.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Bill Sewell, “Reconsidering the Modern in Japanese History: Modernity in the Service of the Prewar Japanese Empire,” *Japan Review*, 16 (2004): 215.

<sup>40</sup> For example, Sewell mentions how Katō Yonokichi, a graduate of the Tokyo University civil engineering program in 1894 effected rudimentary zoning laws in Shenyang (Mukden) and Changchun before such laws appeared in Japan in 1919. See Sewell, 224.

<sup>41</sup> Koshizawa, 2.

<sup>42</sup> According to Koshizawa, Mantetsu’s Economic Research Bureau, forming the Capital Construction Bureau, had initially begun the establishment of the new city in March 1932. However, one month later, the Kwantung Army took over. Though the planners still consulted on the project (the Kwantung Army still relied on Mantetsu’s vast resources and specialists in the Economic Research Bureau), authority had shifted from Mantetsu to the army which was keen to simultaneously develop the city’s economic and administrative infrastructure as a part of national policy, thereby linking the development of the city with

As Tucker indicates, Xinjing was unlike other contemporaneous capital development projects such as Albert Speer's Germania, which was primarily the product of one leading architect. Xinjing was instead the result of a bureaucracy wherein many planners acted as consultants.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, there were a number of influences on the city's development. Among these were several close associates of Gotō, including Sano Toshikata (Riki), professor of architecture at Tokyo Imperial University and primary contributor to the planning of the new capital, and Sogō Shunji, a former director of Mantetsu and the new chair of the Mantetsu Economic Research Bureau (Mantetsu keizai chōsakai), the office which, among other things, oversaw the preparation of city plans in the new state of Manchukuo.<sup>44</sup> With so many offices and planners involved, there was, at times, conflict. For example, tensions arose between the offices of the Kwantung Army and Mantetsu as the latter's ambitiously planned Mantetsu Zone (more commonly referred to in English literature as the South Manchuria Railway Zone, or SMR Zone) which housed many offices, the rail yards, company housing, hotels, and schools, was beyond the jurisdiction of the Manchukuo government.<sup>45</sup> Nonetheless, through the vision of a multitude of planners, Xinjing exemplified modern Japanese urban planning.

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development of the nation state. See David Tucker, "Building our Manchukuo," 182-194. See also Koshizawa Akira, *Shokuminchi manshū no toshi keikaku*, (Tokyo: Ajia keizai kenkyūjo, 1978), 72.

<sup>43</sup> Tucker, "Building our Manchukuo," 187.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 199-200.

By 1937, Xinjing was a world-class city, featuring all of the latest cultural and administrative facilities, a university, and a new civic center.<sup>46</sup> Leisure spaces became an important part of the city. Inhabitants could enjoy parks, which provided green space and picturesque paths winding along lakes, theaters, sports complexes, and a race-track. Dressed in Western neo-classical architecture and topped with Asian rooflines, monumental governmental and administrative buildings such as the Hall of State lined broad boulevards radiating from *ronde points*. Great plazas created spaces for processions and gatherings. One vast plaza housed a five-story tall memorial (*chūreitō*), dedicated to those who died in the Manchurian Incident.<sup>47</sup> The city also reflected Gotō's interest in hygiene.<sup>48</sup> Prior to the building boom of the Manchukuo period, Mantetsu had already begun to improve sanitation and hygiene, opening hospitals and clinics that provided vaccinations. According to Sewell, they also had begun garbage removal and water-purity inspections.<sup>49</sup> During the building boom, planners increased the sanitation and hygiene of the city further still. By the late 1930s, Xinjing featured the latest in public sewage treatment and every industrial, commercial, and residential building was outfitted with water closets, a convenience that few buildings in Japan even possessed.

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<sup>46</sup> Tucker, "City Planning without Cities," 76.

<sup>47</sup> Sewell, 231.

<sup>48</sup> Among Gotō Shinpei's many professional accomplishments was work he did for the Home Ministry's medical bureau in the late nineteenth century. While there, he published *Principles of National Health* (*Kokka eisei genri*) (1890) and helped to create new water treatment and sewage facilities in Tokyo. See Sewell, 220.

<sup>49</sup> Sewell, 225.

Most importantly, the Manchukuo government required that all new construction adhere to a strict fireproof code. New buildings had to be built from brick, stone, or concrete, and roofing materials had to be non-flammable.<sup>50</sup> Planners removed or rebuilt buildings that were non-compliant. According to Koshizawa, the Great Kantō Earthquake and the subsequent rebuilding of Tokyo played an important role in the creation of buildings and infrastructure that would prevent fire.<sup>51</sup> Given the great scope of the destruction caused by the rapidly spreading fires in 1923, it is understandable that the authorities in the Kwantung Army, Mantetsu, and Capital Construction Bureau would endeavor to limit possible threats to the new capital in which many had invested heavily. Xinjing needed to be unburnable.

These regulations articulate another, more symbolic, relationship between fire, the Tokyo disaster trauma, and the space of the new city. It could be argued that this emphasis on fire prevention in Xinjing is linked to the focus on hygiene that informed the development of other infrastructure in the city. Fire was a potential contagion that, like disease or even political dissent, could threaten the spatial and socio-political fabric of the new city.<sup>52</sup> In this way, the urban space of Xinjing was similar to that of Baron Georges-

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<sup>50</sup> Nishizawa Yasuhiko, *Umi o watatta nihonjin kenchikuka: nijisseiki zenhan no chugoku tohoku chiho ni okeru kenchiku katsudo*, (Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1996), 242.

<sup>51</sup> Koshizawa, *Manshūkoku no shuto keikaku*, 136-137.

<sup>52</sup> The idea of fire as a possible “contagion” was brought up by Mari Armstrong-Hough, then a PhD candidate focusing on medical sociology in the Department of Sociology at Duke University, during a discussion that followed the presentation of my research at the Asia Pacific Studies Institute monthly forum, 29 October 2010. My thanks also to Ignacio Adriasola and Gennifer Weisenfeld who further helped to expand the application of the concept to the space of the continental city.

Eugène Haussmann's restructured Paris. Haussmann's wide axial boulevards, tree-lined promenades, and decongested neighborhoods were a means of improving urban conditions (for some), controlling bodies and limiting dissent through a sanitized and scientifically regimented space. Then considered the apex of European urban modernity, Haussmann's Paris affected the conceptualization of Tokyo as a developing modern city both before and after the Great Kantō Earthquake, and even entered into the urban spatial lexicon of Japan's other colonial cities.<sup>53</sup> As James C. Scott argues, Haussmann's kind of scientifically informed, spatial-social ordering, and attempt to better "all members of society," was part of an "authoritarian high modernism" that emerged from the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and ultimately reinforced the powers of the state.<sup>54</sup> It comes as no surprise, then, that the development of Xinjing, which was largely dictated by the Kwantung Army, also echoes certain elements of Haussmann's project. Of course, it should be noted that the creation of a supposedly 'unburnable city' applies only to the new urban spaces built by the Japanese in Manchuria. These spaces often abutted the old, Chinese walled cities, relatively cramped spaces considered by continental Japanese to be dangerous and immoral.<sup>55</sup> However, the old city was surrounded by a wall, which historically had been erected to keep out bandits or protect residents from natural

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<sup>53</sup> Ping-Sheng Wu argues that echoes of Haussmann's Paris can be seen in the Japanese modernization of colonial Taipei. See Pin-Sheng Wu, "Walking in Colonial Taiwan: A Study on Urban Modernization of Taipei, 1895-1945," *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering* (November 2010): 317.

<sup>54</sup> James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 87-102.

<sup>55</sup> I discuss this perceived danger in Chapter Two.

disasters. In the 1930s, the wall's function changed. In addition to its role as containment of ethnic Others such as Han Chinese and Manchurians, it limited the risk of spreading political and physical danger from the old city into the new city. Fire was a threat. Like other contagions, it had to be contained. In the supposedly utopian space of Manchurian cities like Xinjing, such an ideal became possible.

## **Conflating Disaster with the Trauma of War**

With the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in July 1937 and the subsequent outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, one begins to notice a schizophrenic split in the media. On one side were those promoting Japan's military actions in China, coupled with the mobilization of *naichi* citizens for participation in the war cause. On the other, was the advertising of the peaceful and prosperous cities of Manchukuo, untouched by continental violence. In order to promote the image of peace, the current war was not admitted into the urban lexicon. Interestingly, these seemingly paradoxical messages of war and peace were not mutually exclusive. Rather, each oppositional concept aided the other. The peaceful, safe, and prosperous cities of Manchukuo came to operate as symbols of what must be defended; they were ideal extensions of the home front. According to images in the media, the stakes of protecting cities such as Xinjing were even greater as they were sites wherein modern urban planning ideals were realized and the performance of idealized middle-class social roles could take place. In return, the peaceful city acted as a psychological space of escape for anxious *naichi* readers

preparing for war. In order to understand the significance of the role the modernized, safe Manchukuo city played during the war, it is important to first understand how the meaning of its Japanese antithesis—the burnable city—came to take on new meaning in the late 1930s.

Though once a municipal cause for concern because of regular conflagrations, the concept of the ‘burnable city’ took on deeper meaning during the war when the threat of air raids put the danger of densely packed neighborhoods, constructed mainly of wood and set along narrow roads, into fresh perspective. Following World War I, military leaders recognized that future wars would largely be decided by air power and bombing campaigns in order to disrupt industry and destroy the morale of the enemy’s citizens.<sup>56</sup> Consideration of the threat of air raids was not limited to European powers like England, which had already suffered first-hand the trauma of this new kind of war. It affected the ways many countries’ governments thought of strategic warfare and the ways in which they might prepare their people. As historian Gordon Daniels has stated, Japanese authorities were among those who came to consider air raids as a new part of the “modern scientific world” during the interwar period.<sup>57</sup> Battle was no longer relegated to the battlefield. Through air raids, it could now encroach on the space of the city. To

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<sup>56</sup> Tom McGowen, *Air Raid: Bombing Campaigns of World War II*, (Brookfield, Connecticut: Twenty-First Century Books, 2001), 13-14. See also Cary Lee Karacas, “Tokyo from the Fire: War, Occupation, and the Remaking of a Metropolis,” (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2006), 40.

<sup>57</sup> Gordon Daniels, “The Great Tokyo Air Raid, 9-10 March 1945,” *Modern Japan: Aspects of History, Literature, and Society*, William G. Beasley, ed., (Berkeley: University of California Press, c1975.), 120.

prepare for such an event, the city of Osaka held the first recorded air raid drill in June 1928; Tokyo held its first drill soon afterward.<sup>58</sup>

The stakes of these initial drills may have been somewhat abstract for Japanese urban residents in the beginning given that they had not yet experienced the horrors of aerial bombing. Photographs of the Shanghai Incident in 1932 contributed to the visualization of how destructive such raids could be on a city. Photographs that were taken from both an aerial perspective high over the city and from the ground showed the city on fire, simultaneously demonstrating Japan's violent domination of the Chinese and the devastating effects aerial bombing perpetrated on the ground.<sup>59</sup> Though the images were the result of Japanese bombing on a Chinese city, it was easy to extrapolate the effects on the dense urban spaces of Japan. That same year, the city of Tokyo created the Tokyo Defense Brigade (Tōkyō rengō bōgodan) in response to an order from the Home Ministry to develop civil defense units. On the anniversary of the Great Kantō Earthquake in September 1932, the defense brigade conducted an air raid drill, thus connecting the urgency of civil air defense with the devastation of the 1923 disaster.<sup>60</sup>

Invoking the poignant and traumatic memory of the earthquake to mobilize Tokyoites was a cunning strategy as it tied the abstract possibilities of firebombing damage to the actual physical referent of the quake. Certainly, authorities capitalized on

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.; See also Earhart, 114.

<sup>59</sup> Earhart, 114.

<sup>60</sup> Karacas, 40. See also Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Imaging Disaster: Tokyo and the Visual Culture of Japan's Great Earthquake of 1923* (forthcoming).

this vivid memory. As Gennifer Weisenfeld has shown, a series of posters issued in June 1938 dramatically presented the relationship between the earthquake and the danger of aerial bombing.<sup>61</sup> Prepared in cooperation with the Japanese Red-Cross Museum and designed to promote the Air Defense Law that was enacted by the Japanese government in October 1937, the posters were meant to instruct people on how to prepare for possible poison gas and incendiary bomb attacks. The poster “Threat of Incendiaries” (*Shōidan no kyōi*) (Figure 5.8) was dramatic and visceral in its visual provocation. This poster drew on the traumatic memory of the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923 to communicate the pressing need to defend against incendiary bombing. In this image, most of the urban landscape has already succumbed to fire. The buildings that remain sag and slump toward the ground. A few jagged, charred trees jut from the ashes, pointing to the towering wall of fire that still burns on the distant horizon. The scene is chillingly devoid of any life. The text heightens the anxiety around the possible event, stating “With the Great Kantō Earthquake, fire originated in 100 places, leaving the capital a burned field. An incendiary bomb from even one of the enemy’s planes [could cause] 5000 fires.” Weisenfeld summarizes the powerful effect of this poster, arguing that seeing an image in which Tokyo is once again destroyed, “evoke[d] horror in the minds of city residents to steel their determination in preparing for civil defense.”<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Imaging Disaster: Tokyo and the Visual Culture of Japan's Great Earthquake of 1923* (forthcoming).

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

These posters were not alone in harnessing the memory of the earthquake. It became a useful trope for surmounting the abstract idea of destruction caused by aerial raids. The monthly magazine, *Kokumin Bōkū* (Citizens' Air Defense) also utilized the vivid memories of the earthquake and the communal anxiety surrounding the destruction of the city to mobilize residents.<sup>63</sup> In an article titled “Air Defense is Fire Defense!” from September 1939, author Asai Yūichi, a lieutenant commander in the Japanese army and an official in the Central Japan Defense Headquarters (Chūbu bōei shireibu), links the protection of the microcosm of the Japanese “burnable home” (*moeru uchi*) to a discussion of the larger issue of moving towards the ideal of the “unburnable city.” He exhorts people to vigilantly protect their homes, practice drills, and take responsibility for the buildings in their neighborhood.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps in a nod to the somber anniversary date of this issue’s publication, he also addresses this topic through the lens of the Great Kantō Earthquake. Asai states:

We do not have to look far to find precedents that should be a warning to us. The bitter experience of people in the capital who experienced the Kantō Earthquake and the great havoc brought about by confusion, lack of control, and disorder, together with the incontrovertible impression of loss all one’s life, imagine in the future a disastrous event that is several times as large. Prepare to boldly deal with air raids or the great violence of nature and surely we won’t suffer an embarrassing defeat.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> *Kokumin Bōkū* began in July 1939. It was edited by the Central Japan Defense Headquarters (Chūbu bōei shireibu) and provided detailed information on many facets of the air defense, from equipment to air raid tactics. Earhart also translates the name of the editorial office as “Military Authority for Central Japan.” See Earhart, 118.

<sup>64</sup> This article refers to the “unburnable city” using both the phrase “*moenai toshi*” and “*funenshō toshi*”. Asai Yūichi, “Bōkū wa bōka da!” [Air Defense is Fire Defense!], *Kokumin Bōkū*, (September 1939): 47-52.

<sup>65</sup> Asai, 49.

Accompanying the article is an aerial photograph taken from high above the Kantō plain. Plumes of smoke drift into the sky, obliterating a view of the city in the top of the frame. The city is on fire. The caption simply reads, “Let us remember the Kantō Earthquake.” As with the 1938 “Threat of Incendiaries” poster, this passage and the photograph make it clear that an air raid could cause even greater damage than that experienced during the earthquake and subsequent fires, a calamitous event of such scale that it continued to haunt people’s lives into the late 1930s. Asai asserts that diligence and repeated drills could prevent catastrophic disaster.

These images, along with the ritualized practice of air raid drills, contributed to what Marxist urban theorist Lewis Mumford described in 1938 as a kind of “war metropolis,” a space for the performance of martial power.<sup>66</sup> In an essay titled “A Brief Outline of Hell,” Mumford describes how the individual became subordinate to the “organs of indoctrination” within this space.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, he argues that air raids had a profound effect on the city and its inhabitants, provoking communal anxiety as the “materialization of a skillfully evoked nightmare.”<sup>68</sup> To demonstrate the horror of this nightmare, he graphically narrates a fictive air raid scenario. As the sirens begin blaring, all people, from children to factory workers, put on their gas masks and seek shelter. He writes further:

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<sup>66</sup> Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), 273.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 275.

Fear vomits: poison crawls through the pores. Whether the attack is arranged or real, it produces similar psychological effects. Plainly, terrors more devastating and demoralizing than any known in the ancient jungle or cave have been re-introduced into modern urban existence. Panting, choking, spluttering, cringing, hating, *the dweller of the Megalopolis dies, by anticipation, a thousand deaths*. Fear is thus fixed into routine: the constant anxiety over war produces by itself a collective psychosis comparable to that which active warfare might develop.<sup>69</sup>

This passage demonstrates how Mumford treated the air raids and the preparatory drills in a similar fashion. Through the drills, fear becomes routine; yet, the terror of reliving death a thousand times over does not numb the inhabitant of the city. Rather, it produces psychosis. In his study of air raids, Paul K. Saint-Amour responds to Mumford's description, arguing that this ritualization of a civil defense crisis transformed the space of the city into a battlefield or "trauma ward."<sup>70</sup> Granted, Mumford focused upon the psychological effect of air raid drills on inhabitants of European cities that had suffered devastation from air raids during World War I. Japanese cities had not yet experienced the devastation of the cityscape through military action. However, one of the posters points to use of a surrogate trauma: the urban devastation of the Great Kantō Earthquake. Drawing upon the collective memory of the earthquake, these posters provoked the kind of collective anxiety and lived daily fear that Mumford theorized.

A November 1938 *Asahi Graph* photo-essay entitled "Let's Complete 'The City that does not Burn'" (Figure 5.9) epitomizes the ways in which media contributed to the

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<sup>69</sup> Italics mine. *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Paul K. Saint-Amour, "Air War Prophecy and interwar Modernism," *Comparative Literature Studies* 42, no. 2 (2005), 130-31.

anxiety surrounding extant city spaces in Japan.<sup>71</sup> In this article, Fujita Kin’ichirō from the Home Ministry addressed the question of national air defense by asking the question “What of our present cities?” The photographic answer he presented seemed intent on provoking an anticipatory fear of the “might be,” naturalizing the idea of a battlefield brought into formerly peaceful domestic spaces. Fujita brought the threat of bombing in densely packed neighborhoods—reminiscent of the congested spaces described by Charles Beard in 1923—into dramatic photographic relief, stoking civilian fears of the spaces they inhabit. On one side, incendiary bombs explode against a blackened night sky, divorcing the violence of the explosion from a specific context. It becomes an event of “any place” or “any time.” Fujita juxtaposed the explosions against scenes of neighborhoods choked with wooden structures along narrow alleys. As these photographs dramatically illustrate, Japanese cities were spaces of danger.

The complex relationship between the memory of the catastrophic urban trauma experienced during the 1923 earthquake, the performance of air raid defense drills, and the communal anxiety of urban residents is important for our consideration of Manchukuo because it demonstrates the profound psychological weight carried by many Japanese in the late 1930s. Though the worst of Japan’s war in Asia and the Pacific was still to come, many Japanese were already subject to great emotional stress as they anticipated and rehearsed for wartime devastation far greater than even the worst natural

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<sup>71</sup> Fujita Kin’ichirō, “Moenu toshi’ o kansei shiyou,” *Asahi Graph*, (November 2, 1938).

disaster in Japanese memory. Understanding this *naichi* urban psychology is crucial for appreciating how images of the peaceful Manchurian city operated at this time as an emotional and psychological steam valve, creating a space of projected fantasy wherein bourgeois urban Japanese readers could feel safe.

## **Sanctuary in the Unburnable City**

In 1937, Japanese media began celebrating the completion of the first five-year building plan of Xinjing. With great achievements in those five years, celebrations of Xinjing took center stage in publications such as *Manshū Graph* and *Shashin Shūhō* (Photographic Weekly Report). The media celebrated the new Manchukuo capital as the picture of urban modernity, hygiene, and safety. Layouts such as “Building Xinjing” (Shinkyō o kizuku) (Figure 5.10) in the 22 February 1938 issue of *Shashin Shūhō* highlighted the construction of new administrative buildings and immense, tree-lined boulevards. In one photograph, several men look out over a vast, sun-lit plaza as a Manchurian flag flutters in the wind.

Articulating the need to defend this new symbol of urban modernity, *Shashin Shūhō* located the photo essay “The Refurbishment of the Manchukuo Army” (Shinsō no Manshūkokugun) immediately after their layout for “Building Xinjing.” Here, the story shows the Manchukuo army training and practicing drills. They are not seen engaging in combat. As the text suggests, they are merely preparing to defend the nation in cooperation with the Japanese Imperial Army. These kinds of story pairings of the new

city of Xinjing and scenes of the military were subtly strategic by implicitly associating the military and the new city; however, these types of juxtaposed layouts were not as common as one might expect in the late 1930s. Some magazines such as *Manshū Graph* initially utilized such juxtapositions in the first year of the war. This is evident in the November 1937 issue that first addresses the Japanese advance into Shanghai and then, taking on a completely different tone, switches to coverage of the celebrations in Xinjing, marking the five-year completion. Nonetheless, by mid-1938, allusions to the war in *Manshū Graph* were almost completely erased from the context of the Manchurian city. This would last several years. Granted, different magazines served different demographics. *Shashin Shūhō* was published by the Cabinet Information Bureau (Naikaku johōkyoku), a Japanese government office responsible for “disseminating war information, and serving as guardian of the imaging of war on the home front, as well as supervisor and censor of the private media.”<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, *Manshū Graph* was published by Mantetsu, which had a great economic interest in promoting Manchukuo as a safe and enticing tourist destination even after the Sino-Japanese War had begun. Nonetheless, for each of these offices, the goal was the same: promote the city as an ideal achievement that (whether stated directly or indirectly) must be defended.

Mantetsu’s pride in the achievements in Xinjing was evident even before 1937. In March 1936, Mantetsu devoted an entire issue to the building of the capital, highlighting

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<sup>72</sup> Earhart, xii.

the transformation of the formerly modest city of Changchun (or what the editors refer to as “the ancient city” imaged with crumbling walls) into a “modern metropolis befitting a capital of a modern state.”<sup>73</sup> The issue announces that the “first five-year town planning project of Hsinking nearing completion.” Dramatic before-and-after photographs express the metamorphosis of the space. New brick and concrete apartments, one demonstrating the rounded curves of Art Deco styling, overlap with scenes of broad plazas and boulevards (Figure 5.11). Government buildings occupy the layout on the following page, posited in a far more static grid formation perhaps as a means to underscore the stability of the government agencies that occupy them. The issue also features the leisure spaces of the city: sun-dappled parks, the racetrack, and even an ice-skating rink.

The April 1937 issue, commemorating Mantetsu’s thirtieth anniversary, highlights similar features in the development of the new capital. Along with the stuccoed façade of the Yamato Hotel, the layout focuses on two well-appointed cars circling an expansive, tree-lined *ronde point*, one of the nine main axial points that mark the city. The issue also speaks more generally about the kinds of beneficent social infrastructures Mantetsu had constructed, such as large brick schools (touted as “educational facilities [ . . . ] for Manchuokuoans”) and enormous hospitals constructed of brick and concrete.<sup>74</sup> The materials of these buildings—namely masonry, brick, and concrete—are as important as their function because they contributed greatly to fire prevention. It is easy to overlook

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<sup>73</sup> *Manshū Graph* 4, no. 3 (March 1936), unpaginated.

<sup>74</sup> *Manshū Graph* 5, no. 4 (April 1937), unpaginated.

the significance of these materials on the continent given that Japanese authorities and architects had been using brick and stone for important buildings in Japan since the late nineteenth century.<sup>75</sup> These photographs show how new structures in these continental cities surpassed their metropolitan precedents. In addition to these important administrative, educational, and health buildings, housing structures such as apartment buildings and single-family homes also were included in this urban planning strategy.

*Manshū Graph* featured this new (fireproof) ideal dwelling in an article titled “Representative Japanese Homes in Manchuria” (Figure 5.12), featured in its March 1939 issue. Situated on relatively spacious lots, the homes that are supposedly representative of Japanese domestic spaces are largely single-family, multistory dwellings made of stone or brick and decidedly Euro-American in style. On the right page in the top left corner is a gleaming white modern apartment building. Nowhere in this layout do traditional Japanese houses made of wood and paper *shoji* windows appear. There were, of course, several considerations that would have prevented the use of wood in residential construction. In addition to the strict fireproofing codes in the new cities and their residential suburbs, the brutally cold Manchurian winter made heavier materials such as masonry a much more practical option. In this way, Japanese developers smartly

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<sup>75</sup> The use of materials was contingent upon the importance of the building, creating a relationship between materials and bureaucratic hierarchies. William H. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 208-250.

followed Manchurian and Chinese building precedents that also largely relied on brick and stone.

One photograph seems conspicuously out of place in this layout. In the top right corner is an image of a dark, cramped street lined with row houses. The caption informs the reader that this other space is not, in fact, part of the new city. Rather, it is a scene of “6-mat, one-room tenement houses in the slums,” a reference to the slums in Japan. The drab, constricted space seen in this photograph articulates several important comparative points. First, the scene quickly conjures up images of the constricted, ‘burnable’ spaces in Japan that provoked such anxiety in both the media and urban residents. As such, it emphasizes the safety and hygiene of ‘unburnable’ spaces that Japanese might occupy on the continent. Such a comparison hardly seems fair, as the social classes of the inhabitants of each space would be quite different. This underscores a critical underlying message: Japanese can enjoy material affluence on the continent that is unattainable in Japan.

The single-family dwellings featured in “Representative Japanese Homes in Manchuria” epitomize the kind of attractive, Westernized, bourgeois domestic architecture—the “culture houses” (*bunka jūtaku*)—popularized in “Culture Villages” during the Taishō and early Showa periods.<sup>76</sup> In Japan, these kinds of homes acted as models for the potential material and, as Jordan Sand argues, cultural achievement of

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<sup>76</sup> Jordan Sand, “Cultured Life as Contested Space,” Elise K. Tipton and John Clark, eds., *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000).

Japan's new middle class.<sup>77</sup> These houses primarily acted as an object of fantasy for middle-class housewives as they were far too expensive for most middle-class families in Japan.<sup>78</sup> In *Manshū Graph*, the houses are transformed from “model” to norm, framed as “representative” of the kinds of living quarters one might expect in Manchukuo. Moreover, the space in which these ideal homes existed was reminiscent of the new, garden-city suburbs developing in England and outside Tokyo, the park-like setting striking an ideal balance between urban and country life.<sup>79</sup> As with the “culture houses,” the large lots, trees, and wider streets of the garden-city neighborhood in Japan came to be privileged spaces that only a privileged few could afford. These luxurious, domestic spaces were supposedly enjoyed not by just an elite few, but by Japanese in general on the continent.<sup>80</sup> This layout, then, is doubly appealing, coupling the enticing safety of the ‘unburnable’ home with cultural and material affluence. Most middle class families living

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 100-101.

<sup>78</sup> Sand states that, due to the cost, they “remained mere fantasies for many readers of *Shufu no tomo* (The Housewife’s Companion).” Ibid., 101.

<sup>79</sup> The concept of the “garden city” was developed by urban theorist Ebenezer Howard in 1898. See Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, New York, 2010 [London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1898]). For a discussion of the garden city in Japan and its privileged occupants, see Ken Tadashi Oshima, “Denenchōfu: Building the Garden City in Japan,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55, no. 2 (June 1996): 140-151. For an examination of how the Garden City ideal emerged in interwar Japan, see Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2003), 132-161, 228-262.

<sup>80</sup> It goes without saying that many of the “Japanese” houses imaged in *Manshū Graph*’s March 1939 issue still would have been too expensive for the average middle-class Japanese family to purchase. Rather, it is likely that such a neighborhood in Manchukuo would have been occupied by an upper-middle class or wealthy elite. However, according to *Manshū jūtaku gashū, dai yonshō*, a book of Manchurian home plans published in 1938 by the Manchuria Architecture Association (Manshū kenchiku kyōkai) much more modest single-story masonry homes could also be built. See *Manshū jūtaku gashū, dai yonshō*, (Dalian: Manshū kenchiku kyōkai, 1938).

in urban Japan were unable to achieve either of these ideals. Yet, *Manshū Graph* posits them as within reach in Manchukuo. Here, the space of bourgeois fantasy moved beyond the borders of Japanese cities and came to be projected onto the new urban fabric of the continent.

Other *Manshū Graph* articles also present Manchurian cities as havens for upper middle-class fantasies of prosperity and, thus, an escape from the kind of material sacrifices the Japanese government and neighborhood associations asked citizens to make to demonstrate support for the war. This can be seen in the sartorial expression of Japanese living in the *naichi* metropole versus those shown in the cities of Manchukuo. The transformation of the Japanese city into a conceptual battlefield was accompanied by the re-dressing of the civilian body in protective clothing, from small gas masks to large hoods and full body gear. Many posters (Figure 5.13) featured in the Japanese Red Cross exhibit in 1938 demonstrated how to wear gas masks or adapt protective clothing to a variety of situations, including the protection of baby carriages. Such images only enhanced the collective anxiety of the Japanese urban subject and naturalized the new uniforms of the citizen of the war metropolis. In fact, in keeping with the naturalization of anticipatory trauma examined by Saint-Amour through the work of Mumford, the image of the gas mask eventually transcended the specialized rituals of the air raid drill to penetrate the fabric of daily life. This was certainly true in Japan. As the somewhat humorous albeit disturbing series of photographs featured in the 31 August 1938 issue of

*Asahi Graph* demonstrate, even during a baseball game, one must be prepared (Figure 5.14).

This is not to say that there were no air raid drills or danger of bombing in Manchurian cities such as Xinjing. A bomb shelter was built for Manchukuo Emperor Pu-Yi and his family in 1939. According to a plaque on the palace grounds in present-day Changchun (formerly Xinjing), it was used many times before the end of the war.

However, as part of the erasure of the war from the space of the Manchurian city, Mantetsu did not publish images of gas masks in *Manshū Graph* until much later. In fact, it would not be until March 1940—almost 2 years after images of gas masks became naturalized in the media in major urban Japanese centers—that such subject matter would appear in the magazine (Figure 5.15).<sup>81</sup> Even then, the small photograph of volunteers and police officers participating in an air-defense drill lacked much of the dread and drama seen in the aforementioned poster series or published in *Asahi Graph* in 1938.

*Manshū Graph* published this photo on the second to last page of the issue and the figures passively listen to instructions rather than perform dramatic action.

Instead of acting as sites for bodies costumed in gas masks and other protective clothing used in the air raids, Manchurian cities became a fleeting refuge for leisure and consumption. Though many associate the anti-luxury movement in Japan with the 1940s, city authorities began telling city residents “extravagance is the enemy” in 1938,

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<sup>81</sup> *Manshū Graph* 8, no. 3 (March 1940).

exhorting the Japanese housewife to “save for her family” and “for the state.” Moreover, in 1939, spiritual mobilization leaders began eschewing “showy” or “extravagant” dress.<sup>82</sup> Men were called upon to wear a “national civilian uniform”—a khaki outfit that made civilians look like soldiers—and women were told to set aside their kimonos and dresses and wear *monpe*, a kind of plain pantaloons. Women did not immediately make the change, opting at first to wear *monpe* only during air raid drills and other such public events.<sup>83</sup> It would not be until the 1940s that *monpe* became commonplace in life in the city. However, in 1939 there was enormous social pressure to conform. As part of the National Spiritual Mobilization movement, the National Defense Women’s Association sent matrons and children to street corners to admonish fashionably dressed women, transforming former sites of leisure into spaces of guilt and shame. Similarly, images from the 14 February 1940 issue of *Asahi Graph* lambasted women dressed in the latest Western fashions enjoying a leisurely stroll through the Ginza, as a “Ginza foreign brigade” (Figure 5.16). Here, the women are taboo in their extravagance and leisure. Not only do they not wear *monpe* but they smoke and have permanent waves. Furthermore, the article marks their activities as “foreign” (more specifically, “American”), a not-so-subtle affront to the patriotic duty of a proper Japanese woman.

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<sup>82</sup> Thomas R. H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War II*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1978), 15-16.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

On the other hand, *Manshū Graph* applied no such social stigma to the fashionable women imaged in the city spaces of Manchukuo. Rather, articles on the “The Life of the Japanese on the Continent” featured in March 1939 and “The Coming and Going of Japanese-Manchurian Life on Camera” published in April 1940 present the kind of modern socio-economic lives urban middle-class Japanese supposedly continued to enjoy in Manchurian cities. Here, women continue to shop at department stores overflowing with goods. In the 1939 article (Figure 5.17), the elegantly dressed woman in the fur coat and the elegant storefront behind her seem to be transported from Tokyo’s fashionable Ginza district onto the streets of urban Manchukuo. A text inset written in both English and Japanese situates these images for the reader:

[. . .] where one finds a good number of Japanese residing, one can perceive, as these pictures show, Japanese taste vividly displayed in their everyday life. Just as foreigners traveling in Japan marvel at the tranquility of the Island Empire in the midst of titanic conflict, one can witness the Japanese in Manchuria leading a peaceful and healthy life without the slightest sign of perturbation over the China Incident that is now in its third year, and is demanding of the entire Japanese nation huge sacrifices both spiritually and materially.<sup>84</sup>

In addition to underscoring Manchuria as a “peaceful” place, this text articulates two important points. First, the “modernity” of the fashion and spaces imaged in these pages is marked as specifically “Japanese,” a striking departure from the ways in which authorities in Japan marked luxury and consumption as anti-patriotic; second, it hints at a strange rupture between the material affluence enjoyed in urban Manchuria and the

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<sup>84</sup> *Manshū Graph* 7, no. 3 (March 1939): unpaginated.

spiritual/material “sacrifice” asked of the Japanese in the *naichi* of Japan in the late 1930s. Granted, by the 1940 issue (Figure 5.18), the woman in Western dress has been replaced, to a large extent, by the women in kimono as the marker of Japanese middle-class affluence in Manchukuo. This is no doubt a nod to nationalist expression. Yet, even in the April 1940 issue, a woman leaning over the counter bears markers of Western style, wearing a fur coat and showing off a permanent wave. Taken together, these women are, by Tokyo standards, quite extravagant. Moreover, they demonstrate how the ideal, peaceful Manchurian city remained a space where affluence and fashion, leisure and consumerism could still be performed without guilt or stigma.

Images of Manchurian urban affluence would not last throughout the war. In the May 1940 issue of *Manshū Graph*, there was a subtle change in imagery. Images of Manchukuo’s modern cities began slowly shifting away from the affluent, material lives of urban middle-class Japanese to focus instead on patriotic rallies held in the cities’ expansive squares. Nonetheless, the presentation of the broad boulevards and fire-proof construction coupled with images of luxurious sartorial expression strike a compelling counterpoint to the repeated images of the ‘burnable city’ and material sacrifice at work in Japan. Though the various publishers of magazines and posters had very different goals in producing these contemporaneous images, ultimately, they operated in concert with each other, acting on the urban Japanese reader in different ways. Images of the ‘burnable city,’ connected to the threat of air raids through the trauma of the Great Kantō Earthquake, and the re-dressing of civilian bodies in gas masks worked to unify the

Japanese public as they mobilized for the war effort. A side effect of the ritualized performance of air raids, however, was a “collective psychosis.” Cities such as Xinjing, temporarily disassociated from the ongoing war, acted as sites of escape for urban Japanese. Certainly, these kinds of layouts served Mantetsu as much as the readers. Even in the late 1930s, Mantetsu continued to promote Manchukuo as an attractive tourist destination and comfortable place for possible relocation. Images of peaceful, affluent urban Manchukuo also provided Japanese readers living in the war metropolis a safe haven and a space of escapist fantasy where they could exorcise their trauma to imagine a life of peace.

As magazines such as *Manshū Graph* temporarily evacuated war from the high-profile urban spaces of Manchukuo during the late 1930s, it is important to consider the following questions: Did Japanese-Manchurian publications participate in the promotion of a pro-martial spirit? How did the war enter into the representational lexicon of Manchurian promotional materials? I argue that in order to balance the narrative of the peaceful nation, the war’s relationship to Manchukuo became abstracted. Rather than utilize scenes of battle, media deployed memory and affective images to emotionally connect to *naichi* readers, thereby mobilizing their desire to defend the Manchurian “lifeline” to Japan. In the next section, I investigate the economic and political stakes of their production, focusing on how memory, memorialization, and emotionally charged images were used by the competing interests of Mantetsu and the Kwantung Army to buttress their own goals on the continent. In order to draw out this abstracted narrative

and its significance, I analyze the complex role Fuchikami Hakuyō’s 1938 art photograph *Evening Sun* (Sekiyō) (Figure 5.19 ) played in the aesthetic mediation of war. This work acts as a symbolic locus of the changes in wartime representation in the late 1930s.

## Manchuria, Memory, and the Abstraction of War

In January 1939, *Manshū Graph* published *Evening Sun*.<sup>85</sup> It was one of twenty-four images featured in the third art photography issue to focus on the work of the Manchuria Photographic Artists Association (Manshū shashin sakka kyōkai, or the MPAA).<sup>86</sup> *Evening Sun* demonstrates how the heady atmosphere of pictorialism continued to resonate in Fuchikami’s work and informed the aesthetic possibilities of the sun as a subject. The radiating halos of the sun’s rays reflect the edges of dark and heavy clouds that hang low over the silhouette of an uneven terrain. Dramatic and nostalgic, the sun sets on the Manchurian frontier as the darkness of nightfall envelops the scene. On the facing page, *A Window Pane in the Morning* (Mado no asa) (Figure 5.20) by Doi Yūji similarly focuses on the subject of the sun, exploring the fractured effects of rays as they hit a dew-laden pane of glass. These two works epitomize the MPAA’s shared interest in exploring the optical and atmospheric effects of light as a means of developing new avenues of photographic expression in the late 1930s.

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<sup>85</sup> *Manshū Graph* 7, no. 1 (January 1939).

<sup>86</sup> The image count includes the two photographs published on the front and back cover.

At first glance, the photographs in this special issue would seem to have little to do with the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), by then in its second year. Despite the group's focus on photographs of the continent where the Japanese empire was engaged in an ongoing conflict with China, nowhere in this issue does a direct reference to military operations appear. There are no soldiers or weaponry, no mention of the advancing Japanese front. Instead, the art photography featured in the January 1939 issue focuses on a kind of romantic, formalist aestheticism: the cast shadow on a market stall, the streaming light inside a factory, and the texture of steam suspended around the black iron form of a locomotive. Within this issue, one recognizes a blending of contemporary photographic movements, including the precision of straight photography, the soft-focus ambiance of pictorialism, and dynamic compositions of constructivism. Photographers such as Doi and Fuchikami also experimented with the play of light in a composition, an aesthetic and conceptual pursuit seen in the work of Edward Steiglitz in the late 1920s and in the Bauhaus photography championed by László Moholy-Nagy in the 1930s.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the works of Fuchikami and the MPAA occupied multiple roles, acting as both artistic objects and aesthetic "soft propaganda" when contextualized in the media produced through Mantetsu's public relations office. Therefore, it is crucial to consider how Fuchikami's *Evening Sun* fits into this matrix. In the late 1930s, the MPAA pursued greater formal abstraction and the decontextualization of the subject. Featured in the October 1938 issue of *Hikaru Oka*, Miyoshi Yūichi's photograph *The Sunlight* (Hizashi) demonstrates how members of the

MPAA had begun exploring a subject matter almost entirely divorced from a specific time or place. It was likely an extension of the ‘New Objectivity’ photographic movement—also known as ‘Precisionism’—that started in Germany in the 1920s and focused on close-up formal treatments of decontextualized objects. His still life of a weathered pitcher sitting on a dusty path focuses on texture and the patterning of light and dark shapes throughout the composition. This interest in the play of light and shadow is evident in the works featured in the art photography issue of *Manshū Graph* in 1939 as well. As a result of this increasingly formal aestheticization, subjects such as workers in a factory or a locomotive took on even greater emotional and evocative meaning.

In the late 1930s, photographers such as Baba Yashio and Fuchikami took this exploration of light to another level, as seen in Baba’s *Setting Sun* (Sekiyō) (1938) and Fuchikami’s *Sun* (Taiyō) (1938) (Figure 5.21). Here, light—or the sun—itself became the subject. Of course, Baba and Fuchikami were not alone in their formal and thematic pursuit of the sun; other photographers in Japan and abroad experimented with the varying moods the sun evoked at different times of day as well as the distinct optical effects it created. For example, the 1939 *Japan Photographic Annual* (Nihon shashin nenkan) featured two photographs that took up the theme to contrasting ends: *Twilight* (Tasogare) (Figure 5.22) by Ueda Shōji and *The Sun* (Nichirin) (Figure 5.23) by Ikuina Kiyoshi. In *Twilight*, a small, pale sun, hanging low over the horizon, silhouettes a boy standing alone on a dusky road that recedes back towards the darkened shape of a house in the distance. There are no discernible details in the landscape or the boy’s face. The

sun, as the title *Twilight* suggests, bathes the whole scene in a faint, hazy, nostalgic glow. Conversely, Ikuina's *The Sun* captures the snow-capped summit of a mountain. The sun is brilliant and dazzling, high in the sky, a giant glowing orb whose rays extend beyond the frame of the image. The light plays off the undulating surface of the snow and the clouds that frame the edge of the mountain. Fuchikami's sun works share some similarities with both of these photographs, simultaneously demonstrating the ambient soft-focus seen in Ueda's *Twilight* and the blinding intensity of Ikuina's *The Sun*. Fuchikami's *Sun* and *Evening Sun* are also reminiscent of Alfred Stieglitz's *Equivalents* (Figure 5.24) photographs from 1925–34, a series that focused on the abstract textures of clouds illuminated by diffused sunlight. Stieglitz's work— informed by European Symbolism as well as Transcendental philosophy—articulated the artist's interest in what art historian Kristina Wilson calls the “spiritual component in the idea of the inner life.”<sup>87</sup> These kinds of spiritual and emotional currents also informed Fuchikami's abstracted studies of the sun in the late 1930s, albeit in a different way.

Fuchikami wrote of his interest in the sun in a 1938 essay simply called “Sun” (*Taiyō*).<sup>88</sup> In addition to discussing the difficult technical aspect of creating his photograph *Sun* from the same year, Fuchikami described his optical, artistic, and

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<sup>87</sup> Kristina Wilson, “The Intimate Gallery and the ‘Equivalents’: Spirituality in the 1920s Work of Stieglitz,” *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 4 (December 2003): 746.

<sup>88</sup> The essay appeared in both the 1938 *Manshū Shashin Dokuhon*, a compilation of essays on the subjects and techniques that informed Japanese art photography on the continent, and the January 1938 issue of *Hikaru Oka*. Fuchikami Hakuyō, “*Taiyō*” [The Sun], Fuchikami Hakuyō, ed., *Manshū Shashin Dokuhon*, (Dalian: Mantetsu shainkai sōsho, 1938): unpaginated; Fuchikami Hakuyō, “*Taiyō*” [The Sun], *Hikaru Oka* 2, no. 1 (January 30, 1938), unpaginated.

emotional reaction to the subject of the sun itself. At the beginning of the essay he poetically expressed his interest in the subject and highlights the varying moods that the sun inspires at different times of day:

I have come to have a keen interest in investigating the sun. Not just in photography, but in all forms such as verse, song, and *haiku*. There is a passionate desire to express it. The breaking clouds at dawn, the sublime morning sun that floats above the mountaintops, the sun high up in the sky that scatters silver beams of light and overwhelms the world, the sentimental evening sun that penetrates the heart.<sup>89</sup>

In this statement, Fuchikami underscored the kind of romanticism that imbues his work *Evening Sun*. As he explained later in the essay, the Manchurian sun elicits a particularly strong reaction in the Japanese. First lamenting the difficulties in representing the sun in Manchuria due to the “insufficiency of humidity in the air” and the subsequent lack of cloud variation and movement, he remarks that “there comes an emotion that is fomented due to the scenery of the sun—such as the red Manchurian sun—and the artistic effect and deep emotion of the sun affect Japanese people in particular.”<sup>90</sup> Here, Fuchikami referred to the transformative power of a (Japanese) emotional response to the red Manchurian sun, the sun associated with the sunset. In this regard, he may have been referring to the unique appreciation for the aesthetic of nature claimed by Japanese culture producers as an innate sensibility. He also may have been alluding to the special symbolic relationship of the Japanese to the symbol of the sun. As a reference to the sun

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<sup>89</sup>Fuchikami, “Taiyō,” *Manshū Shashin Dokuhon*, 195.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

goddess Amaterasu, the sun was an important emblem for imperial rule, eventually becoming an integral component in the *hinomaru* or “rising sun” flag of Japan in the late nineteenth century. Consequently, it came to act as a symbol of the expanding Japanese empire.<sup>91</sup> Certainly, given the image’s placement in *Manshū Graph*, it would be negligent to ignore the politics of context. The sentimentality of this image transcends mere romantic conceit, imbued as it was with symbolic potency that provided an abstract vehicle for legitimizing the ongoing Japanese war on the continent.

*Evening Sun*’s inclusion in *Manshū Graph* in 1939 meant the image was inextricably entangled in Mantetsu’s politics. Unlike Fuchikami’s *Sun*, which was featured in the limited-edition art folio *Hikaru Oka* in 1938 and functioned primarily as an art object, *Evening Sun* operated in a dual capacity. It both demonstrated formal trends in art photography on the continent and contributed to Mantetsu’s public-relations goals during the war. Even in the late 1930s, Mantetsu continued to heavily advertise Manchukuo as a tourist destination, as tourism was a crucial component of the company’s economic activities on the continent. Despite some ebb and flow in passengers prior to 1936, Mantetsu saw its passenger receipts jump more than 1.5 million yen between 1936 and 1937, from 22,302,299 to 24,877,527 yen.<sup>92</sup> Travel was an important commodity in

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<sup>91</sup> Merrily Baird, *Symbols of Japan: Thematic Motifs in Art and Design* (New York, NY: Rizzoli International Publications, 2001), 39.

<sup>92</sup> *Report on the Progress of Manchuria* (Dairen: South Manchurian Railway Company, May 1939), 142.

Manchuria in the late 1930s. According to Young, the number of guests at Mantetsu-run hotels steadily increased from 21,865 in 1932 to 58,207 in 1939.<sup>93</sup>

The war, of course, threatened to undermine Mantetsu's efforts to sell Manchukuo as a tourist destination. Furthermore, it points to a rupture between the goals of the company and the goals of the Kwantung Army. The formation of the nation-state of Manchukuo had consolidated the power of the Kwantung Army. Since then, it had sought to take over much of the economic and political power wielded by Mantetsu in Manchuria since the company's founding in 1906. The war only exacerbated the conflict of public-relations interests between Mantetsu and the army. The latter's rapid advance into China provided much fodder for the celebration of Japanese military might and success in the homeland. Stories of military victory were so popular that even *Manshū Graph* heralded Japanese victories in China in the first months of the war.

Tales of military success would have helped to soothe a traveler anxious about planning a continental tour. After all, as the military advanced further into China, the battlefield became further removed from popular Japanese urban tourist destinations in Manchukuo. Furthermore, it demonstrated that the Kwantung Army was in control of the region. Communist and Nationalist guerrilla forces that attacked the Japanese from the rear in Manchukuo upset this tidy narrative of a mighty Japanese army that subjugated

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<sup>93</sup> Young, 263.

anti-Japanese forces in China, beyond the peaceful borders of Manchuria.<sup>94</sup> Following Japan's advance into Manchuria in 1931, Chinese and Korean guerrilla forces routinely assailed the Japanese position, challenging the myth of a bucolic Manchuria where the five races—Japanese, Chinese, Manchurians, Koreans, and Mongolians—could live together in racial harmony (*gozoku kyōwa*). By the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War in July 1937, it is reported that the Communist Army alone had (conservatively) 100,000 guerrillas.<sup>95</sup> This force, along with those of the Nationalist Army, fought to destabilize Japan's foothold in Manchuria.

Key to alleviating fears of violence on the continent and successfully promoting emigration and tourism was the image of Manchuria as a prosperous, stable, and peaceful nation. A Mantetsu advertisement from the 1938 issue of *Japan Today and Tomorrow*, a journal published annually in English by the Osaka Mainichi newspaper for a foreign audience, exemplifies this message. It encourages readers to “Visit Manchoukuo [...] a peaceful land founded on racial harmony.”<sup>96</sup> As previously discussed, this image of a peaceful Manchuria also had special meaning for *Manshū Graph*'s *naichi* readership, who, by January 1939, were exhorted to renounce extravagance and participate in air raid

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<sup>94</sup> See Yu Shen, “*Juntong*, SACO, and the Nationalist Guerrilla Effort,” David P. Barrett and Larry N. Shyu, eds., *China in the Anti-Japanese War, 1937-1945: Politics, Culture, and Society* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2001), 135-154; Dagfinn Gafu, *Toward Revolution: War Social Change and the Communist Party in North China 1937–1945*, (Edsbruk: Holms Gårdstryckeri, 1983).

<sup>95</sup> 100,000 was a conservative estimate. Apparently, the Communists claimed as many as 300,000 trained guerrillas in the field by the beginning of the war. See Rodney Gilbert, “The War in China Continues,” *Foreign Affairs* 17, no. 2 (January 1939): 322.

<sup>96</sup> Osaka Mainichi, *Japan Today and Tomorrow* 10 (1938), vi.

drills, donning gas masks in anticipation of poison gas, and rehearsing fire drills to protect their homes and cities.<sup>97</sup> To act as a subtle counterpoint to the mobilization of the *naichi* Japanese and thereby encourage travel to the continent, media such as *Manshū Graph* had to negotiate a careful balance between reporting the war, promoting a supportive wartime spirit, and maintaining the illusion of peace in northeast China.

The way in which the magazine could affect this balance was fluid. Following the outbreak of war, *Manshū Graph* initially featured essays on the warfront for seven months, from September 1937 through March 1938. Essays dedicated to the war would not appear again for two years, beginning with the April 1940 issue. Even then, stories about the advancing battlefield tended to follow a careful formula: the Japanese army pushed into a region in China where anti-Japanese sentiment flourished; then, after the army successfully subdued the enemy, peace returned to the region. Peace, stability, and reconstruction also constituted important tropes in the magazine's war reportage from fall of 1937 to early spring of 1938.

Crucial to initial war narratives in *Manshū Graph* was the absence of the face of the enemy. One way in which the magazine facilitated this was through the use of aerial photographs. Aerial photographs dehumanized the conflict, focusing on geographic conquest as plumes of smoke rose from indiscernible bombsites. These scenes of engagement, taken from high above the battlefield and stripped of the human referent,

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<sup>97</sup> For a discussion of some of these early transformations of the Japanese into citizens of the wartime nation, see Havens, 15–20.

epitomize some of the ways in which the war was becoming increasingly abstracted. In these photographs, the gruesome visage of human casualties disappears. This was particularly useful in erasing the civilian casualties from the narrative. Moreover, as Paul Virilio has argued, the airplane not only became a new, feared war machine following World War I, but also facilitated an aerial point-of-view that distanced the enemy to such an extent that soldiers did not have to see the face of their foe.<sup>98</sup>

Aerial photography complemented other forms of representation that also worked to abstract the enemy in the ages of *Manshū Graph*. Rather than present images of the Japanese army locked in combat with enemy troops—a popular and dramatic means of representing military conflict during the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) and the Russo-Japanese War a decade later—the photographic layouts focused instead on the Japanese troops marching towards an empty, vast horizon, then advancing into the space of cities. The Chinese people themselves were depicted not as a military threat or insurgents but rather as thankful recipients of the ensuing peace. With the dissolution of the body of the wartime adversary, the enemy became ideological, represented through anti-Japanese slogans and posters.

As *Manshū Graph* was tasked with the promotion of a peaceful and harmonious nation, the magazine’s use of articles and images that abstracted the war with China was particularly strategic. According to the magazine, the war on the continent was not a

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<sup>98</sup> Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception*, Patrick Camiller, trans., (London and New York: Verso, 1989 [Cahiers du Cinéma/ Editions de l’Etoile, 1984]), 15–39.

conflict with the Chinese per se; rather, it was imaged as a defense against a violent anti-Japanese ideology. Considering the promotion of Manchuria as a nation for the “harmony of five races”—an idealistic construction in which the Chinese were included—this abstraction of the enemy in the Second Sino-Japanese War allowed for the separation of militarist ideology from potentially sympathetic colonial subjects.

This trope was common not only in the pages of *Manshū Graph* but also in other propaganda during the war as well. According to Kawata Akihisa and Tan’o Yasunori, images of Chinese women, children, and the elderly were important for negotiating the balance between the war and representing occupied Chinese subjects who were supposedly benefiting from a strong Japanese military/ masculine presence.<sup>99</sup> This means of representation is evident in images directed towards both domestic and foreign audiences. For example, a leaflet titled “Paradise (*rakudo*) Comes under the Rule of the New Government” (Figure 5.25) depicts a Chinese woman holding a baby, who gleefully waves the older, five-colored national flag of the Chinese Republic, and four smiling Chinese children, three of whom interact with a smiling Japanese soldier.<sup>100</sup> The leaflet, produced by the Japanese army in 1938, targeted the Chinese population. According to Ichinose Toshiya, the woman and children act as a more general symbol of the Chinese

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<sup>99</sup> Kawata Akihisa and Tan’o Yasunori, *Imeji no naka no sensō: nisshin nichiro kara reisen made*, (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1996), 37.

<sup>100</sup> Though the poster only utilizes black ink on the poster paper, the flag appears to consist of the red, yellow, blue, white, and black stripes of the China Republic National flag, largely used between 1912 and 1928. Ichinose Toshiya, *Senden boryaku bira de yomu, Nitchu Taiheiyo Sensō: sora o mau kami no bakudan "dentan" zuroku*, (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo, 2008), 30.

people, a compelling idea considering no Chinese men appear in the image. The Japanese soldier fills the masculine, patriarchal vacuum. The photographic essay “Wuhan Lullaby” (Figure 5.26) featured in the 11 January 1939 issue of *Shashin Shūhō* depicts a similar social dynamic. In this layout, Japanese soldiers play with abandoned Chinese children and introduce a Japanese paper carp to a baby.<sup>101</sup> They act as substitute patriarchs for fathers who have left them behind. Read more broadly, these kinds of images act as a visual realization of Japan’s leadership role in a ‘family’ of Asian nations. Interestingly, the theme of the Japanese soldier as savior of the Chinese finds precedent in the first Sino-Japanese War at the end of the nineteenth century: The story of Captain Higuchi. Many woodblock prints, such as *Captain Higuchi* (1895) (Figure 5.27) by Mizuno Toshikata and *Japanese Troops Assault the “Hundred Foot Cliff” Near Weihaiwei* (1895) (Figure 5.28) by Toshihide, recounted the story of the captain’s rescue of an abandoned Chinese infant while his troops advanced toward Weihaiwei. Prints depicted the Japanese soldier as a brave savior of a baby (perhaps a metaphor for China), betrayed by his own parents. Earhart provides another perspective on the use of these images of the ‘benevolent,’ patriarchal soldier in the late 1930s. He argues that photographs of Japanese soldiers smiling and interacting with Chinese children were also a means to counter Chinese and Western journalists’ reports of Japanese atrocities in China.<sup>102</sup> In short, these images could be read as an extension of Kushner’s observation of Japanese

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<sup>101</sup> Earhart, 94.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

continental propaganda during the late 1930s. He notes that pamphlets and posters often depicted the Japanese military as bringers of peace, order, and stability—read in these images within the microcosm of the Chinese family or the macrocosm of the China as a whole—to Chinese society.<sup>103</sup>

Consequently, within these images, the narrative of harmony and the ideals of the Manchurian project could remain unchallenged even while Japanese troops advanced into China. In fact, by the April 1938 issue of *Manshū Graph*, images of the Japanese army had almost completely disappeared, replaced with images of smiling Chinese farmers and, as one photographic caption claimed, “masses eagerly engaging in the rehabilitation of their native land.”<sup>104</sup> Here, the “smiling farmer” motif was also a trope used in advertising the Manchurian frontier. It was a symbol not only of the supposedly happy population that lived under Japanese colonial authority but also of the bounty and opportunity that awaited Japanese farmers who opted to relocate to the continent.

## The Red Setting Sun and Memorialization

It is within this context of an abstracted war narrative that Fuchikami’s *Evening Sun* and the potency of its symbolism must be understood, since it further reconciled the war with the image of Manchuria as a space of peace and prosperity. Fuchikami pointed to the emotional and symbolic content of his image in the editorial afterword, which was

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<sup>103</sup> Kushner, 122.

<sup>104</sup> *Manshū Graph* 6, no. 4 (April 1938): 3.

printed directly below his photograph in the 1939 art issue of *Manshū Graph*. In this passage, Fuchikami referred to “the extreme solemnity of the ‘red setting sun’ that had penetrated the minds of the Japanese since the Russo-Japanese War.” This, he claimed, was one of the many scenes like herds of sheep or camel “suited as material” for Manchurian photography.<sup>105</sup> However, unlike other tropes, the setting sun in Fuchikami’s image resonated in a much more deeply emotional way, connecting the evocative landscape to the memory of military loss from decades earlier and, consequently, to thoughts of the Japanese currently in combat in China.

The theme of the sunset in Manchuria resonated strongly with Japanese readers. The “red setting sun” (*akai yūhi*) was introduced in the song “My Comrade” (Sen’yū) during the Russo-Japanese War and, according to Young, continued to elicit poignant memories of fallen Japanese soldiers throughout the 1930s.<sup>106</sup> Powerfully melancholic, “My Comrade” repeatedly invokes the image of the red setting sun as the singer reflects upon the death and heroic sacrifice of a friend during battle. The song begins:

Here, many hundreds of leagues from home,  
The red setting sun of distant Manchuria  
Shines down on a stone at the edge of a field,  
Beneath which my friend lies.

It grieves me to think of the brave hero  
Who only yesterday headed the charge –  
Ruthlessly setting upon the enemy.  
I wonder, will he sleep well here?

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<sup>105</sup> Fuchikami Hakuyō, “Editorial Afterword,” *Manshū Graph* 7, no. 1 (January 1939): 22.

<sup>106</sup> Young, 91.

At the height of the battle,  
I raced blindly to the friend  
Who had been by my side  
As he fell suddenly<sup>107</sup>  
The flag with him.<sup>107</sup>

Young points to the revival of this song in 1931 as a means to remind Japanese of the need to defend their holdings in northeast China as the land not only acts as an economic lifeline between Manchuria and Japan but also provides an emotional connection to those loved ones lost on Manchurian soil.<sup>108</sup>

It was no coincidence that the resurgence of “My Comrade” and the theme of defending Manchuria came about the same year as the Manchurian Incident and continued to be pertinent as Sino-Japanese military tensions continued until 1945. Throughout these conflicts, the memory of Japanese soldiers lost on the continent in the Manchurian Incident intermingled with the memory of those from previous generations, increasing the debt to their sacrifice and the Japanese stake in maintaining a foothold in the region. The song “Manchurian March,” written after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, exemplifies the emotional connection forged through the sacrosanct land of Manchuria between the Russo-Japanese War and the ongoing Sino-Japanese conflict:

The bones of the brave warriors of the long-past battles between  
Japan and Russia are buried here.

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

Look up at the monument of the war dead.  
Bathed in the evening sun which is stained with red blood  
Set on a thousand miles of plain, it soars high into the sky.<sup>109</sup>

The theme of the “red setting sun,” invoked through new songs such as singing “My Comrade” or in viewing Fuchikami’s darkly haunting *Evening Sun*, ultimately transcended the Russo-Japanese War to become a symbolic repository for *all* Japanese soldiers who had died on Manchurian soil.

It is not surprising that Fuchikami referenced the poignant relationship that Japanese had with the image of the setting sun in his 1939 editorial afterword, as Mantetsu often emphasized the blood debt that tied *naichi* Japan to Manchuria in its publications during the late 1930s. For example, in his 1938 book *Building up Manchuria*, the then-president of the company, Matsuoka Yōsuke, repeatedly referred to soldiers lost on Manchurian soil and the memory of their sacrifice, with each statement eliciting a different effect.<sup>110</sup> In the following passage from the preface written in December 1937, Matsuoka strategically linked the “blood” of the fallen and the company’s service to the development of Manchukuo:

This magic change which augurs so well for Manchuria itself, for Japan and for China, has been brought about; first, by the courage and devotion of those gallant Japanese soldiers who have stained the soil of Manchuria with their life blood in order that future generations may live; and, secondly, by the enterprise and

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<sup>109</sup> Ōe Soten as cited in Sandra Wilson, “The Past in the Present: War in Narratives of Modernity in the 1920s and 1930s,” in *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s*, Elise Tipton and John Clark, eds., (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000), 179.

<sup>110</sup> Matsuoka was president of Mantetsu from August 1935 until March 1939.

devoted service of Japanese industry of which the South Manchurian Railway is the most striking example.<sup>111</sup>

The conflation of the sacrifice of Japanese soldiers with Mantestu's "enterprise" made them integral parts of the "magical" transformation of the land. This transformation, beholden to Japan's blood debt, was crucial to the creation of "Sacred Manchuria," a theme proposed by the Manchuria Tourism League in 1939 to promote the Manchurian tour.<sup>112</sup> In the first essay, Matsuoka again conjured up the memory of Japanese who had bravely sacrificed themselves in the service of Japan's supposedly noble cause on the continent:

Let it be realized that throughout the whole of Manchuria, from the meandering Amur in the north to the Great Wall in the South, from the wild and unexplored Changposhan mountains in the east to the boundaries of Inner Mongolia on the west, there is scarcely a spot but has memories of Japanese soldiers and citizens who have laid down their lives in their country's cause.<sup>113</sup>

Here, the use of memory in the context of Japanese Manchuria differs from previous texts, as the blood of the dead demarcated the borders of Manchukuo and effectively staked a Japanese claim on the whole region. In this way, the memory of Japanese sacrifice served as a means of cultivating emotional territoriality and a powerful sentimental attachment to the entire distant Manchurian frontier.

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<sup>111</sup> Matsuoka Yōsuke, *Building Up Manchuria*, (Tokyo: Toppan Printing Company, 1938), 3. According to the author's Preface, this book was originally published in Japanese. However, the original date and title of the publication are not known.

<sup>112</sup> Young, 266.

<sup>113</sup> Matsuoka, 2.

The use of the memory of Japanese dead to symbolically colonize Manchurian space occurred most noticeably with the memorials dedicated to the Japanese who were killed in the first Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, and then later, to those erected in honor of those killed during the Manchurian Incident. The memorials, which dotted the whole of Manchukuo territory, marked battle sites in both the countryside and the cities. In this way, the memorials were not just a means to remember the dead and further sacralize the space of Manchuria in the minds of the Japanese, but also staked a Japanese claim to the land on which the monuments stood. Moreover, they quickly became associated with the scenic vernacular of Manchuria following the Russo-Japanese War.

Mantetsu and the Kwantung Army both contributed to the promotion of the war memorials. Mantetsu included them in a variety of print materials, including Japanese guide books of Manchuria (*Manshū meishō shashinchō*), the annual *General View of Manchuria* (*Manshū gaikan*) which created a kind of virtual visual tour of the region, and, of course, in *Manshū Graph*. The memorials and their respective sites were so readily associated with the space of Manchuria that, according to Ruoff, they were one of the most popular tourist destinations in the Northeast.<sup>114</sup> Ruoff states that tours to battle sites from the Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars as well as the Manchurian Incident, framed by emotionally charged guided commentaries (performed regularly with the same

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<sup>114</sup> Ruoff, 131.

overwrought effect), contributed greatly to the cultivation of the emotional memory of lost soldiers.<sup>115</sup> In other words, the promotion of tourism—a crucial component in Mantetsu's profitability—was inextricably entangled with the memory of the sacred dead. The Kwantung Army also contributed to the promotion of tourism to battle sites and monuments, providing information on the sites that tour guides would use in their commentary.<sup>116</sup> Ruoff states that the army did so because it recognized the important role the guides played in shaping visitors' impressions.<sup>117</sup> Of course, the army did not promote the sites out of profitability like Mantetsu. Rather, the 'blood debt' owed to previous generations was a means of legitimizing the Kwantung Army's increasing military power in the first half of the 1930s and, following the outbreak of the Second-Sino Japanese War in 1937, the aggressive advance into China.

Though the army and Mantetsu both utilized the memory of the dead, they did not necessarily cooperate with each other. In fact, according to historian David Lu, Mantetsu deployed the memory of the Japanese war dead in order to buttress its position against competing interests like the army. During his tenure as Mantetsu president, Matsuoka stated “[Mantetsu] is the legacy of Emperor Meiji, built at the sacrifice of 100,000 lives of our compatriots. It is entrusted to our care. In short, [Mantetsu] is sacred.”<sup>118</sup> Invoking the memory of the Japanese dead in order to posit Mantetsu's sacrality, Matsuoka issued

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Matsuoka Yōsuke as quoted in David Lu, *Agony of Choice: Matsuoka Yōsuke and the Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire, 1880–1945* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2002), 120.

this statement in 1935 in response to pressures from the Kwantung Army, which sought to strip the company of its affiliated companies and administrative responsibilities, leaving it as merely an economic shell that would answer to the Manchukuo government.<sup>119</sup> The Manchukuo government was, in turn, the puppet of the Army. Despite deploying the image of the sacred dead, Mantetsu's power and influence continued to decrease through the 1930s, ultimately leading to the company's almost complete subjugation by the end of the war. Nonetheless, it becomes clear that memory of the war dead was invoked for a multitude of purposes, whether promoting Japanese imperial interests on the continent or staking a claim to power on the continent over a competing imperial interest.

During the 1920s and 1930s, many other nations also created a religious reverence around the memory of those who were sacrificed in service to the state. For example, Daniel Sherman has examined the complex feat of memorializing the dead in France following World War I, including the challenges faced in remembering at national and local levels. As in Manchuria, these acts of commemoration took many forms, from formal war memorials and recounting war memories to tour guides of the battle sites themselves.<sup>120</sup> One of the most ritualized and spectacular deployments of the memory of the dead occurred under the Italian fascist rule of Benito Mussolini. For Mussolini, the

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Daniel Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

memory of the martyrs who died in the Fascist Revolution in 1922 was an integral component in the manufacture of new myths, symbols, and rites which could be used to “fan the flames of enthusiasm” in the masses.<sup>121</sup> In short, as with the cult of the dead in Japan, the memory of martyrs in Italy was a means to energize citizens and forge a collective while legitimizing totalitarian politics and increasing militarization. Emilio Gentile describes the performance of this memory—the new “national religion”—in the form of processions, made up of thousands of people, gathered at a “sacred space”:

After the procession to the roll of drums and the playing of funeral marches by the fascist bands, the rite would culminate, amongst the colours of hundreds of pennants and black flags, with a funeral oration by a fascist leader and the slow march of the action squads past the coffin, silently honouring the dead with the Roman salute. Then the leader would call out the names of the fallen heroes, to which the action squads would respond ‘present!’. At his command, they would kneel in silence for a few minutes; then, when commanded to rise, they would shout ‘alala,’ invoking the names of the martyrs.<sup>122</sup>

The fascist architects Adalberto Libera and Antonio Valente transformed this ritualistic performance into a dramatic space: the *Sacrarium to the Martyrs* at the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution that opened in Rome in October 1932.<sup>123</sup> Red light illuminated the cylindrical, crypt-like space that was lined with the pennants from the fascist action squads. At the center was an enormous metal cross inscribed “For the Fatherland.” The phrase “Presente!” repeatedly appeared upon the walls as the same recorded phrase echoed through the room, uttered by the ghostly voices of what Mark Antliff describes as

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<sup>121</sup> Emilio Gentile, *The Struggle for Modernity: Nationalism, Futurism, and Fascism*, (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 111.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>123</sup> Mark Antliff, “Fascism, Modernism, and Modernity,” *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (March 2002): 157.

“disembodied fascists.”<sup>124</sup> Such spaces and rituals effected the exquisite transformation of the body from that of soldier into martyr, the apotheosis of the imperial subject into symbol. They demonstrate the effective deployment of memory to create an intense, spiritual-emotional connection to place and political ideology. As such, these acts of memorialization played a crucial role in the legitimization of ongoing militarization or occupation to protect the politics and/or geography the martyrs had died to secure, an association exploited by both the Italian fascist regime and Japanese colonial apparatuses such as Mantetsu and the Kwantung Army.

In the editorial afterword of the 1939 art-photography issue of *Manshū Graph*, Fuchikami clearly posited *Evening Sun* as a symbolic vehicle for remembering the dead in the Japanese empire, reminding readers of the relationship between the “setting sun” and the memory of soldiers lost since the Russo-Japanese War. However, when compared to the dramatic visual effects of the *Sacrarium of the Martyrs* in Rome, the monumentality of the war memorials in Manchuria or the powerful poignancy of the battle sites themselves, the symbolism of *Evening Sun* is far more subtle and ambiguous. To a certain extent, this is due to Fuchikami’s experimental abstraction. Other images engaging with the theme of the “red setting sun” in Manchuria possessed greater thematic and symbolic legibility. One of the most literal examples of the setting sun motif can be seen in a layout featuring the five-story war memorial in the capital city Xinjing in the

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

*Commemorative Photographic Album of the Manchuria Survey, Summer 1936* (Manshū tōsa kinenshashinchō. showa 11 nen natsu).<sup>125</sup> Captioned simply as “Revered Monument to the War Dead” (Figure 5.29), the monument is paired with an evocative inset image of what appears to be the figures of soldiers silhouetted by a small, faint sun hanging low over the horizon. Here, the twilight scene is clearly paired with the monument to underscore its symbolic value.

Another example, Mayama Kōji’s painting *Sunset in Manchuria* (Manshū no sekiyō) (Figure 5.30), printed on an undated postcard that was issued by Mantetsu, literally depicts the “red setting sun” as it sinks towards the horizon of expansive pastoral grasslands upon which sheep graze quietly.<sup>126</sup> The use of deep blues, purples, ochres and browns, set the dusky ambiance of the scene. The field and the red sun—small and remote—are almost a direct pictorial translation of the first verse of “My Comrade,” in which the sun sets over the distant land of Manchuria, “shining down on a stone at the edge of a field.”<sup>127</sup> The scene is at once nostalgic and quietly empty, reminding the viewer of those who have been sacrificed and whose memory now haunts the plains.

The quiet landscape and expansive horizon bathed in the rich color of the red sun is indicative of the kind of romanticized paintings many artists produced following their

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<sup>125</sup> Manshū tōsa kinenshashinchō. showa 11 nen natsu (Tokyo: Manshū sangyō kensetsu gakuto kenkyūdan shiseikai honbu, 1936).

<sup>126</sup> According to poet, Yosano Akiko, who traveled to Manchuria and Mongolia during the Manchukuo period, Mayama was a painter who worked in Mantetsu’s main office and often took sheep as his subject matter. See Yosano Akiko, *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia: A Feminist Poet from Japan Encounters Prewar China*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 117.

<sup>127</sup> Young, 91.

tours of northeast China, such as the 1937 painting *The Rising Sun Shines Across the Cosmos* (Kyokujitsu shō rikugō) (Figure 5.31) by Fujishima Takeji. A renowned painter and vice-chairman of the Army Art Society (Rikugun bijutsu kyōkai), Fujishima completed the painting after visiting Inner Mongolia several years earlier.<sup>128</sup> Here, a large yellow sun, its color diffused by the early morning haze, casts a glow over a vast landscape. If not for the tiny, silhouetted figures of a rider and two camels—a familiar trope of the Manchurian-Mongolian frontier—at the far right of the composition, the eye would lose a sense of the immense scale of the land which seems to stretch hundreds of miles towards the golden horizon. In this painting, Fujishima captures the enveloping rays of the rising sun, a symbol of the Japanese empire, rather than the nostalgic twilight of the red setting sun associated specifically with Manchuria. Nonetheless, both Mayama’s and Fujishima’s works epitomize the painterly sentimentality of capturing the continental landscape. When taken together, they demonstrate the symbolic overlap between the Japanese rising sun and the Manchurian evening sun.

Sentimental painterly effects and color aside, the aesthetics of Fuchikami’s image have a far different impact on the viewer. In comparison to Mayama’s painting, *Evening Sun* is dramatic and volatile. The shape of the sun itself is almost obliterated by its own brilliance, which contrasts sharply with the impenetrable darkness of the sky and ground. The photograph seems to express the profound optical and artistic experience that

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<sup>128</sup> Kawata and Tan’o, 40, 43.

Fuchikami described in his 1938 essay “*Taiyō*” [The Sun], stating “[t]he sun [...] explodes in the middle of my retina with a bang.”<sup>129</sup> Unlike Mayama’s painting, the symbolic function of *Evening Sun* is not immediately apparent. Whereas Mayama’s painting is static and quiet, Fuchikami’s photograph is dynamic, darkly haunting, and deeply emotive. Therefore, under the auspices of Mantetsu, it was deployed as a new interpretation of memory and death on the continent. Its abstraction allowed it to become an ideological vessel, used as a means of soft propaganda that was much less literal and more emotional in its deployment of the symbol of the setting sun than that seen in Mayama’s painting. Associated with the sacred memory of Japanese lost on the continent, *Evening Sun* contributes to a highly evocative and aesthetic construction of Manchuria as a sacred space, a place of past wars and lost souls. As a result, it reinforces the necessity of economically and militarily defending this sacred territory.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how the peaceful image of Manchukuo operated emotionally, economically, and politically during the first years of the Second Sino-Japanese War. The period between 1937 and 1940 is of particular interest because it points to the multifaceted ways in which the Japanese media undertook the representation of war. Some of these wartime representations, such as locating images of active Japanese military engagement in China rather than Manchuria, drew from precedents begun with the Manchurian Incident in 1931. Others, including the imaging of Japanese

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<sup>129</sup> Fuchikami Hakuyō, “*Taiyō*” [The Sun], *Hikaru Oka*: unpaginated.

soldiers as patriarchal saviors of the Chinese, drew on even earlier story models from the first Sino-Japanese War. Despite the variety of these wartime narratives, they each point to a larger trend in the late 1930s: the visual distancing of the war from the space of Manchukuo.

Manchukuo, then, took on a more complex, emotionally significant meaning during the war. In the case of the ‘unburnable city,’ newly developed, modern city spaces such as Xinjing came to epitomize the realization of Japanese urban planning models developed in response to the devastation of the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923. As such, the Manchurian city became a safe haven for *naichi* readers who sought escape from the performative trauma of air raid drills and social campaigns that endeavored to limit material extravagance. According to media, life in Xinjing was free from the threat of air raids. Built using stone, brick and concrete and drawing on architectural ideals such as the elite “culture house,” it became an escapist space of bourgeois fantasy, a place of psychological peace at a time when the country was mobilizing for total war.

In 1939, the abstracted drama of Fuchikami’s *Evening Sun* also had an important role to play. The photograph’s strong tonal contrast and heady atmosphere imbued it with strong artistic and emotional appeal. Moreover, its simplicity and lack of specific context allowed the image to operate in a dual capacity as both a fine-art object and sacred symbol for the Japanese Empire. Through the motif of the “red setting sun,” Mantetsu could maintain the delicate balance between legitimizing the so-called “defense” (through a military offensive into China) of Japanese holdings in Manchuria and promoting

continued tourism and resettlement to the continent. For *naichi* readers, the idea of a peaceful Manchuria, defended as a means to honor those who had fallen, strengthened the ties to the continent through the ‘blood debt’ they felt they owed previous generations.

Memory was a powerful yet flexible means of abstracting the war. The Kwantung Army supported commemoration of the war dead as a means of legitimizing its continued military advance into China that supposedly protected the extended home front in Manchukuo. Mantetsu also utilized the memory of the Japanese dead to many different ends, reinforcing its own claim to power on the continent and coupling the symbolic potency of the red setting sun with bucolic, thriving images of Manchukuo in order to promote it as a tourist destination. In short, as the abstracted war narrative at work in *Evening Sun* allowed Mantetsu to maintain the fiction of Manchurian peace for those readers who would ideally seek escape to the continent from the material and spiritual hardship war had brought to the homeland. The sublime aesthetic of *Evening Sun* provided an evocative means to indirectly promote the military operations on the continent, and Manchuria could remain in the pages of *Manshū Graph* in 1939 as a peaceful utopia even during a time of war.

## CHAPTER 6: Epilogue: Remembering Manchukuo

By early August 1945, what had been proclaimed a “utopia” and a “settler’s paradise” had turned to hell. On August 9, the Soviet army began an attack on north, west, and east Manchuria.<sup>1</sup> Abandoned by the decimated Kwantung Army, Japanese agrarian settlers received an evacuation notice from nearby government offices. Many did not survive the ensuing weeks and months. Young describes how some decided to stay and fight the Red Army, resulting in their death or capture and imprisonment in POW camps. Others tragically committed suicide en masse. Many fled only to face assault by members of the Chinese resistance and Chinese peasants who had been physically displaced from their farms or forced to labor by the Japanese.<sup>2</sup> Those who did not die during the attacks later lost their lives because the so-called “bandits” took the settlers meager provisions.<sup>3</sup> As many as 67,000 Japanese colonists died due to starvation and disease.<sup>4</sup> Faced with attack, the escalating civil war between the Chinese Nationalists and Communists, and crippling winters, many settlers abandoned their children on the continent, ostensibly “leaving” these “orphans” with Chinese families to save the children’s lives as well as those of their parents. This resulted in the fractured repatriation of families to Japan and a new host of

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<sup>1</sup> Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 409.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.; see also Mariko Asano Tamanoi, “Between Colonial Racism and Global Capitalism: Japanese repatriates from northeast China since 1946,” *American Ethnologist* 30, no. 4 (November 2003): 528.

<sup>3</sup> Tamanoi states that the Japanese colonists referred to the attacking Chinese farmers as “bandits” when they later reflected on their ordeal. Tamanoi, 528.

<sup>4</sup> Young, 410; see also Mariko Asano Tamanoi, “A Road to ‘A Redeemed Mankind’: The Politics of Memory among the Former Japanese Peasant Settlers in Manchuria”, *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 99, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 165.

social and political issues.<sup>5</sup> While many of those Japanese colonists who lived through the ordeal and were able to return to Japan did so between 1946 and 1948, the process was drawn out over several decades. Some of the abandoned children did not return to Japan until the 1980s.<sup>6</sup> Even so, those who survived were relatively lucky given that as many as three hundred thousand Japanese soldiers and civilians remained unaccounted for after the war.<sup>7</sup>

Tamanoi has argued that the suffering settlers experienced following Japan's capitulation in the war transformed them from complicit agents of imperial expansion into victims of an empire that failed to protect them.<sup>8</sup> It goes without saying that this is understandable given the trauma the agrarian colonists suffered in the last days of the war and the months and years that followed. They had been subject to injury, starvation, capture, losing loved ones, leaving behind children, and alienation from their villages once they returned to Japan. Some repatriated Japanese women, victims of rape as they fled, were unable to marry because they were thought to be sexually contaminated; suspicion that returning Japanese men had been indoctrinated by socialist ideology while detained by the Soviet army also hampered social reintegration.<sup>9</sup> What is significant, though, is that this narrative of suffering written in numerous biographies and memoirs

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<sup>5</sup> Tamanoi, "Between Colonial Racism and Global Capitalism," 528.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid..

<sup>7</sup> John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1999), 62.

<sup>8</sup> Tamanoi, "Between Colonial Racism and Global Capitalism," 530.

<sup>9</sup> Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 98-137.

since the end of the war has subsumed the narrative of Japanese military domination of the Chinese people in the Northeast.<sup>10</sup> In closely examining this trend, Tamanoi importantly asks, “Does this mean they do not remember anything but suffering? Or they remember their everyday life in Manchuria as colonists, and yet they prefer not to share those memories with anyone?”<sup>11</sup> These questions expose some of the deep-rooted issues at stake in expressing the Japanese memory of Manchuria, especially as this was but one facet of the Japanese occupation. Japanese populations on the continent were varied, as were their experiences; therefore memories of life in Manchukuo are similarly diverse.

This is evident in the photographic collection titled *Manshū no Kaisō* (Reminiscences of Manchuria), edited by Fuchikami Hakuyō.<sup>12</sup> Published in 1958, *Manshū no Kaisō* presents a far more idealistic recollection of Manchuria than the stories of suffering told by the Japanese settlers or POWs. The collection also avoids imaging the war. Rather, it revisits the idealistic imagery taken by Fuchikami and his associates of the Manchuria Photographic Artists Association (Manshū shashin sakka kyōkai, or MPAA) and published by the public relations office of the South Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu) during the Manchukuo period. The book itself was an appealing object. It measured 10.5 inches by 14 inches and used a thick, high quality paper stock. The title page featured the photograph of a camel, one of the popular and recurrent tropes

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<sup>10</sup> Tamanoi, “A Road to ‘A Redeemed Mankind’”, 165-166; Tamanoi, “Between Colonial Racism and Global Capitalism,” 530.

<sup>11</sup> Tamanoi, “A Road to ‘A Redeemed Mankind’,” 165.

<sup>12</sup> Fuchikami Hakuyō, ed., *Manshū no kaisō*, (Tokyo: Keigadō, 1958).

of the Manchurian frontier. On the following pages were two portraits: a man wearing a fur-trimmed hat and heavy coat and carrying a rope whip in *Cart Man* (Bashafu) by Baba Yashio (1903-1974) and a woman with tightly braided hair and decorated robes in *Mongolian Woman* (Mōko no onna) by Unoki Satoshi (b. 1910). These images marked Manchuria as an exotic land from the outset of the book, emphasizing the distance of the region geographically, and now, temporally as well. A few pages later, the inclusion of the photograph *Horizon of the Setting Sun* (Chiheisen no rakujitsu) (Figure 6.1)—a symbolic nod to the Japanese lives lost on the continent—helps to set the poignantly sentimental tone of the volume.<sup>13</sup> It then takes the reader on the kind of visual “Manchuria tour” that was often featured in Mantetsu’s annual *Manshū Gaikan* (Overview of Manchuria) series. The reader virtually travels from Dalian to Xining and Harbin in the north, then into the frontier to visit temples and take in the “local color” of the distant villages. Through these images, the reader traverses the idealistic urban and frontier vistas that had dominated Mantetsu’s advertising media for years.

*Manshū no Kaisō* exemplifies the emotional and political complexity of remembering Manchukuo in the years following the war. Fuchikami states in an editorial afterword at the end of the volume that, “[t]his collection is more than a record; it puts emphasis on impressions. The point of the photographs is to convey to the hearts of all

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<sup>13</sup> The book lists no artist or date with this photograph.

you readers the aura of Manchuria and recollections of that time.”<sup>14</sup> Here, Fuchikami underscores how the collection is not meant to simply present an archive of images from the Manchukuo period. Rather, it is a vehicle to communicate through images and short essays the profound emotional investment these Japanese artists made in the continent.

His project results in another effect as well. Fuchikami’s nostalgic ‘return’ to Manchuria through art photographs, which had been so closely connected to Mantetsu—the primary economic engine of Japanese imperialism in Manchukuo—imbues the colonial project itself with sentimentality. A statement by Aikawa Yoshisuke<sup>15</sup> at the beginning of the collection exemplifies the uneasy tension between nostalgia and empire at work in this collection. He states: “Holding this photo collection in one’s hand is not only to experience things that have passed; it is also something to delight in savoring as if playing in one’s old home town.”<sup>16</sup> The sentimentality of Aikawa’s recommendation of this book is unmistakable, particularly as he likens the feeling one has in consuming it to being in one’s home village (*kokyō*). That this description comes from a Class A war criminal who acted as head of Manchurian Heavy Industries (Mangyō) from 1937 to 1942 speaks to how these warm recollections were entangled in positions of power.<sup>17</sup> Both Fuchikami and Aikawa enjoyed high-level jobs; this, in turn, affected their romantic relationship with the continent. Furthermore, both men also left well before the end of the

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<sup>14</sup> Fuchikami Hakuyō, “Atogaki,” *Manshū no Kaisō*, 96.

<sup>15</sup> Aikawa Yoshisuke is also known as Ayukawa Yoshisuke.

<sup>16</sup> Aikawa Yoshisuke, “Suisen no kotoba,” *Manshū no Kaisō*, 7.

<sup>17</sup> Young, 217.

war—Fuchikami in 1941 and Aikawa in 1942—so they were not in Manchukuo when the Kwantung Army stringently tightened its control on all facets of Japanese governance, from the construction of propaganda to the regulation of heavy industries. Certainly, Fuchikami and Aikawa did not experience the fear and hardships suffered by Japanese settlers fleeing Soviet troops and angry Chinese farmers. It is understandable, then, that they could reflect so warmly on this period. This begs the question: In such a volume of personal recollections, is one obligated to reflect on the horrors of the war and the empire if they were not experienced directly?<sup>18</sup>

Interestingly, while the photographs in the collection evoke the aesthetic idealism that these artists and photographers brought to the continent, the volume is not completely devoid of critical reflection. In a short essay on his memories of Manchuria, Unoki Satoshi expresses his struggle with the disjunction between the “beauty and enjoyment” of his memories and “the gruesome reality (*seisan na genjitsu*) from the end of the war, that goes beyond the imagination, to repatriation.”<sup>19</sup> He states, “If remembering, I intend to compare the afterglow of the beauty of the continent, which has warmed my heart for years, and the reality of suffering.”<sup>20</sup> Each must be weighed against

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<sup>18</sup> While many Japanese may have been able to disavow knowledge of the kind of atrocities the Japanese empire beset on continental peoples during the aggressive advance of its army and the hardships suffered by its own people at war’s end, this certainly was not the case in the late 1950s. Of course, ultranationalist narratives that persisted even after the war would continue to posit the Japanese advance into China as an act of “liberation” rather than aggression. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge the multiple histories at work in the postwar period.

<sup>19</sup> Unoki Satoshi, “Manshū no omoide,” *Manshū no kaisō*, 20-21.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

the other. Unoki's acknowledgement of the suffering in Manchuria casts a sad pall over the photographs framing the essay, including Yoneki Zen'emon's (1881-1957) *Shoemaker* (Kutsuya) (1935) and Date Yoshio's (1907-1946) *The Shade of a Tree* (Rokuin) (c. 1937), for example. Given Unoki's essay, one cannot help but think that Fuchikami as the editor was also painfully aware of these issues. As he does not address them directly, it may be that he endeavored not only to convey recollections about Manchuria but also to express to the reader (or convince the reader) of his deep affection for the continent. He and his colleagues were not merely pawns in an ideological machine. Their work was born of affection. Whether or not they felt "recollecting Manchuria" would help them reconcile their feelings of culpability (if they even had such feelings) is not clear. Nonetheless, it acted as a kind of catharsis.

Though the war was more than a decade in the past by the late 1950s, many Japanese still struggled with their own feelings of responsibility and the psychological burden of defeat. In the 1960s, a new generation and spirit of protest came of age. The postwar struggle over the treatment of Japan's history began in 1965 when liberal historian Ienaga Saburo first challenged "distortions or concealments" of the war in textbooks.<sup>21</sup> Not only did Ienaga's struggle spark decades of litigation, it also articulated the site of contestation—schoolbooks—through which the history debates would take place and the issues at stake in representations of the war. As the conservative Liberal

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<sup>21</sup> George Hicks, *Japan's War Memories: Amnesia or Concealment?* (Aldershot, England and Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1998), 31.

Democratic Party (LDP) was able to maintain power for much of the postwar period, the government position represented in the Ministry of Education tended to favor a treatment of history that obfuscated or altered Japan's actions during the war. Domestically, left-wing historians such as Ienaga helped to shape the foundation of what became a highly contentious debate. Eventually, however, the political struggle over Japanese history would have great international implications as well. The infamous textbook scandals that began in the early 1980s epitomized a decade when neo-nationalist interests took on a far more public role in the government. In 1982, a furor resulted from a suggestion by the Ministry of Education that "aggression" be replaced with "advance" in regards to Japan's actions in China in the 1930s. In other words, the Ministry's textbook screening committee had suggested phrases that had previously read "aggression in North China" be changed to "advance in North China."<sup>22</sup> This incident ignited international protest among countries such as China, North and South Korea, the Philippines, and Indonesia, which had suffered under aggressive Japanese expansionism.

These debates regarding how Japanese institutions and individuals should remember the war and its colonial empire contributed to the formation of critical discourses at home and abroad. In the 1990s, freelance photojournalist Enari Tsuneo (b. 1936) was one of those voices that challenged Japanese to reflect on the nation's history from the first two decades (1926-1945) of the Showa era. In the late 1980s and early

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<sup>22</sup> Hicks, 45. The Ministry defended itself by claiming that these were in fact only informal *suggestions* rather than mandatory changes.

1990s, he traveled to northeast China for his book *Maboroshi koku Manshū* (alternatively titled *Illusory Nation: Manchukuo 1932-45*) (1995), a photographic essay examining the palimpsest of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria.<sup>23</sup> Here, he visits old spaces built by the Japanese and the ways in which the Chinese have transformed them since the end of the war. For example, the Supreme Court Building has since become a hospital. Moreover, what once were new buildings and examples of urban modernity now show signs of age. The grand façade of a Mantetsu corporate home is now stained from the weather and riddled with patches. A crooked wooden fence marks the property's perimeter. His tour took him outside of the former spaces of urban Manchukuo as well, resulting in timeless images of sunflowers and vast fields bursting with the harvest. Interestingly, Enari photographed these spaces largely emptied of people. The result is two-fold. First, this technique echoes the old colonial photographs of depopulated landscapes. Also, the absence of contemporary figures allows the images to vibrate between past and present, between memory and living place. Enari's highly textural, black and white photographs express how, though these spaces continue to be used today, they are haunted by their colonial past.

Enari had treated other difficult subjects in the course of his career, including Japanese children left behind in Manchuria and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and

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<sup>23</sup> Enari Tsuneo, *Maboroshi koku Manshū*, (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1995).

Nagasaki.<sup>24</sup> He exhibited photographs from these series and another called “False Manchukuo” in a 2011 exhibition titled *Japan and Its Forgotten War: Showa* in 2011 at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography. What is significant about *Maboroshi koku Manshū* and the recent exhibition is the prominent place the memory of Manchukuo plays in Enari’s critique of the history of the Japan’s Fifteen Year War and his desire to give a voice to the silenced victims of Japanese aggression.<sup>25</sup> The realization of this second goal, in particular, is especially evident in the disturbing photographs ‘*Dumping Ground*’ for a Dead Laborer (Shibō rōdōsha no ‘hito suteba’) (1990) and *Martyred Brethren of Pingdingshan, Hall of Bones* (Pingdingshan junnan dōhō zōkotsukan) (1990) (Figure 6.2), featured in *Maboroshi koku Manshū*. Both photographs—depicting human skeletal remains half buried in dirt—operate in stark contrast to the scenes of rural dusty roads or stately (albeit run-down) buildings. These images gruesomely remind the reader of the thousands of laborers who succumbed under Japanese occupation and the three thousand Chinese who were killed in Pingdingshan Village when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1932. The chaotic jumble of the bones speaks to how the bodies were simply discarded. They testify to the millions who died or simply disappeared as the Japanese Kwantung Army aggressively secured its authority in the Northeast. Enari’s use

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<sup>24</sup> From July to September in 2011, the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography featured Enari Tsuneo’s *Japan and Its Forgotten War: Showa*, exhibiting works from his photographic series “The Children’s Manchukuo,” “Islands of Wailing Ghosts,” “False Manchukuo,” and his photographs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. From the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography official website, <http://www.syabi.com/e/contents/exhibition/index-1383.html>, accessed on December 17, 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

of heavy shadow suggests that the bodies were hidden from view and, more symbolically, from the critical gaze of history.

As Enari's photographs and recent exhibition demonstrate, the emotional politics that continue to inform ongoing debates in Asia regarding the legacy of Japanese colonialism have exerted considerable influence over the production of memory regarding Manchukuo. Given this heated political climate, it is not surprising that images such as Enari's, which engage the question of the Japanese empire directly, have found high-profile forums for exhibition. Ambiguity is far more contentious. In 1994, the Nagoya City Art Museum opened its exhibition *Ikyō no Modanizumu* (Foreign Modernism), *The Depicted Utopia: Another Facet of the Japanese Modern Photography in Manchoukuo*. Curated by Takeba Jō, the exhibition focused on the art photography of Fuchikami Hakuyō and the members of the MPAA. Takeba contextualized the rich collection of photographs, posters, and postcards through international art and design trends, themes such as "orientalism," and the artists' participation in the production of propaganda for the new state. The exhibit sparked a heated controversy, however. According to Takeba, when the director of the Education Office at Nagoya City Hall asked him about the meaning of "utopia," he responded that it should be understood as a "soul of the times" which manifested in the photographs through the visual languages of pictorialism and graphism.<sup>26</sup> In short, Takeba's use of "utopia" acted as a means to

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with Takeba Jō at the Nagoya City Art Museum, March 19, 2009.

express a more general ethos of the period. Despite this seemingly innocuous use of the term, it was also entangled in the contemporary, emotionally-charged politics of how to remember the Japanese occupation of the Northeast during the 1930s and early 1940s and the ongoing, delicate diplomatic standing with the nation's former (formal and informal) colonies of Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria.<sup>27</sup> As the term "utopia" evokes a kind of idealism, applying the term to how the Japanese artists aestheticized the empire resulted in an uneasy association, one that could be misunderstood as a positive description of the empire itself rather than the spirit of the images that promoted it. As a result, the Education Office forced the museum (which, as a public municipal institution, was linked to City Hall) to pull the catalogue from public sale. Moreover, the museum was forbidden to advertise or conduct any public relations regarding the exhibit. Ultimately, the Director of the Nagoya City Art Museum—himself having suffered as a POW who was taken from Manchuria to the Soviet Union at the end of the war—retired.<sup>28</sup> This incident underscores how remembering Manchukuo continues to conjure a strong emotional and political reaction. Moreover, it suggests that there is very little room for a meaningful discussion in the current climate.

This last point is somewhat ironic given the enormous conceptual and ideological flexibility of the ideas of "Manchuria" and "Manchukuo" from 1932 to 1945. This was a

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<sup>27</sup> City Hall was particularly aware of the potential pitfalls of an exhibit that focused on the aestheticization of the Japanese empire on the continent as a Korean girl had recently been attacked in Nagoya and her uniform cut, an incident that raised concerns about targeted racism and the Japanese-Korean relationship.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Takeba Jō, March 19, 2009, Nagoya City Art Museum.

necessity given the many different official agents of empire—Mantetsu, the Kwantung Army, and the Manchuria Immigration Council, among others—and diverse personal stakes in the region. Media such as Mantetsu's *Manshū Graph* presented Manchukuo as utopia of urban material modernity, ethnic exoticism, rural nostalgia, and (eventually during the war) a peaceful, safe haven for citizens mobilizing for total war. This idealized continental space and that of the magazine itself aligned the gaze of the modern, bourgeois subject with Mantetsu's prestigious brand. This operated in contrast to the vision of a utopian Manchuria posited by immigration offices and the army. Here, Manchuria became a site for new economic possibilities and the realization of one's patriotic duty to defend the distant reaches of the Japanese empire. Many times, the goals of these various offices were distinct. They even conflicted. However, as the A Century of Progress exposition in Chicago demonstrated, they could also converge in an effort to win foreign recognition of the new state.

While these examples might lead one to dismiss the concept of a utopian Manchuria as merely an ideological construct used in propaganda for the Japanese empire, it is important to consider how the continental frontier also accommodated the fantasies of individuals such as Fuchikami. In his case, the Northeast was a romantic space where he could develop his art photography as a *kaitakusha* (pioneer) artist. This sentimental idealization of the region and his role in it were not delusions Fuchikami cast off on his arrival in Dalian in 1928. Rather, they were an integral influence on his lived experience there for thirteen years. Even in the postwar period, he continued to reflect on

his life and work there in nostalgic and idealized terms despite numerous reports damning the Japanese military occupation of the region.

In this regard, it is productive to reconsider how the concept of a utopian Manchuria operated in concert with dystopian colonial practices. Japanese colonial officials and the army were responsible for a multitude of atrocities in the Northeast, including the forceful displacement of Chinese and Manchu farmers, forced labor, and human experimentation.<sup>29</sup> In the postwar moment, it is now virtually impossible to divorce a consideration of the Japanese conceptualization of an ideal state in Manchukuo from the horrors that resulted. Yet, it is crucial to recognize that the concept of utopia and the idealism that informed it were not always deployed in media to deceive Japanese or international audiences. Some ideologues who posited Manchukuo as an ideal, multiethnic state optimistically believed in the project.

Therefore, in order to reconcile the problematic, paradoxical nature of Japanese Manchuria, it is perhaps best to draw insight from Unoki Satoshi's postwar reflection. It exists in uneasy tension between utopia and the dystopia, between the warm, sentimental expectations/memories of life in the nation state and the profound suffering experienced by hundreds of thousands caught in the grip of Japanese military expansionism on the continent.

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<sup>29</sup> Unit 731 and Unit 100 were special units of the Japanese Kwantung Army that experimented with biological and chemical weapons on primarily Chinese and Korean prisoners. It is thought that at least 3,000 POWs were subjected to experimentation by the Japanese army. See Dower, 449.

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## **Biography**

Born in 1972, Kari Leanne Shepherdson-Scott is a native of Vancouver, Canada. She studied art history and studio art at Boise State University, graduating Magna Cum Laude with a Bachelor of Fine Arts in 1999. In 2003, she received her M.A. in art history from the University of British Columbia where her research interests included nineteenth and twentieth-century Japanese visual culture, film, and the formation of national identity through cultural production. Her thesis, “Fists, Youth, and Protests: Oshima Nagisa’s Filmic Rebellion in 1960,” analyzed three films by Oshima and their existential relationship to the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty protests that erupted in 1960. While a PhD student and candidate at Duke University, she was the recipient of the Myra and William Waldo Boone Fellowship, the Asian/ Pacific Studies Institute Summer Field Research Fellowship, the Fulbright Japan-United States Educational Commission Graduate Research Fellowship, the Social Science Research Council International Dissertation Research Fellowship, the James B. Duke Fellowship, the Wolfsonian Institute-Florida International University Research Fellowship, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Doctoral Fellowship, the Provost's Pre-Dissertation Summer Field Research Fellowship, and a Summer Foreign Languages and Area Studies Fellowship. In 2012, her research will appear as a chapter titled “Fuchikami Hakuyō’s *Evening Sun*: Manchuria, Memory, and the Aesthetic Abstraction of War” in the

anthology *Negotiating the Dark Valley: Art in Japan and Its Empire, 1931-1945*, edited by Ming Tiampo, Louisa McDonald, and Asato Ikeda and published by Brill.

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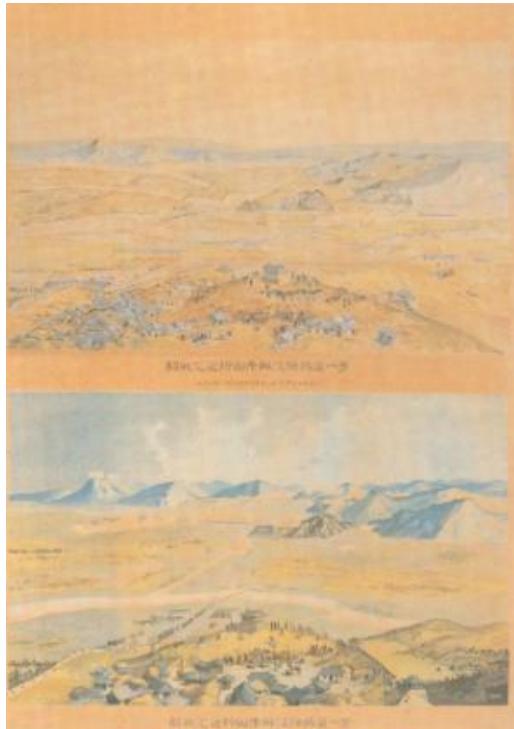


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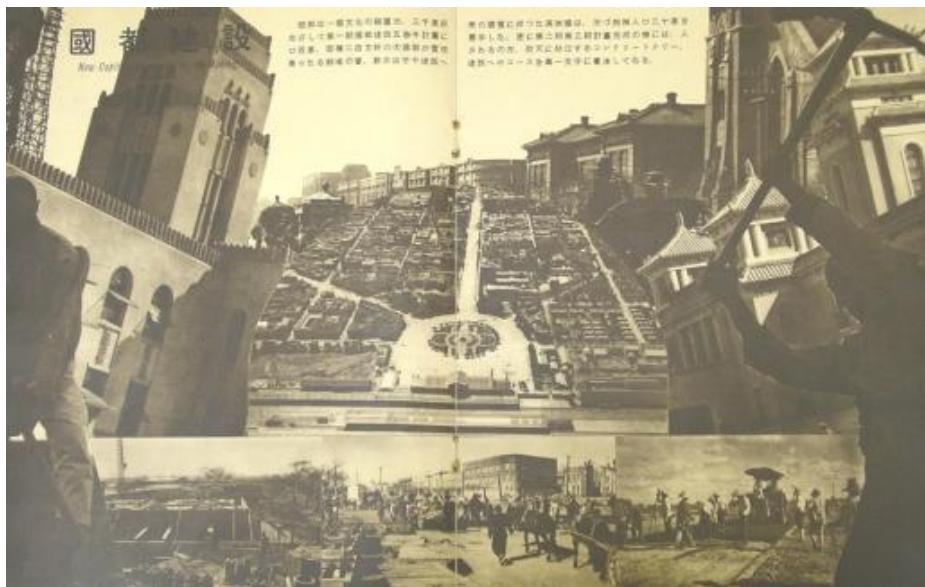


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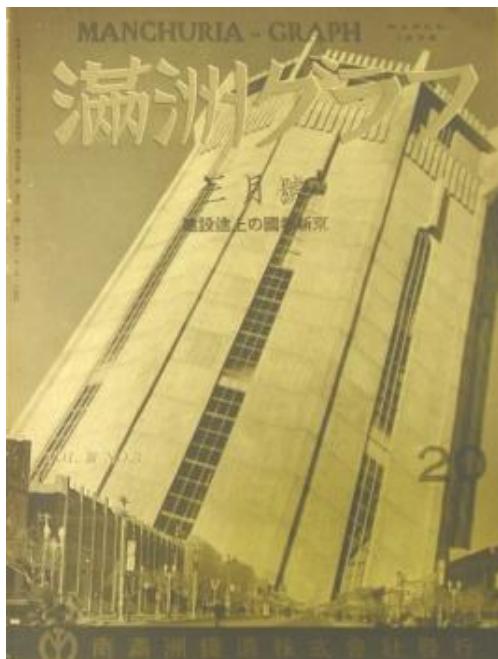


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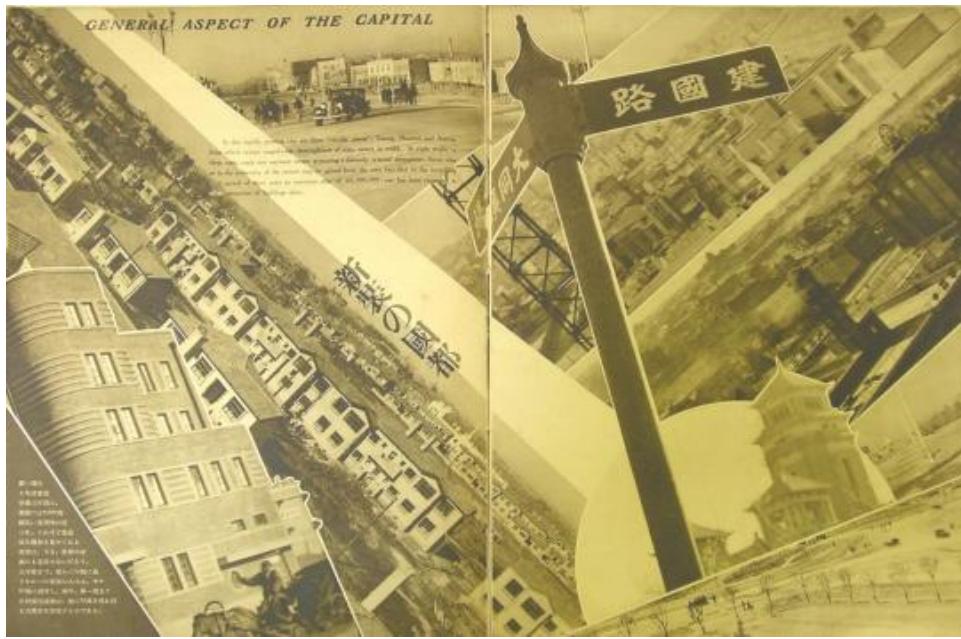


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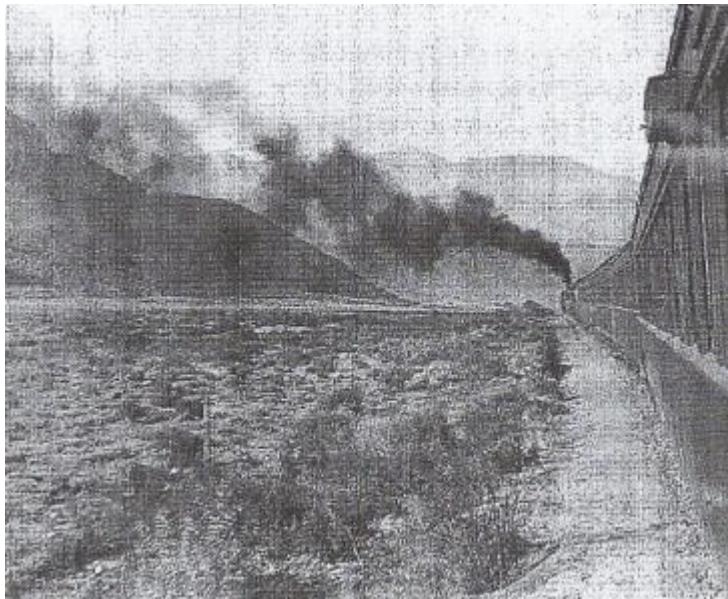


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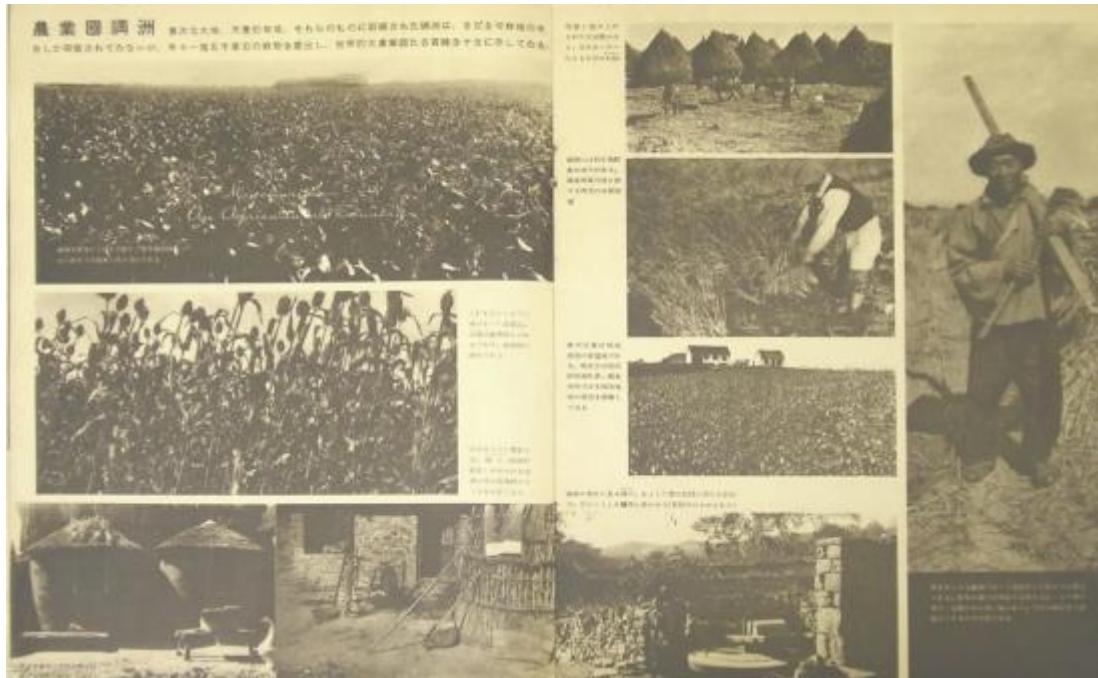


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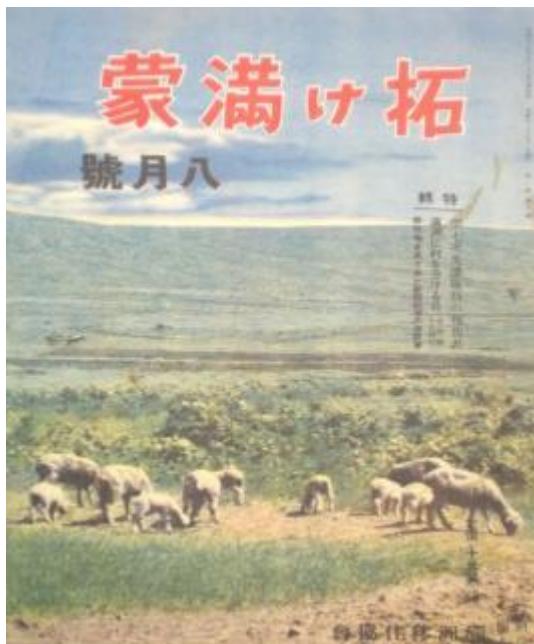


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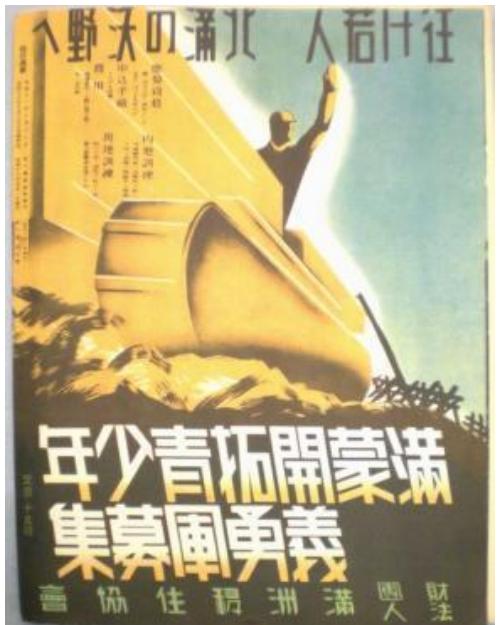


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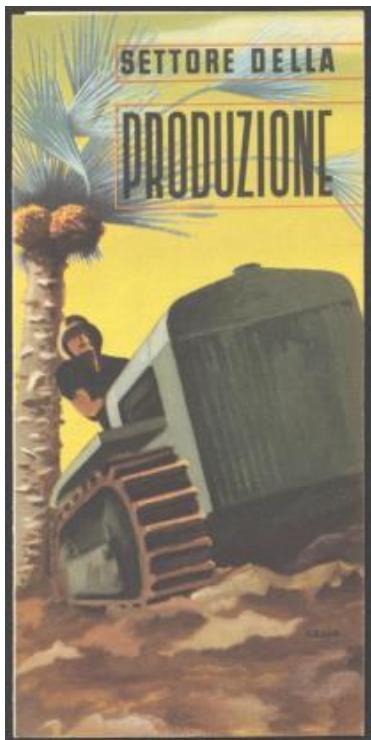


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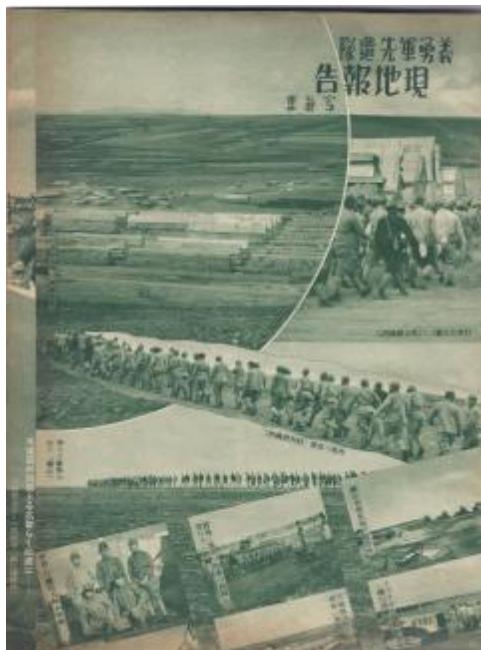


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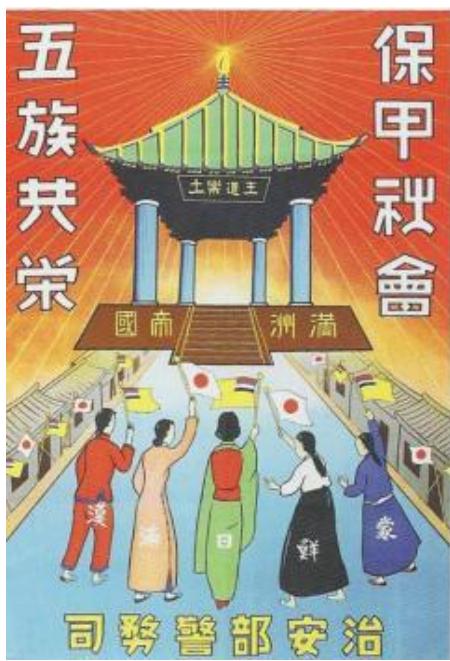


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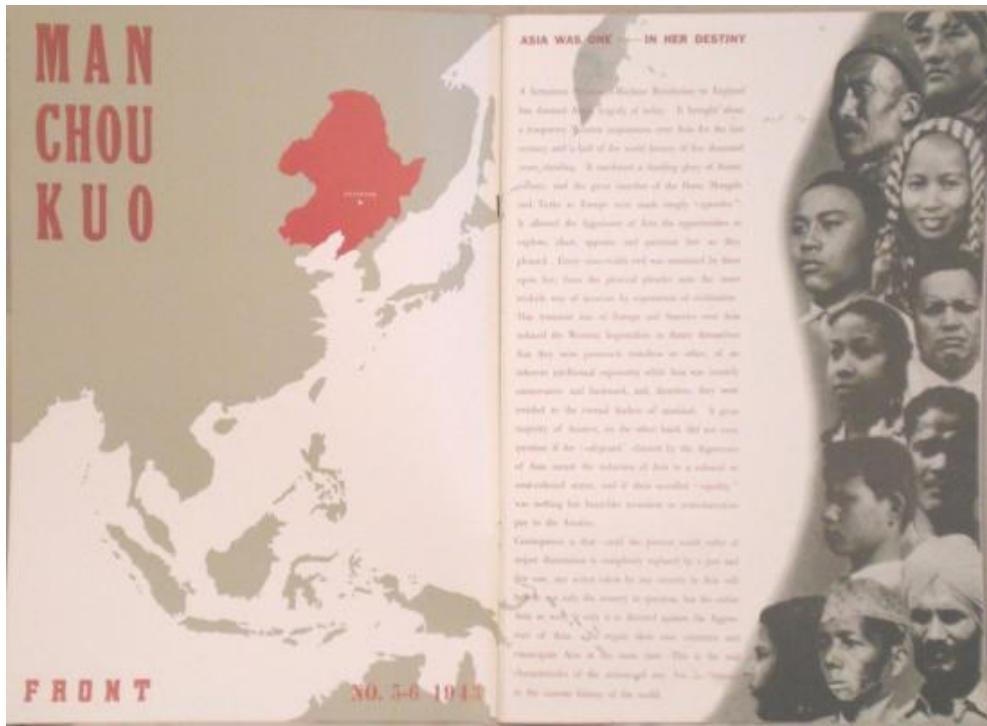


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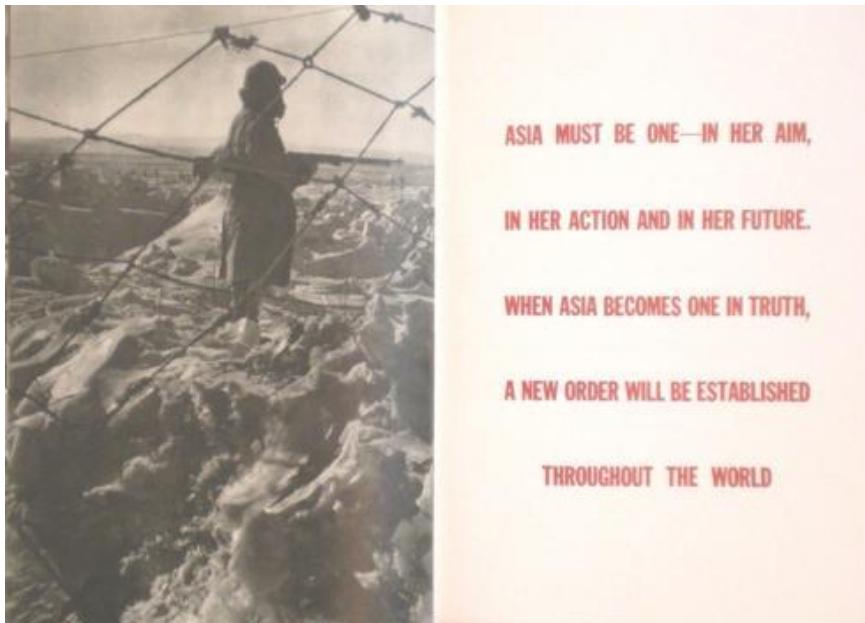


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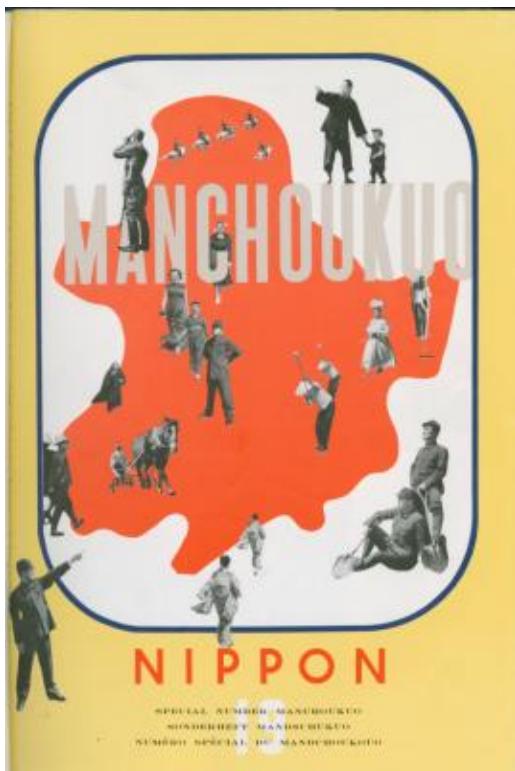


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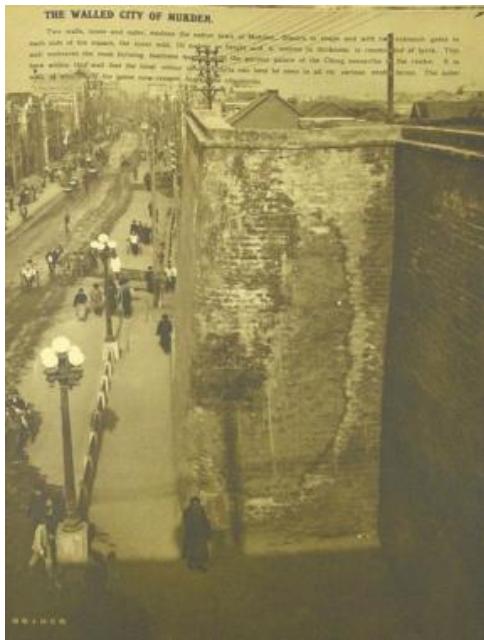


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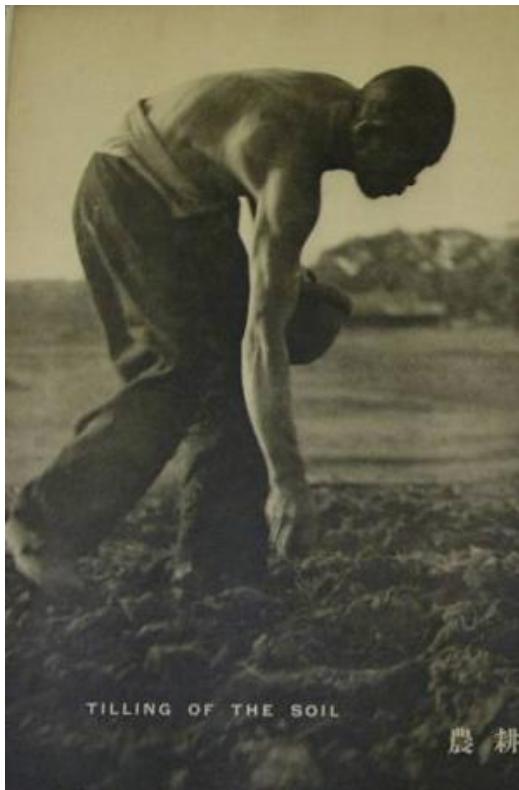


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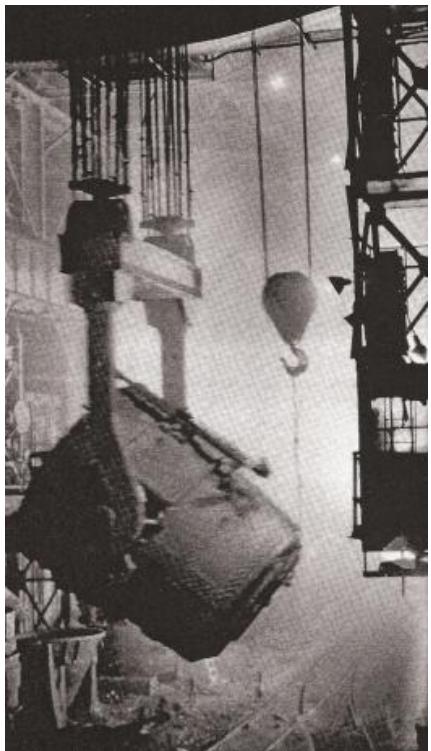


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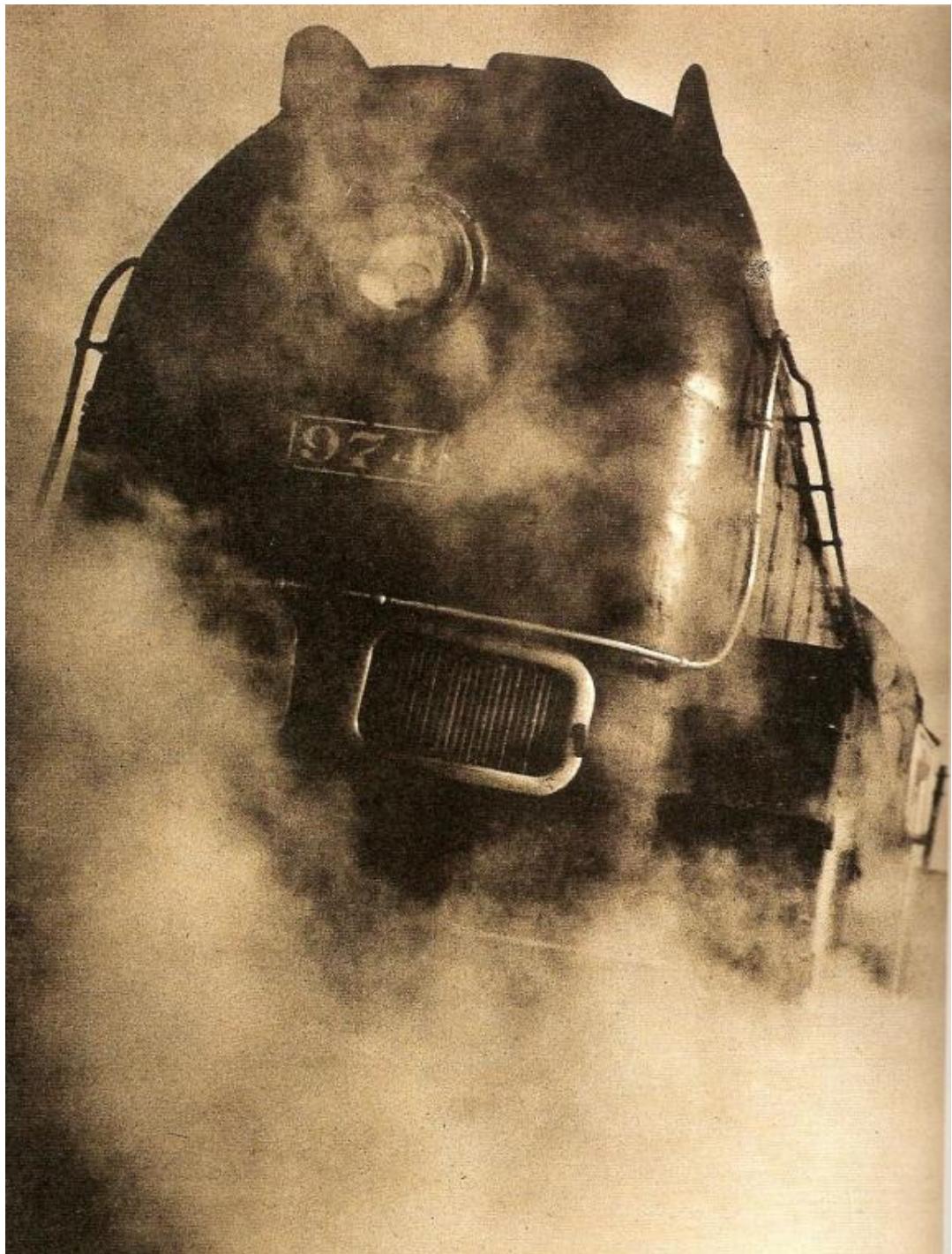


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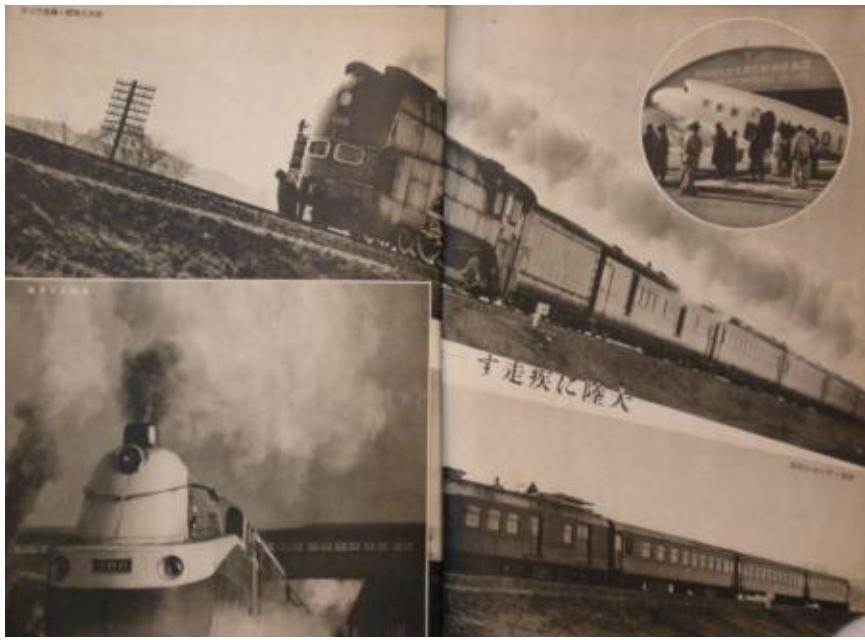


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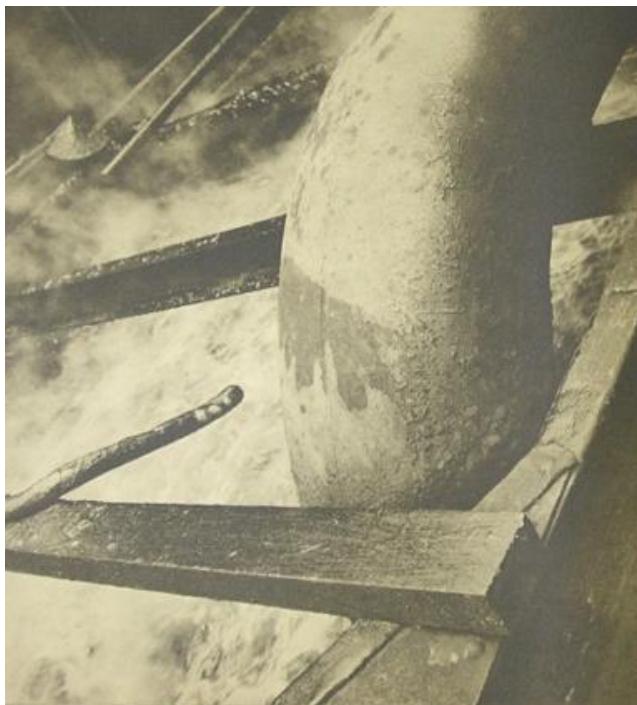


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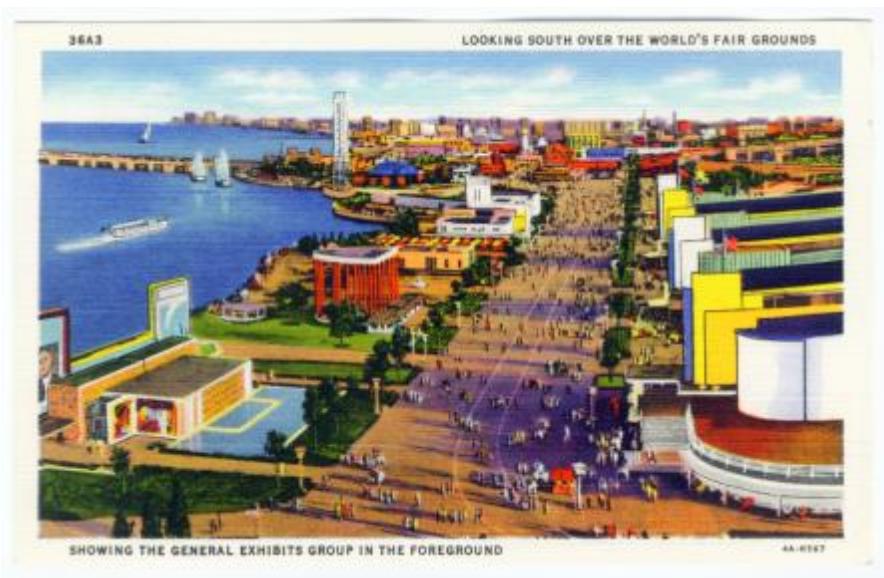


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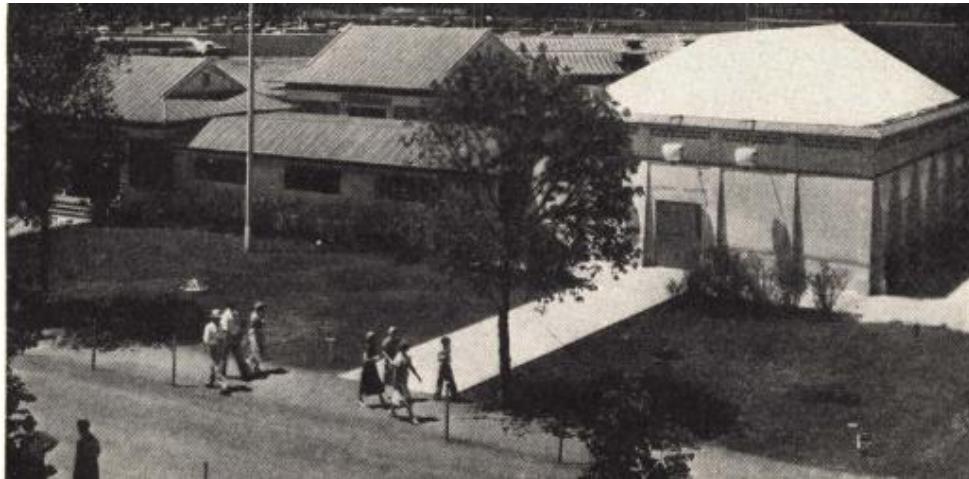


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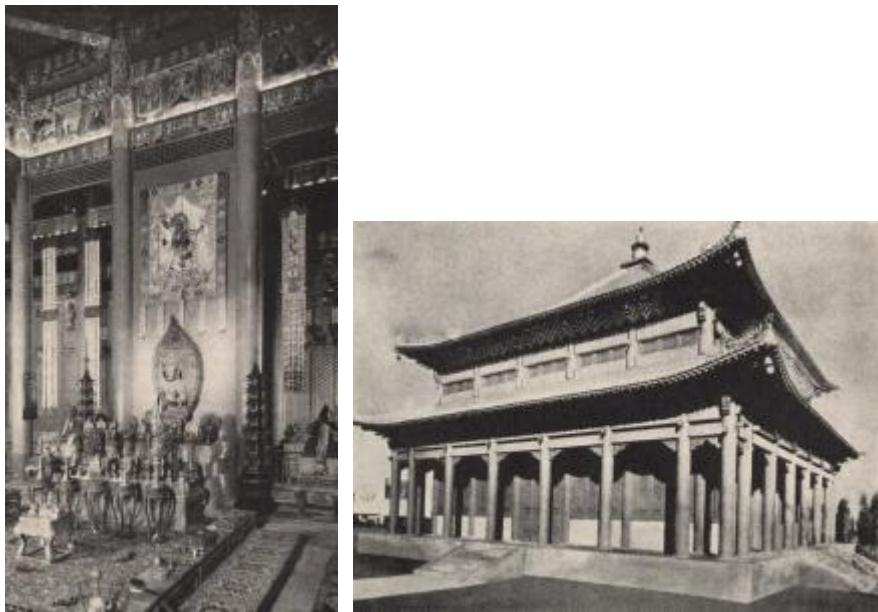


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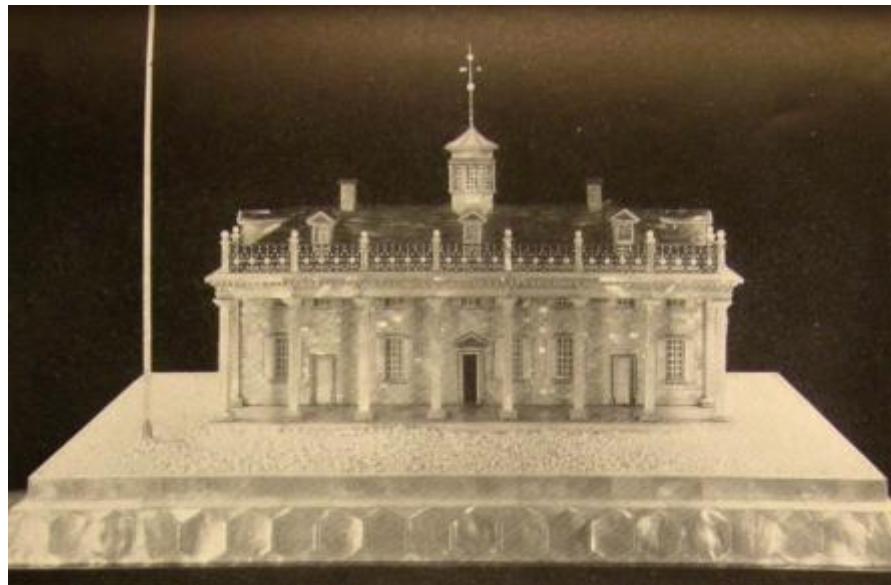


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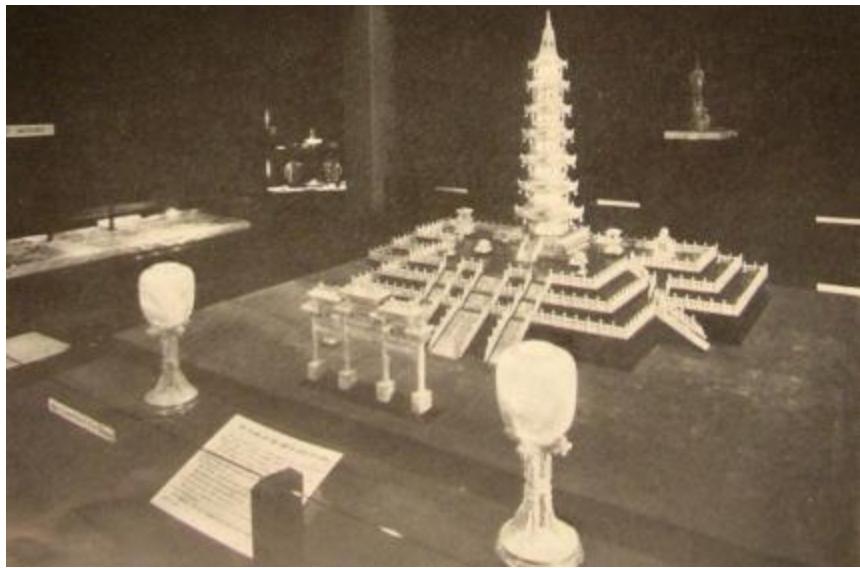


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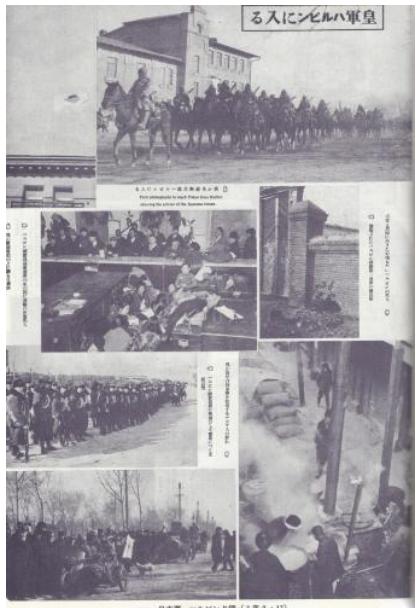


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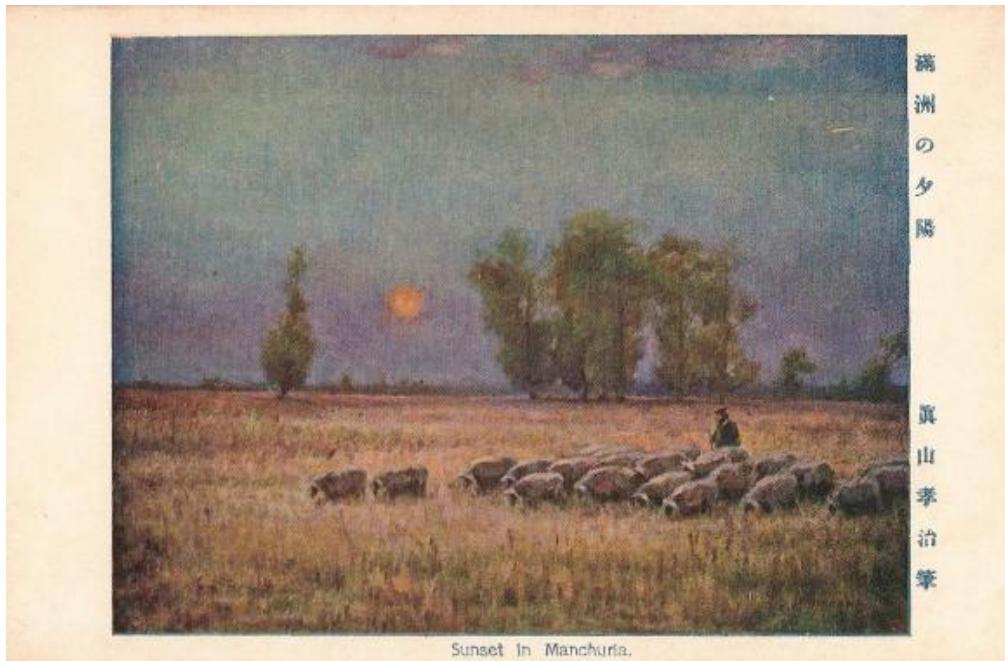


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