

## Representing Empire

# East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture

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# Representing Empire

*Japanese Colonial Literature in Taiwan and Manchuria*

*By*

Ying XIONG



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## Notes

The pinyin system of translation is used for Chinese terms and Hepburn romanisation for Japanese terms. In both languages exceptions are made for words, place names and person names that are familiarly used in English, such as Kuomintang, Tokyo and Sun Yat-sen. All translations of Japanese and Chinese materials here are my own, except where otherwise noted. Asian personal names are given with family name first, personal name(s) second.

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# Series Editors' Foreword

## *East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture*

East Asia is reaching into the world. The number of Chinese students and scholars studying at foreign universities has never been larger, the “Korean wave” washes K-dramas and K-pop ashore all continents, and Japanese manga and anime garner millions of young fans in New Delhi and Cape Town, Oslo and Vladivostok, New York and Rome. Popular culture proves a powerful medium to connect East Asian countries to the world, but also to each other, softening the divisions that the twentieth century has brought to this region.

Much of what a good century ago connected the East Asian “Sinographic Sphere” of China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam—cultures that traditionally relied on the Chinese script and literary language—has disappeared. East Asians around the year 1900 still communicated through the authoritative *lingua franca* of Literary Chinese. For almost two millennia “Chinese-style writing” had been the language of government, scholarship, Buddhism, and belles-lettres: Under China’s hegemony many states adopted Chinese culture and its script during the first millennium CE. During the second millennium Japan, Vietnam, and Korea developed phonographic scripts that led to the gradual abandonment of Chinese characters in Korea and Vietnam and the blossoming of local vernacular literatures. In the early twentieth century reformers inspired by Western ideas of “nation states” and “national languages” spearheaded vernacular movements that swept Chinese-style writing and the intellectual and literary culture that went with it aside.

The death of Literary Chinese as East Asia’s venerable literary language over the past century and its replacement with the English language and Western culture marks an irreversible and little noticed inflection point in the history of humanity: the disappearance of the world’s last cultural sphere where a strongly “logographic” script (recording meaning of “words” rather than “sounds” as “phonographic” alphabets do) had enabled distinctive literary cultures to thrive for almost two millennia. The world history of writing starts with strongly logographic writing systems: Egyptian hieroglyphs, Mesopotamian cuneiform, Chinese characters and Mesoamerican glyphs. Phonographic scripts have long since replaced all but Chinese characters. Thanks to the logographic writing system East Asia’s “bi-literacy”—textual production in Literary Chinese and local vernaculars—functioned quite differently from alphabetic *lingua francas*. Europe’s bilingualism during the Medieval Period was rooted in Latin, both spoken and read. In contrast, Chinese characters allowed East Asians (including speakers of Chinese dialects) to pronounce any given text in Literary Chinese in their local vernacular language.

Thus East Asia shared a “grapholect,” or *scripta franca*, as we should call it more appropriately. In the absence of a common spoken language, people could communicate in “brush talk,” conversing by passing paper back and forth. Around the year 1900 East Asian elites were still part of a shared world of transnational education and *Bildung* through intensive training in the Chinese Classics or a Chinese-style civil service examination system that brought elites in Hanoi and Seoul closer to each other than they were to their fellow peasant countrymen living in a village just outside the capital. The last Chinese-style civil service examinations were held in Vietnam in 1919 under the French colonial government, fourteen years after the abolishment of the examination system in China herself.

The painful history of wars and colonial exploitation in the twentieth century has added yet more visceral divisions and, more recently, economic and military competition have done little to mend rifts. Rather they add to the global stream of daily news that define East Asia, negatively, as a region that fights over history text books and the naming of war events as “massacres” or “incidents,” struggles over appropriate ways to honor the war dead, and quibbles over uninhabited islands. Because national ideologies have come to define East Asia over the past century, the death of East Asia’s bilitery and the shared culture it afforded have gone largely unlamented.

But the awareness of this common heritage is not just of academic relevance or nostalgic interest. Rather, bringing the rich histories of shared and contested legacies back into collective memory within East Asia and into public consciousness throughout the world, while not erasing all the complicated political and ideological issues generated by recent history, will contribute to the creation of a positive transnational identity where Japanese or Koreans will hopefully one day proudly call themselves “East Asians,” just as most French and Germans have overcome their war wounds and both would call themselves “Europeans” today.

This is the most ambitious goal of Brill’s new book series *East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture*. The book series responds to a swiftly growing need as educational curricula, research agendas, and journalistic writing aim for an ever more inclusive global scope. With the increasing international importance of East Asia in economic, political, and cultural terms, more and more scholars and general readers are seeking a better grasp of this part of the world which can boast long-standing histories and traditions as well as vibrating modern cultures.

*East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture* responds to the need for a deeper understanding and appreciation of this region by publishing substantial comparative research on the literary and cultural traditions of East Asia and their relation to the world. We showcase original research on the methodology and practice of comparison, including intra-East Asian comparisons of China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam; East-West comparisons that examine Western alongside East Asian traditions; and

comparative studies that examine East Asian literatures and cultures in the light of their relations with India, the Middle East, Africa, or Latin America. The series focuses on interpretive sciences, that is, the core Humanities of literature, history, religion, philosophy and thought, art history, but also welcomes contributions adopting culturally-informed approaches in archeology, historical geography, anthropology, political science, sociology, or linguistics. It befits our historical moment well to make sure that we as scholars combine comparative analysis with the depth of area-study-expertise and philology, theoretical acumen, and a courageous orientation towards the exploration of fundamental questions. This is the tall order that this book series and its authors are taking on. We are confident, however, that the book series we put forward in response to the rapidly growing interest in the entire East Asian region will make significant contributions to scholarship and mutual understanding and successfully integrate knowledge about and approaches to different literary and cultural traditions through critical examination in comparison.

*Wiebke Denecke and Zhang Longxi*

## Preface

The human dimension to Japanese colonialism will not be as easily traced as the other problems that we have touched upon. [...] When contemporary scholarship begins to populate the Japanese colonial landscape with living, acting individuals, Japanese colonialism will at last begin to take on a humanity, if not a humaneness, which it does not yet possess.<sup>1</sup>

In 1907, a boy named Yamaguchi Shin'ichi was born in Yanagawachō, Fukuoka. A year later, in Fukushima, another boy was born to the Nishikawa family. He was given the name Mitsuru. Before many years had elapsed, they moved to Taiwan and Manchuria, respectively, much like many others of their generation who sought a new life in Japan's acquired territories. During the 1930s and 1940s, both of them played a crucial role in leading the cultural affairs of their adopted abodes, until they were eventually repatriated to Japan after the end of the Second World War.<sup>2</sup>

Like the English writer Joseph Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936), who was born in India in 1865 but was sent to England for schooling before becoming a journalist for *The Civil and Military Gazette* in Lahore, Nishikawa was also educated in metropolitan Japan, after which he started his career in journalism. But unlike Kipling, who travelled the world, Nishikawa wrote his works in Taiwan. Through his substantial output of novels, short stories, and poems and the many journals he founded, Nishikawa became one of the most active Japanese writers in Taiwan and a mentor to many Taiwanese writers. Meanwhile, Yamaguchi, who was trained as a China expert for the South Manchurian Railway Company (*Minami Manshū tetsudō kabushiki kaisha* 南滿洲鉄道株式会社 SMR), was better known by his pen name Ōuchi Takao for his significant output of literary critiques as well as Japanese translations of Chinese literature. (Hereafter I use

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1 Mark R. Peattie, "Introduction," in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*, ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 52.

2 Manchuria was a historical name given to North China rather than a geographical one. In 1906, the Late Qing converted this region into three provinces and appointed a Governor General of the Three North Eastern Provinces to take charge of the area. Since then, its official name has been "Three Northeast Provinces", an administrative unit within China's national borders. However, this area, which came under a melange of Japanese, Russian and German influences in the early twentieth century, was referred to by Japanese and Europeans as Manchuria (*Manshū* 滿洲) or Manchuria and Mongolia (*Manmō* 滿蒙). Associated terms such as South Manchuria (*nanman* 南滿), North Manchuria (*Hokuman* 北滿), and East Mongolia (*Tōmō* 東蒙) were also popular at the time. In this book, I use the term "Manchuria" to refer to activities in this area, reflecting the usage of the primary sources.

Ōuchi Takao rather than Yamaguchi Shin'ichi, to reflect this study's primary interest in his literary career.)

Ōuchi was associated with pan-Asianism and his name was recorded in *The Japanese Communist Movements in Manchuria* in 1932 on suspicion of involvement in communist activities. In contrast, Nishikawa was listed as a war criminal after the end of the Second World War for his active role in imperialist cultural affairs. Yet, these contrasting outcomes cannot conceal the similarity in their life trajectories. In their respective colonial settings, when the total war mobilisation across the empire started, they were drawn into the same enterprise of promoting Japan's imperialism, participating in similar activities, associated with similar cultural expressions. If they had been to the Greater East Asia Writers Convention in the same year, they would have even met in Tokyo. Their literary careers and life experiences were aligned within the single history of Japanese imperialism that had unfolded since the Meiji period.

Ōuchi's and Nishikawa's life experiences were individual and irreproducible, yet not singular. Japan in the early twentieth century generated an unprecedented wave of emigration to acquired colonies:

In 1895, only about 42,000 Japanese had lived abroad, mainly in the continental United States or the Hawaiian islands where they worked as field hands in the sugar plantations, but by 1910 their ranks had swelled to 400,000, with nearly three-quarters living in the colonial territories of Taiwan and Korea [...], the leasehold on the Kwantung peninsula, and the treaty ports in China.<sup>3</sup>

By August 1945, 3.2 million Japanese civilians and 3.7 million soldiers, almost nine percent of the total Japanese population of 72 million, were living somewhere in those acquired territories.<sup>4</sup> The colonial area was four times the size of present-day Japan and its colonised population was as numerous as that of Japanese in metropolitan Japan.<sup>5</sup> Nishikawa's and Ōuchi's life experiences in Taiwan and Manchuria epitomised Japan's overseas imperialist policies since the late Meiji period, divided as they were into northward and southward expansion. The northward expansion was to Korea and Northeast China; while the southward expansion took two routes, one from the Bonin (Ogasawara) Islands to the south of Japan through the Philippines and on into Oceania, and the other through Okinawa, Taiwan and southern China into Southeast Asia. The coexistence of different temporalities in Taiwan and Manchukuo does not suggest that

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3 Peter Duus, *Modern Japan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 201.

4 Ara Takashi 荒敬 ed, *Nihon senryō gaikō kankei shiryō shū* 日本占領外交関係資料集 [Material on Japan's International Relations during the Occupation] (Tokyo: Kashiwa shobō, 1991), 304.

5 John Lie, *Multicultural Japan* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 101.

imperialism is internally inconsistent. Rather, it simply proves that different and even contradictory discourses were capable of existing within the same history of Japan's modernity.

People left Japan for new territories for different reasons. The colonial regimes in Taiwan, Korea, and the Kwantung territories created jobs across a wide range of public service: policemen, mailmen, technicians, clerks, and other petty functionaries. The growth of colonial trade generated business opportunities for shopkeepers, small traders, company employees, restaurant owners, and others engaged in small-scale commerce.<sup>6</sup> Rather than commuting between metropolitan Japan and the colonies, most of these Japanese lived (or fought) on the ground in Japan's empire over a long term. As emigrants, they brought with them into those colonial territories not only Japanese food and customs but also ideas and literature. In addition to territorial occupation by military forces, Japanese imperial expansion in the early twentieth century also entailed a cultural dimension. Colonialism, or imperialism, was not only "a system of bureaucratic mechanisms, legal institutions, and economic enterprises"<sup>7</sup> but also an engine of cultural mobilisation and literary expression. Empire became the typical setting where the "artistic contact nebulae" can be identified when Japanese literature was adapted, translated, and inter-textualised by colonial Koreans and Taiwanese, occupied Manchurians, and semi-colonial Chinese and when it simultaneously drew on resources from the literature and culture of the others.<sup>8</sup>

Migration to colonies and the following process of acting with others also inevitably creates identities, and produces hybridity and the so-called "third space" that blurs the line demarcating the two poles. Li Narangoa and Robert B. Cribb point out that Japan's engagement in Asia from 1895 to 1945 had a strong influence on the national identities of Asian countries, whether inspired by Japan's early success or released from the existing power structures.<sup>9</sup> In some cases, the intensity of the flow of cultures and literatures made distinctions between the colonised and the coloniser seemed "constructed." In other cases, transculturalism inevitably entailed cultural violence; Leo T. S. Ching demonstrates, for example, how the Taiwanese under Japanese colonisation struggled against, while negotiating and even collaborating with, Japanese colonialism during

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6 Duus, *Modern Japan*, 201–202.

7 Peattie, "Introduction," 5.

8 Karen Laura Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturalizations of Japanese Literature* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 5.

9 Li Narangoa and Robert Cribb, "Japan and the Transformation of National Identities in Asia in the Imperial Era," in *Imperial Japan and National Identities in Asia, 1895–1945*, ed. Li Narangoa and Robert Cribb (London: Routledge, 2003).

the processes of cultural assimilation.<sup>10</sup> Yet, in either case, the colonies and the occupied areas were never so marginal as to fall into a one-way relationship with the Japanese empire in which Tokyo alone decided their fate; rather, they entangled with, transformed, and became a part of Japan to such an extent that the Japanese nation-state would be inconceivable today without the previous existence of colonies. Modern Japan in the early twentieth century developed through concurrent processes of “nation-building” and “empire-building”, and thereby became a “Nation-Empire” (*kokumin teikoku* 国民帝国).<sup>11</sup>

The dual historical processes of building a Japanese nation-state and a Japanese empire certainly put those Japanese people who crossed national borders under some strain. The tensions of ideology and identity experienced by those who crossed nation borders have been successfully captured in Sakai Naoki's study of Yokomitsu Riichi's *Shanghai*, in which the Japanese protagonist fails to embrace the cosmopolitanism promised by Marxism and turns instead to Japanese nationalism when he has to hide in a Japanese prostitute's home while waiting for Shanghai's social order, disrupted by proletarian demonstrations, to be restored. Sakai is engaged with the question of how one negotiated the perceived contradiction between one's Japanese national identity and identification with Japan's imperialism. How should the relationship between imperialism (*teikoku shugi* 帝國主義) and nationalism (*kokumin shugi* 国民主義) be conceptualised?<sup>12</sup> This paves the way for the further question: How would Japanese transborderists respond when semi-colonial Shanghai was replaced by a fully colonial situation? What was the reality of life for colonial writers in a no less complex world, but one that was replete with colonial tensions?

In a bid to answer these questions, to reveal the numerous ways the Japanese empire was imagined, and to unveil the conditions and constraints that those Japanese writers living in colonial or imperial areas faced in rendering colonialism and forging their own identities, this book looks beyond Shanghai to Taiwan and Manchuria. It studies the formation of Japanese identity and its reorientation in literature in the 1930s and 1940s in these two places. By drawing upon the examples of Nishikawa Mitsuru (西川満 1908–1999), Ōuchi Takao (大内隆雄 1907–1980) and the writers,

10 See Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming Taiwanese, Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

11 Yamamuro Shin'ichi 山室信一, “Guomin diguo Riben de yifayu tonghe yu chabie 国民帝国日本の異法域統和と差別 [Integration and Discrimination in the Japanese Nation-empire],” *Taiwan lishi yanjiu* 16: 2 (June 2009): 1–22.

12 Sakai Naoki 酒井直樹, “Kokusaisei' ni yotte nani wo mondaika shiyō toshiteiru no ka 国際性によって何を問題化しようとしているのか [What Questions Does Internationality Raise?],” in *Karuchuraru sutadizu to no taiwa* カルチュラル・スタディーズとの対話 [*A Dialogue with Cultural Studies*], ed. Yoshimi Shunya, Hanada Tatsurō, and Colin Sparks (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1999), 288.

researchers, and scholars associated with them, this book investigates the interplay between imperialism, nationalism, and other transnational forces such as pan-Asianism during the era of Japan's territorial expansion in Asia. While the existing literature on the subject has remained largely within the confines of national history, this book uses examples of Japanese colonial literature in Taiwan and Manchuria to show how Japanese nationalism in the twentieth century was shaped by transnational forces such as imperialism and pan-Asianism. I ask: How did Japanese writers who came from metropolitan Japan and lived in Japanese colonies position themselves vis-à-vis Japan's new role as an empire in the twentieth century? What were the different conditions, possibilities, and constraints that they faced in their respective colonial settings? How were fluidity, variety, and heterogeneity reflected in their literary representations, and how were Taiwan and Manchuria correlated in the big picture of Japanese imperialism in Asia?

In order to answer the above questions, I suggest that first of all "Japan" and "Japanese people" need to be demystified. Addressing the historical construction of Japan, Tessa Morris-Suzuki remarks wryly:

Historians of Japan become accustomed to dealing with slippery concepts. They wrestle with definitions of development, modernization, and Westernization; they worry over the application to the Japanese experience of concepts like feudalism, fascism, and democracy. But in all this the one term that seldom appears to need discussion is the word "Japan". Japan seems real and self-explanatory.<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, concepts such as "Japan" and "Japanese people" can reveal their rich connotations and even become meaningful only when they are historicised. In the inter-war period, across the empire, Japanese people were delimited by different political and sociological categories including state, empire, or nation. Various cultural and political apparatuses such as citizenship, nationality and nation, and civilisation and culture were used for the purpose of both integration and differentiation and thus affected the identity of both the Japanese and the colonised. In the colonies, Japanese writers wrestled with these domains while trying to find a position vis-à-vis the social reality they were embedded in. They shifted their identification with "Japan" according to the specificities of their relationship with the process of empire building. For these reasons, the formation of identity in this book will be examined in its specific historical and social context. Rather than taking "Japan" or "*Nihonjin*" as self-evident categories, in this book I historicise the process of "becoming Japanese" for Japanese writers living in colonies, revealing distinct differences as well as similarities in their

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13 Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan: Time Space Nation* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 9.



involvements in colonial projects in different colonial settings and the subsequent different representations of these in literature.

Second, I suggest that the study of Japanese nationalism and Japanese identity in the interwar period must break away from the nation-state pattern and take into account Japan's historical exchange with the Asian others. Less than fifteen years ago, when Andre Schmid wrote on the problematic absence of Korea in Japan's modern historiography, he still saw the persistence of a nation-centred history at the expense of transcendent forces derived from Asia.<sup>14</sup> In narrations of Meiji history (1868–1912), a “self-evident” paradigm largely reigns supreme, as if modern Japan had no interaction with the outside. As can be seen in some works on the Meiji period, “much of the literature is marked by a top-down, metrocentric approach that renders colonial history tangential to the main narratives of the modern Japanese nation.”<sup>15</sup> Even when there are transnational visions, very often the modern history of Japan has been perceived as a history of internalising the West. As Schmid argued in his critique of Carol Gluck's *Japan's Modern Myths*, in this narrative that begins with the promulgation of the constitution and ends with the funeral of the Meiji emperor, Japan's modern history is articulated without empire.<sup>16</sup> The start of modern Japan is placed at 1853 when Admiral Perry led American ships to Japan and demanded the opening of Japanese ports. The subsequent course of events witnessed Japan's rapid Westernisation in response to aggressive Western imperialism. In this history of modern Japan, the highlights as noted by Fukuzawa Yukichi are “breaking away from Asia and entering Europe” (*datsu-A nyū-Ō* 脱亜入欧), the influx of Western knowledge and the Greater East Asia War that resulted from the rivalry with America and Britain. Japan's modern history has been approached from various angles with the West as the sole locus of external change, threat, and influence, and a style of metanarrative that generally means the eclipse of Asia.<sup>17</sup>

This West-dominated historiography continued to hold sway even after the end of the Second World War, aligned with Japan's foreign policy in the early postwar years and its exclusive engagement with the United States.<sup>18</sup> Efforts by historian Tsurumi Shunsuke and other Japanese scholars to frame analysis of the recent past in terms of a prolonged “Fifteen Years War” were trumped by the superimposition of an overtly US-oriented term, the “Pacific War”, a concept that highlighted America's involvement

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14 Andre Schmid, “Colonialism and the ‘Korea Problem’ in the Historiography of Modern Japan: A Review Article,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59: 4 (2000): 951.

15 Ibid., 952.

16 Ibid., 955.

17 Ibid.

18 Sebastian Conrad, “Entangled Memories: Versions of the Past in Germany and Japan, 1945–2001,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 38: 1 (2003): 87.

in the Asia Pacific theatre while playing down the sacrifice of Asian countries.<sup>19</sup> Immediately after the war, nearly all the Japanese national newspapers devoted themselves to inculcating the Japanese people with an American version of the war. This slant contributed strongly to ensuring that no substantial justice was afforded to Japan's Asian neighbours.<sup>20</sup> After entering the Cold War era, the continued hegemony of the United States ingrained in Japan a neglect of Asian perspectives.<sup>21</sup> Japan's interaction with its near neighbours is at best downplayed. Many historians and even post-colonial theorists have been blinded by a history of Japan's interaction with the West. In some cases, their studies come "precariously close to reproducing versions of Japanese colonial discourse."<sup>22</sup>

Correspondingly, in the cultural and literary dimension, the narrative of modern Japanese literature has been narrowly confined within national borders.<sup>23</sup> As part of the national discourse of modernity, the lineage of Japanese modern literature progresses along the lines of Tsubouchi Shōyō's *The Essence of the Novel*, via Natsume Sōseki, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, and Kawabata Yasunari. Literary history is thus unaccustomed to contemplating factors that stretch beyond the national border. Compared to the large body of studies of Japanese national literature, research on colonial literature has a relatively peripheral position. Only very recently, Kimberly Kono has taken pains to remind us that the literary production of Japanese colonialism has been positioned as a "significant other" to the history of Japanese national literature.<sup>24</sup> Japanese colonial literature produced in transnational contexts has been almost forgotten by the orthodox literary history centered on the nation-state. Despite the fact that Nishikawa's novel *Meeting with the Beauty* (*Kaishinki* 会真記) was awarded the Natsume Sōseki Award in 1947 and his another three stories were nominated for the Akutagawa Award (1941 and 1942) and the Naoki Award (1949), he was largely forgotten

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19 When the Second Sino-Japanese war erupted in 1937, what Japan proposed was a concept of "New Order in East Asia", fully disclosing its concern with Asia. The slogan was later modified into the "New Order of Greater East Asia". The use of "Greater East Asia" was prevalent in imperialist propaganda in the 1940s. However, similar to the term employed by American academia, many Japanese historians also opted to use "Asia-Pacific War" when examining Japan's Shōwa history. Sandra Wilson, "Rethinking the 1930s and the '15-Year War' in Japan," *Japanese Studies* 21: 2 (2001): 155–164.

20 Conrad, "Entangled Memories," 91.

21 It is for this reason that this study adopts the name of "the Greater East Asian War" instead of the conventional "Pacific War".

22 Schmid, "Colonialism and the 'Korea Problem,'" 952.

23 Ibid., 951–976. According to Andre Schmid, the big problem in studying Japanese history is an insistence on treating colonial history as external history.

24 Kimberly T. Kono, *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 147.

by those scholars of Japanese national literature.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, rather than repeating the story of Japan's learning from the West or perpetuating the canon of Japanese national literature, my book seeks to explore Japanese colonial writers' exploration of Asian cultural resources. Japanese-language colonial literature produced in former colonial settings reveals how Japanese modern history was a history of interacting with other Asian countries in which various institutions, educational processes, and publication networks in Tokyo and the colonies all participated in the production of colonial knowledge that rationalised the colonial order. The various literary texts to be discussed in this book provide an overview of Japan's cultural contact with the Asian others.

Third, in addition to the Asian perspective, I recognise the full weight of colonial history, taking it as a form of transnational force. In studies of Japanese nationalism, external influences such as war and international relationships have been noted from an early stage. For example, Delmer Myers Brown suggests that the "[first] Sino-Japanese War was a product of the force of modern nationalism in Japan, as well as a powerful stimulus for a further growth of the phenomenon."<sup>26</sup> Rather than being confined to an internal perspective, Brown argues that "nationalism does not become a significant sociopsychological force until the elements have been activated by social and intellectual developments."<sup>27</sup> But from Russian pressure to the Sino-Japanese War and even to the Manchurian Incident, Japanese nationalism has largely remained a pre-existing entity to be "activated". It pre-existed, with its essentiality, before the arrival of wars. The historical process of nation-state formation and internationalism has been described as starting with families forming tribes, after which several tribes form a state and the nation, and finally nations interact closely to bring about internationality. Nation or nationalism was perceived as the precondition of all other transnational and international developments.<sup>28</sup> The theory of ultra-nationalism that emerged in the post-war period has a similar logic, positioning imperialism as an excess of nationalism. The question that then arises is whether it is possible to treat Japanese nationalism as the prerequisite for imperialism, as if the former pre-exists the advent of the latter.

Recent research has started to look into the role of global forces in shaping nationalism. A centre in such a narrative of nation is less evident. Studying the formation of

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25 Nakajima Toshirō 中島利郎, *Nishikawa Mitsuru zen shoshi* 西川満全書志 [*Complete Bibliography of Nishikawa Mitsuru*] (Tokyo: Chūgoku bungei kenkyūkai, 1993), 49.

26 Delmer Myers Brown, *Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Historical Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), 130.

27 *Ibid.*, 2.

28 Sebastian Conrad, "Globalization Effects: Mobility and Nation in Imperial German, 1880–1914," *Journal of Global History* 3 (2008): 45.

German nationalism, for example, Sebastian Conrad points out that even the radicalisation of imperial Germany's nationalism, which has mostly been explained in internalist terms, was partly a reaction to transnational interactions, one example of which was migration. Rather than standing as pre-existing entity, "nationalism in the German *Kaiserreich* was shaped by the global conjuncture."<sup>29</sup> In his study of Chinese nationalism, Arif Dirlik also argues for the correlation between nationalism and colonialism. Although nationalism and globalization usually are often taken to be contradictory, and they are, but, he argues, "contradiction is not just about opposition; it also presupposes unity."<sup>30</sup> As he further explains, "the relationship between nationalism and globalization parallels that between nationalism and colonialism. Colonialism generated nationalism in opposition to it but was instrumental for the same reason in the global spread of nationalism."<sup>31</sup> Globalisation and colonialism are the two transnational forces that generate nationalism.

Similar to Arif Dirlik, Rebecca Karl posits that a sense of global modernity was a precondition for the formation of Chinese nationalism at the turn of the twentieth century. Nationalism, she asserts, is "endowed with translocal significance precisely because of the emergence of nationalism globally."<sup>32</sup> The understanding of the modern world as a synchronous but unevenly developed entirety and the conceptualisation of the world in its globality generated Chinese nationalism. In other words, China became thinkable as a nation only when "China became consciously worldly."<sup>33</sup>

Capitalism is another global force that has shaped the formation of nationalism. Hyun Ok Park, for example, by taking a social approach in her study of nation formation in Manchuria, ascribes nationalism to the contradictory logic of capitalist expansion. The book's title, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, reveals the theme of her research, and the activities and identities of both the Japanese colonists and the Koreans and Chinese nationalists who occupied the same "bed" of capitalism. She argues that "whereas the relation between capitalism and nationalism has been explored mainly in terms of the effect of the latter on the former, it also involves the other side of the equation."<sup>34</sup> Therefore, "Korean migration was not simply derivative of colonization"; rather, with the spread of capitalism, it also enabled Japan "to strategize osmotic

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29 Ibid.

30 Arif Dirlik, "Architectures of Global Modernity, Colonialism, and Places," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 17: 1 (2005): 46.

31 Ibid.

32 Rebecca E. Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 24.

33 Ibid., 151.

34 Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 13.

expansion.”<sup>35</sup> Her integration of the complicated interplay of capitalism, colonialism, and nationalism challenges postcolonial readings of nationalism such as that found in the work of Partha Chatterjee, who assumes the unity of anti-colonial nationalism and overlooks the cleavages occasioned by capitalism. Rather than forming an internally homogeneous entity, nationalism and other social relations were unstable, due to the incomplete nature of capitalism. Similarly, as formidable as the colonial capacity to determine reality was, especially when backed by overwhelming military force and economic privileges, “multiple discourses and representations were circulated and modified, and sometimes collided” within the single colonial history.<sup>36</sup>

Imperialism and colonialism that did not exert authority “through a single, cohesive, and consistent ideology,”<sup>37</sup> also resulted in contradictory manifestations of Japanese nationalism. Regarding the relation between nationalism and imperialism, Hilary Conroy, for instance, suggests that “there seem to be, at least, three types of nationalism.” The first is the revolutionary or popular nationalism that “seeks to overthrow an oppressive autocratic or alien rule and establish a self-determined nation whose people rule themselves.”<sup>38</sup> The second can be called liberal or democratic nationalism that seeks to maintain the interests of its people.<sup>39</sup> The third is the integral or state nationalism that “demands strict conformity at home and engages in militant expansion abroad.”<sup>40</sup> In her study of colonial literature and Japanese identity, Kimberly T. Kono has discovered that Japan’s expansion was imagined throughout the empire in various ways. While some writers sought to reinforce the ties between Japan and its colonies, others attempted to assert individual and collective identities independent of Japan’s colonising influence.<sup>41</sup>

Can these different types of nationalism be reconciled with each other? Are they really different types, or are they merely different stages in the process of its development? Conroy sought to explain how Japan by 1900 had developed liberal nationalism, but that as the country was buffeted by depression and insecurity in the 1930s that nationalism ran its “natural” course and turned into integral nationalism. This might be the same question that Maruyama Masao was obsessed with. People who advocate “good” or “liberal” forms of nationalism often argue for the positive connection

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35 Ibid., 47.

36 Ibid., 4.

37 Michele M. Mason and Helen Lee, “Introduction,” in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, ed. Michele M. Mason and Helen Lee (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 3.

38 Hilary Conroy, “Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism,” *The American Historical Review* 60: 4 (July 1955): 819.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Kono, *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature*, 11.

between nationalism and democracy, and they often find examples in the French Revolution. In contrast, the “bad” or suppressive nationalism is said to have its origin in Johann Gottlieb Fichte’s “Addresses to the German Nation” (*Reden an die deutsche Nation*) in 1813.<sup>42</sup> In Maruyama’s theory, these two types of nationalism cannot be reconciled with each other; Conroy meanwhile has found a solution to explain the appearance of contradictory forms of Japanese nationalism in various historical stages: Japan’s expansionism. The modern history of Japan was one of different competing forms of nationalism that would all be integrated in the single history of Japan’s expansionism. For example, during the first Sino-Japanese War, she suggests, a popular enthusiasm fired official nationalism. But facing the Triple Intervention, nationalism again became “official”.<sup>43</sup> The introduction of a historical process of expansionism into the concept of Japanese nationalism complicates our understanding of nationalism, which has long been imagined as an internally homogeneous entity. It contains liberating possibilities as well as statist, exclusive, and expansive ones.

Yet, nationalism in the Japanese colonies could be even more heterogeneous if it is studied from a colonial perspective, taking the relation between metropolis and colonies into consideration. As Hobson has suggested, colonial “local conditions may generate a separate nationalism based on a strong consolidation of colonial interests and sentiments alien from and conflicting with those of the mother nation.”<sup>44</sup> Writers living in Taiwan and Manchuria responded differently to the synchronous processes of nation-state building and the formation of a multi-national empire, as demonstrated in their various views regarding what constituted the colonial literature and what was the meaning of local. Furthermore, the identity and the conceptualisation of Japan as a “Nation-Empire” could differ even within the same colonial location, shaped by various social conditions. For example, concerning Japan’s colonial governance of Taiwan, researchers and scholars worked at Taipei Imperial University had different views from Nishikawa who was trained in French literature. For these reasons, this book studies Japanese nationalism as a historical process against the backdrop of contradicting voices in the colonies. It seeks to identify the relationship between Taiwan and Manchuria as well as that between them and the metropolis. Japanese nationalism in Taiwan and Manchukuo had very different manifestations, deployed via different categories such as nation, national subjects and state that were not necessarily utilised separately, but were commonly combined and interwoven in complex ways.

42 Oguma Eiji 小熊英二, “*Minshu*” to “*aikoku*”: *senjo Nihon no nashonarizumu to kōkyōsei* 「民主」と「愛国」: 戦後日本のナショナリズムと公共性 [*Democracy and Patriotism: Nationalism and the Public Sphere in Post-War Japan*] (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2002), 84–90.

43 Conroy, “Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism,” 826.

44 J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism, a Study* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938), 6.

The complexity of nationalism in the colonies partly derives from the fact that it was mediated by and even realised through Japanese pan-Asianists. For example, as Eri Hotta argues, many Japanese pan-Asianists “did not go to war believing that they were oppressing their fellow Asians”, nor were the principles they espoused mere “hollow euphemisms for national egoism”.<sup>45</sup> From the moment of the defeat in 1945, Japan’s pan-Asianism lost standing due to its fateful connection to Japanese imperialism and the role it played in legitimising Japan’s empire-building project in the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>46</sup> The research on pan-Asianism in the 1950s was more inclined to treat it as a movement or ideology that was nationalist, if not imperialist. This is evident in books published in both Japanese and English. In an analysis of Japanese pan-Asianists, for example, Jansen has argued that even the word “idealist” is not suitable to describe the life trajectory of Miyazaki Torazō, who helped Mori Kaku to put the idea of purchasing Manchuria to Sun Yat-sen in 1913, because it would imply “a corresponding lack of nationalism”.<sup>47</sup> Later Japanese researchers such as Nakajima Makoto, Matsumoto Ken’ichi, and Yamamuro Shin’ichi among others have also opted to assign pan-Asianists such as Kita Ikki, Ōkawa Shūmei, and Tōyama Mitsuru and some of those active in Manchuria to the category of ultranationalists.<sup>48</sup> The editors of *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History* that has been published recently, while arguing that “it would be an exaggeration to claim that pan-Asianism formed an important component of any totalitarian developments in modern Asia”, still feel it necessary to concede that “one cannot overlook the connection between pan-Asianism and Japanese ultranationalism.”<sup>49</sup> At the core of pan-Asianist ideology or movements stood Japanese nationalism. These views are in accord with studies on pan-Germanism in Europe, where scholars have generally agreed on the existence of a close relationship between pan-movements and nationalism as well as on the linkage to imperialism. In research reflecting on German Nazism, for example, both Hannah Arendt and Louis Leo Snyder

45 Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan’s War: 1931–1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 233.

46 Sven Saaler and Christopher W.A. Szpilman, “Introduction: The Emergence of Pan-Asianism as an Ideal of Asian Identity and Solidarity, 1850–2008,” in *Pan-Asianism, a Documentary History*, vol. 2, ed. Sven Saaler and Christopher W.A. Szpilman (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 10.

47 Marius B. Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 218.

48 See Nakajima Makoto 中嶋誠, *Ajia shugi no kōbō* アジア主義の光芒 [*The Light of Asianism*] (Tokyo: Gendai shokan, 2001); Matsumoto Ken’ichi 松本健一, *Shisō toshite no uyoku* 思想としての右翼 [*The Right Wing in Terms of Ideology*] (Tokyo: Daisan bunmeisha, 1976); and Yamamuro Shin’ichi 山室信一, *Kimera: Manshūkoku no shōzō* キメラ: 満洲国の肖像 [*Chimera: A Portrait of Manchukuo*] (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1993).

49 Saaler and Szpilman, “Introduction,” 10.



tend to agree that pan-Germanism was just an instance of “extended nationalisms” or “origins of totalitarianism”.<sup>50</sup>

A new perspective on Japanese pan-Asianism during the early half of the twentieth century, however, has emerged. Duara, for example, points out that Japan's pan-Asianism after 1919 worked as Japan's anti-imperialist force against Western imperialism.<sup>51</sup> Though still aligned with Japanese nationalism, Duara suggests that pan-Asianism turned into a “positive” force that fought against imperialism. The form of nationalism that Japan's pan-Asianism corresponded to was thus no longer merely the ultranationalism that leads to war, but also the anti-imperialist nationalism inherent in imperialism. In fact, in Manchuria, pan-Asianists such as Ōuchi went so far as to prefer pan-Asianism over Japanese nationalism; Ōuchi would reject ideas of a Japanese nation and Japanese state in the wake of the Manchurian Incident. The anti-imperialist elements within pan-Asianism not only resisted Western imperialism but also led to a reconceptualisation of the Japanese imperialist project in Manchuria.

Should we then call pan-Asianism an *anti*-nationalist force in order to save the narrative of nationalism's homogeneity from the disturbance of deviations? Or should we build up a more flexible framework of nationalism so that pan-Asianism can be included in the discussion of Japanese nationalism? I suggest that the relation between Japanese pan-Asianism in the early twentieth century and imperialism had twin facets, both feeding and resisting imperialism, due to its contingent character. A Western imperialism that placed the non-Western world in subjection formed the world system that both China and Japan were attempting to join. Then, a sense of Asian alliance emerged to produce a concept of Asia that had the strategic momentum to combat the Western-dominated world system.<sup>52</sup> In Manchukuo, a large group of Japanese pan-Asianists including Ōuchi were busy searching for the unique road. Pan-Asianism also affected the literary production of those Chinese writers with whom he worked. However, like pan-Asianism in many other places in Asia, Manchurian pan-Asianism also associated itself with the claim that Japan had a responsibility to bring material modernity to Asia because it had mastered Western civilisation earlier than any of its Asian neighbours.<sup>53</sup> The mission of spreading modernity in the Manchurian literary arena was articulated in the language of translating Japanese literature.

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50 Louis L. Snyder, *Macro-nationalisms: A History of the Pan-movements* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984), 5. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1985), 222.

51 Prasenjit Duara, “Nationalism, Imperialism, Federalism, and the Example of Manchukuo,” *Common Knowledge* 12: 1 (2006): 49–50.

52 Rebecca E. Karl, “Creating Asia: China in the World at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century,” *The American Historical Review* 103: 4 (1998): 1096.

53 Prasenjit Duara, “The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism,” *Journal of World History* 21: 1 (2001): 99.



Japanese nationalism in Taiwan and Manchukuo had very different manifestations, deployed via different categories such as nation, national subjects, and state that were not necessarily utilised separately, but were commonly combined and interwoven in complex ways. The different articulations of nationalism to some extent, however, disappeared after 1937, when the various colonial settings were bound more closely to the empire. The idea of “making subjects of the Japanese empire” prevailed in both Taiwan and Manchuria. Literary themes and concepts such as “local literature” and romanticism also emerged almost simultaneously in Taiwan and Manchuria. The research network across the empire cooperated in turning any form of knowledge of the others into “colonial power”. It is from this sense that this book takes the formation of Japanese identity, the manifestations of Japanese nationalism and their reorientations of colonial literature in Taiwan and Manchuria not as purely local, regional or colonial content, but rather as part of Japan’s modern history, in which imperialism integrated colonies with metropolitan Japan.

### Structure of the Book

Between its introduction and conclusion, this book is divided into three major parts. It aims to tell the stories of the Japanese writers, translators, and researchers working at the imperial universities as well as to offer a theoretical inquiry into the fields of Japanese colonial literature and Japanese colonial history. A textual analysis, a narrative of the personal experiences of the writers, and an outline of colonial policy developments all attempt to answer seminal questions raised in the introductory chapter regarding existing theories on colonial literature, colonial identities, and Japanese nationalism.

The introductory chapter places this inquiry into Japanese colonial literature and colonial identities within the broad context of Japan’s intertwined histories of empire and nation. It aims to show the importance of the conceptualisation of the idea of nation during the process of Japan’s empire-building. Instead of racial differences—a category widely used to justify colonial superiority in some European cases—Japan’s colonial rule in Taiwan and Manchuria in the 1930s and 1940s relied heavily on racial affinity with its Asian neighbours. Therefore, concepts such as “nation” and “culture” played a central role in sustaining the seemingly paradoxical colonial project. This gave a special hue to Japanese colonial literature in these two colonial holdings, generating pan-Asianism and the prevalence of cultural and literary translation. By drawing a broad picture of the colonial policies, demographic status, and cultural and literary influences of both Taiwan and Manchuria from a comparative perspective, I seek to demonstrate not only that Japan’s colonial history of Taiwan and Manchuria shared a mutual history with Japan’s modernity, but also that Japanese colonial literature was

inextricably entwined with the histories of other nations, disciplines, and cultures. This argument will be further elaborated upon in Part III of the book.

The introductory chapter is followed by two specific case studies of Taiwan and Manchuria in which I explore new literary and historical materials. Ranging from early education experiences to participation in colonial affairs later on, each part contributes to a thorough investigation of the lives of the Japanese writers in their respective colonial settings.

Part I of the book concerns Nishikawa and his ambivalent identification with the Japanese empire in the specific colonial setting of Taiwan. From an analysis of his early poetry (Chapter One), to that of his writing on “Taiwanese folklore” (Chapter Two), and to that of his historical novel, *The Red Fort*, which is the focus of Chapter Three, the first part of the book revolves around questions such as how Nishikawa’s colonial literature and identity developed as a result of interactions with other cultures, and of the influences from the social and historical settings of Taiwan. Firstly, this part reveals that the Japanese poetry tradition and Japan’s national literature as a “shared history” became the cultural resources that Nishikawa used to develop his own identification with Japan as a nation. Secondly, it demonstrates that the progress of Japanese colonialisation in Taiwan yielded new inventions of national traditions, which transformed Nishikawa’s understanding of both the empire and the nation.

Part II explores the tension between Japan’s imperialist project in Manchukuo and Ōuchi’s identity as a China expert and translator influenced by the transnational forces of both pan-Asianism and imperialism. In contrast to Nishikawa’s persistent struggle for recognition from metropolitan Japan, the complexity of the Manchurian intellectual composition was formed by the contradictions within transnational utopianism, itself a complex mix of pan-Asianism and Japanese imperialism. An account of his first-hand experience with China’s national revolution and the Manchurian Incident in 1931 facilitates our understanding of how Ōuchi’s identity may have been shaped by his interaction with Chinese writers, and how his own pan-Asian sentiments may have influenced his overall perceptions. It situates Ōuchi’s engagement with Chinese literary work as well as his translation of them into the broad context of Manchukuo’s social and political milieu. In order to reveal the strategies employed in colonial translation, I offer a detailed examination of the social background of translation and literary practices in the late 1930s and early 1940s as well as a textual analysis of Ōuchi’s translations of Chinese works in Chapters Five and Six. Important questions raised in these chapters include: Why and how did translation become a political means in Manchukuo? And how did those Chinese writers and Ōuchi manage to avoid Manchukuo’s various social and political confinements in their respective writings and translations? This part as a whole demonstrates that translation enabled Ōuchi to imagine his identity in a relationship to the “other”, the subjugated side of Manchukuo, in a unique way.

Most existing literature on Japanese imperialism in either Taiwan or Manchuria is still largely confined to respective geographical boundaries, and thus unable to perceive the interconnectedness and contrasts across the empire. Part III of the book is therefore dedicated to unravelling some of these complexities that to date have been left unexplored—that is, approaching the Japanese empire in a comparative yet integrated manner. It connects the history of metropolitan Japan with the colonies (Chapter Eight and Chapter Night), while applying an interdisciplinary approach to the study of colonial literature (Chapter Seven). By combining the individual case studies of Nishikawa and Ōuchi, along with a discussion of their exchanges, the chapters in Part III seek to demonstrate that the colonial settings of Taiwan and Manchuria represented a confluence of various cultural and historical traditions; yet they shared a common history with metropolitan Japan. Before 1937, Japanese colonisation in Taiwan demonstrated an exclusive logic that took pains to establish Japanese colonial authority and priority. In contrast, with the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932, various cultural means such as the rhetoric of national harmony were employed to legitimate the founding of this new region. Yet, when Japan's southward intrusion and the Co-Prosperity Sphere emerged as the principal policy, Taiwan and Manchuria were reorganised to conform to the blueprint. Literary and cultural activities began to assimilate and correlate when the concept of "Japan's people" was seen to play a significant role in managing human and material resources. A broad picture of the Japanese empire emerges in Part III. It demonstrates that only within the scope of comparative literature can Japanese colonial literature and identity, as well as the literary history of modern Japan—which has often been obscured and perpetuated by the entrenched literary canon—reveal their full richness.

I follow my separate discussions of Nishikawa and Ōuchi as well as my comparative analysis of the literary and cultural aspects of these two colonial settings with a conclusion that engages both the history of post-war Japan as well as current important issues regarding East Asia. Post-war Japan was marked by continuity, rather than rupture, with the colonial period. Instead of ending the complexity of national identification, Japan's surrender to the Allied Forces on 15 August 1945 reinforced it. Both Nishikawa and Ōuchi left accounts of their experiences living in Japan's colonial periphery. These texts lead to a reflection on Asian nationalism in the post-war period. With its transnational, interdisciplinary, and comparative approach, this book is highly relevant in the context of existing studies in Japanese colonial literature and history; it seeks to make contributions to the growing field of East Asian comparative literature that looks beyond the established canon confined by a single national and literary boundary.



# Introduction

## The Colonial History of Taiwan and Manchuria

Taiwan and Manchuria, two parts of Japan's intertwined histories of empire and nation, were both under Japanese occupation in the early twentieth century and both had been under Chinese influence prior to Japanese occupation. They stood for two separate goals of modern Japan. Taiwan represented the breakthrough of the southward policy that had already germinated in the Meiji era; the establishment of Manchukuo, however, in the first decade of the Shōwa era largely determined the direction of Japan's foreign policy. The outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, for instance, highlighted the overwhelming dominance of the Army. Taiwan at that time was a formal colony governed by Tokyo-appointed governors-general; Manchuria, on the other hand, had a dethroned Chinese emperor as its head. Nevertheless, both regions co-existed in the empire. After the announcement of Japan's new order policy in Asia in 1938, the Japanese empire gave parallel prominence to both the South and the continent. These two places, separated yet intertwined, stood as significant holdings of the empire.

### *Colonialism and Its Japanese Mutation*

Taiwan was ceded to Japan by Qing China "in perpetuity" in 1895 under the provisions of the Treaty of Shimonoseki at the end of the First Sino-Japanese War (1 August 1894–17 April 1895). It gradually became for its acquirer a "large and productive island [which] could furnish provisions and raw materials for Japan's expanding economy and [...] a ready market for Japanese goods."<sup>1</sup> In addition, possession of Taiwan provided the advantage of a strategic position for the Japanese navy. After an initial period of rebellion and turbulence, colonial reform was officially launched in 1898 when Kodama Gentarō (児玉源太郎 1852–1906) assumed the Taiwan Governor-Generalship and Gotō Shinpei (後藤新平 1857–1929) was appointed the civil minister of Taiwan. In order to meet the needs of Japan, Taiwan was guided towards a role as a colony specialising in agricultural products such as rice, sugar, and camphor.<sup>2</sup> Having gone through a relatively peaceful period of development, Taiwan was then reshaped into an industrialised colony in 1936, forming the base for Japan's new southward advance in preparation for the Greater East Asia War. After

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<sup>1</sup> Harry J. Lamley, "Taiwan Under Japanese Rule, 1895–1945," in *Taiwan: a New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 203.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

the Japanese government's announcement of its "Outline of National Policy" (*kokusaku yōkō* 国策要綱) in 1936, Taiwan started to function as the base for Japan's conquest of vast areas in the South, and in its search for oil that could further fuel the Japanese army.<sup>3</sup> This conversion of Taiwan to the role of a wartime industrial base represented its final stage of development as a component of Japan's empire. Before 1936, Taiwan had served as an agricultural base to ease Japan's financial problems and food shortages. After 1936, it became an industrial base that would allow the vision of a "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" to come to fruition.

In the early twentieth century, Manchuria was a contested area, with China, Russia, and Japan all vying for the upper hand. Japan's interests in the Kwantung Peninsula were hindered by Russia, which won military control over Manchuria in the Boxer crisis of 1900. However, Russia then lost the Russo-Japanese War and Japan obtained the lease on the Kwantung Peninsula and took over the Russian-built South Manchurian Railway as a trophy. The area of the so-called South Manchurian Railway zone was only 260 square kilometers, either side of a railway line that was 1,105 kilometers long.<sup>4</sup> In 1906, the South Manchurian Railway Company (SMR) was established, which led to a further Japanese economic and military penetration into the Manchurian region. The conflicting interests between the Japanese and the Chinese in this area eventually led to a military invasion. On 18 September 1931, the Japanese Kwantung Army used the pretext of the Manchurian Incident (*Manshū jihen* 滿洲事變), and quickly wrested control of Northeast China.<sup>5</sup> The puppet state of Manchukuo was founded only six months after the Incident, and the former Qing Xuantong emperor Puyi (溥儀 1906–1967) was installed as its titular head. In order to pacify Chinese nationalist sentiment, as well as suspicions within the international community, Japanese interests (official, academic and commercial) sought to clothe the new entity with ideals encapsulated in slogans such as "Concord of five nations" (*gozoku kyōwa* 五族協和) and "Kingly Way" (Ch. *wang dao* and J. *ōdō* 王道).

Taiwan and Manchuria experienced very different colonial governance, the history of which is extensively detailed in three volumes on Japanese imperialism in Asia—*The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945, Japan's*

3 Mark R. Peattie, "Nanshin: the 'Southward Advance,' 1931–1941, as a Prelude to the Japanese Occupation of Southeast Asia," in *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945*, ed. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 215–216.

4 Mark Driscoll, *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1895–1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 29.

5 The September 18 Incident (*Jiu yi ba shibian* 九·一八事變) or the Liutiaogou Incident (*Liutiao gou shibian* 柳条沟事變) are the terms favoured by the Chinese side.

*Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937*, and *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945*—edited by Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie. In their analysis, the “Japanese colonial empire” included “Taiwan, Korea, Karafuto (Southern Sakhalin), the Kwantung Leased Territory on the Liaotung peninsula, and the Nan’yo (the Japanese mandate islands of Micronesia),” but did not cover areas such as “the settlements in the treaty ports and railway zones in Manchuria, as well as the wartime conquests in China, Southeast Asia, and the South Pacific from 1931 to 1945.”<sup>6</sup> The “informal empire” of the second volume refers to the treaty ports and railway zones in Manchuria before 1931, interests which were mainly gained through the unequal treaty system.<sup>7</sup> Discussion of Manchukuo after 1932 was left to the third book in the series, where it was placed under the heading “Japan’s Wartime Empire and Northeast Asia.” The authors present the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 as the beginning of an “ill-considered” adventure “beyond the boundaries of the formal empire”, a turning point in the “rational” expansion of Japan since the Meiji period.<sup>8</sup>

In contrast to Peattie’s understanding of Manchuria as the irrational betrayal of the Meiji goal of modernisation, Prasenjit Duara sees Japan’s engagement with Manchuria as an opportunity to disseminate ideologies and institutions of modernity, a chance to deviate from the old mode of colonial governance in Korea or Taiwan. He argues that “no matter how imperialistic the intentions of its builders, Manchukuo was not developed as a colony, but as a nation-state”, for its novelty in many aspects.<sup>9</sup> Manchukuo in his view should be “distinguished not only from pre-modern states, but also from most nineteenth-century colonial states”, because of its highly advanced urban industry and economy.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, however, he also admits:

What made Manchukuo different from Italy, Germany, the Soviet Union, or Japan was that it did not have the legitimacy of a nation. In a time when nation-states represented the “will of the people”, the Manchukuo regime claimed instead to represent the essence of Asian culture.<sup>11</sup>

6 Mark R. Peattie, “Preface,” in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*, ed. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), ix.

7 Peter Duus, “Japan’s Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937, An Overview,” in *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937*, ed. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), xi–xxix.

8 Peattie, “Introduction,” 57.

9 Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 1.

10 Duara, “Nationalism, Imperialism, Federalism and the Example of Manchukuo,” 60.

11 Ibid.

Instead of the nation-states sovereignty, one of the typical ideologies that contributed to Manchukuo's claim to cultural authenticity was pan-Asianism. Central to Japan's continental policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Manchuria became the stage for many Japanese pan-Asianists, amongst whom were Japanese Sinologists. In Manchuria, pan-Asianist ideology became the pivotal driving force that shaped the course of Japanese nationalism there. Manchuria was initially a settlement destination for many lower-class farmers and city dwellers from both China and Japan. In addition, it attracted leftists fleeing Japan. As Louise Young has observed, "[c]ircumstances brought left-wing researchers and right-wing officers together in the puppet state and there they remained, strange bedfellows until the arrests of the early 1940s."<sup>12</sup> Far from being an ideological constant, Japanese pan-Asianism in Manchuria represented an array of conflicting aspirations.

Duara's new scholarship on colonial histories has helped to theorise the concept of colonialism itself. For a long time the term was defined in a narrow way, linked to territorial expansions reliant on violence. Japanese expansion in Manchuria highlights the imperative to produce a new frame that enables the discussion of diversity within the Japanese empire. Louise Young coined the term "total imperialism" to discuss the cultural dimensions involved. Young argues that "total imperialism" covers both formal colonial institutions such as "the Kwangtung governor general and the Manchukuo government" and "such informal methods of control as military threat, market dominance, and the cultivation of a collaborative elite."<sup>13</sup> As demonstrated by colonialism elsewhere, "the dividing-lines between formal territorial control and various forms of indirect rule, economic control and imperialist infiltration were often vague and indistinct."<sup>14</sup> In the admittedly somewhat exceptional case of Egypt, a country that claimed its independence in 1922, the British Consul-General retained the role of adviser exercising an array of powers that exceeded those of almost any contemporary colonial government.<sup>15</sup> Japan's imperialism, spanning different colonial modes in Taiwan and Manchukuo, thus complicates our understanding of the general history of colonialism in the twentieth century, superseding the demarcations of formal and informal.

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12 Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 269.

13 Ibid., II.

14 Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 13.

15 Ibid.



## The Latecomer's Quest for Colonial Modernity

The way in which Taiwan and Manchuria both connected with and differed from each other was determined by Japan's status as a "latecomer" in the imperialist carving up of the world. Manchukuo was founded in the shadow of changing international political constraints during the time of the Manchurian Incident. Following the end of the First World War, the decline of colonial control in Asia, combined with rising nationalism in what would later be known as the Third World, changed the global power balance. When Manchukuo was founded, the history of colonisation had entered the late phase of its second stage between 1915 and 1945.<sup>16</sup> Anti-imperialist movements attained new heights in East Asia starting with the March protest in Korea in March 1919 and China's May Fourth Movement in the same year.<sup>17</sup> Similar national movements also occurred in India, Iran, Egypt, Turkey, Afghanistan, and the Republic of Nicaragua during this period. Between the First World War and the 1940s and 1950s, many "new national states appeared, all of them declaring their independence from the various European powers whose rule of direct domination had for various reasons come to an end."<sup>18</sup> This incipient resurgent nationalism was the context in which Japan's colonial policy in Manchuria sought to operate. Consequently, a consensus was reached within the Japanese Army that in order to avoid public discontent in the international community, Manchurian issues were to be resolved with patience.<sup>19</sup> Even after the invasion of Manchuria, the Kwantung Army did not dare to declare it a colony for fear of provoking a backlash from other imperialist powers. The Japanese "had to accommodate themselves to the fact of Chinese sovereignty, however fragile or tenuous that might be", and they had to be alert to the concerns of other

16 D. K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: a Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1982), 396.

17 The May Fourth movement, which started on 4 May 1919 as a student demonstration against the Chinese government's weak response to the Treaty of Versailles, also refers to the New Culture Movement spanning from the 1910s almost to the 1930s.

18 Edward W. Said, "Yeats and Decolonization," in *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*, ed. Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson, and Edward W. Said (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 75.

19 Matsumoto Tamotsu 松本侠, "Manmeng ziyouguo sheli fang'an dagang 满蒙自由国设立方案大纲 [An Overview of the Establishment of Manchuria and Mongolia as Free States]," in *Riben diguozhuyi qinhua dang'an ziliao xuanbian: "Jiu yi ba" shibian 日本帝国主义侵华档案资料选编: "九一八"事变 [Selected Materials of Japanese Imperialism in China: The September 18 Incident]*, ed. Zhongyang dang'an guan, Zhongguo di'er lishi-dang'anguan, Jilinsheng shehui kexueyuan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 376.

imperialist powers.<sup>20</sup> Against this international backdrop, Japanese occupation of Manchuria required a veneer of cultural and political rhetoric.

Taiwan's position vis-à-vis the Japanese empire was unstable from the outset although it was Japan's first colony. In current historical accounts Taiwan between 1895 and 1945 is seen as incontestably Japan's colony. But at the point when colonial governance was about to be imposed, there was much debate about how Taiwan should be treated. Pressured by the Tripartite Intervention, a diplomatic rebuff by Russia, Germany, and France in April 1895, Hara Takashi (原敬 1856–1921), then Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, proposed his “Two Solutions for Taiwan Issues” (*Taiwan mondai nian* 台灣問題二案) in January 1896. In this report, he argued that similar to French assimilation of Algeria, Taiwan should be treated as an extension of Japan rather than its colony, based on “the principle of the extension of mainland law” (*naichi enchō shugi* 内地延長主義).<sup>21</sup> Yet, almost at the same time, in March 1896, the notorious law 63 (*Rokusan hō* 六三法) was passed. It granted the Governor General of Taiwan authority to pass legislation for the colony.<sup>22</sup> Rather than being assimilated into Japan, Taiwan was established as Japan's external colony. The arrival of Gotō Shinpei in 1898 represented a decisive step in Japan's administration of Taiwan. He applied biological theories to Japan's colonial administration in Taiwan, establishing for the Taiwanese a position as “inferior” and hence unsuitable for direct assimilation. More than twenty years later, in 1919, under Hara Takashi's prime ministership, Taiwan eventually came to be governed under a philosophy that regarded it as an extension of Japan, even to the extent that in the 1920s the term *gaichi* (outer territory) replaced *shokuminchi* (colony) in official documents.<sup>23</sup> Behind this lay the emergence of Wilsonian idealism and the principles of self-determination of nations, which gave heart to Taiwanese and Koreans seeking autonomy for their homelands, though the vigorous assimilationist policy of Japan turned out to be an attempt to tighten its political and ideological control over the colony that had little to do with

20 Peter Duus, “Japan's Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937: An Overview,” in *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937*, ed. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), xi.

21 Komagome Takeshi 駒込武, *Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no bunka tōgō* 植民地帝国日本の文化統合 [*The Cultural Integration of the Colonial Japanese Empire*] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996), 32.

22 Ibid., 33.

23 Ibid., 34.

Taiwanese aspirations for political equality and shared responsibility.<sup>24</sup> After 1942, the Governor General of Taiwan was brought under the direct authority of the Japanese home affairs minister. Taiwan was also under the authority of the ministers of finance, agriculture, education, commerce and industry, communications, and transport in their respective areas.<sup>25</sup> As will be demonstrated in Part III, the moment Taiwan became a “local” part of the Japanese empire it was also the moment when the imperialisation movement reached its peak.

Japan’s ranking as a latecomer in world colonial competition determined the terms on which it acquired both Taiwan and Manchuria. By the late nineteenth century when Taiwan was acquired, over eighty percent of the world’s land surface had already been occupied by European powers. As “the only non-Western and non-white modern imperialist power”, Japan had to overcome the disapproval of the West.<sup>26</sup> Only six days after the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, Japan bowed to the bitter necessity of retroceding the Liaodong Peninsula to China under the pressure of the Tripartite Intervention. It was similar to the situation more than thirty years later, when international intervention in the form of the Lytton Commission was sent by the League of Nations to constrain the expansion of Japanese interests in northern Asia. The difference, however, was that Taiwan was ceded to Japan as a war trophy in 1895 as part of a treaty that was held valid by the international order; Manchukuo, on the other hand, was established *against* the will of the international powers. When Taiwan was ceded to Japan, an Anglo-Japanese Alliance was yet to be achieved and Japan’s entry into the ranks of the imperialists had just started. When Manchukuo was established, and especially after 1937 when the Second Sino-Japanese War erupted, Taiwan and Manchukuo were reorganised into Japan’s imperialist sphere. The people living in these two places were asked to re-identify with the empire in terms of citizenship.

Another feature of Japanese empire, which was typical of imperialist late-comers, is that colonial policies in both Taiwan and Manchukuo were governed by the concept of “modernity”. In Europe during the nineteenth century, competing powers were taking pains to build colonial structures capable of

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24 Mark R. Peattie, “Japanese Attitudes Toward Colonialism, 1895–1945,” in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*, ed. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 104.

25 Hui-yu Caroline Ts’ai, *Taiwan in Japan’s Empire Buildingan Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering* (London: Routledge, 2009), 192.

26 Leo T. S. Ching, “Japan in Asia,” in *Blackwell Companion to Japanese History*, ed. William Tsutsui (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 411.

reproducing themselves. These efforts included establishing systems of stable government, orderly commerce and wage labour, and permissible forms of sexual and social interaction, notwithstanding that the culture of terror did not disappear.<sup>27</sup> The various technological, organisational, and ideological accomplishments formed what Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper call “bourgeois projects”.<sup>28</sup> This was also true of Japan’s colonisation in Taiwan and Manchuria. Compared to the older colonial powers France and Britain, newcomers to colonial enterprises such as Japan and Germany were distinctly driven by the idea of achieving more “modern” and efficient forms of rule and this necessarily entailed heavy investment in infrastructure.<sup>29</sup> Roads, railways, schools, language reforms, and medical care were pushed through in both Taiwan and Manchukuo, largely in disregard of the will of the locals.

For imperialist latecomers like Japan, the process of modernisation of the state was even inextricably entwined with the colonial history. For example, the Taiwan Expedition launched by the Japanese in putative retaliation for the murder of 54 Ryukyuan sailors in 1874 showed the importance of Asia as the vehicle through which Japan might establish a modern identity through selective appropriation of western civilisation.<sup>30</sup> Komori Yōichi’s research shows how Japan’s emigrant protection regulation and the Hokkaido former natives protection law were established to protect its national subjects vis-à-vis major western powers in the early Meiji period, whereas they were also applied to subjugate the indigenous Ainu into the “imperial nation”.<sup>31</sup> On the one hand, the “development” of Hokkaido offered scope for employment for former samurai whose previous special privileges were rescinded as feudal domains were abolished in 1871.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, however, the protection law turned the Ainu into “citizens” by eliminating their cultures through modern science and the education system, which became the model for many later colonial policies in both Taiwan and Korea.<sup>33</sup> From its incorporation of Ryukyu as part of

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27 Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, “Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda,” in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 31.

28 Ibid., 2–3.

29 Conrad, *German Colonialism*, 32.

30 Robert Eskildsen, “Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan’s 1874 Expedition to Taiwan,” *American Historical Review* 107: 2 (2002): 388–418.

31 Komori Yōichi, “Rule in the Name of ‘Protection’: The Vocabulary of Colonialism,” in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, trans. Michele M. Mason, ed. Michele M. Mason and Helen Lee (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 60–75.

32 Ibid., 66.

33 Ibid., 70.

Kagoshima Prefecture in 1871, to become the Ryukyu-Han in 1872 and finally Okinawa Prefecture in 1879, the modern history of Japan's rising as a sovereign nation-state in the face of western imperialism was intertwined with the history of Japan as an imperialist power in Asia.

The sense of urgency surrounding the mission of modernising colonies was felt even more keenly in Japan as its struggle to establish itself as a nation-state in the face of western imperialism seemed to depend upon it. Kawashima Shin has suggested that by the time Japan finally succeeded in having the unequal treaties signed with the West rescinded it had already made demonstrable efforts to start modernising and civilising Taiwan, as if it had not modernised institutions there in accordance with western standards the colony might have become an obstacle to treaty revision.<sup>34</sup> Taiwan under Gotō Shinpei's "civilisational colonial policy" was originally envisaged as the opportunity to regenerate a new Japan. Before Manchukuo could become the "laboratory" established to test economic and social theories that later could be applied to Japan, it was Taiwan that served as a laboratory for Japanese colonial modernity. Many "innovations" that later defined Japan's engagement with Manchuria had their early trial in Taiwan.<sup>35</sup> As early as 1907 colonial policies in Manchuria and Korea were already following the examples set in Taiwan. For example, over two-thirds of the total investment in Manchukuo for the first four years, almost one billion yen, was gained from sales of opium across the region, a revenue source previously tapped after opium exporting policies were instituted in Taiwan and Guangdong.<sup>36</sup> The investigation of "old customs" of Manchurians that took place immediately after Japan's acquisition of the area was developed on the basis of Taiwan's experience. Manchukuo, which was established in 1931, only underscored the empire's longstanding drive for colonial modernity rather than standing out as a unique case within Japanese imperialist expansion.

Colonialism not only predated the early Japanese nation-state formation and consolidation of Japan's modernisation course, but would also further shape the dynamics of Japanese modernity. For example, railway designs in Manchuria were so innovative that metropolitan Japan had trouble keeping

34 Kawashima Shin 川岛真, "‘Zhimindi jindaixing’ teji jieshuo 殖民地现代性” 特集解说 [Notes on the Special Issue of “Colonial Modernity”], in *Kuajie de Taiwanshi yanjiu: yu dongyashi de jiaochuo* 跨界的台湾史研究：与东亚史的交错 [*Transcending the Boundary of Taiwanese History: A Dialogue with East Asian History*], ed. Wakabayashi Masahiro and Wu Micha (Taipei: Bozhongzhe wenhua, 2004), 69–70.

35 Driscoll, *Absolute Erotic*, 104.

36 *Ibid.*, 246.

up. Similarly, indoor toilets became widespread in metropolitan Japan only after they had been first installed in Manchuria. Manchukuo became a “laboratory” where economic and social theories that were later applied to Japan were first tested.<sup>37</sup> In addition to large-scale construction of urban facilities, many research institutions and imperial universities were also established in the colonies. Taipei Imperial University established in 1928, for example, had more than 1400 full-time academic staff and 198 part-time teaching staff by 1945.<sup>38</sup> From anthropology to agriculture, from urban planning to medical science, a large amount of the work carried out in Japan’s colonies was ahead of that in metropolitan Japan. Most of the scholars working in the colonies later transferred to the various institutes of post-war Japan. One of those repatriated from the Taipei Imperial University was Shimada Kinji (島田謹二 1901–1993), Nishikawa’s close friend in Taiwan and the first chair of comparative literature at Tokyo University. The synchronising of nation-state modernisation with that of the empire was also noticeable in other countries like Germany, Britain, and Russia.<sup>39</sup>

Japan’s engagement with Asia sometimes affected Japan’s national history in other ways. For example, between 1895 and 1937 the Japanese polity saw the ascension of 28 cabinets, no less than 40 percent of which fell as a result of incidents directly related to colonial affairs in East Asia. Among them, the downfall of the Terauchi Masatake cabinet in 1918 following extensive rice riots can be attributed partly to the importation of foreign rice from Korea and Taiwan. Between 1926 and 1937, almost all the cabinet changes in metropolitan Japan were directly linked to upheaval in the empire.<sup>40</sup> As Marius B. Jansen stated, “throughout all of modern Japan’s history tensions resulting from western and Asian foreign policies have resonated with internal political discontent and provided the catalyst for many political crises.”<sup>41</sup> For good or ill, this history of Japan as a modern state was inextricably entangled with the history of empire.

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37 Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 43.

38 Ou Suying 欧素英, “Zhanhou chuqi zai tai riren zhi qianfan yu liuyong 战后初期在台日人之遣返与留用 [The Repatriation and Employment of Japanese in Early Post-War Taiwan],” *Taiwan wenxian* 61: 3 (September 2010): 305.

39 Sebastian Conrad, “Die Zivilisierung des ‘Selbst’: Japans koloniale Moderne,” in *Zivilisierungsmissionen: Imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel (Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005), 264.

40 Emer Sinead O’Dwyer, “People’s Empire: Democratic Imperialism in Japanese Manchuria” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007), 7.

41 Jansen, *Japan and China*, 67.

Colonialism also transformed the social structure of the colonised, of course. Similar to the situation in Taiwan, before the start of Japan's colonial industrialisation the economy in Manchurian areas relied predominantly on agriculture. The policy in Manchukuo's early days had a strong emphasis on its agricultural side. Plans for Manchukuo's intense industrialisation only officially started after 1937 with the founding of the Manchurian Heavy Industries Corporation, slightly later than in Taiwan. When it was inaugurated in Manchukuo after 1937, the capitalist economy was "too small to absorb the agricultural and artisanal production of the vast hinterland which Japan had acquired," and therefore the initial benefits were relatively unclear.<sup>42</sup> When capital began pouring into Manchukuo, an estimated one million captured North Chinese were press-ganged each year into slave labour.<sup>43</sup> The incredibly low wages that could not even reproduce labour power, while profitable for the colonial ruler, made Chinese lives disposable.<sup>44</sup> From this perspective, industrialisation and the emphasis on colonial modernity distinguish Japan's "new" colonialism but little from other "old" European forms. As will be discussed in Chapter Six, the condition of labour and the associated class problems all had their representation in literature during that period.

When recognising a distinction between the old forms of colonialism and Japanese "new" imperialism in the twentieth century, I also see connections and similarities in the colonial histories of Taiwan and Manchukuo. My aim here is not to draw the line between imperialism and colonialism, or to redefine colonialism from various social, military, and juridical angles. Rather, I suggest that Japanese imperialism in Taiwan and Manchukuo, with the similarity and correlation between them, provides the possibility for a comparative study of literature and colonial experiences in these two settings.

### The Movement of People, Ideas, and Literature

The Japanese empire was, like all empires, multinational, multicultural, and multilingual. During the process of Japan's territorial expansion, capital, people, goods, ideas, culture and literature crossed various national, regional, linguistic and cultural borders, interacting with each other. The flows produced a contact zone in which various forms of adaption and transformation took

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42 Li and Cribb, "Japan and the Transformation of National Identities in Asia in the Imperial Era," 18.

43 Driscoll, *Absolute Erotic*, 276.

44 Ibid., 300.



place. Many features of this contact zone define the nature of Japanese literary activities in colonial relations. They also created a new space for the investigation of the ambivalence and hybridity that was inevitably involved in the formation of colonial identity and literature.

### *Migration*

After Japan's takeover of Taiwan in 1895, the first Japanese to arrive there were soldiers sent to pacify the resistance that the colonial government encountered. Japanese civilians were not permitted to enter Taiwan until 1896. According to the population censuses later authorised by Gotō Shinpei, the Japanese population in Taiwan grew steadily from 135,400 in 1915 to 183,800 in 1925, and by 1935, it had reached 272,700.<sup>45</sup> By the end of the war, it was estimated that around 582,000 Japanese people were living in Taiwan, including the 232,000 members of the military service.<sup>46</sup> Mirroring the experience of colonial Taiwan, arrivals of Japanese people in Manchuria started with soldiers and were followed by civilians. The first Japanese communities appeared in Vladivostok, which was close to the area of Manchuria but not technically part of it, and later in other cities such as Harbin, Dalian, and Mudanjiang.<sup>47</sup> In September 1932, Japan started the first wave of organised emigration to Manchuria. By 1936, a total of 4,245 people from 2,367 households had uprooted themselves from metropolitan Japan and relocated to Manchukuo.<sup>48</sup> Large-scale Japanese emigration occurred starting from 1937. According to the first national census conducted in Manchukuo, in 1940 there were around 820,000 Japanese people in a total population of 43,203,000.<sup>49</sup> By the end of the war, approximately 45 million people lived in Manchukuo, and among them 320,000 were

45 Ōkurashō kanrikyoku 大蔵省管理局 [The Ministry of Finance's Administration Bureau], *Nihonjin no kaigai katsudō ni kansuru rekishiteki chōsa* 日本人の海外活動に関する歴史的調査 [*Historical Survey of Japanese Overseas Activities*], vol. 1 (Tokyo: Ōkurashō kanrikyoku, 1946), 204–205.

46 Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 22.

47 Joshua Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China, 1862–1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 135.

48 A total of 2,785 families moved to Manchuria but 418 of these returned to Japan. Takumushō daijin kanbō bunshoka 拓務省大臣官房文書課 [The Secretariat and Document Division of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs], *Takumu tōkei Shōwa jūichi-nen* 拓務統計昭和十一年 [*Statistics of Colonial Affairs in 1936*] (Tokyo: Takumudaijinkanbōbunshoka, 1938), 225.

49 Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 31.



Japanese.<sup>50</sup> However, up to a third died before they could be repatriated to Japan.<sup>51</sup> The former Japanese migrants in Manchukuo were regarded in post-war Japan as tragic victims of the empire.

In both Taiwan and Manchuria, non-Japanese were demographically dominant. From 1896 to 1942, the population of Japanese people in Taiwan never surpassed six percent, while in contrast the population of Taiwanese (*hontōjin* 本島人), that included the Han Chinese and Hakka who had emigrated from Fujian or Guangdong before 1895, formed a community that had a stable proportion above 90 percent.<sup>52</sup> In addition, there were small groups of aborigines who lived in the mountain area and Qing Chinese who either had moved to Taiwan before 1895, yet rejected a Taiwanese identity under Japanese colonisation after 1897 or who came to Taiwan after 1895.<sup>53</sup> The movement of Han Chinese from southern Fujian province to the Pescadores (the Penghu Islands to the west of Taiwan) started as early as the twelfth century. The maritime prohibition policy of Ming China (1368–1644), however, put a brake on Han Chinese migration to Taiwan. In the early seventeenth century, substantial migration started in the wake of Dutch occupation when Chinese farmers were recruited from southern Fujian.<sup>54</sup> Towards the end of the Dutch occupation in 1664, the Chinese immigrant population was around 50,000.<sup>55</sup> During the eighteenth century, the Han Chinese population on Taiwan grew rapidly, from about 100,000 in 1680 to 1,945,500 by 1811, a nearly twenty-fold increase within 130 years, despite the Qing prohibition on migration.<sup>56</sup> Japan's initial takeover of Taiwan claimed over 17,000 Taiwanese lives and another 12,000 lives in a guerilla war that raged until 1915.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, between 1895 and May 1897, more than 6400 people were estimated to have departed for China.<sup>58</sup>

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50 Wang Chengli 王承礼, *Zhongguo Dongbei lunxian shisinianshi gangyao* 中国东北沦陷十四年史纲要 [A Brief Account of the Fourteen-Year History of Northeastern China Under Occupation] (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaike chubanshe, 1991), 362. Others state that by the end of the war the number of Japanese emigrants in Manchukuo was 230,000. See Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 395.

51 Lie, *Multiethnic Japan*, 103.

52 Tai-sheng Wang, *Legal Reform in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 10.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid., 13.

55 Ronald G. Knapp, "The Shaping of Taiwan's Landscapes," in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 10.

56 Wang, *Legal Reform in Taiwan*, 20.

57 Lie, *Multiethnic Japan*, 102.

58 Lamley, "Taiwan Under Japanese Rule, 1895–1945," 208.

Nevertheless, the population of Taiwanese people maintained its absolute demographic dominance throughout the Japanese colonial period.

In Manchuria, the population was formed mostly by Han Chinese and Manchu people, who were lumped together by the Japanese as “Manchurian people” (*manjin* 滿人). The Chinese population mainly came from Shandong and Hebei provinces. During the early 1920s between 800,000 and one million Chinese crossed the Great Wall and moved to the region.<sup>59</sup> More than 30 million *manjin* lived in the Manchurian area even before Manchukuo was founded.<sup>60</sup> Chinese peasants moved from northern China to southern Manchuria by ship or railway. From there, they further spread across the areas served by the South Manchuria Railway and the Eastern Chinese Railway.<sup>61</sup> In order to neutralise Chinese resistance, the colonial government encouraged Korean migrants who were landless peasants and wanted to escape poverty and debt to move to Manchuria. The migration of Koreans became a volatile engine of Japan’s encroachment there.<sup>62</sup> In addition to *manjin* and Koreans there was also a small group of Mongols and “White Russians” and communities of other nationalities in Manchukuo.<sup>63</sup> The population of non-Japanese became even more dominant in 1940, when an estimated more than 1.3 million Chinese people flooded into Manchukuo from other provinces of China, mostly due to local impositions of forced labour.<sup>64</sup>

### *Literary and Cultural Influences in Taiwan*

The demographic realities in Taiwan and Manchuria accordingly fostered a plurality of literary culture, in which the Chinese writing system and cultural values, broadly conceived, held a significant position. Before the mid 1930s, Japanese culture and literature in Taiwan were relatively peripheral. In the 1920s and early 1930s, the reading market was well supplied with classical

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59 Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria Under Japanese Domination*, trans. Joshua A. Fogel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 10.

60 Ibid.

61 Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 43–44.

62 Ibid., 43.

63 John Stephan, “Hijacked by Utopia: American Nikkei in Manchuria,” *Ameriasia* 23: 3 (1997): 250. The Japanese colonial authority generalised the Russian people who did not return to Soviet Union as “White Russians” (*hakkei rojin*) although not all of them collaborated with the Japanese government. In the following discussion I use “White Russians” to refer to the Russian population remained in Manchuria, reflecting the usage of the primary sources.

64 Zhu Yuxiang 朱玉湘, “Lun ‘Jiuyiba’ shibian hou dongbei diqu de guannei yimin 论“九一八”事变后东北地区的关内移民 [On the Chinese Migration into Northeastern China after the Manchurian Incident],” *Jindaishi yanjiu* 3 (1992): 179.

Chinese poetry as well as writings in Min and Hakka dialects. According to a 1935 survey, 76 percent of the population living in Taiwan was acquainted with dialects from the Fujian region of China, such as the Min dialect, and another 14 percent was capable of using the Hakka dialect.<sup>65</sup> In the late 1930s and 1940s when the non-Japanese population was deprived of access to print news in Chinese, new broadcasts in the Min dialect were launched on the radio.<sup>66</sup> It should be noted that the linguistic diversity of Taiwan during this period was not solely attributable to ethnic differences among the Chinese residents. Taiwan was also home to many aboriginal tribes. Gotō Shinpei recorded that twenty different tongues were spoken by the so-called “savages”, and three different dialects by the Chinese inhabitants.<sup>67</sup> These different cultures and languages became the rich ground for Nishikawa’s literature.

The Confucian literati made up only a small portion of the population. The level of Confucian education in Fujian province, where the majority of Han-Chinese migration came from, had declined dramatically during the late Ming and Qing periods. Instead, local religions and deities developed strong social functions there.<sup>68</sup> Among the many local deities, the cult of Maso (Ch. *Mazu* 妈祖 J. *Maso* 媽祖), the goddess who promised protection against the dangers of the sea, is best known. These intellectual and religious tendencies spread through migrations from southern Chinese provinces into Taiwan where cultural elements unique to the new location were added. Meanwhile, *baihua*, the Chinese vernacular had its own readership in Taiwan. Taiwan’s New Culture Movement was in its prime around 1923, and it was during this period that Taiwan’s modern literature sprouted. It was closely related to the New Culture tradition of the Chinese mainland, especially Shanghai, which was the main source of literature and culture in Taiwan.<sup>69</sup> Many books written in the vernacular filtered into the Taiwanese markets via Shanghai.

65 Fujii Shōzō 藤井省三, *Taiwan wenxue zhe yibainian* 台湾文学这一百年 [*The Literature of Taiwan in the Last Hundred Years*], trans. Zhang Jilin (Taipei: Yifang chubun youxian gongsi, 2004), 42.

66 He Yilin 何义麟, *Kuayue guojingxian: jindai Taiwan quzhiminhua zhi lichen* 跨越国境线：近代台湾去殖民化之历程 [*Crossing National Borders: The Course of Modern Taiwan’s Decolonisation*] (Taipei: Daoxiang chubanshe, 2006), 91–137.

67 Mark E. Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 74.

68 Edward B. Vermeer, “Up the Mountains and Out to the Sea: The Expansion of the Fujianese in the Late Ming Period,” in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 62.

69 Zhang Jingru 张静茹, *Shanghai xiandaixing-Taiwan chuantong wenren: wenhua meng de zhuixun yu huanmie* 上海现代性·台湾传统文人：文化梦的追寻与幻灭 [*Shanghai*

In the 1920s, Shanghai and Taiwan had an especially strong connection in cultural affairs. Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s was among the top ten cities in the world, a cosmopolitan centre that could lay claim to modern industry, burgeoning finance, and extremely busy ports. It replaced Tokyo as the centre of a network of cities linked together by shipping routes for purposes of marketing, transportation, and tourism after the Great Kantō earthquake (*Kantō daishinsai* 関東大震災).<sup>70</sup> The Japanese concession in the northern part of Shanghai became an enclave in which Chinese writers such as Lu Xun and a population of Japanese expatriates could exchange their ideas and texts.<sup>71</sup> Native Taiwanese who were denied proper education in Taiwan also opted to move to Shanghai via Japan. In the 1920s, it almost became a trend. Beijing, more isolated in the north of China, lost out in this regard to Shanghai, which firmly embraced foreign cultures.<sup>72</sup>

Whereas the number of Taiwanese living in Beijing in the 1920s was never large, more than 300 Taiwanese arrived in Shanghai in 1922 alone, half of whom were students.<sup>73</sup> Zhang Shenqie (张深切 1904–1965), a write in the vanguard of Taiwanese literature, moved to Shanghai in 1923 after studying in Tokyo, and sought literary guidance there from Lu Xun, the “father” of Chinese modern literature. He established the Shanghai Association of Taiwanese Youth (*Shanghai Taiwan qingnian hui* 上海台湾青年会). In the same year, Zhang Wojun (张我军 1902–1955), another important figure of modern Taiwanese literature, also arrived in Shanghai and worked actively alongside Zhang Shenqie in the association. The Taiwanese student community had further expanded two years later when another organisation, the League of Taiwanese Students in Shanghai (*Shanghai Taiwan xuesheng lianhe hui* 上海台湾学生联合会), was founded. An example of how Shanghai’s transculturalism influenced literature and Taiwanese identities can be seen in the literary figure of Liu Canbo (刘灿波 1905–1940), better known by his pen name, Liu Naou. Liu moved to Shanghai in 1926 to study French at the Jesuit Université L’Aurore after his graduation from the English department at Aoyama Gakuin University in Tokyo. Chinese literary and cultural traditions, colonial experi-

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*Modernity Traditional Taiwanese Literati: The Pursuit of Cultural Dreams and Its Failure*] (Taipei: Daoxiang Chubanshe, 2006), 78–100.

70 Leo Ou-Fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 315.

71 Ibid., 311.

72 Xu Junya 许俊雅, *You Yinfu de shu: Taiwan wenxue mianmianguan* 有音符的树：台湾文学面面观 [*Trees with Musical Notes: All Aspects of Taiwanese Literature*] (Guangxi: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2003), 6.

73 Ibid.

ences under Japanese rule, and knowledge of Japanese literature, all contributed to Liu's so-called "new sensationalist" writing style, a choice that cannot be fully understood unless these transnational cultural influences are taken into account.<sup>74</sup>

It is interesting to note that China's own political predicament at the time determined, and at times disrupted, the cultural and literary interactions between Shanghai and Taiwan. This tendency and its consequences were remarked on by Lu Xun himself:

Last summer (August 11 1926) when I met Zhang Wojun, he complained that the Chinese seemed to have already forgotten Taiwan because few [of us] mention it in conversation. His accusation troubled me deeply. I answered that it was because China was besieged by internal and external hardship and had enough trouble even taking care of herself. China had to put Taiwan to one side for the time being.<sup>75</sup>

After 1930, cultural and literary exchanges between Shanghai and Taiwan diminished drastically due to Chinese domestic turmoil and later the war with Japan. Sales of Chinese publications in Taiwan declined from 2.09 million copies in 1930 to little more than half million copies in 1932 after the Shanghai Incident. Circulation of magazines too declined, from 300,000 in 1931 to 80,000 in 1932.<sup>76</sup> In the movie industry, Taiwan had become a lucrative market for exhibiting Chinese films after 1924, and up to the end of the 1920s local Taiwanese audiences clearly preferred Chinese-produced films to Japanese ones. The authorities tolerated Chinese film culture in colonial Taiwan up until the early 1930s when Chinese films, especially those produced in Shanghai, began to demonstrate an overt anti-Japanese sentiment after the Manchurian Incident and the Shanghai Incident of 1932.<sup>77</sup> The strong influence of Chinese literature and culture on Taiwan dropped dramatically as a result of these reversals.

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74 Ying Xiong, "Ethno Literary Identity and Geographical Displacement: Liu Na'ou's Chinese Modernist Writing in the East Asian Context," *Asian Culture and History* 3: 1 (2011): 3–13.

75 Lu Xun 鲁迅, "Xie zai 'Laodon wenti' zhiqian 写在《劳动问题》之前 [Preface to *Issues of Labour*]," in *Lu Xun quanji di san juan* 鲁迅全集第三卷 [*The Complete Works of Lu Xun*, vol. 3], ed. Lu Xun quanji xiuding weiyuanhui (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1973), 411–412.

76 Ide Kiwata 井出季和太, *Taiwan zhijizhi* 台湾治绩志 [*Record of Governmental Achievements in Taiwan*] (Taipei: Nantian shuju, 1997), 77–81.

77 Michael Baskett, *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 18–19.

In contrast, modern Japanese literature in Taiwan began to develop rather late, mainly in the mid-1930s. Between 1895 and 1905 during the early years of Japanese colonisation, Japanese literature in Taiwan focused on *haiku* and poetry. Very few Taiwanese writers, however, engaged in these literary pursuits.<sup>78</sup> Short stories, novels, and modern poems began to appear around 1922.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, the Japanese literary arena in the 1920s was replete with poems, rather than short stories and novels. In 1926, a poetry group named “The League of Poets of Northern Taiwan” (*Kita Taiwan shijin renmei* 北台灣詩人聯盟) was founded under the leadership of Nishikawa.<sup>80</sup> Nishikawa, who later became renowned for his historical novels in the 1940s and folkloric prose poems in the late 1930s, actually had an earlier literary career as a poet. Ultimately, the national literary tradition of Japan was intertwined with colonial literary history when the poetic tradition was absorbed in both Taiwan and Manchuria.

One significant literary resource from metropolitan Japan that Japanese colonial writers liberally drew on was the romantic and symbolic poetic tradition espoused by the literary journal *Star* (*Myōjō* 明星 1900–1908), which was a leading turn-of-the-century literary magazine under the editorial supervision of Yosano Hiroshi (与謝野鉄幹 1873–1935) and his wife, Akiko. Shimada Kinji, then a lecturer in French and English at Taipei Imperial University at the time, recalls:

Imperial universities in metropolitan Japan took the development of modern literature after the Meiji period for granted and did not pay it much attention. In contrast, thanks to its research funds, Taipei Imperial University subscribed to many literary journals such as *Shigaramisōshi*, *Mita bungaku*, and *Bungakukai*.<sup>81</sup>

78 Shimada Kinji 島田謹二, “Taiwan no bungakuteki kagenmi 台湾の文学的過現未 [The Past, Present and Future of Literature in Taiwan],” *Bungei Taiwan* 2: 2 (May 1941): 3.

79 Ide Isamu 井手勇, *Juezhuan shiqi Taiwan de Riren zuojia yu “huangmin wenxue” 决战时期台湾的日人作家与“皇民文学”* [*Japanese Writers and Imperial Literature in Taiwan During the War Period*] (Tainan: Tainan shili tushuguan, 2001), 23–25.

80 Kondō Masami 近藤正巳, “Xichuan Man zhaji (Shang) 西川满札记(上) [Reading Notes on Nishikawa Mitsuru (Part One)],” *Taiwan fengwu* 30: 3 (September 1980): 16.

81 Shimada Kinji 島田謹二, “Taipei ni okeru sōsōki no hikaku bungaku kenkyū 台北における草創期の比較文学研究 [The Pioneering Stage of Comparative Literature in Taiwan],” *Hikaku bungaku kenkyū* 54 (1988): 120.

This special position of being located neither fully inside nor outside Japan cultivated for those living in Taiwan a special interest in Japan's modern literary development, but from an angle that was not confined to it.

Japanese literature in Taiwan enjoyed a period of substantial development through 1935. More than 25 literary journals, including ones for poetry, children's literature, *haiku*, *tanka*, and short stories, were established during these years.<sup>82</sup> Many literary groups and associations were founded and Taiwanese writers were invited to participate in Japanese literary circles. The most substantial Sino-Japanese literary exchange occurred in the early 1930s when a new generation of Taiwanese writers who had received Japanese-language education debuted. An examination of *The Collection of Taiwanese Writers*, which contains works by seventeen Taiwanese writers who had literary careers in the colonial period, shows that before 1932 writers such as Zhang Wojun and Zhu Dianren (朱点人 1903–1951) wrote only in Chinese; after 1932 a new generation of writers appeared. Born after 1909, they not only spoke but also wrote Japanese, and when they did so they gained greater access to Japanese journals and literary circles. This population was educated in the 1920s when Japanese-language courses were made compulsory in the education system.<sup>83</sup> Surveys have found that the population capable of speaking Japanese rose from 22.7 percent in 1932 to 37.8 percent in 1937, and up to 51.5 percent in 1940.<sup>84</sup> By the end of 1942, more than 60 percent of people living in Taiwan read Japanese. Education and language training provided the material basis for literary interactions and textual contacts.

### *Literary and Cultural Influences in Manchuria*

In Manchuria, unlike Taiwan, many Chinese writers had a Japanese education and could write in Japanese; however, they were permitted and even encouraged to write in Chinese, and many often did. As will be discussed in Part II, the

82 Hashimoto Kyōko 橋本恭子, "Daotian Jin'er 'Hualidao wenxuezhì' yanjiu: yì 'waidi wenxuelun' wei zhongxin 島田謹二 '華麗島文学志'研究: 以'外地文学论'为中心 [A Study of Shimada Kinji's *Literary History of Taiwan: Centred on His Theory of Colonial Literature*]" (Masters diss., Tsinghua University, Taiwan, 2003), 73.

83 Ji Birui 计璧瑞, "Riju Taiwan de yuyan zhimin he yuyan yundong 日据台湾的语言殖民和语言运动 [Language Colonisation and the Language Movement in Taiwan During the Japanese Occupation]," *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan* 1 (2004): 177–178.

84 Li Chengji 李承機, "1930-nendai Taiwan ni okeru 'dokusha taishū' no shutsugen 1930年代台湾における「読者大衆」の出現 [The Emergence of "Mass Readership" in Taiwan in the 1930s]," in *Kioku suru Taiwan: Teikoku to no sōkoku* 記憶する台湾: 帝国との相剋 [*Remembering Taiwan: Rivalry With the Empire*], ed. Wu Micha, Huang Yingzhe and Tarumi Chie (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2005), 270.



influence of Chinese language and Chinese culture was strong in Manchuria. Confucianism was officially adopted in Manchukuo as the dominant ideology, endorsed by both the Chinese and Japanese. Warren Smith has noted that Manchuria offers a good case study of “how the Japanese took advantage of the appeal of Confucianism in attempting to rationalize their expansion on the Asiatic continent and to maintain social and political control.”<sup>85</sup> Smith’s study reveals that the Japanese military power endorsed Confucianism in Manchuria as a means to emphasise the tie between Japan and China, to counter Chinese nationalism, and to stress the anti-communist character of the Manchukuo project. The classical Confucian works known as the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* were even officially endorsed as school textbooks to replace the previous education system of the Chinese nationalist government. Organisations such as the Manchuria Morality Association and the Confucian Association were established to encourage the spread of Confucian morals.<sup>86</sup> The broad range of Confucian ideas deployed in Manchuria was encapsulated in the slogan “Kingly Way in Paradise”, which was a product of joint efforts by both the Japanese and Chinese. More than a philosophical and cultural idea, “Kingly Way in Paradise” had its role in political and economic affairs. It appeared in both the “proclamation of Manchukuo’s establishment” (*Kenkoku sengen* 建国宣言) on 1 March 1932, and Puyi’s “proclamation as Chief Executive” (*Shissei sengen* 執政宣言) issued eight days later, when Puyi officially took up that position.<sup>87</sup> To Ōuchi and his friend Tachibana Shiraki (橘樸 1881–1945) the idea of Kingly Way became a means to realise the concordance of nations and agrarian autonomy in Manchuria, and thus had the power to unleash Japanese pan-Asianism.

In Manchukuo’s early days, most Japanese who were engaged in literary pursuits were workers at the SMR’s headquarters in Dalian, which had been moved there from Tokyo in 1907.<sup>88</sup> From that year onward, the population of

85 Warren Smith, *Confucianism in Modern Japan* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1973), 184.

86 Ibid., 193–194.

87 Manshūkoku shi Hensan Kankōkai 満洲国史編纂刊行会 [The Editorial and Publication Committee of *The History of Manchukuo*], *Manshūkoku shi* 満洲国史 [History of Manchukuo] (Tokyo: Manmō dōhō engokai 1970), 219.

88 “Dalian” (大连) indicates the pronunciation according to the Chinese characters. When the city was under Russian occupation in 1898–1905, it was named “Dalny.” When Japan gained the city through the Portsmouth Treaty that ended the Russo-Japanese War, Japan changed the name of Dalny to “Dairen”, its pronunciation of the same pair of characters. Because the Japanese did not change the name of the city during its rule, and the difference between the Chinese Dalian and the Japanese Dairen was only a difference in pronunciation, in this book I simply use the Chinese pronunciation “Dalian” to refer to activities that happened both before and after the establishment of Manchukuo.



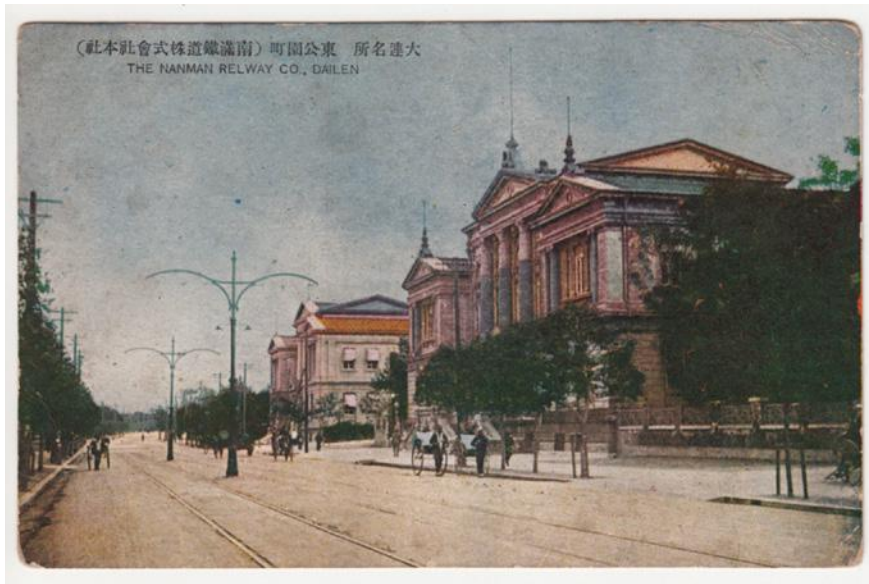


ILLUSTRATION 1 *The Headquarters of the South Manchurian Railway Company. A postcard issued by Ryojun Tōkyōdō, 1925. Courtesy of Mr. Fan Rong.*

Dalian increased on a steady basis. In 1912 it reached 110,124, almost triple its 1906 level. By the end of 1920, as many as 238,867 people lived in Dalian, a further doubling since 1912. Among them, 25 percent were Japanese.<sup>89</sup> Dalian was located at the centre of a trade nexus, connected to Russia and Europe through the Trans-Siberian Railroad and to Osaka, northern Kyushu, and Korea by sea. Meanwhile, Dalian was listed together with Hong Kong, Shanghai, Kobe, and Yokohama as one of the five largest trading ports of the East.<sup>90</sup> This also brought the city a cosmopolitan cultural atmosphere that nurtured Japanese avant-garde poetry.<sup>91</sup> Between 1925 and 1928, Dalian experienced a golden age of Japanese modernist poetry when Anzai Fuyue (安西冬衛 1898–1965), Kitagawa Fuyuhiko (北川冬彦 1900–1990) and others established a journal titled *Asia* (A 亜).<sup>92</sup>

89 Dairen Minseisho 大連民政署 [Bureau of Civil Affairs in Dalian], *Dairen yōran* 大連要覽 [An Overview of Dalian] (Tokyo: Ōsakayagō shoten, 1928), 5–6.

90 Shinozaki Yoshirō 篠崎嘉郎, *Dairen* 大連 [Dalian] (Dairen: Ōsakayagō shoten, 1921), 792.

91 Annika A. Culver, “Between Distant Realities’: The Japanese Avant-garde, Surrealism, and the Colonies, 1924–1943” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007), 158–159.

92 The early Japanese writings developed in Dalian were concentrated on classical literary forms, most of which were *haiku*, *tanka*, *kanshi*, and *senryū* (川柳). The *tanka* writing tradition was established in Dalian in around 1919 when a conference on *tanka* was





ILLUSTRATION 3 *The Central Plaza of Dalian. A postcard issued by Eagle Postcard View Company, New York, 1920s. Courtesy of Mr. Fan Rong.*

The emergence of modernist literature in Dalian in the mid-1920s benefited from circumstances that were peculiar to this society. An investigation carried out for the SMR Library journal *Book Review* (*Shokō* 書香) found that for every one hundred Japanese living in Manchuria there were 78.5 books, while the ratio in metropolitan Japan was only 7.9 books per hundred people. The ratio of book ownership among Japanese in Dalian was even higher, a striking 150.9 books per hundred people, in sharp contrast to 10.9 books per hundred in Tokyo.<sup>93</sup> Those who worked for the SMR benefited from the provision of low-cost housing and thus may be assumed to have had more discretionary income for purchases, such as books. In 1924, most SMR Japanese staff spent only forty percent of their salary on the basics, and thus were free to spend the rest of

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convened, whereas there was no large or formal literary group. The poetic journal *Asia* is regarded by Japanese literary critics as the precursor to *Poetry and Poetics* (*Shi to shiron* 詩と詩論). For a detailed discussion, see Toshiko Ellis, "The Topography of Dalian and the Cartography of Fantastic Asia in Anzai Fuyū'e's Poetry," *Comparative Literature Studies* 4: 4 (2004): 482–500.

93 "Jinkō to dokusho no hiritsu 人口と読書の比率 [The Ratio of Population to Books]," *Shokō* 3 (June 1925), quoted in Wang Zhongchen, "Mantie tushuguan yishi 满铁图书馆轶事 [Anecdotes of Libraries in the South Manchurian Railway Company]," *Bolan qun-shu* 6 (2005): 47.



their income on interests such as cultural activities and education. This was again in sharp contrast to the plight of Tokyo's working class, who were obliged to spend 71.4 percent of their income on basic living needs such as housing and food supplies.<sup>94</sup> A thriving population that had the financial means was in desperate need of cultural consumption. This was the broad social background of Dalian's early avant-garde literature. Dalian and its cultural cosmopolitanism became the material and cultural basis for the development of Japanese literature in Manchuria.

When Japanese migration moved along the railway lines from the south to the north, literature also started to flourish in northern cities such as Shenyang, Changchun, and Harbin.<sup>95</sup> Changchun also became a centre for Japanese literature when young people such as Ōuchi arrived in the early 1920s. Some SMR staff in Changchun established a literary journal called *Dawn* (*Reimei* 黎明) in 1922, which would later receive financial support from the Japanese consulate.<sup>96</sup> In the 1930s and 1940s, the northern cities of Manchuria tended to attract more Japanese migration than Dalian. Already by the end of 1932 the number of Japanese in Manchuria was about 566,471, of which nearly eighty percent lived in Shinkyō, which was renamed from Changchun after 1932.<sup>97</sup> This demographic change contributed to a flourishing of literature and intellectual activities in Manchukuo's capital. The literary centre gradually moved from Dalian to Shinkyō. In 1932, *Essay* (*Sakubun* 作文), an important journal that attracted the attention of many writers and intellectuals, was founded in Dalian. Published between 1932 and 1940, *Essay* became an influential Dalian-based literary journal capable of competing with its counterparts in Shinkyō.

Following the establishment of Manchukuo, there was a surge in writers who migrated from metropolitan Japan. Different from an earlier generation which mainly produced poets, this wave of migration brought many

94 Minamimanshū tetsudō kabushiki kaisha shōmubu shakaika 南滿洲鐵道株式會社庶務部社會課 [The South Manchurian Railway Company's General Affairs Department's Social Division] ed., *Dairen zaikin mantetsu hōjin shain seikeihi chōsa* 大連在勤滿鐵邦人社員生計費調查 [A Survey of Living Costs Among Employed Staff of the South Manchurian Railway Company] (Dalian: Minamimanshū tetsudō, 1926), 92–93.

95 Liu Chunying 劉春英, "Xinjing shidai de Riben zuojia yu zuopin 新京時代的日本作家與作品 [Japanese Writers and Works During the Shinkyō Years]," *Ribenxue luntan* 183 (2007): 28.

96 Ōuchi Takao 大內隆雄, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen* 滿洲文學二十年 [The Twenty-Year History of Manchurian Literature] (Shinkyō: Kokumin gahōsha, 1943), 26.

97 Manshūkoku Komuin Tōkeisho 滿洲國國務院統計處 [The State Council Statistics Division] ed., *Manshūkoku nenpō* 滿洲國年報 [The Annual Report of Manchukuo] (Dalian: Manshū bunka kyōkai, 1933), 29.

novelists into Manchukuo, including some who were former members of the Japanese communist party or leftists. Between 1928 and 1929, the communist movement in metropolitan Japan endured a broad-ranging purge. Almost 95 percent of authors who had previously belonged to the Japanese Proletarian Arts Federation and Japan Proletarian Cultural Federation were reported to have recanted their political convictions.<sup>98</sup> Some of those recanters chose Manchukuo as the place to make a fresh start. For example, Yamada Seizaburō (山田清三郎 1896–1970), who later led the delegation of Manchukuo to the first East Asian Writers Congress, had been a leftist writer for *Literary Battlefront* (*Bungei sensen* 文藝戦線) and *The Sowers* (*Tane maku hitobito* 種播く人々). He moved to Manchukuo in 1939 after making a political renunciation. Another proletarian poet Nogawa Takashi (野川隆 1913–1944) also moved to Manchukuo, but he continued his leftist activities in the Northern Manchukuo Style Collaboration Enterprise (*Hokumangata gassakusha* 北満型合作社) and was arrested in the anti-communist movements in 1941. He subsequently died in prison.

Writers coming from different backgrounds all contributed to the development of Japanese writing in Manchuria. When the Manchuria Literary Academy (*Manshū bunwakai* 満洲文話会) was established in 1937, more than four hundred people registered as members, most of whom were Japanese writers.<sup>99</sup> Two years later, according to a survey published in *The Yearbook of Manchurian Literature and Arts* (*Manshū bungei nenkan* 満洲文藝年鑑), in Manchukuo there were more than sixteen journals devoted to literature as well as many other publications that focused specifically on genres, such as *tanka* and *haiku*; an additional 21 magazines and newspapers offered literary columns.<sup>100</sup> Having experienced a period of growth during the 1920s and 1930s, a sizable literary community had been formed by 1937.

Although the so-called *manjin* were the majority population in Manchuria, Japanese literature in its early years had very little direct contact with Chinese writers. In early days, though cosmopolitan, social and national segregation was still evident in this colonial city. The Japanese community remained largely aloof from the Chinese community. In the early travelogues of prominent

98 Ibid., 120.

99 Ozaki Hotsuki 尾崎秀樹, *Kindai bungaku no kizuato: Kyūshokuminchi bungakuron* 近代文学の傷痕：旧植民地文学論 [*The Scars of Modern Literature: On the Literature of the Former Colonies*] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1991), 226.

100 “Bunka dantai ichiran 文化団体一覧 [Overview of Cultural Organisations],” in *Manshū bungei nenkan* 満洲文藝年鑑 [*The Yearbook of Manchurian Literature and Arts*] (1939; reprint, Fukuoka: Ashi shobō, 1993), 458.

writers such as Natsume Sōseki, Yosano Hiroshi and his wife Akiko, though exchanges with Japanese officials and writers could be found, there was little indication that these Japanese writers engaged in extensive interactions with the Chinese community.<sup>101</sup> By the time *Asia* was established, Japanese poems still did not touch the real lives of the majority Han and Manchurian Chinese who worked and died as labourers for the city.<sup>102</sup> This mirrored the general situation in Manchukuo, as described by Culver: “Japanese settlers had limited personal contact with other colonized peoples beyond various modes of transaction that might have included commerce, trade, domestic services, and prostitution.”<sup>103</sup> This was due to the fact that Manchukuo was separated along social and class lines. But the picture changed dramatically after 1937 when a mutual literary base for the Chinese and Japanese writers had been constructed in Shinkyō.

With very few substantial contacts with the Japanese side, Chinese-language literature developed on its own cultural basis, heavily influenced by the May Fourth Movement in Beijing. Unlike Taiwan, which had a special cultural connection with Shanghai, Manchuria and later Manchukuo were more culturally influenced by Beijing, due to their geographical proximity. The Northeast University was established in Fengtian (modern-day Shenyang) by the Chinese warlord Zhang Zuolin (张作霖 1875–1928) in 1923. By the time Japan took control of the region, the university had over 2,000 staff members and students.<sup>104</sup> Many famous Chinese intellectuals who were active in Beijing’s cultural arenas, including Hu Shi (胡适 1891–1962), Wu Mi (吴宓 1894–1978), Liang Sicheng (梁思成 1901–1972), and Wang Li (王力 1900–1986), frequently visited the region to teach or give lectures. By 1928, new literature in the form of poetry and novels had already begun to flourish in Manchuria. The first literary group, “Poplars” (*Baiyang she* 白杨社), was founded in Jilin in 1920 by Mu Mutian (穆木天 1900–1971), who later came to be China’s well-known symbolist poet. A literary journal by the same name was also launched, though it lasted for only seven issues.<sup>105</sup> Eight years later, another literary group was formed by the name of “Beyond the Borders” (*Guanwai* 关外). It would be banned in 1929

101 Kono, *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature*, 123.

102 Culver, “Between Distant Realities,” 177–184.

103 Ibid., 178.

104 Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance and Collaboration in Modern China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 68.

105 Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 337.

on suspicion of involvement in communist movements.<sup>106</sup> During this period, local Chinese-language newspapers, such as *Shengjing Times* (*Shengjing shibao* 盛京时报), a major publication that blended Japanese ownership with Chinese management, were the main forums for the publication of Chinese-language literature.<sup>107</sup> However, the Manchurian Incident in 1931 led to the banning of many newspapers, which in turn triggered a temporary collapse of Manchuria's burgeoning Chinese-language literary world.<sup>108</sup> According to Wang Chenli, between March and July of 1932 alone, more than 6.5 million copies of books and journals were burned.<sup>109</sup> The cultural atmosphere deteriorated dramatically after 1932.

The Manchurian oppression almost simultaneously spawned a form of anti-Japanese literature. Upon the relocation of the main branch of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from Shenyang to Harbin in 1932, a literary group with close connections to the CCP also moved to Harbin. The leaders of the group, Jin Jianxiao (金剑啸 1910–1936) and Luo Feng (罗烽 1909–1991), were party members while others such as Xiao Jun (萧军 1907–1988), Xiao Hong (萧红 1911–1942), and Bai Lang (白朗 1912–1990) worked closely with the CCP. These young literary leaders published more than 82 works in *Night Guard* (*Yeshao* 夜哨) and the weekly supplement journal of *Datong News* over the course of 21 issues, from 6 August to 24 December 1933.<sup>110</sup> Eventually, Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong moved to Qingdao in 1934; Luo Feng and Bai Lang left Manchuria in 1936; and Jin Jianxiao was arrested and executed by the Japanese in 1936. With their departure, Chinese-language literature underwent a decline between 1935 and 1936.<sup>111</sup> Unlike semi-colonial Shanghai, where Sino-Japanese cultural and literary contacts were frequent, in Manchukuo (as well as in Taiwan), literary interactions had less free space. A new publishing “face” would not appear until 1937, when the literary journal *Brightness* (*Mingming* 明明), co-edited by Japanese and Chinese writers was founded. From that moment forward, translation played a central role in bridging the Chinese and Japanese sides.

106 Ibid., 339. The group's name alludes to the division of China by the Shanhaiguan (山海关, the mountain-sea barrier) into “inside” and “outside” (where Northeast China lies).

107 Norman Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo: Chinese Women Writers and the Japanese Occupation* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), 41.

108 Ibid., 42.

109 Wang, *Zhongguo dongbei lunxian shisninianshi gangyao*, 212.

110 Huang Wanhua 黄万华, “Lunxianqu wenxue niaokan 沦陷区文学鸟瞰 [An Overview of Literature in the Occupied Areas],” *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan* 1 (1993): 2.

111 Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 350.

From the above discussion of the demography and cultural influences in both Taiwan and Manchuria, it is safe to say that Japanese literati did not have a real upper hand in the colonial literary arenas. A multicultural, multinational, and multilinguistic literary environment in which Japanese culture had never attained more than minor recognition to a large extent defined the scope and nature of Japanese literary developments in the colonial context. Karen Laura Thornber argues that, “unlike Egypt and the Arab world, which had lost significant cultural currency with Europe and the United States long before colonization, and other postcolonial spaces in Africa, the Americas, and Southeast Asia, which before colonisation had enjoyed only minimal cultural prestige with western nations”, Chinese cultural influence loomed large in Japan’s colonial locations in Taiwan and Manchuria.<sup>112</sup> The Chinese cultural influence in many cases needs to be contextualised as it was not always so “Chinese” and the influence also needs to be studied in its relation with colonial societies. Nevertheless, as Thornber has pointed out, the inherent purity and originality of either Japanese or Chinese cultures are indeed untenable. The process of identity formation accordingly could by no means be “the affirmation of a pre-given identity” or “a self-fulfilling prophecy”.<sup>113</sup> Rather, literature and identity formation in Taiwan and Manchuria were always in the midst of cultural influences from others and in transformation, generating what has often been identified as ambivalence and hybridity.<sup>114</sup>

### Japanese Nationalism and Colonial Identities

With a long cultural history and lacking in the social divisions of religion, ethnicity, and language that split so many other countries, Japan’s inhabitants rarely have been confused about who they are: clearly they are Japanese. Nationality, citizenship, ethnicity, and cultural identity are largely meaningless distinctions for most Japanese. Being a Japanese means identifying similarly with all such terms.<sup>115</sup>

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112 Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion*, 6.

113 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 45.

114 Ibid., 85–92.

115 T. J. Pempel, “Contemporary Japanese Athletics: Windows on the Cultural Roots of Nationalism-Internationalism,” in *The Culture of Japan as Seen through Its Leisure*, ed. Sepp Linhart and Sabine Frühstück (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 115.



Cultural and political identities, be they metropolitan or colonial, do not exist prior to the processes of colonialism.<sup>116</sup>

*Japan's "Distinct Imperialism"*

When evaluating European "new" colonialism after the eighteenth century, Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper have claimed that the colonies of France, England, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal constituted an imaginary and physical space in which the inclusions and exclusions were worked out by notions such as citizenship, sovereignty, and participation.<sup>117</sup> Many of these so-called European "bourgeois" concepts also contributed to the formulation of colonial space and identities in the Japanese empire of the early twentieth century. Yet, Japanese colonialism in Taiwan and Manchuria was not a simple copy of European colonialism; rather, it was what Robert Thomas Tierney and Robert Eskildsen have called "mimetic imperialism".<sup>118</sup> It resembled but also differed from western imperialism. This does not mean, however, that Japanese imperialism was a "failed" or "incomplete" copy of the western model. Nor does it lead to the conclusion that Japanese imperialism was of its nature peculiar and thus constituted a unique manifestation of a universal western imperialism. Rather, it means that the "time lag" between Japanese imperialism and its Western counterparts required the Japanese to create a different "strategy of positional superiority" in relation to its colonised.<sup>119</sup> More importantly, Japan as a late-developing empire located in Asia and long indebted to Asian cultural influences had to establish an imperial supremacy and legitimacy that accorded with those historical realities. Therefore, in this book, in order to avoid any possible negative connotation arising from the dualities of authentic/false, primary/derived, mimetic/original or genuine, and standard/alternative I name Japanese imperialism "distinct imperialism", which is not to prioritise European imperialism, but instead suggests that Japanese imperialism had its own historical context, and therefore should be examined in its own right.

While racial discrimination played a crucial role in establishing colonial difference in many instances of European colonialism, it lacked the capacity to exert a decisive influence in establishing Japan's colonial rule in Taiwan and Manchuria. Unlike European imperialist powers whose colonial territories

<sup>116</sup> Ching, *Becoming Japanese*, 11.

<sup>117</sup> Stoler and Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony," 3.

<sup>118</sup> Robert Thomas Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 4.

<sup>119</sup> Ching, *Becoming Japanese*, 26.

were scattered across continents and oceans, Japan's colonial territories in East Asia formed a proximate and surrounding constellation. Even Germany, the equally short-lived latecomer to the contest, took colonial territories in distant Africa and Asia, and the Germans' racial difference from those they colonised was evident. In British India, race was the signifier to legitimise colonialism. In contrast, within the Japanese empire, especially in those areas where Chinese cultural influence was strong, the racial inferiority of the colonised was hard to define. Japan was frequently projected as racially related to the colonised of the Chinese cultural sphere. Although it is true that all forms of colonial difference are mere constructs devised to justify economic exploitation or military invasion, that of racial superiority was deprived of its suasive power in Japan's empire.

Instead of relying on racial discrimination, Japanese imperialism resorted in fact to the rhetoric of racial and cultural affinities, which was expressed in the slogan "of the same script, and the same race" (*dōbun dōshu* 同文同種) and culminated in the political programme of "the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere."<sup>120</sup> Many policies were designed accordingly. For example, during the interwar years officials in the Korean colonial government, the Japanese Romantic philosopher and literary critic Yasuda Yojūrō (保田與重郎 1910–1981), theorist of the "Plan for the Renovation of Japan" Kita Ikki (北一輝 1883–1937), and even the well-known Korean writer Yi Kwang-su (李光洙 1892–1950) all drew attention to blood ties between Korean royalty and the Japanese aristocracy, and even the imperial household.<sup>121</sup> The cultural or literary expression of a "whiteness" that was distinct from the "filthy black people" was seldom seen in Japanese colonial literature in Taiwan and Manchuria. Instead of otherness, a sameness constructed through the evocation of racial and bodily unity between coloniser and colonised was the idiom of rule in the Japanese empire.<sup>122</sup> The slogan "same script and the same race", while in reality no more than empty words to conceal colonial violence and discrimination, to some extent reveals the constraints on Japanese imperialism in

120 Here racial affinity was taken as a discourse. When advancing into the South Seas, Japan also invented this racial affinity with the "islanders" in the south, claiming that Japanese people's skin exhibits a South Sea colour and therefore Japanese were closer to the south than the "whites" who had intruded there. See Tomiyama Ichirō, "Colonialism and the Science of the Tropical Zone: The Academic Analysis of Difference in 'the Island Peoples,'" in *Formation of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, ed. Tani E. Barlow (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 199–222.

121 T. Fujitani, *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 22–23.

122 Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 49.

the twentieth century. Japan was under pressure to prove to western countries that Japan was a civilised nation and at the same time to its Asian neighbours that Japanese colonialism was fundamentally better than European tyranny because of the racial affinities.

Pan-Asianist movements across East Asia were the direct products of Japan's distinct imperialism. From the Japanese side, Japanese nationalists tended to represent themselves as also the victims of western imperialism even as Japan pushed its imperialism into areas occupied by people whom they claimed to see as "culturally or racially continuous with themselves".<sup>123</sup> From the Chinese, Korean or even Indian sides, nationalist aspirations and independence movements created many transnational links until most of them became disillusioned with the colonial empire that Japan had built at the expense of other nations.<sup>124</sup> For example, Marius B. Jansen has argued that the close cooperation of Sun Yat-sen with those Japanese nationalists, for instance, was conceivable only within the broader context of western imperialism, a threat which was rarely as acute as it was portrayed.<sup>125</sup> This common enemy provided only a negative and temporary basis for an alliance that was doomed to fail. However, Cemil Aydin demonstrates that behind the cooperation also lay the claim of racial affinity. He suggests that the idea of Asian solidarity began to be considered as a potential alternative to the aggressive policies of the West in East Asia as early as the 1890s.<sup>126</sup> It was built upon a racial antithesis between the yellow and white races. The appearance of such a call for racial solidarity in East Asia was ironically prompted by Japan's takeover of Taiwan and the Liaotung Peninsula in 1895 and the subsequent Triple Intervention.<sup>127</sup> In the wake of the First World War, when Japan's call for recognition of racial equality was rejected by the western powers, pan-Asian discourse again reached new heights.<sup>128</sup> For a nation-empire that grew up in the shadow of western imperialism, the rhetoric of western threat and a racial unification to combat it were equally important. They mutually created Japan's "distinct imperialism" contingent on its local context.

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123 Duara, "Nationalism, Imperialism, Federalism, and the Example of Manchukuo," 49–50.

124 Saaler and Szpilman, "Introduction," 6.

125 Marius B. Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 213, 220.

126 Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 54.

127 Ibid., 55.

128 Ibid., 141.

However, like all other colonialisms, Japanese colonialism in Taiwan and Manchukuo in the end depended for its success on the rule of colonial difference. Instead of race, concepts of nation and culture were often utilised to construct the language of colonial differences. Tessa Morris-Suzuki suggests that although the concept of race (*jinsbu* 人種) was widely used by some anthropologists, after about 1890 a growing number of Japanese writers showed a preference for “nation” (*minzoku* 民族).<sup>129</sup> Kevin M. Doak also argues:

Emphasizing racial elements in imperialism has proven useful in explaining American and European empires, but “race” can obfuscate several distinctive characteristics of wartime Japanese imperialism, while also displacing the political and nationalist functions of *minzoku* discourse.<sup>130</sup>

Michael Weiner suggests that during the Greater East Asian War the concept of nation almost came to replace race in social science.<sup>131</sup> Fujitani also states that in contrast to the Nazi regime, which managed populations through inclusion of those viewed as German within an explicitly articulated and biologically conceived “racial welfare state”, the Japanese total war regime shifted toward the strategy of “disavowing racism”.<sup>132</sup>

This does not mean that racism disappeared in the Japanese empire; rather, it manifested itself in other sociocultural areas, such as discrimination based on national differentiation. For example, Yukiko Koshiro argues that “the Japanese believed that other Asians” who had “the same skin colour and cultural backgrounds” could reach Japan’s level of civilisation as long as they adopted the “benevolent” Japanisation programme.<sup>133</sup> While racial affinity was stressed, the Asian others were still defined as inferior in terms of civilisation, a state which could be altered through the process of nationisation. Therefore, understandably, in Japan’s imperialist settings including formal colonies Taiwan and Korea as well as Manchukuo, marriage between Japanese and the

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<sup>129</sup> Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan*, 87.

<sup>130</sup> Kevin M. Doak, “Building National Identity through Ethnicity: Ethnology in Wartime Japan and After,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 27:1 (2001): 4.

<sup>131</sup> Michael Weiner, “The Invention of Identity: Race and Nation in Pre-war Japan,” in *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan*, ed. Frank Dikötter (London: Hurst, 1997), 99.

<sup>132</sup> Fujitani, *Race for Empire*, 7.

<sup>133</sup> Yukiko Koshiro, “East Asia’s ‘Melting-pot’: Reevaluating Race Relations in Japan’s Colonial Empire,” in *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia*, ed. Rotem Kowner and Walter Demel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 475.

Asian others was never officially banned.<sup>134</sup> In contrast, as will be discussed in Chapter Three, it was even encouraged in some cases. Discourses of nation and culture constructed the identities of both the colonised and the Japanese, at the same time as they maintained the boundaries between each other.

*Nationalism and Its Japanese Renditions in Taiwan and Manchuria*

The concept “nationalism” referring to a state of mind or an ideology of imagining a community originated in European history. Different approaches perceive nationalism as different things. For example, Ernest Gellner writes of “nationalism as a phenomenon, not as a doctrine presented by the nationalists”, and as “inherent in a certain set of social conditions”.<sup>135</sup> Others have seen nationalism as “first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness”.<sup>136</sup> Here I take Japanese nationalism developed in Taiwan and Manchuria as a process in which the conceptualisation of the social relations between self and others awaits historicising. It had its roots in the concrete everyday life of colonial societies, and was realised in and expressed through mundane practices, of which colonial literature was one prominent example.

In studies on Japanese nationalism, the concept has been scrutinised from various angles, as many new concepts such as “militarist nationalism”, “racial nationalism”, “popular nationalism”, “linguistic nationalism”, “cultural nationalism”, and “economic nationalism” came into being.<sup>137</sup> When translated into Japanese, the English word nationalism has been acknowledged as corresponding to at least three different Japanese concepts: *kokumin shugi* (国民主義), *kokka shugi* (国家主義) and *minzoku shugi* (民族主義), all of which are sometimes expressed as *nashonarizumu*.

*Kokumin shugi*, a combination of the two different entities *koku* (country) and *min* (people), is relevant to political concepts such as citizenship or nationality. It is the nationalism in which the claims of the people are favoured over those of the state. Alternate back-translations such as “popular nationalism” or “civic nationalism” are appropriate here.<sup>138</sup> *Kokumin*, as a common term, first

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 477.

<sup>135</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 120.

<sup>136</sup> Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of Its Origins and Background* (New York: Macmillan, 1944), 10.

<sup>137</sup> Brian J. McVeigh, *Nationalisms of Japan: Managing and mystifying Identity* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 5.

<sup>138</sup> Dick Stegewerns, “The Dilemma of Nationalism and Internationalism,” in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan*, ed. Dick Stegewerns (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 12.

appeared in the 1871 Household Register Law, after which it was widely used to replace the concept “subject” (*shinmin* 臣民) that was pervasive in Imperial Rescripts.<sup>139</sup> *Kokumin* became the symbol of the achievements of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement. However, in the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (*Dai Nihon teikoku kenpō* 大日本帝国憲法 1889), it was the *shinmin* rather than *kokumin* that became the subject of the Japanese empire.

The antithesis of *kokumin shugi* is considered to be *kokka shugi*, the literal interpretation of which is similar to statism. In post-war Japan, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, Japanese nationalism was claimed to have accounted for the emergence of imperialism. Maruyama Masao came up with the theory of “ultra-nationalism” (*chōkokka shugi* 超国家主義) to criticise Japan’s imperialist history.<sup>140</sup> He argues:

Prior to 15 August [1945] Japan experienced the highest phase of nationalism, labelled “ultra-nationalism”, and its crushing denouement. Among the nations of the East, Japan is the only one to have lost her virginity so far as nationalism is concerned.<sup>141</sup>

His purpose was to rescue the history of *kokumin* that was suppressed under the powerful emperor system from the dark history of *kokka shugi*. A perceived collusion between Japanese nationalism and imperialism has been widely accepted in many studies. The relationship between these two has often succinctly been summarised as “ultra-nationalism”, “extreme nationalism”,<sup>142</sup> “imperialised nationalism”,<sup>143</sup> “imperial nationalism”,<sup>144</sup> or “imperialist

139 Yun Kōn-ch’a 尹健次, *Minzokugensō no satetsu: Nihonjin no jikozō* 民族幻想の蹉跌：日本人の自己像 [*The Failure of National Illusions: The Japanese and their Self-Image*] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1994), 30–33.

140 Ultra-nationalism was expressed in some cases as extreme nationalism (*kyokutan kokka shugi* 極端国家主義).

141 Maruyama Masao, “Nationalism in Japan: Its Theoretical Background and Prospects,” in *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, trans. Titus David, ed. Ivan Morris (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 137. In Maruyama’s original Japanese text, he used Japanese hiragana *nashonarizumu*.

142 Maruyama used these two terms; see Maruyama Masao, “Theory and Psychology of Ultra-Nationalism,” in *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, trans. Ivan Morris, 1.

143 Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 12.

144 Sakai Naoki, “Subject and Substratum: on Japanese Imperial Nationalism,” *Cultural Studies* 14: 3 & 4 (2000): 462–530. Sakai Naoki, “Imperial Nationalism and the Comparative Perspective,” *Positions* 17: 1 (2009): 159–205.

nationalism”,<sup>145</sup> with Japanese nationalism understood as the driving force that authorised Japanese expansion in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Takahashi Tetsuya, in contrast to Maruyama and his confidence in the existence of Japan’s insulated *kokumin*, believes that the “Japanese nation and national subjects were both produced in the process of modernisation of the state after the Meiji Restoration,” and therefore cannot be easily separated.<sup>146</sup> Yoshimi Yoshiaki’s reading of hundreds of letters, diaries, and surveys reveals how official slogans such as “holy war” can be embraced at the grassroots level of society and become part of the language of daily life.<sup>147</sup> Louise Young has also demonstrated that the development of Japanese imperialism in Manchukuo was fully engaged with state formation and nation building, thereby becoming “total imperialism.”<sup>148</sup> The most striking feature of this form of “total imperialism” was that it gave expression to the interests of the whole empire, ranging from the top military officers to the ordinary Japanese who consciously or unconsciously supported the war in Manchuria. The social realm of citizens was not insulated from the rest of the empire and its significance has been often downplayed in the narration of Japan’s imperialist history.

The concept of *kokumin* had an even more complicated history when Japan’s colonial history was considered. Japanese imperialism, which espoused to the “same script, and the same race” slogan, achieved a somewhat similar outcome by granting citizenship to people in the colonial sphere. In French Senegal, Vietnam and Algeria, the French government granted citizenship to the colonised only when certain levels of French language fluency were achieved and religious requirements were met.<sup>149</sup> However, in the Japanese case, regardless of the level of cultural assimilation or socio-economic status, the colonised populace in Taiwan and Korea held Japanese citizenship, and they became Japan’s *kokumin* or “people of Japan”, though their colonial status was preserved through the family registry system. Unlike the Taiwanese, who in 1895 were given two years to elect whether or not to become Japan’s national subjects, Koreans were even denied the chance to reject Japan’s offer and prohibited from being naturalised in other “countries”, such as Manchukuo. After

145 Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 13.

146 Takahashi Tetsuya 高橋哲哉, *Guojia yu xisheng* 国家与牺牲 [State and Sacrifice], trans. Xu Man (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2008), 83.

147 See Yoshimi Yoshiaki 吉見義明, *Kusa no ne no fashizumu: Nihon minshū no sensō taiken* 草の根のファシズム：日本民衆の戦争体験 [Grassroots Fascism: The Wartime Experience of the Japanese Public] (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1987).

148 See Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*.

149 Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea*, 22.



1925, both Koreans and Taiwanese who lived in Japan could even vote and be voted for.<sup>150</sup> A *kokumin* of the Japanese empire meant an individual who held Japanese nationality. They did not need to meet any racial prerequisites. Colonial integration relied heavily on the premise that all people within the empire belonged to “Japan”.

Japan's rule in Manchuria and the subsequent establishment of Manchukuo in 1932 further complicates the concept of *kokumin*. In contrast to Maruyama's belief in *kokumin shugi* as a counterforce to imperialism, Emer O'Dwyer has demonstrated that colonial policy in Manchuria and later Manchukuo was shaped by what she calls “democratic imperialism”. For the staff of the SMR, democracy meant pursuing a core set of convictions with the democratic imperialism of the early Taishō period. Democratic imperialism turned Japanese living in Manchuria into “colonial *kokumin*”.<sup>151</sup> The democracy and the Japanese civilian power which remained aloof from the non-Japanese population became a major driving force behind the consolidation of colonial rule in this area. When Manchukuo was founded, its Japanese and Chinese populations and other national groups were all supposed to become citizens of Manchukuo and possess Manchukuo nationality. The meaning of “colonial *kokumin*” was thereby transformed from Japan's *kokumin* to Manchukuo's *kokumin*. An announcement was made in early July 1932 that the South Manchurian Railway Company would cut its employees' hardship allowance because the location could no longer be considered “foreign”. It had become a new territory for the cultivation of a new *kokumin*.<sup>152</sup>

When analysing the reasons that led to the overwhelming influence of *minzoku*, Kevin M. Doak has argued that a large number of Marxists declared their conversion to nationalism either because they saw the nation as the true embodiment of proletarian hopes for social justice in East Asia or because they supported an attack on global, capitalist imperialism.<sup>153</sup> However, these assumptions are not necessarily valid for pan-Asianists or Marxist sympathisers in Manchuria, as the new Manchurian *kokumin* generated a sense of independence that sometimes ran against Japanese nationalism, as demonstrated by Ōuchi's many early articles on Manchukuo's economy and politics. For Ōuchi and other Japanese living in Manchukuo the formulation of their identities and their position vis-à-vis Manchukuo needed to fashion a unique way out of the contradiction between nationalism and “democratic imperialism”.

150 Ts'ai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building*, 200.

151 O'Dwyer, “People's Empire,” 122.

152 Ibid., 339.

153 Doak, “Building National Identity through Ethnicity,” 6.



Yet, Manchukuo's claim to the status of independent state that could confer the title of *kokumin* on its own people eventually came into conflict with empire's rhetoric of mobilising the Japanese *kokumin*. Under the provisions of Japanese law, it was impossible for those Japanese migrants and Korean colonials who already had Japanese nationality to hold another Manchukuo nationality. It is no surprise that in reality there had been no such thing as Manchukuo nationality or citizenship despite the liberal use of the phrase "Manchukuo *kokumin*" in colonial propaganda. No matter how well-meaning the original idea of democratic imperialism was, after 1935 it steadily became the case that the metropolis-focused ideology prevailed in Manchukuo, and the original idea of Manchukuo *kokumin* was overridden by Japanese centrism.<sup>154</sup> In the 1940s, like Taiwan, Manchukuo was integrated into the Japanese empire and "Manchukuo's *kokumin*" virtually became "Japan's *kokumin*". Many cultural and literary movements in Taiwan also had counterparts in Manchukuo, though the colonial policy of assimilation was not pushed in the way seen in Taiwan and Korea. Rather than working consistently, effectively, and legitimately to define the duties and rights of the Japanese populace and the colonised across the empire, concepts of citizenship and nationality became the rhetoric for what Komagome Takeshi calls "the integration of the people of Japan" (*kokumin tōgō* 国民統合).<sup>155</sup> The complicated history of *kokumin* in Taiwan and Manchuria suggests that Maruyama's longing for the "good" and "untainted" *kokumin* had the tendency to ignore the constructed nature of *kokumin* and its historical involvement in Japan's colonisation of Taiwan, Korea and other Asian countries, as if the history of Japanese *kokumin shugi* could be narrated without any consideration of Japan's interaction with Asian countries.<sup>156</sup>

The concept of *minzoku shugi* refers to an ethnically unified people.<sup>157</sup> It can be found in terms such as "nation-state" (*minzoku kokka* 民族国家), "ethnology" (*minzokugaku* 民族学), "national spirit" (*minzoku seishin* 民族精神), "national consciousness" (*minzoku ishiki* 民族意識) and "national culture" (*minzoku bunka* 民族文化). Although Japan were often perceived as a society with a strong sense of group and national identity, many studies have

154 O'Dwyer, "People's Empire," 22.

155 Komagome, *Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no bunka tōgō*, 3.

156 Sakai Naoki 酒井直樹, "Maruyama Masao no kansei, nashonarizumu, reishizumu, hyūmanizumu 丸山真男の陥穽, ナショナリズム, レイシズム, ヒューマニズム [Interview: Traps in Maruyama Masao, Nationalism, Racism, Humanism]," *Daikōkai* 24 (October 1998): 31.

157 In some texts, including Kevin M. Doak's many books and articles and John Lie's *Multithnic Japan*, *minzoku* has been translated as "ethnicity".

already debunked the assumption of Japan's national homogeneity. As Oguma Eiji notes, the corollary of the defeat in 1945 was that Japan lost its territories in Korea, Taiwan, and other places where theories of a multinational empire can be deployed.<sup>158</sup> The myth of a homogeneous Japanese state made of a single nation is to a large extent a post-war phenomenon. Japan is now conventionally understood as a nation-state; however, the system of modern nation-states, which grew in western Europe in the late seventeenth century, did not spread into every corner of the world until the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>159</sup> The modern history of Japan, as John Lie claims, was the history of its multiethnic [multinational] composition, and the goal was to assimilate "incomplete Japanese".<sup>160</sup>

In fact, the discourse on the Japanese nation only matured as Japan's expansion took place, at a time when Japanese people more frequently came to deal with people of different languages, cultures, religions, even races. In many cases it was constructed as a response to the menace of losing national identity due to the colonial, transnational or global entanglement. According to Koyasu Nobukuni, the term *minzoku*, indicating a group of people sharing the same language, folkloric traditions and spiritual history, did not appear in any Japanese dictionary until the publication of *A Great Ocean of Words* (*Daigenkai* 大言海) in the 1930s, which was a period of Japan's accelerating interaction with colonial or semi-colonial others, even though the launching of the journal *Nihonjin* in 1888 in Japan ushered in a new era of Japanese *minzoku*.<sup>161</sup> In Taiwan, for example, the categories of Japanese nation and national literature only needed to be defined and defended at the point when colonial mimicry and hybridity threatened to obscure the boundary between the coloniser and the colonised. The issue of nation became especially important during Japan's colonial expansion in the early twentieth century.

As to the role *minzoku* played during Japan's expansion, Doak suggests that blaming imperialism on extreme statism, as Maruyama did, neglected the supportive role played by millions of ordinary Japanese across the empire. Instead, he argues that "nationalist sentiments", which is to say Japanese ethnicity

158 Oguma Eiji 小熊英二, *Tan'itsu minzoku shinwa no kigen: "Nihonjin" no jigazō no keifu* 単一民族神話の起源: 「日本人」の自画像の系譜 [*The Origins of the Myth of a Homogeneous Nation: A Genealogy of "Japanese" Self-images*] (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1995), 339.

159 Mariko Asano Tamanoi, *Memory Maps: The State and Manchuria in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 140.

160 Lie, *Multiethnic Japan*, 84, 121–122.

161 Koyasu Nobukuni 子安宣邦, *Nihon nashonarizumu no kaidoku* 日本ナショナリズムの解読 [*Explaining of Japanese Nationalism*] (Tokyo: Hakutakusha, 2007), 133.

(*minzoku*), were “not merely compatible with wartime ideology but had actually fanned the flames of wartime aggression more effectively than the Japanese state ever could.”<sup>162</sup> In the Japanese empire, the social space of *minzoku* was tied with colonial differences. Resting on “racial affinity” and “the integration of the people of Japan”, the legitimacy of Japanese imperialism in East Asia was derived from the construction of national and cultural differences that helped to draw the boundary between “us Japanese” and “you colonised”. When citizenship and nationality integrated the colonised people and made them subject to taxation and conscription, it was concepts of nation running on the basis of both culturally and physiologically constructed determinants that served as the discrimination screen to constantly exclude the others from “us Japanese”. In both Taiwan and Manchukuo, the Japanese *kokumin* who migrated from metropolitan Japan were fundamentally different from either the Taiwanese or Manchukuo *kokumin*, because, nationally, they were considered part of the Yamato *minzoku* because of the family registry system that tightly guarded the national boundary of Japan. Even if formal nationality was conferred, its acquisition guaranteed the colonised few practical benefits of national belonging as granted by the dominant community. National acceptance was determined on the criteria of cultural descent and economic status far more than by state acceptance.<sup>163</sup> The colonised *kokumin* were encouraged to be accept Japanese nationality, but could never be as Japanese as their Japanese colonisers. This process, which assimilates as it simultaneously excludes the colonised others, is identified by Leo Ching as “discriminatory assimilation”.<sup>164</sup> Through this seemingly paradoxical process in cultural and social areas, colonialism was legitimised without risking any obscuration of colonial differences.

However, the problem with Doak’s argument is that, since he does not deal with Japanese ethnicity as a constructed discourse, his substitution of “ethnicity” for Maruyama’s ultranationalism seems to argue for the existence of a Japanese national character that is immutable and insulated from the influence of other concepts.<sup>165</sup> Yet, contrary to his assumption, the use of *minzoku* that appeared in many Japanese wartime writings in the conceptual sense did not argue for the independence of ethnicity from the mediation of state, civil society, or modernity.<sup>166</sup> As Naoki Sakai has pointed out, during the Second World War no major book-length Japanese publication on *minzoku ron*, or the

162 Doak, “Building National Identity through Ethnicity,” 2.

163 Sakai, “Imperial Nationalism and the Comparative Perspective,” 190.

164 Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”*, 103.

165 Sakai, “Imperial Nationalism and the Comparative Perspective,” 183.

166 *Ibid.*, 185.

theory of the nation, failed to note the difficulties in distinguishing the nation in terms of a political union from the nation in the sense of ethnic community.<sup>167</sup> In other words, as a concept rather than an entity, *minzoku*, was always constructed through associations with other concepts and terms.<sup>168</sup>

The construction of national difference rested on both cultural and physiological determinants.<sup>169</sup> Across the empire, not only statesmen but also scientists, historians, and writers were engaged in setting up the criteria of being “Japanese”. For example, as demonstrated by Michael Weiner, throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, numerous publications including articles in the populist journal *Japanism* (*Nihonshugi* 日本主義) argued a biological or genetic basis for the distinctiveness and superiority of the Japanese people.<sup>170</sup> The concepts of nation can also be expressed in terms of culture, referring to a community bound together by ties of language and tradition.<sup>171</sup> For example, the Japanese national language, *kokugo*, was said to embody the Japanese soul.<sup>172</sup> Cultural nationalism, whose pillars were common ancestry and language, shared history and tradition, thus generated the meaning of “Japaneseness” through powerful images of national purity and homogeneity.<sup>173</sup> In the literary sphere of colonial Taiwan, Nishikawa and Shimada Kinji adhered to this tendency, and affirmed the identity of Japanese based on the use of Japanese (national) language.

The Japanese government not only created many national myths but also set up standards to regulate the cultures of the others within the empire. For example, the Meiji government not only banned the earrings and tattoos of Ainu people, to remove those visible markers that could distinguish Ainu from the Japanese nation, it also forbade their religion.<sup>174</sup> These measures to regulate the culture of other nations were repeated in Taiwan and Korea. For example, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, from June 1936 to November 1940 the Governor-General’s Office of Taiwan under Kobayashi Seizō launched the policy of “Regulating Temples” to eliminate Taiwanese superstition and

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167 Ibid., 187.

168 This is the reason why in this book I insist on using the word “nation” rather than “ethnicity” to translate *minzoku*. The latter tends to set up *minzoku* as an area, be it constructed or fundamental, insulated from other conceptual or social aspects.

169 Weiner, “The Invention of Identity,” 98.

170 Ibid., 99.

171 Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan*, 87.

172 Eika Tai, “Kokugo and Colonial Education in Taiwan,” *Positions* 7: 2 (Fall 1999): 506–507.

173 Weiner, “The Invention of Identity,” 101.

174 David L. Howell, “Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State,” *Past & Present* 142 (February 1994): 91, 69–93.

restrain “backward” customs.<sup>175</sup> Taiwanese people were forced to abandon their so-called “backward” traditions, acquire Japanese language, attend Shinto shrines, and adopt Japanese daily customs and cultural practices. In a word, they were to be assimilated into becoming “Japanese”. In Manchuria, as Louise Young has suggested, many discourses such as “corruptibility”, “lack of patriotism”, and “banditry” were used to cast aspersions on Chinese nationalism, to exploit cheap working labour and even to justify the killing of civilians.<sup>176</sup> Therefore, it was not that the desire to preserve Japanese national essence that fanned the flames of wartime aggression. Rather, the military, economic, and political advantage Japan acquired through imperialism was legitimised by discourses of racial affinity and national difference.

However, Japanese colonial policies were highly contingent, and therefore as Oguma has demonstrated, there was no unitary discourse of nationalism that dominated the entire history of Japan’s empire building.<sup>177</sup> Matthias Zachmann has noticed that in those highly emblematic texts such as in the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 or the so-called “Fundamentals of Our National Polity” (*kokutai no hongī* 国体の本義) of 1937, the unbroken line of the emperors and the core of the “national essence” was clearly articulated. At the same time, however, in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere Japan tended to achieve cooperation by endorsing multiracial and multinational policies.<sup>178</sup> According to Zachmann, this is due to Japan’s differentiated dealing with domestic politics and foreign relations.<sup>179</sup> In Taiwan, the insistence on the uniqueness of Japanese nation and the colonial policy of assimilation in the late 1930s were theoretically incompatible. Eika Tai suggests that the simultaneous tasks of formulating the Japanese identity on the basis of the exclusive possession of Japanese national language and spirit and of spreading the Japanese national essentiality to the colonised inevitably led to what Benedict Anderson calls “the inner incompatibility of empire and the nation”.<sup>180</sup> This became especially evident after 1936 when the empire determined to stretch

175 Cai Jintang 蔡錦堂, *Nihon teikoku shugika Taiwan no shūkyō seisaku* 日本帝國主義下台灣的宗教政策 [*Religion Policy in Taiwan under Japanese Imperial Rule*] (Tokyo: Dōseisha, 1994), 230.

176 Louise Young, “Rethinking Race for Manchukuo,” in *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan*, 165–167.

177 Oguma, *Tan’itsu minzoku shinwa no kigen*.

178 Urs Matthias Zachmann, “Race and International Law in Japan’s New Order in East Asia, 1938–1945,” in *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia*, ed. Rotem Kowner and Walter Demel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 456.

179 Ibid., 456–457.

180 Tai, “Kokugo and Colonial Education in Taiwan,” 509.

to the South. Taiwan was reshaped into a “blood relationship” or “family relationship” with metropolitan Japan. Colonies like Taiwan and Korea became empire’s “adopted children”.<sup>181</sup> Similar to many cases of European colonialism, concepts of nation, citizenship, culture and civilisation were constructed to be juxtaposed against each other at different stages and areas of the Japanese empire. Japanese nationalism was largely constructed during the process of interacting with Asian people when transnational forces such as imperialism, regionalism and pan-Asianism played a decisive role in moulding identities.

### Colonial Literature Represents the Empire

Literary representations are crucial to both colonialism and imperialism, as has been demonstrated by Michel Foucault, Raymond Williams, and Edward Said, among others. Literature in colonial context reflects or articulates dominant ideologies as well as contributing to the defining and imagining of colonial projects. Nevertheless, it also encodes the tensions, complexities and nuances within colonial cultures.<sup>182</sup> Colonial literature, therefore, serves as an illuminative site to reveal the complicated relationship between Japanese writers and the colonial project that contributed to Japan’s modernity.

While studies on Japanese colonial culture and literature date back to the 1960s, it was not until the end of the twentieth century that colonial literature became a prominent research area. One major early achievement of colonial literary studies was Ozaki Hotsuki’s *The Scars of Modern Literature* (*Kindai bungaku no kizuato* 近代文学の傷痕) published in 1963. A revival of research interest in colonial literature and culture started in 1990, signalled by Kawamura Minato’s *Shōwa Era Literature of a Different Homeland* (*Ikyō no Shōwa bungaku* 異郷の昭和文学) that not only studies Japanese literature in Manchukuo but highlights its intellectual and historical connection with Shōwa Japan. This was followed by Fujii Shōzō’s *A Century of Taiwanese Literature* (*Taiwan bungaku kono hyakunen* 台湾文学この百年), in which Fujii offers a broad view of the language, culture, education, literature, reading market and political trends in colonial Taiwan.

From 2000 onward colonial literature has become a growing field. For example, the “genealogy of exoticism” from Satō Haruo to Nishikawa Mitsuru that was charted by Fujii had a profound influence on Faye Yuan Kleeman, whose *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*

181 Weiner, “The Invention of Identity,” 107–108.

182 Ania Loomba, *Colonialism-postcolonialism* (London, New York: Routledge, 1998), 70.

is one of the significant studies that address the problem of Taiwan's colonial literature in the light of Japan's imperialist desire toward the South. In the field of colonial literature in Manchukuo, Okada Hideki's research focuses on Chinese writers and Chinese literature. His *Manchukuo Seen through Literature* (*Bungaku ni miru "Manshūkoku" no isō* 文学に見る「満州国」の位相) seeks to understand the Sino-Japanese communication in that space. Okada is a member of the Manchukuo Literature Research Group (*Manshūkoku bungaku kenkyūkai* 「満州国」文学研究会) that was set up in 2001 in Japan and has contributed enormously to the research on Manchukuo's literary and cultural production.

Due to their particular social and historical constraints, most earlier studies on Japanese colonial literature in either Taiwan or Manchuria are largely confined to their respective geographical boundaries and thus do not register the connectedness and contrasts across the empire. Kleeman's research forgoes the opportunity to scrutinise the characteristics of Japanese colonial literature beyond the specificity of place. Since Japan's military and diplomatic policies not only connected the South and the North but also generated significant personnel and logistical flows between Taiwan and Manchuria, a comparative study encompassing these two areas will reveal aspects that a singular perspective might otherwise obscure. For example, exoticism, which is studied in Fujii's and Kleeman's books, was an issue in literary debates in both Taiwan and Manchukuo. Japanese literature and cultural products in these two places demonstrated a strong desire to exoticise the local history, the natural environment, the customs, and religion. The Manchuria that appeared in officially sanctioned films and photos was more or less confined to the exotic image repertoire of the type "sun setting below the horizon," "rolling Songhua River," "express train whizzing past the fields," and "Harbin's stylish Russian streets." Through popular films and books, images of Manchuria gained wide currency in Taiwan and Korea also.<sup>183</sup> Michael Baskett even suggests that Manchuria's vast plains proved more attractive to metropolitan Japanese audiences than Taiwan's "narrow" island scenery.<sup>184</sup> Closely related to this exoticism was the tension between the national and colonial, an identity conflict that was captured in the debates over Japanese literature and local literature, which also played out in the two places. Yet, as I shall show in Part III of this book,

183 Nishihara Kazumi 西原和海, "Shashin ni miru 'Manshū' imēji 写真に見る「満洲」イメージ [The Image of Manchuria Seen from Photos]," *Kan: rekishi kankyō bunmei* 10 (2002): 268–276.

184 Baskett, *The Attractive Empire*, 14.



certain variations became apparent between them, due to their respective social conditions.

When Taiwan's colonial literature and history have been studied without reference to other places, a simple dichotomy between two parties emerges. Taiwan, or the South centred on it, is drawn as an enclosed area, and portrayed as insulated from external influences. In this delimited sphere, neither Taiwan nor Japan apparently has a prior history of interacting with others. Due to the enclosure of the space, there is no way to see any of the influences contributing to the ferment of Japan's "genealogy of the South" other than Japanese colonial policy centred on Taiwan; also it is difficult to conceptualise that the starting point of the genealogy actually lay somewhere beyond Taiwan. This obscures the history of mutual encounter between Japan and the colonies. The literary tradition the colonial writers inherited from their national literary history constituted the "common history" and "shared culture" from which their identities could be generated. For a better understanding of Japanese nationalism and its variations across colonies, it is necessary to uncover the literary and intellectual mobility from a comparative and transnational perspective.

If one moves away from the "common history" between metropolitan Japan and its colonies, an even grander picture emerges. Literary and cultural exoticism in twentieth century Japan can be seen as embedded in a global cultural context of which Japan was a significant part, particularly when literary exoticism is placed in the broader framework of Japanese modern literature, starting with the Meiji period. The remnants of European imperialist power drew Japan's exotic imagination toward port cities in the South, while this form of exoticism was further enhanced during the process of Japan's imperialist expansion. A comparative perspective can complicate our understanding of Japanese colonial literature as well as the national canon that has long been studied from within.

A comparative and transnational perspective means not only transcending geographical boundaries, but also conducting a dialogue between both the Japanese and Chinese sides. In *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*, Prasenjit Duara has taken an interest in the cultural rhetoric that Manchukuo's "sovereignty and authenticity" relied on. In one chapter he pays special attention to Chinese writer Liang Shanding's oscillation between nativism and Chinese nationalism and its artistic representation in literature.<sup>185</sup> Yet, Duara's understanding of Liang's nationalism could have been further enriched if he had looked into their translations into Japanese as well. Norman Smith's *Resisting Manchukuo: Chinese Women*

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185 Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 221–244.



*Writers and the Japanese Occupation* also takes Chinese writing under Japanese rule in Manchukuo as its focus, though his interest lies in the life trajectories of women writers and their response to imperialist policies. He argues that Japan's hegemonic position as well as Japanese-language sources narrating the history of Manchukuo have long overshadowed a study of the vast majority of the population, namely the Chinese. His study of the identities and writings of Chinese women writers is based, therefore, on is based accordingly on Chinese sources and drew its perspectives from the Chinese side.

However, an inquiry into a selection of Chinese identities under Japanese political control is not obliged to cleave exclusively to a Chinese outlook. A comparative perspective that looks into the Japanese translation of Chinese writings may achieve a similar goal, due to the literary interaction and contextual contact between the Japanese and the Chinese cultural sphere even in the colonial period. Studies imbued with transnational perspectives that cross geographical, national and linguistic boundaries have emerged in the past decade. Apart from research on specific locations such as Taiwan or Manchukuo, there has been a trend recently to treat colonial literature in a more general way.<sup>186</sup> In Japan, in 2002 the Colonial Culture Research Group (*Shokuminchi bunka kenkyūkai* 植民地文化研究会), formed by scholars across Japan, Taiwan and China, was established in Japan

In English similar efforts also can be seen in works by Annika A. Culver, Karen Laura Thornber, and Kimberly T. Kono. For example, Thornber not only demonstrates the consumption of Japanese literature in Taiwan, Korea, and occupied Chinese areas, but she also highlights the role of urban centres such as Beijing, Shanghai, Seoul, Taipei, and the larger cities of Manchuria in the nebula of intercultural artistic dialogue.<sup>187</sup> Culver explores the tension between the central imperial capital of Tokyo and colonial periphery and its impact on Japanese avant-garde writing in Manchuria and Shanghai. Thornber and Culver approach the transnational literary history from different perspectives. Rather than focusing on the political impact on literary exchanges among East Asian writers, Thornber demonstrates that the literary interactions maintained some distance from colonial and political domains, even though imperialist discourse often compromised artistic relationships.<sup>188</sup> Culver,

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186 In the past ten years, the Yumani Press in Japan has published 47 volumes of *Collections of Japanese Colonial Literature* (*Nihon shokuminchi bungaku seisenshū* 日本植民地文学精選集), covering literature of Taiwan, Manchuria, Korea and the other parts of the Japanese empire.

187 See Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion*.

188 Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion*, 33.

however, places emphasis on the historical and political context of Japanese avant-garde literature.<sup>189</sup> In her latest book *Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo*, Culver argues that the Manchukuo-themed cultural works produced by Japanese artists served as a form of propaganda not only because they embellished the dominant colonial ideology, but also because of how they were published and displayed, and of their compromised relationship with governmental organisations.<sup>190</sup> In contrast, Thornber lays more emphasis on negotiation and even collaboration during the reception of Japanese literature within the Japanese empire, since East Asia had long enjoyed a history of literary and intellectual exchange. Much like Culver who has paid much attention on the political influences, Kono has studied “the use of romantic and familial tropes in the colonial context of the late colonial period”<sup>191</sup> Through her research on Japanese writers in Manchuria, Korea and Taiwan, Kono has established the relation between colonising Japanese and colonised subjects, as well as that of the colonies with metropolitan Japan. Collectively, these studies have enlarged our understanding of literary production and exchanges from multiple angles and dimensions.

Nevertheless, all of these studies thus far maintain the concept of literature as primarily literary texts. A similar yet different transnational methodology can be found in Michael Baskett’s study of Japanese film culture in Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria, and Shanghai. Baskett argues that an analysis of the empire’s film culture should take into account production of the film across various geographical locations, as well as diverse contexts including legislation, distribution, exhibition, criticism, and reception, reading against *manga*, popular music, and film journals.<sup>192</sup> By drawing cultural representation from different sources, Baskett demonstrates that throughout the empire, Japanese film culture constructed shifting images of the Asian others, whether in proximity or in contradistinction to the image of Japan, which itself was also a product of cultural construction. In many cases, Japanese colonial literature cannot be clearly separated from other products of the intellect. As demonstrated by Robert Tierney’s *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame*, writers of literature and social scientists collaborated in the creation of fields of knowledge formulating new ideas of Japan that could

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189 Culver, “Between Distant Realities,” 27–29.

190 Annika A. Culver, *Glorify the Empire: Japanese “Avant-Garde” Propaganda in Manchukuo* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 3.

191 Kono, *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature*, 3.

192 Baskett, *The Attractive Empire*, 1–12.

be used to forge the empire's relationships to the colonies.<sup>193</sup> Ethnography, folklore, literature, and colonial policy shared common resources and contributed to the same aim: to better understand and objectify the aborigines in Taiwan.<sup>194</sup> In order to study those new paradigms of knowledge, literary texts must be linked to the wider socio-political nexus in which they were embedded.

An even larger picture has emerged in the study of the multifaceted history of German colonialism. The editors of *Mit Deutschland um die Welt* embrace not only literature and the arts in the narrow sense, but also museums and archaeology; travel and tourism; medicine and eugenics; ethnology and racial classification; exhibitions and commercial entertainments; postcards and newspaper illustrations, as well as film and advertising. The message this volume conveys is that the properties of "other strangeness" attributed to the colonised were ones of neither geography nor ethnicity; in contrast, such images of the colonised relied for their plausibility solely on colonial relations as supported by a variety of organisations and institutions.<sup>195</sup> In a similar way, scholars of Japanese cultural imperialism, aware of the myriad ways colonialism permeated every facet of life, have started to study a range of primary materials including legal documents, children's literature, cookbooks and serialised comics, as well as literary texts. This variety of cultural texts and contexts formed what Michele Mason and Helen Lee call "the mechanism of power" that produced subjection, surveillance, and subjection of the others.<sup>196</sup> Only when these various texts and contexts are linked does the disturbing picture sketched by archaeology, linguistics and anthropology, literature and colonial policy become clearer.

Literature endowed with a role as part of the mechanism of imperialist knowledge production was common to almost all colonial situations. For example, travel writings such as G. A. Henty's novel for young adults, Rider Haggard's adventure stories, and Kipling's fictions played a significant role in producing the British Empire's differentiated conception of itself in relation to another entity that could be called the rest of the world.<sup>197</sup> Yet, the role literature played in Japanese imperialism was more than dissemination of colonial clichés. Japanese colonial literature had an especially close relation with

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193 Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery*, 2.

194 Ibid.

195 Alexander Honold and Klaus R. Scherpe, "Einleitung: Für eine deutsche. Kulturgeschichte des Fremden," in *Mit Deutschland um die Welt: eine Kulturgeschichte des Fremden in der Kolonialzeit*, ed. Alexander Honold; Klaus R. Scherpe (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2004), 8.

196 Mason and Lee, "Introduction," 12.

197 Loomba, *Colonialism-postcolonialism*, 73.

colonial knowledge production. Newly established colonial rule initiated in the twentieth century was different from earlier colonial rule in that it went hand in hand with modernisation in various fields. Literature was also incorporated into the grand mission of creating a discourse of civilisation. Across the empire, “amateur” researchers and writers like Nishikawa and Ōuchi not only shared in the general research atmosphere and achievements, but also contributed to the further consolidation of the network. This distinguishes Japan from many other imperialist countries. Literary activities on the one hand were supported by many research institutions across the empire. For example, Taipei Imperial University and Keijo Imperial University (in Seoul) were heavily involved in Japanese literary activities in both Taiwan and Korea; and it was even common for SMR staff to participate in literature. On the other hand, literature acquired a significant role in research activities. Many social science disciplines had not yet been clearly defined; thus amateurs could easily find opportunities to put themselves forward as experts. Ōuchi’s literary critiques of the early 1930s were initially written to further SMR’s research on Chinese literature. Literature was not cultivated for its own sake.

Accordingly, similar to the idea proposed by Michele Mason and Helen Lee call, the concept of “literature” I have adopted in this book is not confined to its narrow definition, referring only to fiction, poetry, prose, essay, drama, and other conventional genres. Instead, I make a case for the inclusion of translation as a type of rewriting, as well as folklores, news reportage, and war memories published in the post-war era. I seek the connections between literature and its social and intellectual contexts and transgress the conventional boundaries that demarcate literature, social science, intellectual history and history. The discussion of Japanese-language literature in Taiwan and Manchukuo also involves introducing the activities of a group of Japanese intellectuals and researchers. My vision of Japanese colonial literature as offered in this book encompasses various factors, including the social and historical conditions of Taiwan and Manchuria, the metropolis and the colonies, as they come into contact and interact with each other.

PART ONE

*Exoticising the Other, Reinventing the Self*





# National Literature and Beyond

## The Young Poet

Nishikawa Mitsuru was an influential author, publisher, and editor who based his entire career on the development of Taiwan, but he was born in 1908 in a seigniorial family in Fukushima, Japan. His grandfather was the city's first mayor after the Meiji Reform period. Nishikawa's given name "Mitsuru" was intended to commemorate his father Nishikawa Jun (西川純 d. 1944)'s experience in Manchuria as a veteran of the Russo-Japanese War.<sup>1</sup> In December 1903, Nishikawa Jun joined the infantry, and on 27 March 1904 he landed in *Liushu tun*, a small village in China's Liaoning Province. After the war, he received the sixth grade medal of the Rising Sun of Silver Rays (*Kun rokutō tankō kyokujitsushō* 勳六等单光旭日章) and a pension of 400 Japanese yen for his achievement.<sup>2</sup>

In 1910, the entire family set sail for Keelung, located in the north-eastern part of Taiwan. Immediately after Japan's acquisition of Taiwan as its first colony, immigration to Taiwan was forbidden. Even the Japanese who landed in Taiwan via Hong Kong or China were regarded as illegal. However, Japanese people were permitted to immigrate to Taiwan in 1896, and the number of Japanese immigrants soon amounted to 10,000 in a span of just 10 months. By the time Nishikawa and his family moved to Taiwan in 1910, the population had almost reached 100,000.<sup>3</sup> Initially, Nishikawa's father sought refuge with his younger brother who managed the iron-ore industry in Taiwan. Nishikawa's uncle was one of many Japanese immigrants to Taiwan who wanted to escape hardships or business failures in Japan. Nishikawa's father moved to Taiwan because his mining business in Japan had failed. On the island he saw a chance for a fresh start; moreover, at that time, anyone of Japanese nationality was eligible to apply for a mining licence.<sup>4</sup>

1 Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 70.

2 Miyamori Toyoji 宮森豊次, *Nichiro kinen fukushimaken gunjin meiyoroku* 日露記念福島県軍人名誉録 [*List of Soldiers from Fukushima Prefecture Who Participated in the Russo-Japanese War*] (Wakamatsu: Fukushima-ken aizū gunjin shōkōsha, 1911), 72.

3 Taiwan ginkō 台湾銀行, *Taiwan kin'yū jikō sankōsho* 台湾金融事項参考書 [*Databook for Financial Matters of Taiwan*] (Taipei: Taiwan ginkō, 1911), 104.

4 Ibid.



From 1916 onwards, Nishikawa Jun's mining business benefited from the newly established electricity company set up by the colonial government. After the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, Japan put forward a new plan to increase industrial production in Taiwan by incorporating it into the broader resource network of the Japanese empire. As a result, in 1941, the joint stock company of coal in Taiwan was established as a counterpart to one that was founded a year earlier in metropolitan Japan. Nishikawa Jun, who owned two mining companies by this time, was designated one of twelve shareholders. His stake in the company was 1,000 shares.<sup>5</sup> In addition, his early experience in the Russo-Japanese War seems to have had a long-lasting influence on him, since he also served as the chairman of the Japanese Legion convention in Taiwan. After years of preparation, Nishikawa Jun was finally elected as a councilman in Taipei and left Nishikawa an abundant inheritance after the 1940s.<sup>6</sup> Starting in 1942, Nishikawa devoted himself to the management of the mining business.

Since his elementary school days, Nishikawa had shown an avid interest in literary magazines. In 1923, during his second year of high school, this 15-year-old boy began experimenting with literature with growing passion. His first short story, "Swine" (*Buta* 豚) was awarded the first prize in a competition sponsored by *Taiwan News* (*Taiwan shinbun* 台湾新聞).<sup>7</sup> It was also during this period that Nishikawa began to establish his own literary journals and poetry collections. *A House in the Wood* (*Mori no ie* 森の家), written during his time in the Taipei Premier Middle High School, was printed by lithography and represents the first example of his experiments in the personal writing genre.<sup>8</sup> This early experience in publishing books significantly influenced Nishikawa's subsequent literary activities in Taiwan.

Nishikawa could have continued his literary dream in Taiwan if he had succeeded in being admitted to the Taipei High School, which was established in 1922 as part of the colonial education reform. Students who finished the three-year education in this high school could attend the Taipei Imperial University that would be founded in 1928.<sup>9</sup> Yet, Nishikawa failed the entrance examination

5 Chen Ciyu 陈慈玉, "Zhanshi jingji tongzhixia de Taiwan meikuangye (1937–1945) 战时经济统治下的台湾煤矿业 (1937–1945) [The Coal Mining Industry in Colonised Taiwan (1937–1945)]," *Zhongguo jingji shi yanjiu* 3 (2001): 123.

6 Fujii, *Taiwan wenxue zheyibainian*, 123.

7 Nakajima, *Nishikawa Mitsuru zen shoshi*, 1.

8 Ibid.

9 Liu Liling 刘丽玲, "Diguo daxue zai zhimindi de jianli yu fazhan: yi Taibei diguo daxue wei zhongxin 帝国大学在殖民地的建立与发展：以台北帝国大学为中心 [The Founding and Development of Imperial Universities in Colonies: A Study of Taipei Imperial University]," (PhD diss. Taiwan Normal University, 2001), 89.

twice, in 1925 and 1926, respectively, and had to turn his eyes to possible education resources in metropolitan Japan. He found his place finally in the affiliated high school of Waseda University, and then Waseda University, specialising in French literature, especially French symbolism.<sup>10</sup> His training in French literature laid the foundation for his later literary career in Taiwan.

At the time of his graduation, when he was debating whether to stay in Tokyo or return to Taiwan, his teacher Yoshie Takamatsu (吉江喬松 1880–1940) urged him to go back to Taiwan to explore a new form of literature. Motivated by the motto that Taiwan in the South “is the origin of light, bringing us order, joy and beauty”, Nishikawa went there directly after his graduation and stayed until his repatriation in 1946. Enthusiastically idealistic about capturing the joy and glory of the South, Nishikawa returned to Taiwan from Japan in 1933, and became editor-in-chief for the literary columns of *Taiwan Daily News* (*Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* 台灣日日新報), which was established as a result of the 1898 merger of *Taiwan New Newspaper* (*Taiwan shinpō* 台灣新報) and *Taiwan Daily* (*Taiwan nippo* 台灣日報). *Taiwan Daily News* became one of Taiwan’s three Japanese newspapers in the 1930s, at nearly 42,000 copies per month, which basically constituted half of the circulation of all papers at the time.<sup>11</sup> In 1944, it merged with five other newspapers in Taiwan due to material shortage and increased restrictions on public opinion in Taiwan. In its early days, the famous Chinese intellectual and scholar Zhang Taiyan (章太炎 1869–1936) and the Japanese scholar Ozaki Hozuma (尾崎秀真 1874–1949) had contributed to the Chinese columns of *Taiwan Daily News*, which was subsequently shut down after 1937.<sup>12</sup>

Before Nishikawa joined the *Taiwan Daily News* it had no regular literary column, and had to fill in the pages with what was offered by the Japanese news agency in metropolitan Japan. However, the newspaper took on a new look during the period between 1933 and 1941 when Nishikawa was employed, and many new columns were set up. By the time he resigned in April 1942, Nishikawa had published as many as 242 articles.<sup>13</sup> In an effort to build his collection, not only did he write essays, review books, and even draw illustrations, but he also solicited contributions from Japanese writers living in Taiwan, such as Yano Hōjin (矢野峰人 1893–1988) and Shimada Kinji of Taipei Imperial University.

10 Kondō, “Xichuan Man zhaji (Shang),” 15–16.

11 Fujii, *Taiwan wenxue zheyibainian*, 125.

12 Ibid.

13 Kondō, “Xichuan Man zhaji (Shang),” 19.

Nishikawa's literary life in Taiwan was extremely productive. In addition to his contributions to *Taiwan Daily News*, he also published poems and novels. Moreover, he was deeply involved in bookbinding and designing layouts, which to him meant working on publication of books or magazines with high-quality papers and beautiful woodprints. He also worked as the editor of the Taiwan Philobiblic Society's official magazine, *Bibliophile* (*Aisho* 愛書).<sup>14</sup> Founded in 1933, the Society was a gathering of Japanese elites—coming from Taiwan's libraries, the Taipei Imperial University, *Taiwan Daily News*, and the Teipei High School. Nishikawa worked as the producer and editor of *Bibliophile*, which by the end of February 1942 had produced fifteen issues, with copies sold in Japan via Kinokuniya and the Maruzen bookstores in Tokyo.<sup>15</sup> Most articles published in this journal covered areas such as literature, drama, and broad themes surrounding the production and preservation of books. While the office of the Taiwan Philobiblic Society was located in the library of the Government-General's Office, *Bibliophile* had its studio in the Taipei Imperial University.<sup>16</sup>

In colonial Taiwan, much of the early literary and research activities were launched by professors and the many lectures held at the Taipei Imperial University, all of which embodied the authority of knowledge. Nishikawa, who had his middle high school and university education in metropolitan Japan, did not belong to this circle. This also gave him the chance to keep a certain distance from getting involved in “scientific colonialism”, backed by the university researchers in his early career. It is through his work in editing *Bibliophile* that Nishikawa, who had been away from Taiwan for more than six years, found a way to connect with the intellectual circles at Taipei Imperial University. His interactions decidedly shaped the literary arena in the years that followed.

As time went by, Nishikawa became discontented with his editorial work with *Bibliophile*. He eventually went on to establish his own publishing house, “Maso Study” (*Maso shobō* 媽祖書房), in September 1934. It had published many limited edition books containing refined illustrations by Japanese artists living in Taiwan. A month later he launched a literary journal titled *Maso*

14 Hong Qianhe 洪千鶴, “Huajia de zuoshou: Rizhi shiqi Taiwan chuangzuo banhua yanjiu 畫家的右手：日治時期台灣創作版画研究 [The Left Hand of Painters: A Study of Woodblock Prints in Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule],” (Master diss. National Taiwan University, 2004), 31.

15 Ibid., 31.

16 Ibid., 32.

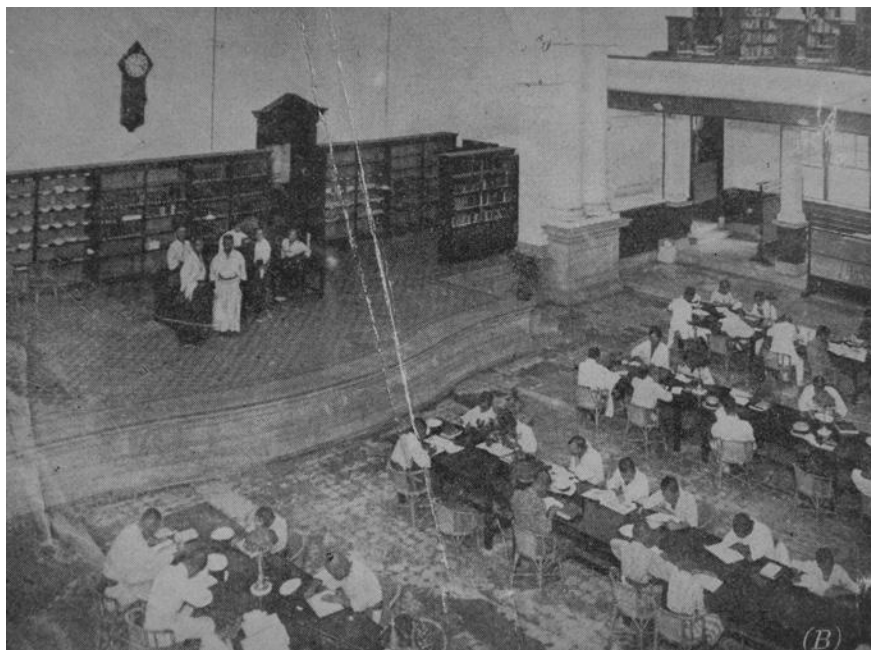


ILLUSTRATION 4 *The Library of Governor-General's Office. From Taiwan shashinchō 台湾写真帖 [Album of Taiwan] 2:2 (December 1919):1. Private Collection. Courtesy of Dr. Lin Yufang and Formosa Vintage Museum Café.*

(*Maso* 媽祖),<sup>17</sup> His first poetry anthology *Maso Festival* (*Maso matsuri* 媽祖祭) which was a successful attempt at designing and editing books by himself was published in 1935. During the half of his lifetime spent in Taiwan, Nishikawa founded and edited eighteen journals and published many novels, collections of short stories, and poetry.<sup>18</sup> In all of Nishikawa's work during this period, from his poetry to his recording of Taiwanese customs and folklore and eventually to his narration of Taiwanese history, Taiwan is the central focus.

Active for years in literary engagements of all types, primarily though in writings and publications, Nishikawa eventually became a well-respected figure in the Taiwanese literary arena by 1940. He was recognised for his "outstanding contributions to the field of poetry", as well as bestowed the Taiwanese Culture Award in 1938 and 1943. In addition, he controlled a network that not only reached out to the literary arena of Taiwan, but also connected metropolitan

17 Ibid. References in English to the "Mazu Festival" (媽祖祭) are common, but in this book I use the Japanese pronunciation as appeared in Nishikawa's writings.

18 Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun*, 73.

Japan with colonial Taiwan. This literary network exerted influence on his writings on Taiwan as well as his identity as a colonial writer in Taiwan.

### A Combination of Extraordinary Imagination and Sentimental Images

Prior to 1937, Japanese writers in Taiwan wrote more poems than novels. In particular, during the Taishō period (1912–1925), *haiku* and short poems were popular. This trend of classical poetry writing continued into the 1920s. Starting around 1922, however, metropolitan Japan started to influence the literary scene in Taiwan when modern poetry written by Japanese writers started to emerge.<sup>19</sup> In fact, poetry, be it classical or modern, was of central interest to Japanese writers living in Taiwan before the 1930s. It was through poetry writings that Nishikawa managed to emerge for the first time into the literary arena. In the early 1940s, apart from a short story by Long Yingzong (龙瑛宗 1911–1999), essays by Nishikawa and Nakayama Susumu (中山侑 1905–1959), a critical review by Shimada, and folktales collected by Ikeda Toshio (池田敏雄 1916–1981), the first issue of Nishikawa's literary journal, *Literary Taiwan* (*Bungei Taiwan* 文藝台灣), featured an abundance of poems, including *tanka* and *haiku*. Even in its late period, the journal published more reviews and poetry than fiction. Poetry writing played a crucial role in Nishikawa's literary career.

The distinctive feature of Nishikawa's early poetry was a balance of various artistic elements: flamboyant colours, along with subtly lyrical and illusive characteristics. He juxtaposed disparate elements in an aesthetically satisfying balance. One clear example of this is his choice of images in strong colours. Many commentators have remarked on his deployment of boldly coloured elements such as a red door (*shumon* 朱門), red lamp (*shutō* 朱燈), black tree (*kuroki* 黒木), red face (*kōmen* 紅面), dark face (*umen* 烏面), purple cloud (*shiun* 紫雲), silver paper (*ginshi* 銀紙), and golden paper (*kinshi* 金紙). This use of vibrant colours was calculated to deliver strong, sensory jolts to the imagination. In his "Festival of the Jōkōbyō Temple", Nishikawa sets two immortal generals, one with a red face and one with a black face, side by side

19 Liu Shuqin 柳书琴, "Shui de wenxue? Shui de lishi? Rijū moqi Taiwan wentan zhuti yu lishi quanshi zhi sheng 谁的文学? 谁的历史? 日据末期台湾文坛主体与历史诠释之争 [Whose Literature? Whose History? Debate over Subjectivity and the Interpretation of History in the Taiwanese Literary Arena in the Late Colonial Period]," *Xindi wenxue* 4 (June 2008): 38–78.

on the street adorned with copper bell rings and smelling of pork rib soup.<sup>20</sup> Thus, he enhanced the visual shock of the brilliant and intense faces by further conjuring a culinary image, no doubt intended to stimulate his readers' palates.

What has been given less critical attention, however, is Nishikawa's equal effort to tone down the bold colours by deploying a soft grounding. A scrutiny of Nishikawa's poems reveals that white was the most frequently used colour, in images ranging from white fog (*shiromu* 白霧) to white envelopes (*shirofūtō* 白封筒) and white elephants (*shirozō* 白象): "White mist floats on the surface of a river over which a nightjar glides by";<sup>21</sup> "The white goose is reflected on the surface of water, with the fragmentary voice of a flute and a gurgling spring";<sup>22</sup> and "The white egret is flying south, leaving the sliver of moon alone in the sky above the Kōzan Pavilion".<sup>23</sup> These stanzas, while by no means exceptional for him, shows his larger tendency to use white as a means to reconcile harmoniously with other stronger colours in his poetry.<sup>24</sup> Images of whiteness were placed alongside other boldly coloured elements to form a distinctive style that marked Nishikawa's early poetry in Taiwan: symbolising the synthesis of contradictory effects.

When evaluating his poetic contribution, his close friend and literary critic Shimada wrote: "Taiwanese pronunciation rather than Mandarin is applied in order to accentuate the exotic sentiment of the beautiful island. However, with its precise Japanese syntax, his grammar is absolutely Japanese even despite the foreignness of the vocabulary."<sup>25</sup> Above all, "Nishikawa's collection of poems will stand out from those of the local literary community in this island and leave its name on the history of Japanese poetry."<sup>26</sup> Japanese language and the shared history of Japanese poetry stood as reference to the formation of Nishikawa's identification with Japan. It also drew a clear line between the

20 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Jōkōya matsuri 城隍廟祭 [Festival of the Jōkōbyō Temple]," in *Kareitō shōka* 華麗島頌歌 [Ode to Taiwan], ed. Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満 (Taihoku: Nikkō sanbō, 1940), 10.

21 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Ogi 於戯 [On Drama]," in *Kareitō shōka*, 15: 夜鷺の飛ぶ湖面には白い霧が流れる。

22 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Hekishōfu 碧宵賦 [Ode to Blue Sky]," *Kareitō shōka*, 22: 湖水に写るは白雁。蘆笛切切。泉流咽ぶ。

23 The Kōzan Pavilion (J. Kōzanrō, Ch. Jiangshanlou 江山楼) in the title was the name of a famous restaurant in Taiwan, well known for the prostitutes who frequented it. The theme will also appear in Nishikawa's writing of Taiwanese folklore and customs. Nishikawa, "Jōkōya matsuri," 37: 南に白鷺飛んで、江山楼一片の月。

24 Shimada Kinji 島田謹二, "Hyōron 評論 [Critique]," in *Kareitō Shōka*, 119.

25 Ibid., 116.

26 Ibid.



accidental Taiwanese cultural influence and the Japanese national essence. Nishikawa's major concern at the time was to leave his mark on the course of metropolitan Japanese literature.

Nishikawa's active role in Taiwan did not mean his independence from metropolitan Japan. To the contrary, the literary activities in Taiwan became a venue in which he could earn fame and stature in Japan. As early as 1926, when Nishikawa was nineteen and had just graduated from high school, he had joined a poetry group called "The League of Poets of Northern Taiwan", which devoted itself to publishing poetry that introduced the customs and scenery of Taiwan to metropolitan Japan.<sup>27</sup> In an effort to gain acceptance and be admired by metropolitan writers, Nishikawa not only employed many images typical of the South, as did a number of other colonial poets, but he also attempted to imbue the South with the beauty of traditional Japanese aestheticism. This is demonstrated in his efforts to harmonise two contrastive elements in his poems so as to achieve a traditionally misty and super-realistic effect, mysterious yet still with Japanese flavour. See, for example, "Ode to Blue Sky":

Spirit of the white elephant. Miracle of the Bodhisattva. Ascending to the sky. Mountains are collapsing. As deafening peals of thunder echo in the universe, gorgeous fairies suddenly appear. What they are singing is the sorrowful *Flowers in the Backyard*.<sup>28</sup> The lightning subdues the monster in a flash. As the purple clouds disperse, the fairies disappear, together with the happiness. The emptiness of the Nothing is itself empty. Up in the serene sky, a white crane is winging in the moonlight. Oh, that is Sakyamuni Buddha.<sup>29</sup>

In this poem, Nishikawa superimposes deafening peals of thunder ringing in the universe on top of a sorrowful melody, the flash of lightning on the serene moonlight, and a coquettish fairy and purple auspicious clouds on the misty white crane. He employs the Buddhism-related imagery to create a mysterious

27 Kondō, "Xichuan Man zhaji (Shang)," 16.

28 "Flowers in the Backyard" (J. *Kôteika*, Ch. *Houtinghua* 後庭花) is a tune name (*cipai ming* 词牌名) of Chinese Song poetry (宋词).

29 Nishikawa, "Hekishōfu," 23: 白象の霊驗。普賢の奇蹟。昇天する飛黄。崩れゆく巖巒。萬雷の飛瀑宙天に激すると見れば、不思議や現われし雲鬢花顔の仙女たち、歌うは悲曲「後庭花」。飛電一閃。羅刹の降魔。紫雲散ずれば、羅裙も空し。楽も無し。本来虚無の空亦空。いまぞ仰ぐは月下の晴空一鶴。大恩教主釋迦牟尼に如來。



and super-realistic world free from mundane worries. The poem depicts a night scene; yet it is different from the horrific, dismal night of Satō Haruo's narration, which has often been cited in comparisons. Evenings in Nishikawa's poetry are usually endowed with serene moonlight or blue mist, different from nights of innumerable secrets hidden in the ruins.

In another of his poems, "A Song of Decadence", the fourth stanza reads: "The omens of misfortune appear in the sky, unusual, resembling ghosts and spirits. A buffalo with red eyes passes the window. I am sitting in the sedan chair on the way to Luzhou, and have decorated myself with peony flowers."<sup>30</sup> In this stanza, Nishikawa's unconventional imagination ranges from divinatory symbols that appear in the sky to ghosts and spirits, from a buffalo with red eyes to a peony. Different and strange scenarios are blended together to form a mysterious atmosphere that arouses the reader's curiosity. However, a sixth stanza replete with conventional poetic images follows this extraordinary imagination: "When I awake and open my eyes, I see a moon hanging outside the window. Feeling lonely, I visit the valley and look for orchids, heartbroken."<sup>31</sup> Here, Nishikawa's focus shifts from striking and unusual imagery to an interior feeling, incorporating traditional images such as the moon, orchids, and a visit to the valleys. It is through these traditional yet sentimental images that the strong tone of lyricism emerges.

Sentimental images in Nishikawa's poetry help to counter the strong inclination towards fetishism that would be risked from an excessive use of Taiwanese imagery. As we can see from the above poem, although Nishikawa's poetry employed an abundance of Taiwanese scenery and customs laden with local flavours and impressive colours, they were not used for mere mechanics. Rather, these contradictory elements were placed in juxtaposition, creating a mysterious and distant feeling. In order to alleviate the "untempered" or "unrefined" (*tsuchi kusa* 土臭) effect of Taiwanese and Chinese images, Nishikawa introduced into his poetry images from traditional Japanese poetry, like chrysanthemums and camellia flowers.<sup>32</sup> Take, for example, the following stanza

30 Luzhou (鷺州) is the name of a town in southern China. Nishikawa, "Taitō no uta 頽唐の歌 [A Song of Decadence]," in *Kareitō shōka*, 25: 「禍」の卦が中空に現われる。異象の如く、神鬼の如く。赤眼の水牛が北窓をすぎる。鷺州を、わたしは轎に乗って探走する。牡丹の花をかざしつつ。The sedan chair (轎) is a small litter, borne on two poles. It is carried by two people. One or two people can sit inside the litter. It was widely used in ancient China and Japan. In Taiwanese religious ceremonies, goddesses and gods are believed to appear with their sedan chairs.

31 Ibid., 26: 今、眼覚むれば、夜半一窓の閑月。ひとり切々として、紅閨を怨ましむ。山籟、蘭若を訪れて、断腸。

32 Shimada, "Hyōron," 117.

from “Maso Festival”: “In the tea house in front of the temple, I drink genuine Iron Arhat tea. The fragrance of jasmine as I drink reminds me of spring, the night I got married to my wife, her tender hands, her breasts, and the pupils.”<sup>33</sup> After registering the strong exotic flavour of the unique Taiwanese images of jasmine and the Maso Temple, the author shifts to tell of the affection for his wife. This balance is attained through Nishikawa’s arrangement of two contradictory elements: a bold and extraordinary imagination and the traditional flavour of Japanese poetry. Yet, such traditional poetic images disappear from Nishikawa’s later writings. In his folkloric works written around 1935, images such as the chrysanthemum and camellia were totally replaced by the Taiwanese jasmine. The motif of expressing love for a wife was also replaced by a yearning for prostitutes.

### Hybridising the National Language

Similar to the use of colours and images, Nishikawa’s use of language, mostly for artistic effect, also demonstrated a mosaic feature. While he had taken on the responsibility to enhance the scope of Japanese national literature, and he did so by introducing Taiwanese elements in imitation of the literary practice of the French, his insistence on writing “national” Japanese literature and being a “national” Japanese writer was also reflected in his refusal to abandon classical Japanese rhythms. These seemingly contradictory sides were unified in his poetry, where he saw the possibility to develop his national literary traditions in more vibrant directions, particularly by combining both the Japanese linguistic canon and the alien Taiwanese elements.

To explain the reason behind Nishikawa’s practice of introducing different elements, including Taiwanese dialects, into his poetry draws our attention to Nishikawa’s proximity to Taiwan. This was a crucial point that distinguished Nishikawa from writers like Satō Haruo who only travelled briefly to Taiwan. It was natural for visitors to feel distant and strange in Taiwan since their stays were only short and casual. Writers such as these, who lived far away in Japan (some of them travel writers) used their instinctive curiosity and pure imagination to produce their literature, and for the purposes of such an exercise it

33 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, “Maso matsuri 媽祖祭 [Maso Festival],” in *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū* 西川満全詩集 [*The Poetry Collection of Nishikawa Mitsuru*], edited by Nishikawa Mitsuru (Tokyo: Ningen no hoshisha, 1982), 50–51: 廟前の旗亭で。正鉄羅漢を喫む。すると茉莉花の匂いがして、わたしの胸に、「春」はやどる。思ひ出す洞房花燭夜。恋妻のやさしかりし手よ。胸よ。瞳よ。

was immaterial whether Japanese eyes were relied upon or whether the colour was absorbed indirectly from Western imaginings of the South. In “Chant of a Sacred Temple”, for example, Irako Seihaku writes,

Welcomed by the exuberant sun, the grass shoots are ringing the bell, a trip to a wasteland soaked in blood. It is a trance-like evening when arriving at a place full of temples, like honey. The destination after the disembarkation is Taiwan. It is the swan's blue egg that has been hatched in the warmth of the sunshine and beneath the wings of the Goddess Maso, the bewitching figure of our southern sea.<sup>34</sup>

The poem conveys a sense of the distance between Irako and Taiwan through images such as “wilderness” (*kōya* 荒野), “navigation” (*kōkai* 航海) and “disembarkation” (*jōriku* 上陸), which all have strong connotations of mobility. This may be in part because Irako wrote it when he was back in Japan, where he could imagine an “expedition”. Such images are seldom found in Nishikawa's writings; his imagination vis-à-vis the Maso temple, for example, was strictly confined to the “physico-temporal” space of Taiwan.

For Nishikawa, who had been living on the island for nearly thirty years, it would be harder to produce poems as exotic as those composed by travellers, since everything that had initially appeared exotic gradually became too mundane to arouse his curiosity. As an expatriate writer, Nishikawa was unable to remain estranged from daily life in Taiwan. He once confessed that he had lost interest in purely Chinese-style streets, and was excited only by populated areas that were hybrids of East and West. As a result, it has been estimated that although “more than half of the bulk of his production was occupied by novels and poetry anthologies related to Taiwan [...] more were written after 1946, when he had already been repatriated to Japan”.<sup>35</sup> In contrast to his willingness to be associated with Taiwanese localness, in colonial Taiwan, aspiring to leave

34 Irako Seihaku, “Seibyō shunka 聖廟春歌 [Chant of a Sacred Temple], quoted in Shimada Kinji 島田謹二, *Kareitō bungakushi* 華麗島文学志 [Record of Literature of Taiwan] (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1995), 303: 華麗艶美な太陽に迎へられ 草の赤子が鈴振り鈴ふり 血に滲む荒野の旅 蜜のやうな靈廟の地に 到り著いた恍惚の夕「台湾」は航海から上陸した 南瀛の艶婆 媽祖の羽が日の下で 温くめられかい割れた 青い白鳥の卵である。

35 Chen Mingtai 陈明台, “Xichuan Man lun 西川满论 [On Nishikawa Mitsuru],” in *Xichuan Man xiaoshuoji di er juan* 西川满小说集第二卷 [A Collection of Nishikawa Mitsuru's Short Stories, vol. 2], ed. Chen Qianwu and Ye Shitao (Gaoxiong Shi: Chunhui chubanshe, 1997), 322. The observation testifies to Nishikawa's prodigious output on Taiwan in the postwar period.

a name in national Japanese literary history, and unwilling to become a “local” poet, Nishikawa was wary of being absorbed into the history of local literature. Writing, for Nishikawa, was a process of calculated design rather than automated reflection. Otherwise, no matter how unique his poetry’s Taiwanese elements were, Nishikawa’s works would degenerate to the level of a travel guide lacking artistic merit, just as Shimada had warned.<sup>36</sup>

This is why Nishikawa became very cautious of incorporating an overabundance of Taiwanese flavours and an excessive employment of Taiwanese landscapes and dialects. In order to estrange himself from daily life in Taiwan, and to avoid overdoing the kind of Taiwanese flavour that was too real and detailed, Nishikawa employed more distinctive elements than the travel writers. For instance, he neutralised the tendency towards vulgarity that accompanied the Taiwanese flavour in his writing by strictly following Japanese syntax. Shimada cites the sentence in the fourth strophe of “Maso Festival”, for example, as exemplary canonical Japanese.<sup>37</sup>

Nishikawa also quoted from classical Chinese poems to enrich the content of his poetry. As such, his readers felt estranged by the combination of different types of texts, some of which were unfamiliar to the Japanese. For example, in the second stanza of “Maso Festival”, Nishikawa refers to lines such as “A water-front pavilion gets the moonlight first. A flower facing the sun blooms easily”. This is from a poem dedicated to Fan Zhongyan (范仲淹 989–1052) by Su Ling (蘇麟 969–1052), written during the Chinese Song dynasty.<sup>38</sup> Due to its popularity, it was recompiled into the *Tales for Edification* (*Zengguang xianwen* 增广贤文), popular reading material for children during the Ming dynasty. Two additional lines from this source—“If even the Yellow River may have one limpid day, how can your life be devoid of luck?”—were quoted by Nishikawa in the same poem.<sup>39</sup> Although Nishikawa adds katakana to these stanzas to indicate the pronunciation of the Min dialect, he presents the texts in Chinese characters without any change, such as practicing *yomikudashi*, which is a common Japanese way of reading Chinese texts. To the majority of Japanese readers, the pronunciation (whether that of the Min dialect or of standard Chinese) would have been unfamiliar without an explanatory footnote.

Nishikawa may have incorporated Chinese poetry and the Min dialect purely out of artistic considerations for form, as neither of the two mentioned

36 Shimada, “Hyōron,” 116.

37 Ibid., 125.

38 Ibid. 近水樓臺先得月，向陽花開易逢春。

39 Ibid. 黄河尚有澄清日，岂可有人无得运时。The Yellow River is known for its muddiness.

references was related to the festival of Maso, the poem's theme. The lines quoted earlier indicated the value of securing a favoured position, expressing Su Ling's wish to gain a reputation with the help of Fan Zhongyan, who was already a central figure in the Chinese court. These were lines widely used by people to console those experiencing bad luck. Neither text was indispensable for understanding "Maso Festival", nor did they reshape the sub-text of the poetry. The meaning of these classic Chinese poems was irrelevant to the remainder of "Maso Festival". As Nishikawa himself acknowledged, the unique feature of all forms of literature was the use of language, and the advantage of quoting Chinese poetry lay in the use of Chinese characters that could create a kind of pictorial beauty (in the minds of Japanese) that could not be easily attained by other foreign languages.<sup>40</sup> Nishikawa was strongly aware of the special features of Chinese characters and the effects they could produce.

In addition, Nishikawa may have been aiming for a balanced combination of the visual and the acoustic. For readers in metropolitan Japan, the freshness, yet perceived "vulgarity" of Taiwanese scenes and the Min dialect could be tempered by both the incorporation of classical poetry and the stability and regularity of Chinese characters. Quotations from Chinese poetry helped create an effect that could not be simply reduced to a Taiwanese flavour. As I will further discuss later, Nishikawa may have had in mind the poets of the Provence who combined the elegance of the classical French language with an interest in dialect.<sup>41</sup>

Nishikawa also introduced other elements, such as references to Buddhism and Chinese folklore, into his poetry. In "On Drama", he inserted lines such as "Now I know the melancholy of Empress Regnant Wu Zetian"<sup>42</sup> and "the attendants were performing 'Leifeng Pagoda'". Wu Zetian was the Empress of China during the Tang dynasty, while "Leifeng Pagoda", which was originally a folktale from the Han dynasty, was adapted for a range of different artistic forms due to its popularity. In his "Ode to the Blue Sky", in order to create a mysterious atmosphere, Nishikawa employed many figures from Buddhism, such as Kannon, Shakuson Nyorai, Yakushi Nyorai (Buddha of Medicine and Healing), and Miroku.

Contemporary critics have mainly focused on the presence of Taiwanese elements in Nishikawa's writing. However, such a focus may overlook the

40 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川|満, "Bungaku no honshitsuron 文学の本質論 [Discussion on the Nature of Literature]," *Taiwannichinichi shinpō*, May 20, 1934.

41 In his critique on Nishikawa's *Maso Festival*, Shimada compared Nishikawa to those Provençal poets in terms of the use of classic language and dialect. Shimada, "Hyōron," 132.

42 Nishikawa, "Ogi," 57. The pronunciation of the title follows Nishikawa's own indication.

restraint that Nishikawa imposed on himself, heeding Shimada's warning and avoiding the excessive use of Taiwanese street names and buildings and other local effects in his poetry. In this light, his efforts to abide by the rules of Japanese grammar, to introduce Japanese and Chinese classical poetry, to refer to famous figures of Chinese history and stories, and to borrow images from Buddhism were all likely to have been undertaken in order to "shun fame as a poet of the regions, and make a dignified entry into the literary arena of Japan".<sup>43</sup> Nishikawa's poetry writing was composed of more elements than has been widely assumed, demonstrating a view of Taiwan different from those of Irako; rather it was shaped by the maturing of Japanese colonisation. There was no need for Nishikawa to pander to the southern impulse of the Japanese, who had already been the ruling authority in Taiwan for approximately forty years. What Nishikawa knew might have also been familiar to his audience in metropolitan Japan. Therefore, he resorted to different strategies. In "A Book of the Hu People", for example, he writes: "I am Shanyu, chief of the Hu, fleeing from my life as slave to a princess. I emerge from a cave, playing the Hu flute."<sup>44</sup> He even used images such as the Hu people, their bows and musical instruments, all of which drew on an image of the North rather than of the South.<sup>45</sup>

At the beginning of Nishikawa's literary career in Taiwan, his writing demonstrated a strong longing for recognition from metropolitan Japan, which was associated with his anxiety of enriching the Japanese national literary history and his perception of Japan as a nation-state. He achieved this by learning from the tradition of Japanese poetry and using its rhythms, language, and imagery. Incorporating Taiwanese scenes was not only a way by which Nishikawa could arouse people's surprise and curiosity, but it was also widely recognised as a fruitful opportunity to enlarge the scope of the Japanese poetry tradition. Leaving his mark on Japanese national literary history and not contributing to the Japanese colonial enterprise, therefore, was the main concern of his early years. This preoccupation would eventually be rewarded in 1938, when Japan's *Pan-litteraire* (*Bungei hanron* 文藝汎論) finally crowned him for his "outstanding contributions to the field of poetry", in recognition of his achievements in poetry writing and publication.

43 Shimada, "Hyōron," 126.

44 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Kojin no sho 胡人の書 [A Book of the Hu People]," in *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū*, 55. わたしは遁逃の単字。公女の擒奴。胡笛を吹いて妖洞を降りる。

45 "Hu" is a name broadly given by ancient Chinese to those living in the northern part of China, and "単字" is the name for the head of the Hu, a northern ethnicity.

It is worth setting into the broader cultural context the translingual and multicultural nature of Nishikawa's writing of the Japanese colonisation of Taiwan. As I have discussed in the Introduction, in the 1920s and early 1930s, rather than being dominated by the Japanese language, Taiwan was marked by cultural variety, its reading market filled with classical Chinese poetry as well as writings in the Min and Hakka dialects. However, after the Chinese language was forbidden in 1937, the population speaking Japanese rose dramatically. Even then, however, Japanese did not dominate the island. The Min dialect still found its way through radio broadcasting in 1943.<sup>46</sup> Far from being dominated by the Japanese language, Taiwan's cultural and literary life demonstrated strong multi-lingual and multi-cultural features.

This multi-cultural and multi-linguistic picture was also reflected in the writings of native Taiwanese writers. For example, in *The Town of Papaya* (*Papaya no aru machi* パパイヤのある街), a short story written in Japanese in 1937 by the Taiwanese writer Long Yingzong, Taiwanese dialects were added wherever he felt the Japanese language was insufficient to convey Taiwanese cultural meanings. Taiwanese names and words were adopted directly, with a Japanese explanation following in brackets. Sometimes Japanese katakana was used to indicate the pronunciation. For a Taiwanese writer who was educated in the Japanese language, Taiwanese dialects were still the last means of resort to express cultural subtlety. Similarly, Nishikawa's poetry was also a typical product of colonial transcultural and translingual practice, full of Chinese poetry and Taiwanese elements. Some of his quotations of Chinese poetry demonstrated his knowledge of Chinese learning that was common in upper-class education in pre-Meiji period. According to Zhang Liangze, Nishikawa could read Chinese and Chinese poetry but did not understand Taiwanese dialects. Chen Zaoxiang also confirms that when Nishikawa wrote, he relied heavily on the *Taiwanese-Japanese Dictionary* (*Tai-Nichi daijiten* 台日大辞典) as a reference.<sup>47</sup> As a colonial writer living in Taiwan, Nishikawa benefited from easy access to Taiwanese resources; thus, the cultural scope of his writing significantly expanded.

Nishikawa adopted other cultural elements so that he could create a form of literature distinct from that of metropolitan Japan, whereas Long Yingzong's use of Taiwanese elements could be read as an inquiry into his original

46 He, *Kuayue guojingxian*, 91–137.

47 Chen Zaoxiang 陈藻香, "Nihon ryōtai jidai no Nihonjin sakka: Nishikawa Mitsuru o chūshin toshite 日本領台時代の日本人作家：西川満を中心として [Japanese Writers of Taiwan under Japanese Occupation, with a Focus on Nishikawa Mitsuru]," (Ph.D diss. Sochow University, Taiwan, 1995), 767.



cultural roots. Nishikawa carried out the pursuit of developing national literature in a unique way. He drew a clear line between the essential Japanese poetic tradition and the Taiwanese cultural resources so that he gained legitimacy in being called a “national” Japanese writer. On the other hand, he claimed his unique position in Japanese literary history by demonstrating his possession of Taiwanese colonial cultural resources unavailable to metropolitan writers. Literary authority was established in Taiwan in a way similar to the logic of Japan’s “discriminatory assimilation” colonial policy. It excluded the other while simultaneously assimilated and appropriated the other.

### Colonial Literature between National and Transnational

Modern ways of artistic expressions such as decadence and exoticism, which were largely derived from European literary traditions, seemed to have permeated much of Nishikawa’s writing. Rather than being an isolated site cut off from the world, Japanese colonial literature in Taiwan was an integrated part of Japan’s modern literature, which had its own history of interacting with the world and European literature. When modern Japanese literary traditions were absorbed into colonial frameworks, they had variations that could not be explained from a solely artistic perspective.

#### *Decadence Redefined*

When analysing the feature of decadence reflected in novels by Yang Chichang (杨炽昌 1908–1994), a Taiwanese writer in the 1930s, Liu Jihui compares him with Nishikawa and Satō Haruo, finding a similarity among them in terms of artistic styles. She sees them as sharing many literary similarities, such as “authorial subjectivity, the bizarre atmosphere, incredible descriptions of a painting, super-realistic imaginings, the scenery, relics, houses lying in ruin, deserted houses, decadent beauty, astonishment, sorrow and so on”.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, she believes that Yang’s decadent writing was heavily influenced by the works of Japanese writers—and by “Japanese writers” she means Nishikawa.<sup>49</sup>

48 Liu Jihui 刘纪惠, “Taiwan sanshi niandai tuifei yishi de kejian yu bukejian: chongtan jinbu yishi yu yinyi guankan 台湾三十年代颓废意识的可见与不可见：重探进步意识与阴翳观看 [The Visibility and Invisibility of Decadence in Taiwan in the 1930s: Progressive Consciousness and Dark Scenes Revisited],” *Zhongwai wenxue* 34: 3 (August 2005): 126.

49 Decadence in Liu Jihui’s article is expressed as *tuifei* (颓废), a word that can be easily associated with Nishikawa’s *taitō* (頹唐). However, in Chinese, *tuifei* can mean decay or the artistic aestheticism of Western art history. Yet she has not defined *tuifei* in her article.

The use of “decadence” to describe a significant feature of Nishikawa’s poetry writings has its roots in the works of his contemporaries. For example, Shimada acknowledged that Nishikawa was heavily influenced by French literature, especially its quality of “decadence”. During his study in Waseda University, Nishikawa took pains to study Arthur Rimbaud (1854–1891), a widely known poet of French symbolism, and was regarded as a Japanese poet who borrowed from French literature. Though artistic decadence in Europe had many schools and branches, in Shimada’s appraisal the decadent characteristics of Nishikawa’s poetry were influenced more by French rather than British literature. He believed that the decadence of Western literary history was associated with a negative feeling of coming to the end of the world.<sup>50</sup> In Shimada’s opinion, the only element that could be called “decadent” was the “tropical beauty”, the bright and enchanting beauty of the South.<sup>51</sup> He did not regard Nishikawa’s pervasive descriptions of aural and visual effects in his collection *Maso Festival* as the synesthetic traits common to the poetry of the *fin de siècle*. Rather than being the kind of communication between the auditory and visual senses that was common in decadent art, he attributed this to Nishikawa’s excellent education in painting.<sup>52</sup> This is very similar to the features of mid-nineteenth century French decadence.

Decadence in European history was intrinsically tied to a Christian sense of time. When the approach of the Day of Doom is announced by the unmistakable sign of profound decay, decadence becomes the anguishing prelude to the end of the world.<sup>53</sup> Decadence in literature as a predominant mood appeared in Europe near the end of the nineteenth century, part of “a shared theme of competing literary tendencies” that also included naturalism and symbolism.<sup>54</sup> Théophile Gautier (1811–1872), the French writer who Shimada frequently held up as an example for Nishikawa, was one of the significant writers of French decadence.<sup>55</sup> The sense of decadence in the nineteenth century was not restricted to France, but it was in that country that the theme of decadence not only became most compelling and obsessive, but it was also charged with intensely contradictory meanings.<sup>56</sup> This may have been because people were

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50 Shimada, “Hyōron,” 121.

51 Ibid., 120.

52 Ibid.

53 Matei Călinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 151–152.

54 Pericles Lewis, *The Cambridge Introduction to Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 47.

55 Shimada, “Hyōron,” 121.

56 Călinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity*, 161.

feeling that the nation's power and prestige in the world were declining, especially after the failure of the 1848 revolution, the defeat in the 1870 Prussian War, and the subsequent uprising in 1871.<sup>57</sup>

During the decadent period of 1868, Théophile Gautier wrote a preface for Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal*, declaring that the decadent style espoused was nothing but art arrived at a point of extreme maturity yielded by the slanting suns of aged civilisations: an ingenious, complicated style. This means that the literature of decadence is "full of shades and of research"; it takes "colour from all palettes and notes from all keyboards", and struggles "to render what is most inexpressible in thought, what is vague and most elusive in the outlines of form, listening to translate the subtle confidences of neurosis, the dying confessions of passion grown depraved, and the strange hallucinations of the obsession which is turning to madness."<sup>58</sup> In other words, literary decadence, as shown in Gautier's words, features artistic maturity, complicity, and synthesis. Literary decadence can obtain, by means of words, effects that are usually achieved through other artistic means such as painting and music. Modern people experience the world in a state of confusion because human consciousness has already been influenced by the "hysteric" effects of modernity.<sup>59</sup>

However, "decadence" encompasses a broad range of characteristics including "ennui", "a search for novelty with attendant artificiality and stress on the unnatural", "excessive self-analysis", "feverish hedonism", "abulia, neurosis, and exaggerated erotic sensibility", "aestheticism, with stress on 'Art for Art's sake' in the evocation of exquisite sensations and emotions", "dandyism", "scorn of contemporary society and mores", "overemphasis on form", and "interest in lapidary ornamentation".<sup>60</sup> Given so many possible applications and meanings of decadence, Nishikawa's decadent writing awaits investigation. How should we evaluate the connection, if there is any, between the form of literary decadence that was popular in France in the late half of the nineteenth century and Nishikawa's writing in twentieth century Taiwan?

In contrast to Liu Jihui's appraisal of Nishikawa, Yang Zhao, a Taiwanese critic, expressed a different attitude toward Nishikawa's writing, which he saw as resting upon lyricism, romance, in addition to decadence (Ch. *tuifei* 颓废). For him, Nishikawa's writing was feminine, melancholy, and affected. In his

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57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., 163.

59 Ibid., 167.

60 "Decadence," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger and T. V. F. Brogan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 275.

view, this mode of writing was incompatible with the masculine colonial propaganda.<sup>61</sup> According to Yang, Nishikawa's early poetry did not meet Shimada's requirements for "strong, bright and enchanting tropical beauty". This was primarily due to his descriptions of shabby images.<sup>62</sup> In his poem "Ode to Taiwan", Nishikawa writes:

The placid tidewater flowing, I am lying on the gun emplacement, thinking about the foregone sorrow of the red fort, and am a person far removed from those days! The grass on the ruins is withered. My heart is as heavy as the sand.<sup>63</sup>

This may be the first time Nishikawa mentions the seventeenth century red fort built by the Dutch, several years ahead of his famous story, "The Red Fort" (*Sekikanki* 赤嵌記), published in 1940. In this poem, the red fort represents a sense of the distant historical past, different from his later use in which it turns into a vehicle for political propaganda.

Descriptions that conjure imaginings of the past were crucial to creating a sense of abandonment, feebleness, and decadence. In "After the Decadence", a poem directly named "decadence" (*taitō* 頹唐), he begins with "The ochre clouds floating above the ancestral temple of Yan Guonian, and the withered reeds."<sup>64</sup> In "Harbour Festival", Nishikawa writes:

61 Yang Zhao 杨照, "Bisheng butuo yiguo yanqing fengge: milian hualidao de Xichuan Man 毕生不脱异国情风格：迷恋华丽岛的西川满 [Life-Long Exotic Style: Nishikawa Mitsuru and His Obsession with Taiwan]," *Xin xinwen zhoukan* 629 (March 1999): 85.

62 Ibid.

63 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Kareitō shōka 華麗島頌歌 [Ode to Taiwan]," in *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū*, 92: 潮の湧く安平。砲臺の上に腹ばって。私は赤嵌城の悲哀を思ふ。今は遠いかのひとよ。廃墟の草はゆれて。私のこころも砂のやうに重い。

64 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Taitō igo 頹唐以後 [After the Decadence]," in *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū*, 58: 顔国年の祖廟の上。漂うは緒雲。枯れた芦。Yan Guonian (顔国年 1886–1937) was a native of Keelung. He was famous for his successful enterprise in coal mining. He owned the two major coal companies in Taipei and Keelung and worked actively in the colonial government from 1927 onwards. The mention of Yan Guonian in Nishikawa's poetry might be due to his family's engagement in the coal mining business.

In a corner of the cold room, the prostitute casts the lot just drawn and weeps as she burns the golden paper. Flying by her shoulder and then out through the narrow window is an aged swallow.<sup>65</sup>

Nishikawa's assemblage of the cold, shabby room, the solitary prostitute, and the aged swallow combines to conjure a ruined scene. The old swallow might remind readers of the lonely life the prostitute was going to face. In another poem, "Jōkōya Festival", Nishikawa depicts an old woman as follows: "Through a brick window pokes a head of white hair; it is the wife of the puppeteer."<sup>66</sup> Again, to express loneliness, the poem "A Book of the Hu People" ends with "The cyan cormorant soars into the vast sky, the old flute left behind abandoned."<sup>67</sup> The cormorant soaring away into the sky and the swallow flying out of the window both symbolise a remote and disconsolate sentiment. Such floating or mobile images like the flying bird or cloud can often be found in Nishikawa's early poems. They give readers infinite scope for imagination and a sense of spatial extension. This is also accompanied by decadent impressions in the images of the abandoned flute and the aged swallow.

Nishikawa's early poetry achieved more than the mere depiction of a strong and bright tropical beauty. Liu regarded Nishikawa as an archetypal figure of Japanese modernist poetry who had navigated his way through "the passionate, flowing, abstract trend from impressionism to futurism and then to abstract expressionism", which in her opinion can be related to cultural fascism;<sup>68</sup> however, the allegedly masculine writing symbolising fascism or colonial power was well balanced by other factors. The heritage from Japanese traditional poetry rendered his writing feminine.

In France, the literary decadence of Gautier and Baudelaire appeared at a moment when literary modernity, or modernism, was constantly hostile to material-based modernity. The scientific and technological progress and the sweeping economic and social changes propelled by the industrial revolution gave rise to a form of modernity as an aesthetic concept of which decadence

65 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Kōmatsuri 港祭 [Harbour Festival]," in *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū*, 70: 冷たい土間の一隅で、卜卦を投げ棄てた花娘は、金紙を焼いて泣いてる。ふるえながら。むせびながら。そつと肩に触れて、窄い窓から戸外へ飛んで行ったのは、老いた燕だ。

66 Nishikawa, "Jōkōya matsuri," 37: 煉瓦窓から白髪之首をさしのべる、人形使いの老牽手。

67 Nishikawa, "Kojin no sho," 57: 草色、鸛鷀空しく飛んで、茫々。棄てられたは羌笛か。

68 Liu, "Taiwan sanshi niandai tuifei yishi de kejian yu bukejian," 133.

was a significant dimension.<sup>69</sup> In Nishikawa's decadent writing on Taiwan, however, the radical antibourgeois attitude was in short supply. If there was anything that made his heart heavy, it was Taiwan's exhausted historical legacy expressed through his words about the ancestral temple of Yan Guonian. He perceived Taiwan's local history as having reached a dead end. His troubled thoughts on Yan Guonian, who himself was successful in the coal mining industry, also echoed Nishikawa's own involvement in his family's coal mining business in Taiwan.

What further differentiates Nishikawa's decadence from that of his European counterparts is that French decadence mainly reflected the problematic relationship between writers and their own nation, while Nishikawa's literary decadence stemmed from the empire and the historical and cultural context of colonial Taiwan. Consequently, a contradiction can be perceived in Nishikawa's writing. On the one hand, he mourned the end of Taiwan's local history, which prevented him from writing in a strong and bright style that could accurately reflect the beauty of tropical Taiwan as expected by colonial propaganda. Conversely, he was hard pressed to doubt the justification of Japan's colonisation in Taiwan, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

The two different sets of modernities—of both economic progress and literary evolution, according to Matei Călinescu, did not converge in Nishikawa's outlook and persona. When economic modernity, based on Japanese colonisation in Taiwan, was exempted from the challenge of the often hostile literary modernity, Nishikawa's decadent feeling could be aroused toward the vanishing of Taiwan's local history. French literary decadence was to some extent the cultural and literary antithesis that was generated by the economic and rational modernity of the time. These two forms of modernities co-existed paradoxically within the process of French modernisation.<sup>70</sup> The “irreconcilable” and often “hostile” relationship between the two forms of modernities showed mutated characteristics when applied in the social context of empire and colonialism. The aesthetic and literary modernity no longer dwelt in the same historical process as the economic modernity; rather, it became its ambiguous object. This irreconcilable contradiction between the two forms of modernities became the springboard for Nishikawa's many later writings that would take Taiwan's culture, history, and religion as external objects waiting to be exoticised. The location of Nishikawa's literary decadence in the Japanese

69 Călinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity*, 40–41.

70 Matei Călinescu, “Modernity, Modernism, Modernization: Variations on Modern Themes,” *Symplokē* 1: 1 (Winter 1993): 6.

empire and its historical significance will be further elaborated in Part III of this book.

### *Literary Exoticism Crossing Borders*

Contemporary postcolonial studies have demonstrated that many Japanese artistic presentations of Taiwan in the colonial period shared a common theme: Taiwan as a land in the mysterious and exotic South. From Satō Haruo's "Strange Tale of the Precepts for Women's Fan" (*Jokai ōgi kidan* 女誠扇綺譚), to Nishikawa Mitsuru's short stories and poetry, to Inō Kanori's (伊能嘉矩 1867–1925) ethnic scholarship on Taiwanese aboriginal tribes and to Ishikawa Kin'ichirō's (石川欽一郎 1871–1945) paintings of Japanese landscapes, the works of Japanese artists and writers jointly contributed to the discursive discourse of a "Taiwan of the exotic South".<sup>71</sup> Nishikawa's writing style, full of flamboyant colours that resulted from his absorption of French literature and his selective use of Taiwanese images such as pineapples, oleanders, and witches, is commonly referred to as literary exoticism.<sup>72</sup>

The transnational history of the concept of exoticism—also a literary and cultural export from French literature—was similar to that of decadence. What developed in Taiwan as a new form of literature was the result of the mobility of ideas and literary textual contacts not only between the metropole and colonies, but also between Japan and Europe. Influences of French Parnassians and impressionists, of impressionist painting, of traditional Japanese poetry, of the rhythms and sounds of the Japanese language, and of the tropical South, all contributed greatly to the cultivation and development of the exotic tradition of modern Japanese literature. When this literary invention was passed on to the colonies, Western literature was absorbed into modern Japanese literature, coupled with the developments in Japanese poetry itself, all of which blended together to create a new colonial literature that may not seem particularly Japanese at first glance.

### *Theories of Exoticism*

The practice of applying "exoticism" to the writings of Nishikawa can be traced to the 1930s, when exoticism started to gain influence in colonial Taiwan.<sup>73</sup> For

71 Wang Dewei 王德威, *Xiandai shuqing chuantong silun* 现代抒情传统四论 [*The Lyrical Tradition in Modern Times: Four Essays*] (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue chubanshixing), 11.

72 Shimada, "Hyōron," 116–117.

73 For example, Nakamura Tetsu's article "Gaichi bungaku no kadai," which was published in *Bungei Taiwan* in July 1940, discussed the proper way of developing colonial literature,



example, after publishing his famous poetry anthology, *Maso Festival* in 1935, Yano Hōjin contributed a literary critique to Nishikawa's journal *Maso*:

A strong attachment to the South and exoticism (*ikoku shumi* 異国趣味) are distinct features of Nishikawa; or rather, they represent his fantasy of the world based on Taiwanese scenery. Nishikawa's works are pervaded with the odour of French and Chinese classic poems, symbolising undoubtedly the newly emerging artistic world in the Japanese poetry arena with the beauty of blended painting and music.<sup>74</sup>

Yano Hōjin used “exoticism” to mean something similar to decadence, which produces a combination of senses.

Exoticism/exotisme originally comes from the Latin word *exoticus* and the Greek *exotikos*. In the Oxford English Dictionary, the word *exotic* as an adjective referring to “belonging to another country”, “foreign, alien, not indigenous” or, in a narrower sense, meaning “introduced from abroad”, can be traced back to the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>75</sup> It was used in the ensuing centuries, sometimes interchangeably with its French counterpart *exotique*, which first appeared in François Rabelais's *Quart Livre et Faictes et dictes Heroïques du bon Pantagruel* in 1552, to refer to foreign goods brought by Asian and African merchants to European ports, signifying strangers and the foreign.<sup>76</sup> Other similar words such as *exotica* and *exotical* can also be found during this period. “Exoticism” as the noun form refers to the tendency to adopt what is exotic or foreign. It first appeared in the nineteenth century, when it gained the connotations of a stimulating or exciting difference, to mean the introduction of foreign minerals, artifacts, and plants and animals into a domestic economy.

From the late Meiji period onwards, Japan was capable of generating her own language of exoticism. The modern Japanese translation of “exoticism”, for example, was expressed in Japanese as *ekizochizumu* (エキゾチズム), *ekizochisumu* (エキゾチスム), *ekizochishizumu* (エキゾチシズム), *ikoku*

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criticising excessive exoticism and exotic writing. Other prewar criticisms of Nishikawa's writing style came from Tanaka Yasuo and Kudō Yoshimi, who worked for the rival journal *Taiwan Bungaku*.

74 Yano Hōjin 矢野峰人, “*Maso matsuri raisan* 媽祖祭礼賛 [In Praise of *Maso Festival*],” in *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū*, 667.

75 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, ed. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (Oxon: Routledge, 2000), 77.

76 Robin Anita White, “19th Century and 20th Century French Exoticism” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College, 2004), 3–4.

*jōchō* (異国情調), *ikoku shumi* (異国趣味), *ikoku Jōcho* (異国情緒) or *ikokufū* (異国風).<sup>77</sup> The loanwords of *katakana* resulted from literal translations of the foreign pronunciations, while *ikoku* (異国) refers to foreign countries and *jōchō* (情調) means mood. *Ikoku* originated in the early half of the seventeenth century when Japan severed its ties to the world, apart from the Netherlands and China. It was accompanied by the introduction of another derogative word, *nanban* (南蛮), which referred to the Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese.<sup>78</sup> The appearance of *jōchō* (情調) in Japanese literature accompanied the introduction of symbolism, and was invented to correspond to the English word “mood.”<sup>79</sup> The compound *ikoku jōchō* (異国情調) gained popularity around 1909.

Due to the lack of fixed literary notions that Japanese literary critiques could use, *exotisme* in the context of colonial literature in Taiwan was rendered into Japanese as *egusochisumu* (エグソチスム) or *ikoku shugi* (異国主義).<sup>80</sup> For example, Shimada thought *exotisme*, imported from French literature, as the most suitable word to describe the writings of the second generation of modern Japanese writers, which included Satō Haruo, Irako Seihaku, and Nishikawa. The term had special meaning when defining the character of colonial writing.

Yet Shimada was dissatisfied with this Japanese translation. In his book *Literary History of Taiwan*, which was inspired by Nishikawa, he states: “Whether this translation was correct or not, there was a kind of ill feeling generated by the aestheticism of *fin de siècle*, and we should be cautious because of that.”<sup>81</sup> Shimada expresses concerns about the enlargement of this perceived bad influence and the extensive misunderstanding brought about by this translation. Here, the meaning of exoticism is closely related to one facet of decadence, which is the feeling of an ending and the accompanying melancholy. This dimension of literature was not welcome in colonial literature.

77 Modern Japanese does not have a fixed translation of “exoticism,” and all sorts of translations were adopted in order to refer to a trend of employing new content in literature and the arts to elicit new forms of expression.

78 Wang, *Xiandai shuqing chuantong silun*, 100.

79 Prior to 1906, as seen in the preface of Tōson Shimazaki’s poetry collection, *jōcho* (情緒) was a translation of the English word “emotion”. See Noda Utarō 野田宇太郎, “Seikimatsu e no shōkei 世紀末への憧憬 [Longing for the end of the Century],” in *Nihon bungaku no rekishi* 日本文学の歴史 [*The History of Japanese Literature*], vol. 10, ed. Yoshida Seiichi and Shimomura Fujio (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1968), 407.

80 Shimada, “Taiwan no bungakuteki kagenmi,” 17.

81 *Ibid.*, 17.

Instead, Shimada was looking for literature depicting more than melancholic nostalgia, but literature with a strong taste of the Parnassian.<sup>82</sup>

Shimada—who taught French and English at Taipei Imperial University from 1929 onwards—had a strong influence on literary theories in Taiwan in the 1930s and 1940s. The emergence of his theory of exoticism was closely related to his study of French colonial literature. Shimada used to study English literature, which he quit for lack of confidence. This accidentally led him into the field of French comparative literature in 1932. The French comparative literature journal, *Revue de la littérature compare*, which had just been launched in 1921, became his best textbook.<sup>83</sup> Shimada helped to set up the discipline of comparative literature and comparative culture at Tokyo University in 1950. Yet the pioneering stages can be traced back to his sojourns in Taiwan and education in French comparative literature.

Shimada's contact with French comparative literature also led him to the concept of *littérature coloniale*, which referred to literature not only written in French but by French writers who moved to colonies after 1870. In the 1930s, the field of colonial literature was still not well established. For example, during Germany's short period of imperial exploits, before the end of the First World War, the term "Kolonial Roman" (as Shimada wrote it) was in existence; similarly, in the British Empire, Kipling's writing was called "Anglo-Indian Literature" rather than colonial literature.<sup>84</sup> The absence of a general idea of colonial literature might be due to a dearth of successful works (as in the case of the Germans), or to a tendency to not generalise works having common characteristics (as with the British).<sup>85</sup> In contrast, France was well ahead of other countries in research surrounding colonial literature.

Shimada borrowed the French concept of *littérature coloniale* and developed it within the Taiwanese context. In 1935, he started to research the literature written in Japanese and by Japanese writers in colonial Taiwan. The French concept of *littérature coloniale* was translated into Japanese as "literature of the outer land" (*gaichi bungaku* 外地文学), yet it basically meant the same thing; Shimada saw Japan's *gaichi bungaku* as the extension of Japanese national literature developed in Korea, Taiwan, and other colonies.<sup>86</sup> His theory was scheduled to be published under the title *The Literary History of Taiwan* in 1945

82 Shimada, "Hyōron," 117.

83 Shimada, "Taipei ni okeru sōsōki no hikaku bungaku kenkyū," 118.

84 Shimada Kinji, "Watashi no hikaku bungaku shūgyō 私の比較文学修業 [My Pursuit of Comparative Literature]," *Hikaku bungaku kenkyū* 64 (1993): 146.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid., 148.

to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Japanese rule in Taiwan, which never came to pass. The book was not published until 1995, two years after Shimada's death. Taipei Imperial University became the early cradle of Japanese comparative literature. During his reading of French *littérature coloniale*, Shimada referred to many French and English books, including *L'Exotisme-La Littérature Coloniale* (1911), *Louis Malleret L'Exotisme indochinois dans la littérature française depuis 1860* (1934) and *L'Exotisme dans la littérature Française depuis Chateaubriand: le Romantisme* (1938).<sup>87</sup> As seen from these titles, exoticism was already recognised as a feature of French colonial literature, and Shimada endorsed this opinion. Therefore, exoticism became an important concept of his theory of Japanese literature in Taiwan. Yet the meaning of exoticism as it appeared in books on French colonial literature seems to have been plural rather than singular. It sometimes meant oriental sages, a means to criticise modern European civilisation, while in other cases it also referred to travels to tropical nature.<sup>88</sup> Based on these various French sources, Shimada developed his own theory of a Japanese colonial literature of exoticism, which he largely finished formulating by 1940.

In his memoir, Shimada acknowledged that his decision to write on the literary history of *gaichi bungaku* was due to his interaction with Nishikawa. Before being published as a book, most of the articles had been published in the journals or newspapers *Taiwan Daily News*, *Maso* and *Bibliophile*, all of which were overseen by Nishikawa.<sup>89</sup> Shimada and Nishikawa started to have frequent contacts in around 1935. The period between 1935 and 1940 saw a surge in publication of Nishikawa's poetry and prose poems, a rapid development of Japanese literature and culture in Taiwan, and Japan's renewed interest in the South. It was also during that period Shimada formulated his theory. Nishikawa's poems and works served as the best example that Shimada could use to test his theory, and Shimada was the main researcher on Nishikawa's literature during the colonial period; likewise, Nishikawa also gained support and inspiration through Shimada. Rather than Shimada's own invention, *gaichi bungaku* of Taiwan was a result of the mutual effort of Shimada and Nishikawa.

### *Japan's Internal Exotic South*

Besides the theoretical borrowing from French literature, Nishikawa's literary exoticism developed in Taiwan connected with Japanese national literature of the late Meiji period. Before Taiwan and the Maso Goddess became the focus

87 Hashimoto, "Daotian Jin'er 'Hualidaowenxuezhì' yanjiu," 201.

88 Ibid., 103–104.

89 Ibid., 65–66.

of Nishikawa's writing of exoticism in Taiwan in the 1930s, it was Kyushu and Christianity that intrigued him about the exotic South.

In July 1907, on a trip organised by Yosano Hiroshi, Kitahara Hakushū (北原白秋 1885–1942), Kinoshita Mokutarō (木下杢太郎 1885–1945), Hirano Banri (平野万里 1885–1947), and Yoshii Isamu (吉井勇 1886–1960) travelled from Tokyo to Kyushu in search of inspiration. Kitahara, along with other young poets set off from his hometown, Yanagawa, crossed Chikigo-kawa, before reaching the city of Karatsu. They then pressed on from Sasebo-shi to Hirado-shi, where they visited many Dutch remains. Nagasaki was their next stop. After returning in August, Kinoshita and Kitahara published many poems about their trip, such as Kitahara's "Amakusajima" (天草島).<sup>90</sup> Their writings, inspired by their travels to Kyushu, came to be called "literature of the southern barbarians", or literally "*nanban* literature" (*nanban bungaku* 南蛮文学).

*Nanban*, meaning barbarians coming from the not-as-civilised South, was a pejorative word used by the Japanese to denote foreigners; the term originated when three Portuguese castaways reached the shores of the southern coastal island of Tanegashima in 1543 and Lusitanian trading ships came to the ports of Kyushu. Accordingly, foreign culture and knowledge imported from outside had to take on a *nanban* hue. The Office for the Translation of Foreign Books that Bakufu established in 1811 was named "Government Office for Translation of Barbarian Books" (*Bansho wage goyō* 蛮書和解御用). As late as 1839, Japanese scholars specialising in the West referred to themselves as the "scholar of barbarianism" (*bansha* 蛮者), since during the Tokugawa period the study of the West was called "Scholarship of Southern Barbarianism" (*nanban gaku* 南蛮学) or "Scholarship of Barbarianism" (*bangaku* 蛮学), among other names.<sup>91</sup> During the late Meiji period, when Kinoshita and Kitahara were writing their exotic literature of the southern barbarians, the meaning of *nanban* had undergone a fundamental change, having greatly lost its connotation of barbarianism. In the issue of *Central Review* (*Chūō kōron* 中央公論) published in August 1903, *nanban* generally indicated everything foreign.<sup>92</sup>

90 Noda Utarō 野田宇太郎, "Kitahara Hakushū to Kinoshita Mokutarō 北原白秋と木下杢太郎 [Kitahara Hakushū and Kinoshita Mokutarō]," in *Nihon no kindai shi* 日本の近代詩 [*Japan's Modern Poetry*, ed. Nihon kindai bungakkan (Tokyo: Yomiuri shinbunsha, 1967), 99.

91 Albert M. Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 5–6. The other names are *Orandagaku* or *Rangaku*, *Seiyōgaku* or *Yōgaku*, and *Taiseigaku* or *Seigaku*.

92 Hatanaka Yoshie 畑中佳恵, "Kindai bungaku ni okeru 'nanban shumi tanjō' no 'dōjidai' 近代文学における「南蛮趣味誕生」の「同時代」 [The Birth of "Southern Barbarism" in Modern Literature]," *Bunken tankyū* 41 (March 2003): 7.

For Kitahara and Kinoshita, however, *nanban* had a narrower meaning, referring merely to the areas of Kyushu they had travelled through. The attractiveness of this area lay in the exoticism (*ikoku shumi* 異国趣味) it generated, as Kinoshita stated in 1910 in the preface to his poetry collection, *Songs After the Repast* (*Shokugo no uta* 食後の唄).<sup>93</sup> The exotic South involved two aspects: first, a tropical, sunny climate, plants such as coconut and palm trees and balconies and windows designed for the climate; and second, the cultural and religious remains of Latin nations such as Spain and Portugal.<sup>94</sup>

In 1909, inspired by the trip to Kyushu, Kitahara published his first poetry anthology, *The Heretics* (*Jashūmon* 邪宗門). It received the recognition of the Japanese poetry circles, and Kitahara has since been widely acknowledged as a symbolist poet. In the first stanza of *The Heretics*, he writes:

I believe in the heretical teachings of a degenerate age, the witchcraft of  
the Christian God,  
The captains of the black ships, the marvellous land of the Red Hairs,  
The scarlet glass, the sharp-scented carnation,  
The striped calico of the southern barbarians,  
The arak, the *vinho tinto*.<sup>95</sup>

In this stanza, *kirishitan* (切支丹) is the Japanese translation of Christianity, and *kapitanc* means captain. *Biidoro* (びいどろ) means glass and *jabeiuro* (じゃべいいうる) means carnation, flowers imported from the Netherlands. The flowers that appeared in *The Heretics* “tend to be foreign, acacia, water hyacinths, and heliotropes, but never cherry blossoms.”<sup>96</sup> These foreign items were

93 Exoticism (*ikoku shumi*) was Kinoshita's own word. See Kinoshita Mokutarō 本下奎太郎, “jijo自序 [Author's Preface],” in *Kinoshita Mokutarō zenshū dai 1-kan* 本下奎太郎全集第1巻 [*The Complete Works of Kinoshita Mokutarō vol. 1*], ed. Noda Utarō (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1950), 572.

94 Kinoshita Mokutarō 本下奎太郎, “Nagasaki-Murozu 長崎・室津 [Nagasaki and Murozu],” in *Kinoshita Mokutarō zenshū dai 11-kan* 本下奎太郎全集第11巻 [*The Complete Works of Kinoshita Mokutarō vol. 11*], ed. Noda Utarō (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1950), 125.

95 The original text is: “われは思ふ、末世の邪宗、切支丹でうすの魔法、黒船の加比丹を、紅毛の不可思議国を、色赤きびいどろを、匂い鋭きあんじゃべいいる、南蛮の棧留縞を、はた、阿刺吉、珍葩の酒を。目見青きドミニカ人は陀羅尼誦し夢にも語る、禁制の宗門神を、あるはまた、血に染む聖礫芥子粒を林檎のごとく見すという欺罔の器、波羅韋僧の空をも覗く伸び縮む奇なる眼鏡を,” translated by Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 243.

96 Ibid.

expressed in the poem either by katakana or by Japanese characters that corresponded to the foreign pronunciations, the slang and dialects of Yanagawa, or even the Portuguese and Dutch of the seventeenth century. Using bizarre characters to translate items foreign to Japan, Kitahara aroused the reader's sensory impressions of odours, visions, and sounds.

Interestingly, both Kitahara and Kinoshita were associated with the debate about the nature and characteristic of colonial literature. As I will discuss in Part III of the book, Kinoshita went to Manchuria and participated in discussions about the prevalence of Manchurian literature. Kitahara had close connections with Taiwan, a place he visited from June to July of 1934, at the invitation of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office and the Education Ministry. His main purpose was to compose Japanese songs for Taiwanese youth and teenagers. Kitahara had a personal connection with Japanese writers and intellectuals in Taiwan, including Nishikawa and his best friends Shimada and Yano, to whom Nishikawa had gone to when he first arrived in Taiwan. Both Yano and Shimada had long admired Kitahara's poetry talents. Yano was attracted by Kitahara's *The Heretics*, which he had read when he was in middle school. Shimada also adored Kitahara. The name of his book, *Record of Literature of Taiwan* (*Kareitō bungakushi* 華麗島文学志), discussing Japanese writings in Taiwan was an imitation of Kitahara's travel notes on Taiwan, titled *Record of Taiwanese Scenery* (*Kareitō fūbutsushi* 華麗島風物志). Therefore, it was very natural that Shimada and Yano, together with their close peer, Nishikawa, were more than happy to be entrusted with the task of welcoming Kitahara to Taiwan.

Kitahara, however, did not seem to be too happy with his travels. He complains:

Formosa makes me think of hills with rustling coconut-trees, fresh grasses, a transparent sky and the vast sea that is even bluer than the sky. However, what I see when my ship stops at the harbour betrays my vision of a tropical island. I repeatedly wipe my glasses. The hills by the harbour are depressive and what can be seen are only rusty buildings made of concrete. I cannot see the difference between what I am seeing now and the city of Moji-shi of Kyushu.<sup>97</sup>

Asked by the journalists and photographers he encountered in Taiwan about his impressions of Taiwan, Kitahara often answered that Taiwan was Kyushu. Kitahara's perception of Taiwan was not unusual among metropolitan Japanese.

97 Kitahara Hakushū 北原白秋, "Kareitō fūbutsushi (ichi) 華麗島風物誌 (一) [Record of Taiwanese Scenery (One)]," *Kaizō* 16: 11 (November 1934): 356.



Michael Baskett points out that the image of Taiwan was not always attractive amongst the metropolitan Japanese audience. Taiwan's narrow island scenery failed to capture the Japanese imagination the way Manchuria's vast plains had. In 1942, a Japanese film critic suggested that the problem with Taiwan was that it was geographically and cultural too close to the Japanese homeland to be interesting.<sup>98</sup> In the 1930s, Taiwan could arouse interests only when it was depicted as an exotic southern place that was different from both Tokyo and Kyushu, which was the earlier exotic image that had reined in Japanese literary desire for exoticism.

### *Exoticism Reinvented*

Kitahara's view of Taiwan and of exoticism was not shared by Nishikawa, who depicted a very different picture of Taiwan. In a series of articles published in the *Taiwan Daily News* to eulogise Kitahara's poetic achievements, Nishikawa paid his tribute by composing poems, titled "Bright Sun" and "Blue Sky", in which he depicted scenes of bright golden sunshine blinking in the bamboo grove and sparrows flying across the clear sky.<sup>99</sup> This bright and cheerful image of Taiwan stood in sharp contrast to Kitahara's perception. Nishikawa's perception of Taiwan as a source of light might be partly derived from Yoshie Takamatsu, his mentor at Wasada University. Before Nishikawa embarked on his career in Taiwan, Yoshie had written, stating "the South is the origin of light, bringing us order, joy and beauty." Yoshie Takamatsu's words became the motto that motivated Nishikawa's writing on Taiwan. This sentence even stands in the preface of his journal *Masō*.<sup>100</sup> The idea of Taiwan as the South could trigger unbounded imagination and exotic feelings that seemed to have been well received.

However Yoshie's evaluation of the South that motivated Nishikawa's exotic writing of the South was derived from his admiration of southern Europe.<sup>101</sup> In the spring of 1918, as a result of the First World War, Yoshie, who was studying in Paris, had to evacuate to the south of France. It turned out to be more than

98 Baskett, *The Attractive Empire*, 14.

99 Nishikawa Mitsuru, "Reijitsu hoka ryōhen: Kitahara Hakushushi ni sasagu 麗日他両篇：北原白秋に捧ぐ" ["Bright Sun" and Two Other Poems: Dedicated to Kitahara Hakushū], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 20, 1934.

100 Fujii, *Taiwan wenxue zhe yibainian*, 124.

101 Hashimoto Kyōko 橋本恭子, "ZaiTai Nihonjin no rejonarisumu: Shimada Kinji to Nishikawa Mitsuru no mezashita mono 在台日本人の郷土主義：島田謹二と西川満の目指したもの [Japanese Regionalism in Taiwan: The Case of Kinji Shimada and Mitsuru Nishikawa]," *Nihon Taiwan gakkaihō* 9 (May 2007): 238–239.

a simple escape since he took upon this opportunity to visit the hometown of the famous French poet Frédéric Mistral (1830–1914), where he received a warm welcome from Mistral's family. In 1854, Mistral and other poets launched the so-called *Félibrige* movement in order to revive the dialect, religion, history, and folklore of southern France.<sup>102</sup> Mistral made a great effort to rehabilitate the language of Provence. He even compiled a dictionary in order to redefine this language.

Yoshie was impressed by the natural scenery, which was so different from Paris, so much so that after his return, he published essays that introduced the history of southern France, and Mistral, to his audience. Shortly after returning to Japan, Yoshie, who was influenced by Mistral, and at the same time interested in local Japanese places, launched a movement to revive the literature of Japanese farmers. He used the literature of Provence as a means to criticise Japan's rapid urbanization since the Meiji period, and for rehabilitating its local literature.<sup>103</sup> The catastrophe of the First World War and ensuing Japanese economic stagnation had put the rural areas at great risk. Rapid urbanisation posed a threat, encouraging increased reflections on Japan's path towards adopting Western civilisation.

Kitahara and Kinoshita lived in the late Meiji period. They expressed strong confidence in Japan's adoption of Western modernisation, which had its root in the early nineteenth century. The Russo-Japanese War that broke out shortly before Kitahara and Kinoshita's trip to Kyushu gave the Japanese people a sense of national pride and a chance to reflect on the history of Westernised modernisation. For Kitahara and Kinoshita, who grew up surrounded by Westernisation and modernisation, Kyushu—and especially Nagasaki—were full of glorious memories. However, for Yoshie, who had experienced the First World War in Europe, it was clear that the resuscitation of European culture was not because of the dominating northern European culture; rather it was the marginalised southern European culture that had accomplished this. In the early twentieth century, Japanese exotic aestheticism found a new outlet through which Japan could further develop its perspective of the South, gained by earlier generations. Yoshie's recognition of Provence's marginalised local culture and history was grafted onto Taiwan. The Maso religion replaced Christianity, laden with mysterious and exotic symbols.

From exoticism to decadence, Nishikawa was working within the genealogy of Japanese symbolist poetry that had developed from the Meiji era.

102 Yoshie Takamatsu 吉江喬松, *Furansu bungei inshōki* 佛蘭西文藝印象記 [*Impressions of French Arts*] (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1923), 9–10.

103 Hashimoto, "ZaiTai Nihonjin no rejonarisumu," 238.

Nishikawa's exotic writing in Taiwan developed against the broad canvas of modern Japanese literary tradition, with its prehistory of melding both East and West. It followed national precedents, and yet, it developed within a new historical context, having acquired new elements that were absent from the writing of earlier generations. Through Nishikawa's efforts, colonial cultural resources became an integrated part of Japan's national history.

## Local Discovered

Nishikawa's propensity towards indulging in purely stylistic refinements of his poetry would soon come to an end: the longer he remained in Taiwan as an expatriate writer, the more difficult it became for him to create poetry. What was once fresh to him inexorably became a part of the routine of daily life. This may explain to some extent the changing genres adopted by Nishikawa, who entered the literary arena via poetry, yet consciously switched his focus to other narrative genres, such as folkloric writings and novels, starting in 1935. Nishikawa sought to form his own identity in his writing on Taiwanese folklore, an interest he developed after he had obtained a consciousness of his status as a colonial writer. Most of his articles were compiled into two collections, *A Record of Taiwanese Customs* and *A Collection of Taiwanese Folk Tales*, both of which demonstrate Nishikawa's perception of the colonised "others" whose culture and customs were the reference points from which the colonial and national self would be constructed.<sup>1</sup>

### A Record of Taiwanese Customs: Stories of Prostitutes and the Goddess

*A Record of Taiwanese Customs* was one of Nishikawa's most important collections dealing directly with Taiwanese customs and cultures. It contains seventeen short pieces, which were serialised between 1935 and 1936. These can be roughly classified according to content into pieces about: religion and temples in Taiwan, including "The Jōkō Temple" (*Jōkōbyō* 城隍廟),<sup>2</sup> "Ryōun Temple" (*Ryōun zenji* 凌雲禪寺)<sup>3</sup> and "Maso Temple" (*Masobyō* 媽祖廟); ritual and celebration in Taiwan, for example, "Ritual of Chinnyūmāshī" (*Chinnyūmāshī*

1 *A Collection of Taiwanese Folk Tales* (*Kareitō minwashū* 華麗島民話集) was published in 1942 as an offprint. *A Record of Taiwanese Customs* (*Kareito kenpūroku* 華麗島蹟風録) was not published in the pre-war period. It was first published in 1980 when Nishikawa's early pieces were serialised in newspapers and then collected and published as an offprint.

2 The names of places and customs in Nishikawa's writing are presented here in the pronunciations indicated in the original texts. Jōkōbyō is a Daoist temple.

3 Ryōun Temple is a temple in the northern part of Taiwan in which the Kannon Buddha is worshipped.

七娘媽生),<sup>4</sup> “Salvation” (*Pōtō* 普渡),<sup>5</sup> “The Mid-autumn Day” (*Chūshūsetsu* 中秋節), “Seeing Off the God” (*Senshin* 送神),<sup>6</sup> “Lunar New Year’s Eve” (*Jinii* 辭年),<sup>7</sup> and “The Festival of Lanterns” (*Tyuiā* 灯爺);<sup>8</sup> a number of big events in the Taiwanese calendar; traditional superstition, for example, “Ritual of Tsuaihoeoatawa” (*Tsuaihoeoatawa* 栽花換斗);<sup>9</sup> and names of places, for example, “Near the Kōzan Pavilion” (*Kōzanrōfukin* 江山樓付近). Most of these can be roughly defined as content related to religion and customs of Taiwan.<sup>10</sup>

### *The Dangerous Pleasure of Eastern Montmartre*

The most conspicuous feature of *A Record of Taiwanese Customs* is the development of a narrative on Taiwanese prostitutes, which, I suggest, demonstrates a journalistic inclination on Nishikawa’s part to take up prostitution in Taiwan as a social problem. Appropriating the culture and customs of the other was a strategy intended to feed the inspiration Nishikawa needed to maintain his writing of colonial exoticism; but it also convinced him of the necessity to accommodate the other within the scope of the Japanese empire. It was through his depiction of others and a desire to exoticise the other that

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- 4 In the original texts, Nishikawa used katakana for the pronunciation of *Chinnyūmāshī*. The pronunciation, which was derived from the Min dialect, means the Double Seventh Festival, which is observed on the 7th day of the 7th lunar month.
  - 5 The subtitle of “Salvation” is “Keelung Mid-Summer Ghost Festival in Maso Temple” (*Kiron Masobyō chūgenmatsuri* 基隆媽祖廟中元祭), which has been a major ritual ceremony and folkloric tradition of Taiwan since the mid-19th century.
  - 6 “Senshin” is represented by katakana to indicate the Min dialect pronunciation. It is a part of the traditional lunar New Year festival, widely observed on the 24th day of the 12th lunar month.
  - 7 “Jinii” is represented by katakana to indicate the Min dialect pronunciation.
  - 8 “Tyuia” is represented by katakana to indicate the Min dialect pronunciation. The Festival of Lanterns is a Daoist festival that takes place on the 15th day of the first lunar month.
  - 9 A ritual for changing the fetus’s gender. The pronunciation is according to the Min dialect.
  - 10 Exploration of religions and customs of Taiwan in the 1930s was complicated given that Taiwan was populated by Japanese, aboriginal tribes, and Han Chinese. Nishikawa seemed to have been specially concerned with the religious practices of the Han Chinese in Taiwan, which were the object of Japanese anthropological research at that time. As early as 1930, when Nishikawa was studying in Waseda University, he wrote a short essay titled “At the gate of the Maso Temple”, which might be regarded as Nishikawa’s first writing on Taiwanese religions and customs. In this essay, he introduced many aspects of religious practices in Taiwan, and stated clearly that what he discussed was the religion of the Taiwanese, which was different from the indigenous Taiwanese. Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, “Masobyō no moto de 媽祖廟の下で [At the gate of the Maso Temple],” *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 20 (1930): 52

constituted his sense of being a part of an empire that extended beyond the nation-state.

A narrative also emerged to accompany this new sentiment. Kleeman notes that its texts “are framed in a fictionalized poetic (at times even fantastic) prose with a third person narrative voice often set in the pleasure quarters”.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, *A Record of Taiwanese Customs* marked the emergence of a narrative style, but I would also add that it demonstrated Nishikawa’s writing of “fictionalized poetic prose” was based on the poems he had written previously. The collection drew substantially on Nishikawa’s early poem “Maso Festival”, published in 1934 in *Pan-litteraire*. For example, in the opening section Nishikawa writes:

Oh, blessing! Spring, our Mother, Heavenly Holy Mother, a celebration of the Goddess, Maso. God’s omen. Heaven and earth bless the spirit. In the evening the fortune money is thrown into the golden fire. My heart is like the moon in blossom or a dove in flight. In the shadow of a swaying banyan tree a shrine maiden draws a divine lot for a prostitute’s beloved.<sup>12</sup>

The phrase “a shrine maiden draws a divine lot for a prostitute’s beloved” was extensively developed in “The Jōkō Temple” by means of a detailed description:

A kneeling girl is worshipping solemnly. Sold three years ago, she is a sixteen-year-old prostitute flowering in the darkness of the Kōzanrō. Lucky? Unlucky? To augur the ephemeral encounter with him who was the deepest secret in her heart, she bows in the sunlight of a cloudy day at the front of the shrine. [...] It is good fortune. Fortune! He and I can be blessed. [...] She rushes out and buys a big golden bundle of fortune money with her earnings from the night before. She throws them in a furnace of smoky red bricks. At once the flames lick ferociously, then a white smoke whirls up.<sup>13</sup>

11 Faye Yuan Kleeman, “Gender, Ethnography, and Colonial Cultural Production: Nishikawa Mitsuru’s Discourse on Taiwan,” in *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule*, ed. Liao Binghui and Wang Dewei (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 304–305.

12 Nishikawa, *Maso matsuri*, 50. ありがたや、春、われらが御母、天上聖母。媽祖さまの祭典。神神の卜卦。天地ここに霊を醸して、夕、金亭に投げる大才子。花月の、空飛ぶ鳩か、わがこころ。氣揺れる榕樹の陰では女巫が倣婬相手に神籤を引く。

13 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, “Jōkōbyō 城隍廟 [The Jōkō Temple],” *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū*, 518–519. 小妹はうやうやしく跪拜した。売られて三年、江山楼の闇に咲く十六の花娘である。吉？凶？あやしくもこころの底に秘めた少年とのはかない逢瀬を占おうと、曇日の光を浴びて、神前にぬかずいたの

This scene of the young prostitute worshipping the goddess Maso and drawing lots is also in “The Girl Named Jūnijō”, another piece from *A Record of Taiwanese Customs*.<sup>14</sup> In this poem, a scene in which the young prostitute Jūnijō goes with her lover to worship the goddess Maso occupies considerable space. Jūnijō recalls:

I was relieved when I bowed in the inner space of the shrine under the dim light of the red candles dedicated to Maso. You drew a divine lot, did you? It told of good fortune. How happy I was then ...<sup>15</sup>

Jūnijō's words jog her lover's memory, providing a further interpretation for readers:

I remember I visited the holy temple as urged by Jūnijō. But the divine lot was not one of good fortune. I told her a lie so as not to have her worry about it, and pretended it was an auspicious lot.<sup>16</sup>

What he remembers about the dying prostitute in “The Girl Named Jūnijō” is the very scene that takes place in “The Jōkō Temple”. Thus, the two prose poems are probably interrelated and can be read as segments of the same prostitute's love story evolving from Nishikawa's early poem, “Maso Festival”.

Nishikawa's intention to move from poetry writing to a narrative style appears to have been endorsed by the man himself. Regarding this collection, he once disclosed that although *A Record of Taiwanese Customs* took the form of prose poetry, he wanted it to have the flavour of fiction.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, “The Girl Named Jūnijō” did not appear as part of *A Record of Taiwanese Customs*

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だ。[...]吉だ。吉だ。あのひとあしも幸福なのだ。 [...] 小妹はあわてて表へ飛び出し、昨夜、客から貰った花代の全部を太太極金の太束に換えて、煤けた赤煉瓦の金亭の中に投げこんだ。たちまち炎はめらめらと金紙を舐めつくし、一陣の白煙と化して舞い上がって行った。

14 The name Jūnijō may indicate that the person was the twelfth girl born in her family.

15 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, “Jūnijō 十二娘 [The Girl Named Jūnijō],” *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū*, 528. 媽祖さまの赤い蠟燭の燈が、ほんのりとゆらぐ暗い内陣にぬかずいて、はじめてほっとしたくらい、そうそう、あなたは竹籤を引いたわね、吉、あのときのうれしかったこと……。

16 Ibid. 十二娘にせがまれて慈聖宮に行ったのは、私も覚えている。たが神占は吉ではなかった。十二娘を心配させまいとして、偽りを教えたのだ。

17 Nakajima Toshio 中島利郎, “Nishikawa Mitsuru sakuhin kaisetsu 西川満作品解説 [Explanation of Nishikawa Mitsuru's Works],” in *Nihon tōchiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū dai 2-kan* 日本統治期台湾文学日本人作家作品集第2巻



until Nishikawa arranged for the re-issue of the collection in 1981. It was actually published separately in 1937 and originally was not counted as part of his newspaper serialisation. “The Girl Named Jūnijō” seems to have been perceived by the author as indispensable to the rest of the collection. The re-issue confirms the existence of connections between these single poems and strongly suggests that one is encouraged by the writer to read them as a whole fiction.

In addition to “The Jōkō Temple” and “The Girl Named Jūnijō”, several other poems also dealt with prostitutes and their lives. “Near the Kōzan Pavilion” depicts the nightlife of one prostitute. “Ritual of Tsuaihoeoatawa” tells the story of another, who becomes pregnant and seeks to ascertain, according to Taiwanese folk superstition, whether the child is a boy or a girl. “Ritual of Chinnyūmāshī” tells the story of Yan, who on the occasion of the Double Seventh Festival, prays for the daughter she has miscarried. While it is apt to call attention to the “decidedly genderized, if not erotic, descriptive passages” of this collection,<sup>18</sup> what is striking here is not just that the female gender is so prominent in its discursive space but that Nishikawa’s focus is on prostitutes in particular as the central theme. Prostitutes by the names of “Hoenyū” (花娘), “Tsuepyau” (做婬), “Getoa” (藝姐), and “Hoeki” (花妓) take up substantial space in *A Record of Taiwanese Customs* occupying considerable portions of his text.<sup>19</sup> The short piece “Near the Kōzan Pavilion”, first published in *Pan-litteraire* in June 1935, was even renamed explicitly “Hoenyū” when it next appeared along with “The Jōkō Temple” in *Taiwan Jihō* in May 1936. At the same time, the names of rituals, food, and even prostitutes were not randomly scattered. Rather than being simply discursive and random pieces unrelated to each other, these segments portraying Taiwanese prostitutes form a complete narrative. In combination, they appear to form a love story between the male protagonist and a prostitute working in a restaurant called Kōzan Pavilion. The prostitute, who becomes pregnant, goes to a temple to worship Maso out of concern for the fate of her lover and herself. Sadly, she miscarries and loses the baby. Shortly afterwards, she falls ill and dies. The various fragments are different parts of the one tale of a prostitute’s life and belief in the power of Maso.

A considerable body of research points to Nishikawa’s writings containing descriptions of prostitutes.<sup>20</sup> Most scholars see his descriptions of Taiwanese

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[A Collection of Japanese Writers and Writings in Japanese Languages in Colonial Taiwan, vol. 2], ed. Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobō, 1999), 392.

18 Kleeman, “Gender, Ethnography, and Colonial Cultural Production,” 305.

19 The pronunciations of these names were indicated by Nishikawa in katakana.

20 Qiu Yafang 邱雅芳, “Shengzhan yu shengnū: yi huangminhua wenxue zuopin de nüxing xingxiang wei zhongxin 圣战与圣女：以皇民化文学作品的女性形象为中心 [The

prostitutes from a feminist perspective and seek to criticise Nishikawa's colonial writings within the dichotomy of "male coloniser" and "female colonised". For example, Qiu Yafang criticises Nishikawa's propensity to feminise and eroticise Taiwan through his depictions of Taiwanese religions.<sup>21</sup> Chen Fangming also points out that in Nishikawa's writing, Taiwanese culture and customs were presented through images of prostitutes, which in turn revealed Nishikawa's desire to project himself as a dominant male colonialist.<sup>22</sup> This early research sets up the basis for a further criticism of Nishikawa's writing from a social perspective. I suggest that the emergence of Taiwanese prostitutes in Nishikawa's folkloristic writings, as well as his favouring of a "third person narrative voice", might be attributed to his role as an editor and journalist with the *Taiwan Daily News*, the official newspaper under the control of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office, from 1934.<sup>23</sup> It predates his serialisation in *Pan-litteraire* by several months. There was at least correlation between his extensive writing on the lives of Taiwanese prostitutes and his journalist career.

Around July 1934, Nishikawa wrote two short series of reports for the *Taiwan Daily News* titled "Topics of Summer: Tales of Prostitutes"<sup>24</sup> and "Topics of Summer: Stories of Adventures with Prostitutes".<sup>25</sup> Clearly aware of newspaper conventions, he wrote the by-line, "Correspondent Nishikawa" (*Nishikawa kasha* 西川記者).<sup>26</sup> "Topics of Summer: Tales of Prostitutes" featured a prosti-

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Holy War and the Holy Women: The Female Image in Taiwanese Kominka Literature]," (Master diss., Providence University, Taiwan, 2001).

21 Ibid., 79.

22 Chen Fangming 陈芳明, "Taiwan shinwenxueshi: di ba zhang zhimindi shanghen jiqi zhongjie 台湾新文学史：第八章殖民地伤痕及其终结 [A New Literary History of Taiwan, Chapter Eight: The Scar of Colonies and their End]," *Lianhe wenxue* 191 (September 2000): 130.

23 Guan Jie 关捷, *Zhongri guanxi quanshu* 中日关系全书 [A Full Account of the Sino-Japanese Relationship], (Shenyang Shi: Liaohai chubanshe, 1999), 844; Namikata Shōichi 波形昭一, "Kaidai 解題 [Explanation and Discussion]," in *Taiwan Nichinichi sanjūnenshi*, 台湾日日三十年史 [The Taiwan Daily News's Thirty-Year History], ed. Namikata Shōichi, Kimura Kenji, and Sunaga Noritake (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2004), 7–8.

24 Nishikawa kisha, "Natsu no wadai: kagi monogatari 夏の話題花妓物語 [Topics of Summer: Tales of Prostitutes]" was serialised from 20 to 22 July 1934 in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*.

25 Nishikawa kisha, "Natsu no wadai: tsuebyō kitan 夏の話題 做嫖綺譚 [Topics of Summer: Stories of Adventures with Prostitutes]" was serialised from 2 to 4 August 1934 in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*. The Min dialect reading "tsuebyō" was given in katakana in the text.

26 This "kisha" could have been written purely for artistic reasons, underscoring the reliability of the articles in newspapers. It could also have been because Nishikawa worked as a journalist for the newspaper.

tute named Bao Gui (宝桂), who, while earning a living, also supported her sister. A prostitute by the name of Gui Bao (桂宝), which was similar to the name that appeared in the newspaper, did indeed live in Taiping Street (Ch. *Taiping ting* and J. *Taihei-chō* 太平町); the address given in the news report was also the same.<sup>27</sup> “Topics of Summer: Stories of Adventures with Prostitutes” tells of a young Japanese man named Yamamura who mistakenly enters a Taiwanese brothel. Interestingly, Yamamura’s adventures occur when he is attending the welcome party held in honour of Kitahara.<sup>28</sup>

An intertextual reading shows that the central settings, events, and narrative elements of these two serializations are also in Nishikawa’s *A Record of Taiwanese Customs*. Examples of overlap are: 1) The Kōzan Pavilion, which was an actual restaurant in Taiwan; 2) Dadaocheng (大稻埕), an entertainment centre in Taipei; 3) Jasmine flower, which was the floral emblem of Taiwan; 4) the rooms of brothels that was decorated with white; and 5) rituals performed at the temple. As such, the line between fiction and facts, poetry and reporting is blurred. Certain similarities between “The Girl Named Jūnijō” and the news reports are discernible. Nishikawa depicts Jūnijō’s room in the following words: “I climbed upstairs on a narrow, steep staircase rising directly from the corridor. The room was full of the scent of jasmine flowers with white wallpaper and a white bed.”<sup>29</sup> This short passage corresponds to one of Nishikawa’s news reports, in which he writes:

I went into a narrow lane near the Kōzan Pavilion and came across a two-story house in the dim light. [...] Compared to the darkness outside, the room is extremely bright, a white bed, like a birdcage woven in white threads. The fragrance permeating the room is that of sweet jasmine flowers.<sup>30</sup>

27 See the names of Taiwanese prostitutes working in Taiping Street. See Liang QiuHong 梁秋虹, “Shehui de xiabanshen shilun Riben zhimin shiqi de xing zhili 社会的下半身试论日本殖民时期的性治理 [The ‘Erotic Zones’ in the Social Body – Governmentality of Sex during Japanese Colonisation in Taiwan],” (Master diss., Taiwan Qinghua University, 2003), 46.

28 According to another news report by Nishikawa, during the same period of his publication of “Topics of Summer: Tales of Prostitutes,” Kitahara visited Taiwan. The Governor-General’s Office held a grand welcoming party on 5 July in Kōzanrō. Nishikawa Mitsuru, Shimada Kinji, and Yano Hōjin all wrote articles welcoming Kitahara. See *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 20, 1934.

29 Nishikawa, “Jūnijō,” 527. 停脚仔からすぐ二階に通ずる、急な、狭い階段を上がって行った。茉莉花の匂う部屋、白い壁紙、白い寝台。

30 Nishikawa kisha, “Natsu no wadai: kagi monogatari,” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 20, 1934. 江山楼近くの狭い停脚仔の中に入って、しばらく無言のまま連いてゆ



ILLUSTRATION 5 *Taiping Street of 1934, in Hara Kanshū 原幹洲, Taiwan kinen shashinchō 台湾記念写真帖 [Memorial Album of Taiwan] (Taihoku: Kinrō to Fugensha, 1934). Courtesy of Dr. Lin Yufang and Formosa Vintage Museum Café.*

This indicates that it is very possible that the original mode of his folkloric writings was first formed in 1934 whilst he was working on the *Taiwan Daily News* as a journalist, or at the very least, discernible continuities did exist between Nishikawa's news reports and his creative writing.

The Kōzan Pavilion restaurant in colonial Taiwan was a meeting place that hosted both public and private affairs. There was a large hall, the front of which was used as a shared space for the citizens, as well as a venue for occasional public performances. The Maso Temple in Dadaocheng was also moved to a place close to the Kōzan Pavilion. There were regular annual festivals, and prostitutes often went in threes and fours to engage in sacrifices. Since the area was adjacent to the Kōzan Pavilion, prostitutes and geishas tended to congregate in

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くと、ある薄暗い一軒の二階屋の入り口に止まって [...] 戸外の暗いじめした陰鬱さに比べて、これはまだ何と言う明るさだらう。純白のベトリラン編みの鳥籠。そして部屋いつばいに漂っているのは、甘い茉莉花の匂ひだ。

Taiping Street.<sup>31</sup> Yet, in Nishikawa's writing, there is a tendency to degrade the deity into a goddess worshipped exclusively by prostitutes. Examples include the 16-year-old girl sold to the Kōzan Pavilion in "The Jōkō Temple", the prostitute named Sinju who worshipped the goddess of birth, and the coquettish prostitutes attending worship in the Maso festival. In his "Salvation", Nishikawa writes of a religious parade:

The prostitutes are praying for the safety of their beloveds, carrying incense with eyes closed and breasts trembling inside their dresses. They believe that the ghosts wandering around will hear their supplication and grant them their desire.<sup>32</sup>

The parade that takes place as an important component of the religious ceremony becomes in Nishikawa's rendition a fashion show for prostitutes: "Those alluring prostitutes walk by the light of a carbon lamp and smile coquettishly", and "some of them even cast their amorous glances at the audience".<sup>33</sup>

Taiwanese religion in Nishikawa's writings was made to seem ambiguous in terms of its divinity. He could dismiss the local religion of Taiwan in a single line: "The temple is a place of utmost ease rather than the object of belief".<sup>34</sup> The goddess of offspring in "Ritual of Tsuihohoeatawa", the thousand-handed Kannon in "The Temple of Ryōun" and the goddess in "Ritual of Chinnyūmāshi" were each merely wearing the garb of religion. With regards to his writings about the goddess, while sometimes Maso was a goddess signifying the beauty of the East, comparable to the enigmatic Mona Lisa (as depicted in the "Temple of Maso"), she is embodied in the person of a maid wearing a Japanese topknot in "The Goddess in the Heaven". In "The Girl Named Jūnijō", the goddess becomes a Catholic nun. The religious meaning and the holiness of the goddess are stripped from his narratives. Kleeman notes:

31 Wu Ruoying 吴若莹, "Xinggan dizhi, gongchangguan wenmenglou de baocun yu Dadaocheng xingchanye dijing 性感地志, 公娼馆文萌楼的保存与大稻埕性产业地景 [Se(x)nsation in the Landscape, Historic Preservation of a Licensed Brothel, Wen-Ming Lo, within the Sex-work Landscape of Dwa-Due-Dia]" (Master diss., National Taiwan University, 2009), 44.

32 Nishikawa, "Pōtō," 533.

33 Ibid.

34 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Sekikanki 赤嵌記 [The Red Fort]," in *Nihon tōchiki Taiwan bungaku Taiwanjin sakka sakuinshū dai-2-kan* 日本統治期台湾文学日本人作家作品集第二卷 [A Collection of Japanese Writers in Colonial Taiwan, vol. 2], ed. Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobō, 1998), 208.

Nishikawa is committing an act of violence—ripping attractive bits of culture from their context and serving them up to a Japanese audience as tasty exotica. Colonial romanticism both reveals (the surface beauty) and conceals (the social significance) at the same time.<sup>35</sup>

In contrast to Nishikawa's portrayal, Maso, who was initially worshipped by fishermen, farmers, small manufacturers, and others, was perceived as being at the bottom of society, but later was extended to the upper class. According to legend, Maso was born as a girl named Lin Moniang (林默娘) in Fujian around 960 CE. She often wore red garments while standing on the shore to guide fishing boats home.<sup>36</sup> Worship of Maso began around the Song Dynasty in Fujian China, when many temples were erected dedicated to this goddess.<sup>37</sup> The worship of Maso spread to other countries and regions, including Japan, Taiwan, and even northeast China.<sup>38</sup> This religion of the colonised “others” only found its exotic images in Japanese colonial literature. Through the cultural practice of exoticising the others' culture and religion, the cultural essence constituting the purity image of Japanese was reconfirmed.

Japanese writers such as Kitahara Hakushū and Satō Haruo also recorded their impressions of Taiwanese local religion during their visits to Taiwan. Their knowledge of Taiwanese local religion was no better than Nishikawa's. For example, in 1934, Kitahara depicted the ceremony of worship for Maso as akin to the deafening noise of Nan Guan, as the advertising banners flap ceaselessly.<sup>39</sup> As part of the divine cult, there are crowds praying for bliss or redemption in the guise of beggars, and people wearing colourful facial make-up.<sup>40</sup> In marked contrast to his impression of the gaudy Taiwanese religion bereft of deities, Kitahara expressed a pilgrim's reverence for the Japanese shrines built in Taiwan:

I look up to the solemn hill, cross the divine bridge, step onto the stone stair, then wash my hands and mouth. When facing the shrine made

35 Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun*, 96–97.

36 Hiizumi Katsuo 樋泉克夫, “Umi no kamisama wa doko made hirogattaka 海の神様はどこまで広がったか [What was the Reach of the Goddess of the Sea?],” in *Kita / tōhoku Ajia chūki kōryūshi* 北東北アジア地域交流史 [The History of Regional Interaction in Northern and Northeast Asia] (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 2012), 227.

37 Ibid., 228.

38 Ibid., 228–229.

39 Nan Guan (南管), literally “southern pipes,” is a style of Chinese music originating in the southern Chinese province of Fujian. It gained popularity when introduced into Taiwan.

40 Kitahara, “Kareitō fūbutsushi (ichi),” 360–364.



of logs and worshipping the divine mirror placed inside, I cannot help weeping as I clap my hands together.<sup>41</sup>

Similarly, when Satō Haruo visited Taiwan in 1920, he was fascinated by the image of the goddess. Yet, due to his lack of religious knowledge, Satō was not familiar with her name and had to associate the deity with Saint Mary. He wondered whether the goddess was brought by Spanish or Dutch ships from the South and then was “Sinicised” in Taiwan as a Taoist goddess. He searched in vain for some associated trace of a crucifix to back his theory.<sup>42</sup> It should be acknowledged, however, that Satō’s misconception was to some extent due to his lack of exposure to Taiwanese culture and religion; Nishikawa, who had extensive experience of life in Taiwan, adopted the literary strategy of exoticising purposefully.

Nishikawa’s news reporting had close ties to the colonial administration. In the 1930s, the illegal practice of prostitution and related hygiene issues were a focus of the Governor-General’s Office. In 1934, the *Taiwan Daily News* was preoccupied with prostitution as a social issue, and carried articles such as “Prostitutes are Vanishing in Japan, so [is it Time for] a Movement for the Abolition of Prostitution in Taiwan?” (*Tomokaku naichi dewa shōgi ga naku-naru, Taiwan no haishō undō wa* ともかく内地では娼妓がなくなる、台湾の廃娼運動は?), “If It Is Impossible to Abolish Prostitution, At Least Raise the Minimum Age of Prostitutes” (*Hashō ga fukanō nara, semete shūshō nenrei wo hikiageru* 廃娼が不可能なら、せめて就娼年齢を引き上げる), and others about the treatment of sexually transmitted diseases.<sup>43</sup> Nishikawa’s 22 July item in his “Topics of Summer: Stories of Prostitutes” series was embedded among these articles.

In the year Nishikawa wrote the news report, figures for prostitution in Taiwan included 941 Taiwanese prostitutes and 846 Japanese prostitute.<sup>44</sup> The Taiwanese and Japanese prostitutes had their business in separated areas. The Taiwanese local brothels occupied Taiping Street, which was the address given in the news reports. The hygiene and safety of the Taiwanese prostitutes in this area was always a big concern for the government. Sexually

41 Kitahara Hakushū 北原白秋, “Kareitō fūbutsushi (ni) 華麗島風物誌 (二) [Record of Taiwanese Scenery (Two)],” *Kaizō* 16: 12 (December 1934): 188.

42 Qiu Ruoshan 邱若山, *Zuotengchunfu: Zhimindi zhi lü* 佐藤春夫台湾旅行关系作品研究 [Research on Satō Haruo’s Writings on his Travels to Taiwan] (Taipei: Caogen chubanshe, 2002), 253–254.

43 See *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 22, 1934.

44 Liang, “Shehui de xiabanshen,” 65.



transmitted diseases were regarded as a threat to the well-being of the Japanese as well as general population of Taiwan. Many inspections and hygiene-related checkups for Taiwanese prostitutes were forcibly arranged.<sup>45</sup> As indicated in “Topics of Summer: Stories of Adventures with Prostitutes”, a Japanese young man enters the brothels without knowing the kind of business that takes place there: he thinks it is a shop selling tea and cakes. When he realises that he has entered a brothel and is asked to pick a Taiwanese girl in the bedroom, Yamamura immediately runs away from the brothel and has his back ricked.<sup>46</sup> In the second part of “Topics of Summer: Stories of Adventures with Prostitutes”, serialised on 3 August 1934, a subtitle of “The Young Man Eventually Escaped, Haunted by Women’s Laughter” (*Seinen tsuini nigegu Atokara oikuru onna no shōsei* 青年遂に逃げぐ 後から追ひ来る女の笑声) was added and the whole adventure was summarised as entering the “tiger’s lair” (*koketsu* 虎穴), a highly dangerous situation.<sup>47</sup>

In the early years of Japan’s control of Taiwan, many private residences were converted to brothels. Later, these moved to the fourth precinct of Taiping Street, which was often called the Taiwanese district on par with “Little Ginza” of the Japanese residents. Taiping’s narrow backstreets were the haunts of the labouring classes. Most Taiwanese brothels could be found around the fifth precinct and were indistinguishable from the ordinary houses surrounding them. Usually, the first floor were shops that sold tea, or even residences, while Taiwanese prostitutes, who inhabited the second and third floors, ran covert businesses.<sup>48</sup> For people unfamiliar with the area, it was difficult to discern, unless they were accompanied by the local Taiwanese. And it is in this way that the protagonist Yamamura of Nishikawa’s report walks into a brothel by mistake. Thus, it is clear to see how Nishikawa’s writings in *A Record of Taiwanese Customs* and his journalistic articles tended to blur the boundaries between literature and reportage.

The question is not how much the reportage influenced Nishikawa’s literary writing, or how much his imagination was inspired by “factual” news. We can never know to what extent the reportage itself was a product of imagination. The intertextual reading of Nishikawa’s reportage in *Taiwan Daily News* and his literary writings of Taiwanese prostitutes show that various sources collectively created a discourse centered on an image of exotic Taiwan. The scope

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45 Ibid.

46 Nishikawa kisha, “Natsu no wadai: tsuebyō kitan,” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, August 3, 1934.

47 Ibid.

48 Wu, “Xinggan dizhi,” 44.



ILLUSTRATION 6 *The Kōzan Pavilion in the 1920s. Cited from Katō Hayao 加藤駿, *Tokonatsu no Taiwan* 常夏之台湾 [Sunny Taiwan], (Taipei: Tokonatsu no Taiwansha 1928), 231. Courtesy of Taiwan National University.*

of the collectively created discourse even extended to paintings. Nishikawa's writing was not only indebted to his Japanese peers, but it had shared interests with Japanese artists in Taiwan. One such artist was Miyata Yatarō (宮田彌太郎 1906–1968), who often drew illustrations for Nishikawa's writings. Miyata, while born in Tokyo, had moved to Taiwan immediately thereafter. The cooperation between Nishikawa and Miyata could be traced back to their years in the middle school, where they were introduced to each other by a mutual friend. It was here that Miyata started to draw illustrations for Nishikawa and continued to do so over the years.<sup>49</sup> Miyata participated in the decoration and design for many of Nishikawa's journals, including *Maso*. At the same time, from 1927 to 1943, Miyata participated in the annual Taiwan Art Exhibition (*Taiwan bijutsu tenrankai* 台湾美術展覧会). In 1934, the same year Nishikawa's writing of Taiwanese prostitutes appeared, Miyata was shortlisted for his painting named "Fragrant Evening Primrose" (*Matsuyoigusa* 待宵草), a title used

49 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, *Kareitō bojō* 華麗島慕情 [Yearning for Taiwan] (Tokyo: Ningen no hoshisha, 1997), 1.



ILLUSTRATION 7 *The Bedroom of a Taiwanese Prostitute during the Colonial Period. Cited from Chen Shihuang 陈石煌, *Rakuen Taiwan no sugata 樂園台湾の姿* [The Paradise of Taiwan], (Taipei: Lidao chubanshe, 1936), 26. Courtesy of Taiwan National University.*

metaphorically to represent the central theme of his painting, namely Taiwanese prostitutes and their nocturnal activities. The painting depicts people at twilight, having taken some chairs outdoors to sit under the overhanging eaves, fanning themselves in innocent enjoyment of the cool shade. However, the looks on the faces of the three coquettes give away their intent to seize any



ILLUSTRATION 8 *Miyata Yatarō's painting "Fragrant Evening Primrose". Submitted to the Taiwan Art Exhibition in 1934. Courtesy of the Academia Sinica research database and Professor Yan Juanying's research project.*

prey in sight. A man sitting holding his knee in his hands carefully watches the tourists on the street. Behind the girl in colourful clothes is a dark shadow that creeps along the red bricks. It is a mysterious and heavy sight.<sup>50</sup> Since painting and literature are two different artistic genres, it is hard to say if Nishikawa had a strong influence on Miyata's paintings; suffice it to say, however, Miyata, who worked closely around Nishikawa, demonstrated an interest in exploring a mutual topic of interest, namely, Taiwanese prostitutes.

50 The Research database of Academia Sinica: [ultra.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~yency/theme03/htm/t8e54.htm](http://ultra.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~yency/theme03/htm/t8e54.htm).



The open presence of Taiwanese prostitutes was sufficient for Taiwan to be deemed a site of “dangerous pleasure”.<sup>51</sup> In the beginning of “Topics of Summer: Stories of Prostitutes” Nishikawa suggests that Taipei Street reminded him of the scenes of Paris that were depicted by Baudelaire in his 1857 “Flowers of Evil”. Nishikawa quotes lines from the epilogue of Baudelaire’s *The Parisian Prowler* (*Le Spleen de Paris*), which states unequivocally, “I love you, infamous city! Courtesans and Bandits frequently bring to you the pleasure that cannot be comprehended by vulgar people.”<sup>52</sup> Borrowing Baudelaire’s words, Nishikawa hails Taiwan as the “exotic eastern Montmartre full of joyousness and pleasure”,<sup>53</sup> and prostitutes as “the great comfort for a summer night”.<sup>54</sup> *The Parisian Prowler* was composed by Baudelaire to show “the ennui of a vast modern capital” through a man’s “disillusioned eyes” with “irony and bitterness”.<sup>55</sup> Nakajima Toshio, the editor of many volumes of colonial literature in Taiwan and one of the major scholars on Nishikawa, has identified the shortcoming in this approach:

Though Nishikawa’s writing was full of Taiwanese images and themes and was popular among Japanese people, it reflected a coloured Taiwan that only catered to a Japanese audience. Taiwanese people at that time could not identify with the world depicted by him.<sup>56</sup>

The theme of prostitutes was adopted by Nishikawa as one effective means of transforming Taiwan into a place of colonial exoticism.

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- 51 Hershatner uses this term to analysis the prostitutes in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s, who were widely represented as a victimised, disorderly, dangerous embodiment of social trouble. See Gail Hershatner, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
- 52 Nishikawa, “Natsu no wadai: kagi monogatari,” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 20, 1934; Charles Baudelaire, *Le spleen de Paris: petits poèmes en prose* (Lausanne: Mermod, 1946), 230.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Nishikawa, “Natsu no wadai: tsuebyō kitan,” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, August 4, 1934.
- 55 J. A. Hiddleston, *Baudelaire and Le spleen de Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 33.
- 56 Nakajima Toshio 中島利郎, “Xichan Man beiwanglu 西川满备忘录 [Memos on Nishikawa Mitsuru],” in *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu zai Riben* 台湾文学研究在日本 [Research on “Taiwanese Literatures” in Japan], ed. Huang Yingzhe, trans. Tu Cuihua (Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1994), 126.

### *The Imperial Sun*

Compared to his early poetry, there are several new artistic traits in Nishikawa's folkloric writing. First, the misty images and colours that pervade his poetry writings have disappeared, and instead he begins to employ contrastively coloured interior descriptions, especially contrasting combinations of extreme light and dark. This change can be fully demonstrated from a comparative reading of his earlier poetry and folklore pieces from around 1935. His first poetry anthology *Maso Festival* favours portrayals of the type: "The cyan cormorant soars into the vast sky, the old flute left behind abandoned",<sup>57</sup> or "The egret is flying south, leaving the sliver of moon alone in the sky above the Kōzan Pavilion."<sup>58</sup> Such mild and delicate descriptions of scenery almost disappear in *A Record of Taiwanese Customs*, to be replaced by dark spaces in temples and a contrasting blazing sun.

"The Girl Named Jūnijō" contains the most striking depiction of the dazzling effect of extreme light. The conversation between the protagonist and Jūnijō takes place in a room that is "too bright": "the sun is shining dazzlingly through the gauze".<sup>59</sup> Through the sun streaming in, the protagonist and Jūnijō can make out Mount Kannon across the river, dim and in light shadow.<sup>60</sup> Later, the protagonist is reminded of the experience of worshipping Maso in the dark inner sanctum: "On the roof of the temple there were many figurines of the Goddess, hidden in the light, seeming to burn away into green or red".<sup>61</sup> Jūnijō replies: "Yes, I remember it clearly, the courtyard was boiling like a furnace, it made it hard for us to breathe".<sup>62</sup>

In addition to the introduction of dazzling light into his writing, a new element is brought in at this stage—descriptions of ennui (*kentia* 倦怠). In "The Girl Named Jūnijō", suddenly Jūnijō and the protagonist are surrounded by extreme brightness: "The house is an ocean of light with the western sun pouring in. We are separated by an invisible blaze of heat."<sup>63</sup> This light directly induces a sick feeling:

57 Nishikawa, "Kojin no sho," 57.

58 Nishikawa, "Jōkōya matsuri," 74.

59 Nishikawa, "Jūnijō," 527.

60 Ibid. きらきらと薄紗からこぼれる光がまぶしく目にうつる。河の彼方に聳える観音山も、きょうは影が薄い。

61 Ibid. 廟の屋根のたくさん神将さまのお像が、光のなかにかくれて朱や緑の色まで燃えたつようだったわ。

62 Ibid., 527–528. ええ、あたしよく覚えているの、中庭が黄金の坩堝のようになぎって、とてもとても息苦しかったわ。

63 Ibid., 528–529. 西陽がさしこめて、部屋は光の海である。目に見えぬ陽炎が、わたしと十二娘の間をへだててしまう。

Such blazing sunshine! Jūnijō and I fell momentarily silent. Stricken by the feeling of indescribable ennui, I recall the poem by Arthur [Rimbaud] I read yesterday ... “Decidedly, we are out of this world. No more sound. My touch has gone ...”<sup>64</sup>

However, when the protagonist suddenly realises that Jūnijō is dead and that all is nothing more than an illusion, vertigo attacks him again.

I look back at the two-storey house in terror. Colourful rays pierce through a gap in the clouds which have obscured the setting sun, forming an extremely dazzling waterfall, falling straight down. Out of nowhere spring the water nymphs whose song is pretty as flowers, streaming everywhere and leaving me a quake deep in the heart”.<sup>65</sup>

A similar description of strong light can be found in “Salvation”, at the end of which Nishikawa writes:

Thousands of water lamps are floating on the sea. The dazzling blaze covers all. It draws the spirits to rise up from the bottom of the fathomless sea to the glittering surface.<sup>66</sup>

In the prose poem “The Jōkō Temple”, when the prostitute casts bundles of the fortune money into the stove, he writes: “The firelight illuminated her delighted face. I will be happy! I will be happy! She had totally forgotten her

64 Ibid., 529–530. Though Nishikawa was known to have had a good grounding in French literature, especially Arthur Rimbaud, from an early age, until “Jūnijō” there is no direct quotation of Rimbaud’s poetry in Nishikawa’s writing. This quotation is from “Night in Hell,” part of Rimbaud’s extended poem “A Season in Hell” that was written and published in 1873. See Wyatt Mason, *Rimbaud Complete* (New York: Modern Library, 2002), 202. —何という光、わたしも十二娘も、しばし口をつぐんだ。名状しがたい倦怠に襲われて、わたしは昨日読んだアルテュルの詩句を思い出した。……Décidément, nous sommes hors du monde. Plus aucun son. Mon tact a disparu……

65 Nishikawa, “Jūnijō,” 531. わたしは慄然として二階家をふりかえった。すでに陽をかくしてかがやく雲間からは黄昏の七いろが滝津瀬をなして降りかかり、どこからともなく湧き起こってくる水精たちの花のような歌声が甍から甍へと流れて、こころの奥そこまでゆすぶるのであった。

66 Nishikawa, “Pōtō,” 535. 今や千の水灯は海上に漂い、白昼のごとき眩惑がありとあらゆるものを被いつくした。千尋の底、孤魂は楽に誘われて、光り輝く水面に浮かびあがろうとしている。



own misery and fell drunk in the joy granted by almighty Buddha”.<sup>67</sup> This sense of strong brightness, which always renders one dizzy and fatigued, contrasts sharply with Nishikawa’s dark and depressing descriptions of temples decorated with dim lamps and eroded bricks.

Alongside Nishikawa’s change of writing genre, there emerged new ways of expression and writing skills in the late 1930s. Descriptions of a blazing light and flaming colours reflect the change in Nishikawa’s writing: aesthetic taste, shaped by traditional Japanese poetry, gradually fades and is replaced by fiery, incandescent elements suggestive of modernist art and a heavy reliance on bold colours and sharp contrasts. The light-shade contrasts initiated in *A Record of Taiwanese Customs* was further developed in his later novel, “The Red Fort”, where he writes:

Upstairs, the interior was dim, with only an old table inside. On it sits a ghost, his fingers pointing at his head, the feet raised and with an ancient air. . . . I pushed the door to the corridor and it squeaked open. The blazing sunshine poured in, I instantly felt dazzled. The reflective tiles on the people’s houses and the tops of the temples nearby suddenly appeared like a city, just like a mirage. This is so indescribable, and only leaves me with great melancholy.<sup>68</sup>

The sombre indoor depiction of an old Dutch red fort contrasts sharply with the blazing sunshine outside, producing an uncanny integration of nihilism and lavishness.

Another example is “The Ritual of Chinnyūmāshī”, in which a prostitute holds a memorial for her miscarried baby girl. There is a passage describing a scene in which the prostitute sees her dead daughter come back to life:

Look at the round eyes, red clothes and green earrings! It is me when I was young! No—it’s my miscarried daughter. What a cheerful face! . . . Suddenly there came a gust of wind. The plantains in the yard swayed with a rushing sound. The sedan chair in the sky withdrew and gradually became a dot in the distance [ . . . ] Yan dashed into the house, and took a box of white powder from the shelf. She threw half of it high into the air. The wind swallowed Yan’s voice, blew out the candle and

67 Nishikawa, “Jōkōbyō,” 519. 火あかりにはげしい歓喜を顔いっぱい現しながら、あたしは幸福だ、あたしは幸福だ、と小妹は悲しい自らの運命も忘れて法悦に溺れていた。

68 Nishikawa, “Sekikanki,” 202.

turned into a vortex whirling into the sky. Then, dark clouds were dispersing everywhere.<sup>69</sup>

According to Taiwanese custom, young women tossed white powder up into the air when wishing for their children's beauty. The goddess is worshipped at the Double Seventh Festival. The ritual is usually performed by the young woman herself, but Nishikawa here has it performed on behalf of a dead girl. The sharply contrastive colours, the strong gust of wind, the white powder flung into the air, the dark clouds, and the miscarried baby all appear horrific in his depiction.

In "Diviner", his description of another indigenous custom is even more shocking. Nishikawa depicts a bloody scene of augury:

The master swiftly lifts the knife and pierces the boy's shoulder. The blood streams in a line from his chest to his belly. Then a small bag of rice is thrown onto the half-naked boy, who pretends to groan happily though in great pain.<sup>70</sup>

What heightens the horror is that all of these events happen in a dark room with "the candlelight swinging on the sooty wall casting monstrous images across it".<sup>71</sup> As will be discussed in the next section, Nishikawa's writing of exotic images of Taiwanese religion and customs caused anger among folklorists working at the Taipei Imperial University.

69 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Chinnyūmāshi 七娘媽生 [The Ritual of Chinnyūmāshi]," *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū*, 526. According to a traditional Taiwanese folk belief, girls are protected by Goddess Chinnyūmā from birth to the age of sixteen. If a child reaches sixteen free of affliction, she has to worship the goddess in the temple. Girls wish for health and beauty by tossing a white powder up into the air. The 7th day of the 7th lunar month is the goddess's birthday. つぶらな目、朱い服、翠のつ耳環。あ、それはあの時の自分だ。いや、死んだあのこだ。なんという嬉しい顔だろう……急に裏庭の芭蕉の葉をそよがせて、ざわざわと風が出てきた。天上の轆はたちまち後ずさりして、彼方へ小さくなってゆく。……燕は急いで部屋に引き返し、棚から白粉を取って、その半分を空に投げた。が、風は燕の声を奪い、灯を吹き消し、つむじとなって舞い上がり、空いちめんに黒雲をまきちらした。

70 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Fūhoassū 符法師 [Diviner]," *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū*, 545 老師はやにわに骨刀を振りかざし、顔の肩を刺した。血がたらたらと流れ出て、胸から腹へと糸をひく。苦痛をこらえ、歓喜にうめく半裸の顔に、なおもあたえられたのは小さな米袋。

71 *Ibid.*, 543.

Nishikawa's writing in 1935 further reveals the influence of French literature. In his article, "The Trend of French Symbolism", published in 1934, Nishikawa introduced French literature trends such as Symbolism and Parnassianism. He maintained that Parnassianism depicted things as bright as the sun at noon whereas Symbolism contained elements that resembled the mystery of night.<sup>72</sup> In 1940, he published a review of Miyata Yatarō's painting in which he appraised Miyata's style as romanticism of dawn or dusk rather than that of noon or midnight. Nishikawa's own interest, on the other hand, lay with the Parnassianism of noon and the Symbolism of dark night.<sup>73</sup> This was very much like Shimada's earlier expectation of literary exoticism and romanticism. Whether or not Nishikawa's understanding of modern French literature was accurate, he seemed determined to apply what he had learned from French literature to his colonial writing, especially stressing the two strongly conflicting elements of light and dark. It can be seen that by 1935 Nishikawa had achieved a great change in his writing style toward presenting dark scenery and dazzling images, with a focus on mysterious and terrifying ones. During this period, Nishikawa's exoticism was characterised by new features such as a "dazzling blaze", religious images indicating control of the human mind, terrifying religious scenes, and the ecstasy and endurance of violence.

Taiwanese critic Liu Jihui has identified the literary output of Japanese writers in Taiwan as fascist and attributed this to a kind of disengagement of meaning from the images in the texts. This disengagement, she suggests, was forced by mentalism. She also argues that the fascist spirit was characterised by Nishikawa's choice of shocking images.<sup>74</sup> Recent research shows that aesthetic fascism was used to imbue politics with a beauty and mystery that could not be rationalised. Alongside the language of state propaganda and popular media that imparted ideology in a more obvious way, literary texts worked in subtle and less detectable ways.<sup>75</sup> Despite the difficulties in constructing a relationship between cultural atmosphere and real-world politics or between the

72 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Futsukoku shōchō no nagare 仏国象徴の流れ [The Trend of French Symbolism]," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, February 2, 1934.

73 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Jiyū no hanabana: dainikai sōgenten wo miru 自由の花々：第二回創元展を観る [Flowers of Freedom: The Exhibition of Sogenten]," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 28 1940, quoted in *Fengjing xinjing: Taiwan jindai meishu wenxian daodu (xia)* 风景心境：台湾近代美术文献导读（下）[*Scenery and Mood: An Introduction to the Modern Arts of Taiwan and Its Materials*, vol. 2], trans. and ed. Yan Juanyin (Taipei: Xiongshi tushu gufen youxian gongsi, 2001), 399.

74 Liu, "Taiwan sanshi niandai tuifei yishi de kejian yu bukejian," 133.

75 Alan Tansman, *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 54.

imagination and life as it was lived, both Susan Sontag and Alan Tansman have found “patterns of fascist feeling” and “a style of thought and representation”.<sup>76</sup> Fascism in literature revolves around the motif of “cult of beauty” that further leads to the cult of violence and death, and can be expressed by a concrete, rhythmic and musical language.<sup>77</sup>

I refrain myself from using terms such as “fascism” or “aesthetic fascism” in this book to address Nishikawa’s writing because I do not have the space to fully address many crucial questions that must be answered before the concept can be applied. These questions include: At what point can a writer’s writing be legitimately described as fascist? How legitimate is it to use a unified picture of fascist expression as an analytical apparatus when aesthetic fascism remains largely a descriptive concept that lacks rigid definition? Shimada once bracketed Nishikawa with artists such as André Marie Chénier (1762–1794), a French poet and keen politician, and Gabriele D’Annunzio (1863–1938), a poet, novelist, and dramatist closely associated with fascist dictator Benito Mussolini (1883–1945).<sup>78</sup> It is fair to say that there is no clear evidence to prove that Nishikawa’s writing had direct connections with fascist art in Europe—although Nishikawa’s writing is by no means apolitical. Many new features that appeared in Nishikawa’s writing, such as the blazing light, the religious inclination to control human minds, the terrifying religious scenes, and the ecstasy and the endurance for violence, can be linked to some patterns and styles that have been identified in aesthetic fascism. In Nishikawa’s folkloric writing, as demonstrated by the protagonist in “The Girl Named Jūnijō”, who suddenly felt unspeakably depressed in the brightness that seemed to him mysterious and mighty, or by the extremely dazzling waterfall cascading down from somewhere and making people quake deep in their hearts, he was unconsciously or consciously expressing his artistic taste by arranging “the grouping of people/things around an all-powerful, hypnotic leader-figure or force.”<sup>79</sup> Nishikawa also conjured up images of the goddess, under whose name the mob pursued insanely their wild pleasure and joys, and who controlled them with an invisible dazzling power.

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76 Ibid., 2, 278.

77 Susan Sontag, *Under the Sign of Saturn* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 96. Tansman, *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism*, 2.

78 Shimada, “Maso matsuri to ahen 媽祖祭りと亜片 [The Maso Festival and Opium],” in *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū* 西川満全詩集 [Poetry Collection of Nishikawa Mitsuru], ed. Nishikawa Mitsuru (Tokyo: Ningen no hoshisha, 1982), 679.

79 Sontag, *Under the Sign of Saturn*, 91.

The “dazzling blaze” and the “horrific scenes” had a strong connection with the Parnassianism of noon or the Symbolism of dark night, except that Nishikawa’s version achieved this by misrepresenting Taiwan’s local religion. Théophile Gautier, the leader of the Parnassian movement to whom Nishikawa owed much, had demonstrated his affiliation to “a lifelong addiction to the hybrid and bizarre, besides generally glorifying the grotesque principle of irregularity and eccentricity and frequently disparaging classical solemnity and rigidity”. As such, he believed that the external world only functioned as a vehicle to the imagination.<sup>80</sup> After all, for writers of French symbolism and Parnassianism, their obsession with art’s intrinsic beauty surpassed their attention to the real world outside. In Tennant’s view, Gautier treated nature as “a dictionary, to plunder and rearrange at will”;<sup>81</sup> if so, Nishikawa too found himself such a dictionary in the Taiwanese religion.

### A Collection of Taiwanese Folk Tales and Colonial Ambiguity

Although Nishikawa’s writings appear to have been strictly conditioned by his identity as a Japanese colonial writer and journalist, this does not mean that he was in absolute harmony with the colonial power, just as it cannot be assumed that Japanese individuals living in colonies experienced no conflict with the empire. The gulf between Nishikawa’s writings and the orthodox folkloric study supported by the colonial administration was clearly demonstrated in *A Collection of Taiwanese Folk Tales*, which features 24 oral Taiwanese folktales. Based on this publication, both literary writers and researchers at the Taipei Imperial University have created a field of knowledge that offers new ideas about Japan and the colonial others. Colonial literature, like any other form of “scientific” research, is involved in the broad process of knowledge and identity construction. Yet, when we ascribe Taiwanese culture and customs to his colonial writings, it is clear that Nishikawa still maintained a view of colonial modernity that was different from researchers at the Taipei Imperial University. Although literary writers, such as Nishikawa and other professional folklorists and anthropologists were all engaged in studying and recording the local culture and customs of Taiwan, there were huge gaps in their understanding of what the “other” was and how to accommodate that other within the Japanese empire.

80 P. E. Tennant, *Théophile Gautier* (London: The Athlone Press, 1975), 22–23.

81 *Ibid.*, 23.

### *Unhappy Collaboration*

Nishikawa co-authored *A Collection of Taiwanese Folk Tales* with Ikeda Toshio, published in a book in 1942.<sup>82</sup> According to Nishikawa, they chose to undertake different tasks: Ikeda was in charge of collecting material and Nishikawa was responsible for collating folk tales in Taiwan. Nishikawa selected 24 stories as raw material and made adaptations. When rewriting the raw material, Nishikawa infused them with his own imagination and creativity. But despite Nishikawa's devotion to the task, Ikeda was far from satisfied with the modifications Nishikawa made to these tales. He criticised him for their pervasive "Chinese flavour" and "Taiwanese flavour", which he regarded as unnecessary and unscientific.<sup>83</sup>

In terms of revision, for instance, Nishikawa changes the main characters in the "Tiger Grand aunt" of an elder sister and her brother, into two orphan siblings, even though their parents are still alive.<sup>84</sup> The plot in which the Tiger Grand aunt eats the brother is transformed into a story where the children manage to escape by hiding in a cloud. The original tale, which is full of conflicts, was rewritten into a plain, and rather sweet story. In "Kōyachō Who Saves Goose", Kōyachō, who is able to understand languages of birds was said to be the disciple and son-in-law of Confucius, one of the most distinguished saints in China. Perhaps due to the Japanese colonial government's consideration of the taboo associated with Chinese traditional culture, this identity has been omitted in *A Collection of Taiwanese Folk Tales*.<sup>85</sup>

Yet, in response to Ikeda's accusation, Nishikawa insisted that he was not a folklorist and thus did not need to record the material literally or study the facts. Rather, he adds that he "had been writing in the mood of prose poetry,

82 Ikeda Toshio was born in Shimane-ken Japan and moved to Taiwan in 1923 with his family. Having finished his study in 1935, Ikeda started to work as a middle-school teacher in Taiwan. During this period, he showed interest in Taiwanese folklores and custom. Ikeda published articles on Taiwanese folklore and custom when Nishikawa's journal *Folk-Custom* (*Taiwan fūdoki* 台灣風土記) was founded in 1939. From 1940, Ikeda worked for the Information Office of the Government-General's Office.

83 Kawamura Minato 川村湊, "Daitōa minzokugaku" no kyojitsu 「大東亜民俗学」の虚実 [*Falsehood and Truth in Greater East Asian Folklore*] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1996), 128.

84 According to Min Dialect, the pronunciation is "hōkōbō", which was signified by katakana. See Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Hōkōbō 虎姑婆 [Tiger Grand aunt]," in *Hualidao minhuaqi* 华丽岛民话集 [*A Collection of Taiwanese Folk Tales*], ed. and tran. Chen Zaoxiang (Taipei: Zhiliang chubanshe, 1999), 46–49.

85 Nishikawa Mitsuru, "Gachō wo sukutta Kōyachō 鷺鳥を救った公治長 [Kōyachō Who Saves Goose]," in *Hualidao minhuaqi*, ed. and tran. Chen Zaoxiang (Taipei: Zhiliang chubanshe, 1999), 74–77.

stressing the rhythm in some works like writing down music while trying to preserve the naturalness and simplicity of the folktales”.<sup>86</sup> He hoped that *A Collection of Taiwanese Folk Tales* would be reviewed as an artistic work rather than simply as a folkloric collection of 24 ordinary folktales. In other words, Nishikawa's artistic impulse was in conflict with the folkloric research pursued by Ikeda.

To further support his argument, Nishikawa differentiated folktales recorded by a folklorist from the literary folktales that he himself wrote, likening the difference to that between photography and painting. He insisted that the sense of appreciation of photographers and painters differed: While they could be moved by the same subject, they could represent it differently. Moreover, because both methods were valuable, it was unnecessary to argue about which was better. In *A Collection of Taiwanese Folk Tales*, Nishikawa abandoned the verbatim record, and instead endowed the folktales with life, turning the raw material into a piece of art.<sup>87</sup> Nishikawa thus attempted to justify his modification by associating writing with painting.

However, Nishikawa's self-exculpation was unacceptable to folklorists. Kokubu Naoichi (国分直一 1908–2005), along with other important folklorists in the journal *Folklore Taiwan* (*Minzoku Taiwan* 民俗台湾), vented their dissatisfaction with Nishikawa's analogy of photography with painting, even though they had once worked together. In his review of the book, Kokubu argued that it was ridiculous for Nishikawa to make a direct comparison between folklore and literature in terms of techniques of reflection or representation. Studies in folklore had nothing to do with representation from the very beginning. Kokubu even predicted that it would even become unnecessary to use words to record customs in the future, particularly when photography and sound-recording techniques were beginning to develop.<sup>88</sup>

Nishikawa responded swiftly to this accusation: To mock Ikeda, Nishikawa published his close friend Hamada Hayao's (濱田隼雄 1909–1973) sarcastic story titled “Mr. Amai's I Novel” in *Literary Taiwan*.<sup>89</sup> The protagonist in this story is “Dōda”, a folklorist in Taiwan, who is accused of indulging himself so excessively in the “vulgar” Chinese culture that his behaviour is seen as impeding

86 Nishikawa, “Shijintōma 紙人豆馬 [Paper Figures and Bean Horses],” *Bungei Taiwan* 4: 4 (July 1942): 27. “Shijintōma” is a column named after a form of witchcraft.

87 Ibid., 27.

88 Kokubu Naoichi 国分直一, “Shohyō: kareitō minwashū 書評: 「華麗島民話集」 [Book Review: *A Collection of Taiwanese Folk Tales*],” *Minzoku Taiwan* 2:10 (October 1942): 37.

89 Hamada Hayao 濱田隼雄, “Amaikun no shishōsetsu 甘い君の私小説 [Mr. Amai's I Novel],” *Bungei Taiwan* 5: 1 (October 1942): 57–80.



the imperialisation movement (*kōminka undo* 皇民化運動).<sup>90</sup> Nishikawa had a very close relationship with Hamada in the 1940s, both of whom worked for the Royal Society of Taiwanese Literature (*Taiwan bungaku hōkōkai* 台湾文学奉公会) and the Taiwanese branch of the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature (*Nihon bungaku hōkokukai* 日本文学報国会). This story once again provoked the anger of folklorists. Kanaseki Takeo (金関丈夫 1897–1983), a prominent professor at Taipei Imperial University and a major contributor to *Folklore Taiwan*, responded in turn with a rebuttal of Hamada's criticism in "To Mr. Hamada Hayao".<sup>91</sup> During the 1940s, Nishikawa and the folklorists associated with *Folklore Taiwan* had sharply divergent views involving Taiwanese folklore and Japan's colonial policy.

### *Folkloric Research in Question*

This divergence continued into the postcolonial period. Ikeda, still out of sorts, took exception to Nishikawa and his engagement in *Literary Taiwan* with colonial exoticism, accusing Nishikawa of showing interest in Taiwanese culture and religion only because he wanted to entertain. When commenting on Nishikawa's lack of understanding and love, Ikeda remarked that it was hardly surprising that Nishikawa had worked for the colonial government.<sup>92</sup> In post-colonial Taiwan studies, research carried out by the journal *Folklore Taiwan* in colonial Taiwan has often been portrayed as rigorously scientific, if not actually beneficial to the preservation of Taiwanese religion and culture. Ikeda's words seemed to underscore the anti-colonial stance of folklorists. However, the relation between Nishikawa and folklorists, and their respective engagement with colonial rule, are not simple black-and-white issues, particularly

90 The imperialisation movement, spanning the years from 1937 to 1945, aimed to transform colonial subjects in Taiwan and Korea into imperial subjects of the Emperor. It was understood by the colonisers as an attempt following the initial assimilation stage to mobilise the colonised to serve the Japanese empire in both body and spirit. See Ching, *Becoming Japanese*, 89.

91 Kanaseki Takeo 金関丈夫, "Hamada Hayaokun ni 濱田隼雄君に [To Hamada Hayao]," *Minzoku Taiwan* 2: 11 (November 1942): 36. Kanaseki Takeo graduated from the medical department of Kyoto Imperial University in 1922 and became an associate professor of the same university two years later. His acquaintance with anthropology started from 1927 when he lectured in relevant courses and co-authored the book *The Origin of Humankind* (*Jinrui kigenron* 人類起源論) with Kiyono Kenji. He was transferred to Taiwan in 1936, specialised in physical anthropology focusing on the research of the aboriginal people in Taiwan.

92 Ikeda Toshio 池田敏雄, "Bungei Taiwan no horokurushisa 文藝台湾のほろ苦さ [The Bittersweetness of *Literary Taiwan*]," *Taiwan kin-gendaishi kenkyū* 3 (1981): 98.

since decolonisation was in itself a prolonged process. Indeed, Nishikawa did hold different views on how to record Taiwanese customs from the members of *Folklore Taiwan*. Yet, both parties were not in conflict regarding the fundamental principle of colonisation. And the differences between them regarding Taiwanese culture and customs were more due to their differing academic backgrounds, training in their respective disciplines, and own personal interests than to their political stances.

When *Folklore Taiwan* was launched with Ikeda as a major convener, he was working as an adviser to colonial affairs and participating directly in the information department of the Governor-General's Office (*Taiwan sōtokufu jōhōka* 總督府情報課). Though *Folklore Taiwan* was portrayed in the post-colonial period as a journal removed from colonial policies, propaganda articles fuelled by colonial ambitions regularly appeared in its pages; "The Grand Mission to the South" (third issue), "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Guides All Nations" (eighth issue), and "Developing the Folklore of Greater East Asia and *Folklore Taiwan's* Mission" (thirtieth issue) were some prominent examples. Obviously, the claim that *Folklore Taiwan* remained aloof from the colonial enterprise is, therefore, impossible to sustain.

The issue of the nature and purpose of *Folklore Taiwan* should be discussed with an eye on the decolonisation process in Taiwan. As Huang Yingzhe has observed in his study, some Japanese folklorists from the colonial period played a significant role in post-colonial Taiwan; Kokubu, Ikeda, and Tateishi Tetsuomi (立石鐵臣 1905–1980), who worked for *Folklore Taiwan*, all stayed on there. These Japanese scholars worked as a team for the Taiwan Provincial Editorial and Translation Bureau (*Taiwansheng bianyi guan* 台湾省编译馆), established in 1945 to collate, transcribe, edit, and translate the massive volumes of Taiwanese studies carried out by Japanese researchers during the colonial period.<sup>93</sup> They were the editors and translators for this project, and the focus of editing and compilation was their own works.

The work of editing and translating served dual purposes: it brought order to the colonial academic research on Taiwan, and washed away the colonial stain adhering to knowledge produced during colonisation. This was completed in a process that Huang has called "De-Japanisation" (*qu Ribenhua* 去日本化) and "Sinicisation" (*Zhongguohua* 中国化).<sup>94</sup> Kokubu and Ikeda

93 Huang Yingzhe 黄英哲, "Zhanhou chuqi Taiwan zhi Taiwan yanjiu de zhankai 战后初期台湾之台湾研究的展开 [The Development of Taiwanese Studies in the Immediate Postwar Taiwan: Continuation Within Historical Disruption]," *NTU Studies in Taiwan Literature* 2 (November 2006): 105–108.

94 Ibid., 108.

became active contributors to many journals on Taiwanese culture. They contributed to redefining the nature and purpose of *Folklore Taiwan*. For example, Kokubu asserted in an article—written to rebut Kawamura Minato's post-war research on Japan's colonial governance in Taiwan—that *Folklore Taiwan* documented and investigated Taiwanese folklore in the early 1940s only because it had “observed that older Taiwanese customs and folklore were soon to be destroyed.”<sup>95</sup> This positive image of *Folklore Taiwan* in post-colonial years was established by the publication of a series of commemorative articles from the *Folklore Taiwan* circle starting in the 1960s.<sup>96</sup> The self-explanations of those involved became a major resource for research on Taiwanese folkloric studies during the colonial period. The unanimously positive affirmation of *Folklore Taiwan* in both Taiwan and Japan during the post-colonial period was an indispensable part of the broad decolonisation process that is still ongoing.

In contrast to the political innocence presented in post-colonial years, the folklorists' insistence on scientific research in the early 1940s was directly connected to Japan's colonial expansion, as part of which were the imperatives of knowing the South and searching for a new position for Japan. In April 1936, The Outline of National Policy, drawn up by the Navy headquarters, clearly stressed the importance of the South to Japan's imperialist policies. It stated: “The southern countries are the areas we should regard as most important for strengthening our national defense and for solving the population problem and economic development.”<sup>97</sup> In 1939, the *Summary Draft of a Policy for the South* stressed several aspects requiring special attention. In it, new policies called for stricter control of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office by the central government and the development of industry in Taiwan and the South Seas. Taiwan would be the base for further advancement in the southern region.<sup>98</sup> Against this background, Kokubu worried about “the negative

95 Quoted from Wu Micha, “The Nature of *Minzoku Taiwan* and the Context in Which It Was Published,” in *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945: History, Culture, Memory*, 360.

96 Kanaseki and Ikeda both published articles on their research in colonial Taiwan; in addition, Taiwanese and Japanese scholars also wrote many other articles on them.

97 Kaigun chūōbu 海軍中央部, “Kokusaku yōkō 国策要綱 [The Outline of National Policy],” in *Japan's Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere in World War II*, ed. Joyce C. Lebra (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 59. The original Japanese version of the policy can be found in *Gendaishi shiryō 8 NitChū sensō 現代史資料 8 日中戦争* [Sources in Modern History, vol. 8: The Second Sino-Japanese War], ed. Shimada Toshihiko and Inaba Masao (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1964), 354–355.

98 *Japan's Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere in World War II*, 67.

influence of Nishikawa's work" and his self-justification, taking into account "Nishikawa's high literary standing".<sup>99</sup>

During this time, anthropologists, under the supervision of the colonial authority, had a clear awareness of their responsibility to serve the colonial enterprise. The intimate relationship between intellectuals and the colonial government was especially reflected in *Folklore Taiwan*, which brought together many famous folklorists from Taipei Imperial University and the library of the Governor-General's Office. Kanaseki, Chen Shaoxin, and Matsuyama Kensan, a photographer for *Folklore Taiwan*, were all working at The Institute of Ethnology of Taipei Imperial University (*Dozoku jinshugaku kenkyūshitsu* 土俗人種学研究室). Shimuzu states that the institute, founded in 1928, was "the only institute established in the name of 'ethnology' in a Japanese university before the Second World War".<sup>100</sup> The term *dozoku jinshugaku* represented the combining of the two different disciplines of *dozokugaku* (local customs) and *jinshugaku* (ethnology). In prewar Japan, *jinshugaku* was the equivalent of the current day concept of ethnology, which usually includes both physical anthropology and cultural anthropology. *Dozoku* was used to explicitly indicate Japan's interest in studying Taiwanese local customs.<sup>101</sup> Tokyo Imperial University also established a research institute on *jinshugaku*. However, due to its focus on the natural sciences, the anthropological research centre that concentrated on the cultural and social aspects was located in the Taipei Imperial University. A year earlier, a similar research institute of ethnology was established in Keijo Imperial University within its institute of Religion and Society (*Shūkyō shakaigaku kenkyū shitsu* 宗教社会学研究室). The methodologies employed at these institutions emphasised experimentalism and field research, which was only possible thanks to Japan's acquirement of colonial territory.<sup>102</sup> The ethnological and anthropological

99 Kokubu, "Shohyō: kareitō minwashū," 37.

100 Shimizu Akitoshi, "Colonialism and the Development of Modern Anthropology in Japan," in *Anthropology and colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, ed. Jan van Bremen and Akitoshi Shimizu (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999), 135.

101 Chōn Kyōng-su 全京秀, "Shokuminchi no teikoku daigaku ni okeru jinruigakuteki kenkyū 植民地の帝国大学における人類学的研究 [Anthropology Research in Imperial Universities in Japan's Colonies]," in *Teikoku Nihon no gakuchi* (3): *Tōyōgaku no jiba* 「帝国」日本の学知：東洋学の磁場 [*The Scholarship and Knowledge of "Imperial Japan": The Magnetic Field of Oriental Studies*], ed. Yamamoto Taketoshi and Kishimoto Mio (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2006), 102.

102 Shimizu Akitoshi 清水昭俊, "Nihon ni okeru kindai jinruigaku no keisei to hatten 日本における近代人類学の形成と発展 [The Formation and Development of Modern Anthropology in Japan]," in *Kindai Nihon no tashazō to jigazō* 近代日本の他者

research carried on in Taiwan and Korea later led to the establishment of the Japanese Ethnology Society (*Nihon minzoku gakkai* 日本民族学会) in 1934.

At that time, under the supervision of the Institute of Ethnology, a journal called *Ethnic Groups of the South* (*Nanpō minzoku* 南方民族) was initiated that focused exclusively on Taiwan's aborigines.<sup>103</sup> Inspired by this topic, *Folklore Taiwan* focused its attention on the *hondōjin*, a broad name given to all Taiwanese other than the aborigines. Rather than being “a journal in ethnology published during the war” that had “always enjoyed a positive response in both Taiwan and Japan”, *Folklore Taiwan* and the associated anthropological research generated great controversy regarding its nature and purpose in both Taiwan and Japan during the colonial and postcolonial periods.<sup>104</sup> Anthropologists and folklorists were clearly aware of the mission of generating new forms of knowledge, and as stated in the preface to the second issue of *Folklore Taiwan*, the goal was to fulfill the mission as an effective component of colonial governance:

We should welcome the rapid destruction of backward Taiwanese customs and habits, and applaud the Taiwanese ability to enjoy modern culture. On the other hand, harmless ancient customs will inevitably also become extinct. [...] As a civilised nation capable of undertaking such research, we are obliged to study Taiwanese folklore. It is our obligation to record faithfully the corrupt customs and malpractices in less civilised areas. Meanwhile, our country is expanding to the South and will deal with China, not to mention South Asia, more often than previously. In order to gain an in-depth knowledge of China, research on native Taiwanese is necessary and helpful.<sup>105</sup>

In addition to this delineation by Kanaseki and his colleagues regarding the mission of folkloric studies, an article by Okada Ken in the third issue further underscored the value of anthropological study within the context of Japanese colonisation. According to Okada Ken, it was important for Japan to reflect on its own advantages and disadvantages, and what made reflection possible was

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像と自画像 [*Modern Japan's Image of Others and of Itself*], ed. Shinohara Tōru (Tokyo: Kashiwa shobō), 252–253.

103 Chōn, “Shokuminchi no teikokudaigaku ni okeru jinruigakuteki kenkyū,” 103.

104 Wu, “The Nature of *Minzoku Taiwan* and the Context in Which It Was Published,” 358.

105 Kanaseki Takeo 金関丈夫 and Huang Deshi 黃得時, “Ronsō no shimatsu: *Minzoku Taiwan* hakkan ni saishite 論争の始末：民族台湾発刊に際して [The Full Story of the Debate: The Founding of *Folklore Taiwan*],” *Minzoku Taiwan* 1: 2 (August 1941): 42.

a counterpart, a comparison. “Therefore, the prime importance of a criticism of Taiwanese religion lies in the chance for Japanese to reflect on themselves.”<sup>106</sup> The second issue of *Folklore Taiwan* also had a report on the drafting of a new religious policy for the Governor-General’s Office. The report states:

The basic principle for religious policy is to purify religious organisations and customs, to “Japanise” Taiwanese religions. However, as to specific rules, we must first undertake careful investigations. We have prepared an initial draft on the basis of research conducted by Professor Nakai, Associate Professor Tanno, lecturer Okada Ken, and Professor Utsushigawa Nenosō at the Taipei Imperial University.<sup>107</sup>

As stated in the report, the Japanese colonial administration drew significantly from investigation and research work, and the folklorists associated with *Folklore Taiwan* and scholars from the Taipei Imperial University likewise worked closely with the Governor-General’s Office. When the Taiwanese Association of the South (*Taiwan nanpō kyōkai* 台湾南方協会) was established in 1939 to cultivate southern specialists, it offered a range of language classes that included Dutch, Malay, and Annamese; Shimada took responsibility for teaching French. The Governor-General Kobayashi Seizō (小林躋造 1877–1962) provided services to the association as an honorary adviser, and Mita Sadanori (三田定則 1876–1950), the principal of the Taipei Imperial University, was its official adviser.<sup>108</sup> With official support, Kanaseki Takeo participated in research on Southeast Asia. From 1940 to 1942, scholars and researchers of the Taipei Imperial University produced 105 of the 623 research reports on the South. Among them was Kanaseki’s “The Anthropological Research Report on the Population of Hainan Island” (*Kainantō jūmin no jinruigakuteki kenkyū hōkoku* 海南島住民の人類学的研究報告).<sup>109</sup> In October 1942, very much conforming to Japan’s Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere

106 Okada Ken 岡田健, “Nanshin Taiwan 南進台湾 [Taiwan in the Southward Advancement],” preface to *Minzoku Taiwan* 1: 3 (September 1941).

107 “Shinshūkyō taisaku no juritsu sōtokufu de gen’an sakusei 新宗教対策の樹立総督府で原案作成 [A Draft of New Religious Policies Prepared by the Governor-General’s Office],” *Minzoku Taiwan* 1: 2 (August 1941): 46.

108 Ye Biling 叶碧苓, “Taibei diguo daxue yu Riben nanjin zhengce zhi yanjiu 台北帝国大学与日本南进政策之研究 [Research on the Relation between Taipei Imperial University and Japan’s Southward Policy],” (PhD diss., Chinese Cultural University, Taipei, 2007), 94.

109 Ibid., 103.



policy, *Folklore Taiwan* further enlarged its research scope, from Taiwanese customs to the culture of the South.

Against this backdrop of the empire's new interest in the South, the tone and the spirit behind the various research projects and investigations undertaken in Taiwan were relatively simple. As Kanaseki and Ikeda acknowledged, "in order to know the people living in the South, it was necessary and useful to know the Han Chinese living in Taiwan, because overseas Chinese throughout Southeast Asia were believed to share the same racial and ethnic roots as the *hondōjin*".<sup>110</sup> In spite of a more than forty-year colonisation of Taiwan, those *hondōjin* did not show "interest" in exploring the South as the colonial government had expected. Therefore, the task, at hand, was to understand *them* and more urgently to change their national characteristics. It was at this time that Kanaseki, the physical anthropologist skilled at measuring physical features to document and categorise different ethnicities and races, wrote a piece of detective fiction titled "Fingerprint" (*Shimon* 指紋). It conveyed anthropologists' hopes that science could be worked out as an indispensable tool for colonial regulation of the "other".<sup>111</sup>

However, in response to the stated goal of *Folklore Taiwan*, some Taiwanese intellectuals voiced strong disagreement.<sup>112</sup> Taiwanese writer Yang Yunping rejected the journal's preference for a hands-off, dispassionate scientific approach.<sup>113</sup> In reply, *Folklore Taiwan* published all of the debate surrounding the issue of *how* to carry out folkloric studies. Kanaseki replied cogently in the same issue that *Folklore Taiwan* had never aimed to revive ancient Taiwanese customs or bemoan their extinction, but instead were more inclined to empha-

110 T.K.L., "Henshū kōki 編集後記 [Afterword to This Issue]," *Minzoku Taiwan* 2: 1 (January 1942): 56. T.K.L. was the shared pen name of Kanaseki Takeo and Ikeda Toshio.

111 Hoshina Hironobu 星名宏修, "Shihōteki dōitsusei to 'nise' Nihonjin: Lin Xiongshen shimon wo megutte (sono ni) 司法的同一性と「贋」日本人：林熊生「指紋」をめぐる(その2) [Identity and 'Fake' Japanese: Lin Yu Sei's 'Fingerprint' (2)]," *Ritsumeikan bungaku Ritsu* 615 (March 2010): 752–766.

112 Kawamura, "Daitōa minzokugaku" no kyojitsu, 120.

113 Yang Yunping 杨云萍, "Kenkyū to ai 研究と愛 [Research and Love]," *Minzoku Taiwan* 1: 2 (August 1941): 43. Yang Yunping (1906–2000), whose real name is "Yang Yolian" (杨友廉), was an active and famous writer in Taiwan. He was one of the founders of the first vernacular literary magazine, *Everyone* (*Renren* 人人) in Taiwan. While studying at the Institute of Japanese Culture in Japan in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Yang was influenced by famous Japanese writers, such as Kawabata Yasunari and Kikuchi Kan. He dedicated himself to Taiwanese literature after his return to Taiwan in 1933. After the end of the war, Yang joined the Department of History of the National Taiwan University in 1947.



sise the utility of folkloristics in current circumstances.<sup>114</sup> However, Kanaseki's explanation did not convince Yang, who responded further in the third issue. In an article titled "Contexts and Tones", Yang argued that the folkloric study on Taiwanese customs must show the love and sympathy toward the custom.<sup>115</sup> Yang saw *Folklore Taiwan*'s view of conceding that harmless ancient customs will inevitably become extinct and therefore there was no need for concern when faced with this fact as extremely cold. This tone tested his forbearance too far and provoked him to launch the debate. Yang acknowledged a need to erase corrupt practices; folklore and customs on the other hand, he argued, were the soil in which Taiwanese history and tradition were rooted, and thus should not be ruthlessly eliminated.<sup>116</sup>

Exchanges such as these make clear that the post-war interpretation of the nature and purpose of *Folklore Taiwan* was inconsistent with the position taken by anthropologists in the early 1940s. As to the complexity of *Folklore Taiwan* and its research, Sakano Tōru has offered a relatively balanced view. He suggests that contributors to *Folklore Taiwan* might have held different opinions towards Japan's imperialist policy on how to regulate Taiwan's religions and customs particularly at the time of the journal's establishment in 1941. However, as he believes, *Folklore Taiwan*'s interest in researching Taiwanese folklore was based on the implementation of imperialist policy and was in line with colonial modernity, which advocated that the imperialised equated to the civilised.<sup>117</sup> Though fellow researchers of *Folklore Taiwan* had many disagreements on the methods of regulation, it cannot be concluded that they were in conflict regarding the validity of colonisation itself. Ironically, it was Nishikawa, the writer who was used to romanticising and exoticising Taiwanese folklore and customs, who stood in opposition to the ruthless colonial modernity.

### *Colonial Modernity "Misrepresented"*

Although Nishikawa's interest in Taiwan's customs and religions happened to coincide with the trend in anthropological study in the late 1930s and early 1940s, he found difficulty in reconciling his pursuit of colonial exoticism with

114 Kanaseki Takeo 金関丈夫, "Minzoku e no ai 民俗への愛 [Love for Folklore]," *Minzoku Taiwan* 1: 2 (August 1941): 43–45.

115 Yang Yunping 杨云萍, "Bunmyaku to goki 文脈と語気 [Contexts and Tones]," *Minzoku Taiwan* 1: 3 (September 1941): 39–41.

116 Ibid., 40.

117 Sakano Tōru 坂野徹, *Teikoku Nihon to jinrui gakusha: 1884–1952 nen* 帝国日本と人類学者 1884–1952 年 [*Imperial Japan and Anthropologists: 1884–1952*] (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 2005), 269.

colonial modernity. This ideological dissonance was reflected in the debate over the proper methodology of folkloric studies. Undermining his position in the debate was the fundamental conflict between Nishikawa as a writer in the late 1930s and the colonial power that swept over Taiwan.

The estrangement between Nishikawa and the colonial government may have been to some degree related to Nishikawa's perception of religion and literature. As early as 1930, when Nishikawa was studying at Waseda University, he had displayed a strong interest in religion and what he called "the superstitious practices of Taiwan". He was even attracted to Japanese Nichiren Buddhism during his Waseda period. Accordingly, rather than accusing "Taiwanese superstition" of being unscientific, he satirised many convictions of modern science that he thought were no better than "Taiwanese superstition".<sup>118</sup> The logic of a dichotomy between "Japanese civilisation" and "Taiwanese backwardness" in the field of religion was incompatible in Nishikawa's perception of religion. From the beginning, as reflected by his insistence on national identity through poetry writing, he was not particularly interested in assimilating the Taiwanese nation into Japan. A multinational empire built upon discrimination and simultaneous assimilation was temporarily beyond his understanding.

Nishikawa's exotic writings exposed the continued existence of putative "backward religious practices", which revealed the failure of colonial modernisation and the ironic denial by some of Japan's colonisation achievements in Taiwan. After forty years of direct dominion, the colonial government expected to see more evidence in the colony's literary output on the fruits of modernisation and Japan's positive impact on southward expansion, instead of the persistent influence of local religions and customs. The depiction of religious practices and customs in Nishikawa's works suggests that the local religions and beliefs of Taiwan remained active and undiminished. For example, the practice of augury, that Kokubu had analysed to great effect in terms of types, social reasons, and negative influences, was described in Nishikawa's *Diviner* as intriguing and mysterious.<sup>119</sup> Since 1936, the practice of augury had become a serious social problem in Taiwan. In Tainan for example, even the police force was deployed to eliminate augury, and in 1941, more than 570 augury

118 Nishikawa, "Masobyō no moto de," 55.

119 Kokubu described the local response to efforts to suppress augury in the following words: "Though augury gradually disappeared after the release of *ikeirei* (違警令), the fatuous Taiwanese unexpectedly felt unsatisfied with this". See Kokubu Naoichi 国分直一, "Kunki no kenkyū 童占の研究 [Research on Augury]," *Minzoku Taiwan* 1:1 (July 1941): 13. The pronunciation "Kunki" is indicated by Kokubu himself.

practitioners were reported.<sup>120</sup> Though depicting the same subject, Nishikawa and the folklorists possessed diametrically opposite views and approaches to it.

Nishikawa's exotic literary approach was fundamentally distinct from Japanese colonial policy. Shortly after assuming office, Kobayashi Seizō, the Governor-General of Taiwan from June 1936 to November 1940, launched the policy of "Regulating Temples". This religious policy aimed to eliminate Taiwanese superstition, regulate customs, and improve the overall life of the Taiwanese.<sup>121</sup> Though ostensibly the policy rested on the claim that religious practices in Taiwan were "backward", the real reason for banning religion and customs in Taiwan was the Kobayashi administration's endeavour to eliminate Chinese influence after 1937 when the Sino-Japanese War erupted.<sup>122</sup> Despite the introduction of Japanese shrines to Taiwan, by the end of 1939 the number of Taiwanese Maso temples increased from 74 (of a total 1895) to 306.<sup>123</sup> This generated fear among Japanese governors. Kobayashi's religious policy was motivated by the same concerns as Gotō Shinpei's policy at the end of the previous century of giving priority to researching old customs among the Chinese population, before turning to those of aboriginal Taiwanese.<sup>124</sup> The religious policies of both Gotō and Kobayashi were based on a fear of Chinese influence and a wish to "restore public order".<sup>125</sup>

The standards of Kobayashi's religious policy made Nishikawa's obsession with Taiwanese customs and religion appear problematic. For Nishikawa, literature retained a certain degree of independence from claims about its political and moral influences. This may have been derived from his literary preferences and his predilection for modern French literature, which advocated "l'art pour l'art".<sup>126</sup> This artistic spirit in fact gradually lost ground in the early 1940s when scientific research was held as the ultimate criterion in determining colonial policies.

120 Ibid., 10–13.

121 Cai, *Nihon teikoku shugika Taiwan no shūkyō seisaku*, 230.

122 Ibid., 235.

123 Liu Ningyan 刘宁颜, *Chongxiu Taiwansheng tongzhi juansan* 重修台湾省通志卷三 [Revision of Taiwan's Provincial Gazetteer] (Nantou: Taiwansheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1992), 995–996.

124 Shimizu, "Colonialism and the Development of Modern Anthropology in Japan," 134.

125 Timothy Y. Tsu, "Japanese Colonialism and the Investigation of Taiwanese Old Customs," in *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania* ed. Jan van Bremen and Shimizu Akitoshi (London: Curzon, 1999), 201.

126 For Nishikawa's views on the distance between literature and morality, see Nishikawa, "Bungaku no honshitsuron."

### A Roller-coaster Political Ride

The ambivalent relationship between Nishikawa's literature and the colonial government changed again after the sudden abandonment of Kobayashi's religious control policy post-1941. Kobayashi's religious policy was discontinued in part due to the replacement of Kobayashi as the Governor-General by Hasegawa Kiyoshi (長谷川清 1883–1970). A more important factor was the onset of the Greater East Asia War, which required more effective means of mobilising economic and cultural resources.<sup>127</sup> In July 1940, Prince Konoe Fumimaro (近衛文麿 1891–1945) became prime minister for a second time and in October the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (*Taisei yokusankai* 大政翼賛会) was formed to promote his "New Order" movement (*shintaisei undō* 新体制運動). The Association exerted a colossal influence in Taiwan, and further led to the creation of the Imperial Association of Taiwan (*Taiwan kōmin hōkōkai* 台灣皇民奉公會) in 1941. In contrast to previous colonial policies that repressed local culture and religions, the core of the new order movement was to build Japanese national culture by rejuvenating local cultures, which will be further discussed in Part III of the book.

In addition, besides the negative response from the Taiwanese, there were disagreements and doubt, even among Japanese researchers and scholars, about Kobayashi's imprudent policy of eliminating religions. Masuda Fukutarō, an anthropologist, thought it would be better to use the native Taiwanese religions to Japanese advantage rather than suppress them, given that it was easy to find benefits that could be shared by both the Japanese and Taiwanese. For example, he suggested that worship in the Jōkō temple, a theme that had been frequently depicted by Nishikawa, could be supported by the colonial government, since praying for the safety of Taiwan could be redirected into praying for the expansion of Japan. Worship of Maso, another popular theme in Nishikawa's writing, posed no threat to Japanese colonisation, according to Masuda: this form of religion originated in the worship of nature, and had the same cultural roots as Japanese religions.<sup>128</sup> In fact, shortly after Hasegawa's inauguration, many scholars such as Miyamoto Nobuto, who worked for the Institute of Ethnology at the Taipei Imperial University, were commissioned to investigate the Kobayashi period policy of regulating temples. The investigation, which started in 1941, presented a formal report in June 1943

127 Hasegawa was Governor-General of Taiwan from December 1940 to December 1944.

128 Cai, *Nihon teikoku shugika Taiwan no shūkyō seisaku*, 274–275.

criticising many aspects of previous regulations.<sup>129</sup> In April 1941, discontent with Kobayashi's religious policy led to a conference of local administrators and a reformed official policy for Taiwanese religions and customs that recognised the common benefits of various religions in Asia.<sup>130</sup> At roughly the same time, in January 1941, the 114th issue of the *Journal of the Interim Information Division of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office* (*Taiwan sōtokufu rinji jōhōbu "Buhō"* 台湾総督府臨時情報部「部報」), the official propaganda journal of the Governor-General's Office, carried an endorsement of works by Huang Fengzi, the wife of Ikeda, on Taiwanese folklore.<sup>131</sup>

However, this amendment of Japan's religious policy should be considered along with the new progress of empire. After 1941, beginning with a new stage of the imperialisation movement, mobilisation on all fronts was crucial to Japanese colonial expansion. Religious policies were relaxed somewhat after 1941. This adjustment of Japan's colonial policy in Taiwan exemplifies "a dual dynamic of assimilation" of colonisation.<sup>132</sup> In order to enhance its legitimacy, the Japanese colonial regime attempted to differentiate itself both nationally and culturally from the colonised people while simultaneously implementing an assimilation policy.<sup>133</sup> Local religions and culture of Taiwan gained new meaning as Japanese colonisation progressed. The fact indicated by the formal report that the previous regulations on religion and temples had failed to meet the needs of mobilisation would also provide a pretext for American and British propaganda in the new context of the Greater East Asia War.<sup>134</sup>

Against this background in 1941, a year after the end of Kobayashi's religious policy, Nishikawa republished his "The Goddess in the Heaven", which described the worship of Maso, in his own journal *Literary Taiwan*.<sup>135</sup> His other writings on Maso and Taiwanese folklore were advertised regularly in the journal. In *Literary Taiwan*, Nishikawa even introduced a column under the heading "Praying for Peace" (*Hoyū heian* 保佑平安), the religious connotations of

129 The report was titled "Taiwan no jibyō mondai: kyūkan shinkō kaizen ni kansuru chōsa hōkoku tō 4"; see Sakano, *Teikoku Nihon to jinrui gakusha*, 259.

130 Cai, *Nihon teikoku shugika Taiwan no shūkyō seisaku*, 276–277.

131 News of the arrival of Hasegawa as the new Governor-General of Taiwan appeared in No. 113, the issue that preceded the recommendation.

132 Shaheen Mozaffa, "The Institutional Logic of Ethnic Politics: a Prolegomenon," in *Ethnic Conflict and Democratization in Africa*, ed. Harvey Glickman (Atlanta: African Studies Association, 1995), 50.

133 Ching, *Becoming "Japanese"*, 25.

134 Sakano, *Teikoku Nihon to jinrui gakusha*, 259.

135 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Tenjō seibo 天上圣母 [The Goddess in Heaven]," *Bungei Taiwan* 2: 4 (July 1941): 34–35.



ILLUSTRATION 9 *The Practice of Augury*. Cited from Masuda Fukutarō 増田福太郎, *Taiwan hontōjin no shūkyō* 台湾本島人の宗教 [Taiwanese Religions], (*Tainan: Zaidan hōjin Meiji shōtoku kinen gakkai*, 1937), 2. Courtesy of Taiwan National University.

which could be easily sensed from the title. When *Literary Taiwan* was established by Nishikawa in 1940, there was a consensus among Japanese writers that they would work to mobilise all possible resources in Taiwan. In “Colonial Literature in the New Order” published in 1940, Nishikawa appealed for the unification of artistic fields in Taiwan, including music, theatre, film, and religion.<sup>136</sup> In this new post-1940 context, Nishikawa’s folkloric writing became an indispensable part of Japan’s mobilisation of Taiwan. Since the beginning of 1940, Nishikawa had started to act as the literary leader of Taiwan. He dedicated himself to the unification of Taiwan’s literary arena and assumed the leadership of the Association of Taiwanese Artists (*Taiwan bungeika kyōkai* 台湾文藝家協会), the Taiwanese branch of the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature and the Royal Society of Taiwanese Literature.

136 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, “Shintaiseika no gaichi bungaku 新体制下の外地文学 [Colonial Literature in the New Order],” in *Nihon tōchiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū dai-1-kan* 日本統治期台湾文学日本人作家作品集第一巻 [A Collection of Japanese Writers in Colonial Taiwan, vol. 1], ed. Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobō, 1998), 469.



The broad arena of Japanese anthropology in Taiwan during the 1930s and 1940s that many writers and folklorists including Nishikawa participated in was transitional and contained many elements of instability and mutations. In the wake of the “New Order” movement, Nishikawa’s version regained legitimacy due to its contribution to the development of local culture. Nishikawa, together with his writing on Taiwanese religion and customs, became actively involved in the imperialist mobilisation. As indicated by Hamada’s story “Mr. Amai’s I Novel” in 1942, it was folklorists such as Ikeda and Kokubu with their rigid minds, rather than Nishikawa and his exotic depictions, who would jeopardise the progress of the imperialisation movement, because they could not understand its spirit and accommodate its adaption. Spanning the late 1930s and early 1940s, Nishikawa’s writings on Taiwanese customs and religions showed much more complex relations with various colonial organisations.

However, these inner contradictions among the various stages of Japanese colonisation in Taiwan do not suggest that Japan’s colonial governance and identities were inconsistent. Rather, according to David Spurr, the contradictions suggest that “colonial discourse does not simply reproduce an ideology or a set of ideas that must constantly be repeated. It is rather a way of creating and responding to reality that is infinitely adaptable in its function of preserving the basic structures of power.”<sup>137</sup> Under colonial circumstances, literary innovations exercised an active role in colonial discourse that was built upon mutable power relations. Colonial literature and colonial identities cannot afford to remain static and are of their nature full of shifts, as colonial governance itself is by nature opportunistic and adaptive and involves “a constant reinvention of imperial policy over time”.<sup>138</sup>

Nishikawa’s writing also revealed that Japanese colonisation of Taiwan was not as successful as expected. The discord between Nishikawa and Japan’s religious policies in Taiwan was by no means trivial. In fact, it revealed the negative influence the flawed policy could exert on colonial management. In the colonial situation, this ambiguity in Nishikawa’s writing joins with the logical incoherence of colonial discourse to produce “a rhetoric characterised by constant crisis, just as colonial rule itself continually creates its own crisis of authority”.<sup>139</sup> Nishikawa’s imaginative texts speak to the ambiguities faced by an individual writer, institutional authority, and Japanese colonial governance in Taiwan.

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137 David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 11.

138 Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904–1932* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2001), 12.

139 Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 11.



## National Lineage Reinvented

In the early 1940s, Nishikawa shifted his attention to Taiwanese history. From “The Red Fort” (*Sekikanki* 赤嵌記), which focused on the shifting fortunes of the family of Zheng Chenggong (鄭成功 1624–1662), to *Tale of the Dragon’s Pulse* (*Ryūmyaku ki* 竜脈記) in which Nishikawa describes the difficulties that Liu Mingchuan (劉銘傳 1836–1896), the first governor of the province of Taiwan, encountered during the Qing dynasty when he undertook the building of a railway, to his *Railway across Taiwan* (*Taiwan jūkan tetsudō* 台灣縱貫鐵道), which describes Japan’s railway construction after the colonists occupied Taiwan, Nishikawa’s works mainly took the form of novels about historical events in Taiwan.<sup>1</sup> According to his biography, in 1941, entrusted by the colonial government, Nishikawa even started writing a new story exclusively on Zheng Chenggong.<sup>2</sup> Why did history become important to him at this juncture, and to what extent was his identity further revealed in this shift in literary emphasis? Answers to these questions can be gained through a reading of “The Red Fort”, which is Nishikawa’s first attempt to explore Taiwanese history and colonial realities, and at the same time, his foray into historical fiction created to serve the real political propaganda of Japanese imperialism in the 1940s. “The Red Fort” was the author’s attempt to justify Japan’s colonisation of Taiwan and its further incursion into Southeast Asia. It demonstrated how local history was re-imagined as a part of Japanese history and how local history helped Nishikawa identify with the Japanese empire.

### “The Red Fort” and Rising Colonial Power

“The Red Fort”, written in 1940, had been published in Nishikawa’s *Literary Taiwan* before it was compiled along with five other short stories into a book

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- 1 Zheng Chenggong (1624–1662) was the national hero of the Ming defeat at the hands of the Manchu conquerors. He was the founder of Chinese hegemony in Taiwan. After Zheng Chenggong defeated the Dutch, he was addressed by the honorific title *Kokusenya* (国姓爺 Ch. *Guoxingye*), which is better known in the West as Koxinga or Coxinga. It literally means “Lord of the Imperial Surname”. It signifies the honour of being entitled to use the same surname as the nation. In this book, I use the English word Koxinga.
  - 2 Kondō, “Xichuan Man zhaji (Shang),” 23.

published in Tokyo in 1942. It narrates the experiences of Zheng Chenggong's family. The scenario develops around the trip that the narrator, a famous Japanese writer, takes to the southern part of Taiwan. When the story begins, the writer is visiting the Red Fort where he encounters a young Taiwanese named Chen, who provides the writer with a detailed history of the site. In a bid to inspire the writer to write a novel on the Red Fort, Chen promises to take him to a pleasure house.

In the evening, on his way to meet the young Taiwanese, the writer stops at a picture frame shop, which specialises in selling prints and paintings of old Taiwanese folktales. He is attracted by a painting of a couple, the daughter of Chen Yonghua (陈永华 1634–1680) and her husband Zheng Kezang (郑克藏 1664–1681). Zheng Kezang was the eldest son of Zheng Jing (郑经 1643–1682), who in turn was the eldest son of Zheng Chenggong. Zheng Kezang's father-in-law, Chen Yonghua, was one of Zheng Jing's most important ministers. However, for certain superstitious reasons, the Japanese writer is refused outright when he expresses his wish to buy the painting, despite his offer of a great amount of money. The writer then proceeds to meet the young Taiwanese, who in the meantime has changed his mind and takes the Japanese writer to the home of a beautiful Taiwanese woman rather than to a pleasure house.

Although there are language barriers between the Japanese writer and the young Taiwanese woman, he nevertheless has an enjoyable conversation with her about poetry, accompanied by tea served in an exotic setting. One of the poems the woman recites makes the writer recollect the painting he wanted to buy in the frame shop. Then, the Taiwanese pair tells him a very different version of the tale of Zheng Chenggong's family. The conventional narrative of Zheng Kezang, the eldest grandson of Zheng Chenggong, is that he was an adopted son. However, the two locals insist that Zheng Kezang was murdered by his brother Zheng Keshuang (郑克爽 1669–1707), who had been corrupted by the easy life in Taiwan.<sup>3</sup>

Several days after the writer returns to Taipei, he receives from Chen a book titled *Unofficial Record of Taiwan* (*Taiwan waiji* 台湾外记), which contains a detailed description of the bloody struggle between the two grandsons, Zheng Kezang and Zheng Keshuang. After a thorough reading, the writer decides to pay an additional visit to Chen. However, mysteriously, he cannot find Chen's house by following the address on the back of the package. Instead, he mistakenly enters a temple in which the spirit tablets of Chen Yonghua and his wife

3 Zheng Keshuang was the younger son of Zheng Jing. He succeeded to power in 1681 and surrendered Taiwan to Qing in 1683, only two years later.

are placed. He discovers that the temple was the official residence of the Chen family during the rule of Zheng Chenggong.

“The Red Fort” was not only the name of the story but also served as the central thread that organised the writer’s journey of discovery. The original name of the Red Fort was *Provintia*, which was built by the Dutch in 1653 to suppress uprisings by the Han Chinese. In 1661, with the help of He Bin, an interpreter working for the Dutch, Zheng Chenggong sailed across the estuary of the Tai River and carried out a successful assault on *Provintia*. Under his control, the fort served as the seat of the most prestigious administrative machinery of the island. Zheng Chenggong lived there for approximately nine months before defeating the Dutch and ending their almost 38 year rule of Taiwan.

Zheng Chenggong’s son Zheng Jing, who succeeded his father, transformed the Red Fort into an arsenal. Now a place for storing gunpowder and armaments, it functioned as an arsenal until the Xianfeng (1850–1861) period of the Qing Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> When Zheng and his army were defeated by the Qing forces in 1683, the Red Fort was renamed “Chhian-kham” in accordance with the local southern dialect. The character 赤 indicates the colour of bricks in the sunshine while 嵌 has connotations of highlands in the Min dialect. In the Japanese language, the name is pronounced *sekikan*. Chinese-style architecture first appeared in the Red Fort in the Qing Dynasty under Emperor Tongzhi (1861–1875). During the Sino-French War of 1883–1885, Liu Mingchuan, the governor of Taiwan, ordered the Red Fort to be dismantled to avoid any trouble it could foment. Subsequent development, up until the period of Emperor Guangxu (1875–1908), saw five types of traditional Chinese architecture: temple, palace, ancestral temple, pavilion, and yard.<sup>5</sup>

At the beginning of the story, Nishikawa provides an impressive description of the Red Fort:

On the top “Entrance” is written horizontally; below it, there is the name “Sekikanrō” [the Red Fort], and underneath of which is an arrow. It looks less of a historic site, but rather of a hairdresser’s shop.

4 Bi Fuchen 毕福臣, *Taiwan chengshi yu xianxiangzhen zonglan* 台湾城市与县乡镇总览 [An Overview of Taiwan’s Cities, Towns and Villages] (Beijing: Zhongguo tongji chubanshe, 1997), 109.

5 Jiang Zongwei 蒋宗伟, *Qing wangchao tongyi Taiwan zhi lu* 清王朝统一台湾之路 [The Road to the Qing Unification of Taiwan] (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007), 113.

Given the air of dilapidation, the writer ponders:

Imagined from the exterior, it seems it must be a low-grade place full of stall-holders. Is it worth visiting? Better to skip here, and go on to Wu Temple or Maso Temple. But since I have come, I might as well take a look.

After entering the Red Fort, the writer is stunned by an unexpected sight: a group of lively Japanese children playing in the yard. In the Japanese colonial period, the Red Fort underwent further transformations. The Japanese dismantled parts of the Red Fort and transformed it into a school and a hospital. The Japanese children are in sharp contrast with the Wen Chang Pavilion in the summer sun, which “looks like a falling giant solemnly upheld by its last drop of strength.”<sup>6</sup>

The depiction of the geographic attributes of the Red Fort in the first few paragraphs exposes Taiwan's extensive colonial history alongside Nishikawa's own view of Taiwanese history. The juxtaposition of Japanese school children, a Dutch well, and the Chinese Wen Chang Pavilion, which seems likely to collapse any minute, all tends to convey the notion of Taiwan as an object that has been conquered by different colonial regimes. The healthy and lively Japanese children, who may be read as symbolising the future of Japanese colonisation, contrast with the fading Chinese control indicated by the collapsing Wen Chang Pavilion.

### Nationalising the South

Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,  
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat;  
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,  
When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of  
the earth!<sup>7</sup>

In “The Red Fort,” Nishikawa opted to follow the unofficial historical account conveyed by Jiang Risheng.<sup>8</sup> In Jiang's *Unofficial Record of Taiwan*, contrary to

6 Nishikawa, “Sekikanki,” 202.

7 Rudyard Kipling, “The Ballad of East and West,” in *Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses* (London: Methuen, 1892), 75.

8 The personal dates are not clear. Jiang Risheng lived in the Qing Kangxi period (1654–1722).

the conventional narrative, Zheng Kezang was legitimised as the proper heir of Zheng Chenggong. Zheng Keshuang, in contrast, was depicted as both a bastard and the murderer of Zheng Kezang, having been motivated by jealousy. Nishikawa may have sought to cast doubt on the legitimacy of Zheng Keshuang because of his own intention to promote Japan's new policy of expanding into the South, which was characterised in "The Red Fort" as Zheng Kezang's main ambition. As written by Nishikawa, Zheng Kezang wanted to abandon the attack on Manchu Qing temporarily and to spend more effort on "enriching the state and strengthening the military" (*fukoku kyōhei* 富国強兵). After having done this, he would consider making an alliance with Spain to conquer the South, in a bid to rebuild a Ming dynasty, with Taiwan as its heart. By doing so, he would bring to fruition his grandfather's unfulfilled wish for a "southward strategy" (*nanshinsaku* 南進策).<sup>9</sup>

The slogans *fukoku kyōhei*, *nanshinsaku*, and *shintaisei* attributed in the story to Zheng Chenggong's political plan were not coined from pure artistic imagination. Rather, they were borrowed from the real propaganda of Japanese colonisation in the 1940s. *Fukoku kyōhei* was an important concept for Japan dating back to the Meiji times when Japan began to make progress on the dual tasks of expansion and modernisation. *Nanshinsaku* was a policy stressing Japan's new ventures into the South after 1936. As Kleeman has noted:

By casting doubt on the legitimacy of Zheng Keshuang and promoting the position of Zheng Kezang instead, Nishikawa is arguing for the legitimacy of Zheng Kezang's plan to expand Chinese rule to Southeast Asia and the South Pacific, a plan with obvious parallels to the contemporary Japanese doctrine of advancing southward and expanding the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere.<sup>10</sup>

Shortly after the publishing of "The Red Fort", in early 1942 Nishikawa published a poem called "Landing Celebes in Front of the Enemy", which fully disclosed Nishikawa's interest in military and political affairs and his willingness to work for the southward propaganda. In this poem, lands in the South—from Malaysia to Philippines, and from Borneo to Manado—are all taken over by the Japanese Army. "A map of national liberation in Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere" emerges.<sup>11</sup> The poet prays for Japanese acquisition

9 Nishikawa, "Sekikanki," 218–219.

10 Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun*, 105.

11 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Serebesu ni tekizen jōriku セレベスに敵前上陸 [Landing Celebes in Front of the Enemy]," *Bungei Taiwan* 3: 5 (February 1942): 75.

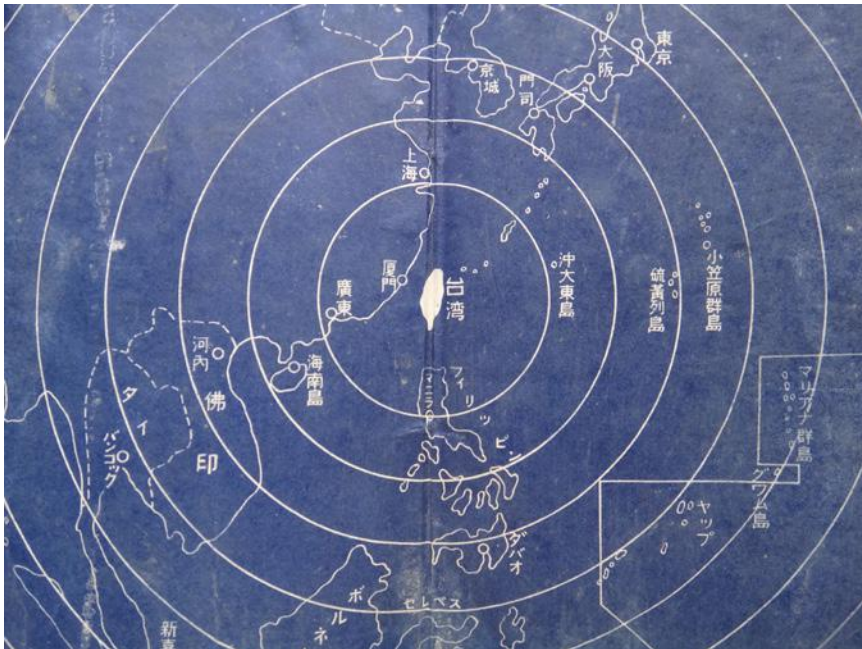


ILLUSTRATION 10 *Maps of Taiwan showing its position as the center of the empire. Published in 1938 by the Commandant of the Keelung port. Private collection. Courtesy of Dr. Lin Yufang and Formosa Vintage Museum Café.*

of Celebes, an island in Indonesia, as well as for his son's health. The image of Nishikawa's son, who is sick and in danger, overlaps the image of Japanese soldiers who were attacking the South in the poetry. They indicate that the fate of the Japanese people living in Taiwan was tied to the future of the Japanese Army in the South. Nishikawa, thus, demonstrates clearly his support for Japan's further invasion into the South.

Similarly, *shintaisei* was also a bona fide national policy. In 1938, with the help of the Shōwa Research Association, Konoe conjured up the slogan, "New East Asian Order", as the overarching theme of Japan's foreign policy during the last phase of imperialist expansion.<sup>12</sup> The announcement of a "new order" became the precursor to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Nishikawa would himself compose a poem titled "A Song for Japan under the New Order", and publish it in the official journal of the Governor-General's Office, to extol the new policy. This poem, which likened the Japanese new order to Meiji reform,

12 Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, 68.



was accompanied by an article on the southward policy that was written by Kikuchi Mon'ya, the director of the Taiwanese Association of the South.<sup>13</sup>

Slogans of this type considerably blurred the boundary between artistic work such as Nishikawa's "The Red Fort" and contemporary political propaganda. The political agenda of "The Red Fort" is illustrated further in the way Nishikawa expresses his admiration for the achievements of Zheng Chenggong's rule:

He advocated planting grain, making sugar from sugarcane and selling it abroad. After the sugar industry grew prosperous, he initiated the railway construction near Laikou and the ponding of seawater to produce salt. As well he established a tax system. Apart from devoting himself to Taiwan's important resources, sugar and salt, Zheng intensified the production of armaments to make Taiwan rich, powerful and stable.<sup>14</sup>

It is no surprise to see Zheng Chenggong, who died before 1700, portrayed as introducing railways; however, this attribution should be viewed more as propaganda, vindicating the Japanese colonisation of Taiwan. Nishikawa's depiction of Zheng Chenggong's contributions in "The Red Fort" paralleled the "industrial Japan, agricultural Taiwan" policies that had been implemented to ensure Japan's self-sufficiency in sugar since its occupation of Taiwan in 1895. To establish a tax system, to enlarge the military force, and to build a railway were exactly what the Japanese had taken upon themselves to do in the colonial period.

"The Red Fort" demonstrates Nishikawa's awareness of the political and military trajectory of the Japanese empire. In contrast to his earlier deficit in understanding colonial affairs, Nishikawa now not only became familiar with Japan's colonial policy toward Taiwan, but also strived to present a complete picture of the Japanese empire. In the story, the narrator not only criticises Zheng Keshuang's shortsightedness and nonchalance towards exploring the

13 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Shintaiseika Nihon no uta 新体制下日本の歌 [A Song for Japan Under the New Order]," in *Taiwan sōtokufu rinji jōhōbu "Buh,"* vol. 9 台湾総督府臨時情報部「部報」[*The News Compiled by the Provisional Information Department of the Taiwan Governor-General Office*], ed. Katō Kiyofumi and Yagashiro Hideyoshi (1940; reprint, Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2005), 398–399.

14 Nishikawa, "Sekikanki," 217. But depicting Zheng Chenggong as a scion of Japan was not Nishikawa's invention; rather it can be traced back to *The Battles of Koxinga* (*Kokusenya kassen* 国姓爺合戦), a play written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1724) in 1715. Donald Keene, *The Battles of Koxinga* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), 77.



South, but also argues that Zheng Kezang should have enjoyed the same legitimacy accorded to Zheng Keshuang, despite the former having been widely considered a bastard. In his opinion, “if Zheng Kezang was regarded as a bastard, due to the same familial status of their mothers, then Zheng Keshuang too was no more than a bastard”.<sup>15</sup> Kleeman thinks that this scenario of competing for legitimacy in Zheng’s family reflects Nishikawa’s own experience of defending the position of Taiwan in Japan’s landscape.<sup>16</sup> I suggest that it also reflects Nishikawa’s understanding of the complete picture and the internal conflicts of the Japanese empire in the 1940s.

The struggle between Zheng Kezang and Zheng Keshuang can even be read as a metaphor for the competition between the Japanese Army and Imperial Navy. Although it was the first official colony of Japan, for a long time “Taiwan was an imperial accessory, a laboratory where the ‘new boy’ among the colonial powers could show off his modernizing skills, not the heart of Japan’s strategic concerns. Those interests were on the continent, in Korea.”<sup>17</sup> Taiwan, which was regarded as “an agricultural appendage of metropolitan Japan”,<sup>18</sup> occupied a relatively peripheral position in the Japanese empire: it was not the strategic focus of foreign policy. Before Japan chose the South as its new colonial goal, Manchuria and the interests of the continent had long occupied centre stage in Japanese colonial strategy. The continental policy had been firmly supported by the Japanese army. After the end of the First World War, the Army launched a competition for military resources with the Navy.<sup>19</sup> For a long time, the force of the Navy only existed as a response to the dominant Army force, and the military policy held by the Navy was merely a supplement to that of the Army.

After 1938, however, the picture started to change, when Taiwan emerged as a base to supply Japan’s army. The slogans *nanshinsaku* and *shintaisei* promoted by Nishikawa in “The Red Fort” were initially two opposite policies advocated by the Navy and Army, respectively. However, the protracted war with China starting in 1937 forced Japan to look to the South for fuel sources.

15 Nishikawa, “Sekikanki,” 224.

16 Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun*, 106.

17 Peattie, “Introduction,” 16

18 Lamley, “Taiwan under Japanese Rule, 1895–1945,” 237.

19 Hatano Sumio 波多野澄雄, “Nihon kaigun to nanshin: sono seisaku to riron no shiteki tenkai 日本海軍と南進：その政策と理論の史的展開 [The Japanese Navy and Southward Advancement: A Historical View on the Policies and Theories],” in *Ryō taisen kanki Nihon Tōnan Ajia kankei no shosō* 両大戦間期日本・東南アジア関係の諸相 [The History of Japan and Southeast Asia during the Two World Wars] (Tokyo: Ajia keizai kenkyūjo, 1986), 210–211.

The southward policy was then recast as an auxiliary to the continental policy. In this way, the Japanese empire came to give parallel prominence to both *nanshinsaku* and *shintaisei* after 1938.<sup>20</sup> The former represented the benefits of Taiwan and the Navy, while the latter demonstrated the Army's vision of unifying Japan, Manchukuo, and China by military force. Nishikawa's writing successfully captured the ongoing political nuances and circumstances of the Japanese empire.

In order to justify Japan's mission in the South, an old national myth must be reiterated. In "Taiwan with a History", Nishikawa expressed his dissatisfaction regarding the teaching of Taiwanese history.<sup>21</sup> He complained that all he had been taught was Hamada Yahyōe (浜田弥兵衛 1825–1887), Zheng Chenggong, and Wu Feng (吴凤 1699–1769), which were the platitudes of education in Taiwanese history. However, despite his weariness of Zheng Chenggong, Nishikawa would eventually write a story based on Zheng Chenggong's family. The reason might lie in Nishikawa's intention to justify Japanese colonisation of Taiwan. Zheng Chenggong, who was once the owner of the Red Fort, was conducive to justifying Japan's colonisation of Taiwan by virtue of his purported consanguinity with the Japanese. By asserting Zheng Chenggong's Japanese blood lineage, Nishikawa also expressed his understanding of the national formation of the Japanese empire. Japan was clearly no longer a nation-state; rather, it was formed by various nations whose territories Japan had conquered. However, what distinguished Japanese colonisation in Asia from other European colonial forms was the dual focus of Japan's imperialist policy—"assimilation and differentiation". Taiwan and Taiwanese history had to be portrayed as similar, yet inferior, to Japan, a portraiture that also partly constituted the perceptions of colonial writers towards Taiwan.

In "The Red Fort", the blood lineage between Zheng Chenggong and Japan is laboriously stressed. For example, in the story, Nishikawa indicates that Zheng Kezang's determination to pursue his grandfather Zheng Chenggong's unfinished and ambitious plan to conquer more territory in the South was partially due to his realisation of his "national duties": "Grandfather's mother was a Japanese woman; thus Japanese blood must flow in my [Kezang's] veins.

20 Ibid., 228–232.

21 See Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Rekishi no aru Taiwan 歴史のある台湾 [Taiwan with a History]," in *Nihon tōchiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū dai-1-kan* 日本統治期台湾文学日本人作家作品集第一巻 [A Collection of Japanese Writers in Colonial Taiwan, vol. 1], ed. Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobō, 1998), 449–451.

I should follow the will of the blood which directs me to the South”.<sup>22</sup> “What makes a Japanese more than anything else is blood”: “Japanese blood” tends to be perceived as immutable and essential.<sup>23</sup> A syllogism was, thus, deeply latent in “The Red Fort”. Because of the political reality of Japanese aims regarding the South, and the fact that Zheng Kezang was part Japanese via his blood connection with his grandfather’s mother (who was Japanese), Zheng Kezang was obliged to march to the South. In this story, Japanese identity and national spirit were handed down to Zheng Kezang from his grandfather Zheng Cheng-gong’s mother, whose Japanese identity is deliberately stressed.

In an article Nishikawa contributed to the *Taiwan Daily News* in 1940, he expounds his views on “The Red Fort”, and emphasises Zheng Chenggong and Zheng Kezang’s blood lineage yet again:

The Japanese blood is flowing through the body of the grandfather; therefore, his grandson Zheng Kezang should certainly have a Japanese personality. However, regrettably, this has been gradually forgotten.<sup>24</sup>

The meaning behind the scenarios of “The Red Fort” is explicitly expounded upon. When commenting on Taiwanese cultural construction, Nishikawa follows the logic that blood lineage determines one’s responsibility, extending the notion of “national spirit” to specific literary works. For example, he stresses: “when thinking about the things we can contribute to the cultural dimension of Japan in the crucial transitional period, the blood in our bodies arouses the national spirit”.<sup>25</sup> In another essay titled “Prospects for the Taiwanese Literary Arena” he refers to the task of developing Taiwanese literature as his “mission in life” (*tenshoku* 天職).<sup>26</sup>

22 Nishikawa, “Sekikanki,” 226.

23 Kosaku Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Enquiry* (London: Routledge, 1992), 24.

24 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, “Sekikan no machi wo aruite 赤崁の町を歩いて [Walking on the Street of the Red Fort],” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, December 12, 1940.

25 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, “Shintaiseika no gaichi bunka 新体制下の外地文学 [Colonial Literature in the New Order],” in *Nihon tōchiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, 469.

26 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, “Taiwan bungeikai no tenbō 台湾文藝界の展望 [Prospects for the Taiwanese Literary Arena],” in *Nihon tōchiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū dai-1-kan* 日本統治期台湾文学日本人作家作品集第一巻 [A Collection of Japanese Writers in Colonial Taiwan, vol. 1], ed. Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobō, 1998), 467.

Nishikawa's insistence on justifying Japan's occupation of Taiwan by underscoring consanguinity becomes more evident when "The Red Fort" is read inter-textually with his other poems on the same theme of Zheng Chenggong. Nishikawa's poetry collection *Songs of Prince Enpei* (*Enpeigunō no uta* 延平郡王の歌) contains seven poems devoted exclusively to Zheng Chenggong and his mother.<sup>27</sup> "Songs of the Iron Man" (*Tetsujin no uta* 鉄人の歌), "Songs of the Battle of the Red Fort" (*Sekikan kōryaku no uta* 赤崁攻略の歌) and others are about Zheng Chenggong and his perceived grand enterprise of establishing Taiwan. In "Anthem to Zheng Chenggong's Mother", Nishikawa depicts the mother as a woman who excites Zheng's warrior spirit by telling him, "your mother is a Japanese woman who places high value on prestige".<sup>28</sup> In "Songs of the Iron Man", Nishikawa provides a somewhat exaggerated depiction of Zheng Chenggong's heroic image in a war against the Dutch. In this poem, the relation between Zheng Chenggong's success and the "Japanese spirit" are demonstrated in the Japanese sword with which Zheng commands a determined army.

The image of Japanese-lineaged Zheng Chenggong in Nishikawa's writing also corresponds to Japan's new anti-West discourse. Zheng Chenggong not only epitomised a legitimate transition from the great Japanese ancestor to the current Japanese colonial government, but he also demonstrated Japan's capability to conquer the West on behalf of the East. In "Songs of the Battle of the Red Fort", Nishikawa begins his poem with "Defeat the Dutch! Cut off the head of Koiette! The battle cry of the 25,000 soldiers shook the sky, Koxinga",<sup>29</sup> and ends it with "East is East and West is West! We chase those blue-eyed, red-haired ones unto the ends of the earth. After the heroic undertaking was completed, Koxinga smiled."<sup>30</sup> In Nishikawa's writing, Zheng Chenggong's battle to defend the Ming dynasty from Dutch colonialism was retold as a tale detailing the East's triumph over the West. This was the critical propaganda surrounding mobilisation in the Japanese colonial context after 1940 when Japan needed to find the rhetoric to mobilise volunteer armies drawn from its Asian colonies.

As such, Zheng Chenggong, who had occupied Taiwan before the Japanese occupation, managed to justify the Japanese invasion of Taiwan as a

27 Enpei Subprefect (Ch. Yanping junwang) is the honorific appellation conferred upon Zheng Chenggong in 1665 by the Ming emperor.

28 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Kokusenya no haha wo tataeru uta 国姓爺の母を讃える歌 [Anthem to Zheng Chenggong's Mother]," *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū*, 162.

29 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Sekikan kōryaku no uta 赤崁攻略の歌 [Songs of the Battle of the Red Fort]," *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshishū*, 167.

30 Ibid., 167–168.

hegemonic restoration. As a result, his stock rose from that of an object of Taiwanese native worship to the level of official worship during Japan's fifty-year rule of Taiwan. But although Zheng Chenggong continued to be worshipped in Chinese temples, he was nevertheless depicted by Nishikawa as carrying a Japanese sword and mirror.<sup>31</sup>

### Tradition Regenerated

Accounts of Zheng Chenggong can be seen in Japanese literature dating back to the eighteenth century. The story of Zheng Chenggong did not become a significant part of Japanese literary history, however, until the performance of *The Battles of Koxinga* (*Kokusen'ya kassen* 国姓爺合戦), a play written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon (近松門左衛門 1653–1724) in 1715. Chikamatsu's play was among the first depictions of Zheng Chenggong in Japanese literature that highlighted Chenggong's Japanese lineage. In his version, Zheng Chenggong is depicted as hybrid, a product of both Japan and China; moreover, his name is "Japanised" as "Watōnai" (和藤内), a homophone of the phrase "和唐ない" which implies that Zheng Chenggong is a native of neither China nor Japan. Both Watōnai's mother and wife are Japanese-born. In order to display an even stronger connection with Japan, Chikamatsu added a few years to Watōnai's age to put him in a position to marry a Japanese woman.<sup>32</sup> As Chikamatsu's "primary interest was in Koxinga's connections with Japan", he rejected the Chinese historical records in favour of Maezono Jinzaemon's *The Account of Battles between Ming and Qing* (*Minshin tōki* 明清闘記).<sup>33</sup> In Chikamatsu's play, Watōnai was more a Japanese warrior than a Chinese hero of the Ming dynasty. On occasion the protagonist cannot suppress the impulse to declare himself Japanese. Watōnai fights against the insurgent Qing—not in the interests of the Ming dynasty, but to spread the Japanese spirit.

Chikamatsu's *The Battles of Koxinga* launched the Japanese genealogy of Koxinga. The premiere season of the play, which attracted much attention at the time, ran for seventeen months. It was immensely popular and was seen by more than 200,000 people within three years. During this time, Chikamatsu continued to write, producing two more plays that would form the Koxinga trilogy. The success of Chikamatsu's play encouraged a series of literary

31 Cai, *Nihon Teikoku shugika Taiwan no shūkyō seisaku*, 26–27.

32 Keene, *The Battles of Koxinga*, 77.

33 Ibid., 76.

writings based on stories about Zheng Chenggong.<sup>34</sup> Among them, numerous works were based entirely upon Chikamatsu's version.<sup>35</sup>

During this period, Taiwan, or Zheng Chenggong's career in Taiwan, was not the focus because Taiwan enjoyed almost no attention as yet in Japan's imagination of the world. However, after the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894 and Japan's occupation of Taiwan, Taiwan emerged as a new theme. After the *de jure* acquisition of Taiwan in 1895, Japanese writers became more interested in Zheng Chenggong as a character, seeing in him as a repository of much political and economic insight.<sup>36</sup> Interest in Zheng Chenggong was sustained consistently thereafter up to the start of the Greater East Asia War.<sup>37</sup>

Nishikawa's writing about Zheng Chenggong may also have been influenced by the famous Japanese writer Satō Haruo, whose works were rooted in the genealogy of Japan's narrative of this famous historical figure. From July to September 1934, Satō serialised "Koxinga" in the monthly *Literary Arts Spring and Autumn* (*Bungei shunjū* 文藝春秋). The story was divided into three parts: "Koxinga Fights with the Netherlands" (*Koxinga Oranda kassen* 国姓爺阿蘭陀合戦), "The Messenger of Koxinga" (*Koxinga no shisha* 国姓爺の使者), and "The Death of Koxinga" (*Koxinga no shi* 国姓爺の死). The propaganda advocating the southward policy that prevailed in Nishikawa's "The Red Fort" could also be discerned in Satō's writing. In "The Messenger of Koxinga", Satō writes that Zheng Chenggong's decision to relocate to Taiwan from Xiamen was specifically motivated by his desire to develop Taiwan into a strong sea-based nation that could contend with China;<sup>38</sup> and he notes in the first instalment, "given the unique geographical position of Taiwan, it would be easy for Taiwan to both defend itself against and conquer China".<sup>39</sup> Satō clearly attributed to Zheng Chenggong an ambition to "establish a nation of the sea".

Before its publication in *Literary Arts Spring and Autumn* in July 1934, this first installment of the novel was previewed in the *Taiwan Daily News* in the previous month; Nishikawa was in charge of the paper's literary section at the time. The novel was promoted as valuable since it "defined the way of writing

34 Ishihara Michihiro 石原道博, *Kokusenya* 国姓爺 [*Koxinga*] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1959), 89–90.

35 Keene, *The Battles of Coxinga*, 80.

36 Ishihara, *Kokusenya*, 94.

37 Ibid., 95.

38 Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫, "Koxinga no shisha 国姓爺の使者 [The Messenger of Koxinga]," *Bungei shunjū* 12: 8 (August 1934): 419.

39 Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫, "Koxinga Oranda kassen 国姓爺阿蘭陀合戦 [Koxinga Fights with the Netherlands]," *Bungei shunjū* 12: 7 (July 1934): 329.

historical stories in the future”.<sup>40</sup> Nishikawa may to some extent have been inspired by Satō’s pioneering writing that promoted the tendency towards stressing the southward policy and Zheng Chenggong’s Japanese lineage. The name of Zheng Chenggong had been appearing relatively often in the *Taiwan Daily News* earlier in the decade, for 1930 was the 300th anniversary of the establishment of Anping Harbour, which was named by Zheng Chenggong to commemorate his defeat of the Dutch.

Nishikawa’s “The Red Fort” may also be perceived as an extension of the cultural boom in depicting Zheng Chenggong in Japanese literary history. Nevertheless, Nishikawa’s writing certainly had its own cultural and political mission to deliver. Underscoring Zheng Chenggong’s Japanese blood lineage could be read as a blunt piece of propaganda promoting Japan’s new political agenda after 1938 when the “new order” policy and Japan’s further invasion of the South were decided. According to the 1899 law of nationality in mainland Japan, entitlement to Japanese nationality was decided by blood. The emperor was promoted as the father of a grand Japanese family that was maintained by blood lineage. However, this legal principle was not extended to Taiwan. In Taiwan, the national subjects (*kokumin*) of Japan comprised those who had been born there, the so-called *naichijin*, or Taiwanese people who were categorised as Japanese national subjects (*Nihon kokumin*), and the ethnic groups who were termed “barbarous people” (*bannin* 番人).<sup>41</sup> However, neither the Taiwanese nor the aborigines living in Taiwan belonged to the Japanese nation. During the period of Japanese colonisation of Taiwan, the Japanese family registration system (*koseki*) was never implemented in Taiwan; instead headcounts were ordered via a separate household registration system. This froze the hierarchy of the colonised vis-à-vis the coloniser making it impossible to convert a Taiwanese identity into a Japanese identity. Both were regulated by two separate registration systems. A foreigner who had attained Japanese nationality was still required to indicate in the Household Registration System his or her former nationality, be that Taiwanese or Qing Chinese. *Gaichi* people could not become *naichi* Japanese, while *naichi* Japanese had to keep their *koseki* in metropolitan Japan, and therefore remained ineligible for inclusion in Taiwan’s household register.

40 “*Koxinga Oranda kassen: taibō no rekishi shōsetsu* 国姓爺阿蘭陀合戦: 待望の歴史小説 [Koxinga Fights with the Netherlands: A Long-awaited Historical Novel],” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 27, 1934.

41 Wang Taisheng 王泰升, *Taiwan rizhi shiqi de falü gaige* 台湾日治时期的法律改革 [Legal Reformation in Colonial Taiwan] (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshiye gongsi, 1999), 16–18.



Hence, inter-marriage between Japanese and Taiwanese before 1932 was not encouraged, though not forbidden either. Even after the revision of the household registration system of Taiwan in 1932, transferring the *koseki* of *gaichi* people to Japan after a marriage continued to be difficult. It was only after the launch of the imperialisation movement that inter-marriage was encouraged in Taiwan and Korea. It even garnered strong support from the colonial government after 1940 due to practical considerations of enlisting Taiwanese in the army. At same time, many literary works appeared extolling the benefits of inter-marriages.<sup>42</sup> Blood lineage even became a popular theme in the works of Taiwanese writers. For example, writers such as Zhou Jinbo (周金波 1920–1996) and Chen Huoquan (陈火泉 1908–1999), who often depicted the Japanese blood lineage, published several short stories in *Nishikawa's Literary Taiwan*.<sup>43</sup>

Despite the discrimination and the pecking orders permeating colonial reality in Taiwan, the rhetoric of blood lineage had been widely accepted in the colonies. Hirano Yoshitarō once suggested that the “spirit” of the Japanese family was what connected people who shared the same blood; it also made people of various blood lineages into a family.<sup>44</sup> An echo of Nishikawa's Taiwanese hero, who was seen to gain his energy and courage from a Japanese mother, seemed to ring in the rhetoric promoting inter-marriage in Manchuria as well. In April 1937, barely a month after the announcement of the law of imperial succession, Pujie (溥杰 1907–1994), the younger brother of the puppet emperor of Manchukuo, announced his marriage to Saga Hiro (嵯峨浩 1918–1947) who was a direct relative of the Japanese emperor. According to Manchukuo's new law of imperial succession, Pujie's son, the future hybrid of Japanese and Chinese, was entitled to inherit the throne, if Puyi, the emperor of Manchukuo failed to produce an heir.<sup>45</sup> Puyi indeed did not produce any heir to inherit his throne. Yet, Manchukuo was too short-lived to see the throne transition.

42 Kono, *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature*, 99.

43 Ibid.

44 Hirano Yoshitarō 平野義太郎, “Daitōa kyōeitai no kōsei genri taru kachitsujo ni tsuite: toku ni ikei kettō wo dōkakasuru nihon seishin 大東亜共栄体の構成原理たる家秩序について：特に異系血統を同家化する日本精神 [Family Orders in Accordance with the Principal of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere: On the Japanese Spirit that Assimilates Alien Blood Lineages],” *Hōritsu shinpō* 765 (18 March 1944): 9, quoted in Yamamuro, “Guomin diguo Riben de yifayu tonghe yu chabie,” 18.

45 The confession of Pujie on 24 September 1951, quoted in Xie Xueshi 解学诗, *Weimanzhouguoshi xinbian* 伪满洲国史新编 [*New Account of the History of Manchukuo*] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2008), 583.

### A Timely Discovery of History

As has been discussed previously, “The Red Fort” is a significant landmark in Nishikawa’s career as a Japanese writer in Taiwan, for it symbolised his transformation from a poet into a novelist who wrote historical stories. Yet, prior to this, Nishikawa had been plagued by the notion that Taiwan has no history. Although Nishikawa had been living in Taiwan since the age of two when he came from Japan with his parents, he was beginning to understand in his adult years that he was ignorant of Taiwanese history, particularly at a time when his reputation as a Japanese writer was gaining affirmation. So, the question remains—how does one explain the sudden emergence of Nishikawa’s impulse to write Taiwanese history in the 1940s. The answer to this question will, undoubtedly, shed more light on Nishikawa’s identity.

Nishikawa showed his interest in and affection for Taiwanese history in writings, such as “Taiwan with a History”, where he reveals:

When I was young, I always had the impulse of looking for something that I did not know exactly. Nor was I clear about what I was looking for and why. It was not until I was fifteen, when I set foot in *naichi* [metropolitan Japan] for the first time and was embraced by the mountains and rivers in Japan, that I was able to understand that the inexpressible sadness I had towards Taiwan was due to its inability to have a history—though I know to say so may itself be wrong. After several years’ struggle, I eventually finished my study in Japan and returned to Taiwan again. This time I was obsessed with discovering the history of Taiwan [...] I came to understand the absurdity of my former opinion that Taiwan did not have any history. I could not help feeling angry with myself. However, upon reflection, I realised it was not only my own fault. When we were young, how much were we taught about the history of Taiwan before it became one of our colonies? Except for Hamada Yahyōe, Zheng Chenggong, and Wu Feng, all else was about the history of Japan.<sup>46</sup>

Nishikawa eventually showed his attachment to Taiwan and his determination to discover the history of Taiwan:

Oh, Taiwan, you are the treasure house of unlimited history; the gallery of magnificent religions; the unpolished diamond of historical studies! Oh, Taiwan, you are the glorious island where cultures of the East and the

46 Nishikawa, “Rekishi no aru Taiwan,” 449.

West encounter each other. I am proud of living here, with my enthusiasm for discovering the abundance of history.<sup>47</sup>

Nishikawa's idea of Taiwanese literature was not generated from his study of the history and literature of Taiwan; instead, it was to some extent achieved via the media of the European literary tradition. He admits:

French literature inspires me to think that one should cherish the literature and history of one's own land. If not for the study of French literature, I would never have become interested in Taiwan. Although the discovery came a little bit late, I could not help but indulge myself in the joy accompanying it.<sup>48</sup>

As such, discovering the history of Taiwan turned into an historical process in and of itself during the period of Japan's encounter with the West and its colonial engagement with Taiwan. In 1940, Taiwan became the base for Japanese invasions further southward. It was at this time that Nishikawa felt the urge to rediscover Taiwanese history and link it more closely with Japan's national history. This change in perspective occurred because, in Nishikawa's own words, "only by reviewing the past can the culture of a new era develop."<sup>49</sup>

Inspired by the southward policy and the "New Order" movement, writers and folklorists alike began to share a belief that discovering Taiwan's history was indeed an historical mission. Between 1939 and 1945, Kanaseki and his student, Kokubu, who were two major contributors to *Folklore of Taiwan*, undertook planned anthropological research in the southern part of Taiwan. By 1945, Kokubu had published approximately 33 papers on the topic of southern Taiwan.<sup>50</sup> In the eleventh issue of *Folklore of Taiwan*, Kokubu published an article titled *The Brief History of Tainan*. Here, he provided descriptions of the streets of southern Taiwan in addition to demonstrating an extensive interest in its history before the Japanese occupation. Kokubu's historical depictions of

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47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., 450.

49 Nishikawa, "Sekikanki," 204.

50 Chen Yanhong 陈艳红, "Kokubu Naoichi to *Minzoku Taiwan* 国分直一と民俗台湾 [Kokubu Naoichi and *Folklore Taiwan*]," *Zaidan hōjin kōryū kyōkai Nittai kōryū sentā rekishiken kyūsha kōryū jigō hōkokusho* 1999 年度財団法人交流協会日台交流センタ―歴史研究者交流事業報告書 [Reports from the Visting Historians of the Cultural Exchange Center of the Interchange Association in 1999], 8.

the Red Fort, from its various names to its current function as a school, could be read as an interpretative footnote to Nishikawa's "The Red Fort".<sup>51</sup>

In 1940, the same year that "The Red Fort" was published, Nishikawa and anthropologists such as Kanda Kiichirō and Kanaseki held a discussion via *Literary Taiwan*. In this "Forum on Folklore and Custom", anthropologists were concerned with whether Taiwan could be regarded as the centre of Asia or should be studied more in association with the southern part of China.<sup>52</sup> Nishikawa not only officiated as chairman of the forum, but also published its content in his own *Literary Taiwan*, amply demonstrating his growing interest in Taiwanese history. Nishikawa's "The Red Fort" coincided with the boom in anthropological study in the southern part of Taiwan. It seems possible that he may have been inspired by folkloristic studies, or that the Japanese intelligentsia shared the same interest and responsibility to investigate and narrate Taiwanese history, albeit having their own separate opinions and academic focus. This renewed interest in Taiwanese history clearly demonstrates the end of Nishikawa's aloof stance toward colonial affairs. In its place, a leader of colonial cultural affairs was thus born.

In spite of his self-confessed obsessions with Taiwan and Taiwanese consciousness, Nishikawa expected recognition for his literary talent from his Japanese peers, rather than be solely associated with Taiwanese history. As an editor of the *Taiwan Daily News*, he regularly solicited articles from Japanese writers. When Nishikawa's literary journal *Maso* was launched, contributors to this journal included famous Japanese poets such as Nishiwaki Junzaburō (西脇順三郎 1894–1982), Hinatsu Kōnosuke (日夏耿之介 1890–1971), and Saijō Yaso (西條八十 1892–1970). In addition, *Maso* was mailed to prominent Japanese writers and other literary figures living in metropolitan Japan, from whom Nishikawa sought comments and suggestions, while at the same time drawing their attention to what he had accomplished in Taiwan. When his poetry collection, *Maso Festival*, was published, half of the three hundred copies were sent to metropolitan writers.<sup>53</sup> Meanwhile, most of the articles from Nishikawa's

51 Kokubu Naoichi 国分直一, "Tainan shōshi 台南小史 [A Brief History of Tainan]," *Minzoku Taiwan* 2: 5 (May 1942): 16–19.

52 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Dozoku minzoku zadankai 土俗民俗座談会 [Forum on Folklore and Custom]," *Bungei Taiwan* 1: 3 (May 1940): 177–184.

53 Nakajima Toshio 中島利郎, "Nihon tōchiki Taiwan bungaku kenkyū: Taiwan bungeika kyōkai no seiritsu to *Bungei Taiwan* 日本統治期台湾文学研究: 「台湾文藝家協会」の成立と「文藝台湾」 [A Study of the Literature of Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule: The Founding of the Association of Taiwanese Artists and *Literary Taiwan*]," *Shōtoku gakuen gifu kyōiku daigaku kiyō* 45 (February 2006): 93.

*A Record of Taiwanese Customs* were serialised in both *Pan-litteraire* in Japan and the *Taiwan Times* almost simultaneously. The former was a mainland Japanese literary magazine; the latter was the colonial government's prime organ. Both were read mostly by Japanese readers.

The tradition of communicating with Japanese writers in metropolitan Japan remained uninterrupted even into the 1940s, and even up until another literary journal, *Literary Taiwan*, was launched. The founding of *Literary Taiwan* was initially designed as a way to celebrate "the 2600th Anniversary" (*Kigen nisen roppyaku nen* 紀元二千六百年) of Japan's history. The third issue was explicitly given this title. After the founding of *Literary Taiwan*, as a way to demonstrate the support he enjoyed in Japan, Nishikawa mustered a number of writers from the Japanese literary arena to contribute to the journal. A total of 76 writers, including Anzai Fuyue, Yokomitsu Riichi, Kawabata Yasunari, Itō Sei, Yasuda Yōjūrō, appeared in the list of editorial advisers for *Literary Taiwan*.<sup>54</sup> When it was launched in 1940, the first issue had a circulation of about 3,500 copies, which increased to 4,000 after the second issue. Nearly a quarter of these copies were sent to metropolitan Japan as a way of self-introduction.<sup>55</sup> In 1941, Nishikawa decided to start a new column titled "Pictures of Taipei Scenery" to satisfy the metropolitan appetite for Taiwanese culture and scenery.<sup>56</sup> The publishing of *Literary Taiwan* was reported to have increased *naichi* people's interest in Taiwan, as well as the number of tourists coming to the region. Due to a high demand from metropolitan Japan, *Literary Taiwan* enjoyed extremely good sales.<sup>57</sup>

Nishikawa's desire to be connected with metropolitan Japan was duly compensated when he was awarded a prize for "outstanding contributions to the field of poetry" (*Shigyō kōrōshō* 詩業功勞賞) in 1938. Candidates for this prize were nominated by Japanese writers such as Horiguchi Daigaku (堀口大学 1892–1981) and Satō Haruo and received awards from the journal *Pan-litteraire* in Tokyo.<sup>58</sup> In the 1940s, the Book Prospects Publisher (*Shomotsu tenbōsha* 書物展望社) published *The Red Fort* as an offprint in Japan. It was so successful that the publishing house re-ran its advertisement in the *Asahi Shinbun*

54 "Sanjoin meibo 賛助員名簿 [The List of Editorial Advisers]," *Bungei Taiwan* 1: 2 (March 1940): 146.

55 Hong, "Huajia de zuoshou," 43.

56 "Keigeitsu shōsoku 桂月消息 [News of August]," *Bungei Taiwan* 2: 5 (August 1941): 72.

57 Ibid.

58 Nakajima, "Nihon tōchiki Taiwan bungaku kenkyū," 94.

and the *Yomiuri Shinbun* several times.<sup>59</sup> Three months later, “The Red Fort” was awarded the Taiwanese Literature Award (*Taiwan Bungakushō* 台湾文学賞) by the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office. From his debut onto the literary arena in the early 1940s, Nishikawa’s literary career was never severed from the literary authority in metropolitan Japan. He controlled a network that not only spanned the literary market in Taiwan, but also connected metropolitan Japan with colonial Taiwan.

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59 Fujii, *Taiwan wenxue zhe yibainian*, 137.





PART TWO

*Pan-Asianism Unrealised*





## Between Imperialism and Pan-Asianism Imperialial

The light comes from the east, blazing gloriously; our mission is to the land of East Asia. See, [we bring] a brightness like Ursa Major to the wilderness, the wilderness, the wilderness stretching on for ever.

The morning chime breaks the dawn of the dark wilderness of Manchuria and Mongolia. Prosperity is a wish shared together! Look! Like swelling waves of sorghum, the rising sun is shining over the wilderness.

It is joyous that people of Asia and pioneers of Japan are in accord. Listen! Shaking the Kunlun Mountain, their harmonious singing is resounding all over the wilderness, wilderness, wilderness with mountains and rivers full of singing.

This quoted song is said to have enjoyed enduring popularity amongst the staff of the South Manchurian Railway Company (SMR); it was considered by many to have captured the ethos of the Japanese in Manchuria.<sup>1</sup> Written for SMR's song-writing competition by Ōuchi,<sup>2</sup> its constant repetition of the image of "wilderness" resonated throughout Ōuchi's time in Manchuria; the song eventually became the title of his first collection of translations. The Chinese writer, Gu Ding (古丁 1914–1964), who wrote the novella, *The Wilderness*

- 1 Kusayanagi Daizō 草柳大蔵, *Mantie diaochabu neimu* 满铁调查部内幕 [*The Inside Story of the Research Department of the Southern Manchurian Railway Company*], trans. Liu Yaowu (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1982), 218. The lyric is quoted in Egami Teruhiko 江上照彦, *Mantetsu ōkoku: kōbō no shijūnen* 满铁王国:興亡の四十年 [*The South Manchurian Railway Company: A Forty-Year Rise and Fall*] (Tokyo: Sankei shuppan, 1980), 208.
- 2 Besides Ōuchi Takao, Yamaguchi Shin'ichi had other pen names including Yama Kōyō (矢間恒耀), Xu Huangyang (徐晃阳), Huang Yangsheng (晃阳生), Huang Yang (晃阳), and T.O. See Yamamoto Hideo 山本秀夫, *Manshū hyōron kaidai sōmokuji* 「満洲評論」解題・総目次 [*Manchurian Review: Interpretation and Full Table of Contents*] (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 1982), 79; and Okada Hideki 岡田英樹, *Weimanzhouguo wenxue* 伪满洲国文学 [*Literature of Puppet Manchukuo*] (Changchun: Jilin daxue chubanshe, 2001), 234.

(Ch. *Yuanye* and J. *Genya* 原野), also became one of Ōuchi's closest friends.<sup>3</sup> The competition judges thought that it was somewhat flawed: even though it was perfect in its lyricism and format, there was something just not right about the song and its lyrics. Nevertheless, it was unexpectedly popular among the staff of the SMR and was gradually adopted as the company anthem (*Mantetsu no uta* 満鉄の歌).<sup>4</sup> It may be true, as observed by Kawase Matsuzō, that there existed a degree of disparity between the ideology of Manchukuo and Ōuchi ever since the beginning of his career, and this perceived and yet inexplicable divergence made him relate to Manchuria in a controversial way.

During his living in Manchuria, Ōuchi engaged in the translation of Chinese works. Through his translation of Chinese literature, Ōuchi played a significant role in Sino-Japanese literary communication in Manchukuo. According to an earlier investigation, among all the translations of Chinese works catalogued after the Second World War, 110 out of 142 were translated by Ōuchi.<sup>5</sup> The number of works whose translation should be attributed to Ōuchi can only increase given the fact that this research was carried out in 1987: since then, more and more works whose translators remain unknown have been studied and sorted. Ōuchi's translation of Chinese literature became a crucial step in building an independent Manchurian cultural identity. It was through literary writing and translation that brought Chinese writers and the Japanese translator together. Due to his active engagement with literary activities in Manchuria and his exchange with both Japanese and Chinese writers, Ōuchi was a central figure in the Manchurian literary scenes, though he is now largely forgotten. Trained initially as a Sinologist rather than a literary critic, Ōuchi offers a good example for a comparative study that transcends both disciplinary and national boundaries.

3 Gu Ding was a Chinese writer whose real name was Xu Changji (徐长吉). Born in Changchun in 1914, Gu Ding became a famous in Manchuria for his writings, including *The Wilderness* and *Taking Off* (*Fenfei* 奋飞). In the 1930s, through his connection with Japanese writers, Gu Ding gradually rose to prominence in the Manchurian literary circles. He was persecuted in the anti-right movement in 1958 and died in 1964 in prison.

4 Kusayanagi, *Mantie diaochabu neimu*, 223–225.

5 Okada Hideki 岡田英樹, "Dongbei lunxian shiqi de rizhong wenhua jiaoliu 东北沦陷期的日中文化交流 [Sino-Japanese Cultural Exchange in Northeastern China During the Occupation Period]," *Studies in Foreign Literatures* 78 (November 1987): 1–19.

### Knowledge in Motion: Shanghai and Manchuria

Born in 1907 in Yanagawachō, Fukuoka, Ōuchi's life in China spanned several locations: Shanghai, Dalian, and Changchun, which was later renamed Shinkyō by the Japanese during the Manchukuo period.<sup>6</sup> Ōuchi first moved to Changchun to join his uncle in 1921, and stayed there for his high school education, attending the Chōshun Commercial School (*Chōshun shōgyō gakkō* 長春商業学校).<sup>7</sup> Founded by the SMR in 1920 and run on a five-year educational system, the school enrolled junior high school graduates and specialised in nurturing middle-level business experts. Most of the students were Japanese. Changchun became a transport hub when the railway lines between Lüshun and Harbin, a branch of the Russian-operated Chinese Eastern Railway, were completed in 1901. In 1905 when the Russians were defeated in the Russo-Japanese war and had to cede the Liaodong Peninsula to Japan, the control of the railway line from Changchun to Lüshun was transferred to the Japanese side. Changchun became a city straddling the border between Russian and Japanese influences. In the next ten years, Changchun underwent drastic economic and urban development. The founding of the Changchun Commercial School was directly related to the needs of Changchun as a burgeoning commercial harbor.<sup>8</sup> The original purpose of Ōuchi's career in Manchuria was to become an economic expert to advance Japan's commercial activities in China.

During Ōuchi's early stay in Changchun, similar to Nishikawa in Taiwan, he was deeply attracted to modern Japanese literature. He would later claim to have been a devout reader of the literary journal *Star* established by Yosano Hiroshi. In January 1923, Ōuchi submitted a *tanka* to the journal and it was

6 "Shinkyō" (新京) was the name used to refer to the Chinese city Changchun (長春) under Japanese occupation. Changchun was renamed Shinkyō in 1932, shortly after the establishment of Manchukuo, and served as the capital of Manchukuo until Japan's defeat in August 1945. After that, it was re-named Changchun, its original Chinese name. In this book, to keep the original historical meaning, I use the Japanese name "Shinkyō" to discuss activities that happened in the period spanning 1932 to 1945. In other cases, I use Changchun and its Chinese characters "長春".

7 The Japanese characters "長春商業学校" are used hereto refer to the Japanese school established in Manchuria. Because it was established in 1920, instead of Shinkyō (新京), the original name Changchun (長春) is used.

8 After the founding of Manchukuo in 1932, the school was renamed the Shinkyō Commercial School (新京商業学校). It continued to offer the five-year educational system as a specialised school and catered to boarding students. However, with several specialised high schools and colleges being established following the founding of Manchukuo, its status went down. After 1945, the business school was disbanded.



ILLUSTRATION 11 *Chōshun Commercial School. Private collection; exact date of the photo is not known. Courtesy of Yang Yu 杨宇, the author of Changchun jindai jianzhu tujian 长春近代建筑图鉴 [The Album of Architectures in Modern Changchun before 1945] (Jilin: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 2011).*

selected for publication by Hirano Banri (平野万里 1885–1947) who worked closely with Yosano.<sup>9</sup> Ōuchi also submitted a free style *tanka* to *Nostalgia* (*Kyōshū* 郷愁), a *tanka* journal founded by Shimizu Shin in Fukushima City. It was here that Ōuchi expressed his “longing” toward his second home Manchuria by evoking a vivid picture of early morning in Changchun; the images, including the streets blanketed by smoke, the blue sky, the fat Chinese woman, the cow waiting for the train in the station, all demonstrated Ōuchi’s active engagement with his life in Manchuria, which was summarised in his own words as “without regret.”<sup>10</sup> In 1924, he published his own poetry collection *Sand* (*Suna* 砂). Similar to Nishikawa’s situation in Taiwan, Ōuchi’s first poetry collection was also published in a limited edition of mimeographed copies.<sup>11</sup> The next year, his short story, “Speck of Emotion” (*Kanjō no mijin* 感情の微塵), about the hard-won living of a Japanese father and son in Manchuria, was awarded the second prize in the story competition held by *Chōshun Industrial News* (*Chōshun jitsugyo shinbun* 長春実業新聞).<sup>12</sup>

In 1925 the seventeen-year-old Ōuchi was admitted to the East Asia Common Culture Academy (*Tōa dōbun shoin* 東亜同文書院) in Shanghai with financial support from the SMR in recognition of his excellent performance in high school. Different from educational institutions in Japan, the Academy’s

9 Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 24.

10 Ibid., 50–54. Ōuchi did not disclose the name of his *tanka* nor did he indicate the date of his publication. But it can be deduced from the context that it was published around the end of 1924.

11 Ibid., 26.

12 Ibid., 37.

curriculum was essentially designed to train students as translators and scholars who could handle Japan's conflicts with China in real life.<sup>13</sup> The extensive language training, contemporary and multidisciplinary coursework, and library resources for research and fieldwork Ōuchi had accessed in the East Asia Common Culture Academy were crucial to his later life in the SMR as a China expert and translator. Ōuchi joined the SMR immediately after his graduation in 1929, working for the Information Branch of the SMR (*Mantetsu jōhōka* 満鉄情報課).<sup>14</sup> Shortly after his return from Shanghai, the political environment of Manchuria changed dramatically. The Manchurian Incident was staged on 18 September 1931, and Manchukuo was founded in March 1932. The first half of Ōuchi's life was from that moment inextricably tied to the fate of the puppet state.

Ōuchi's five years of enrolment at the East Asia Common Culture Academy in Shanghai (1925–1929) coincided with a turbulent period of the Chinese national revolution. He witnessed the first reconciliation between the Kuomintang and the CCP after 1924, the subsequent Northern Expedition (*beifa* 北伐) in 1926, and the anti-Communist coup on 12 April 1927.<sup>15</sup> During this period, the young Ōuchi gravitated toward a Chinese literary group named the Creation Society (*Chuangzao she* 创造社)<sup>16</sup> and experienced first hand the public debates on revolutionary literature (*geming wenxue* 革命文学) that were being initiated by the Creation Society and the Sun Society (*Taiyang she* 太阳社).<sup>17</sup> He enjoyed close personal interactions with members of the Creation Society. The depth of his engagement is reflected in the correspondence between Ōuchi and Yu Dafu (郁达夫 1896–1945), who was a famous

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- 13 Huang Fuqing 黄福庆, "Dongya tongwenhui: Riben zaihua wenjiao huodong yanjiu zhiyi 东亚同文会：日本在华文教活动研究之一 [The East Asian Common Culture Association: A Study of Japan's Educational and Cultural Activities in China]," *Zhongguo jindaishi yanjiu tongxun* 5 (1976): 348.
  - 14 For a brief biography of Ōuchi, see Okada Hideki, "The Realities of Racial Harmony: The Case of the Translator Ōuchi Takao," *Acta Asiatica* 72 (March 1997): 61–80.
  - 15 The Northern Expedition was a military campaign led by the Kuomintang from 1926 to 1928, with the objective to end the rule of local warlords and unify China. But during the process in 1927 the Kuomintang waged a full-scale purge of communists in Shanghai.
  - 16 The Creation Society was a literary organisation founded in Japan in 1921 by Chinese overseas students, such as Guo Moruo, Yu Dafu, Zhang Ziping, and Tian Han. It marked a new trend of revolutionary literature after 1928. In February 1929, it was forced to dissolve under Kuomintang pressure.
  - 17 The Sun Society, a literary organisation founded in Shanghai in 1927, was formed mainly by communists such as Jiang Guangci and Lou Shiyi. It was disbanded in 1929.



writer in the Creation Society. The communication, involving a discussion of the revolutionary literature of China and Japan, was subsequently published in 1927 in the *Shanghai Daily News*.<sup>18</sup> Ōuchi's experience of Shanghai during this period laid a solid foundation for his future engagement with translating Chinese literature. Besides being heavily influenced by the revolutionary era and its social atmosphere, he had developed sympathy for the revolutionary effort. The emotional and intellectual connections with Chinese literature would later turn into an indispensable foundation for his work in translation; moreover, the emergence of Chinese nationalism and other Chinese social movements provided him with points of reference for his extended reflection on the road Manchukuo should take.

Prior to his graduation in 1929, Ōuchi went on a "Grand Tour" (*dairyokō* 大旅行), where he traversed the vast landscape of China while absorbing the traditions of the East Asia Common Culture Academy. Together with other members of the group, he travelled to places as distant as Taipei while making a circuit of the South. The route taken by his group was named "Southeast, Yunnan and Vietnam".<sup>19</sup> Ōuchi was on tour in these places when he received the news that the song he had written for the SMR was awarded first prize in a competition. As an outstanding graduate of the Academy, he joined the SMR on his return. Little information exists on Ōuchi's family background and his social and financial status, but judging from his education history, from the Chōshun Commercial School to his studies in the East Asia Common Culture Academy, Ōuchi's trajectory in Manchuria was directly connected to the SMR system, whose financial support helped ease his economic burden.

Although his sojourn in Dalian was brief, lasting only three years, Ōuchi's experiences in the area were crucial to him. During this time Manchuria underwent a range of drastic social and political upheavals, including the Captain Nakamura Incident (*Nakamura taijiken* 中村大尉事件),<sup>20</sup> the Manchurian Incident in 1931, and the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932. Besides his work in the SMR's Information Branch, he also contributed to a variety of newspaper and journals in Manchuria, among which were the *SMR Survey Monthly*

18 Yu Dafu 郁达夫, "Gongkaizhuang da Riben shankoujun 公开状答日本山口君 [An Open Letter to Yamaguchi from Japan]," *Hongshui* 3: 30 (April 1927): 241–242.

19 Tōa dōbun shoin 東亜同文書院, ed. *Tōa dōbun shoin dairyokōshi: Sen wo egaku* 東亜同文書院大旅行誌: 線を描く [Records of the Grand Tours of the East Asia Common Culture Academy: Drawing Lines] (Tokyo: Yūshōdō shuppan, 2006), 35–51.

20 Nakamura Shintarō, a captain in the Imperial Japanese Army, was executed by the Kuomintang on 27 June 1931. This would become the pretext for the Manchurian Incident, which happened three months later.

(*Mantetsu chōsa geppō* 満鉄調査月報), the *SMR Chinese Monthly* (*Mantetsu Shina gesshi* 満鉄支那月誌), *New World* (*Shintenchī* 新天地), *Concordance* (*Kyōwa* 協和), *Manchuria and Mongolia* (*Man-Mō* 満蒙), *Manchurian Review* (*Manshū hyōron* 満洲評論), and *Book Review* (*Shokō* 書香).

Among these, *Manchurian Review* was established in 1931 by Japanese intellectuals including Noda Ranzō (野田蘭蔵), Tachibana Shiraki (橘樸 1881–1945), Ōtsuka Reizō (大塚令三 1901–1952), and Koyama Sadatomo (小山貞知 1888–1968).<sup>21</sup> Noda Ranzō and Tachibana Shiraki were consultants for the Information Branch of the SMR, where Ōuchi also worked. Noda and Tachibana played a crucial role in the founding phase of Manchukuo by working closely with both the Chinese local elites and Japanese military officials of the Kwangtung Army. Both participated in disseminating the idea of Kingly Way in the transitional period between the Manchurian Incident and the foundation of Manchukuo in 1932. They not only had private talks with Ishihara Kanji (石原莞爾 1889–1949) to offer advice on propaganda issues, but they also published articles on the Kingly Way in various journals and newspapers, including *Manchurian Review*. Through his preparatory work leading to the founding of the Department of Local Autonomy (*Jichi shidōbu* 自治指導部) on 14 November 1931, Tachibana forged a friendship with Koyama Sadatomo who at the time was an executive of the Manchurian Youth League (*Manshū seinen renmei* 満洲青年連盟).<sup>22</sup> In fact, half of the staff in the Department of Local Autonomy was drawn from members of the Manchurian Youth League.

Koyama took on the role of managing editor and contributed some of the start-up funds for the journal.<sup>23</sup> He was born in Nagano Prefecture and moved to China in 1910. In 1917, together with Doihara Kenji (土肥原賢二 1883–1948), who later came to play a significant role in the Manchurian Incident,

21 Yamamoto, *Manshū hyōron kaidai sōmokuji*, 1. Tachibana was born in 1881 in Ōita Prefecture (Ōita-ken 大分県) and set his foot in China in 1906 as a journalist for *Ryōtō News* (*Ryōtō shinpō* 遼東新報), where he undertook a vast journey spanning Shanghai, Qingdao, and Northeast China, working for many journals and newspapers along the way as a journalist, commentator, and editor. Tachibana showed an interest in Sinology after witnessing a series of transformations in China, from the Wu Chang uprising in October 1911 that forced the abdication of the last Qing Emperor, to the establishment of Yuan Shikai's short-lived monarchy between November 1915 and March 1916. He became one of the main contributors to *Tianjing and Beijing News* (*Keishin nichinichi shinbun* 京津日日新聞) in 1922 before the initial of *Manchurian Review*. For a detailed biography see Lincoln Li, *The China Factor in Modern Japanese Thought: The Case of Tachibana Shiraki, 1881–1945* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996).

22 Li, *The China Factor in Modern Japanese Thought*, 49.

23 Yamamoto, *Manshū hyōron kaidai sōmokuji*, 2.

Koyama worked for Banzai Rihachirō (坂西利八郎 1870–1950), a lieutenant general in the Japanese Army who trained many officials for the Kwangtung Army in Shandong Province. From 1928 to 1942, Koyama moved from Shandong to Manchuria where he worked for various organisations, ranging from the Manchurian Youth League to the Manchurian Concordia Association, before being involved with the North China Army as a consultant. Koyama's intimate relationship with the Kwangtung Army was crucial to the longevity of *Manchurian Review*. Almost unique among the short-lived journals and newspapers in Manchuria, *Manchurian Review* lasted fourteen years, from August 1931 to its end in 1945. Published weekly, *Manchurian Review* boasted a total of 676 issues with a stable circulation of 5,000 to 7,000 copies; its special issues could command circulations up to 10,000. Even in the years after 1942 when paper was in short supply, it continued to publish uninterrupted, maintaining a tradition of 32 pages per issue, and an average of five thousand copies.<sup>24</sup>

The early founders of *Manchurian Review* participated in building of Manchukuo with support from the military power in its early stages; this involvement in political issues affected the political slant of the journal. Initially, the primary role of *Manchurian Review* was to publish the results of the investigations that had been undertaken by the SMR's research departments. It also provided translations of news coverage around China and space for debates surrounding issues related to the establishment of Manchukuo. In time, it morphed into a review journal featuring essays on broad social and political topics. But overall, *Manchurian Review* hosted an eclectic range of opinions, publishing the militaristic views of the Kwangtung Army while also giving space to radical agrarian causes and catering to intellectual interests across Manchukuo.

Working as an editor for *Manchurian Review*, from its inception on 5 September 1931, Ōuchi had his first contribution appear in the journal's second issue. Four news items on culture and current affairs were featured: "Chinese Students in Japan Abandon Their Study", "The Chinese Film World and the Return of Hong Shen", "The Death of Poet Yin Fu", and "Writers' Meeting".<sup>25</sup> Among these, three articles were about the dynamic nature of the literary and artistic arena of China, but none was directly related to Japanese

24 Ibid., 4–6.

25 See Huang Yang 晃阳, "Ryūichi gakusei haigaku 留日学生廃学 [Chinese Students in Japan Abandon Their Study]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 2 (September 1931): 22; Huang Yang 晃阳, "Kōshinshi kichō to egakai 洪深氏帰朝と映画界 [The Chinese Film World and the Return of Hong Shen]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 2 (September 1931): 23; Huang Yang 晃阳, "Shijin Yin Fu no shi 詩人殷夫の死 [The Death of the Poet Yin Fu]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 2 (September 1931): 24; Huang Yang 晃阳, "Pen no kai ぺんの会 [Writers' Meeting:

policy regarding Manchuria's future. Hardly any mention is made in them of the Manchurian reality, in spite of the fact that many of the articles contributed by his colleagues demonstrated an interest in Japan's position vis-à-vis Manchuria and the potential benefits and risks for Japan.

"The Death of Poet Yin Fu" depicted the horrifying scene of the White Terror (*baise kongbu* 白色恐怖),<sup>26</sup> as reported by the Chinese Left-wing Alliance (*Zuoyi lianmeng* 左翼联盟). This piece of news was, in fact, out of date. Yin Fu (殷夫 1909–1931), one of the founders of this Alliance, had been secretly killed with 23 other leftists by the Kuomintang on 7 February 1931, seven months prior to the appearance of Ōuchi's item, which had already been reported by various Chinese journals of the CCP as well as the Left-wing Alliance itself.<sup>27</sup> Ōuchi opened his belated piece with the observation, "Yin Fu was not only one of the most promising poets of proletarian poetry but also an active leader of the youth movements,"<sup>28</sup> and juxtaposed this with another item on the same page about the foundation of a Chinese branch of the International Literature, Art and Liberalism Union.<sup>29</sup> Ōuchi paid much attention to the oppression of Chinese intellectuals by the White Terror and to the cause of freedom in literature and art.

Even after the Manchurian Incident, while fulfilling his duty of reporting news relating to China, Ōuchi did not neglect to include the latest news about Guo Moruo (郭沫若 1892–1978), one of the eminent writers of the Creation Society, as well as the death of Xu Zhimo (徐志摩 1897–1931), a famous Chinese poet.<sup>30</sup> In the same issue, he also reported on the latest developments in the literary world of Beijing. Judging from his focus during this period, Ōuchi's

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The International Literature, Art and Liberalism Union],” *Manshū hyōron* 1: 2 (September 1931): 24.

26 “White Terror” gets its name from the use of white as a symbol of the Bourbon monarchy, as opposed to the red used by revolutionaries/republicans in their flags. The original White Terror took place in 1794, during the turbulence of the French Revolution. Here, the White Terror refers to the large-scale killing of communists. The elimination of communist influence was launched by the Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-shek on 12 April 1927 in Shanghai.

27 For example, Chinese writer Lu Xun wrote a poem in remembrance, and CCP's official newspaper *Hongqi ribao* published the news in February.

28 Huang Yang 晃阳, “Shijin Yin Fu no shi 詩人殷夫の死 [The Death of the Poet Yin Fu],” *Manshū hyōron* 1: 2 (September 1931): 24.

29 Huang Yang 晃阳, “Pen no kai ぺんの会 [The International Literature, Art and Liberalism Union],” *Manshū hyōron* 1: 2 (September 1931): 24.

30 Huang Yang 晃阳, “Guo Moruoshi no kinkyō 郭沫若氏の近況 [The Latest News about Guo Moruo],” *Manshū hyōron* 1: 9 (October 1931): 15.

attention was still on the literary activities of Shanghai rather than on Manchurian affairs, showing more interest in Chinese literature and issues than Manchurian politics. In other words, even in his second year back in Manchuria Ōuchi remained more a commentator on Chinese literature and culture than a China expert attending to Manchurian affairs, despite the fact that the basic position of *Manchurian Review* was that of an intellectual faction intent on consolidating Japanese power in Manchuria.<sup>31</sup>

Ōuchi maintained wide contacts with contemporary Chinese writers. Besides Yu Dafu, the Chinese writers with whom Ōuchi kept in touch were ones who had Japanese experience or who had once lived in Japan, such as Guo Moruo, Cheng Fangwu (成仿吾 1897–1984), and Zhang Ziping (张资平 1893–1959). They were not only members of the Creation Society but also modern Chinese writers who maintained a close relationship with Japan or Japanese literature. Continued contact with these men fed Ōuchi's understanding of the Chinese national movement and gave him standing to engage in literary debates over "revolutionary literature." The Creation Society, from its beginnings in 1921 to 1927, strongly opposed the feudal culture of China and advocated literary theories that had at their core self-expression and individuality. They emphasised that literature should be faithful to one's "inner desire," which was the fundamental proposition of the Society's literary ideology, and they displayed a strong tendency towards romanticism and aestheticism. When these theories were about to instigate a ruthless internal purge of individualistic tendencies, the Creation Society suddenly lent wholehearted support to the proposition of revolutionary literature. In his "A Public Letter in Response to Japan's Yamaguchi" Yu Dafu described the trend of Chinese literary development as a route progressing from literary revolution (*wenxue geming* 文学革命) to revolutionary literature (*geming wenxue* 革命文学).<sup>32</sup> In his letter, Yu Dafu explained his opinion of the literary trend in China:

Now the ideological revolution in China has passed and we are going to enter a new age of proletarian dictatorship. In my opinion, either there is

31 Li, *The China Factor in Modern Japanese Thought*, 49.

32 The literary revolution was a part of the May Fourth culture movement in 1919. It not only contributed to the reform of the Chinese written language, but also opposed feudal thinking and the patriarchal family, advocating individual freedom, individuality, equality, and democracy. The movement sparking revolutionary literature was initiated around 1927 by proletarian writers, communists, and the Creation Society. The main idea of revolutionary literature is that literature should serve the proletariat and the proletarian revolution. In this perspective, the literary revolution of 1919 was perceived by members of the Creation Society as bourgeois and thus reactionary.

no literature in China in the future at all, or it must be the proletarian literature that people are talking about right now [...] The future of China must belong to proletarians, just as Chinese literature will belong to the proletariat, because the bourgeoisie will eventually disappear in China [...] We should unite together, abolish national boundaries between Japan and China and defeat our common enemy.<sup>33</sup>

This proletarian view of social revolution and literary development had a profound impact on Ōuchi's world vision. Although he did not respond to Yu's article with a public letter of his own, he often referred to Yu's opinion and article in his own articles.<sup>34</sup> In the same year, Ōuchi published "Chinese Literature Present and Future" in the journal *Manchuria and Mongolia*. The influence of Yu's literary slant can be detected in this article. In Ōuchi's opinion, China had already passed the stage of a bourgeois revolution and was ready for the anticipated proletarian revolution. Revolutionary literature, now known as proletarian literature, was born against the background of a society that was inexorably headed for the next new age.<sup>35</sup> Ōuchi's understanding of the trends and characteristics of Chinese society, the development of Chinese revolution and the tasks of Chinese literature largely conformed to the opinion Yu expressed in his public letter. Ōuchi's early experience of interacting with Chinese writers generated a strong proletarian alliance beyond the limits of national boundaries. Different from those pan-Asianists who did not have a clear theory guiding their sympathy toward China, Ōuchi was influenced by Marxist theory that outlined a proletarian future.

Ōuchi's sympathy for Chinese leftist literature was in marked contrast to his aversion for the Kuomintang. A sample of this was recorded in the introduction he wrote for playwright and poet Tian Han (田汉 1898–1968), who studied English at Tokyo Normal College in Japan between 1916 and 1922. Ōuchi quoted a passage from a letter Tian Han had sent him which read, "As the current political situation develops, our free space is getting smaller and smaller." The aspects of the man's career he chose to highlight were:

Tian Han idolised Sun Yat-sen blindly. After an unhappy cooperation with Kuomintang, he resigned and left Nanjing in disappointment. Since

33 Yu, "Gongkaizhuang da Riben Shankoujun," 241–242.

34 For example, Ōuchi published many articles that mentioned his interaction with Yu Dafu in *Man-Mō* in years between 1927 and 1931.

35 Yamaguchi Shin'ichi 山口慎一, "Shinabungaku no genzai to shōrai [支那文学の現在と将来 Chinese Literature Present and Future]," *Man-Mō* 89 (September 1927): 37.



then, Tian Han's bitter personal path and Chinese political developments have been closely linked.<sup>36</sup>

Ōuchi's own dealings with them were similarly unhappy, as the crackdown by the Nanjing government impeded his cultural research, and provoked him to ask: "As for a Kuomintang which burns books and puts students in prison, how much openness and justice do they have?"<sup>37</sup> In short, in this period, from the time of his joining the SMR in 1929 to the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, Ōuchi's work in Dalian was largely concerned with affairs in China, influenced by his early experience in Shanghai and his acquaintance with those Chinese writers who were more or less connected to Japan and Japanese literature.

However, by the end of 1931, news coverage of anti-Japanese movements in China began to appear in a column titled "Current Affairs" in *Manchurian Review*, along with an increasing number of translations of Chinese analyses of the Manchurian Incident. The boldest change was the appearance of Ōuchi's translation of articles by Chinese leftist revolutionaries and the chronicle of the CCP compiled by Ōtsuka Reizō. In 1932, Ōuchi succeeded Ōtsuka as chief editor of *Manchurian Review* shortly after the latter transferred to Beijing.<sup>38</sup> Ōuchi's role as editor for *Manchurian Review* and other journals attracted the eye of the Manchurian police. This bold experiment was soon to end with the arrest of Ōuchi and his subsequent repatriation to Japan.<sup>39</sup> As recorded in *The Japanese Communist Movements in Manchuria*:

Ōuchi, who succeeded Ōtsuka Reizō, initially joined *Manchurian Review* as a news collector. From January 1932 to February 1933 there was no obvious change in terms of editorial policy. When Ōuchi served as the chief editor, *Manchurian Review* was invariably filled with the writings of leftists in the SMR. It also featured many of Ōuchi's own beliefs, all of which appeared communist.<sup>40</sup>

36 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, "Chūgoku bungaku zakki 中国文学雑記 [Random Notes on Chinese Literature]," *Shokō* 26 (May 1931): 5.

37 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, "Chūgoku bundan kinsaku hihiyō 中国文壇近作批評 [A Review of Recent Works in the Literary Arena of China]," *Shokō* 20 (November 1930): 5.

38 Yamamoto, *Manshū hyōron kaidai sōmokuji*, 16. Also see the afterword in *Manshū hyōron* 2: 2 (January 1932).

39 Ishidō Kiyotomo 石堂清倫, *Jūgonen sensō to mantetsu chōsabu 十五年戦争と満鉄調査部* [*The Fifteen Years War and the Research Department of the South Manchurian Railway Company*] (Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1986), 228–230.

40 Kantō kenpeitai shireibu 関東憲兵隊司令部 [Kwantung Army Military Police Troops], *Zaiman nikkei kyōsan shugi undō* 在満日系共産主義運動 [*The Japanese Communist Movements in Manchuria*] (Tokyo: Kyokutō kenkyūjo shuppankai, 1969), 244.



The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs records confirm that Ōuchi was sent back to Japan on 14 March 1933, but provides no further detail;<sup>41</sup> no other source has yet been found that sheds light on this interlude in his life. He was deported as part of Kwantung Army's efforts to eliminate disaffection after the establishment of Manchukuo. This affected the publication of *Manchurian Review*, which was perceived by many to be a hotbed of communist thought.

Ōuchi's arrest in 1933 was not the first time that charges had been brought against him. In October 1931, shortly after the Manchurian Incident, Ōuchi was accused of having infringed the Peace Preservation Law (*Chian ijihō* 治安維持法).<sup>42</sup> This experience hardly warranted mention in *The Japanese Communist Movements in Manchuria*, however, nor has it appeared in other books of similar interest. Ōuchi's own writings, including his memoir and the autobiographical novel named *A Certain Period* (*Aru jidai* ある時代) that was published in 1942, did not disclose any reasons. In sum, Ōuchi's early ideology and his engagement with communist thoughts have remained to some extent mysterious.

### Manchurian Incident and Reaction of a China Expert

Ōuchi's knowledge of China proved fruitful in 1931 during the Manchurian Incident. His translations and editing were compiled into an issue titled "Special Issue on the Manchurian Incident" (*Manshū jiken tokushū* 満洲事件特集), which appeared as the second issue of *Manchurian Review*. Here, Ōuchi translated and edited a large volume of Chinese reports, which proved to be of great help in providing the Japanese people living in Manchuria with insights into China's response to the Manchurian Incident. Ōuchi's first review article, titled "The Opposition to Manchurian Issues", was published on 28 November 1931, two months after the Incident.<sup>43</sup> Japanese researcher Okada Hideki states that after the Manchurian Incident, Ōuchi took advantage of his position at *Manchurian Review* to provide extensive translations of anti-Japanese opinion

41 Compilation of miscellaneous documents relating to person under observation/ Japanese persons: Vol. 20/ 31. Yamaguchi Shin'ichi (要視察人関係雑纂／本邦人ノ部 第二十巻 31・山口慎一). Reference No. B04013160100, <http://www.jacar.go.jp>.

42 For details of the prosecution of Ōuchi, see Ishida Takuo 石田卓夫, "Gaimushō bunsho ga akirakani suru Ōuchi Takao den no isseisu 外務省文書があきらかにする大内隆雄伝の一節 [Clarifying a Section of Ōuchi Takao's Biography through the Documents of Japan's Foreign Ministry]," *Chūgoku kenkyū geppō* 61: 6 (June 2007): 26–34.

43 Yama Kōyō 矢間恒耀, "Manshū mondai to hantaiha 満洲問題と反対派 [The Opposition and Manchurian Issues]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 14 (November 1931): 28–31.

and protest actions reported by newspapers all over China.<sup>44</sup> Ishida Takuo notes that the first accusation against Ōuchi coincided with the Manchurian Incident.<sup>45</sup> His job as an editor for *Manchurian Review* was believed to have led to his arrest for having infringed the Peace Preservation Law. However, questions still remain as to how Ōuchi translated that news and what the basis was on which he selected the items. In other words, Ōuchi's translations of reports on the Manchurian Incident should be considered in the historical context of the times. Especially, one should consider the influence of Tachibana, who was the editor of *Manchurian Review* during this period. The news coverage reported by Ōuchi only conformed to Japan's interests in Manchuria after the incident, and was in accordance with the view of his colleagues at *Manchurian Review* and the overall tenor of public opinion in Manchuria.

There were three more issues appearing under the banner "News Coverage of the Mukden Incident" (*Hōten jiken ni kansuru shinbun rancho* 奉天事件に関する新聞論調) which would be published successively in *Manchurian Review* from the sixth to the eighth issue in this first volume. Ōuchi was responsible for covering Chinese newspaper opinion on the Manchurian Incident. However, the practice of releasing news coverage on the Manchurian Incident from the Chinese side was initiated not by Ōuchi, but by Tachibana. The reason why Tachibana personally wrote articles and arranged the corresponding page layout to report the information on the Manchurian Incident from the Chinese newspapers was related to the journal's close connections with the Kwantung Army. Its task was "to meet the demands of the times for getting to know China and Manchurian issues correctly."<sup>46</sup> For this reason, the journal was required to comment on Chinese issues in an objective way, provide internal and international documents and materials related to the economy and social environment, as well as offer information needed to evaluate China and the Manchurian situation.<sup>47</sup> In order to provide accurate information about China and the world, the journal established a vast network spanning Tokyo, Osaka, New York, Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, Guangzhou, and other cities of China.<sup>48</sup>

44 Okada, *Weimanzhouguo wenxue*, 233.

45 Ishida, "Gaimushō bunsho ga akirakani suru Ōuchi Takao den no issetsu," 30.

46 Tachibana Shiraki 橘樸, "Shakoku 社告 [Announcement from the Journal]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 1 (August 1931): 3.

47 Ibid.

48 Nonomura Kazuo 野々村一雄, *Kaisō Mantetsu chōsabu* 回想満鉄調査部 [*Recollections of the Research Division of the South Manchurian Railway Company*] (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1986), 170.

Although Japan launched its military action, Japanese media failed to have any propaganda advantages in China in 1931. Based on the Manchurian government's state department statistics, towards the end of February 1933 there were 27 Chinese, eleven Japanese, ten Russian, and three English newspapers in all.<sup>49</sup> If the media publications of the Kuomintang in Shanghai and Nanjing were also taken into consideration, Japanese media was strongly outnumbered, and it was vital for the Japanese to know how the Chinese mass media reported the Incident. Therefore, the work of Ōuchi and *Manchurian Review* were both critical for the further development of Japanese action in Manchuria. As praised by the colleagues who worked for *Manchurian Review*, the news and investigations that were translated and compiled by Ōuchi distinguished the journal from many others. Ōuchi's colleagues were especially impressed by his translations.<sup>50</sup> When celebrating the tenth anniversary of *Manchurian Review*, Ōuchi's colleagues continued to be impressed by his news columns for their volume along with their distinctive perspectives.<sup>51</sup>

From Tachibana's article to comments by Koyama, the topics covered in *Manchurian Review*'s special issue on the Manchurian Incident were intensely focused on how the Japanese would deal with the League of Nations and address the anxiety of the Chinese people in the aftermath. "Rehabilitation measures" was the pervasive catchphrase. The general stance of the journal's collaborators was that anti-Japanese feelings had intensified daily during the period immediately preceding the Manchurian Incident, which was the inevitable result of Chinese anti-Japanese emotion and Chinese attacks on Japanese armies. In an important commentary published as part of the introductory pages of the special issue on the Manchurian Incident, Tachibana writes: "The Japanese government should shoulder responsibility for guiding future developments following the incident and for dealing with the aftermath of the incident appropriately."<sup>52</sup> What should have been taken seriously though was the Chinese people's reaction to the Incident in the long term.<sup>53</sup> To this end, Tachibana personally prepared a digest of the responses to the Incident by

49 Manshūkoku kokumuin tōkeisho, *Manshūkoku nenpō*, 330–334.

50 "Dōjin manwa 同人漫話 [Discussions among Colleagues]," *Manshū hyōron* 2: 11 (March 1932): 32.

51 Tanaka Takeo 田中武夫, "Hyōron shoki no koro 評論初期のころ [The First Years of the *Manchurian Review*]," *Manshū hyōron* 17: 8 (August 1939): 26.

52 Tachibana Shiraki 橘樸, "Manshū jihen to gaikō 満洲事変と外交 [The Manchurian Incident and Foreign Relations]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 6 (October 1931): 5.

53 Ibid., 4.

Chinese newspapers and the media. He was decidedly concerned about the situation in China.

In conjunction with Tachibana's article, another column appeared in the special issue titled "News Coverage of the Manchurian Incident". This column was divided into three parts: Britain, America, and China. The Chinese section was translated and edited by Ōuchi. Meanwhile, *Manchurian Review* published the *Japanese Government Declaration on the Manchurian Incident* (*Hōten jiken ni taisuru Nihon seifu seimeisho* 奉天事件に対する日本政府声明書) issued on 24 September. The declaration repeatedly emphasised that the incident was triggered by the intemperate words and deeds of Chinese officials and civilians. It further stated that Japan did not have any ambition regarding Manchurian territory: she was simply exercising her legitimate rights. There was a warning comment from the editor, which occupied nearly half a page, claiming:

We must clearly understand the true origin of the Manchurian Incident. We cannot hesitate to protect the legitimate rights of our side. Only on the basis of a correct perception of the Manchurian issue can we reconcile public opinions. Taking the correct understanding as the basis to solve the multiple conflicts between China and Japan is the only path to preventing the calamity of a second world war.<sup>54</sup>

As such, *Manchurian Review* sought to contribute to the officially sanctioned "correct" understanding of the Manchurian Incident by uncovering a perceived Chinese "insanity" and the country's "irrational" response.

Ōuchi's translation of the Chinese news coverage for *Manchurian Review* can doubtless be regarded as providing the Japanese with the best possible evidence to prove that "China is mesmerised by its own propaganda."<sup>55</sup> In 1932, when the Shanghai Incident<sup>56</sup> occurred, Ōuchi resumed his practice of surveying and reprinting Chinese news. His survey of Chinese public opinion was published in three successive issues from the tenth to the twelfth issue of Volume two in a series titled "Surveying Chinese Public Opinion" (*Chūgoku ni okeru ronchō wo saguru* 中国における論調を採る). Although Ōuchi did

54 "Keikoku 警告 [Warning]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 6 (October 1931): 17.

55 Zheng Yilu 征一路, "Jiga senden ni tōsui suru Shina 自我宣伝に陶醉する支那 [China Intoxicated by Its Own Propaganda]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 6 (October 1931): 38.

56 The Shanghai Incident, the Chinese name of which is the January 28 Incident, was a battle between the armies of the Republic of China and the Japanese Empire in Shanghai that lasted from 28 January to 5 March 1932.

not overtly show his support for the Manchurian Incident and the Kwantung Army, neither did he show negative emotions towards the Manchurian Incident. When providing the Chinese responses in translation for Japanese readers in *Manchurian Review* for the purpose of promoting a fuller understanding of the Manchurian Incident, Ōuchi was dedicated in both enthusiasm and style. It is hard to deny that his translations, together with the editorial efforts of *Manchurian Review*, took the form of a tacit support for the Manchurian Incident. Ōuchi did not oppose the Manchurian Incident, as many Japanese communists did, and neither did he show his opposition to the idea of establishing Manchukuo.

After the Manchurian Incident, Ōuchi's concern for the international situation was complemented by his reaction to the strong anti-Japanese feeling held by the Chinese. Ōuchi was filled with conflicting emotion vis-à-vis the anti-Japanese sentiment of the Chinese triggered by the Manchurian Incident. In his opinion, Chinese anti-Japanese sentiment was incited and exploited by the Kuomintang. He covered in the current affairs column the anti-Japanese theatre pieces, which were performed in the international concession of Shanghai with the Manchurian Incident as inspiration.<sup>57</sup> Yet another article, "Anti-Japanese Movements and the Newsprint Problem", was about the proposal by the Chinese finance ministry to exempt newsprint produced by Europe and America from import duties in order to alleviate the shortage of paper due to the anti-Japanese propaganda. All newsprint that had been imported from Japan was either dumped or sold for charity.<sup>58</sup> "Various Anti-Japanese Movements" noted their degree of organisation, planned with "endless, emerging new strategies".<sup>59</sup> Ōuchi reported, in a mocking tone, about the rings engraved with "dare to die for the anti-Japanese movement", paper currency issued by the Kuomintang bearing a stamp "not selling Japanese goods", booklets issued by the Shanghai division of the Kuomintang that talked about "Japanese policies encroaching on Northeast China", and products that showed a "certificate of Chinese manufacture."<sup>60</sup>

57 Huang Yang 晃阳, "HanNichigeki to kōbukyoku 反日劇と工部局 [Anti-Japanese Drama and the Municipal Committee]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 11 (November 1931): 16.

58 Huang Yang 晃阳, "HaiNichi to shinbun yōshi mondai 排日と新聞用紙問題 [Anti-Japanese Movements and the Newsprint Problem]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 12 (December 1931): 17.

59 Huang Yang 晃阳, "HaiNichi shujusō 排日種々相 [Various Anti-Japanese Movements]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 10 (October 1931): 13.

60 Ibid.

Revulsion toward the Chinese “anti-Japanese movement” and “resisting Japanese goods movement” was not unique to Ōuchi. It was a general feeling shared among his colleagues at *Manchurian Review* who regarded Chinese anti-Japanese movements as fascist.<sup>61</sup> They universally reckoned that the anti-Japanese movements were a series of tactics aimed at Japan, and incited and planned by the Kuomintang. Various anti-Japanese movements eventually escalated into the Shanghai Incident in January 1932. Ōuchi’s hatred of the Kuomintang was further exacerbated when he detected a rising trend towards Chinese nationalism. Like almost all of the Japanese in Manchuria, Ōuchi attributed the anti-Japanese sentiment and the rise of Chinese nationalism to provocation by the Kuomintang.

After the Shanghai Incident, the Association of Chinese Authors (*Zhongguo zhuzuo zhe xiehui* 中国著作者協會) published the “Shanghai Literary Arena’s Message to the World” (*Shanghai wenhuajie gao shijie shu* 上海文化界告世界書), which was regarded by Ōuchi as a turning point in the development of the Shanghai literary arena after the Manchurian Incident. He declared that for the sake of global cultural prosperity, Chinese labourers and students had managed to unite writers, ideologues, scholars, writers, and all of the cultural associations. Ōuchi maintained that the unification had already moved beyond the bourgeois class ideology of the Kuomintang and represented the most progressive standpoint.<sup>62</sup> However, the translation by Ōuchi of this news item concealed as much information as it revealed. The Shanghai Literary Arena’s Message to the World, issued jointly by 43 leading literary figures, including Mao Dun (茅盾 1896–1981), Lu Xun, and Ye Shengtao (叶圣陶 1894–1988), was initially intended to denounce the invasion by Japanese imperialist forces, to oppose the nonresistance strategy of the Kuomintang, and to appeal to the proletarian and revolutionary culture associations all over the world for support of the anti-Japanese war.<sup>63</sup> It declared:

We are resolved to oppose the imperialist war of occupation in China and any suppression of the Chinese people. We also object to the Chinese

61 Manhyōsha dōjin 満評社同人, “1932 nen Shina no tenbō, 1932 年支那の展望 [1932 Outlook for China],” *Manshū hyōron* 2: 1 (January 1932): 1.

62 Huang 晃, “Chūgoku chosakushakai no geki 中国著作者会の檄 [The Declaration of the Association of Chinese Authors],” *Manshū hyōron* 2: 11 (November 1932): 12.

63 News of the Chinese Communist Party in 1932, <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64164/4415973.html>.

government's compromise with Japan and its policy of suppressing the masses in anti-Japanese movements.<sup>64</sup>

However, when the declaration appeared in the current cultural affairs column in *Manchurian Review*, there was no mention of the anti-Japanese character of the Association. From Ōuchi's articles, one can sense the inevitable conflict that arose from his desire to conform to international proletarian ideas and his own Japanese nationalistic sentiments.

This conflict further surfaced in his criticism of Tao Xisheng (陶希圣 1899–1988), who had served as translator for Sun Yat-sen in the course of his communication with Japan pan-Asianists. Tao belonged to the left wing of the Kuomintang and was involved in debates on Chinese social history. Ōuchi criticised Tao for his bourgeois stance. There may, however, have been a less apparent reason for Ōuchi's discontent with Tao. I suggest that it was a collision between Tao's opinion and Ōuchi's Japanese identity. In his article, "Opinions of Chinese Regarding Manchurian Issues", Ōuchi offers a harsh evaluation of Tao's article, "Japanese Imperialism and China" (*Riben diguo zhuyi yu Zhongguo* 日本帝国主义与中国), which had been republished in a book titled *Sino-Japanese Problems and Opinions of Various Sides* (*Zhongri wenti yu gejia lunjian* 中日问题与各家论见) in 1931.<sup>65</sup> In this article, after a presentation of the trade statistics between China and Japan, Tao concludes that Japanese capitalism, in effect, had impeded Chinese light industry. Tao states that judging from China's current situation and her future prospects, China would not be able obtain freedom and equality unless she defeated Japanese imperialism. As to the issue of how to combat Japanese imperialism, Tao suggests that if a second world war were to break out as the situation further developed, it would be more beneficial to Chinese national liberty if China were to participate in a war *against* Japan rather than allying herself with Japan.<sup>66</sup> After the early 1920s, the left wing of the Kuomintang were shaken out of their early dream of cooperating with Japan, which had been revealed in Sun Yat-sen's speech on pan-Asianism in Kobe in 1924. After 1931, an anti-Japanese stance was even more evident.

Responding to Tao's statement, Ōuchi criticised Tao for limiting his denunciation of imperialism only to Japanese imperialism and deliberately avoiding

64 Ibid.

65 Yama Kōyō 矢間恒耀, "Manshū mondai ni kansuru Chūgokugawa genron no kentō 満洲問題に関する中国言論側の検討 [Chinese Opinions Regarding Manchurian Issues]," *Manshū hyōron* 2: 3 (January 1932): 6.

66 Ibid.



all mention of the conditions in China. Ōuchi commented that even though Tao quoted some examples to show that Japan impeded the development of Chinese light industry, Japan should not be blamed for Chinese backwardness in this area. Instead, Chinese lack of progress in light industry should be attributed to a series of severe problems that China herself was facing, including shortage of raw materials, a shrinking market, social chaos as a result of warlord wars, and a declining global economy leading to an exploitation of China's resources.<sup>67</sup> All of these, in Ōuchi's opinion, had been overlooked by Tao. As such, Tao became a lightning rod for Ōuchi's anger toward China's anti-Japanese sentiment. This, in turn, may reveal his own anxiety vis-à-vis losing his Japanese identity.

Ōuchi had similar criticism for Zhu Qihua (朱其华 1907–1945), whose theory he had so willingly endorsed earlier.<sup>68</sup> In the fourth chapter of Zhu's book, *The Economic Structure of Chinese Society* (*Zhongguo shehui de jingji jigou* 中国社会的经济结构), titled "Northeast Provinces: a Typical Colonial Territory," Zhu declared that the northeast provinces were no longer independent national land but rather an ordinary colonial territory. The Japanese administrative structure in Manchuria, the migration of Japanese and Koreans to Manchuria, the proliferation of cultural facilities, and the management of the SMR, all would inexorably exacerbate this colonisation and allow Japan to begin to erode the rest of China.<sup>69</sup> Ōuchi, dissatisfied by Zhu's statement, soundly refuted it, saying that Zhu simply did not comprehend the economic situation of Manchuria, thereby lacking sufficient evidence.<sup>70</sup>

In addition to being unhappy about the article written by Tao, Ōuchi expressed discontent with articles in a book titled *Sino-Japanese Problems and Opinions of Various Sides*. He acknowledged the set of ideas presented in this book, but as a whole felt that they represented the interests of the Chinese national bourgeois class.<sup>71</sup> Ōuchi declares:

The theory could not even convince the Chinese mass let alone compel our [the Japanese in Manchuria] understanding. Today, the interests of

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67 Ibid.

68 Zhu Qihua worked for the Kuomintang, but was executed by the Kuomintang in 1945 on suspicion of involvement with communist activities.

69 Yama Kōyō 矢間恒耀, "Manshū keizai bunseki ni tsuite 滿洲經濟分析について [Regarding the Analysis of the Manchurian Economy]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 16 (December 1931): 7.

70 Ibid.

71 Yama, "Manshū mondai ni kansuru Chūgokugawa genron no kentō," 8.

the national bourgeois class of this semi-colonial nation cannot blindfold the masses in the name of nationalism anymore.<sup>72</sup>

According to his understanding, the development of literature and art under the control of the Kuomintang was carried out under a form of dictatorship, which mandated the anti-Japanese declarations. Ōuchi states:

The literary practices under Kuomintang control were forcibly directed in the name of nationalism. The sole mission of literature and art under Kuomintang's control is to express the national spirit and national ideology. In other words, the ultimate meaning of literature and art is nationalism.<sup>73</sup>

Ōuchi was in strong opposition to the Kuomintang's exploitation of national sentiment. Pan-Asianism again stalled in front of national conflicts.

Because of his strong inclination towards proletarian unity, Ōuchi had strong aversions to nationalism, both Japanese national socialism (*kokka shakai shugi* 国家社会主義) and Chinese nationalism that was embodied in the anti-Japanese sentiment fomented by the Kuomintang bourgeois class. In Ōuchi's opinion, concepts of class were more important than national boundaries, since class war would be the decisive battle for the species. "No class war, no final liberty of the human race."<sup>74</sup> Ōuchi argued that the most fundamental determinant for the development of the human being was class.<sup>75</sup> The dream of setting up a proletarian Manchurian nation in which various nations' ethnicities could each articulate their own equal rights did not contradict his association with left-wing intellectuals during his time in Shanghai or his sympathy towards the CCP. Rather, it allowed him to easily accept the establishment of Manchukuo.<sup>76</sup> He could not fully comprehend the relationship between wars of national liberation and wars of class struggle entrenched in Marxist theories in the Chinese context.

Marxist theories adapted to the Chinese situation did not strictly follow the direction laid out by Karl Marx, since of the idea of class struggle had its limitations when encountering the complexities of Asian colonialism.

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ōuchi Takao, "Chūgoku bungei bungaku no tenbō 中国文藝文学の展望 [The Prospects of Chinese Arts and Literature]," *Manshū hyōron* 2: 2 (January 1932): 28.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Okada, *Weimanzhouguo wenxue*, 235.

To Marx and Engels, while the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie may have initially taken the form of a national struggle, the ultimate goal of the proletarian revolution lay in the destruction of nationality. Accordingly, the national form was only a transitional stage leading to its future abandonment. Ōuchi's endeavour to look at Manchuria's problems against a context woven with multi-layered relations, such as Sino-Japanese relations, the interaction between Japan and the international community, Manchuria's future, and the development of world capitalism, was to some extent in compliance with Marx and Engels's thinking about international class struggle. But Marx and Engels's theory was not practical enough for China, which was suffering from the imperialism of foreign capitalist powers. This led to Ōuchi's own judgment of contemporary Chinese history, shared by neither the Kuomintang nor the Chinese communists. In the early 1930s, the reality of China was that the proletarian force, which was the leading force behind the Marxist theory, was relatively weak. Chinese capitalism had not developed enough to nurture the revolutionary force from within to turn against it. For China, it was a greater imperative to achieve national independence than to carry out a class struggle. The modern Chinese history borrowed more from Lenin's theory of nation in the colonial situation than from Marx and Engels's theory of proletarian revolution. For Lenin, the relationship between the communist international and the bourgeois national was historical rather than static. He saw a potential alliance with bourgeois-democratic national movements in colonial and backward countries.<sup>77</sup> As John Fitzgerald has insightfully pointed out, the task of class struggle was repeatedly deferred until China achieved its goal of national independence by uniting the bourgeoisie and proletariats. Prior to this, Chinese political agendas, including Sun Yat-sen's pioneering ideal of the Three Peoples Principles (*Sanmin zhuyi* 三民主义), the anti-Japanese movements tactically supported by Chiang Kai-shek and even the Communist movement, which relied on self-assertive class struggles, were all partners working hand-in-hand to awaken China by arousing its so-called nationalism.<sup>78</sup> The theory of class struggle was never taken seriously during the entirety of Chinese political history; it served merely as rhetoric, if not a mirage.<sup>79</sup>

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77 Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions," Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31 (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1979), 150.

78 John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 16.

79 Ibid.

However, this root of Marxism in China was simply unacceptable to Ōuchi. He insisted upon regarding Chinese unity, and the Chinese aversion to Japan that appeared after the Manchurian Incident, as a deception played up by the Kuomintang. His understanding of class theory and rejection of nation theory made it hard for him to regard the national independence of China as a priority. In addition, his first-hand experience of living in Shanghai fuelled a powerful grudge against Chinese nationalism. Despite never undergoing a deliberate ideological conversion and abandoning his former friendship with Chinese writers, Ōuchi became easily accustomed to the new context of establishing Manchukuo. He could not accept that Manchukuo was a place pervaded by the imperialist capitalism of Japan, nor could he accept that Manchukuo was able to exist only on the basis of the economic and military expansion of Japanese imperialism. In other words, the fact that an independent Manchukuo relied on imperialist capitalism and could not realise its proletarian dream was far beyond his comprehension.

### Manchukuo for Whom?

The most important event that happened during Ōuchi's stay in Dalian was the formation of Manchukuo, upon which rested so many Japanese expectations that some even regarded it as "a path to the salvation of Manchuria, Japan and China."<sup>80</sup> Ōuchi had no objection to the establishment of Manchukuo. In fact, he was delighted by what had been achieved, glorifying the Manchurian Incident as "a special revolution," and changes in cultural fields such as religion, customs, art, science, and education as "cultural revolutions."<sup>81</sup> At the opening of the 63 Session of the Imperial Diet in Tokyo on 25 August 1933, foreign minister Uchida Kōsai (内田康哉 1865–1936) commented that acknowledging the new state of Manchukuo was the only way to stabilise the Manchurian and Mongolian areas and obtain long-term peace in the Far East. Ōuchi delightedly

80 Koyama Sadatomo 小山貞知, "Manshū shinkokka no naiyō to shimei 滿洲新国家の内容と使命 [The New Nation of Manchukuo and its Mission]," *Manshū hyōron* 2: 1 (January 1932): 39.

81 Yamaguchi Shin'ichi 山口慎一, "Manshū ni okeru minzoku bunka no mondai 滿洲における民族文化の問題 [The Issue of National Cultures in Manchuria]," *Manshū hyōron* 3: 3 (July 1932): 24.

claimed: "The day that Manchukuo as an independent state is acknowledged by the world is closer".<sup>82</sup>

After Ōuchi took over the position of chief editor of *Manchurian Review*, the second issue was filled with a number of articles commenting on economic policies. Departing from their previous uncertainty as to how to justify the military action after the Manchurian Incident, the contributors of *Manchurian Review* and other Japanese intellectuals in Manchuria started to reflect upon questions such as: Who has benefited from the Manchurian Incident? Who is entitled to the "rights and interests" of Manchuria?<sup>83</sup> As will become evident, there was a major division between those who argued that Manchuria existed for the interest of people living in Manchuria and those who only saw Manchuria as an extension of Japan to solve its capitalist crisis. This divide was palpable among Japanese people in Manchuria in the years following the Manchurian Incident, until 1937 when Manchukuo's position in Japan's empire became unequivocal. As will be discussed in Part III, the divide was expressed in literary arena in the form of a debate of the meaning of Manchurian literature. Ōuchi's perception of Manchuria as a possibility for establishing an independent state for the proletarian interests of both Japan and China evolved from his early experience of associating with Chinese left-leaning writers and his susceptibility to Marxist theories.

According to *Manchurian Review*, the discussion surrounding Manchurian development inspired Ōtsuka Reizō to send an open letter to Koyama even before the establishment of Manchukuo. In this letter, he asked: "Since a fascist atmosphere in Japan has become increasingly evident since the Manchurian Incident, how has the situation developed in Manchuria?" In response to this question, Tachibana published an article titled "The Manchurian Incident and Fascism".<sup>84</sup> He thought it inevitable that the fascist atmosphere would become increasingly stronger. Because Japan had reached a terminal stage in the growth and expansion of capitalism, it had to look for new outlets and markets in Manchuria. China and Manchuria became the only ways of solving the various economic and social problems of Japan.<sup>85</sup> At the same time,

82 Huang, "Nihon gikai to taiman mondai 日本議会と対満問題 [Japanese Diet and the Manchurian Issue]," *Manshū hyōron* 3: 10 (September 1932): 18.

83 Koyama Sadatomo 小山貞知, "Futatabi Manshū yori sayoku no tomo e 再び満洲より左翼の友へ [Addressing the Left-wing Friends in Manchuria Again]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 15 (December 1931): 25.

84 Tachibana Shiraki 橘樸, "Manshū jihen to Fasujizumu 満洲事件とファシズム [The Manchurian Incident and Fascism]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 12 (November 1931): 3.

85 Ibid., 2–3.

Tachibana thought that due to the depressed state of domestic agriculture as well as the poor lives of the farmers, Japanese farmers despised capitalists and landlords more than ever. Yet in fact, these farmers were the main supporters of the fascist movement at that time. They tactically agreed to stem the Japanese economic crisis by looking for overseas markets, which would create better livelihoods. As such, labourers, farmers, and the petty bourgeois class in Japan turned out to be the most enthusiastic backers of the Manchurian military action.<sup>86</sup>

In his first commentary article, “The Manchurian Question and the Opposition” published in *Manchurian Review*, Ōuchi took up the discussion of Manchurian development. It seemed that Ōuchi did not agree with Tachibana’s view that in fact the labourers, farmers, and the petty bourgeois class were the most enthusiastic backers of the Manchurian military action. Instead, he preferred to believe the “proletarian opinions” expressed by Ikeda Ichirō (池田一郎 1923–1989) in “Manchurian Problems Today”.<sup>87</sup> Ōuchi thought that the people who incited the Manchurian Incident were neither Japanese farmers nor labourers in factories. In his opinion, the general statement that Manchuria was indispensable to the Japanese bourgeois class both economically and politically was the crux of a false understanding of Manchurian issues.<sup>88</sup> Ōuchi insightfully raised the possibility that the Manchurian Incident was staged for the sake of the bourgeois class in Japan. Even though a few Japanese farmers and labourers did benefit from capitalism, not all were so fortunate. In truth, the lives of most of them would hardly be improved. Ōuchi referred to the example of the outbreak of the First World War. He pointed out that in the war all parties declared their right to safeguard their legitimate interests, justifying the war in terms of defending the sanctity of personal property, the family, and the soil.<sup>89</sup> For Ōuchi, this view was no more than cunning rhetoric: he treated with contempt the opinion that saw “Manchuria as Japan’s lifeline” for the bourgeois class.

Against this social background, Ōuchi was very concerned about the development of leftist ideology. He expressed his discontent with the defection of the Japanese left wing in “National Socialism and Manchuria”, in which he criticised the apostasy of the Social Democratic Party (*Shakai minshūtō* 社会民

86 Ibid., 3–4.

87 Yama, “Manshū mondai to hantaiha,” 28.

88 Ibid., 29.

89 Ibid., 30.

衆党), which was once one of Japan's proletarian parties.<sup>90</sup> In order to defend Japan's legitimate rights in Manchuria, the latest resolution taken at the meeting of the central committee of the Social Democratic Party decided to adopt "the management of national socialism" as the fundamental solution for the various issues of Manchuria. Ōuchi also criticised Akamatsu Katsumaro (赤松克麿 1894–1955) and his theory of national socialism. Akamatsu's article, "Scientific Japanism as the Point of Departure" (*Kagakuteki Nihon shugi kara shuppatsushite* 科学的日本主義から出発して) suggested that a national socialist economy was the inevitable choice for capitalist Japan, given that the economic situation of the Japanese proletarian class was becoming increasingly desperate. He claimed "capitalism is necessary to Japan, while socialism is indispensable too", and the method to resolve the contradiction was to integrate Japanese socialism and capitalism into a "socialist state management" (*shakai shugiteki kokka kanri* 社会主義的国家管理).<sup>91</sup> Ōuchi regarded Akamatsu's article and the latest resolution of the Social Democratic Party as a surrender to national socialism, and a capitulation to military force. In Ōuchi's opinion, the most evident characteristic of the Social Democrats in their current state was their support for colonial and semi-colonial domination.<sup>92</sup> A clear anti-fascist tone was noticeable in his criticism of the Social Democratic Party. Ōuchi was especially dissatisfied with the slogan—"the people of the entire state" (*zenkokumin* 全国民) and "the people of the entire nation" (*zenminzoku* 全民族)—particularly when issues surrounding colonial and semi-colonial society were raised.<sup>93</sup> For example, the view insisting that Manchuria was the lifeline of Japan and that it was accordingly dependent on Manchuria was treated with contempt by Ōuchi as yet another manifestation of the idea of the "national spirit" (*minzoku seishin* 民族精神). Both gave priority to the Japanese interests (*Nihon no tachiba* 日本の立場).<sup>94</sup> Ōuchi was filled with suspicion and disdain for these opinions.

One year after the Manchurian Incident, when Manchukuo had just been founded, Ōuchi already sensed a tendency towards militarism, the increasing intensity of which aroused his suspicion. He likened this environment to

90 Yama Kōyō 矢間恒耀, "Kokkashakaishugi to Manshū 国家社会主義と満洲 [National Socialism and Manchuria]," *Manshū hyōron* 1: 15 (December 1931): 8–10.

91 Ibid., 9.

92 Ibid., 9–10.

93 Yamaguchi Shin'ichi 山口慎一, "Genkaidan ni okeru taishokuminchi seisaku 現階段における対植民地政策 [Colonial Policies at the Current Stage]," *Manshū hyōron* 3: 18 (October 1932): 2.

94 Ibid.



Britain's suppression of the Indian liberation movement in order to ease the pain of Britain's own domestic industry back home. By abolishing free trade, Britain had not only failed to solve the problem of raw material overproduction in her colonies but also ostensibly impeded colonial industrial development. As such, the working class was suppressed and Indian domestic capitalism was compromised, thus creating the miserable conditions that characterised British rule. Taking heed from the Indian example, Ōuchi sounded a warning to the Manchurian people. In his opinion, the current vision of Japan and Manchuria as a single economic entity was simply a means to alleviating the Japanese crisis and defending the living standard of Japan's majority population.<sup>95</sup> Ōuchi was very aware of the possibility of Manchuria being relegated to colonial status similar to what had taken place in India, and this thought angered him deeply.

Ōuchi had always felt that the purpose of Manchukuo was to promote the creation of an independent state—not a colony that would provide raw materials to Japan. He supported the Manchurian Incident because he thought it worked against Kuomintang bourgeois authoritarianism, and supported Manchurian independence because it could realise his proletarian dream. He harshly criticised Japan's ever-increasing militaristic tendency while he did not willing to include Japan's acquirement of Manchuria as one crucial step leading to it. Manchukuo seemed to him to be an alternative that differed from the old mould of colonialism and could serve the interests of the Chinese people. In contrast to the ideas of Manchukuo being associated with Japan, Ōuchi preferred slogans such as national self-determination (*minzoku jiketsu* 民族自決) or the concept of "concord of five nations".<sup>96</sup> This view suggested that Manchuria could attain its national cultural destiny by taking the common interests of people of various nations living in Manchuria as the premise. The idea of national self-determination came from the Soviet Union rather than America. Ōuchi stressed that Manchukuo could not be governed by a bourgeois regime.<sup>97</sup> Yet, in order to represent the rights of people and to consolidate the Manchurian interests already acquired, it was necessary to form a state.

The most important point is that a nation-state must seek independence by breaking away from imperialistic capitalism. If controlled by imperialism and subjected to imperialist politics, law and culture, it can never

95 Ibid., 8.

96 Yamaguchi Shin'ichi, "Tan'itsu keizai to minzoku jiketsu 単一経済と民族自決 [The Single Economy and National Self-Determination]," *Manshū hyōron* 2: 6 (February 1932): 10.

97 Ibid., 9.

become a state! Learning from our own history, such an important task can never be achieved by the bourgeois class of the colonies.<sup>98</sup>

Therefore, he expected that the proletariat would establish a state independent from Japan's capitalistic interventions.

However, the reality surrounding the founding of Manchukuo profoundly disappointed Ōuchi, prompting him to state: "Although people who advocate idealism talk a great deal about Kingly Way, utopian society and land of happiness, the reality is actually that Manchukuo is ceaselessly creating organs of the modern state."<sup>99</sup> By organs of the modern state, Ōuchi was alluding to the laws and regulations of Manchukuo after 21 July 1932. He paid special attention to related laws such as the "private property systems" (*Shiyū zaisan seido* 私有財産制度) to protect private property and the "human rights protection act" (*Jinken hoshōhō* 人權保障法), the aim of which was to regulate the Manchurian people through policing.<sup>100</sup> From Ōuchi's point of view, the private property law indicated that "although the founding of Manchukuo has been acknowledged, the rights and interests of Manchuria have been transferred from the hands of the people to the control of a capitalistic clique."<sup>101</sup> The latter had the same effect as the Peace Preservation Law, the role of which was to punish Manchurian "traitors" whose views were not in accordance with the military force.<sup>102</sup>

Manchukuo developed rapidly, aided by "governmentality" that included the Security Police Force Law (*Chian keisatsuhō* 治安警察法) proclaimed on 12 September 1932. This law aimed to restrict the freedom of public assembly and the forming of associations. From then on, the censorship and banning of various publications were carried out by Manchurian police. The state council of Manchukuo also passed the Publications Law (*Shuppanhō* 出版法) on 24 October 1932, stipulating eight types of information that could not be printed, including news that would damage the foundation of Manchukuo. The law also provided that the Manchurian premier and other ministers could prohibit and restrict news and reports in any type of newspaper and magazine at any time they deemed appropriate if they considered the coverage would impede diplomatic, military, and financial interests. More than six million

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 9–10.

<sup>99</sup> Yama Kōyō 矢間恒耀, "Manshūkoku no shohōrei 満洲国の諸法令 [The Laws of Manchukuo]," *Manshū hyōron* 3: 14 (October 1932): 11.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

books were consigned to the flames in just the first six months of 1932.<sup>103</sup> In addition, the government established a Manchurian security maintenance committee to deal with the considerable volume of books that came under suspicion. The Manchurian police, guided by the Japanese army, began implementing a crusade across Manchuria.<sup>104</sup>

It was clear that up until 1932, the state of Manchurian intellectual freedom was no better than that of Chinese intellectuals under the Kuomintang regime, which was severely restricted. It was very understandable, therefore, that Ōuchi, who once had the experience of being accused under the Peace Preservation Law in October of 1931, should display great dissatisfaction with the new law. In his opinion, “the fundamental problem of society is the issue of freedom.” Be it working towards the improvement of the status of labourers or working on a state-planned economy, only within a free atmosphere could this work be efficiently accomplished.<sup>105</sup> With regards to the totalitarian predisposition of Manchurian laws, he regretfully stated that, “the management of state affairs according to law is a mirage to serve the bourgeoisie.”<sup>106</sup>

The political trends against which Ōuchi offered the above observations on economic and social developments in Manchukuo saw Manchuria becoming more and more enmeshed in Japan's imperialist picture. The reason why Ōuchi did not denounce any aspect of the Manchurian Incident—or the creation of Manchukuo—may lie in the fact that he cherished the dream of an independent state. However, history was developing in a direction that Ōuchi opposed. In 1932, Itagaki Seishirō (板垣征四郎 1885–1948), a major general in the Kwantung Army and political “consultant” to Manchukuo, left Manchuria for Tokyo to negotiate and discuss “The Outline of Policies to Deal with the Manchuria and Mongolia Question” (*Manmō mondai shori hōshin yōkō* 滿蒙問題處理方針要綱). Itagaki sought a thorough change in the Manchurian economic structure and proposed a plan to weld Japan and Manchukuo into a single economic system.<sup>107</sup> Manchukuo did not falter in its enterprise of ongoing colonisation despite the adverse opinions of Japanese intellectuals in Manchuria. The Japanese cabinet set up a review committee, supervised directly by the prime minister, to review all aspects of Manchurian policies in

103 Xie, *Weimanzhouguoshi*, 434–435.

104 “Manshūkoku chian ijikai seiritsu 満洲国治安維持会成立 [The Founding of the Manchukuo Peace Maintenance Committee],” *Manshū hyōron* 3: 16 (October 1932): 24.

105 “Dōjin manwa 同人漫話 [Discussions Among Colleagues],” *Manshū hyōron* 3: 20 (November 1932): 32.

106 Ibid.

107 Xie, *Weimanzhouguoshi xinbian*, 353.

order to include Manchurian economy within its economic sphere. In March 1933, a second discourse, *The Outline of the Development of the Manchurian Economy* (*Manshū keizai kensetsu yōkō* 滿洲經濟建設要綱), was approved, followed by a third one, *Outline of Governance of the Japanese and Manchurian Economy* (*Nichi-Man keisai tōchi hōsaku yōkō* 日滿經濟統治方策要綱), which was agreed to on 30 March 1934. These new policies saw Manchuria become one part of the “Japanese and Manchurian economy,” providing steel, iron, and other heavy industry raw materials to the expanding Japanese empire.<sup>108</sup> However, at that point, “because of the arrest at the end of 1932, Ōuchi was sent home in Japan in 1933. The story behind the arrest was not clear. It looked like the suspicion of left-wing ideology.”<sup>109</sup> He was no longer in a position to express his dissenting opinions.

In his article *The Manchurian Incident and Fascism*, Tachibana sought to divide Manchurian fascism into three groups: mature fascism, fascism in accordance with the direction of the Kwantung Army, and fascism of the Manchurian Youth League.<sup>110</sup> Fascists of “mature fascism” discarded the rhetoric of cooperation between China and Japan in favor of taking a tough line on political and military issues because they saw the possibility of a protracted war between China and Japan. Fascists of the Kwantung Army, who were mainly dominated by the principle of “Great Japan” (*dai Nihon shugi* 大日本主義), showed a tendency to adhere to national socialism based on the Japanese emperor system. Different from these two, fascism of the Manchurian Youth League seemed to be founded on the dream of establishing an independent state, as uttered by its director Shōji Kanai.<sup>111</sup> One of the important tasks of the Manchurian Youth League was to mould public opinion in an anti-Chinese direction by disclosing the misdemeanors associated with a series of anti-Japanese movements committed by the Kuomintang, in preparation for the establishment of Manchukuo. This seemed to be the stance of Tachibana and Ōuchi as well as the whole *Manchurian Review* group.

Yet, the category of fascism pointed by Tachibana overlapped the left-wing thinking in Manchuria. As regards Japan’s China hands living in Manchuria,

108 Kakugi kettei 閣議決定, “Nichi-Man keizai tōchi hōsaku yōkō 日滿經濟統治方策要綱 [The Outline of Governance of the Japanese and Manchurian Economy],” In *Gendaishi shiryō 7 Manshū jihen* 現代史資料7滿洲事變 [Sources in Modern History, Vol. 7: The Manchurian Incident], ed. Shimada Toshihiko and Inaba Masao (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1968), 593–597.

109 Yamamoto, *Manshū hyōron kaidai sōmokuji*, 13.

110 Tachibana, “Manshū jihen to Fasujizumu”, 4.

111 Xie, *Weimazhouguoshi xinbian*, 40.

Young asserts that because of the influence of left-wing ideology and the sympathy for Chinese nationalist aspirations, “they regarded Manchukuo the solution to the dilemmas of Sino-Japanese relations”; for them, “Manchurian development and the establishment of the state of Manchukuo promised the birth of a new kind of empire that would accommodate Japanese economic imperialism and Chinese nationalism.”<sup>112</sup> However, as can be seen from the example of Ōuchi, Manchukuo meant much more than economic imperialism for him. He supported the communist doctrine, yet could not come to terms with Manchukuo that eventually put bourgeois interests first. Though unable to isolate him from the influence of the Manchurian Youth League, Ōuchi’s advocacy of national harmony was more or less mediated by Marxist theory and mixed with the idea of class revolution. Ōuchi was different from Tachibana and other Japanese left-wing communists. There were too many internal tortuous contradictions that needed to be harmonised within Ōuchi as an individual Japanese, who had transferred from Japan to Shanghai and then to Manchuria, both geographically and ideologically.

Manchukuo was constructed collectively by a ray of military officers, bureaucrats transferred from metropolitan Japan, Sinologists, scholars, journalists, farmers, and writers. The vitality of the Manchurian area, and the complexity of the Japanese identity in the 1930s, was characterised by the intricacy of the ideological states of Japanese intellectuals living there. In Manchuria, neither fascism nor communism was self-sufficiently insulated. Driven by their respective interests, different people had varying views and stances toward the idea of establishing an independent state of Manchukuo, and it is impossible to summarise them in one or two sentences. It is therefore hard to associate Ōuchi with any definite political group, and his case was hardly unique at the time. Instead, an interesting question can be raised: How did individuals not only survive but also realise their dreams in this continent when facing their different confinements? While data, statistics, and official documents in archives can present a general picture of Manchukuo, it is literature written during that period that discloses how people perceived, conceptualised, and recorded their living in the area. As such, it is literature that provides a more vivid picture of this episode of history.

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112 Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 241.

## Literature in the Name of National Harmony

### Translation as the Method

On returning to Manchukuo in late 1933, Ōuchi found work in Mukden.<sup>1</sup> In February 1935 he moved to the capital, Shinkyō, and resumed employment at the *Shinkyō Daily News*. It was around this time that his enthusiasm for Chinese literature began to show through. He maintained that “although I had started paying attention to Chinese literature a long time before, it was then [1935] that I made a decision to devote myself to it.”<sup>2</sup> Ōuchi claimed to have attempted to establish a monthly literary journal while working at the *Shinkyō Daily News*, and to have invited Chinese writers to participate. He even submitted a written request to the authorities. However, his dream was thwarted because he could not obtain the necessary periodical publication permission.<sup>3</sup> It was from 1935 that Ōuchi started to demonstrate extraordinary enthusiasm for Chinese literature and translation. He spent most of his time translating Chinese works into Japanese in Manchukuo.

Among the anthologies translated and published by Ōuchi, the most noted include *The Wilderness*, *The Dandelion* (Ch. *Pugongying* and J. *Tanpopo* 蒲公英), and *Selected Short Stories of Contemporary Manchurian Women Writers* (*Gen-dai manshū joryū sakka tanpen senshū* 現代満洲女流作家短編選集). In addition, Ōuchi also translated many collections of short stories by individual authors, including Gu Ding’s *Sand Beach* (*Pingsha* 平沙), Liang Shanding’s (梁山丁 1914–1997) *Green Valley* (*Lüse de gu* 绿色的谷),<sup>4</sup> Shi Jun’s (石军 1919–1949) *Fertile Land* (*Wotu* 沃土). Some of his translations were first published in *Manchurian Romanticism* (*Manshū roman* 満洲浪漫), a literary journal which was established by a group of Japanese writers, most of whom worked for the Manchurian Film Company.<sup>5</sup>

1 Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 194.

2 Ibid., 199.

3 Ibid., 310.

4 Liang Shanding was the pen name of the Chinese writer Liang Menggeng (梁梦庚). Liang was an active writer during 1930s and 1940s when he participated in the debate on the native literature of Manchuria. He was persecuted after 1957 and was not allowed to resume writing until 1979.

5 The Japanese character “曼” (rather than “漫,” which was the accepted equivalent for “romanticism”) was selected for this journal’s title. Most of the writers in *Manchurian Romanticism*

Literary translations and literary critiques formed a publishing peak for Ōuchi's career. There were two peaks associated with Ōuchi's contributions to *Manchurian Review*. One was between 1932 and 1933, immediately before he was repatriated to Japan, and the other was from 1937 to 1942, when many of his literary translations and reviews were published. This period also witnessed his involvement in various literary associations. When the Manchuria Literary Academy (*Manshū bunwakai* 満洲文話会) was established in 1937 in Dalian, Ōuchi was listed on the committee. After its Shinkyō branch was founded later, he became a committee member there as well, partly in conjunction with his influential role in the head office. He was also a committee member of the Association of Manchurian Artists (*Manshū bungeika kyōkai* 満洲文藝家協会) established in 1941. He became head of the censorship department when the Association of Manchurian Artists underwent a reorganisation in 1943. This ascendancy within the power structure of the Manchukuo cultural administration overlapped with a period of prolific output of translation.

There are divided opinions, however, with regards to Ōuchi's works of translation. The Japanese researcher Okada Hideki expresses the view that most of his translations were rendered objectively with little sense of Japan's colonial mastery.<sup>6</sup> However, the Chinese writers active during this period have begged to differ. Li Min who worked directly under Ōuchi's supervision in the Manchurian Film Company still retained many years later a concrete image of his former colleague: "He was a taciturn person, translating on the job and drinking off it. He was suspected by many to be a spy for the Kwantung Army."<sup>7</sup> Liang Shanding, whose *Green Valley* was translated by Ōuchi, presents a rather negative evaluation of Ōuchi's translation:

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were opposed to being identified as writers of the romantic school. The journal was not simply an extension of the Japanese romantic school to Manchuria. However, since there is no better word by which to translate 浪漫, I have coined the name "Manchurian Romanticism" in this study, while fully recognising the limitations of its use. Kimberly T. Kono used "Manchurian Novel" in her book. The translation of 浪漫 as "novel" may be in recognition of its meaning in German. Yet, there is no clear evidence of German influence on the journal.

6 Okada, "The Realities of Racial Harmony," 73.

7 An interview with Li Ming, 20 August 2003, quoted in Liu Xiaoli 刘晓丽, "1939–1945 nian dongbei diqu wenxue qikan yanjiu" 1939–1945 年东北地区文学期刊研究 [A Study of Literary Journals in Northeastern China Between 1939 and 1945] (PhD diss., East China Normal University, 2005), 57. Okada also referred in his article to the suspicions Li Min had over Ōuchi's role as a spy. See Okada, "The Realities of Racial Harmony," 76–77. Li Min was a novelist and poet in the Manchukuo period. He studied in Japan from 1936 to 1939 and worked for the Manchurian Film Company upon his return to Manchuria. He was persecuted during the Chinese Cultural Revolution.



I wrote the novel *Green Valley* and published it in the *Datong News*. Mr Ōuchi translated and serialised it in the *Harbin Daily News*. I was suspicious about his motivations at that time, since he did not inform me of his intention in advance. I heard he was a spy for the Japanese Kwantung Army. I worried about his translation.<sup>8</sup>

Liang's words convey his distrust of the quality of Ōuchi's translation. Liang's novel *Green Valley* was not received kindly by the authorities: Page upon page was regarded as a criticism of Japanese colonial rule and was, therefore, censored. As a result, Liang was politically harassed by the police, and forced to flee Manchukuo.<sup>9</sup> Although there was no direct evidence to indicate that the censorship of Liang's book was a result of Ōuchi's translation, not all of the Chinese writers living during the same period appreciated his translations. Some believed that Ōuchi's translations and his other literary discussions on Chinese writers served to make Japanese surveillance easier and more effective.

During the period of Japanese occupation as well as after Japan's defeat in 1945, the Chinese who had achieved any measure of success under Japanese rule found themselves at the centre of heated debates. They were often condemned as "traitors" and "puppets." Recent research by Timothy Brook and Rana Mitter has demonstrated that political and military collaboration in wartime China, including Manchuria, was common.<sup>10</sup> Local elites were organised into the "peace maintenance committees" (*Chian ijikai* 治安維持会) that cooperated with the Japanese force, though not without hesitancy.<sup>11</sup> People were believed to cooperate with the Japanese authority for various practical reasons—some were inspired by Pan-Asian idealism promoted by Japan, and others shared anti-Communist goals.<sup>12</sup> Chinese writers such as Gu Ding who worked closely with Ōuchi were also involved in such debates. How to evaluate the writings of Chinese writers working under Japanese colonisation has been an area of vigorous debate among critics. There was a time when Chinese

8 Shan Ding 山丁, "Guanyu dongbei lunxian shiqi de xiangtu wenxue 关于东北沦陷时期的乡土文学[Regarding the Native Literature in Northeastern China Under Japanese Occupation]," in *Zhongri guanxi yanjiu de xinsikao: Zhongguo dongbei yu Riben guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 中日关系研究的新思潮：中国东北与日本国际学术研讨会论文集 [*New Approaches in Research on the Sino-Japanese Relationship*], ed. Ma Xingguo (Shenyang: Liaoning daxue chubanshe, 1993), 158.

9 Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 226.

10 Timothy Brook, *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 47.

11 Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth*, 72.

12 Ibid., 101.

writing in Manchukuo was widely perceived as the “literature of traitors” (*hanjian wenxue* 汉奸文学).<sup>13</sup>

Thanks to the emergence of new studies in the 1990s and especially after 2000, academics have come to see the role of Chinese writers in a new light. For example, a study by Norman Smith arrived at a decidedly different conclusion: Based on his examination of Chinese women writings during the Manchukuo period, Norman suggests that though Chinese women writers were tolerated and even endorsed by the Japanese authority, they maintained a distance from officially sanctioned Japan-centric ideals. Manchukuo's Chinese-language literary world only exposed the weaknesses of Japanese colonial rule.<sup>14</sup> Through the late 1930s, Japanese officials were unable to extend control over Chinese literature when most of the Chinese writers sought the means to circumvent various Japanese laws and had a chance to articulate their dissatisfaction from within the colonial state.<sup>15</sup> Yet, what was the message that Chinese writers were attempting to send, and what methods did they use to achieve this? In addition to Norman's approach of a direct study of Chinese literary texts, I further propose an investigation of Ōuchi's translation, which I believe is an effective means to reveal covert messages in the works of both Japanese translators and Chinese writers. The subversive connotations of the texts can be discerned in translation, which “canonizes, freezes an original and shows in the original a mobility, an instability, which at first one did not notice.”<sup>16</sup> Translation practices in Manchukuo were not simply a unidirectional linguistic process, rather ones that rendered identities for both the Japanese and Chinese sides, a process laden with political and ideological struggle.

### Literary Renaissance

In the early stage of the development of literature in Manchuria, there was very little direct interaction between Japanese writers and their Chinese counterparts, and this remained the case until the imposition of cultural centralisation around 1937. Japanese and Chinese writers not only lived and worked in

13 Feng Weiqun 冯为群 and Li Chunyan 李春燕, *Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue xinlun* 东北沦陷时期文学新论 [*New Interpretations of the Literature of the Occupied Northeast*] (Changchunshi: Jilin daxue chubanshe, 1991), 221–227.

14 Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 138–142.

15 Ibid., 45.

16 Paul de Man, “‘Conclusions’: Walter Benjamin's ‘The Task of the Translator,’” in *The Resistance to Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 82.

different areas of Manchuria, but also tended to favour different literary forms. As in Taiwan, Japanese literature in Manchuria cultivated traditional literary genres such as *haiku*, *tanka*, and poetry, while Chinese literature, influenced by the May Fourth Movement, was rooted in short stories and novels. As has been stated in the Introduction, the start-up of Japanese literary activities was geographically associated with progress in the SMR's extension of control along its railway lines and was concentrated in the hub cities of Dalian and Changchun; Chinese literature thrived mainly in Harbin, where policing and screening systems were lax and Russian influence was strong.<sup>17</sup> The flourishing of Chinese literature in the northeast in 1932 was to some extent related to the activities of the CCP and stayed away from Japanese power centres in Dalian and Fengtian. However, with the move of the influential Chinese writers Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong to Qingdao in 1934, the departure of Luo Feng and Bai Lang from Manchukuo in 1936, and the arrest of Jin Jianxiao and his subsequent murder by the Japanese in the same year, local Chinese literature lost its vibrancy. Already by 1935 nearly all major figures of the Chinese literary world based in Harbin had left.<sup>18</sup>

Before the founding of the Chinese literary journal *Brightness* (*Mingming* 明明) in March 1937, the Chinese language output had relied heavily on newspaper supplements as publishing outlets, but these were extremely vulnerable under the Japanese colonial governance. In order to enhance propaganda in Manchukuo, the Kwantung Army waged a war of ideas (*shisōsen* 思想戦) and a war of propaganda (*sendensen* 宣伝戦) against China. The Kwantung Army set up an organisation called the Manchurian Propaganda Association (*Manshū kōhō kyōkai* 満洲弘報協会).<sup>19</sup> It controlled not only publication

17 Okada Hideki 岡田英樹, *Bungaku ni miru "Manshūkoku" no isō* 文学にみる「満洲国」の位相 [*The Manchukuo Phase Seen from the Perspective of Literature*] (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 2000), 114.

18 Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 43.

19 "Kyōryoku na genron kikan junbi no hitsuyō: kōhō kyōkai setsuritsu ni tsuki Itagaki sanbōchō setsumei 強力な言論機関準備の必要：弘報協会設立につき板垣参謀長説明 [The Necessity of Setting Up Propaganda Offices: Itagaki Seishirō's Explanation Regarding the Establishment of the Association for Propaganda]," *Manshū nichinichi shinbun*, September 4, 1936. "弘報" rather than the more common word for propaganda, "広報", was used in Manchukuo. 弘報 was first coined when Fukuzawa Yukichi's *The Times* (*Jiji Shinpo* 時事新報) established the Advertising House (弘報堂) in 1886. Yet, in the Meiji period, 弘報 meant simply "advertising". 弘報 was first used in Manchuria when Takayanagi Yasutarō (高柳保太郎 1870–1951), an Army retiree, and Matsuoka Yōsuke (松岡洋右 1880–1946) who was transferred from Japan's Foreign Ministry established the information department (*jōhōgakari* 情報係) and the propaganda section

houses but also newspapers; in Manchukuo, the newspapers *Datong News* and *Shengjing Times* (*Shengjing shibao* 盛京时报) were under its surveillance. Many small newspapers were forcibly disbanded. By 1937, nearly ninety percent of all publication and circulation of newspapers was directly under the control of the Association. Chinese writers lost the space where they once published their works and views. Faced with such difficulties, Chinese-language literature eventually ground to a halt in 1935 and 1936.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, Japanese literature in Manchukuo enjoyed relatively stable publishing conditions. Japanese writers and intellectuals could turn to journals and newspapers that included *Manchuria Daily News* (*Manshū nichinichi shinbun* 満洲日々新聞), *Shinkyō Daily News* (*Shinkyō nichinichi shinbun* 新京日々新聞), *Manchuria and Mongolia, Manchurian Review*, *Kōtoku News* (*Kōtoku shinbun* 康德新聞), and *New World*, a specialist literary journal.<sup>21</sup>

Years between 1935 and 1937 witnessed a stark diminution in literary output. Against this dismal background, the journal *Brightness* came into existence.<sup>22</sup> Gu Ding, who worked for the General Affairs Board of the State Council, together with his colleagues Wai Wen, Yi Chi, and friends such as Xin Jia and Xiao Song, sought to revive literary activity by establishing this new venture. Under the financial auspices of Jōjima Shūrei (城島舟礼 1882–1944), a Japanese businessman and journalist, and with editorial support from Gu Ding's former Japanese teacher, *Brightness* started as a general interest periodical in March 1937. It then transformed into an exclusive literary journal in August of the same year. A year later, however, after nineteen issues, it was forced to cease publication for financial reasons. As to their literary stance, Gu Ding insisted that their only wish was to write, to translate, to re-build the literary output, and to fill in the blanks in the literary history of Manchuria. He states:

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(*kōhōgakari* 弘報係) in 1923. After 1945, the Ministry of Education proposed to replace “弘” with “広” to translate the English term “public relations”. See Kitano Kunihiro 北野邦彦, “Kōhō·kōhō-PR no gogen ni kansuru ichikōsatsu 弘報・広報・PRの語源に関する一考察 [Research on the Etymology of Kōhō and PR],” *Teikyō shakaigaku* 21 (March 2008): 119–120. The Association for Propaganda in Manchukuo was officially established in September 1936 and lasted until September 1940 when the State Council General Management Department (*Kokumuin sōmuchō* 國務院総務庁) directly took over the business of regulating publications.

20 Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 350.

21 Ibid., 42.

22 Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 349.

Although we colleagues have reached agreement regarding our aspiration to write and publish more, we may disagree in many other aspects. Therefore, we do not constitute anything that could be called a school.<sup>23</sup>

However, this group of writers was still labelled the “Journal of Arts and Literature School” (*Yiwenzhi pai* 艺文志派), named after *Journal of Arts and Literature* (*Yiwenzhi* 艺文志), their second journal founded in 1939. Though *Brightness* lasted no more than a year and published only limited issues, it changed the face of Chinese literature in Manchukuo. Now, Chinese literature no longer relied on space afforded in the pages of newspaper supplements; instead literature was given formal recognition through specialised literary journals. The appearance of *Brightness* also meant that the centre of Chinese literature moved from Harbin to Shinkyō, where the editorial office was located. This further facilitated exchanges between Chinese and Japanese writers.

Shortly after the cessation of *Brightness* in September 1938, the Japanese literary journal *Manchurian Romanticism* was established in October 1938, again in Shinkyō. Six issues were released up until November 1940. Although it described itself as a general periodical, most of its content was dedicated to literature and culture. For example, the third issue was titled “Views of the Leaders of Cultural Institutions,” the fourth was a collection of Manchurian writers, and the fifth was a special issue on critiques of Manchurian literature. The editorial group of *Manchurian Romanticism*, including Kitamura Kenjiro (北村謙次郎 1904–1982), Kizaki Ryū (木崎龍 1911–1943) and Ōuchi, among others, mostly came from the Manchurian Film Company. When opting to join *Manchurian Romanticism*, Ōuchi expressed his wish to foreground the cultural interchanges in Manchukuo through translations, hoping that his translations of Chinese writings into Japanese would be widely read by Japanese people both in Manchukuo and in Japan and thereby promote an understanding between the Chinese and the Japanese people in Manchukuo.<sup>24</sup>

Another journal that was expected to carry on the work of *Brightness* was *Journal of Arts and Literature* that was founded in June 1939. The chief editor was Xiao Song, and the publishing house named the Journal of Arts and Literature Office (Ch. *Yiwenzhi shiwuhui*, J. *Geibunshi jimukai* 藝文志

23 Gu Ding, “Ougan ouji bing yutan 偶感偶记并余谈 [Random Thoughts, Casual Notes and More],” *Gu Ding zuopin xuan*, 56.

24 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, “Watashi no ki 私の旗 [My Flag],” in *Manshū roman dai-2-shū* 満洲浪漫第2輯 [*Manchurian Romanticism*, vol. 2], ed. Lü Yuanming, Suzuki Sadami and Ryū Kenki (1939; reprint, Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2002), 171.

事務会).<sup>25</sup> The second issue listed the members of the Journal of Arts and Literature Office, including Ōuchi as a councilman, Sugimura Yūzō (杉村勇造 1900–1978) and Jōjima Shūrei as consultants, and Chinese writers such as Gu Ding, Xing Jia, Yi Chi, Wai Wen, and Jue Qing were all members. According to Kitamura's memoirs, the debut of *Journal of Arts and Literature* was a sensation:

Similar to the situation of *Manchurian Romanticism*, there was a launch party for *Journal of Arts and Literature* (as I recall, it was organised by the Manchurian Concordia Association). Japanese writers and Chinese writers gathered together to discuss the development of literature.<sup>26</sup>

*Journal of Arts and Literature* inherited the literary stance of *Brightness*, advocating the ideal of “writing and publishing” (*xie yu yin* 写与印) free of any clear political line. The preface to the inaugural issue declared its advocacy clearly:

What we call literature should devote itself to writing and publishing. By writing, we can write things as massive as the earth, or as small as the sesame seed. It will last forever as long as it contains the truth of lives. As long as it contains the essence of goodness, the product will be passed down forever, whether it is about the magnificence of the earth, or the delicacy of the rice grain.<sup>27</sup>

Up until its cessation in June 1940, *Journal of Arts and Literature* published three issues. It would resume publication in 1943 as the official journal of the Association of Manchurian Artists.

With the emergence of *Brightness*, *Journal of Arts and Literature*, and *Manchurian Romanticism*, Chinese and Japanese writers gained a shared space for publication and at the same time found opportunities to interact directly with one another in journal editing and publishing roles. *Brightness* and *Journal of Arts and Literature* were Chinese-owned journals, produced with considerable financial support from the Japanese government in Tokyo as well as editorial guidance by Japanese writers and scholars in Shinkyō. Forums to promote Sino-Japanese literary exchanges were led by Ōuchi and other Japanese

25 When *Journal of Arts and Literature* restarted in 1943, the publishing house changed to Yiwen Publisher (*Yiwen shufang* 艺文书房).

26 Kitamura Kenji 北村謙次郎, *Hokuhenbojōki* 北辺慕情記 [*Yearning for the North*] (Tokyo: Daigaku shobō, 1960), 122.

27 Jōjima Shūrei 城島舟礼, “Yiwenzhi xu 艺文志序 [Journal Preface],” *Yiwenzhi* 1: 1 (June 1939): 1.



writers. In the first collection of Ōuchi's translations titled *The Wilderness*, seven out of twelve pieces were originally published in *Brightness*.<sup>28</sup> *The Dandelion*, the second collection of his translations, contained four short stories from *Journal of Arts and Literature*, and three pieces from *Brightness*.<sup>29</sup> Some examples among these translations were Tian Bing's "Aloysha" (Ch. *Aliaoshi* 阿了式, J. *Aryōsha* アリ ヨーシャ),<sup>30</sup> Yuan Xi's "The Three Neighbours" (Ch. *Lin san ren* 邻三人, J. *Tonari sannin* 隣り三人),<sup>31</sup> Yi Chi's "The Fall of the Pear Blossom" (Ch. *Lihua luo* 梨花落, J. *Rika otsu* 梨花落つ)<sup>32</sup> and Shi Jun's "The Window" (Ch. *Chuang* 窗, J. *Mado* 窓), all of which were published in *Manchurian Romanticism*, before being compiled into a collection.<sup>33</sup> *Manchurian Romanticism* appears to have consciously cultivated interaction with Chinese writers, despite being a Japanese-owned journal. It published literary critiques of Chinese literature in nearly every issue, and devoted limited space for Chinese writers such as Xiao Song and Xin Jia to voice their literary opinions.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile, the Japanese colleagues working on *Manchurian Romanticism* had

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- 28 Sugino Motoko 杉野元子, "Manjin sakka shōsetsushū kaisetsu 満人作家小説集解説 [Explanation of A Collection of Short Stories by Chinese Writers]," in Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, *Gen'ya: Manjin sakka shōsetsushū* 原野:満人作家小説集 [*The Wilderness: A Collection of Short Stories by Chinese Writers*] (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2000), 1–7.
- 29 Kobayashi Motoki 小林基起, "Manjin sakka shōsetsushū dai ni shū kaisetsu 満人作家小説集第2輯解説 [Explanation of the Second Volume of A Collection of Short Stories by Chinese Writers]," in Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, *Tanpopo: Manjin sakka shōsetsushū: dai ni shū* 蒲公英: 満人作家小説集 [*Dandelion: A Collection of Short Stories by Chinese Writers*] (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2000), 1–7.
- 30 Tian Bing was the pen name of Jin Chunbin (金纯斌), who wrote and lived in Fengtian. He attended the Second Greater East Asian Writers Congress.
- 31 Yuan Xi was the pen name of He Weilian (郝维廉), who participated in underground communist movements in his early years.
- 32 Yi Chi was the pen name of Liu Chi (刘迟), a famous Chinese writer during the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, who held positions in the statistics bureau, the police office, and at railway stations at various times. Due to his familiarity with the Manchurian landscape, Yi Chi's writing was regarded as the foremost exemplar of Manchurian native literature.
- 33 "Aloysha" was published in the first issue (October 1938) of *Manchurian Romanticism*, "The Three Neighbours" in the second issue (March 1939), and "The Fall of the Pear Blossom", as well as "Window", in the fourth issue (December 1939).
- 34 Xiao Song (real name Zhao Mengyuan 赵孟原) was not only a prolific writer in the Manchukuo period, publishing six collections, but also the editor of *Brightness*. The year of his death is unclear. Xin Jia was Chen Songling (陈松龄), a graduate from Tsinghua University who moved to Manchuria to take up a post as lecturer at the Manchukuo Foundation University (*Manshū kenkoku daigaku* 満洲建国大学).



their works translated into Chinese by writers who had worked on *Brightness* and *Journal of Arts and Literature*. For example, Ōuchi's "Unfinished Literary Autobiography" (*Weiwancheng de wenxue zixuzhuan* 未完成的文学自叙传), Kizaki Ryū's "Ten Years of My Literary Career" (*Wo de wenxue shinian* 我的文学十年),<sup>35</sup> and Kitamura Kenjirō's "Autobiography" (*Bansheng zhi ji* 半生之记) all appeared in *Journal of Arts and Literature* after they had been translated by Chinese writers.<sup>36</sup> By all accounts, Chinese and Japanese writers engaged in active literary communication through the medium of the journals. The publication of these three journals led to a renaissance in Chinese literature in Manchukuo, after a long period of silence.

The period spanning 1937 to 1940 could be considered the halcyon days of literature in Manchukuo. Ōuchi's career as a translator and commentator closely paralleled the trajectory of these three journals. During the period from 1937 to 1945, writers contributing to *Journal of Arts and Literature* published more than one hundred works, many of which were translated by Ōuchi.<sup>37</sup> The active contact between Japanese and Chinese writers can be traced back to 1937 when *Brightness* was established and a substantial interaction was taking place at the textual level. It was in 1937 also that Ōuchi finished his first collection of translations. Thus, it is safe to conclude that without the initial base of the literary journals, it would have been impossible for Ōuchi to become a literary translator. During the same year, the third issue of *The Yearbook of Manchurian Literature and Arts* (*Manshū bungei nenkan* 滿洲文藝年鑑) was edited and published by the Manchuria Literary Academy, and for the first time the Academy whose members were Japanese writers demonstrated a willingness to include the works of Chinese writers. Chinese works that appeared in the survey of literary publications in Manchukuo included Tian Bing's "Aloysha" and Xiao Song's "Man-made Silk" (*Renzaosuan* 人造絹丝); both of these were by writers for the *Journal of Arts and Literature*, and were pieces in Ōuchi's translated collection.

The interactions between Japanese and Chinese writers received another boost thanks to the Manchurian Film Company, which was a semi-official corporation established in August 1937, and which went on to commission Chinese writers to work on scripts and translations. Most of the company's early

35 Kizaki Ryū is the pen name of Naka Yoshinori (仲賢礼), who worked in the Manchurian Film Company.

36 Ōuchi's "Unfinished Literary Autobiography" was published in the first issue of *Journal of Arts and Literature*, Kizaki Ryū's "Ten Years of My Literary Career" in the second, and Kitamura Kenjirō's "A Record of My Life" in the third.

37 Li, "Jiu dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue de jige wenti," 607.

films failed to please audiences in Manchukuo, even *Honeymoon Express*, which starred Li Xianglan (李香兰, J. Ri Kōran 李香蘭; real name Yamaguchi Yoshiko 山口淑子 1920–).<sup>38</sup> Appointed as managing director with a brief to turn the company's fortunes around, Amakasu Masahiko (甘粕正彦 1891–1945), the sadistic military police officer, pursued reform by enhancing the Manchurian features, insisting that the company should make films for Chinese people in Manchukuo.<sup>39</sup> To this end, the Manchurian Film Company started to hire Chinese directors and scriptwriters.<sup>40</sup> Many of the Chinese writers at *Journal of Arts and Literature* worked concurrently for the Manchurian Film Company. For example, Gu Ding and Wai Wen (外文 1910–1966)<sup>41</sup> often wrote scripts for films, and Xiao Song and Yi Chi worked as editors for the company's magazine *Manchurian Cinema* (*Manshū eiga* 満洲映画) to which other Chinese writers including Jue Qing (爵青 1917–1960), Xin Jia, Wu Lang (吴郎 1912–1957), and Wu Ying (吴瑛 1915–1961) contributed frequently.<sup>42</sup> Liang Shanding worked for the company as a scriptwriter.<sup>43</sup> Ten out of the fourteen colleagues who belonged to the *Manchurian Romanticism* group, including Ōuchi, Kizaki Ryū, and Hasegawa Shun, also worked for the Manchurian Film Company.<sup>44</sup> In general, concomitant with the development of Manchurian culture and literature, Japanese as well as Chinese writers had rich cinematic material to promote communication and camaraderie.

During the same period, a Chinese writer by the name of Wang Qiuying (王秋萤 1914–1996) founded another literary school called the Literary Selections School (*Wenxuan pai* 文选派) in the city of Fengtian, and Liang organised the Literary Collective School (*Wencong pai* 文丛派) in Shinkyō.

38 Jiang Lei 蒋蕾, “‘Manying’ zuojia qunluo kao 满映作家群落考 [Studying the Writers’ Community of the Manchurian Film Company],” *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 5 (2008): 140.

39 Baskett, *The Attractive Empire*, 29–30.

40 Hu Chang 胡昶, *Man Ying, Guoce dianying mianmianguan* 满映：国策电影面面观 [*The Manchurian Film Company: All Aspects of the State Policy Film*] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 89.

41 Wai Wen, a Chinese writer whose real name was Shan Gengsheng (单庚生), was born in 1910 in Jiangsu province, and graduated from Beijing. Wai Wen was well-known for his poetry in Manchuria.

42 Jiang Lei, “‘Manying’ zuojia qunluo kao,” 138. Jue Qing, whose real name was Liu Pei (刘佩), was a famous writer in Manchukuo.

43 Ibid.

44 Okada Hideki 岡田英樹, Nishida Masaru 西田勝 and Nishihara Kazumi 西原和海, “*Manshū rōman wo dō hyōka suruka?* 『満洲浪漫』をどう評価するか? [How to Evaluate the Journal *Manchurian Romanticism*],” *Shokuminchi bunka kenkyū* 1 (2001): 16–17.

In contrast to *Journal of Arts and Literature's* mission of “writing and publishing,” The Literary Selections School and the Literary Collective School had a strong and clear motive to promote social realism that sought to expose the darkness of society.<sup>45</sup> Works of Yuan Xi and Liang Shanding, members of the Literary Selections School and the Literary Collective School respectively, were also often translated by Ōuchi. Up until rigid literature and cultural regulations were introduced in 1941, Chinese and Japanese writers in Manchukuo enjoyed an admittedly short period of literary vibrancy.

### The Social and Political Background

Japan and China have a long shared history of literary exchange that can be traced as far back as the seventh century Tang Dynasty (618–906). This era set a high-water mark in Sino-Japanese cultural exchange. A mix of Chinese traditions including *Analects*, *Thousand Character Classic*, and a Six Dynasties collection of four character phrases were selectively taken by the Japanese rulers to develop their own cultural identity. The strong Chinese “reference culture,” a term borrowed from Wiebke Denecke, profoundly shaped the cultural maternity with which the “younger” Japanese culture could create its own cultural identity.<sup>46</sup> During this period, many Japanese ambassadors travelled to the Tang courts and returned with countless texts and manuscripts. Among these, Abe no Nakamaro (阿倍仲麻呂 698–770) was a notable figure who in 717 travelled to China to mingle with famous Chinese poets, such as Li Bai (李白 701–762) and Wang Wei (王维 699–756).<sup>47</sup> Subsequently, during the Japanese Kamakura (1192–1333) and Muromachi (1393–1573) periods, many Japanese monks, anxious to acquaint themselves with the teachings of the Zen sect, journeyed to China; the Zen masters reciprocated by accepting frequent invitations to visit Japan and meet with Japanese authorities. In addition to religious discussions, there were considerable literary exchanges; Japanese monks wrote a number of *kanshi* or verse in Chinese, which came to be known as the literature of the Five Mountains (*gozan bungaku* 五山文学), in reference to

45 Li Chunyan 李春燕, *19–20 shiji dongbei wenxue de lishi bianqian* 19–20 世纪东北文学的历史变迁 [*The Transformation of the Literature of Northeastern China in the 19th and 20th Centuries*] (Changchun: Jilin renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2004), 125.

46 Wiebke Denecke, *Classical World Literatures: Sino-Japanese and Greco-Roman Comparisons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5.

47 Joshua A. Fogel, *Articulating the Sinosphere: Sino-Japanese Relations in Space and Time* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 17.

the major Zen temples of Kamakura and Kyoto.<sup>48</sup> The strong Chinese “reference culture”, a term borrowed from Wiebke Denecke, profoundly shaped the cultural maternity with which the “younger” Japanese culture could create its own cultural identity.<sup>49</sup>

Literary and intellectual contacts between Chinese and Japanese writers would benefit greatly from the convenience of modern transportation. Unlike those early Japanese ambassadors and monks whose travels were strenuous, and not infrequently difficult and dangerous, modern Japanese and Chinese writers were able to travel by steam-powered trains and boats. In 1921, for instance, Akutagawa Ryunosuke sailed to Shanghai on a ship called *Chikugo* (*Chikugo-maru* 筑後丸); en route, he met several Chinese writers and scholars, such as Hu Shi and Gu Hongming (辜鸿铭 1857–1928).<sup>50</sup> Other Japanese writers, including Natsume Sōseki, Hayashi Fumiko (林芙美子 1904–1951) and Tani Jōji (谷譲次 1900–1935) also visited China through the auspices of the SMR. In fact, Hayashi and Tani even journeyed to Europe by train.<sup>51</sup> From its inception in 1906, the SMR managed to link Manchuria to imperial Japan by invitations to many cultural figures who were in turn responsible for introducing Manchuria to the metropolitan readership. Because Japanese literature “was not as central to Japan’s imperial project as American and European literature were to Western imperialism” and was neglected by the imperial state, an atmosphere of “reciprocity and diminished claims of authority” was largely preserved within Japanese imperial space even when the second Sino-Japanese War erupted.<sup>52</sup> The first half of the twentieth century saw a substantial and uninterrupted interest in literary exchanges between China and Japan.

However, in colonial settings which were under direct or indirect Japanese rule, the reciprocity in literary exchange that was evident in cosmopolitan Shanghai was not replicated. In Manchukuo, the frequency of literary exchanges among Chinese and Japanese writers was not a spontaneous result of the development of literature. Nor was the “reciprocity” apolitical. It was influenced and even directed by political agendas. The period of literary

48 Suzuki Sadami, *The Concept of “Literature” in Japan* (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2006), 68.

49 Wiebke Denecke uses the term “Reference Culture” to refer to the Chinese literary and cultural influence on “pre-modern” Japan. See the introduction chapter of Denecke, *Classical World Literatures*, 1–20.

50 Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China*, 259.

51 Liu Jianhui 刘建辉, *Modu Shanghai: Riben zhishiren de jindai tian* 魔都上海：日本知识人的近代体验 [*The Demon City Shanghai: Japanese Intellectuals’ Experience of Modernity*] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), 90–91.

52 Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion*, 233.

productivity overlapped with an era of gradually tightening censorship and political mobilisation of literary organisations after 1937. The development of *Brightness*, *Manchurian Romanticism*, and *Journal of Arts and Literature* was influenced by official or semi-official Japanese organisations such as the Manchuria Literary Academy, the Manchurian Concordia Association, and the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union (*ManNichi bunka kyōkai* 満日文化協会), as well as policies of the Manchurian Propaganda Association. These constraints led to confrontation between the Chinese and Japanese in 1940, when Chinese writers were forced to join the Manchuria Literary Academy. Although, contrary to the conventional assumption, the late 1930s witnessed a vibrant literary awakening in Manchukuo, this was achieved at the cost of having to tolerate interference from many quarters, including the Greater East Asian Writers Convention.

Members of the Manchuria Literary Academy contributed to the revival of literary activities. For instance, the publisher of *Journal of Arts and Literature* was Miyakawa Yasushi, a crucial member of the Manchuria Literary Academy, who around the same period was instrumental in setting up the Academy's second branch in Shinkyō in September 1937, two months after the head office was established in Dalian.<sup>53</sup> Ōuchi, who had a close connection with all three journals, worked enthusiastically for the Manchuria Literary Academy, both in Dalian and in Shinkyō. *Manchurian Romanticism* was also closely associated with the Manchuria Literary Academy. Sugimura Yūzō, who headed the Shinkyō branch of the Manchuria Literary Academy and who was also committee member of its main office, took great pains to promote *Manchurian Romanticism*; he was also the leader of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union.

The Chinese writers who worked on *Brightness*, including Wai Wen, Xin Jia, Xiao Song, Gu Ding, and Jue Qing, who later started *Journal of Arts and Literature*, were all employed in the various cultural organisations of Manchukuo. Gu Ding, who attended all three sessions of the Greater East Asia Writers Convention as representatives of the Manchurian writers, took over the position of head of the East Asia Liaison Department (*Dai Tōa renrakubu* 大東亜連絡部) of the Union of Manchurian Art and Literature (*Manshū geibun renmei* 滿洲藝文聯盟), a similar literary organisation to the Association of Taiwanese Artists in Taiwan. Chinese contributors to *Journal of Arts and Literature* and *Brightness*, such as Jue Qing, Gu Ding and Shi Jun, received a certain degree of financial aid from these institutions to support their travels around Manchukuo and Japan.

53 Okada, *Weimanzhouguo wenxue*, 24.

When Ōuchi's first collection of translations, *The Wilderness*, came out in September 1939, the Manchuria Literary Academy organised a reception to celebrate the publication. A month later, a seminar was convened to enhance Sino-Japanese literary exchange, as reported by the *Shinkyō Daily News*.<sup>54</sup> The twenty-ninth issue of the official *Newsletter of the Manchuria Literary Academy* (*Bunwakai tsūshin* 文話会通信) published details of the seminars held by *Journal of Arts and Literature*,<sup>55</sup> an advertisement for the second issue of *Journal of Arts and Literature*,<sup>56</sup> and Xin Jia's interview with Japanese writer Mushanokōji Saneatsu (武者小路実篤).<sup>57</sup> This issue also revealed the decision of the Manchuria Literary Academy to admit Chinese writers as members:

Although for a long time the Manchuria Literary Academy has had only Japanese members and the task of communicating with Chinese writers was assigned to Ōuchi, considering the academy's decision to issue a Chinese version of *The Yearbook of Manchurian Literature and Arts* and to host a range of activities related to Chinese writers, it has become a priority to develop a closer relationship with Chinese writers. In order to build a solid foundation from which to launch enhanced activities, the Manchuria Literary Academy has decided to admit three Chinese writers into the organisation.<sup>58</sup>

The Chinese writers who were invited to join the Manchuria Literary Academy were Gu Ding, Xiao Song and Wai Wen, all of whom were writers of the Journal of Arts and Literature School. By 1940, the Journal of Arts and Literature School and the Manchuria Literary Academy came to be tied together even more closely.

However, Chinese writers were not as eager as the Japanese may have expected to be welcomed into their organisations. At a gathering held six months prior to the publication of this announcement, a Japanese writer stood up and gave a speech inviting Chinese writers to participate in the Manchuria

54 Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 270–272.

55 Geibunshi dōjin 藝文志同人, "Shinshun Mandan 新春漫談 [New Year's Talk]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 29 (January 1940): 10.

56 "Geibunshi dai-ni-shū 「藝文志」第二輯 [The Second Issue of *Journal of Arts and Literature*]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 29 (January 1940): 7.

57 Xin Jia, "Shiga / Mushanokōji wo tou 志賀・武者小路を訪ふ [Visiting Shiga and Mushanokōji]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 29 (January 1940): 14.

58 "Mankei iin wo tsuiho 満系委員を追補 [Addition of Chinese Members]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 29 (January 1940): 2.



Literary Academy. One Chinese writer present, whose name was not disclosed, responded:

We are honoured to be invited to join the Manchuria Literary Academy. However, we are determined to work as good servants for the country and are no longer interested in showing off at public assemblies. Please forgive our demurral.<sup>59</sup>

This exchange to some extent demonstrates the reluctance of Chinese writers in taking up membership in the Manchuria Literary Academy. Another example of this resistance surfaced in an item published in the *Manchurian Daily News* in May 1939, according to which there had been a plan for a literature seminar addressing the opening up of Manchurian region (*Tairiku kaitaku bungei kondankai* 大陸開拓文藝懇談会) intended to promote camaraderie between the Japanese and the Chinese. However, the event was cancelled when the Chinese writers refused to attend.<sup>60</sup> Literary communications between the Japanese and the Chinese, which had peaked in 1939, largely reflected Japanese interests in establishing bonds; it would appear there was little enthusiasm from the Chinese side. Faced with limits on publication space and a dependence on funds doled out by the Japanese, however, Gu Ding and his colleagues had learned to compromise. Most of these writers joined the various professional groups that sought to mobilise literary interests and undertakings.

In 1940, circumstances shifted as an increasing number of Chinese writers received invitations to join the Manchuria Literary Academy. In April that year, there were 24 Chinese writers; by January 1941, the number had climbed to 55. With the participation of the Chinese writers, the “harmony” priority or efforts to cater to the Chinese readership of the *Newsletter of the Manchuria Literary Academy* were more evident than before. For example, the Academy dealt with key issues at the start of 1940. They included: 1) sending Chinese writers to visit Japan; 2) publishing a collection of translations of Chinese works; and 3) adding pages of Chinese to the newsletter to meet the objective of reaching a broader audience who might not be able to read Japanese.<sup>61</sup> Ōuchi played

59 Kitamura, *Hokuhenbojōki*, 123, and “Bungei jihyō 文藝時評 [Commentary on Current Literary and Cultural Events],” *Manshū gyōsei* 6: 8 (August 1939): 81.

60 Okada, *Weimanzhouguo wenxue*, 51.

61 Shinkyō bunwakai 新京文話会 [The Manchuria Literary Academy's Shinkyō Branch], “Honbu iinkai 本部委員会 [Committee Meeting],” *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 30 (February 1940): 2.



a crucial role in interacting with the Chinese writers and mediating on their behalf. He supported the idea of adding Chinese pages because it closely paralleled the Soviet model he had earlier envisioned. He argued that the Soviet Union comprised more than fifty nations, and that the writings of Marx and Lenin were published in 56 languages. This task was managed in the USSR by the propaganda division of the central committee of the Communist party and the national publishing house.<sup>62</sup>

Due to Ōuchi's efforts, in October 1940, *Newsletter of the Manchuria Literary Academy* started to include news and literary critiques in two languages, Chinese and Japanese. The general policy of Manchukuo, such as the articles of the Concordia Association, reports on the activities of the Manchuria Literary Academy, and the Outline of Guidance for Art and Literature (*Geibun shidō yōkō* 藝文指導要綱) that regulated the publication and artistic activities of Manchukuo were all published in Chinese, to inform Chinese writers who could not read Japanese. Essays and literary critiques written by Gu Ding and Jue Qing also appeared occasionally, in conjunction with many book reviews and introductions to Chinese journals and books. Issue 34 published Gu Ding's article, "Cooperation among Human Beings and Encouragement from Friends: On Cooperation Between Japanese and Chinese Intellectuals."<sup>63</sup> He expressed his willingness to contribute to the literary interactions between Japanese and Chinese writers. This article was translated by Ōuchi, symbolising a factual cooperation. The meeting of the central committee of the Manchuria Literary Academy in June 1940 focused on the issue of how to increase the number of Chinese members of the Academy.

Just as Chinese writers in Manchukuo found involvement in the Manchuria Literary Academy hard to avoid, Japanese writers in Manchukuo too faced the prospect of being forced to accept more official intervention. As early as 1937, the year in which *Brightness* and the Manchuria Literary Academy were established, Manchukuo's official power had started to encroach upon their literary activities. According to the Japanese researcher Nishida Masaru, the Academy was similar to the semi-official literary organisation in Japan known as the Literary Fraternity (*bungei konwakai* 文藝懇話会), whose task was to foster

62 Yamaguchi Shin'ichi 山口慎一, "Manshūkoku e no bungaku no ishoku ni tsuite 満洲国への文学の移植について [Regarding the Transplantation of Literature to Manchukuo]," *Manshū hyōron* 20: 18 (May 1941): 28.

63 Gu Ding 古丁, "Ren de qihe, you de qiecuo: guanyu rixi wenhuaren de tixie 人的契合, 友的切磋: 关于日系文化人的提携 [Cooperation among Human Beings and Encouragement from Friends: On Cooperation Between Japanese and Chinese Intellectuals]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 37 (September 1940): 18.

further institutions like the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature. Nishida believes that Manchukuo's "bunwakai", that is, the Manchuria Literary Academy, was simply an abbreviation of *bungei konwakai*. At that time, all sorts of organisations with "konwakai" in their title worked on behalf of the official channels of the Japanese empire.<sup>64</sup>

It has often been asserted that the intellectual environment did not deteriorate dramatically until *after* the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War in 1941, but it is clear from these initial plans that Manchukuo's government entertained an ambition to mobilise the literary sphere from as early as 1937 shortly after the founding of the Manchuria Literary Academy and the Manchurian Propaganda Association. In 1939, the Concordia Association asked for writers' contributions to help celebrate the founding of Manchukuo.<sup>65</sup> As a state-sponsored organisation, the Concordia Association was established in 1932 to promote the creation of Manchukuo and its ideology. All officials, teachers, and prominent social figures were automatically enrolled as members. It worked as a tool for mass mobilisation.<sup>66</sup> Writers were also invited to attend a meeting (*kondankai* 懇談会) convened by the chief officer of Kwangtung Army to report literary events of the Manchuria Literary Academy and to demonstrate their support for the upcoming new cultural policies.<sup>67</sup> The Manchuria Literary Academy was even asked to publish a collection dedicated to Japanese soldiers on the front.<sup>68</sup> A series of reformations of literary organisations started in 1940, which further consolidated governmental control over the intellectual environment.

Considered from a financial perspective, both *Journal of Arts and Literature* and *Manchurian Romanticism* relied heavily upon funding from the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union, which was established in Shinkyō in 1933 by the Cultural Affairs Department of the Japanese Foreign Ministry (*Gai-*

64 Okada Hideki 岡田英樹, Nishida Masaru 西田勝 and Nishihara Kazumi 西原和海, "Manshū geibun tsūshin no ichi 『満洲藝文通信』の位置 [The Place of the News Letter of Manchurian Literature and Art]," *Shokuminchi bunka kenkyū* 2 (2003): 6.

65 "Kenkoku kinen jigō ni tsuite 建国記念事業について [Regarding Activities for the Commemoration of the State's Founding]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 29 (January 1940): 2.

66 Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 25.

67 "Hōdō hanchō kakonde kondankai wo hiraku 報道班長囲んで懇談会を開く [Gathered around the Leader of the Information Division]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 29 (January 1940): 2.

68 "Zaiman shōhei imon bunshū iyoioyo kankō no hakobi 在満将兵慰問文集愈々刊行の運び [Comforting Books for Soldiers in Manchuria Are To Be Published]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 30 (February 1940): 1.

*mushō bunka jigyōbu* 外務省文化事業部).<sup>69</sup> Its mission was to consolidate and promote the intellectual forces in Manchukuo; it received moral support and backing from researchers at the Tokyo and Kyoto research centres of the Academy of Oriental Culture (*Tōhō bunka gakuin Tōkyō kenkyūjo Kyōto kenkyūjo* 東方文化学院東京研究所京都研究所) founded in 1928.<sup>70</sup> These researchers had long engaged in research related to Chinese culture. However, after the establishment of Manchukuo, they created a new branch of Manchurian study to underscore the area's autonomy from China. The proposal was received positively by the Japanese researchers at the Tokyo and Kyoto research centres, and some of them, such as Haneda Tōru (羽田亨 1882–1955), Yano Jin'ichi (矢野仁一 1872–1970) and Konishi Shigenao (小西重直 1875–1948), even became consultants to the Kwantung Army.<sup>71</sup> In July 1933, a group of Japanese researchers was dispatched from metropolitan Japan to Manchukuo to study the possibility of establishing a dedicated research institute for Manchurian culture, which led directly to the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union in November 1933.<sup>72</sup> The councilors of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union included Morita Kyū, the Director-General of the Manchurian Propaganda Association, Mutō Tomio, head of the Propaganda Department of the Manchurian State Council, Minakawa Toyoji, the Minister of General Affairs of the Concordia Association, and Sugimura Yūzō, the Director of General Affairs of the Concordia Association.<sup>73</sup>

Ever since 1937, the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union had allocated large sums of money to support literary activities in Manchukuo. The summary report of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union in May 1940 listed these funds as supporting the following: Manchurian Minister for Civil Affairs literary award (*Minseibu daiji bungeishō* 民生部大臣文藝賞), the publication of *Journal of Arts and Literature*, the publication of *Manchurian Romanticism*, and

69 The conference report of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union, Shinkyō, November 28, 1933 (Shinkyō ni kaisai no Nichi-Man bunka kyōkai kaigi hōkoku, 新京ニ開催ノ日滿文化協会々議報告昭和八年十一月二十八日) File No: B05016055300, Sheet No. 4. Japan Centre for Asian Historical Records, <http://www.jacar.go.jp>

70 Okamura Keiji 岡村敬二, *Nichi-Man bunka kyōkai no rekishi: sōsōki o chūshin ni* 日滿文化協会の歴史:草創期を中心に [*The History of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union: Focused on the Pioneering Stage*] (Kyoto: Okamura Keiji, 2006), 20.

71 Ibid., 24–25.

72 The conference report of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union, Shinkyō, November 28, 1933, File No: B05016055300, Sheet No. 5. Japan Centre for Asian Historical Records, <http://www.jacar.go.jp>.

73 The summary report of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union, File No: B05016057100, Sheet No. 16–17, Japan Centre for Asian Historical Records, <http://www.jacar.go.jp>

other expenses for the purpose of intellectual interchange.<sup>74</sup> The special issue of “The 2600th Anniversary” in *Journal of Arts and Literature* also received a subsidy from the Japanese Foreign Ministry’s Cultural Affairs Department.<sup>75</sup> In June 1939, the editorial office of *Manchurian Romanticism* was transferred to the same building that hosted the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union.<sup>76</sup> A summary of the activities of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union in 1941 revealed the disbursement of financial aid since 1937. It recorded that the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union allocated money to the development of *Journal of Arts and Literature* in 1939, the year it commenced,<sup>77</sup> giving at least the strong impression that the inception of *Journal of Arts and Literature* was in large part funded by the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union. In 1937, money was also set apart by the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union to fund the meeting of the Symposium of Arts, held from 4 September to 9 October of that year.<sup>78</sup> This symposium was divided into five sections: arts, music, theatre, popular entertainment and literature. One important topic of the literature section was how to promote Chinese literature in Manchukuo and how to promote the development of literary journals.<sup>79</sup> In short, the development of Manchurian literature was to a large degree influenced by the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union, which in turn received money from the Japanese Foreign Ministry. Judging from the personnel formation of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union, this body played a decisive role in determining the direction of Manchurian literature.

The development of Chinese literature and the enhancement of Sino-Japanese interaction were a result of conscious promotion from Tokyo and the Manchukuo government. Rather than being suppressed by the government, the interaction between Chinese and Japanese writers was encouraged by the

74 “Man-Nichi bunka kyōkai kiyō e shokuinhyō sōfu Shōwa jūgonen gogatsu 満日文化協会 紀要並職員表送付 昭和十五年五月 [The summary report of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union and the list of staff],” Japan Centre for Asian Historical Records, <http://www.jacar.go.jp> File No: B05016056800, Sheet No 11. Also see Ishida Takuo 石田卓夫, “*Geibunshi* to Man-Nichi bunka kyōkai 藝文志と満日文化協会 [Journal of Arts and Literature and the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union],” *Chūgoku tōhoku bunka kenkyū no hiroba* 1 (October 2007): 16.

75 Ishida, “*Geibunshi* to Man-Nichi bunka kyōkai,” 17.

76 Okada et al., “*Manshū rōman* wo dō hyōka suruka?,” 7.

77 The summary report of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union, File No: B05016057100, Sheet No. 68–69, Japan Centre for Asian Historical Records, <http://www.jacar.go.jp> Also see Ishida, “*Geibunshi* to Man-Nichi bunka kyōkai,” 16.

78 The summary report of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union, Sheet No. 43.

79 Ibid.

government and benefited from state-sponsored organisations. In turn, playing the role of patron, official Japanese organisations not only provided financial support for literary activities but also delegated authority to writers and translators in Manchukuo. In effect, accepting patronage implies that Chinese writers and Japanese translators had to “work within the parameters set by their patrons and they should be willing and able to legitimise both the status and the power of those patrons.”<sup>80</sup> The subsequent subtleness and complexity inherent in their writing and translating will be revealed in the next chapter.

Why did the literary communication with the Chinese side become crucial from 1937? In 1936 and 1937 Manchukuo underwent far-reaching administrative reforms. At that time, many of the influential figures who had founded Manchukuo went into retirement. A new generation of leaders including Hoshino Naoki (星野直樹 1892–1978), Tōjō Hideki (東条英機 1884–1948) and Matsuoka Yōsuke (松岡洋右 1880–1946) became central figures who would decide the future of Manchukuo. In 1936, the propaganda institutions underwent dramatic reforms in a totalitarian direction, and the Manchurian Propaganda Association was founded in this year.<sup>81</sup> After 1937, the Japanese government decided to transfer millions of Japanese farmers, bureaucrats, and intellectuals to Manchukuo. Against this background, a plan to elevate Manchurian culture was developed between 1937 and 1941.<sup>82</sup> With the official plan to restore Manchurian culture, a large sum of money was offered by the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union to develop the literary output of Chinese living in Manchukuo and to organise the Symposium of Arts mentioned earlier.<sup>83</sup>

The significance of Chinese literature and culture was first recognised after the founding of Manchukuo when the slogans of national harmony and Kingly Way were in fashion; yet, the ensuing policies of Manchukuo betrayed its early designers. The Department of Local Autonomy through which Tachibana disseminated his idea of Kingly Way was disbanded on 15 March 1932, after existing for a fleeting four months. In the same year, the Manchurian Youth League which Koyama had been affiliated with was also dissolved. Instead, as Ōuchi, who was sent back to Japan under suspicion of left-wing ideology, complained in his articles, a few new rules and laws that jeopardised the freedom of publication emerged. In the years between 1933 and 1936, Chinese writers went through hard times. These persisted until 1937, but when Japan's foreign policy

80 André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 18.

81 Ozaki, *Kindai bungaku no kizuato*, 225.

82 Okamura, *Nichi-Man bunka kyōkai no rekishi*, 133.

83 Ibid., 145.

and Manchukuo's migration plan changed, promoting Chinese literature as well as Sino-Japanese literary communication became an urgent task. The re-emergence of Chinese literature in Manchuria benefited from policies that gave high priority to the constructing of an independent Manchukuo cultural identity.

The Manchurian literary landscape in the late 1930s and early 1940s was more productive than is usually assumed, thanks to Japanese pressure to promote Chinese literature and Ōuchi's translation activities, as well as a certain level of literary interaction that occurred between Japanese and Chinese writers. This flourishing of activity, however, was achieved at the cost of influence from the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union, the Manchurian Ministry of Civil Affairs, and the Concordia Association. Manchurian literature of the 1930s and early 1940s was dominated by three contesting forces: the political agenda of the Manchukuo government after 1936, Japanese writers of the Manchuria Literary Academy who were interested in literary interactions with others, and Chinese writers who were eager to seize the chance to restore Chinese literature. Within this context, Ōuchi, as a translator, sought to coordinate the different forces, relying on his prestige within individual organisations and his prodigious output of literary translations.

## Translating Texts, Transforming Identities

Translation has always been central to colonial encounters. It proved to be “indispensable to the processes of global circulation of colonial language theories, universal history, scientific discourse, material culture, and international law for the past few hundred years.”<sup>1</sup> And, it helped to establish and perpetuate the superiority of colonial cultures over the colonised.<sup>2</sup> The history of colonialism can be perceived as a history of translation, a history of moulding people’s notions of the self and the other, and of difference.<sup>3</sup> In any given colonial relationship, translation not only sheds light on the writing of the colonised, but also it inherently seeks to construct subjects.<sup>4</sup> This was especially true for Manchukuo, where a multi-national state was of necessity also a multi-linguistic state.

In Manchukuo, national languages (*kokugo* 国語) other than Japanese were encouraged rather than suppressed at the early stage. Up until at least 1934, “the Chinese language was regarded as the national language and Japanese language was treated as a foreign language in the higher normal schools”; in public schools, Japanese language was not even a required subject.<sup>5</sup> In 1936 the newly set language examination system listed not only Japanese but also Chinese and Mongolian as national languages to be tested.<sup>6</sup> Even in 1937, when Japanese had already become one of the national languages in Manchukuo according to a new mandate on education and schooling (*shin gakusei* 新学制), Chinese and Korean writers in Manchukuo could still write in their own

1 Lydia H. Liu, “Introduction,” in *Tokens of Exchange: the Problem of Translation in Global Circulations*, ed. Lydia H. Liu (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 3.

2 Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, “Of Colonies, Cannibals and Vernaculars,” in *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London: Routledge, 1999), 17.

3 Ibid.

4 Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London: Routledge, 1998), 68.

5 Shi Gang 石剛, *Shokuminchi shihai to Nihongo: Taiwan, Manshūkoku tairiku senryochi ni okeru gengo seisaku* 植民地支配と日本語：台湾、満洲国、大陸佔領地における言語政策 [*Colonial Rule and the Japanese Language: Language Policies in Taiwan, Manchukuo and Occupied Areas on the Mainland*] (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2003), 52–56.

6 In Manchukuo, Chinese people were referred to as *Manjin* (満人), Chinese language as *Mango* (満語) and Chinese literature as *Manjin bungaku* (満人文学).



national languages. In Manchukuo, each district decided and implemented the national language differently in its education systems. Where Chinese or Mongolians were a majority, Chinese and Mongolian textbooks were specified rather than Japanese ones.<sup>7</sup> Japanese was the designated language commonly shared by the population in Manchukuo, and those who failed the Japanese language proficiency tests would find it difficult to find a job.<sup>8</sup> The usage of Chinese and other national languages, however, were still permitted. In fact, the Japanese people in general and, in particular, the staff at SMR, were even encouraged to learn and take part in Chinese language proficiency tests.<sup>9</sup>

Although discriminatory, the language policy in Manchukuo was much milder and less rigid than in Korea and Taiwan, where Japanese became the only permitted language.<sup>10</sup> For example, in March 1938 the colonial government in Korea ordered that the learning of Korean only be offered in schools as an elective course. Even this status did not last long. Teaching of Korean was totally banned the following year when both tests and classes were conducted in Japanese.<sup>11</sup> In colonial Taiwan, Chinese was banned in public schools at all levels. The use of Chinese script was prohibited and publishing in the Chinese language became impossible.<sup>12</sup>

Both Nishikawa and Ōuchi were supportive of the learning of Japanese in the 1940s, but to each the significance differed. Nishikawa proposed the urgency of spreading the Japanese language in 1942 when he was attending the Greater East Asia Writers Convention.<sup>13</sup> The idea that the Japanese language could be used as the common language for Japan's occupation area in Asia appealed

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7 Morita Takashi 森田孝, "Manshūkoku no kokugo seisaku to Nihongo no chii 満洲国の国語政策と日本語の地位 [The National Language Policy and the Status of the Japanese Language in Manchukuo]," *Nihongo* 2: 5 (1942): 80.

8 Ibid.

9 Li Suzhen 李素楨, "KyūManshū/Manshūkoku ni zaijū shita Nihonjin no Chūgokugo kentei shiken no kōsatsu: jukensha no gōkakuritsu wo chūshin toshite [旧満洲・満洲国に在住した日本人の中国語検定試験の考察：受験者の合格率を中心として [Research on the Chinese Language Proficiency Tests Taken by the Japanese Living in Former Manchuria and Manchukuo: Focused on the Percentage of Passes]," in *Nitchū gengo bunka* 2 (2004): 60.

10 Shi, *Shokuminchi shihai to Nihongo*, 60.

11 Xie, *Weimanzhouguo shi xinbian*, 579.

12 Ozaki, *Kindai bungaku no kizuato*, 106.

13 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Taikai sokkishō 大會速記抄 [A Glimpse of the Greater East Asia Writers' Congress]," *Bungei Taiwan* 5: 3 (September 1942): 22–24.

also to Ōuchi at around the same period.<sup>14</sup> Yet rather than the Japanese language, it was the Chinese language and literature that defined Ōuchi's life. In Manchukuo, the practice of translation, which was conditioned by the social, political, and ideological conditions of colonial society, offered Ōuchi a stable livelihood as a Japanese translator and writer. Translation helped to justify his presence in Manchukuo, which was primarily to contribute to the building of an independent state committed to national harmony and the advancement of the proletariat. It also enabled him to imagine his identity in a relationship to the "other", the subjugated side of Manchukuo, via an asymmetrical exchange between Chinese and Japanese. Translation helped to bridge distinct languages and cultures of various nations, and it was truer in Manchukuo than anywhere else. No longer purely a linguistic or cultural issue, the business of translation was closely fused with Japanese political designs of domination in Manchukuo.

Rather than regarding Ōuchi's translations as representative of the original Chinese writings, I view his work as a device of rewriting and as a significant portion of the overall Sino-Japanese literary communication in Manchukuo. Shortly after the publication of *The Wilderness* in 1939, Ōuchi submitted his translation to the Manchurian Minister for Civil Affairs literary award. This sparked considerable dispute regarding whether translation should be accepted as a form of literature. Ōuchi's translations were dismissed as subordinate to the "original" literary texts: he was accordingly denied eligibility.<sup>15</sup> As a translator, Ōuchi might have perceived his translations not only as a mechanical reflection of what had been written by Chinese writers, but as a form of "the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting",<sup>16</sup> or of writing itself, imbued with his own personal experience and ideological beliefs.

### From Winter to Spring: Ōuchi's Understanding of "Dark Realism"

*The Wilderness* and *The Dandelion*, two collections of Chinese short stories translated by Ōuchi, gained popularity immediately after their publication.

14 Yamaguchi Shin'ichi 山口慎一, *Tōa shinbunka no kōsō 東亜新文化の構想* [*The Conception of the New Culture of East Asia*] (Shinkyō: Manshū kōronsha, 1944), 134–144.

15 Man-Nichi bunka kyōkai 満日文化協会 [The Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union], "Dainikai minseibu daijin bungeishō kettei itaru 第二回民生部大臣文藝賞決定 至る [The Decision for the Second Manchurian Ministry of Civil Affairs' Literary Award]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin*, No. 32, (1940): 2.

16 Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, 9.

They were said to reflect “Chinese writers’ eyes” (*manjin sakka no me* 満人作家の目) that had hitherto never appeared in Manchurian literature (*Manshū bungaku* 満洲文学).<sup>17</sup> Even so, many Japanese literary scholars have regarded Manchurian literature as too sombre. For example, Kizaki Ryū notes: “Reading through, Chinese writing generally gives a sombre impression.”<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Chinese writer, Wang Qiuying, admits:

Gu Ding, Yi Chi, Xiao Song, Yuan Xi, and Shi Jun were then the most dynamic writers of the journal *Brightness*. Although different writers featured different styles, they tended to form a style common in that period, which was the description of darkness creating a sombre atmosphere.<sup>19</sup>

The sense of darkness in the two collections, *The Wilderness* and *The Dandelion*, is expressed in two ways: one is the cultivation of a sombre atmosphere through descriptions of climate; the other comes through in the plots of individual stories. These two aspects are usually intimately conjoined, as many of the short stories in both collections are set in cold winters or windy and rainy autumns. Yuan Xi in “The Three Neighbours”, for example, provides the following description of his immediate environment:

A blast of freezing wind comes in through the gaps around the window. I cannot help giving a shiver, and the pencil slips out of a hand that has already become numb with coldness. I peer at the coke stove. It has been out for a long time, leaving a layer of pale ashes. As the wind keeps stealing in, I abruptly throw away the pencil and start to look for cigarettes that I know ran out a long time ago. At last I find one butt among a pile of tattered manuscripts in the drawer, a butt so small that it can only give one puff. Nevertheless, I light it, and pull up my worn collar and scarf. Writing is no longer possible. I move away from the freezing window and drag myself into bed, thinking “what a chilly winter!” Frost starts to gather in a thick layer on the window. It is growing dark outside, and so my house slips into darkness.<sup>20</sup>

17 Kanō Saburō 加納三郎, “Manshū bunka no tame ni 満洲文化のために [For the Sake of Manchurian Culture],” *Manshū hyōron* 21: 5 (May 1941): 13.

18 Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 269.

19 Ibid., 250.

20 Yuan Xi 袁犀, “Lin san ren 邻三人 [The Three Neighbours],” in *Mingming* 明明 [Brightness], ed. Xianzhuang shuju (1938; reprint, Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2008), 348.

The story ends:

It is a gloomy day, and it is snowing. I watch a dark corner of the sky from a small window. There I see dark smoke constantly spiraling up through the snowflakes. Because of the grey wall that has obscured my view, every day all I can see is this corner of sky and a tangle of power wires.<sup>21</sup>

This story is set in winter when darkness is everywhere. It envelops the sky, and the hallways and rooms where the protagonist lives. It is in this gloomy environment that the narrator and the poor labourers, who have been laid off, wile away their lives in a dark house with nothing to do.

Another example of a mood created by describing an environment is seen in Xiao Song's work "Shi Zhong", where he writes:

It is twilight. The north wind blows harder in the darkness. The dark sky above appears to hold in it a blizzard which is going to fall in the night. On the ground there is a foreboding of storms to come.<sup>22</sup>

Yi Chi in his "Northern Wilderness" describes the scenery as follows:

The river was desolate in late autumn, as a blanket of snow spread over and beyond the land; waves tumbled angrily in the vast cold river, and the west wind whistled endless coldness to this wilderness in the north.<sup>23</sup>

"The Window", written by Shi Jun, has a similar description:

Meng Jiagang village falls into the dark night too. Whenever the night comes over, it is as if the village is haunted by a pack of headless ghosts. A filthy and sombre atmosphere permeates every corner. On the other side of the hill, where there is a graveyard, green flames shine in the dark air once in a while, getting on people's nerves. In the daytime, those red coffins are just left lying on top of each other, unburied. Foreign matchboxes used to bury infants have been torn to shreds by wandering dogs. Heads,

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 357.

<sup>22</sup> Xiao Song 小松, "Shi Zhong 施衷 [Shi Zhong]," *Yiwenzhi* 1 (June 1939): 83.

<sup>23</sup> "Beihuang" refers to the vast area in the north of China. Yi Chi 夷驰, "Beihuang 北荒 [Northern Wilderness]," in *Mingming* 明明 [*Brightness*], ed. Xianzhuang shuju (1937; reprint, Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2008), 79.

legs and clothes are all scattered here and there through the graveyard. Thinking about this in the night will make one's hair bristle.<sup>24</sup>

The gloom pervading the surroundings coupled with the tension in the plots deepen the dark atmosphere, as expressed in these collections: "Aloysha", a short story, tells a tragic tale of a Russian boy and his family. Yuan Xi's "The Three Neighbours" tells the tale of a protagonist who lives with laid off labourers and a prostitute in a poor house that they share together. They cannot make a living, and eventually one winter morning the two labourers disappear. Shi Jun's "The Window" is about a husband and wife who cannot find jobs after they have moved to the city. When they finally find a way to survive, the husband dies of an accident at work. Yi Chi's "Northern Wilderness" also depicts the life of a couple, where the husband dies of an injury after being forced to overwork as a result of exploitation. The wife then has to flee with their five-year-old child to the northern wilderness to her parents' old home, which turns out to have been abandoned years earlier due to wars. Both mother and child must beg to keep themselves alive, and tragically, not long after they have found a way to survive, fires caused by a clash between warring parties burn down their house, consuming the child who is sleeping inside.

The ways in which Chinese writers depicted the natural environment of Manchukuo caught the attention of Japanese writers including Ōuchi and Kitamura Kenjirō. In a review article, Kitamura writes:

For a start, I am confused about whether Manchuria is in fact so gloomy. Does Manchuria have nothing more than a late autumn, winter, rain in the autumn or muddy roads? Such is not the case. It is only because Chinese writers are unwilling to write about anything else. It is simply because of their own predilection, or rather, that they cannot break through their narrow inner world.<sup>25</sup>

Clearly, Kitamura was aware that the gloominess reflected in Chinese literary works correlated with the selective description of the natural environment of Manchuria. He suggested that Chinese writers deliberately wrote in this way, contending that their writing reflected their ideological dimension, which was, in his own words, the "narrow inner world" of the Chinese writers.<sup>26</sup>

24 Shi Jun 石军, "Chuang 窗 [The Windows]," *Yiwenzhi* 1 (June 1939): 57.

25 Kitamura Kenjirō 北村謙次郎, "Bungei jihyō 文藝時評 [Commentary on Current Literary and Cultural Events]," *Manshū gyōsei* 6: 11 (November 1939): 117.

26 Ibid.

So, what indeed motivated Chinese writers to write about windy autumns and stormy winters? By portraying the climate of Manchuria in this way, Chinese writers were articulating their experience as subjugated colonials. Japanese writers, even those who had sojourned in Manchuria for lengthy periods of time, were tormented by the apparent unfathomableness of Chinese literature. Although nothing revolutionary could be detected in the literal wording of the Chinese texts, it was widely believed by the Japanese that it must contain some latent rebellious content. Although the Japanese were at a loss to interpret it, Chinese readers could discern these themes without difficulty.<sup>27</sup> What was the hidden message in those Chinese texts and how were they deciphered?

Here I will suggest that by describing the unusual climate of Manchuria, Chinese writers intended to convey meanings that could not be directly expressed. This was achieved by employing words such as “sky” (*tian* 天) and “darkness” (*hei* 黑) which carry special political connotations in Chinese culture. This point can be well illustrated by the example of “The Dandelion” written by Xiao Song. Xiao’s writing contains the sentences: “The heaven has changed (*tian bian le* 天变了). A breeze had sprung up. The dark clouds were so thick and rolling that they filled people with fear”.<sup>28</sup> In this short passage, sky (*tian*), clouds (*fengyun* 风云) and darkness (*hei*) combine to convey political meanings. In Chinese culture, *tian* has several meanings, among which is one usually associated with hegemony. For example, the emperor is called “the son of heaven” (*tianzi* 天子); the dominion of the emperor is “all below the heaven” (*tianxia* 天下).<sup>29</sup> The term “winds and clouds” (*fengyun* 风云) has a special use to indicate political turmoil, beyond its basic meaning of clouds and wind.<sup>30</sup> *Hei* can be used to describe not only the colour black but also the corruption of society.

Given these cultural nuances, “The weather has changed” in the above quote may imply the advent of a new dynasty. The dark, rolling clouds may

27 Huang Wanghua 黄万华, “Yiwenzhi pai wenxue de fengmao 文艺志派文学的风貌 [The Style and Features of the Literature of the *Journal of Arts and Literature School*],” in *Liaokaoxia de miusi: dongbei lunxianqu Wenxue shigang* 镣铐下的缪斯：东北沦陷区文学史纲 [The Fettered Muses: A History of Literature in Occupied Northeastern China], ed. Sun Zhongtian et al. (Jilinsheng: Jilin daxue chubanshe, 1999), 115.

28 Xiao Song 小松, “Pugongying 蒲公英 [The Dandelion],” *Yiwenzhi* 2 (December 1939): 8. The original Chinese text is: 天变了。微许的风，在轻轻的吹着，可是黑云竟然这样浓厚，风云滚动着使人害怕。

29 Xinhua cidianshe 新华词典社 ed., *Xinhua cidian* 新华词典 [Xinhua Dictionary] (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1980), 828.

30 Li Yuanyi 李运益 ed., *Hanyu biyu dacidian* 汉语比喻大辞典 [Dictionary of Chinese Metaphors], (Chengdu: Sichuan cishuchubanshe, 1992), 146.

symbolise revolutions or drastic social or military upheaval. In her interpretation of Xiao Song's "Dandelion", aware of the historical context of Manchukuo, Miyata Hotaruko pays special attention to the phrase "three years ago" that repeatedly appears in the story. Miyata suggests with reference to September 1939 that it alludes to the second Sino-Japanese War that broke out approximately three years before Xiao Song wrote this story.<sup>31</sup> Miyata further suggests that Xiao Song sought to voice his subversive political opinions by utilising the cultural resources embedded in the Chinese language.<sup>32</sup> However, the cultural nuances were not translated. Ōuchi's translation of the start of this passage as "the weather changed" (*tenki ga kawatta* 天気が変わった) only conveys the literal meaning of the original text.<sup>33</sup> Though the Chinese *tian* and the Japanese word *tenki* (天気) similarly denote "the weather", this translation is incapable of conveying the extended meaning available in Chinese. It is very common for Chinese writings in this period not to mention any concrete dates and historical background in stories. Most of the stories took place in years that could not be clearly identified. Confined by the political environment of Manchukuo, Chinese writers wrote in an extremely ambiguous way. Writing turned into a form of parable, the meaning of which is very political.

Due to hidden messages in the texts which otherwise escaped scrutiny, or the impossibility of translating the political connotations expressed by the Chinese language, Chinese writers did not want their texts to be translated by Ōuchi. Kitamura once disclosed that a certain writer complained: "Despite the variety of writers and works, he approaches all of his translations with the same grammatical pattern and style, obscuring the nuances in different individual writers. Anyway, Ōuchi is too busy to undertake translations."<sup>34</sup> According to him, "This is why when *Manchurian Romanticism* started its special issue of literary criticism, Xin Jia and other Chinese writers themselves wrote in Japanese. Although they didn't do this simply in order to avoid being translated by Ōuchi, they were not completely satisfied with Ōuchi's work."<sup>35</sup> The practice of translation in Manchukuo already had grown into something far beyond the

31 Miyata Hotaruko 宮田蛭子, "Xiao Song Tanpoporon: eien no hana 小松蒲公英論：永遠の花 [On Xiao Song's "Dandelion": The Eternal Flower]," in "*Shōwa*" *bungakushi ni okeru "Manshū" no mondai(ni)* 「昭和」文学史における「満洲」の問題 (2) [Manchurian Issues in the Literary History of the Shōwa Period vol.2], ed. Sugino Yōkichi (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku kyōikugakubu Sugino Yōkichi kenkyūshitsu, 1994), 230.

32 Ibid.

33 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, "Tanpopo 蒲公英 [Dandelion]," in *Tanpopo*, 16.

34 Kitamura, *Hokuhenbojōki*, 145.

35 Ibid., 146.



scope of language and literature. By all means it was political and thus even dangerous.

Further layers of complexity are added to this cultural and literary communication between the Japanese and the Chinese by Ōuchi's own writings, which can be read as a response to the Chinese texts he translated. Where some Japanese writers condemned Chinese works of literature outright for being too sombre, Ōuchi gave expression to his views on the matter less directly in some creative output of his own, a play in Japanese titled *The Songhua River is Glittering* (*Shōka no nagare wa kagayaite iru* 松花の流れは輝いている), which was published in the journal *Manchurian Romanticism* in 1940. The play, in three acts, narrates the story of Xiu Ling, a girl from a well-off family, her stepmother Su Lan, and her friend Cao Juan. Xiu Ling, whose father dies in a car crash, is a free and open-minded girl, character traits which contrast with those of her traditional stepmother. Xiu Ling's friend Cao Juan, who was born into a poor family, believes in the power of hard work to make her dreams come true. Both Xiu Ling and Cao Juan fall in love with Wang, an engineer working on the Songhua River dam project. At the end of the play, Wang and Cao Juan marry, and Xiu Ling commits suicide in despair.

In a riposte to the dour depictions preferred by Chinese writers, Ōuchi portrays here the Manchurian spring in all its vibrancy, revealing not only his personal outlook on Manchukuo but also the irreducible gap between the Japanese side and the Chinese side in perspectives on the shared history. As the play opens, Ōuchi establishes the scene:

At the front of the building there are large windows. These look out onto the various trees planted around and the Songhua River in the distance. The willows are sprouting their tender shoots. With trees beyond the windows on all sides, Xiu Ling is playing Mendelssohn's "Spring" on the piano.<sup>36</sup>

A dialogue ensues between Xiu Ling and her stepmother:

Su Lan (looking out of the window): Look, spring has come. The willows are all turning green.

36 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, "Shōka no nagare wa kagayaite iru 松花の流れは輝いている [The Songhua River is Glittering]," in *Manshū roman dai-6-shū* 満洲浪漫第6輯 [*Manchurian Romanticism*, vol.6], ed. Lü Yuanming, Suzuki Sadami and Ryū Kenki (1940; reprint, Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2002–2003), 189.

Xiu Ling: It's true – the soft green is such a wonderful colour, almost like a flame.

Su Lan: Yes, this is the best time of year in Manchuria.

Xiu Ling: Fabulous.

Su Lan: Yes, fabulous.<sup>37</sup>

A similar dialogue extolling the scenery and season is repeated in the second scene, when “A” and “B”, two friends of Su Lan, come to visit. “A” and “B” remark on the beautiful surroundings of Su Lan's house. Hearing their conversation, Xiu Ling again declares spring to be the best time of year in Manchuria.<sup>38</sup> There can be no doubt that this is the image of Manchuria that Ōuchi wants to convey. In this selective invocation of the natural environment, Ōuchi gives voice to the optimism and ambition for the country through the mouths of his Chinese characters, in what is ultimately a political message.

The Songhua River, a major river that traverses the entire Manchurian region, assumes a key symbolic role in elucidating the political ideas of the play. Manchuria was to Ōuchi a vibrant land, and its prosperity and durability were reflected in the river's ceaseless flow. But to most Chinese the name of the Songhua was invested with more ambivalent, even dire, connotations. By 1940, it had flooded already three times during the Manchukuo period, in 1932, 1934, and 1938. In July 1932, Harbin was severely inundated following 27 days of incessant rain and 20,000 people were estimated to have died as a result.<sup>39</sup> From the time of that natural disaster, the Songhua River bore an association in the minds of Chinese with calamity and suffering. In 1936 this would be overlaid with further emotion when communist drama worker Zhang Hanhui (张寒辉 1902–1946) wrote the song “By the Songhua River” (*Songhuajiang shang* 松花江上), inspired by his memory of the refugees who had fled Manchuria to Xi'an in the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident of 1931. In the words of the song, “my home is by the Songhua River, there are my countrymen, my old and feeble mother and father.”<sup>40</sup> These sentimental lyrics not only helped to forge an anti-Japanese cultural atmosphere within which the second united front between the CCP and the Kuomintang was reached in a significant historical

37 Ibid., 189–190.

38 Ibid., 216.

39 Harbinshi shuiliju 哈尔滨水利局 [Water Conservation Bureau of Harbin], *Harbin shuili zhi* 哈尔滨水利志 [Water Conservation Annals of Harbin] (Heilongjiangsheng: Harbinshi shuiliju, 1994), 81.

40 Richard Curt Kraus, *Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggle over Western Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 50.



ILLUSTRATION 12 *A Postcard Depicting the Frozen Songhua River. A postcard issued by Senryūdō Kobayashi Matashichi honten, Tokyo, 1935. Courtesy of Mr. Fan Rong.*

conjuncture, but it also reinforced the image of a suffering Manchuria in every Chinese person's heart.

In *The Songhua River is Glittering* these heavy sentiments are almost turned on their head. The stepmother Su Lan has experienced one of the river's floods, and she eulogises the experience:

The water keeps flowing and strangely a feeling of security starts to grow in my heart. Standing in the water, for some reason, I feel at one with the water. I am alone and I can feel something of the intimacy in nature. Even as branches, leaves, and logs are carried towards me, I still feel the water is gentle and full of vitality.<sup>41</sup>

Her recollections of the natural environment of Manchuria, especially the Songhua River, transform the catastrophe of flood into a spectacle.

41 Ōuchi, "Shōka no nagare wa kagayaite iru," 212.

Manchukuo was in great need of engineers, a fact personified in the play by another of the protagonists. Wang is employed in constructing a major dam that will ensure the river will never flood again. He works day and night, finding ways to protect Manchukuo from floods. He declares: "This is a significant project. Its success will have a great impact. Moreover, it is a little innovative. If it succeeds, the construction will move to a new and even larger scale. That is why we have a crucial responsibility."<sup>42</sup> From 1935 to 1943, the Japanese colonial government in Manchuria focused on building a big dam called Fengman (丰满) on the upper reaches of the river. It was designed to generate electricity while at the same time protecting Harbin from flooding. Reaching more than 90 meters, the Fengman dam was the highest in Asia at the time.<sup>43</sup> However, the cost of its construction was the death of thousands, while the rest of the more than 22 million cheap labourers drawn from North China were made to work under extremely harsh conditions.<sup>44</sup>

As regards the plans and their implementation, Wang stresses that they are very challenging: "We have to take the risk even though sometimes we are pushing the limits."<sup>45</sup> These words underscored the sense of urgency about undertaking construction projects that promote future development, and it should be read in the broader social context of Manchukuo in the early 1940s. I suggest that to some extent words such as "plans for the future" (*keikaku* 計画), "material logistics" (*zairyō no hokuyō* 材料の補給) and "human resources" (*ningen wo mawasu* 人間を廻す) refer directly to the series of reforms embarked upon in Manchukuo when Japanese imperialism accelerated after 1940.<sup>46</sup> Eventually, the dam in the play is completed. "The surging river is really beautiful, shining with the radiance of power. Although a little muddy, it is full of strength."<sup>47</sup> Ōuchi stresses the river as a symbol of the vitality of nature and the vigour of life. The play ends with a chorus of children eulogising the Songhua:

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42 Ibid., 226.

43 Zhou Lizheng 周礼正, "Songhuajiang fengman shuiba xunli 松花江丰满水坝巡礼 [Overview of the Fengman Dam on the Songhua River]," *Jianshe* 3: 4 (1943): 35.

44 Zhang Yu 张羽, *Jilin shi shiqu wenwu zhi* 吉林市区文物志 [Record of Cultural Relics in Jilin] (Changchunshi: Jilin sheng wenwu zhi bianweihui, 1983), 42–44.

45 Ōuchi, "Shōka no nagare wa kagayaite iru," 226.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid., 246.

The Song Hua River rushes forward,  
 Beautiful and limpid.  
 The sun shines,  
 Over the shining river,  
 Flowing yesterday, today, tomorrow, and forever.<sup>48</sup>

Ōuchi's writings on the natural world of Manchuria were fundamentally different from the Chinese writers' perceptions of Manchukuo, although both sides were concerned with common themes: that is, how to adopt cultural metaphors of natural environment into writing in Manchukuo. Ōuchi's translations—which formed the primary base of his play and the window through which he gained his insights into the status of Chinese literature in Manchukuo—were more than simply a unidirectional linguistic process from Chinese to Japanese: they became part of Sino-Japanese cultural exchange. He moved from “translation of culture” to an act of “cultural translation”, from a passive interpretation to an active re-creation. Literary translation always contains translation of culture, conscious or unconscious manipulation of the original text, while “cultural” translation is an activity of rewriting, retelling, commenting and criticising the original text by a translator.

### Proletarians under the Sun

Translations reflected Ōuchi's position as a Japanese translator and China expert sojourning in Manchukuo. His translations of Chinese writings had undergone a certain degree of conscious processing, reflecting the rhetoric of national harmony and anti-capitalism in Manchukuo. His translations not only concealed the social and political inequality that pervaded Manchukuo, but also blurred the subversive voices of the Chinese writers. This was not necessarily due to his colonial consciousness. It may have been also because of his cautiousness about revealing too much of a political message. This can be explained with the examples of Ōuchi's translations of Yuan Xi's “The Three Neighbours” and Tian Bing's “Aloysha”.

Yuan Xi's “The Three Neighbours” tells a story of how five occupants of the same building support each other under difficult circumstances. The protagonist is an intellectual who lives by writing. Two labourers, Xu Cai and Zhao Baolu, who live in the room next door, work all day and into the night. On the other side, Jin Feng lives with her old mother, who is bedridden all day. Jin

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48 Ibid., 248.

Feng earns a living as a prostitute. The protagonist, the only one in the entire building who can afford to burn coal during the winter, knows them because they often come to his room to get warm.

Through his contact with these “others”, who barely manage to scrape a living, the protagonist finds that they all share the same fate, which bears down on them so hard that they can hardly breathe.<sup>49</sup> This insight leads him to change his capitalist stance, and he gradually forgets the fact that he was once rich and lived as a so-called “intellectual”. He abandons the aspiration to become a writer in a tastefully decorated study, and gains strength from his neighbours. As if waking from a dream, he comes to the realisation that he is just as poor as they are, and barely able to earn a living himself.<sup>50</sup>

In his translation, Ōuchi made several changes. For example, in the original there is one sentence that reads: “I am waiting for the moment when I can eat and live.”<sup>51</sup> Ōuchi translates this as: “waiting for a job opportunity so that I can eat.”<sup>52</sup> When the protagonist tries to explain the way he earns his living to the labourers, he tells them: “You feed yourselves by using your hands, arms and strength, while I feed myself by using my brain.” The protagonist also confesses, “I am embarrassed to say ‘feed myself’, since selling articles doesn’t earn a living at the moment. But, as there is no way to feed myself, I have to explain it to them this way.”<sup>53</sup> Ōuchi translates this as:

I told them “You feed yourselves by physical effort, while I feed myself by thinking and writing”. However, I was embarrassed to say “feed myself”. I am not justified to say feeding. Since I am not going to tell them that selling articles cannot make a living, I have to explain it to them in this way.<sup>54</sup>

49 Yuan, “Lin san ren,” 355.

50 Ibid., 357.

51 Ibid., 349. The original Chinese text is: 我在那里等待一个能吃饭能活的时候。

52 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, “Tonari sannin 隣三人 [The Three Neighbours],” in Ōuchi, *Gen’ya*, 308. The Japanese text is: そして其処で私は食ってゆくだけ働ける機会を待っていた。

53 Yuan, “Lin san ren,” 351. The original Chinese text is: 你们用手用胳膊用力气吃饭，我用脑袋吃饭。说吃饭自己也不好意思，在那时指了卖文章是不能吃饱饭的，但是还没有吃饱饭的法子，就只好那样对他说。

54 Ōuchi, “Tonari sannin,” 314. The Japanese text is: 君たちは君たちの腕の力で食ふんだらう、僕は頭で考へ手で書いて食ふのさ！食ふなんて言へる筋合じゃなかった、原稿なんかでは食べぬといふことを言ふ積もりだったが、それには先づさきのやうに説明せねばならなかった。

Here, the short segment “there is no way to feed myself” is wholly lost in Ōuchi’s translation.

Another example of difference comes where the original observes, after they all lose their jobs, that “it often happened that [we] were so hungry that we could not fall asleep at night.”<sup>55</sup> Ōuchi translates this as: “Many times [we] could not fall asleep at night,”<sup>56</sup> which fails to acknowledge hunger as the reason. After recounting his own experience, Xu Cai explodes:

I have suffered from all kinds of things. Where the hell’s the sweet reward at the end of [my] bitter struggle? Damn it, who believes in sweet rewards at the end of bitter struggles? I was born to suffer, son of a bitch!<sup>57</sup>

This is translated as: “I have suffered it all. In the end I was born to suffer, son of a bitch!”<sup>58</sup> The passage “Where the hell’s the sweet reward at the end of [my] bitter struggle? Damn it, who believes in sweet rewards at the end of bitter struggles?” does not appear in the Japanese version. Ōuchi may have made adjustments in his translations because he regarded the original texts as undermining the tone of a proletarian utopia. To Ōuchi, the proletariat, the basis of Manchukuo, did not deserve a life so full of struggle for survival that there was no way to go on living. Nor should they have to doubt that there was any prospect of a better future.

Lyrics introduced to the story by the author had a strong tone of proletarian solidarity, which might be the reason why Ōuchi choose to translate this piece. One day, the protagonist buys a pancake wrapped in a sheet of paper which seems to be an insert from a gramophone record showing lyrics:

We’re poor friends that have no food  
We walk together on the road of hunger  
Natural disasters force us into one family  
Man-made calamities compel us to hold hands tightly.

55 Yuan, “Lin san ren,” 355. The Chinese text is: 晚上在床上饿得不能入睡也常有。

56 Ōuchi, “Tonari sannin,” 327. The Japanese text is: 夜床に入って眠りつけぬことも屡々あった。

57 Yuan, “Lin san ren,” 354. The Chinese text is: 反正我什么苦都受过，什么苦尽甜来？我操你个苦尽甜来想的什么？反正我们就是受苦的家伙，操他妈。

58 Ōuchi, “Tonari sannin,” 324. The Japanese text is: 結局、どんな苦勞でもしたのだ、結局俺は苦勞をするやうに生まれついていたのさ、畜生。



On the reverse side is:

Cook, please walk slowly  
 We're not robbers  
 The food in the basket is for all to eat  
 The sun on the street is for all to enjoy.<sup>59</sup>

The protagonist likes the song, even though he does not know its name, so he adds his own tune and sings. And, as narrated by Yuan Xi, this song comes to be enjoyed by all the poor neighbours, whose lot closely resembles that of the figures in the song.

At the end of the story, Zhao Baolu, one of the labourers who cannot find a job, leaves one cold morning. When Xu Cai comes back in the evening, he has a premonition about Zhao's departure, but refuses to share it with the protagonist. That night, the protagonist writes: "He [Xu Cai] talks a lot with me. He says that he has finally worked it out. He is over forty, and only today has he worked it out."<sup>60</sup> The next morning, Xu Cai takes his leave as well. Yuan Xi obviously did not intend to tell the readers what Xu Cai finally came to understand and what "they" talked about that night. However, judging from the song they sang, there is every reason for readers to believe that one of many ways out for Xu Cai and Zhao Baolu was probably proletarian revolution.

In fact, the ambiguous ending, in which the hero leaves for "somewhere" was one of the tropes of Manchurian literature at the time. As Huang Xuan has observed:

In certain works, when the character of a story encounters a predicament, the outcome is always "departure". This not only becomes a mode some Chinese authors frequently resort to, but also forms a pattern. Though even the author himself cannot imagine the character participating in revolution against the unequal social order in Manchukuo, once the pattern is invoked, readers make a tacit assumption that the departure will lead to a bright future; that is, revolution.<sup>61</sup>

59 Yuan, "Lin san ren," 352.

60 Ibid., 357.

61 Huang Xuan 黄玄, "Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue gaikuang" 东北沦陷期文学概况 [An Overview of Literature in Occupied Northeastern China], *Dongbei xiandai wenxue shiliao* 4 (March 1982): 137.

Ōuchi understood this pattern of writing. As a translator, Ōuchi had excellent knowledge of the cultural and even psychological dimensions of Chinese literature. In his own literary review, he calls it a “bright ending” (*Mingliang de weibai* 明亮的尾巴),<sup>62</sup> which became a solution for proletarian works in Manchuria.

In order to better endow the protagonist with a proletarian tone, Ōuchi made a small alteration to his class stance. In the original text, there is one sentence stating: “In short, I am the only one in the whole building who has a fire in his room, and that makes me like a plutocrat among these people”.<sup>63</sup> In Ōuchi’s translation, it reads: “In this building, only when my room has a fire do I feel myself like the leader of a party.”<sup>64</sup> The Chinese version “I am the only one who has a fire” is turned into “only when my room has a fire”, and “a plutocrat” becomes “a leader”. These may have been intentional changes on Ōuchi’s part, or simply an unconscious mistake. In either situation, the class difference between the protagonist and the other people living in the same building becomes less evident; instead, a class affinity has emerged.

Ōuchi’s view of revolution against an unequal social order stood in an ambiguous relationship with Manchurian reality. As discussed in Chapter Four, for Ōuchi and other pan-Asianists, Manchuria was not merely a colonial base for metropolitan Japan’s military and economic might, rather, it represented a revolutionary break from the capitalistic and bourgeois history of Japan, offering new opportunities for the working class. When Manchukuo was established in 1932, it was initially intended to be an independent state made up of minorities and led by the proletariat. This strong appeal to agrarianism defined the leading ideology of Manchukuo in its early stage.<sup>65</sup> Influenced by his exchange with Chinese proletarian writers in his early years, Ōuchi was sympathetic toward their cause. In his earlier days in Shanghai, Ōuchi established a strong connection with Chinese proletarian writers such as Yu Dafu and Guo Moruo. He wrote many articles accusing the bourgeois Chinese Nationalist Party of cruelty. This also led to his enthusiastic support for the establishment of

62 Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 384.

63 Yuan, “Lin san ren,” 350. The original Chinese text is 这一所楼里，唯有我的屋子里有火，在这一群人里我像一个财主。

64 Ōuchi, “Tonari sannin,” 311. The Japanese text is 要するにこの建物では、私の部屋に火がある時だけ、わたしは其処の連中の大将みたいなものだった。

65 Tachibana Shiraki 橘樸, “Kenkoku risō: nōhon shugi no kōdō 建国理想：農本主義の行動 [The Ideal of Manchukuo’s Founding: The Dynamism of Agrarianism],” in *Tachibana Shiraki chosakushū* 橘樸著作集第2卷 [Collected Writings of Tachibana Shiraki vol. 2], ed. Tachibana Shiraki chosakushū kankō iinkai (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1966), 354.

Manchukuo, which for him signalled the success of the revolution against both the Chinese and Japanese bourgeoisie. Manchukuo was conceptualised first and foremost as a state founded by proletarian forces, and thus independent of Japanese capitalism.

However, this agrarian and proletarian enthusiasm shared by many Japanese intellectuals in the early stages of Manchukuo's founding soon evaporated. By July 1932, the need to secure recognition of Manchukuo by metropolitan Japan saw self-assertive independence drastically reduced. Subsequently, "personnel transfers had replaced most of the Manchurian Incident plotters with relatively bloodless bureaucratic types from Tokyo, content to do the bidding of the high command."<sup>66</sup> By 1937, when Manchukuo adopted a five-year plan and Ayukawa Gisuke of Nissan Industries invested three billion yen to establish the Manchurian Heavy Industries Corporation, industrialism and capitalism, rather than agrarianism, became the dominant philosophy of Manchukuo.<sup>67</sup> From that time forward, the utopian dream of a proletarian state became no more than official rhetoric used by the imperialist power to conceal social inequality in Manchukuo. It was a ghost that went on to haunt those Japanese who once embraced it. A revolution against the existing social order certainly was not expected by the Manchurian government. The establishment of Manchukuo was legitimised by proletarian promises. Yet, after its founding, radical proletarian appeals had to be contained.

The penetration of capitalism into Manchukuo with the backing of Japanese imperialism was captured in Liang Shangding's novel *Green Valley*, the translation of which by Ōuchi reflects the divergence of his perception of Manchukuo from the Japanese stance. In Liang's original, there is a short passage which reads:

Having passed through wild lands, trains are rolling into this city blanketed in smoke. They have shattered the dream of the city using monstrous bellows. It is no secret that the prosperity of the city depends on those trains, which appear to be more and more frequent. They have taken away thousands of tons of fruit and treasures of the land and brought back "goodwill", "cooperation", "co-prosperity", and "mutual support".<sup>68</sup>

66 Mark R. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 152.

67 Li, *The China Factor in Modern Japanese Thought*, 57.

68 Liang Shanding 梁山丁, *Lüse de gu 绿色的谷 [Green Valley]* (Liaoning: chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1987), 103. The omitted Chinese text is 火车从广漠的大平原上滚进这个

These sentiments represented Chinese writers' rejection of colonial modernity. However, the passage was omitted in Ōuchi's translation due to its perspicacity in questioning the nature of that colonial modernity. In this novel, Liang Shangding has revealed the impact of capitalism in Manchukuo: that is, the destruction of the original agrarian social structure. This is summarised as: "I love my broken country. I do not love this prosperous heaven".<sup>69</sup> However, this love for a broken country has been modified by Ōuchi in his translation to become love for colonial modernity, with the words: "I love my country as well as this heaven".<sup>70</sup> In 1940, two disparate elements, namely, Ōuchi's early dream of proletarian Manchukuo and the need for propaganda, thus reached a perfect compromise in his translations. Through translation, Ōuchi's early years of yearning for proletarianism were dextrously intertwined with the reality of Manchukuo. However, the corollary of this was that the subversive content which Chinese writers managed to incorporate in their literary texts was tampered with and altered. After Ōuchi's reworking, all insurgent dissonance was largely eliminated.

Ōuchi's philosophy of translation may be further clarified by his translation of the lyrics cited in "The Three Neighbours". As suggested above, they reflect the strong feelings about the unification of the proletariat held by both Yuan Xi and Ōuchi. However, unification of the proletariat had complex connotations in the 1940s. The theme of class unification could be easily assimilated into the rhetoric of national harmony. Ōuchi's translations of the two sentences, "Man-made calamities compel us to hold hands tightly" and "The sun on the street is for all to enjoy" are fundamentally different from the original texts.<sup>71</sup> Ōuchi translates the first sentence as "the calamities make us hold hands tightly".<sup>72</sup> What Yuan Xi refers to as "man-made calamities" (*renhuo* 人禍) are not simple undifferentiated "calamities": they are attributable to human beings. They could well include the consequences of war. Furthermore, in the source text Yuan Xi uses "compel" (*bi* 逼) to indicate the absence of any other

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充满了烟雾的市街，它以怪兽一般的吼叫震碎了这市街的春梦，谁都知道，使这市街繁荣的脉管，便是一年比一年更年轻更喜悦的火车，它从这里带走千万吨土地上收获的成果和发掘出来的宝藏，回头捎来“亲善”“合作”“共荣”“携手”。For the Japanese translation see Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, *Midori nasutani* 緑なす谷 [*Green Valley*] (Hōten: Tōfū shobō, 1943), 174.

69 Liang, *Lüse de gu*, 191. The original Chinese text is 我爱我破碎的家乡，我不爱这锦绣的天堂。

70 Ōuchi, *Midori nasutani*, 332. The Japanese text is: 懐かしや古里，この天国も楽し。

71 Yuan, "Lin san ren," 352. The original Chinese text is: 人祸逼我们牵紧手 and 马路上太阳人人有。

72 Ōuchi, "Tonari sannin," 318. The Japanese text is: 禍ひが俺達の手をつなぎ合せた。

option. In Ōuchi's translation, these important details have been disregarded completely. The second sentence, "The sun on the street is for all to enjoy", has been translated into "The sun on the road shines on everyone."<sup>73</sup> There is no suggestion of shining in Yuan Xi's original text at all. Rather, it stresses that everyone in society is entitled to the sunshine. In Ōuchi's translation, the sun, which can be read as the symbol of the Japanese empire, spreads its rays to every single corner of the empire. Tendency towards unification expressed by Yuan Xi was similar to yet distinct from the spirit of national harmony promoted in Manchukuo in the 1940s. In this way, proletarian ideals are converted into the voice of the empire without any difficulty. The dream of Ōuchi's early years was intertwined with the imperialist history of the Japanese empire. Proletarian unification and the core idea of national harmony were mediated by the colonial reality of Manchukuo.

Okada, the researcher on Manchurian literature under Japanese rule, has commented on the political danger attached to Ōuchi's translation of Yuan Xi's "The Three Neighbours". He suggests that the story analyses Manchukuo's society by means of class theory, and that Yuan Xi himself had been actively participating at the time in the CCP underground struggle against the imperialist power.<sup>74</sup> However, due to those conscious or unconscious alternations, Ōuchi's translation is less risky than the original Chinese versions. The subversive discord has been largely eliminated, and the works glitter with the "sunshine of empire". In other words, Ōuchi's translation of Yuan Xi's "The Three Neighbours" reflected precisely that the conflict between class theory and the programme for the founding of Manchukuo was not entirely irreconcilable; neither was the ambiguity surrounding the identity of the Japanese living in Manchukuo. Ōuchi appeared to be a mixture of proletarian ideas of class struggle and national harmony; in the end essentially he was none of them.

### National Concordance and Its Concealment

Concord among the five nations was the fundamental policy endorsed and propagandised by the government in Manchukuo. Yet, the national make-up of Manchukuo was even more complicated than the slogan *gozoku kyōwa* suggests. For example, in 1939 there were 37 million Han Chinese and Manchus, more than 1.1 million Japanese, as well as a million Mongols and a million Koreans. However, in addition to these five nations, there were also 38,000 "White

73 Ibid. The Japanese text is: 通りに太陽は誰の上にも照っている。

74 Okada et al., "Manshū rōman wo dō hyōka suruka?" 9.

Russians" and communities of Germans, Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, and Crimean Tartars living there.<sup>75</sup> In addition, at this time approximately 2,000 *nikkeijin*, Japanese who had emigrated to the continental United States and Hawaii, came to Manchukuo.<sup>76</sup> In this "new" land, there was never a law of nationality (*kokusekihō* 国籍法) to define clearly who the national subjects of Manchukuo were. The declaration of Manchukuo's foundation stated that "there should be no differences among all those who live within this new territory". It also states that "in addition to Han Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Japanese, and Koreans, people of any other nationality will be treated equally with others, as long as they wish to reside permanently in Manchukuo".<sup>77</sup> The nationality question, though, still remained a big problem, and sometimes impacted directly on public welfare.

The Japanese population was the dominant nation in Manchukuo. They not only occupied important position in all sorts of institutions and governmental organisations but were better paid than those from the other nations. In light of this situation, it is noteworthy that almost no Chinese text written in Manchukuo contained a major Japanese protagonist. According to Okada, "Chinese writers tend to avoid writing Japanese characters. If a Japanese enters the scene, the writer has to reveal his or her attitude toward the Japanese people as well as Manchurian reality."<sup>78</sup> The treatment of Japanese characters was a painful and dangerous process for writers who wanted to but were not able to speak the truth. Instead, they wrote many pieces that depicted the lives in exile of the White Russians. For example, Chinese writers such as Jue Qing, Tian Bing, Yi Chi, Zhang Pujun (张璞君 1917–1994), and Shu Qun (舒群 1913–1985) all wove descriptions of White Russians into their writings. This form of surrogate portrayal proved an easy way for Chinese writers to voice their subversive opinions toward the reality on the ground in Manchukuo; it also demonstrated their understanding of national or class affinity there.

Two of the stories on White Russians, Tian Bing's "Aloysha" and Yi Chi's "Wild Geese Flying Southward", were translated by Ōuchi. The former depicts the miserable life of a White Russian family in which the daughter and the mother sell their bodies for a living and the son is constantly bullied. Yi Chi's "Wild Geese Flying Southward" portrays the hard life of White Russian dairy farmers. Ander Lennon, the protagonist, has migrated to Manchuria and earns a livelihood by selling dairy products. Alexander, another White Russian,

75 Stephan, "Hijacked by Utopia: American Nikkei in Manchuria," 2.

76 Ibid., 3.

77 *Manshūkokushi hensan kankōkai, Manshūkokushi*, 219.

78 Okada, *Weimanzhouguo wenxue*, 159.

works for the Manchukuo government, and persuades Lennon into joining a cooperative society based on the argument that there is no protection for the private property of White Russians anymore. When Lennon is told that his bull is sold for fifty yuan instead of 120, he speaks up in desperation: "We are both White Russians. You must not take advantage of me!"<sup>79</sup> Yet, the one who decides the fate of Lennon is not Alexander but the person who stands behind him. This character is in uniform and never speaks. He symbolises the silent Japanese authority that Chinese writers could not depict directly.<sup>80</sup> The existence of the Japanese authority, symbolised by the silent "uniform", is stressed throughout the story. In the end, the protagonist asks bitterly, "Where is the place that White Russians can call home?"<sup>81</sup> The story clearly reveals the living predicament of White Russians in Manchukuo.

The living conditions of the White Russians were harsh in the narrative of Manchukuo's history of national concord. In Manchukuo's national policy, this demographic was resoundingly neglected. When Manchukuo was founded in 1932, there were more than 75,000 Russians living in the area, people referred to by the Japanese authorities as "foreigners".<sup>82</sup> Among them, more than 30,000 were White Russians who were said to have "lost" their nationality, while the rest were called people of the Soviet Union.<sup>83</sup> Most of them had flooded into the area in the final years of the nineteenth century to participate in the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The railway project drew tens of thousands of people from the far reaches of the Tsarist empire to the sparsely populated lands of the Manchurian region. By the mid 1920s, joined by refugees from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the ensuing Russian Civil War in the early part of the decade, the number of Russians in Harbin grew to 120,000, while some 35,000 Russians lived in other settlements in Manchuria.<sup>84</sup> When the Soviet government was recognised by China, many Russians changed their citizenship, to either Chinese or Soviets. Those refusing to do so became stateless "White Russians" in Manchuria, as generalised by the

79 Yi Chi 夷驰, "Yan nanfei 雁南飞 [Wild Geese Flying Southward]," in *Mingming* 明明 [Brightness], ed. Xianzhuang shuju (1937; reprint. Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2008), 199.

80 Okada, *Weimanzhouguo wenxue*, 159.

81 Yi, "Yan nanfei," 201.

82 Yang Guang 杨光, "Lun weimanzhouguo chao, ri wailai minzu yu guojifa de nanchan 论伪满洲国朝、日外来民族与国家法的难产 [Korean and Japanese Nationality in Northeastern China and the Failure of Manchukuo's Nationality Law]" (Master diss., Yanbian Daxue, 2005), 7.

83 Ibid.

84 John Stephan, *The Russian Fascists: Tragedy and Farce in Exile 1925–45* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978), 37–40.



Japanese authority. The social and economic straits these individuals encountered aroused sympathy and tenderness in the hearts of Chinese writers who tended to identify their own plight with this destitute group.

The Russian population in 1930 stood at about 100,000. It diminished noticeably after 1935 when the Soviets sold the railway to Japan. By the time of the 1940 census, it had further decreased to 54,000.<sup>85</sup> This was “an inevitable result of the economic policy of Manchukuo”, which introduced monopolies that suffocated private business. “Metallurgic and lumber industries and the export business were placed under administrative control. High taxes and enforced loans destroyed capital. Foreign banks were closed, and Japanese banks gave credit only with official sanction.”<sup>86</sup> In other words, the Russian population was marginalised. In contrast, the Japanese population, which had never been dominant to begin with, quickly increased in numbers. In May 1936, the Kwangtung Army announced an ambitious plan to send a million farm households, nearly one-fifth of Japan’s farm population at the time, to Manchukuo. Although falling short of this ambitious goal, over 300,000 Japanese resettled in Manchukuo before Japan’s surrender in 1945.<sup>87</sup> Based in Harbin, the White Russians had a difficult time. While former military officers earned their living by driving cars for the Japanese, most White Russian farmers and workers survived by begging. Good-looking women often worked as prostitutes.<sup>88</sup> Even the Japanese admitted, “there is nothing more miserable than the life of those who do not possess a nationality.”<sup>89</sup> This will be demonstrated in Tian Bing’s short story “Aloysha”.

The Chinese protagonist makes his way to a city (known only as “S”) and stays in a hotel where he meets a Russian boy by the name of Aloysha. The boy wants to trade a pair of old boots for a drink for his father. From the servants in the hotel, the protagonist hears the tragic story of Aloysha’s family. Aloysha’s father, a declining Russian aristocrat, escaped to “X”, and sold himself to his present master. He now works in his master’s vineyard. The conditions there are horrible and the work is exhausting. The father, an alcoholic, often steals

85 George C. Guins, “Russians in Manchuria,” *Russian Review* 2: 2 (1943): 83.

86 Ibid., 84.

87 Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 307.

88 Noguchi Kiichi 野口喜一, *Hokuman hokushi ni kōgun o imonshite* 北滿北支に皇軍を慰問して [*Comforting the Japanese Army in Northern Manchuria and Northern China*] (Kawasaki: Keihin jitsugyō shinbunsha, 1938), 70.

89 Dai Ajia Nihon seinen renmei 大アジア日本青年連盟, *Manshū kenkyūdan hōkoku dai-1-kai* 滿洲研究団報告第1回 [*The First Report from the Study Group of Manchukuo*] (Tokyo: Daiajia Nihon seinen renmei honbu, 1935), 220.

from his master and then asks Aloysha to trade the stolen goods for alcohol. Aloysha's sister, who has no option but to become a prostitute, sells herself for a mere "twenty cents" each time. In exchange for food, Aloysha's mother has casual sexual relations with a Chinese who works in a lime factory nearby, but the man refuses to provide for Aloysha as well. Therefore, the boy has to either live with his father or wander the streets, where he becomes an easy target for bullying.

In the original text, there is one scene in which Aloysha goes into a shop and attempts to trade the old boots for alcohol. The shopkeeper says he will consider it only if his sister is willing to trade her body. He then says: "What the hell are you thinking? Your father is a bastard. Go home quickly and tell your sister to save a place for me."<sup>90</sup> Ōuchi changes these sentences to: "What the hell are you thinking? Go home quickly and tell your sister to come here."<sup>91</sup> Thus, the last sentence "Go home quickly and tell your sister to save a place for me", implying that the shopkeeper wants to visit the prostitute, is replaced by "Tell your sister to come here". Without reading the original Chinese version, readers cannot understand the shopkeeper's real intent.

In another scene, in which Aloysha's mother is forced through poverty into sexual relations with the lime worker, the original text reads: "In order to have a bowl of food, his wife has gone with a Chinese, a lime worker."<sup>92</sup> Ōuchi translates this as: "His wife gets food from a Chinese in a lime factory."<sup>93</sup> How Aloysha's mother survives and by what means are completely omitted. The Chinese words "gone with a Chinese" (*bian gen le yige Zhongguoren* 便跟了一个中国人) imply a sexual relationship or partnership between a man and a woman. Even though Aloysha's mother goes with a Chinese, and can buy food to fill her stomach, Aloysha's situation remains unchanged. In the story, it is explained that, "This was because the lime worker's salary is too low and he [the Chinese worker] simply does not like him [Aloysha], let alone want

90 Tian Bing 田兵, "Aliaoshi 阿了式 [Aloysha]," in *Mingming* 明明 [*Brightness*], ed. Xianzhuang shuju (1938; reprint, Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2008), 325. The original Chinese text is: 混蛋你寻思什么, 你爹那个老王八。快回家告诉你姐姐给我留地方。

91 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, "Aryōsha アリ ヨーシャ [Aloysha]," in Ōuchi, *Tanpopo*, 301. The Japanese text is: 馬鹿奴、何を考へてるんだ、此奴、早く家に帰って姉さんにやって来いといへ。

92 Tian, "Aliaoshi," 326. The Chinese text is: 他老婆为了弄盅饭吃, 便跟了一个中国人, 烧石灰的工人。

93 Ōuchi, "Aryōsha," 303. The Japanese text is: 彼の妻は食ふ物を石灰工場の支那人から貰ったりした。

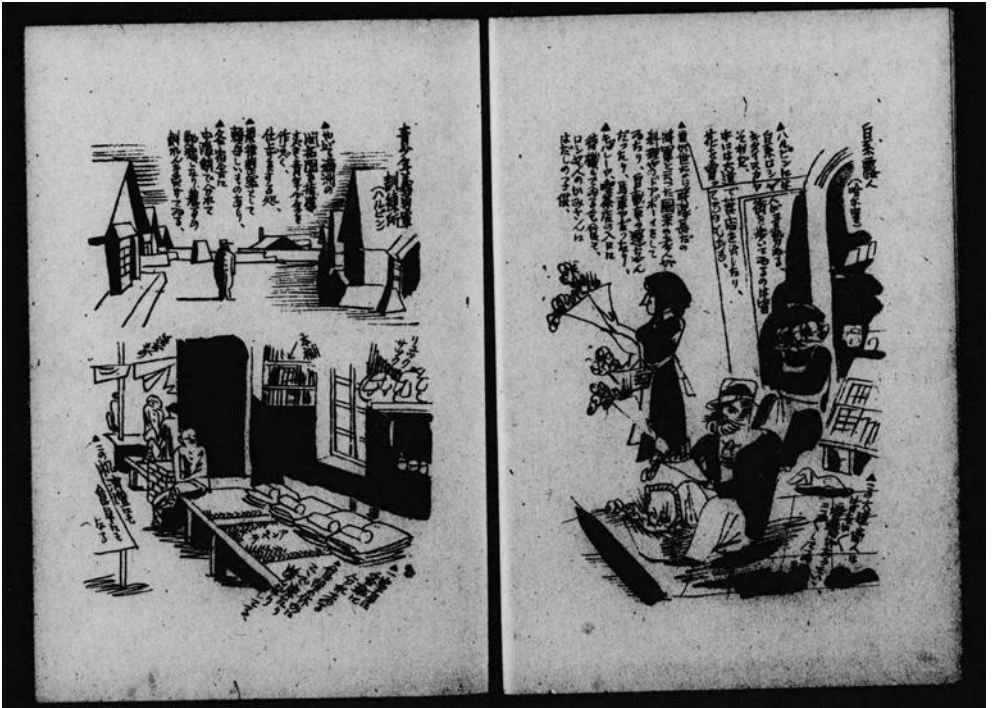


ILLUSTRATION 13 Caricature of White Russians living in Manchukuo. Cited from *Manmō fūbutsu sokkyō* 満蒙風物即興 [Extemporisation of Manchurian and Mongolian Scenery], (Tokyo: Aoi shobō, 1941). Courtesy of the National Diet Library.

to bring him up. To him [Aloysha], the lime worker is also a distant person.”<sup>94</sup> Ōuchi’s translation reads: “This was because the lime worker’s salary is too low and he really does not appeal to him.”<sup>95</sup> The phrases “he simply does not like him”, “let alone want to bring him up” and “the lime worker is also a distant person” are not found in Ōuchi’s translation.

The government of Manchukuo imposed rations on food and grains in 1941 in order to cope with dwindling supplies. People living in Manchukuo were divided into three groups: the Japanese, the Korean, and Chinese (including the Han Chinese, the Manchu, the Mongolians, and the other nations). The

94 Tian, “Aliaoshi,” 326. The original Chinese text is: 这也是因为烧石灰的工人收入太少，从根本上，不喜欢他，更不肯养活他的关系。在他也觉得烧石灰的工人是生疏不相吻合的一个人。

95 Ōuchi, “Aryōsha,” 304. The Japanese text is: これ石灰焼き労働者の収入が余り少なかったからでもあるが、それを本当に喜ばなかったからである。

Japanese people were entitled to an all-rice ration while the Koreans received half rice and half in “lesser grains” because they were regarded as citizens of Japan. The rest of the people living in Manchukuo had to survive on sorghum and maize.<sup>96</sup> The White Russians who did not have Manchukuo citizenship had an even harder time, which makes it easy to understand the original Chinese version of “Aloysha”, where Aloysha’s mother survives by following a Chinese, who nevertheless does not want to raise Aloysha.

Wittingly or unwittingly, Ōuchi omits any reference to the discord between the Chinese and the White Russians. By making these subtle changes in translation, the economic and social conflict between the Chinese and the White Russians living in Manchukuo was blurred. When compared to the original Chinese version, Ōuchi’s Japanese translation was more compatible with Manchukuo’s policy of national harmony, a prime element of Manchukuo’s rhetoric. The gap between the Chinese version and the Japanese translation reveals how empty the slogan of “concord of five nations” was.

### Problematic Father

Ōuchi’s translation of “Aloysha” gives rise to another problematic question: How is the metaphor of “family” in Sino-Japanese literary communication understood? In his translation of the sentence, “What the hell are you thinking? Your father is a bastard. Go home quickly and tell your sister to save a place for me!” a further difference can be found, in addition to the omission of the discord between the Chinese and the White Russians. Ōuchi does not translate “Your father is a bastard” literally. Instead, he replaces “your father” with “this guy” (*koitsu* 此奴), which is far from the original meaning. Curiously, this difference echoes in another part of the text, where the shopkeeper says to the protagonist, “Haven’t you heard about his sister? Twenty cents a time. You think this guy is not handsome? He has two fathers!”<sup>97</sup> Ōuchi translates this as: “Haven’t you heard that his sister is \* \* \* \*. She does not seem ugly.”<sup>98</sup> In this

96 Sun Bang 孙邦, *Weimanzhou shiliao congshu: jingji lieduo* 伪满洲史料丛书：经济掠夺 [The Historical Materials of Manchukuo series: Economic Plunder] (Changchun: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1993), 178.

97 Tian, “Aliaoshi,” 325. The Chinese text is: 他姐姐没听说嘛，两角钱一下，别看这家伙样不及，两爹呢。

98 Ōuchi, “Aryōsha,” 301. The Japanese text is: お聞きになった事ありませんか、これの姉さんは \* \* \* \* なんですよ、これみたいに不様じゃありませんよ。The asterisks here appeared in the original text.

translation, again, the “two fathers” are left out. In Tian Bing’s original writing, the shopkeeper wants to inform the Chinese protagonist that Aloysha’s mother “has gone with a Chinese”, so Aloysha has two fathers. This can be read as Tian Bing’s sarcastic way of depicting the history of Manchukuo, which was full of tensions after the Manchurian Incident. However, this subtle innuendo is not reflected in Ōuchi’s translation at all.

The metaphorical relationship between “family” and “father” has a long history in the tradition of Chinese literature, a fact that Ōuchi knew well. He once wrote: “The family and its related problems are easily seen when one reads the recent literary works of Chinese writers in Manchukuo. Ten years ago, it was a typical theme in Chinese literature and this was also true for movies and dramas.”<sup>99</sup> In his *Some Books Concerning China*, Ōuchi introduced Ba Jin’s (巴金 1904–2005) *The Family* (*Jia* 家) written in 1931. It depicts the process by which a feudal family collapses in modern China, as well as relevant issues of family in Chinese literature. Ōuchi writes: “The spirit of struggling against tradition still has its practical significance, and still touches people. Thus, the world of *The Family* is one we have to examine.”<sup>100</sup> In writings addressing the May Fourth Movement, family does not exist as a simple social unit; rather, *family* is bound with patriarchy, seen as the symbol of an old system waiting for revolution. This was because, at a higher level, family and nation were paired concepts with tight unity. The concept of nation-state (*guojia* 国家) is derived from a combination of the characters “nation” (*guo* 国) and “family” (*jia* 家).

When referring to the popularity of family novels (*kazoku shōsetsu* 家族小説) in Manchukuo, Ōuchi states:

On the one hand, the number of officials moving here from China is much larger than before. They are more likely to be separated from their families. Everything, including daily lives, relationships, marriage, is conducted in a way different from before. This provides ample material for literary writings. The old family system becomes the oppression they seek to criticise, to struggle against and accordingly, to agonise over.<sup>101</sup>

He reminds his Japanese colleagues that Chinese writers in Manchukuo were obsessed with family novels because family issues allowed writers to write

99 Yama 矢間, “Mankei to kazoku seido 満系と家族制度 [Chinese People and the Family System],” *Manshū hyōron* 21: 18 (November 1941): 31.

100 Huang Yang 晃阳, “Shina kankei sūsho 支那関係数書 [Some Books Concerning China],” *Manshū hyōron* 23: 4 (July 1942): 28.

101 Yama, “Mankei to kazoku seido,” 31.

freely. Themes dealing with other issues might cause unnecessary friction; therefore, stories about progressive youth criticising and fighting the traditional family system were safe and non-controversial.<sup>102</sup>

However, as an apologist for Chinese literature in Manchukuo, Ōuchi did not disclose all of the intentions of Chinese writers, who, while writing family stories, resorted to metaphor to express views that were political. Social criticism was the core of the many so-called family novels. Ōuchi understood the ways in which Chinese writers managed to convey hidden meanings. This is why he opted to delete “Your father is a bastard” and the reference to “two fathers” in his translation of “Aloysha” by Tian Bing. The cultural metaphor of father in Chinese fiction is another good example demonstrating how the untranslatable cultural difference could be utilised to construct the identity of the colonised, who would otherwise be forced to keep silent.

As with his rejoinder to the tendentious depictions of weather elsewhere, Ōuchi responded in his own play to Chinese writers’ preference for the family metaphor, this time by mocking the father-son narrative. In *The Songhua River is Glittering*, he deliberately creates a scenario in which a mother and daughter are the two lead characters, thereby omitting the role of both father and husband. The stepmother, who claims to be “old-fashioned”, is at a turning point in her life but still “dwells on the past.” In response to her stepmother’s uncertainty about the future, Xiu Ling tries to reassure her by saying “Mother, you are free now”,<sup>103</sup> and “Mother, the situation you are in now is no different from mine.”<sup>104</sup> Ōuchi’s play, set in a Chinese family, sought to assert that Manchukuo was free to sever its relationship with its patriarchal past. His understanding of Chinese cultural expression was well utilised to express Manchukuo’s political metaphor.

## The Political Implications of Translation in Manchukuo

### *Translation as a Compromise*

Despite Ōuchi’s efforts, the reality of Chinese literature in Manchukuo was that for a long time it was not accorded much attention. In the special issue on “Research on Manchurian Literature” in *Manchurian Romanticism*, Wang Ze,

102 Ibid.

103 Ōuchi, “Shōka no nagare wa kagayaite iru,” 191. The Japanese text is: お義母さんはもう自由なのよ。

104 Ibid., 210. The Japanese text is: いまでは自由な立場にいらつしゃるんでせう？別に違いがないと思ふわ。



a Chinese writer, has expressed his discontent regarding the lack of recognition from the Chinese point of view. He remarks somewhat sarcastically:

No one in Manchuria would deny the existence of Japanese literature, but the existence of Chinese literature has been recently discovered by the Japanese. It really is a great joy to note that there is something called Chinese literature, and one feels especially honored to be able to carry out literary interchanges with Japanese literature.<sup>105</sup>

Wang Ze's remarks reflected the undervalued status of Chinese literature in the Manchukuo period.

So, what compelled Ōuchi to engage in translating Chinese literature? Japan had long demonstrated an interest in communicating with China and learning the Chinese culture. This interest was best exemplified in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century by the establishment of the Association of Common Culture of East Asia (*Tōa dōbunkai* 東亜同文会) and its successor the East Asian Common-culture Academy, which Ōuchi had attended in his school days. The need to train a substantial corps of Japanese who could understand Chinese stimulated the establishment of many Chinese language courses and the publishing of Chinese language textbooks in the 1920s as Japan sought to enter the Chinese market. Chinese language courses taught via radio were started in Dalian in 1925, in Tokyo in 1931, and Osaka and other places in 1932.<sup>106</sup>

Not only did Chinese language learning see a boom in Japan, but Chinese literature was also popular during the 1930s and 1940s. "A number of metropolitan readers were avid consumers of colonial and semi-colonial literature, snapping up books as quickly as they became available."<sup>107</sup> In July 1926, the journal *Reconstruction* issued a summer supplement on Chinese literature, with translations of short stories and plays by Guo Moruo, Tian Han, and Zhang Ziping, as well as poetry by Xu Zhimo, all of whom were writers Ōuchi was close to. Ironically, Japan's imperialist seizure of Manchuria in 1931 galvanised the

105 Wang Ze 王则, "Man-Nichi bungaku kōryūzatsudan 満日文学交流雑談 [Conversation on the Literary Interactions between the Chinese and Japanese]," in *Manshū rōman dai-5-shū* 満洲浪漫第5輯 [*Manchurian Romanticism*, vol. 5], ed. Lü Yuanming, Suzuki Sadami and Ryū Kenki (1940; Reprint, Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2002–2003), 87.

106 Wang Youmin 王幼敏, "Jindai Riben zhongguoyu jiaoyu de lishi guiji 近代日本中国語教育の歴史軌跡 [The History of Chinese Language Learning in Modern Japan]," *Journal of Guangxi Normal University* 42: 2 (2006): 100–104.

107 Thorner, *Empire of Texts in Motion*, 31.



formation of a sizeable market for Chinese literature in Japan; even Japanese textbooks started to include selections of Chinese creative writing.<sup>108</sup> Between 1935 and 1943, the Chinese Literature Research Association (*Chūgoku bungaku kenkyūkai* 中国文学研究会) published dozens of Japanese language translations of such writers as Guo Moruo, Huang Zunxian (黄遵宪 1848–1905), Lu Xun, and more, in its periodicals *Chinese Literature Monthly* (*Zhongguo wenxue yuebao* 中国文学月报) and *Chinese Literature* (*Zhongguo wenxue* 中国文学).<sup>109</sup> Though living in Manchuria, Ōuchi was never insulated from the general popularity of reading Chinese literature in Japan. His translation collections were first published in Tokyo, by the Sanwa Publishing House (*Sanwa shobō* 三和書房).

Learning the language of the colonised was not unique to Manchuria. For example, as has been demonstrated in Cohn's book, the British started appropriating Indian languages to serve as a crucial component in their construction of the system of rule in the later eighteenth century. Similar to the situation of Manchuria, British officials started promoting Indian classical languages such as Sanskrit, as well as Persian and Arabic. They even produced grammars, dictionary, treaties, class books, and translations about the languages of India. These texts, according to Cohn, "signal the invasion of an epistemological space occupied by a great number of diverse Indian scholars, intellectuals, teachers, scribes, priests, lawyers, officials, merchants, and bankers, whose knowledge as well as they themselves were to be converted into instruments of colonial rule."<sup>110</sup> However, the cultural exchange between China and Japan had a long history prior to the start of Japan's military and cultural presence in the Chinese continent. Ōuchi's learning of the Chinese language and translation of Chinese culture were closely connected to the long tradition of Sino-Japanese cultural exchanges. The development of an avid readership for Chinese literature in Japan during these years and the history of Sino-Japanese cultural exchanges in no way detracts from the fundamental proposition that colonial translation was political in nature. The implications of this for Ōuchi's work in the field, therefore, went beyond the cultural and literary merits.

First, translation and the Chinese literature of Manchukuo were the terms in which Ōuchi's identity was configured. The cognition of "self" demands the existence of the "other". The formation of identity always hinges upon

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid., 134.

110 Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 21.

“a relation between two human collectives, that is, it always resides in the nexus between the collective self and its others.”<sup>111</sup> The translation of Chinese literature, on the one hand, helped to round out the rhetoric of Manchukuo as an independent and multi-nationalistic state, fundamentally legitimising the substance and meaning of Ōuchi's life in Manchukuo. Translation, meanwhile, enabled Ōuchi to imagine his identity in relation to the other, the subjugated side of Manchukuo. These two layers of identification constituted Ōuchi's life in Manchukuo.

Secondly, as part of legitimising the projected image of an independent state, Manchukuo needed a corresponding notion of an independent Manchurian literature. Chinese literature became indispensable to the establishment of Manchurian literature and broadly to the independence of Manchukuo. In the words of Kanō Saburō:

It does not mean we Japanese have to rely on Chinese literature: on the one hand, it is necessary for Chinese, the overwhelming majority of Manchukuo, to have their own literature; on the other, it is useful to define the essence of Manchurian literature through its interaction with Chinese literature, and draw on the elements that can secure the national independence of Manchukuo.<sup>112</sup>

The importance of translational practices in Manchukuo was determined by the national reality on the ground. Ever since the founding of Manchukuo, the ideal of the harmony of different peoples—Mongols, Manchus, Hui Muslims, Koreans, Japanese, and the Han-Chinese—became national policy and was endorsed by the Concordia Association. This was no mere rhetorical tool of Japanese imperialism. The Japanese and all the other Asian communities only accounted for about twenty percent of the entire population of Manchukuo, while the majority was Han-Chinese.<sup>113</sup> Manchukuo differed from Japan's other colonies in that Japan there used a strategy of independence and alliance rather than assimilation and homogenisation.<sup>114</sup> Although in practice the Concordia Association was not able to resolve conflicts and ease tensions between nations, the theory of national concord shaped Japan's imperialism in

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111 Iver B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other: “The East” in European Identity Formation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 399.

112 Kanō, “Manshū bunka no tameni,” 13.

113 Duara, “Nationalism, Imperialism, Federalism, and the Example of Manchukuo,” 61.

114 *Ibid.*, 65.

Manchukuo. Manchukuo's legitimacy rested heavily upon the coordination of various national interests, even though sometimes the "position on the principle of harmony—that is, anticolonialism—was thoroughly conceptual."<sup>115</sup> Accordingly, Ōuchi criticised the fact that the Japanese in Manchukuo tended to neglect Chinese literature. He writes:

When discussing issues of Manchurian literature, current Japanese critics all seem to have neglected Chinese writers, or are not willing to give them due weight. I feel they deserve some criticism for this neglect.<sup>116</sup>

Although the existence of Chinese literature was recognised by Ōuchi, how to define this particular literature of Manchukuo still remained a question. According to the conventional classification of Manchurian Chinese literature, it was believed to comprise the "literature of the north" (*beifang wenxue* 北方文学) or the "May Fourth new literature". For example, Chinese writer Wu Lang states: "The modern Manchurian literary movement can be dated back to the northern literary arena. Before the Manchurian Incident, the northern literary arena was really a development of the Chinese new literature world."<sup>117</sup> By quoting Kobayashi Hideo's statement that "the nature of literature is defined by the uniqueness of the nation", Wu Lang argues that the nature of Chinese literature was defined by the modern history of the Chinese nation.<sup>118</sup> Chinese writers in Manchuria were also seen to have a certain commonality with the traditions of Russian literature. For example, when commenting on Shi Jun's work "Break-away" (*Li tuo* 离脱), the famous Japanese writer Okada Saburō ventured the view that the story had a hint of Russian literary sensibility, in that generally speaking it was heavy and dark. Comparing Chinese literature in Manchuria with Japanese literature, Okada saw the former as more closely allied to the Russian literary tradition, being deeply rooted in reality and devoted to writing about the natural landscape.<sup>119</sup> Another writer, Yi Chi, whose major opus was "Northern Wilderness", had had the experience of

115 Itō Takeo, *Life Along the South Manchurian Railway*, trans. Joshua A. Fogel (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1988), 12.

116 Yamaguchi Shin'ichi 山口慎一, "Manjin bungaku no tenbō 満人文学の展望 [The Expectation of Chinese Literature in Manchuria]," *Manshū gyōsei* 5: 1 (January 1938): 77.

117 Wu Lang 吴郎, "Manzhou de chuantong yu manzhou wenxue 满洲的传统与满洲文学 [Manchurian Traditions and Manchurian Literature]," *Yiwenzhi* 1: 5 (March 1944): 31.

118 Ibid.

119 The article was originally written by Okada Saburō, and published in *Bungakusha*, in March 1940. Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, "Manshū bungaku no tokushitsu 満洲文学の特質 [The Nature of Manchurian Literature]," in *Manshū roman dai-5-shū* 満洲浪漫第5輯

translating Gorki's *Books* and was influenced by Chekhov's *Duel*.<sup>120</sup> Gu Ding's *The Wilderness* was also regarded as similar to Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol's work.

Against this background, how to absorb Chinese literature into the Manchurian literary arena became a crucial challenge for Ōuchi. Given the reality that there was no literary form that could qualify as the "Manchurian literature of the young Manchukuo", it was critical for Ōuchi to create a literary arena incorporating both Chinese and Japanese literature. For Ōuchi, the ideal Manchurian literature was "by no means the subordination of Chinese literature, nor was it an imitation of Japanese literature, but a form of literature based on the uniqueness of Manchukuo." Ōuchi was determined to "prove this through translation".<sup>121</sup>

Thus, when translating Chinese literary works in 1939, he was disinclined to criticise the perceived "darkness" of Chinese literature, as other Japanese writers had done before him, but opted instead to coin the concept "northern characteristics" (*hoppōtokushitsu* 北方特質) to explain this peculiarity of Chinese writings. Ōuchi dismissed what Okada had called a hint of Russian literature as no more than "northern characteristics". He regarded Manchurian literature as a kind of literature devoted to writing about 1) the vast and open natural landscape; 2) the severity of its influence on human beings; 3) heroic and resilient characters; and 4) the social structure of the migrants from the Shangdong and Hebei provinces, with its many feudal remnants.<sup>122</sup> Ōuchi appropriated Chinese literature as a resource that helped conceive a dream of independent Manchukuo. By arguing the indispensable role of Chinese literature, Ōuchi also justified his own indispensable role as a translator and an expert on Chinese literature.

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[*Manchurian Romanticism*, vol. 5], ed. Lü Yuanming, Suzuki Sadami and Ryū Kenki (1940; reprint, Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2002–2003), 57.

120 Xiao Song 小松, "Yi Chi jiqi zuopin 夷驰及其作品 [Yi Chi and His Works]," in *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi: pinglun juan* 东北现代文学大系评论卷 [*A Collection of Critiques of Modern Northeastern Literature*], ed. Zhang Yumao (Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996), 210.

121 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, "Bungei jihyō 文藝時評 [Literary Review]," *Gekkan Manshū* 13: 5 (May 1940): 172.

122 Ōuchi, "Manshū bungaku no tokushitsu," 58.

### Translation as a Contested Field

Supporting national harmony did not necessarily mean that Ōuchi endorsed the idea of national equality. Rather, he considered that Manchurian culture could be divided into two categories: a more-advanced and a less-advanced culture. The key solution to social conflicts was to absorb all of the factors from the more advanced cultures that could help less advanced nationalities to develop more effectively.<sup>123</sup> After the Manchuria Literary Academy transferred its headquarters from Dalian to Shinkyō, the Manchurian literary arena seemed to embark upon a new stage of development: journals and news agencies started to launch more activities, and more Chinese works such as *The Wilderness* were translated by Ōuchi. Awareness of these extended even to Japan. Increasing numbers of Japanese writers went to Manchukuo, and, as a result, the literary arenas of Japan and Manchukuo came to be more closely bound together.<sup>124</sup> This was regarded by Ōuchi as the right time for the release of a comprehensive cultural policy. He stated that Manchukuo was made up of multiple nations, the national cultures of which were rather “backward”. Therefore, as an advanced nation with a high-level culture, Japan should guide rather than suppress the development of the more laggard cultures.<sup>125</sup> A sense of Japanese national superiority could be clearly identified. The core of the proletarian affinity, the pan-Asianist thoughts, and the national concordance were in the end all thanks to Japanese leadership.

In line with this voice of wisdom from the “advanced” Japanese culture, the issue of establishing a national translation institute was put on the agenda. An interesting proposal appeared in mid-August 1943 in the form of an appeal to set up the Manchukuo National Translation House (*Manshūkoku kokuritsu hon'yakukan* 満洲国立翻訳館). One of the main proponents was Chinese writer Gu Ding. Jue Qing states: “The establishment of a Manchukuo National Translation House, to assume the task of introducing foreign culture systematically and enlightening Manchurian literature, has become an important issue for local intellectuals in recent years”. “It seems to me”, he continues, “that whenever Japanese and Manchurian intellectuals gather to discuss cultural affairs, the topic of setting up a translation house has always come up. All of us have reached the same conclusion: the establishment of a translation

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 280.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 282–283.

house is one of the most effective methods to develop Manchurian culture."<sup>126</sup> By foreign culture, writers in Manchukuo tacitly understood this to mean Japanese culture. Therefore, "the purpose of establishing a translation house of course is to introduce Japanese culture systematically and seek communication between Japanese culture and that of Manchuria."<sup>127</sup> As also expected by Ōuchi, the Sino-Japanese interaction might exert positive influences over the indigenous literature, "bringing Japanese words and Japanese expressions to Chinese writings". For example, as suggested by Ōuchi, "using the Japanese word '散歩' (*sanpo*, a walk) instead of Chinese word '溜达溜达' (*liuda liuda*) will bring more freshness." In terms of literary styles and writing skills, "the influence of Japanese writers such as Yokomitsu Riichi and Matsuo Bashō will enhance the development of literature in Manchukuo."<sup>128</sup> In 1943, Ōuchi's perception of Japan's role in leading the cultural and economic affairs in Asia was not so different from that of Nishikawa in Taiwan.

Although it was Gu Ding who proposed the establishment of a national translation house at the Greater East Asia Writers Convention, the idea of promoting communication between the Japanese and the Chinese through translation originally came from Ōuchi. In March 1941, the Propaganda Department of the Manchurian State Council released its guidelines on art and literature, advocating the transplanting of Japanese art and literature to Manchukuo. Ōuchi went along with this political decision to a certain extent, arguing that based on Japanese historical experience, absorbing elements of foreign culture and initiating cultural transplantations were necessary. Regarding cultural transplantation, Ōuchi deemed that translations should play a significant role.<sup>129</sup> In pursuit of this goal, he was enthusiastic about launching a translation association in Manchukuo, which he called the Manchuria Translation Research Association (*Manshū hon'yaku kenkyūkai* 満洲翻訳研究会), an idea that came much earlier than the establishment of the National Translation House. In order to carry out research in translation skills and to unify the translation field itself, more than thirty Japanese and Chinese translators gathered, with Ōuchi serving as the central figure among the Japanese translators, and Gu

126 Jue Qing 爵青, "Meiyue pinglun: guoli fanyiguan wenti 每月评论：国立翻译馆问题 [The Monthly Review: Questions Regarding the Manchukuo National Translation House]," *Qingnian wenhua* 1: 3 (October 1943): 81.

127 Ibid.

128 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, "Mankei geibun no hōkō 満系藝文の方向 [The Direction of Chinese Literature and Art]," in *Ranka kaoru kuni* 蘭花香る國 [An Orchid Scented Land], ed. Yamanaga Taizaburō (Hōten: Tofū shobō, 1942), 93.

129 Yamaguchi, "Manshūkoku e no bungaku no ishoku ni tsuite," 26–27.

Ding as the crucial figure among Chinese writers who engaged in translation.<sup>130</sup> The launch ceremony was held in the Propaganda Department's meeting room in Shinkyō on 4 April 1940.<sup>131</sup> Ōuchi was among the chief committee members. However, not content with this, Ōuchi suggested that there should be a more powerful organ to translate global arts and literatures. He insisted that, just like its National Central Museum and a National Central Library, Manchukuo must also have its own National Translation House.<sup>132</sup>

But, what were the Chinese responses to the idea of founding an institute that might be called National Translation House? For example, what was the view of Gu Ding, who proposed setting up a national translation institution? The dialogue between Gu Ding and Ōuchi, which was published in *Youth Culture* (*Qingnian wenhua* 青年文化), to a large degree reflected their different standpoints. While Gu Ding showed his inclination to agree with the idea that national harmony was the foundation for further construction of Manchukuo, he strongly opposed cultural implantation as a process in which less advanced cultures were forced to surrender to more highly advanced cultures. Gu insisted that imitation, translation, and cultural assimilation should be concerned with the preservation of cultural differences. He argues: "Although imitation has its own disadvantages and should be avoided in many circumstances, there is no doubt that more advanced cultures offer much to learn."<sup>133</sup> This opinion that Manchukuo should be governed by Japanese culture and literature was largely unacceptable to Gu, who in turn trenchantly pointed out the predicament of Manchurian cultural assimilation—that is, Japanese and Chinese nationalities in Manchuria did not share a common tradition of classics; in truth, they did not even share a common history.<sup>134</sup>

As for the assumption of the superiority of Japanese literature, Han Hu criticises even more trenchantly:

The culture view of Japanese writers in Manchukuo regards Manchurian culture as the extension of Japanese culture to Manchuria, and Japanese

130 "Man-Ri fanyijia xiehui chengli 满日翻译家协会成立 [The Establishment of the Manchurian and Japanese Translators' Union]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 32 (April 1940): 14.

131 "Manshū hon'yakuka kyōkai hon'yaku kenkyūkai to kaishō saru 満洲翻訳家協会翻訳研究会と改称さる [Manchukuo Translators Union Renamed as Translation Research Association]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 33 (May 1940): 20.

132 Yamaguchi, "Manshūkoku e no bungaku no ishoku ni tsuite," 30.

133 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄 and Gu Ding 古丁, "Juezhhan manzhou wenhua de fangxiang 决战满洲文化的方向 [The Direction of Manchurian Culture in the Wartime Period]," *Qingnian wenhua* 3: 2 (February 1945): 82.

134 Ibid.



culture in Manchuria as the primary Manchurian culture, denying the value of other national cultures. Though there are some Japanese intellectuals who do not bluntly reject the value of other cultures, underlying their view is nevertheless the notion that Manchurian culture is the extension of Japanese culture. So-called independence is merely the extension of Japanese culture to Manchuria in another form. Therefore, though superficially there is no blunt rejection, what they have done amounts to the same thing, denying the existence of other types of Manchurian culture.<sup>135</sup>

Here, the deception of cultural affinity between Japan and Manchuria was completely debunked. A few other colleagues associated with *Journal of Arts and Literature* whose works were translated into Japanese by Ōuchi also participated in translation work. An issue of “The 2600th Anniversary” published Gu Ding’s translation of Mushanokōji Saneatsu’s works, Wai Wen’s translation of Yamamoto Yūzō’s work, and a selection of Matsuo Bashō’s *haiku*, translated by Guang Tian. Gu Ding also translated Natsume Sōseki’s *Heart* (*Kokoro* 心). However, at the time, except for Ōuchi, few Japanese writers produced writings in Chinese or published their works in Chinese journals. According to Bassnett and Trivedi, translation in colonial contexts was rarely an indication of equal power relations. Rather, it always happened within asymmetrical relationships, and asserted the supremacy of the dominant culture.<sup>136</sup> It is easy to surmise, therefore, that translation issues such as which language is to be translated from and into, and whose works are being translated by whom—all tend to embody degrees of power relationships. In Manchuria, the translation and literary activities conducted in the name of constructing an independent Manchurian identity and boosting Sino-Japanese literary exchanges were not insulated from the broad political and social environment.

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135 Han Hu 韩护, “Manshū bunkakan no kakuritsu: Manshū bunka no tame ni 満洲文化館の確立：満洲文化のために [The Establishment of the Cultural House: For the Sake of Manchurian Culture],” *Manshū hyōron* 22 : 18 (May 1942): 11.

136 Bassnett and Trivedi, “Of Colonies, Cannibals and Vernaculars,” 5–6.

PART THREE

*Re-mapping the Empire: Japan, Taiwan, and  
Manchukuo*





## Imperial Knowledge and Colonial Power

The statement that knowledge is innate to power will seldom surprise contemporary researchers in areas such as sociology, history, or any other discipline of social science, thanks to Michel Foucault's association of knowledge with power. It is safe to suggest that knowledge is the basis of colonial power, and research institutions are indispensable to the construction of empires. As the only non-Western colonial power in Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Japan developed many research organs in order to retain and consolidate its colonial power. The formation and flow of the imperialist power of the Japanese empire was achieved by the accumulation, exchange, and cohesion of knowledge in politics, anthropology, sociology, archaeology, and literature. However, neither the historical configuration of empire nor the formation of knowledge should be understood merely as "a particular object." Instead, "knowledge is formed within the context of the relationships and practices of power and subsequently contributes to the development, refinement and proliferation of new techniques of power."<sup>1</sup> Imperialist knowledge and colonial power developed in conjunction, brought together frequently by the mobilisation and distribution of mass media across the empire.

### Empire as an Imagined Community

Japanese colonisation was an enterprise propelled by the mobilisation of mass media in every corner of the empire. What were called modern practices of mass media generally included propaganda in paper format, such as newspapers, journals, and book publications, as well as multimedia methods that appeal to consumers' visual and auditory senses, the representative forms of which were film, radio, and photography. Although the rapid development of the mass media industry in modern Japan was largely decided by the growth of the economy, it cannot be fully comprehended unless the many factors closely relevant to the wars in modern Japanese history are taken into account.<sup>2</sup>

1 Chris Barker, *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice* (London: SAGE, 2003), 103.

2 Yamamoto Taketoshi 山本武利, "Teikoku wo katsuida media 帝国を担いだメディア [Media Shouldering the Empire]," in *Teikoku Nihon no gakuchi: Media no naka no teikoku* 「帝国」日本の学知: メディアのなかの「帝国」 [*The Scholarship and Knowledge of*

While recent theorists of nationalism have stressed the role of the proliferation of mass media in facilitating nation building, few have mentioned how media could have worked for both nations and empires. Benedict Anderson emphasises the power of print capitalism, especially the newspaper, which could unchain the fetters of the religions of classic empires, and thereby transform the ways in which people imagine abstract communities over different degrees of time and space. The date that appears at the top of the newspaper and the almost precise and simultaneous consumption of news, according to Anderson, had the capacity to engender a sense of national belonging.<sup>3</sup> As a result, he viewed “print capitalism” as critical to the growth of nationalism for both European and Asian nations. Fujii Shōzo has applied Anderson’s theory to Taiwanese nationalism. He argues that the maturity of print capitalism in the later 1930s gave rise to a form of Taiwanese nationalism under Japanese rule.<sup>4</sup> The circulation of Japanese language journals reached 3000 copies: less than one percent of the total Japanese literate population of Taiwan, but equal to that of *The Spectator* in Britain in the early eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> According to Fujii, the publication of Japanese language magazines and newspapers had the same function as its counterpart in Europe; it aroused early nationalism in Taiwan.

The term “community”, however, can be invoked to refer to various forms of social groups other than nations. In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact are also imagined.<sup>6</sup> What one calls an imagined community can either be a modern nation or an empire, whose territories exceed national geographical borders. In other words, imperialist mobilisation of media is not necessarily exclusive to the development and stability of modern nations. Media was fully exploited across the empire as a means to exert certain influence on the masses, to manipulate people’s minds, to eliminate dissenting voices, and to create a mutual understanding of the empire. As Young points out, Japanese news agencies, such as *Asahi News*, “not only sent correspondents to cover the earlier imperial wars,” but newspaper companies in fact “used extras to break stories from the front”.<sup>7</sup> They also actively

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“*Imperial Japan: The Empire Seen Through Media*], ed. Yamamoto Taketoshi and Kishimoto Mio (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2006), 2.

3 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 39–49.

4 Fujii, *Taiwan wenxue zhe yibainian*, 80.

5 Ibid., 81.

6 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

7 Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 63.

induced Japanese writers to work closely with imperial business. Akutagawa Ryūnosuke and Yokomitsu Riichi, for instance, were respectively sponsored by *Asahi News* and *Reconstruction* to travel across the imperial land and contribute to the newspaper by reporting in an artistically effective way.<sup>8</sup> As opposed to the perception that the press and publishing industry had been forced to comply with the government and the notorious Peace Preservation Law passed in 1925, “the news media took the lead in promoting the war” without any urging from the government, and the publishing and news agencies voluntarily mobilised the nation for wars on soils outside Japan.<sup>9</sup> As demonstrated by the circulation statistics of *Asahi News* from 1925 to 1945, readership peaked parallel to historical events such as the Manchurian Incident and the start of the Sino-Japanese War. Around the period of the Greater East Asian War, circulation reached new heights at about 37 million.<sup>10</sup> Print capitalism, including newspaper and fiction, played a significant role in constructing the empire.

Up until now, most studies on the media's role in empire building, including Young's important study, have been limited to the media in metropolitan Japan rather than its colonies. Young looked at the mass media's role in national mobilisation efforts at home. This has opened up other potential areas of inquiry within the broader framework of the empire itself, particularly when media mobilisation is compared between the regions of the colonised and colonisers. For example, the Japanese colonial writers living in Taiwan were far from insulated, and were keenly aware of the events in Manchuria. Taiwan's geographic location in the South did not necessarily prevent it from being aware of happenings in other parts of the Japanese empire, including Manchuria in the north, with which, in fact, it came to develop a long history of engagement. For example, immediately following the Russo-Japanese war, a total of 1,996 news items on Manchuria appeared in *Taiwan Daily News* between July 1905 and October 1906.<sup>11</sup> On average, Manchuria was mentioned more than four times a day, with reporting on Manchuria limited to not only the progress of the war, but also frequent mention was made of the climate, living standards, and products.<sup>12</sup> Suffice it to say, media mobilisation in the colonies was a significant and active endeavour as part of the total mobilisation effort.

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8 Liu, *Modu Shanghai*, 87, 108.

9 Ibid., 56.

10 Yamamoto, “Teikoku wo katsuida media,” 2–3.

11 Zhang Yu 张羽, “Zhimindi Taiwan yu ‘manzhou’ wenhuaquan yanjiu 殖民地台湾与“满洲”文化圈研究 [A Study on the Cultural Spheres of Taiwan and Manchuria],” *Xiamen daxue xuebao* 211 (March 2012): 64.

12 Ibid.

At the heart of colonial governance was the importance accorded to the public dissemination of books, newspapers, and films. After 1931, almost in step with colonial policies, there was a dramatic upsurge in the spread of Japanese literature and culture in Taiwan. Between 1931 and 1932, 710,000 books were imported from Japan, which grew to 740,000 copies in 1933. Similarly, magazines imported from Japan grew from 13,000 in 1923 to 29,000 in 1933.<sup>13</sup> The Imperial Book Association held regular book festivals in Taiwan from 1932 to 1935, in conjunction with the Tokyo Book Company setting up branches in Taipei starting in 1934.<sup>14</sup> Taking advantage of the situation, Nishikawa, who came back to Taiwan from Waseda University, published his first poetry collection in 1935.

Before 1930, the publication of Japanese-language books in Taiwan was centred on the task of publishing research results, statistical reports, and geological surveys, as well as promulgating decrees. For example, according to a survey conducted by the colonial police, in 1930, among the 123 copies of books that were surveyed, more than 23 percent were economic statistical reports surveying the status of the tea industry, rice plantations, and aquatic products. Usage regulations on schools and languages took up 26 percent, and another eleven percent was delegated to books of geographical surveys. Literature books, at fifteen percent, occupied a small proportion of the total books published.<sup>15</sup> This strong tone of research and pragmatism was carried on into the late 1930s and 1940s when Taipei Imperial University was founded.

In Manchukuo, between March and July of 1932 alone, more than 6.5 million copies of Chinese books were burned.<sup>16</sup> Newspapers published in other parts of China were not allowed to be sold in Manchuria. The famous *Shun Pao* (*Shen bao* 申报) and *The Young Companion* (*Liang you* 良友) also could be found on the banned list. Between 1935 and 1938, around 9,760 copies of Chinese news-

13 Ide, *Taiwan zhiji zhi*, 77–81.

14 Kawahara Isao 河原功, *Taiwan shin wenxue yundong de zhankai: yu Riben wenxue de jiedian*, trans. Mo Suwei 台湾新文学运动的展开：与日本文学的接点 [*The Launch of Taiwan's New Literature Movement: Its Connection with Japanese Literature*] (Taipei: Quanhua keji tushu gufen youxian gongsi, 2004), 235–236.

15 Wang Yashan 王雅珊, "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan de tushu chubanshi liutong yu yuedu wenhua" 日治时期台湾的图书出版流通与阅读文化：殖民地状况下的社会文化史考察 [*The Book Publishing and Reading Culture during the Japanese Colonial Era in Taiwan: A Study of Social and Cultural History*] (Master diss., National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan), 31.

16 Wang, *Zhongguo Dongbei lunxian shisinianshi gangyao*, 212.



papers and 3,508 copies of Chinese books were banned.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, 875,000 copies of Japanese-language books were sold in Manchukuo in 1936. The figure increased to 3.8 million copies in 1937, more than 10 million copies in 1938, over 22.3 million copies in 1940, and a record high of 34.4 million copies in 1941.<sup>18</sup> In addition to books and newspapers, movies were also a major object of censorship. In 1936 alone, 176 films failed to pass censorship.<sup>19</sup> By the same token, in the same year, 154 Japanese movies were imported into Manchukuo.<sup>20</sup> The Manchurian Film Company was in charge of distribution and control. The enterprise of publishing and distributing books, newspapers, and journals, gave rise to a cadre of ambitious authors, translators, screenwriters, and literary intellectuals in the colonies.

One commonality among Japanese writers living in the colonies was that their literary reputations were built on articles they wrote in newspapers and journals rather than any books they may have authored. While Nishikawa oversaw several newspapers and journals, including the *Taiwan Daily News*, *Masō*, *Bibliophile*, *Women of Taiwan* (*Taiwan fujinkai* 台湾婦人界), *The News Compiled by the Provisional Information Department of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office*, and *Literary Taiwan*, it was the *Taiwan Daily News* that offered him not only a sustainable source of living when he first arrived in Taiwan, but also a platform to engage with Japanese intellectuals. Similarly, Ōuchi's career as a literary critic was based on the profusion of newspapers and journals, including *SMR Survey Monthly*, *SMR Chinese Monthly*, *New World*, *Concordance*, *Manchuria and Mongolia*, *Manchurian Review*, *Book Review*, *Manchurian Romanticism*, *Propaganda Monthly* (*Senbu geppō* 宣撫月報), *Journal of Arts and Literature*, *Manchurian Daily News*, *Youth Culture*, *News Letter of the Manchuria Literary Academy*, and *News Letter of Manchurian Literature and Art* (*Manshū geibun tsushin* 滿洲藝文通信). Here, I consider periodicals as a special form of media and aim to reveal their role in building the Japanese empire. In particular, the following two will be explored in detail: *The News Compiled by the Provisional Information Department of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office* (below *Buhō*) in Taiwan and *Propaganda Monthly* in Manchukuo, and the inner connection between them.

17 Manshū bunka kyōkai 滿洲文化協會 [The Manchukuo Cultural Union], *Manshū nenkan* 滿洲年鑑 [*Yearbook of Manchukuo*] (Hoten: Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha, 1941), 361.

18 Jiang Niandong 姜念东, *Weimanzhouguo shi* 伪滿洲国史 [*A History of Puppet Manchukuo*] (Dalian: Dalian chubanshe, 1991), 437.

19 Manshū bunka kyōkai, *Manshū nenkan*, 361.

20 Jiang, *Weimanzhouguo shi*, 436–437.

Although these journals were published in their different colonial settings of Taiwan and Manchuria, both served the purpose of official propaganda and saw active participation of Japanese writers. As opposed to independently owned journals or those sponsored by literary organisations, the publishers of these periodicals cooperated with the local colonial administration. In addition to their function of news coverage, which is common to most journals, they took on the more important responsibility of propagandising and studying colonial policies, as well as collecting data from all spectrums of the colonial society. Since both literary instruments served two different colonies of Japan, after 1937, both Taiwan and Manchukuo felt the need to establish an official propaganda section that could work more closely with the colonial administration, thus effectively meeting its political needs. Under these conditions, Nishikawa and Ōuchi were inevitably drawn into the war of mass media.

*Buhō* was founded by the Taiwanese Governor General's Office to help Taiwan adjust to the new colonial strategy in 1937 at the time of the Sino-Japanese War. With regular issues published on the 1st, 11th, and 21st of each month, 154 issues appeared between 11 September 1937 and 15 September 1942. According to Yagashiro Hideyoshi, *Buhō*'s function was similar to that of the SMR research institution, i.e., to obtain, propagandise, and disseminate information.<sup>21</sup> The articles in *Buhō*, especially the first one hundred issues, were written by different administrative branches of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office, bearing the authority and resembling the research results of professional institutions. For example, the separate departments of agriculture, finance, and minerals often published surveys, such as "The Outline of Agricultural Migrations in Taiwan".<sup>22</sup> As the Sino-Japanese war escalated, *Buhō* began to manifest a marked change in both its content and publishing policies. After issue 110, *Buhō* published two issues per month instead of three. It also revised its contents, abandoning the regular columns in favour of a variety of fresh articles as well as accepting individual contributions. This gave Nishikawa a chance to

21 Yagashiro Hideyoshi 谷ヶ城秀吉, "Kaidai 解題 [Explanation]," in *Taiwan sōtokufu rinji jōhōbu "Buhō" 台湾総督府臨時情報部「部報」* [*The News Compiled by the Provisional Information Department of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office*], supplementary volume, ed. Katō Kiyofumi and Yagashiro Hideyoshi (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2005–2006), 125.

22 Shokusankyoku nōmuka 殖産局農務課 [The Agriculture Department of the Bureau for Promoting Industry], "Taiwan no nōgyō imin gaikyō 台湾の農業移民概況 [The General Situation of Agricultural Migration in Taiwan]," in *Taiwan sōtokufu rinji jōhōbu "Buhō" 台湾総督府臨時情報部「部報」* [*The News Compiled by the Provisional Information Department of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office*] vol. 3, ed. Katō Kiyofumi and Hideyoshi Yagashiro (1938; reprint, Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2005–2006), 161–165.

get involved through contributions such as “A Song of Japanese New Order”, as well as other works.<sup>23</sup> In addition to Nishikawa, another contributor of note was Huang Fengzi, the wife of anthropologist Ikeda Toshio. Huang Fengzi was praised for her folklorist writing, which was favourably reviewed in *Buhō*.<sup>24</sup> Her work extolling the Yasukuni Shrine was also published.<sup>25</sup> Articles published after 1940, however, began to be tinged with a distinct tone of war propaganda.

In its role as the local propaganda machine in Taiwan, neither the scope of *Buhō*'s distribution nor the focus of its attention was subject to Taiwanese constraints. In terms of content, it had three routine columns: Taiwanese news, news about Japan and its colonies, and news about foreign countries. Thus, it covered news events happening both inside and outside of Taiwan.<sup>26</sup> For example, several issues in 1937 focused on the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and Taiwan's adjustment to it. It published articles such as “The History of Anti-Japanese Movements” (*HaiNichi undō no rekishi* 排日運動の歴史), and “The China Incident and the Power of the Japanese Army” (*Shina jihen to kōgun no iryoku* 支那事変と皇軍の威力).<sup>27</sup> Terms such as “state foundation” (*kenkoku* 建国), which were supposedly more meaningful in Manchukuo than in Taiwan, were generously scattered throughout *Buhō* during this period. In terms of its origin and distribution practices, *Buhō* was more than just a local news agency that depended only on local resources. In addition to accepting local contributions, *Buhō* also collected information from the divisions within the Governor-General's Office in Taiwan and Korea, and other research institutions in Manchukuo and metropolitan Japan. This compiled information was in turn open to all affiliated institutions of the Japanese empire. With regards to distribution, taking the statistics of 1940 as an example, seventy percent of publications were distributed in Taiwan; the remainder was delivered between Manchukuo, Korea, Southeast Asia, and the other battlefronts of China.<sup>28</sup>

23 Nishikawa, “Shintaiseika Nihon no uta,” 398.

24 “Tsuzurikatashū 綴方集 [Collection of Compositions],” in *Taiwan sōtokufu rinji jōhōbu “Buhō”* 台湾総督府臨時情報部「部報」 [*The News Compiled by the Provisional Information Department of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office*] vol. 10, ed. Katō Kiyofumi and Hideyoshi Yagashiro (1941; reprint, Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2005–2006), 78.

25 Huang Fengzi 黃鳳姿, “Yasukuni Jinja 靖国神社 [Yasukuni Shrine],” in *Taiwan sōtokufu rinji jōhōbu “Buhō”* 台湾総督府臨時情報部「部報」 [*The News Compiled by the Provisional Information Department of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office*] vol. 10, ed. Katō Kiyofumi and Hideyoshi Yagashiro (1941; reprint, Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2005–2006), 303.

26 Yagashiro, “Kaidai,” 126.

27 See the first issue of the first volum in September 1937.

28 Yagashiro, “Kaidai,” 126–131.

Similar to Nishikawa's prominent voice in the Taiwanese media, most of Ōuchi's writings while working in SMR were directed towards newspapers and journalism. Around the period of the Chinese May Fourth Movement, the SMR also founded many journals. *Manchurian Review*, for which Ōuchi once worked as a chief editor, was financed by the SMR. It was established at the critical juncture of the Manchurian Incident, in a bid to give advice on China's situation and the Sino-Japanese relationship. In order to provide accurate information on China and the world, this journal set up a network spanning Tokyo, Osaka, New York, Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, Guangzhou, and other cities of China.<sup>29</sup> Ōuchi began to have an even closer relationship with the propaganda system after his return to Manchukuo, working for *Propaganda Monthly*, the primary aim of which was to study disseminate policies and to extol the current achievements of cultural activities. From July 1936 to January 1945, *Propaganda Monthly* published 73 issues. Similar to Taiwan's *Buhō*, it worked closely with Manchukuo's government.

Ōuchi's involvement in the propaganda system had two aspects. On the one hand, after 1941 he not only became ardently involved in promoting the total mobilisation of the Manchurian literary scene, but he also embarked on Manchurian film productions, as a path to directly serve the Manchurian propaganda machine. The Manchurian Film Company had an especially close relationship with the *Propaganda Monthly*. For example, Hasegawa Shun (長谷川濬 1906–1973) and Kizaki Ryū, editors of *Propaganda Monthly*, joined the company at its early stage, while Ōuchi went on to even become the director of the "Entertaining Film Department" (*Gomin eiga bu* 娛民映画部).<sup>30</sup> All later became central figures linking Japanese writers and directors to Chinese writers through their works in literary journals such as *Manchurian Romanticism* and *Brightness*. Due to Kizaki Ryū's active role in the Manchurian Film Company, *Propaganda Monthly* published analyses and reports on film production in Japan, Manchukuo, and other Japanese occupation areas.<sup>31</sup> Ōuchi also contributed articles to *Propaganda Monthly*, expressing his wishes for the successful development of media. He expressed his view of Manchurian propaganda in critical articles such as "Propaganda and Enlightening Movements

29 Nonomura, *Kaisō Mantetsu chōsabu*, 170.

30 Kawasaki Kenko 川崎賢子, "Gaichi no eiga nettowāku 外地の映画ネットワーク [The Film Network in the Outer Lands]," in *Teikoku Nihon no gakuchi* [4]: *Media no naka no teikoku* 「帝国」日本の学知:メディアのなかの「帝国」 [*The Scholarship and Knowledge of "Imperial Japan": Empire in the Media*], ed. Yamamoto Taketoshi and Kishimoto Mio (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2006), 257–258.

31 *Ibid.*, 258.

in Manchuria".<sup>32</sup> Most of the articles Ōuchi contributed to the *Propaganda Monthly* read more like reports than actual critiques of films and literary works.

As Yamamoto Taketoshi points out, journals specialising in the art of propaganda could seldom be found in Japan.<sup>33</sup> The major feature that distinguished *Propaganda Monthly* in Manchukuo and *Buhō* in Taiwan from other print media in Japan may have been their strong research emphasis as well as preoccupation with theoretical guidance and justifications for colonial occupation. Edited by the information sections respectively in Manchukuo and Taiwan, both journals were famous for the quality of their social science, which may even have surpassed that of Japan. Different from the opinion magazines (*sōgō zasshi*) and daily newspapers in Japan, the two journals set themselves apart from the prevalent mass media in wartime Japan and established their own identities as specialised journals of the colonies. These very journals published in the colonies had the support of the intellectual elites of the times.

In the Japanese empire, due to media's crucial role in establishing colonial authority, it attracted academic attention. In other words, media and colonial knowledge worked hand in hand. Take for example, Koyama Eizō (小山栄三 1899–1983), who showed a keen interest in using ethnographic research to develop the empire's media. Born in Hokkaidō, Koyama studied sociology at Tokyo Imperial University, where he was intrigued by the question of how the Japanese empire could better deal with people of other races and nations. He focused his efforts on how the empire could overcome the temporal and spatial differences in communication and establish an effective media system that could enhance social stability and coherence.<sup>34</sup> His early research was later published in a book titled *Ethnology* (*Jinshugaku* 人種学). Koyama followed up on this theme with *On the Propaganda in the War Period* (*Senji sendenron* 戦時宣伝論), published in 1942. It asked: How should Japan integrate with other nations, especially in the field of media propaganda against the background of constructing the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere?<sup>35</sup> Koyama

32 Yamaguchi Shin'ichi 山口慎一, "Manshūkoku ni okeru senden to keimō 満州国における宣伝と启蒙運動 [Propaganda and Enlightenment Movements in Manchuria]," in *Senbu geppō dai-2-kan* 宣撫月報第2巻 [*Propaganda Monthly* vol. 2] (1937; reprint, Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 2002), 136.

33 Yamamoto, "Teikoku wo katsuida meideia," 13.

34 Tsuchiya Reiko 土屋礼子, "Teikoku Nihon no shinbungaku 帝国日本の新聞学 [Newspaper Journalism of Imperial Japan]," in *Teikoku Nihon no gakuchi* Vol. 4: *Media no naka no teikoku* 「帝国」日本の学知: メディアのなかの「帝国」 [*The Scholarship and Knowledge of "Imperial Japan": The Empire Seen Through Media*], ed. Yamamoto Taketoshi and Kishimoto Mio (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2006), 53.

35 *Ibid.*, 56.

exercised his knowledge of ethnology within the field of mass propaganda. For him, media and research activities were the two avenues through which ideas and messages central to the stability of the empire could be disseminated.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to professional researchers like Koyama Eizō, the Japanese empire also had amateur researchers who participated in both media propaganda and literature. Nishikawa and Ōuchi not only relied extensively on the empire's media to disseminate their ideas, but also to a great extent influenced and contributed to its growth and expansion in the colonial setting. Often, they found themselves involved in a broad range of research-related activities, where media, colonial knowledge including literature, and power frequently interacted and cooperated towards a broader goal of empire consolidation.

### The Spatiality of Imperial Knowledge

Knowledge plays a significant role in backing up the empire. Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan and Manchuria was constructed and consolidated by means of research networks that prioritised the spatial distribution of knowledge within the nexus of Japanese research institutions across China. Far from being isolated from each other, the research institutions of the Japanese empire, including the SMR in Manchuria and the anthropological studies division in Taiwan, were internally connected. Space is fundamental “in any exercise of power”, and therefore, provides a significant perspective for an inquiry into the mechanisms of colonial power.<sup>37</sup> The “questions on geography”<sup>38</sup> can be approached from a colonial perspective. More importantly, many individuals were attracted to this grand enterprise even when they were not professional researchers working in universities and research institutions. Literature, far from being kept in an isolated aesthetic world, was integral to the broad picture of colonial knowledge.

#### *The South Manchurian Company and its Connection with Taiwan*

The SMR earned a dual reputation for its capacity to carry out broad research activities and for its ambiguous relations with the Kwantung Army. In current research on the history of Manchuria before 1932 and Manchukuo, one can

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36 Yamamoto, “Teikoku wo katsuida media,” 22.

37 Michel Foucault, “Space, Knowledge and Power,” in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. P. Ed. Rabinow (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 252.

38 Michel Foucault, “Questions on Geography,” in *Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), 63.



hardly afford to lose sight of the SMR. The SMR was established as a result of the No. 142 Imperial Ordinance, proclaimed on 7 June 1906, which granted the right to establish a special company to support Japan's economic interests in southern Manchuria. The initial funding was 200 million yen, with the government contributing half and Japanese royalty, aristocrats, and bureaucrats managing the remainder.<sup>39</sup>

The SMR was based on a prior model evolved during the Japanese colonisation of Taiwan. It was the brainchild of Kodama Gentarō, the fourth Governor-General of Taiwan from 1898 to 1906. In the summer of 1906, Kodama invited the civil governor of the Taiwanese Governor-General's Office, to Manchuria. Gotō had worked directly under Kodama from 1897 to 1903 in Taiwan. Gotō organised land surveys and projects on customary law amongst the Han Chinese, as well as among other minorities of Taiwan, during his initial governing period. At that time, besides being the Governor-General of Taiwan, Kodama also worked as the chief of staff of the Japanese army in Manchuria.<sup>40</sup> During his tenure with the colonial government in Taiwan, Gotō's scientific approach to colonial governance and his emphasis on extensive research into local traditions resulted in a well-organised colonial Taiwan in the first stage of Japanese colonisation. Through these personal connections, Gotō became the first company president of the SMR.

Gotō's previous experience of investigating the old customs of Taiwan and his personal training as a medical doctor laid the foundations for methodical, scientific research in Manchuria. Initially, the SMR comprised four departments: the Department of General Affairs, Department of Transportation, Department of Mining, and Department of the Administration of Affiliated Areas. The research department of SMR, where Ōuchi launched his career after graduation, was founded later in 1907. Gotō invited Okamatsu Santarō (岡松参太郎 1871–1921), a doctor in law and a professor at the Kyoto Imperial University, to supervise the development of the research department. Okamatsu's invitation was possibly due to his personal connection with Gotō. Previously, Okamatsu had worked in Taiwan, researching the administrative law of the Qing dynasty,

39 Ramon H. Myers, "Japanese Imperialism in Manchuria: The South Manchuria Railway Company," in *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937*, ed. Peter Duus et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 102–104.

40 In the years between 1897 and 1903—the first decades of Japan's colonization of Taiwan—Gotō Shinpei had been working with Kodama Gentarō in Taiwan. See Chang Han-yu and Ramon H. Myers, "Japanese Colonial Development Policy in Taiwan, 1895–1906: A Case of Bureaucratic Entrepreneurship," *Journal of Asian Studies* 22 (August 1963): 433–449.



private law, economic customs, and minority peoples.<sup>41</sup> Nakamura Yoshikoto (中村是公 1867–1927), who served as vice president of the SMR and had once invited Natsume Sōseki to travel to Manchuria and Korea, had also investigated old Taiwanese customs.<sup>42</sup> As such, many of the first generation of SMR's founders had had first-hand research experience in Taiwan.

The research institutions of the SMR in Manchuria were established to take on responsibilities similar to those in Taiwan. Based on their experience of investigating old customs in Taiwan, the institutions saw their initial task as investigating the old customs of Manchuria.<sup>43</sup> Gradually, along with the unfaltering expansion of the SMR's competencies, the scope of their investigation began to broaden, increasing to three major research areas: economics, local customs, and international relations.<sup>44</sup> As a result, "the establishment of the SMR, and the founding of its research organs marked a major epoch in the history of Japanese Sinology."<sup>45</sup> The SMR earned a reputation both for its capacity to carry out broad research activities and its ambiguous relationships with the Kwantung Army.

Neither the establishment nor the influence of the SMR should be considered solely within the limited geographical scope of Manchuria. It was, in fact, to a large extent developed from the experience of the Japanese colonisation of Taiwan, in terms of scientific tone, mode of management, and personnel arrangements. During Gotō's tenure with the colonial government in Taiwan, his scientific approach to colonial governance and his emphasis on extensive research into local traditions resulted in a well-organised colonial Taiwan during the first stage of Japanese colonisation. After the establishment of the SMR in Manchukuo, Gotō's previous experience of investigating the old customs of Taiwan and his personal training as a medical doctor laid the foundation for the methodical and scientific nature of research in Manchuria. It is no exaggeration, therefore, to say that the Taiwanese colonial experience was the basis of Manchukuo's later "alternative modernity".

When studying Japanese colonialism in Taiwan, Barclay regarded Taiwan as the most thoroughly inventoried colonial area in the world. In Taiwan, as he observed:

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41 Nakano Katsumi, "Japanese Colonial Policy and Anthropology in Manchuria," in *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asian and Oceania*, ed. Jan van Bremen and Shimizu Akitoshi (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999), 248.

42 Kusayanagi, *Mantie diaochabu neimu*, 23.

43 Itō, *Life Along the South Manchurian Railway*, 18.

44 Nonomura, *Kaisō mantetsu chōsabū*, 29.

45 Itō, *Life Along the South Manchurian Railway*, 17.

Huge compilations of statistics and numerous special surveys were made from year to year. The economy, the terrain, the aboriginal tribes, the mineral wealth, the agricultural output, the industrial production and the foreign trade have all been studied and restudied until there is little to be added to this knowledge unless new evidence is uncovered that is not now available.<sup>46</sup>

Barclay probably would not have claimed this if he had better knowledge of the research scope of Manchuria. The experts working in the research department of the SMR were dispatched to different cities of China, and launched surveys and travel trips involving hundreds of villages. The yearbooks, articles, and special studies produced by the researchers and scholars of the SMR “were both extremely accurate as a rule, and very complete.”<sup>47</sup> Researchers in the SMR investigated property laws, the textile industry, financial structures and practices, inflation, rice markets and brokers, and wartime economic conditions to such an extent that almost every corner of Manchukuo had been charted, documented, and analysed.

### *The East Asia Common Culture Academy and Its Influence on Manchukuo and Taiwan*

The SMR’s research department, with its various connections to Taiwan’s research institutions, was not the only institution to carry out research activities on a large scale in China. Another important research institution that had close ties with the SMR was the East Asia Common Culture Academy in Shanghai. The Academy’s origins can be traced back to the Research Institute for Sino-Japanese Trade (*NisShin bōeki kenkyūjo* 日清貿易研究所) founded by Arao Sei (荒尾精 1859–1896) in 1890 in Shanghai, three years before he died in Taiwan. The institute’s focus was on teaching Chinese and relevant Chinese commerce courses to Japanese students. When the first Sino-Japanese War erupted in 1894, the Research Institute for Sino-Japanese Trade was forced to close. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, various ideas of “Asian solidarity,” “raising Asia,” “Asianism,” “pan-Asianism” and “Asian Monroe-ism” had gained ground in discussions on Japan’s foreign policy-making.<sup>48</sup> Along this

46 George W. Barclay, *Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), x.

47 John Young, *The Research Activities of the South Manchuria Railway Company, 1907–1945: A History and Bibliography* (New York: East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1966), 682.

48 Seven Saaler, “Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Overcoming the Nation, Creating a Region, Forging an Empire,” in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History*:

train of thought, Konoe Atsumaro (近衛篤磨 1863–1904) established the East Asia Common Culture Academy after he had founded the Association of the Common Culture of East Asia in 1898. In 1899, during his travel to China, Konoe paid a visit to Liu Kunyi (刘坤一 1879–1881), the Liangjiang Viceroy<sup>49</sup> (*Liangjiang zongdu* 两江总督) of Qing, to discuss establishing an institution in China. Liu granted his request, and the East Asia Common Culture Academy was founded in Nanjing in 1900, with Nezu Hajime (根津一 1860–1927), a friend of Arao and the former head of the Research Institute for Sino-Japanese Trade, as its director. As a result of the Boxer Movement rebellions,<sup>50</sup> the Academy moved to Shanghai in 1901.<sup>51</sup> Ever since, it had educated a large number of talented people who would later engage in the Sino-Japanese economy, trade, culture, education, diplomacy, and so on, and retained copious amounts of valuable historical data, which significantly influenced the Sino-Japanese cultural exchange.

The East Asia Common Culture Academy's primary focus was cultivating "Chinese hands" to carry out investigations in China. According to a 1938 study, it had more than 1,487 students, out of which approximately 55 percent were graduates who remained in China.<sup>52</sup> It has been reported that the Japanese consular group in China was so heavily dependent on graduates from the East Asia Common Culture Academy that had these graduates been suddenly pulled out, the consular group would have collapsed. Following graduation, students were "scattered throughout Manchuria and every important part of North, Central, and South China, and engaged in every kind of economic activity."<sup>53</sup> A large proportion of the graduates, however, supported the SMR. In the first half of the 1930s, Manchukuo absorbed no fewer than 250 gradu-

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*Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*, ed. Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (New York: Routledge, 2007), 2.

- 49 An official rank of the Qing court in charge of governing the civil and military affairs of the Jiangsu, Anhui, and Jiangxi provinces.
- 50 A violent anti-foreign and anti-Christian movement that occurred in China in the Qing Dynasty between 1898 and 1901, the Boxer Movement is controversially called the Boxer Rebellion or the Boxer Uprising. The rebellion was quelled by the military force of the Eight-Nation Alliance.
- 51 Saaler, "Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History," 4.
- 52 Japanese Diplomatic Documents, No. S8430–1, quoted in Huang, "Dongya tongwenhui," 358.
- 53 Douglas R. Reynolds, "Training Young China Hands: Tō-A Dōbun Shoin and Its Precursors, 1886–1945," in *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937*, ed. Peter Duus et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 245.

ates into the Manchukuo government service.<sup>54</sup> In 1925, as an SMR financed student, Ōuchi became one of the eighty students admitted to the East Asia Common Culture Academy. Here, he embarked upon intensive training in the Chinese language and gained vast knowledge about China.

Transitioning from the Academy to the SMR was fairly easy for Ōuchi. At the SMR, he edited not only *Manchurian Review*, but also *SMR Survey Monthly*,<sup>55</sup> which had been the SMR research department's official journal since 1927. Its precursor was *Investigation Times* (*Chōsa jihō* 調査時報), founded in 1919 for the express purpose of systematic data collection, editing, and sorting of information pertaining to the economics, politics, and culture of Chinese society. The main tasks of *SMR Survey Monthly* were to investigate and study, to collect information that could be used for analysis, and to publish policies, prescripts, statistics, and catalogues of books. However, it is of particular note that the fundamental investigations were centred on the research mode of the East Asia Common Culture Academy.<sup>56</sup> Clearly, the research body of the SMR was not only influenced by Gotō's experience in Taiwan, but it was also shaped by other research institutions such as the Academy in terms of intellectual resources and research methods.

The influence of the Academy on other parts of the Japanese occupation of China was achieved through its traditional field trips. The purpose of these trips was "to investigate the reality of Chinese society, and to compile reports that could be used by the Japanese government as a reference for making policies with regard to China."<sup>57</sup> The field trips were also used for a wide range of information-gathering activities, such as geographic knowledge on the physiognomy, climate, customs, and transportation of a certain area; economic data regarding trade, entrepreneurs, and currency circulation; as well as political insights describing the formation of the society. The reports that resulted from these field trips were not intended only for research, but they also served political purposes. Furthermore, the reports had to be presented to the foreign and agricultural ministries, as well as the imperial Japanese Army's general staff office for strategic reference.

The field trip tradition lasted for decades, and during its forty-year period, saw the participation of more than 5,000 students. There were as many as 700 different routes taken by the East Asia Common Culture Academy's field

54 Douglas R. Reynolds, "Chinese Area Studies in Prewar China: Japan's Tō-A Dōbun Shoin in Shanghai, 1900–1945," *Journal of Asian Studies* 45: 5 (November 1986): 947.

55 Yamamoto, *Manshū Hyōron kaidai sōmokuji*, 24.

56 Ishidō, *Jūgonen Sensō to Mantetsu Chōsabu*, 230.

57 Huang, "Dongya tongwenhui," 352.

trips, covering nearly all areas of China. Some routes, which reached as far as Southeast Asia and into the far eastern regions, including Russia, provided abundant first-hand research information.<sup>58</sup> For example, as discussed in Part II, Ōuchi's route in 1929 even reached Yunnan and Taipei, and other places in the South.<sup>59</sup> Besides being submitted to the Japanese administration, the results of the field trips were turned into authoritative reference books such as *The Full Account of the Chinese Economy* (*Chūgoku keizai zensho* 中国經濟全書) and *The Full Account of the Chinese Provinces* (*Shina shōbetsu zenshi* 支那省別全誌), and *The Latest Yearbook of China* (*Saishin Shina nenkan* 最新支那年鑑).<sup>60</sup>

The Academy's field trips were so highly regarded in the empire that they even caught the attention of anthropologists in Taiwan, whose ranks included many famous folklorists at Taipei Imperial University and the Library of the Governor General's Office. In the second volume of *Folklore Taiwan*, for example, Kokubu Naoichi wrote a review of books compiled by the East Asia Common Culture Academy. Included in this review was mention of the annual student field trips held in the Academy in Shanghai.<sup>61</sup> Folklorists and anthropologists in Taiwan, who admired these field trips, called for similar efforts in Taiwan to help accelerate its research endeavour. Distinctly different from the research approach commonly adopted in metropolitan Japan, the anthropologic research methodology of Taipei Imperial University instead emphasised experimentalism and field research,<sup>62</sup> which was closer in spirit to methods employed by the East Asia Common Culture Academy.

The Japanese empire, through its research institutions, fulfilled the task of stabilising, governing, and exploiting local society in the short term; at the same time, these institutions offered long-term contributions in the overall development of the Japanese empire by promoting a cooperative spirit. Intellectuals of the empire, whether in Japan, Manchukuo, Taiwan, or Shanghai, were to some degree or the other involved in constructing the research network across the empire. Take Taiwan for example: Nishikawa's anthropological writing, as well as research work undertaken by anthropologists and folklorists in his circle,

58 Koyūkai 沪友会, *Shanghai Dongya tongwen shuyuan dalixing jilu* 上海东亚同文书院大旅行记录 [*Records of the Grant Tours of the East Asia Common Culture Academy in Shanghai*], trans. Yang Hua (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2000), 7.

59 Tōa dōbun shoin, ed. *Tōa dōbun shoin dairiyōkōshi*, 35–51.

60 Ibid., 354.

61 Kokubu Naoichi 国分直一, "Tōa Chōsasho 東亜調査書 [Research Report on East Asia]," *Minzoku Taiwan* 2: 1 (January 1942): 41.

62 Shimizu, "Nihon ni okeru kindai jinruigaku no keisei to hatten", 252–253.

could be regarded as an extension of Gotō's own investigations of old customs in Taiwan, which also contributed to the research of the SMR. In Manchuria, *SMR Survey Monthly's* editorial content and Ōuchi's work in the research department in the SMR, both followed the research methodologies of the East Asia Common Culture Academy. As such, there were numerous intersections and overlaps among various research institutions. Collectively, they formed a widely dispersed but inter-connected system of imperial knowledge.

However, emphasising the link between colonial power and knowledge network does not necessarily equate knowledge and research with imperialism. The cases of individuals working in these institutions could be complicated. For example, Ito recounted that there were at least three types of SMR employees: the mainstream that saw Manchuria as Japan's lifeline, people who believed in national harmony among the different Asian peoples living in the region, and even anti-colonialists who "had experienced the intellectual trends of Taisho democracy and believed in liberalism."<sup>63</sup> According to Young, the atmosphere among researchers before 1932 "was decidedly liberal and antimilitary."<sup>64</sup> In its early days, the SMR was a haven for many leftists whose research was banned in metropolitan Japan and had tolerated ideological diversity within its rank to a remarkable degree. Yet the coexistence of rightists, leftists, and liberals of the SMR ended with a wave of massive arrests in 1928, and between 1932 and 1933.<sup>65</sup> The concept of "power" can present a dichotomy in governing: simple functions of suppression and exploitation can also release "liberating" forces. Therefore, power should be analysed as something that circulates, or as something that only functions in the form of a chain. Within this construct, individuals become the vehicles of power rather than its points of application. As one of many actors living in Manchukuo, Ōuchi was firmly embroiled in the colonial complexity.

### *Researching the Empire*

When viewed from a broader perspective, the research network of the Japanese empire has always shown a close historical connection with metropolitan Japan even since early times. Power radiated from metropolitan Japan to the peripheral territories, while the scattered research institutions reached out to each other and collaboratively influenced the centre. The metropolis was never isolated from the colonies. Its network of research institutions was well connected to the tradition of Sinology in Japan, which, in turn, was

63 Ito, *Life Along the South Manchurian Railway*, 11–12.

64 Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, xii.

65 Ibid., 273–274.

firmly entrenched long before practical knowledge of China gained primary importance. The relevant research activities were all subordinated to the broad category of “cultural affairs regarding China” (*TaiShi bunka jigyō* 対支文化事業) supervised by the Foreign Ministry from which both research activities on China and the East Asia Common Culture Academy received their financial support.<sup>66</sup> However, starting in the 1920s, an increasing number of observers began to complain that the “Japanese government, intellectuals, military, business men, and public did not understand China.”<sup>67</sup> They suggested that the best solution to solve the problem of intellectual “tardiness” was to develop research institutions.

In 1923, with the compensation Japan garnered from the Boxer Rebellion and under the supervision of Japan’s Foreign Ministry, the Institute for Research in Humanity (*Pekin jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo* 北京人文科学研究所) and the Institute for Research in Science (*Shanghai shizen kagaku kenkyūjo* 上海自然科学研究所) were set up respectively in Beijing and Shanghai, as a way to promote “cultural affairs regarding China”.<sup>68</sup> However, adversely affected by the May Thirtieth Movement (*Wu-sa yundong* 五卅运动), Japan’s research activities in China encountered difficulties and were forced to move back to Japan. This step gave rise to the Academy of Oriental Culture comprising two entities: the Tokyo Institute and the Kyodo Institute.<sup>69</sup> Both became significant centres of knowledge on China and East Asia on the Japanese island during the early twentieth century. These edifices of learning instigated the establishment of research institutes in Manchukuo as well, leading to the founding of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union in July 1933.<sup>70</sup> In a sense, it is the Manchurian extension of the Academy of Oriental Culture.<sup>71</sup> Founded by the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Japanese Foreign Ministry in Shinkyō, the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union was expected to consolidate Japan’s hold-

66 Okamura, *Nichi-Man bunka kyōkai no rekishi*, 20, 45.

67 Stefan Tanaka, *Japan’s Orient: Reading Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 228.

68 Gaimushō bunka jigyōbu 外務省文化事業部 [The Department of Cultural Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], *Bunka jigyōbu jigyō gaiyō* 文化事業部事業概要 [A Summary of Cultural Affairs] (Tokyo: Gaimushō bunka jigyōbu, 1934), 4.

69 Ibid., 15.

70 Shinkyō ni Kaisai no Nichi-Man bunka kyōkai kaigi hōkoku 新京ニ開催ノ日満文化協会々議報告昭和八年十一月二十, File No: B05016055300, Sheet No.5 Japan Centre for Asian Historical Records, <http://www.jacar.go.jp>.

71 Okamura, *Nichi-Man bunka kyōkai no rekishi*, 20.



ings in Manchukuo.<sup>72</sup> Hattori Unokichi (服部宇之吉 1867–1939), president of the Academy of Oriental Culture and director of the Tokyo Institute, was one of the board members for the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union. Before this, in 1926, he had also served as the president of Keijo Imperial University (*Keijō teikoku daigaku* 京城帝国大学) in Korea.<sup>73</sup>

The establishment of the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union demonstrates how Japanese historians and anthropologists were driven by a strong desire to expand the scope of their research activities. It also shows their vulnerability to political influence. Even before the Manchurian Incident, Naitō Konan (内藤湖南 1866–1934), who at the time worked for the Kyoto Institute of the Academy of Oriental Culture, proposed setting up a research institute dedicated exclusively to the study of the history, languages, races, geography, and religions of Manchuria and Mongolia.<sup>74</sup> Japanese researchers in the Academy's Tokyo and Kyoto research centres received the proposal positively, and some of them, such as Haneda Tōru, Yano Jin'ichi, and Konishi Shigenao, even became consultants to the Kwantung Army.<sup>75</sup> By using his professional knowledge, Yano contributed to creating the doctrine of Kingly Way.<sup>76</sup> From 1932 onwards, Yano worked on the research topic titled "The Northeast under the Qing Regime: from the First Sino-Japanese War to the Russo-Japanese War," which, in 1937, was published under the title *The History of China's Foreign Policy after the First Sino-Japanese War*. Around 1933, Yano worked extensively on the history and culture of Manchukuo.

The movement of knowledge and the power invested in Japan's research network brought benefits not only to metropolitan Japan, but also to its research institutes in China, which were deeply impacted by the development of modern Japanese science and history. Their research, which relied heavily on fieldwork, benefited considerably from the acquisition of colonies. For example, the study of Manchuria and Mongolia became a central task

72 Shinkyō ni Kaisai no Nichi-Man bunka kyōkai kaigi hōkoku, 新京ニ開催ノ日滿文化協会々議報告昭和八年十一月二十八日 File No: B05016055300, Sheet No. 4, Japan Centre for Asian Historical Records, <http://www.jacar.go.jp>.

73 Nakami Tatsuo 中見立夫, "Nihonteki tōyōgaku no keisei to kōzu 日本的「東洋学」の形成と構図 [The Formation and Structure of Japan's Oriental Studies]," in *Teikoku Nihon no gakuchi: Tōyōgaku no jiba* 「帝国」日本の学知: 東洋学の磁場 [*The Scholarship and Knowledge of "Imperial Japan": The Magnetic Field of Oriental Studies*], ed. Yamamoto Taketoshi (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2006), 43.

74 Okamura, *Nichi-Man bunka kyōkai no rekishi*, 24.

75 Ibid., 25.

76 Joshua Fogel, *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naitō Konan (1866–1934)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1984), 252–264.

for the famous Japanese anthropologist Torii Ryūzō (鳥居龍藏 1870–1953) and the Tokyo Institute that he worked for. In addition to his research on the culture of the Ch'i-tan people in the Liao dynasty, Torii also frequently presented on the history and culture of Manchuria and Mongolia. In August 1930, while performing a survey in Dalian, he was stopped from travelling further into Mongolia because of the flooding of the Huang He River. He changed his course to Liaoning and stayed there until December 1930. During this period, he discovered the remains of the Ch'i-tan people of the Liao dynasty. A month later, his excavation experiences became the topic of his speech at the Tokyo Institute in 1931.<sup>77</sup> In 1934 and 1936, the Tokyo Institute organised the so-called “travel around North Manchuria and Korea” (*Hokushisen ryokō* 北支鮮旅行), during which participants travelled to Beijing and Manchukuo. From 1936 onwards, many of the research results of the Tokyo Institute were disclosed during the so-called “public speech on East Asian culture” (*Tōhō bunka kōen* 東方文化講演), sponsored by the Japanese Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, and co-organised by the Tokyo Institute and the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union. When the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union established a branch in Tokyo, Torii and Hattori were enlisted as members.<sup>78</sup>

Torii was one of the pioneers of modern anthropology and ethnology in Japan. The discipline of anthropology, which was established in 1884 in Japan, was marked by the founding of the Tokyo Anthropology Society (*Tōkyō jinrui gakkai* 東京人類学会) and the publication of the journal *Anthropological Science* (*Jinruigaku zasshi* 人類学雑誌), which in turn was largely possible through the efforts of Torii and his mentor Tsuboi Shōgorō (坪井正五郎 1863–1913).<sup>79</sup> During his career, Torii travelled extensively through the expanding empire. Immediately after the acquisition of the first colony, Torii spent four years (1896–1900) in Taiwan. Based on his first-hand experience of research and survey, he was able to write his first books on the life of the aborigines on the Red Head Island (Ch. *Hongtou yu* 红头屿, J. *Kōtōsho* 紅頭嶼) or Orchid Island (Ch. *Lan yu* 兰屿, J. *Ransho* 蘭嶼).<sup>80</sup> Shortly after the Russo-Japanese

77 “Toriiikenkyūin Ryōyō hakkutsu hōkoku kōen 鳥居研究員遼陽発掘報告講演 [Torii Ryūzō’s Address Concerning Findings of the Dig in Liaoyang],” *Tōhō gakuho* (*Tōkyō kenkyūjo*) 1 (1931): 296.

78 Gaimushō bunka jigyōbu, *Bunka jigyōbu jigyō gaiyō*, 118.

79 Shimizu, “Nihon ni okeru kindai jinruigaku no keisei to hatten,” 239.

80 Jerry S. Eades, “Anthropologists of Asia, Anthropologists in Asia: the Academic Mode of Production in the Semi-Periphery,” in *Asian Anthropology*, ed. Jan Van Bremen et al. (London: Routledge, 2005), 83.

War, Torii turned his eyes to Manchuria and Mongolia. After a brief research stay in northeast Asia from 1906 to 1907, he travelled again to Korea in 1911, when it became Japan's second official colony.<sup>81</sup> Once Manchukuo was founded, Torii again put the knowledge and experience he had derived from his early research activities into this new "paradise". Japanese researchers such as Torii constructed a broad context of Japanese colonial expansion. In the pre-war period, Japanese anthropological research had a centrifugal tendency. Japanese researchers tended to move as far away as they could from Japan for their field material.<sup>82</sup> Their movements overlapped with the actual course of Japanese geographical expansion.

Ever since 1910, when Tokyo University changed its research branch of Chinese Historical Studies into Oriental Historical Studies, in the way of what Europeans termed as "Oriental studies", Japan had steadily built its knowledge network, which treated China, Korea, Southeast Asia, and even the Far East as objects awaiting exploration.<sup>83</sup> By the end of the 1920s, numerous institutes and research facilities came to be scattered across the empire. In 1932, the Japanese academia contemplated an ambitious new plan for the study of Asia, including countries in the South, Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia.<sup>84</sup> Keijo Imperial University became the research centre for studies related to Korea. Taipei Imperial University was assigned the task of building a reliable research centre for investigation and studies of Taiwan and the South. The Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union and the SMR had Manchuria and Mongolia as their principal research task.

Different research institutions very often had overlapping research themes and resources. The Japanese Foreign Ministry not only sponsored research in the Academy of Oriental Culture, it also provided financial support to the Manchukuo-Japan Cultural Union and the East Asia Common Culture Academy.<sup>85</sup> Many young researchers found positions in other imperial universities in colonies after they had graduated from Tokyo Imperial University or Kyoto Imperial University; the Academy of Oriental Culture sometimes sponsored research activities in imperial universities. For instance, Akiba Takashi (秋葉隆 1888–1954), who graduated from Tokyo Imperial University, worked in Keijo Imperial University in Korea from 1924 to 1945. During this period, he received financial support from the Academy of Oriental Culture for his work

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81 Ibid.

82 Ibid., 84.

83 Nakami, "Nihonteki tōyōgaku no keisei to kōzu," 30.

84 Ibid., 47.

85 Gaimushō bunka jigyōbu, *Bunka jigyōbu jigyō gaiyō*, 29–30.

on the religion and belief of the nations living in Manchukuo.<sup>86</sup> The Imperial University system comprising nine imperial universities with their respective missions and characters has long been regarded as a unique feature of Japan's "scientific colonialism."<sup>87</sup> It coordinated well with other research institutions. Together, they contributed to knowledge of the empire via large-scale studies of anthropology, folklore, and religion, while the East Asia Common Culture Academy in Shanghai became the educational support system of the other institutions of the empire by providing training experts and editing research reports.

### "Scientific Colonialism" and Literary Amateurs

Similar to other European instances of colonialism, Japanese colonialism in East Asia was characterised by a strong dependence on colonial knowledge and systematic and large-scale research, appropriately summarised by the German term of "scientific colonialism". Japanese colonial officials developed the central theories of "scientific colonialism," which not only featured a scientific and research-oriented approach, but also tried to bring science and "civilisation" to the colonies. Knowledge and colonial power worked hand-in-hand, generating both a wealth of administrative records and "a sense of certainty and control" in the colonial governance.<sup>88</sup>

Of course, the magnitude and peculiarity of Japan's systematic research endeavours across the empire should not be exaggerated. Japan was a late-comer in colonialism. By the mid-nineteenth century, as a result of the rapid growth of science and technology in the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution, British India had already become a testing ground for a number of colonial experiments in the application of science and technology.<sup>89</sup> By this time, a wide range of topographical, statistical, trigonometrical, cartographical and other surveys had already been conducted in British India.<sup>90</sup> In fact, the SMR was in many ways an imitation of the British East India Company established

86 Ibid., 26.

87 Gregory Clancey, "Japanese Colonialism and its Science: A Commentary," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society: an International Journal* 1: 2 (2007): 210.

88 Yao Jen-to, "The Japanese Colonial State and Its Form of Knowledge," in *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945*, 43.

89 Zaheer Baber, *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization, and Colonial Rule in India* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), 185.

90 Ibid., 137–183.

in 1600, and later disbanded in 1874.<sup>91</sup> With the start of the twentieth century, especially after the end of the First World War, British colonial power declined dramatically. Interestingly, during the same period, it was the Japanese empire that was on the rise, with “scientific colonialism” being adopted in Japan’s Asian colonies.

As a non-Western colonial power, Japan’s emphasis on science was noticeable among colonial latecomers such as Germany and America. For a long time, the systematic research Gotō launched in Taiwan, Japan’s first formal colony, was regarded as an imitation of the German model.<sup>92</sup> Germany’s early geographical research could be traced back to the 1860s when research expeditions were carried out in the “unexplored interior” of the African continent.<sup>93</sup> Even today, Germany still holds countless objects, including innumerable skulls, which were transported from East Africa.<sup>94</sup> The German empire, however, was short-lived and ended in 1919. Even when compared to the German imperial period, the research activities carried out in China by Japan was hardly comparable. Although social and natural sciences were highly valued in Kiaochow (Germany’s “master’s colony” in China) and many Sinologists and German diplomats in metropolitan Berlin were, in fact, influenced by the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* (sos) of 1887, the scale of Germany’s colonial research paled when compared with Japan.<sup>95</sup> Nor was Gotō’s “biological politics” concept a direct export from Germany.<sup>96</sup> During the early twentieth century, Japan held a unique position as a latecomer among world imperialist powers.

Despite lofty intentions of constructing a scientific empire, the threshold of conducting research within the Japanese empire was not as daunting as it seemed at first sight. In British India, amateurs typically conducted the early scientific work in their spare time.<sup>97</sup> This was because professional scientists, as the term is understood today, were practically non-existent in Europe

91 Manshihui 满史会, *Manzhou kaifa sishinian shi* 满洲开发四十年史 [A Forty-Year History of Manchurian Development] (Shenyang: dongbei wenxian shishinian bianweihui, 1988), 10.

92 Peattie, “Japanese Attitudes toward Colonialism,” 85.

93 Conrad, *German Colonialism*, 131.

94 Ibid., 132.

95 Klaus Mühlhahn, *Herrschaft und Widerstand in der “Musterkolonie” Kiautschow: Interaktionen zwischen China und Deutschland 1897–1914* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2000), 252.

96 Nadin Heé, *Imperiales Wissen und Koloniale Gewalt* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2012), 91.

97 Lewis Fermor, “The Development of Scientific Research in India up to the End of the 19th Century,” *Yearbook of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1 (1935): 9–22.

until the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>98</sup> Science as a domain had not been clearly defined and amateurs could easily find positions within specific paradigms and traditions.<sup>99</sup> A century later, Japan's scientific colonialism had a similar form. The ubiquitous colonial power, supported by a research network spanning the empire, accommodated many actors like Torii and Yano Jin'ichi, who were professional anthropologists or historians plying their trade across the empire. By the same token, these nascent conditions also nurtured "amateur" researchers and writers like Nishikawa and Ōuchi, who not only shared in the general research atmosphere and achievements, but also contributed to the further consolidation of the network.

To some extent, the blurred demarcation between literature and scientific research in colonial Taiwan was due to the fact that Japanese intellectuals did not recognise the independent value of literature written by Taiwanese writers. For example, when discussing the literature of Taiwan, Shimada regarded literary works produced before Japan's takeover as documents suitable only for archaeological and anthropological studies.<sup>100</sup> In Shimada's opinion, the demarcation between literature and anthropology depended on the nature of the individual text. The Japanese literature, nevertheless, developed slowly in colonies. A large proportion of the migrants to Japan's colonies were actually not very well educated, while the elites, who did receive a good education in *kanbun* were not particularly interested in modern literature. In both Taiwan and Manchukuo, Japanese literature had its genesis in the genre of poetry. The so-called "modern" literature usually was initiated in high schools and the imperial universities of the colonies. For example, before Nishikawa's debut on the literary stage, many researchers and young professors in the Taipei Imperial University had established a literature journal named *The Literature of Taipei Imperial University* (*Taidai bungaku* 台大文学). Anthropologists such as Kanaseki Takeo, who later wrote several detective novels, became frequent contributors.<sup>101</sup> Yet, the journal featured a large collection of classical poetry

98 Baber, *The Science of Empire*, 152.

99 Ibid.

100 Shimada Kinji 島田謹二, "Taiwan no bungaku no kako ni tsuite 台湾文学の過去について [Regarding the Past of Taiwanese Literature]," *Bungei Taiwan* 2: 2 (May 1941): 14.

101 Zhang Wenxun 张文熏, "1940 niandai Taiwan riyu xiaoshuo zhi chengli yu Taibei diguo daxue 1940 年代台湾日语小说之成立与台北帝国大学 [The Development of Japanese-Language Novels in 1940's Taiwan and at the Taipei Imperial University]," *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* 19 (December 2011), 109.

and *haiku* in its early years.<sup>102</sup> The literary circle in the colonies was relatively small and relied on the resources and the participation of local intellectuals.

Notably, those who were engaged in a serious investigation of culture, folklore, and ancient customs in Taiwan immediately after 1895 were for the most part not professional academic anthropologists, primarily due to the lack of professional expertise in anthropology in both Taiwan and Japan in the early twentieth century. Instead, they were viewed as legally trained researchers tasked with formulating adaptations of Japanese law to allow it to mesh with Taiwanese custom and practice, some working with the Commission to Investigate the Old Laws and Customs of Taiwan.<sup>103</sup> Understanding Taiwanese customs was crucial for the establishment of the Japanese judicial system in Taiwan when Japanese mainland laws were not extended to Taiwan during the initial stages.<sup>104</sup>

Even after anthropology, as an independent discipline, launched research activities in a variety of locations, many of the field studies undertaken in Taiwan were still carried out by amateurs rather than by professional anthropologists. Kanaseki Takeo, the key appointee to the Department of Physical Anthropology (*keishitsu jinruigaku* 形質人類学) at Taipei Imperial University, was actually a professor who had majored in anatomy and medical science.<sup>105</sup> When *Folklore Taiwan* was founded, neither the contributors nor the readers of the journal were professional folklorists. Rather, research and publication were spread widely across the local intelligentsia. Nakamura Tetsu, who was a jurist and worked for *Folklore Taiwan*, complained that people like Nishikawa who wrote novels and poetry were among the regular contributors.<sup>106</sup> In general, among people working for *Folklore Taiwan* there was no one who could be said to be a real anthropologist or folklorist.<sup>107</sup> In circumstances such as these, it was easy for Nishikawa to consider taking up folkloric research, an area traditionally shared by non-specialist intellectuals. Nishikawa even hosted a folkloric forum on behalf of *Literary Taiwan* that was attended by folklorists such as Utsurikawa Nenezō, Kanaseki Takeo, Kanda Kiichirō, and others.<sup>108</sup>

102 Ibid.

103 Oguma Eiji 小熊英二, "Kanaseki Takeo to *Minzoku Taiwan* 金關丈夫と「民族台湾」 [Kanaseki Takeo and *Minzoku Taiwan*]," in *Kindai Nihon no tashazō to jigazō* 近代日本の他者像と自画像 [*Modern Japan's Image of Others and of Itself*], ed. Shinohara Tōru (Tokyo: Kashiwa shobō, 2001), 27.

104 Wang, *Legal Reform in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule*, 203.

105 Ibid.

106 Kawamura, "*Daitōa minzokugaku*" no *kyojitsu*, 131–132.

107 Ibid., 132.

108 "Dozoku minzoku zadankai," 177–184.



Taiwanese folkloric texts, perceived by the Japanese as a “less advanced” form of literature, were studied by both writers and anthropologists.

The close relationship between research and literature, in which writers were involved in research activities or drew inspiration from the latest research achievements, was not unique to Taiwan. In Manchuria, for example, in Anzai Fuyue’s avant-garde poetry writing, knowledge of the geographical and historical discovery of Manchuria played a crucial role. The famous line, “A butterfly has gone alone over the Dattan Strait” displayed his intense attention to the political geography of Asia.<sup>109</sup> Anzai’s innovative poem was not just the result of his interest in literary modernism as claimed by some literary researchers. In fact, Anzai harboured a persistent interest in geographical history. His reading interests stretched from the geographical discovery of the Dattan Strait to that of the Xinjiang and Mongolian areas, and eventually to the vast Asian continent. The various geographical names that appeared in his poems were drawn from books such as Torii Ryūzō’s *Far East From the Point of View of Anthropology and Ethnology* (*Jinruigaku oyobi jinshugaku jō yori mitaru Hokutō Ajia* 人類学及人種学上より見たる北東亞細亞, 1924), *The Collection of Japanese Geography: Manchuria* (*Nihon chiri zenshū • Manshūhen* 日本地理全集・満州篇, 1931), *Crossing Central Asia* (*Chū-A ōdanki* 中亜横断記, 1929), and even Chinese books such as *The Travels of Marco Polo* (*Make boluo youji* 马可波罗游记, 1924) and *Serials of World Geography* (*Shijie dili fengsu daxi* 世界地理风俗大系, 1929–1931).<sup>110</sup> These book titles either were recorded in Anzai’s diary or appeared in his private book collections, while the images of exotic and foreign geographical settings permeated his poetry writing. Thus, an intimate relationship between literature and research activities was a salient trait of Japanese colonial literature.

In the case of Ōuchi, the difficulty in drawing the line between literature and research activities stems from long-standing connections with the SMR. Before he began his new career as a literary translator, he was a China expert in the research department. The initial goal of his language training was certainly

109 “Dattan Strait” was used to refer to the Mamiya Strait before the Second World War. It lies between eastern Siberia and Sakhalin.

110 Wang Zhongchen 王中忱, “‘Tōyōgaku’ gensetsu, tairiku tankenki to modanizumu shi no kūkan hyōgen: Anzai Fuyue no chiseigakuteki na manazashi wo chūshin ni shite 「東洋学」言説、大陸探検記とモダニズム詩の空間表現—安西冬衛の地政学的な眼差しを中心にして [Discourses of Orientalism, Continental Explorations and Spatial Expressions of Modernist Poetry: Anzai Fuyue’s Geopolitical Perspective],” in *Teikoku shugi to bungaku* 帝国主義と文学 [*Imperialism and Literature*], ed. Heikei Ryō et al. (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 2010), 135–136.

not limited to the writing of literary critiques. Yet the research department of the SMR had a literary branch. According to Itō Takeo, modern Chinese studies in the early years of the SMR had a number of different facets that could be generally categorised into four schools: 1) historical studies; 2) geographical studies; 3) literary studies; and 4) politics, or Sino-Japanese relations as part of the international relations surrounding China.<sup>111</sup> “Aside from the translation already completed in Kumamoto city during the late Meiji period of the [famous Chinese novel] *Hung-lou meng* (Dream of the red chamber),” the field of literary studies mainly concentrated on traditional Chinese-style poetry and classical Chinese prose. Contemporary literature was completely ignored in 1929 when Ōuchi joined the SMR.<sup>112</sup> This could explain why Ōuchi was occupied by the writing of reviews of Chinese modern literature at the start of his work for *Manchurian Review*. Literary studies or literary critiques gained additional significance when they became a part of the broader research activities.

Ōuchi’s involvement in translation and studies of Chinese literature not only enabled him to act as a translator, but also gave him a unique position in the research department of the SMR. The literary critiques Ōuchi published in *Manchuria and Mongolia* usually strongly resembled surveys. Articles such as “The Current Status and Future of Chinese Literature” provided a general idea of the development of Chinese literature.<sup>113</sup> After 1931, Ōuchi worked as the dean of the Information Department. Each month, he read a large number of foreign journals and newspaper and then wrote a monthly report.<sup>114</sup> Most of the literary critiques he wrote on Chinese literature in Manchukuo were in the way of surveys and overviews, similar to news survey he wrote for *Manchurian Review*, in which he provided names of books, writers, and literary groups and surveyed the general state of development, yet refrained from giving subjective judgments and evaluations.

Starting in December of 1941, Ōuchi began serialising his research on Manchurian literature under the title “The Twenty-Year History of Manchurian Literature” in a journal, which was later published as a book with the same title in 1944. The book, as observed by Ozaki Hotsuki, is of great value today because it is a compilation of all possible information on the development of literature in Manchuria during that period.<sup>115</sup> Ozaki also points out that the book featured abundant material, but also demonstrated very little effort in

111 Itō, *Life Along the South Manchurian Railway*, 106.

112 Ibid.

113 Yamaguchi, “Shina bungaku no genzai to shōrai,” 10.

114 Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 177.

115 Ozaki, *Kindai bungaku no kizuato*, 220.

evaluating and criticising.<sup>116</sup> Ozaki regards this as somewhat regretful for a study on literature. Yet, from the beginning, Ōuchi was trained as more than a literary critic whose specialties were confined only to literature. Instead, his interest in Chinese literature and culture grew out of his initial research duties which decided the way he wrote.

In Taiwan, Nishikawa's involvement in folkloric studies and his intimate relationship with anthropologists were due to his relatively high status in the literary arena. This gave him the authority and freedom to take part in research activities. In contrast, Ōuchi was initially trained as a China expert with broad interest and expertise in political and economic issues. Even after his re-appearance as a literary and cultural expert, his literary critiques often showed characteristics that could be easily found in political reviews, investigations, and reports. Japan did not have authors like Rudyard Kipling or Joseph Conrad. But Japan had Japanese writers who were more than just authors of literary works. Japanese colonial literature in Taiwan and Manchuria was well situated in the broad social-political nexus that was formed and influenced by various geo-political regions. They mutually constructed the discursive space where colonial knowledge could exercise its power.

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116 Ibid.

## Romanticising the Empire

The beginning of romanticism in the Europe can be traced to the eighteenth century German-speaking countries that felt a strong cultural inferiority towards the progressive states, particularly France. This led to a form of German romanticism that went in search for the rich world of senses and most importantly a national spirit.<sup>1</sup> A similar sentiment overtook Japan in the 1940s in its determination to fight the West while at the same time embrace romanticism. Kevin Doak states that the Japanese Romantic School found a way to construct Japan's own national and cultural identity by reflecting on its own modernisation since the Meiji period.<sup>2</sup> Tansman points out that artists and intellectuals at the time employed various cultural means to create a Japanese national identity. Among them, the invention of the myth of a nation played a crucial role.<sup>3</sup> While the focus of the efforts of both Doak and Tansman was on the discourse of romanticism and its connection to aesthetic fascism in metropolitan Japan, Tansman, in particular, demonstrated how Manchuria could represent a mythic place for the Japanese imagination, and for the imperialist power to its gain strength.<sup>4</sup> For example, Tansman points to Yasuda Yojūrō's assertion:

Our young people in Manchuria and Mongolia are forging a new spirit, a new reality, a new logic, a new sensibility through a form never before formed, and they are living that magnificent conception in daily life, amidst chaos and confusion. We already feel in our hearts the stirrings of a new resolution and system, and a new myth.<sup>5</sup>

As such, Japanese colonies became mysterious places that Yasuda utilised to create a mythic national identity.<sup>6</sup> Romanticism as the literary expression of fascist ideology not only relied on colonies for its expression of Japanese national

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1 Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 36.

2 See Kevin M. Doak, *Dreams of Difference: The Japan Romantic School and the Crisis of Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

3 Tansman, *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism*, 54.

4 *Ibid.*, 102.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

myth, but it also found an incarnation in both Taiwan and Manchukuo. How, then, should we evaluate the deployment of romanticism in the colonies and what was the relationship between romanticism in metropolitan Japan and in the specific colonial locations?

Around 1940, in both Manchukuo and Taiwan, romanticism blossomed. Although romanticism manifested itself differently in Taiwan and Manchukuo, its rising influence in both regions can be attributed to the historical and ideological environment, stemming from the exportation of a “Japanese spirit” that was imbued with the imperialist ideology of metropolitan Japan. A comparative study of Nishikawa and Ōuchi, as well as of the Sino–Japanese literary interaction in Taiwan and Manchukuo, therefore, will reveal that the conflict between the dominant Japanese culture of the coloniser and the dominated culture of the colonised played out as a struggle between Chinese realism and Japanese romanticism.

### **The Rise of Romanticism in Taiwan**

For Nishikawa, the meaning of romanticism changed in step with the development of his own literary career: At different times, it had different connotations in the context of the relationship between an individual writer and the Japanese colonial power. When he first came to Taiwan, the cultural heritage Nishikawa borrowed from to develop his exotic and decadent poetry was a combination of the Japanese literary tradition and the fruits of the Western literary tradition. French symbolist poetry, which was essentially a revolt against realism, had aroused great interest in Japan at the beginning of the twentieth century. It found its way into the works of writers such as Ueda Bin and Kitahara Hakushū when the Japanese literary arena became dissatisfied with the perceived dreariness of naturalist writing. During his sojourn in Taiwan, Nishikawa consciously maintained both textual and personal connections with modern Japanese writers of romantic symbolism.

As Japanese colonisation of Taiwan progressed, however, Nishikawa's romanticism acquired new meanings. In the years around 1935, Nishikawa started to reveal his obsession with Taiwanese folklore. The Japanese colonial government expected to see more than “backward” religious practices and the “goddess of mystery” in literary writings, particularly after forty years of direct economic, political, and cultural contacts with Taiwan. Writers in Taiwan were expected to focus on the fruits of colonial modernisation and the prospect of Japan's southward expansion. Nishikawa's folkloric writings, however, persisted in depicting that which modern Japan tried to gloss over, namely, the superstitions of lower-class prostitutes, and local beliefs in the goddess, as

well as practices of augury that had been banned by the colonial government. In contrast to some folklorists who were busily engaged in conceiving new means of cultural governance for further colonisation through recordings and analyses of Taiwanese customs, Nishikawa was instead excessively interested in manifesting his romantic attachment to Taiwanese folklore in his writings.

In 1940, when Nishikawa started his historical writing, he simultaneously began to advocate for a new form of “romanticism”. In the historical novel *The Red Fort* he created an image of the Japanese-lineaged Zheng Chenggong in a bid to promote Japan’s new anti-West discourse. Zheng Chenggong not only epitomised as a legitimate transition from the Japanese ancestor to the current Japanese colonial government, but also represented Japan’s ability to conquer the West on behalf of the East. Nishikawa retold Zheng Chenggong’s battle to defend the Ming dynasty from Dutch colonialism as a tale detailing the East’s triumph over the West. This was critical propaganda in the Japanese colonial context after 1940 when Japan needed to find the rhetoric to mobilise voluntary armies drawn from its Asian colonies.

When Japan officially declared war on the United States, bombing the American naval base at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, mobilisation was not just limited to military armament, it extended to other social and ideological areas. Debate over the “unique Japanese” even spread into the literary world in the colonies. Nishikawa, whose major was French literature, launched a heavy attack on Western literature and opted to promote the beauty of the Japanese literary tradition as follows:

Generally speaking, the realist writing that is now the current mainstream in the Taiwanese literary world consists of no more than the artistic techniques introduced from Europe and America during the Meiji era. However, this particular kind of literature fails to resonate among the Japanese, who have a tradition of admiring cherry blossoms. It would be better if it could evince some degree of superficial humanitarianism. However, given its ferocity and uncritical depictions of life, it is far from meeting the standards of the Japanese tradition. It is more applicable to the writings of the Taiwanese, since orthodox realism is by no means confined to depictions of abuse of a stepson and unresolved family imbroglios, which have long been central topics of the Taiwanese. They persist in writing about undesirable customs, while the new generation of writers has already volunteered for the war.<sup>7</sup>

7 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, “Bungei jihyō 文藝時評 [Literary Review],” *Bungei Taiwan* 6: 1 (May 1943): 124.

The combat between East and West was associated with the dichotomy of realism and romanticism. When criticising realist writings in Taiwan, Nishikawa even used the term “shit realism” (*kuso realism*), a term borrowed from Hayashi Fusao, the eminent writer of the romantic school in Japan.<sup>8</sup> By means of a number of binary oppositions of shit realism in Taiwan/the traditional beauty of Japanese sakura, European and American/Japanese, and foreign/traditional, he declared that the mainstream Taiwanese literary world, which had borrowed heavily from the Western literary tradition, could not resonate with the Japanese. He also blamed the Taiwanese writers for depicting undesirable customs and domestic troubles when the new generation of Taiwanese youth had already volunteered for the war.<sup>9</sup> Instead, Nishikawa proposed a romantic tone, advocating a return to Japan and Japanese traditional romanticism. Predictably, proposals for colonial romanticism were strenuously opposed by local Taiwanese writers, who considered them alien to Taiwanese sensibilities. Realism, they maintained, had a longer tradition and far more value than foreign and colonial romanticism.

The debate vis-à-vis issues of realism and romanticism had officially begun. The writers Nishikawa criticised were Taiwanese writers intellectually affiliated with *Literature of Taiwan* (*Taiwan bungaku* 台湾文学). The romanticism debate was inflamed by the rivalry between *Literature of Taiwan* and *Literary Taiwan*. As the last remaining literary journal published by local Taiwanese, *Literature of Taiwan* was the most influential intellectual platform for local Taiwanese writers in the 1940s. It comprised a hotbed of supporters of realism. From April 1943 onwards, writers and critics belonging to their respective groups launched a heated debate in many newspapers and journals. In May 1943, *Literature of Taiwan* and its realist stance were heavily attacked by Nishikawa and Hamada Hayao.<sup>10</sup> The debate lasted for approximately three months.

However, it is unrealistic to assume that either Nishikawa or Japanese literature more broadly had really rejected the import of realism from the West,

8 Lin Jinli 林巾力, “Xichuan Man ‘fen xianshi zhuyi’ lunshu zhong de xifang, Riben yu Taiwan 西川满“粪现实主义”论述中的西方、日本与台湾 [Imagining the West, Japan and Taiwan: A Discussion of Mitsuru Nishikawa’s Kuso-Realism Debate],” *Zhongwai wenxue* 34: 7 (December 2005): 156–158.

9 Nishikawa, “Bungei jihyō,” 124.

10 For discussions on the general situation of debates, see Liu Shuqin 柳书琴, “Fenxianshizhuyi yu huangmin wenxue: 1940niandai Taiwan wentan de rentong zhi zhan 粪现实主义与皇民文学：1940年代台湾文坛的认同之战 [“Shit Realism” and Imperial Literature: The Debate on National Identity Among the Taiwan Literati in the 1940s],” in *The International Journal of Study on Modern Chinese Literature in East Asia* 4 (2010): 51–79.



given Japan's history of a voracious appetite for all kinds of artistic forms, ranging from naturalism to symbolism, even to avant-garde art and modernism. Tsubouchi Shōyō introduced the Western idea of the novel. Natsume Sōseki, another pillar of modern Japanese literary history, was sent to London to study the English language. In the 1930s, the French language guided the Japanese literary world. Shimada explained that they chose French literature as a model for the development of literature in Taiwan because the French tradition of "littérature d'outre-mer" or "littérature coloniale" could be used to construct Japanese literature under its new colonial reality.<sup>11</sup> Considering Japan's long history of learning from the West, the denunciation of realism for its intimacy with the West seems divorced from Japan's own development to this point and merely part of the war propaganda.

Nishikawa's writing had an intimate link to French romanticism rather than naturalism or realism. Yet his dissatisfaction with realism in 1943 came more from a political perspective than from a literary standpoint. As for the 1940s discourse of romanticism, it was neither in Taiwan's literary roots nor was it expected to expand Taiwanese literary achievements. It was more a political consideration. This progression in his literature was well encapsulated in his critique of romanticism in 1943. When commenting on Izumi Kyōka, Nishikawa says:

His writing may sometimes be harmed by absurdity, and it is not perfect; however, his writing is refined, with rich words and delicate structures, undoubtedly having inherited the greatness of art in the long Japanese literary tradition. The reason why I take the example of Izumi Kyōka lies in my interest in searching for the real spirit of Japanese aesthetic tradition in his works. Some regard his writing style as romanticism while others intend to consider him as Parnassian, each according to his own view. Even though he is a writer of romanticism, he is a writer distinctive from both those shit realist writers and shallow believers in decadent romanticism.<sup>12</sup>

Instead of appraising Izumi Kyōka, these words seem more like a defense of Nishikawa's own literary practice. Nishikawa's definition and evaluation of his writing was clearly indicated in these remarks, which promoted balanced combination of Western modernism and Japanese spirit. Nishikawa himself was a writer of refined words and delicate structures, as he tried to meet Shimada's

11 Shimada, *Kareitō bungakushi*, 9.

12 Nishikawa, "Bungei jihyō," 124–125.

expectation of constructive and healthy romanticism, even if he was not able to reach the bright and masculine Parnassian heights.

### The Rise of Romanticism in Manchukuo

In Manchukuo, Chinese writers were experiencing similar struggles with the dominant romantic ideology. But the romanticism in Manchukuo not only came earlier, it was also more complicated. Although Japanese writers deprecated Chinese “dark realism” as obscure, unhealthy, and worthless, romanticism in Manchukuo was not a simple rejection of realism. The discourse of romanticism in Manchukuo could be summarised across two aspects: It proclaimed the legitimacy of Manchukuo, and it concealed the dark side of colonial reality. In the 1940s, however, espousing romanticism was also a way to channel the voices of Manchukuo to meet the requirements of the Greater East Asia War. During the proliferation of romanticism, many writers joined the debates with their distinctive theories. Discourse of romanticism could be very disturbing to the imperialist government.

Since the founding of *Manchurian Romanticism* in 1938, there had been a conspicuous upsurge of romanticism in Manchukuo. However, the meaning and connotation of this sudden ground swell needs to be examined within a specific context. There were at least two types of romanticism in Manchukuo. One was the romanticism of Nishimura Shin'ichirō, while the other branch was represented by Kitamura Kenjirō. As Nishimura Shin'ichirō stated, these two kinds of romantic discourse were distinctively different.<sup>13</sup> Nishimura's romanticism was synonymous with “the spirit of establishing Manchukuo” (*Kenkoku seishin* 建国精神) or the declaration of Manchukuo. He knew that the enterprise of national harmony could no longer progress unless the slogan of national harmony was widely believed to be Manchukuo's destiny. Manchukuo was composed of various national groups that had their own histories and cultural traditions. Most of these groups were economically disadvantaged and were poorly placed to appreciate the idea of national harmony. Therefore, to Nishimura, it was very clear that realism could not rescue Manchukuo from its present troubles. What Manchukuo needed was a type of romantic force that

13 Nishimura Shin'ichirō 西村真一郎, “Manshū bungaku no rōmanteki seikaku no konkyo 満洲文学の浪漫的性格の根拠 [The Reasons for the Romantic Characteristics of Manchurian Literature],” *Manshū gyōsei* 7: 7 (July 1940): 33.

could break down the old system and create a new world.<sup>14</sup> If there was any time when realism could flourish, Nishimura was convinced this could only be someday in the future when the reality of Manchukuo was more cheerful.<sup>15</sup>

Kitamura Kenjirō, who established a literary journal whose title literally means “Manchurian Romanticism,” attributed more personal factors than the national idea to romanticism. He states:

Our task is to criticise the literature of Manchukuo and to decide its direction. To this end, can anything be more important than the pursuit of personality? In literary journals and newspapers, there seem to be endless platitudes on the relations between literature and politics. However, as far as I am concerned, it is unnecessary to carry out such debates, since as we all know, the literature of founding Manchukuo (*Kenkoku bungaku* 建国文学) is not merely about eulogising the principle of national harmony or the spirit of establishing Manchukuo. It is essentially formed by the spirits of artists and the longing to refine our perception of beauty.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, Kitamura believed that the essence of romanticism answers questions such as “how to live as an individual and what to pursue in Manchukuo.”<sup>17</sup> He felt that experiences of silence, bitterness, and also hope could be easily found in writers facing a new age, and insisted that writers should avoid irresponsible leaps.<sup>18</sup> Contrary to those “flying up to the sky” by extolling romanticism, Kitamura stated that he preferred to “be rooted firmly in the ground.”<sup>19</sup> He summed up the spirit of romanticism as a challenge to vulgarity, loyalty to poetry, an attack on hypocritical culture, and a passionate shout at a time when everything was to be governed by sense.

14 Nishimura Shin'ichirō 西村真一郎, “Manshū bungaku no kihon gainen 満洲文学の基本概念 [Principal Concepts of Manchurian Literature],” in *Manshū rōman dai-5-shū* 満洲浪漫第 5 輯 [*Manchurian Romanticism*, vol. 5] (1940; reprint, Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2002), 52–54.

15 Ibid.

16 Kitamura Kenjirō 北村謙次郎, “Tankyū to kanshō 探求と観照 [Research and Observe],” in *Manshū rōman dai-5-shū* 満洲浪漫第 5 輯 [*Manchurian Romanticism*, vol. 5] (1940; reprint, Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2002), 64–65.

17 Ibid.

18 Kitamura Kenjirō, “Batsu ni kaete 跋にかへて [Instead of an Epilogue],” *Manshū rōman dai-6-shū* 満洲浪漫第 6 輯 [*Manchurian Romanticism*, vol. 6] (1940; reprint, Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2002), 249.

19 Ibid., 250.

Kitamura's romanticism was similar to that of the Chinese writer Tian Lang. Later, in 1944, at a conference discussing how to depict Manchukuo, Tian gave a similarly romantic appraisal of literature, suggesting that just like love, which has no special aim, literature should not be expected to take on a special mission. He further argues:

Literature should exist only for the sake of literature itself; otherwise, it is no longer literature. [...] It is common that a state will resort to literature for help when it is in difficulties; however, literature only exists for its own sake and there is no room for other demands.<sup>20</sup>

Considering this opinion was expressed in 1944, when literature had already been assigned the responsibility of contributing to the total mobilisation for war, this romantic view was very bold. Thus the conception of romanticism in Manchukuo showed great variations depending on the context. Sometimes, it was utopian rhetoric for colonial purposes, while at other times it was adopted by rebellious voices in defense of a personal dignity jeopardised by political illusions. And, almost playfully, sometimes it served anti-colonial purposes by appropriating colonial discourse.

Similar to those of romanticism, theories of realism in Manchukuo were also enmeshed in a complicated ideological matrix. The realist approach to Chinese writers meant portraying life faithfully, especially its dark sides. In 1941, referring to the new direction of literary development, Han Hu suggested that Manchurian literature should simply adhere to the May Fourth literary tradition. He states:

Although Kikuchi Kan said that realism had accomplished its historical task and therefore it was a new age for romanticism, Kikuchi's remarks were not applicable to the Manchurian literary arena, since our literature was already restored and there was really no necessity to change it again.<sup>21</sup>

20 Seminar on how to depict Manchuria, Chuxi juezhan yiwenjia dahui de quanguo manxi wenxuezheng gong 17ren 出席决战艺文家大会的全国满系文学者共 17 人 [Those Seventeen People Who Attended the Congress of Writers and Artists for the War], "zenyang xie manzhou zuotanhui 怎样写满洲座谈会 [Symposium on How to Depict Manchuria]," *Yiwenzhi* 1: 3 (March 1944): 30.

21 Han Hu 韩护, "Women de wenxue shiti yu fangxiang 我们的文学实体与方向 [The Substance and Direction of Our Literature]," *Huawen daban meiri* 67 (April 1941). Quoted from Qian Liqun 钱李群 ed, *Zhongguo lunxianqu wenxue daxi: pinglun juan* 中国沦陷区文学大系: 评论卷 [A Collection of Literature from the Occupied Areas: A Volume of Critiques] (Nanning: Guangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998), 460.

However, this was unacceptable from the Japanese perspective. For example, Kizaki Ryū proposed an eclectic concept of “constructive realism,” which actually had the substance of realism. The rhetoric of utopia, i.e., the dream and spirit of the establishment of Manchukuo, marked this concept. It repeatedly emphasised that Manchukuo was founded on an ideal. Although Ōuchi was very sympathetic towards the Chinese people in Manchukuo, he could not agree with the Chinese writers’ definitions of realism. Post 1941, i.e., shortly after two collections of his translations were published, Ōuchi started to express a changed view towards realism, concurring with Kizaki’s theory of “constructive realism”. He states:

I don’t want to deny the fact that mainstream Chinese literature is realism, and I believe this will undergo further development in the future. However, we cannot tolerate a mediocre realism. In other words, what is needed in Manchukuo is constructive realism. I think what Manchukuo needs most right now is an ability to master the true reality and to make a careful plan based on lofty ideals, as well as a strong will with which to put them all into practice.<sup>22</sup>

By “constructive realism,” Ōuchi meant “providing a right direction that transcends darkness and sorrow.”<sup>23</sup> Kanō Saburō clearly outlined the central thinking of this approach by giving the example of depicting a hand. He said that authentic realism depicted a hand, with full consideration of the relation between the head and the hand. It became romanticism by only focusing on the hand without any consideration of the other facts.<sup>24</sup> Ōuchi felt discontented with the relationship between “the hand and the head” presented by Chinese writers. As the war accelerated, Ōuchi finally couldn’t help shouting:

I once attributed the “darkness” of Manchurian art and literature in the past to a kind of “darkness” of nostalgia. However, this kind of darkness poisoned writers’ eyes, resulting in myopia or blindness. In retrospect, I cannot restrain the shiver this makes me feel. How could writers have lived in such a world? I think there is nobody living in such a world

22 Ōuchi, “Mankei geibun no hōkō,” 92.

23 Ibid.

24 Kanō Saburō 加納三郎, “Manshū bungaku ni taisuru kibō no hitokoto 満洲文学に対する希望の一言 [Advice for Manchurian Literature],” *Manshū gyōsei* 7: 10 (October 1940): 71.

any more. However, if there is, I hope they can seize the opportunity to recover their sight and have a look at our new world.<sup>25</sup>

He started to urge Chinese writers to discover “the way to overcome the darkness”, by obtaining a clear picture of the reality of Manchukuo.<sup>26</sup> In February 1941, at a symposium on Chinese literature, Chinese writers were warned directly of the consequences of writing dark realism, and there was a discussion about the reconstruction of classical literature.<sup>27</sup>

### The Imperialist Intervention of Romanticism

An important question remains: Where did the colonies’ romanticism originate, and how did it develop? Some research undertakings in Taiwan and Manchukuo at the time suggest that romanticism in these two areas was closely related to the Japanese Romantic School. For example, Tarumi Chie believes that the debate over realism and romanticism that played out in 1943 in Taiwan was actually an extension of the debate between the Japanese Romantic School and the rival fraternity of *The People’s Library* (*Jinmin bunko* 人民文庫) in Japan in 1935.<sup>28</sup> There is also some suggestions that many writers in Manchukuo, such as Kitamura Kenjirō, Yahara Reizaburō, Yokota Fumiko, Dan Kazuo, and Hasegawa Shun, who were either for or associated with *Manchurian Romanticism*, also wrote for the journal *Nihon Roman* in Japan.<sup>29</sup> However, contributors to *Manchurian Romanticism* were for the most part, according to Nishihara Kazumi, employed by the Manchurian Film Company

25 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, “Juezhān manzhou wenxue neirong zhi jiantao 决战满洲文学内容之检讨 [Discussion on the Content of Manchurian Literature in the Wartime Period],” *Qingnian Wenhua* 3: 2 (February 1945): 8–9.

26 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, *Wenyi tancong* 文艺谈丛 [Discussion on Literature and Arts] (Shinkyō: Yiwen shufang, 1944), 49.

27 “Zaihō mankei bungeijin to no zadankai 在奉満系文藝人との座談会 [Symposium with Literary and Artistic Workers in Hōten],” *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 43 (March 1941): 2.

28 Tarumi Chie 垂水千恵, “‘Kuso riarizumu’ no ronsō no haikei 「糞リアリズム」の論争の背景 [Background to the “Shit Realism” Debate],” in *Bungaku no yami / kindai no “chinmoku”* 文学の闇/近代の「沈黙」 [The Darkness of Literature/The Silence of the Modern Period], ed. Nakayama Akihiko (Yokohama: Seori shobō, 2003), 407–425.

29 Junko Nakajima Agnew, “Rewriting Manchukuo: The Question of Japanese Literary Colonialism and Chinese Collaboration” (PhD diss. University of Washington, 2009), 20–21.

rather than being a part of the Japanese Romantic School.<sup>30</sup> A reading based on the connection between Taiwan and Manchukuo will suggest that the rise of romanticism in these two areas was not so much related to the Japanese Romantic School as to that of the “home front literary movement” (*Bungei jūgo undō* 文藝銃後運動), organised in 1940 by Kikuchi Kan, who was a leader of the Japanese Writers’ Association (*Nihon bungeika kyōkai* 日本文藝家協会) that was established in 1926 by combining the dramatists’ association and novelists’ association. Although Nishikawa borrowed the term “shit realism” from the Japanese Romantic School that had perpetrated a fascist attack on *The People’s Library*, in the 1940s the romanticism was not so much related to the Japanese Romantic School as it was newly invented to stir up a war spirit for mobilising the empire’s intellectual resources.

In August 1940, Kikuchi, who would become chairman of the Japanese Writers’ Association in 1942 and one of the executive members of the council of the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature, travelled to Manchukuo. He was welcomed at a tea party. During this meeting, Kikuchi stated that Manchukuo was desperately in need of a new type of romantic ideology that could depict its new developments, new era, and new environment. He insisted Japanese writers in Manchukuo were not inferior to Japanese writers in Japan in terms of writing skills. What they all needed was romanticism. He even promised to offer the pages of the monthly journal *Literary Arts Spring and Autumn* (*Bungei shunjū* 文藝春秋), of which he was in charge, to writers in Manchukuo as publishing space. Kobayashi Hideo, who accompanied Kikuchi, expressed a similar yearning for a new romantic ideology of Manchukuo.<sup>31</sup> In 1943, Kikuchi even established a Manchurian branch of his *Literary Arts Spring and Autumn* publishing house (*ManshūBungei shunjūsha* 満洲文藝春秋社), which in January 1944 started to publish *Arts and Literature* (*Geibun* 藝文), the official journal of the Union of Manchurian Art and Literature.<sup>32</sup> Starting in July 1944, *Arts and Literature* was infused with the tone of “arts and literature of the war” (*kessen bungei* 決戦文藝).<sup>33</sup> From August 1940 onwards, Manchurian literature was not free to sever its connection with Japanese literature, nor with romanticism.

30 Okada et al., “*Manshū rōman* wo dō hyōka suruka,” 16–17.

31 “Kangei sawakai 歓迎茶話会 [The Welcome Tea Party],” *Bunwakai tsūshin* 37 (September 1941): 4.

32 Lü Yuanming 吕元明, “Zasshi *Geibun* no zengo 雑誌『藝文』の前後 [The Course of the Founding of the Journal *Literature*],” *Geibundai-1-kan* 藝文第1巻 [*Literature* vol. 1] (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2007), 10–14.

33 *Ibid.*, 18.



The connection with *Literary Arts Spring and Autumn* and other literary organs jeopardised the independence of Manchukuo's literature. Takasaki Ryūji has pointed out that *Literary Arts Spring and Autumn* cooperated of its own volition with the military and the Japanese imperialist government starting with the initial stages of the war, and thus contributed to the upsurge of militarism and imperialism. Contrary to the conventional assumption that writers were mustered by the military, Takasaki suggests that writers were largely solicited by Kikuchi and his *Literary Arts Spring and Autumn*, which had made a commitment to the Information Department of the Cabinet (*Naikaku jōhōbu* 内閣情報部).<sup>34</sup> One of Kikuchi's tasks during wartime was to liaise between writers and the military authorities. According to Suzuki Sadami, Kikuchi's cooperation with the state started as early as April 1933.<sup>35</sup> Kikuchi and Konoe had graduated from the First Higher School and had interactions even in those old days.<sup>36</sup> When Konoe became the prime minister, *Literary Arts Spring and Autumn* did not hesitate to praise Konoe as the first intellectual prime minister in Japan's modern history. Reciprocally, Konoe contributed to *Literary Arts Spring and Autumn*. In the following months, many articles extolling Konoe's policies appeared. By 1938, an imperialist tone had already dominated the journal.<sup>37</sup> Kikuchi made direct contribution to the imperialist mobilisation.

Kikuchi started his intervention into Manchurian literary arena as early as October 1938. Ordered by the Information Department of the Cabinet, and together with Kobayashi, he travelled to Manchuria, where he gave a speech and received a warm welcome. The welcome party of Kikuchi simultaneously became the ceremony to celebrate the foundation of *Manchurian Romanticism*. The Manchurian Minister for Civil Affairs sponsored the event and the welcome party.<sup>38</sup> In September 1941, the Japanese Writers' Association led by Kikuchi further exerted its influence on the Manchuria Literary Academy. These two organisations agreed to form the Japan-Manchukuo Literature Council (*Nichi-Man bungei kyōgikai* 日満文藝協議会), which had been first proposed at the end of 1940. The Association would guarantee the publication of Manchurian

34 Takasaki Ryūji 高崎隆治, *Sensō to sensō bungaku* 戦争と戦争文学 [War and War Literature] (Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentā, 1986), 209–214.

35 Suzuki Sadami 鈴木貞美, "Bungei shunjū" to Ajia Taiheiyō Sensō 「文藝春秋」とアジア太平洋戦争 [Bungei Shunjū and the Pacific War] (Tokyo: Takeda randamu hausu Japan, 2010), 123.

36 Ibid., 130.

37 Ibid., 143.

38 Kitamura, *Hokuhenbojōki*, 73.

writers' books in Japan and would assist in their travels to Japan. The Manchuria Literary Academy made a reciprocal undertaking. In addition, both agreed to set up an award for Japanese and Manchurian literature, to encourage the works of Manchurian writers or writings on Manchuria.<sup>39</sup> When *Journal of Arts and Literature* resumed publication in 1943, Kobayashi wrote an article titled "Cooperation Among Writers", which stressed the significance of literary cooperation in the context of the Greater East Asia War.<sup>40</sup>

In Taiwan, Nishikawa's critique of "shit realism" was also a product of Japan. It was borrowed from Hayashi Fusao: Nishikawa may have been influenced by Hayashi's determination to attack realist writers. Besides his 1941 contribution to *Literary Taiwan*, Hayashi also maintained an intimate relationship with Hamada Hayao, a close friend of Nishikawa.<sup>41</sup> Hayashi and Nishikawa made direct contact at the Greater East Asian Writers Convention. At this time, Hayashi stood not only for the Romantic School but the "romantic spirit", as a result of the broad cooperation between the Romantic School, other literary fraternities such as *Literary Arena* (*Bungakukai* 文学界) and the imperialist power embodied by the literary activities led by Kikuchi.

Kikuchi paid a visit to Taiwan towards the end of 1940 on behalf of the Japanese Writers' Association. In accordance with the arrangements of the Taiwanese Governor General's Office, Kikuchi delivered speeches on "home front literary movements" in the major cities of Taiwan. Ten days later, there was a conspicuous report in the *Taiwan Daily News* shedding light on the relationship between literature and political intervention in Taiwan:

In order to comply with the policies of the new order, and to march toward the achievement of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association at a cultural level, the Information Department of the Cabinet has decided to form a new literary association that is able to gather together all the writers, poets, singers, anthropologists and writers of *haiku*. This has gained support from the Taipei Imperial University and all the other relevant organisations.<sup>42</sup>

39 "Nichi-Man bungei kyōgikai ni tsuite 日滿文藝家協議会について [Regarding the Japan-Manchukuo Literature Council]," *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 37 (September 1941): 3.

40 Kobayashi Hideo 小林秀雄, "Wenxuezhe de tixie 文学者的提携 [Cooperation Among Writers]," *Yiwenzhi* 1: 1 (1943): 4–6.

41 Both Hayashi Fusao and Hamada Hayao changed their political orientation from the proletariat to the right wing.

42 News in the *Taiwan rì xīnbào*, September 26, 1940, quoted from Chen Lingling 陈玲玲, *Wenxue zhīmín yu wenxue kūn'è: duì 1931–1945 niánjiān Ribēn de zhīmín tóngzhì yu zhōngguó*

In June 1942, when the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature was founded, Kikuchi was once more dispatched to Taiwan to deliver speeches on the Greater East Asia War, again shortly prior to the reformation of the Association of Manchurian Artists in Manchukuo.<sup>43</sup> A year later in April 1943, the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature established a branch in Taiwan, working hand in hand with The Patriotic Society of Taiwanese Literature that was established in November of the same year. The branch office was located in Nishikawa's house, and he was nominated as Director-General.<sup>44</sup>

Tarumi Chie notes that Hayashi first used the term “shit realism” in March 1936 to wage an attack on realism on behalf of the Japanese Romantic School.<sup>45</sup> Neither Kikuchi nor Kobayashi, however, were members of the Japanese Romantic School, though they were closely related. Hayashi and Kobayashi originally belonged to the circle of *Literary Arena* that was established in 1933. Hayashi joined the Romantic School in 1935. In 1936, the management of *Literary Arena* was transferred to Kikuchi's *Literary Arts Spring and Autumn* publishing house.<sup>46</sup> Accordingly, Kikuchi became the sponsor of their literary activities. Two years later, the official journal of the Romantic School was no longer published due to financial reasons. As a result, Hayashi and many others joined the writing group for *New Japan* (*Shin Nihon* 新日本). In the 1940s, when “romanticism” in Taiwan and Manchukuo gained strength, the influence of the Japan Romantic School had already begun to wane.<sup>47</sup> In its place, a new system was born—a system that had managed to recruit writers such as Hayashi, Kobayashi, and Kikuchi.

On 22 August 1938, when the Information Department of the Cabinet called writers in for consultations at the prime minister's house, about 22 Japanese writers cooperated with the imperialist enterprises by participating in the so-called Writers' Military Attachment, more commonly known as the “Pen Platoon”. The writers' invitation was signed by Kikuchi, who was first among

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wenxue guanxi de yanjiu 文学殖民与文学困厄：对 1931–1945 年间日本的殖民统治与中日文学关系的研究 [Literary Colonialism and Literary Straits: A Study on the Relation between Japanese Colonial Rule and the Literature of Japan and China 1931–1945] (PhD diss., Beijing Normal University, 2006), 26–27.

43 Jingdian zazhi 经典杂志 ed., *Taiwan renwen sibainian* 台湾人文四百年 [Four Hundred Years of Humanity in Taiwan] (Taipei: Jingdian zazhi, 2006), 281.

44 Kondō, “Xichuan Man zhaji (shang),” 24.

45 Tarumi, “‘Kuso riarizumu’ no ronsō no haikei,” 410–411.

46 Hayashi Fusao 林房雄, “Uchiwabanashi 内輪話 [Internal Affairs],” *Bungakukaki* 3: 7 (July 1936): 251. The publisher of this issue appeared to be the Literary Arts Spring and Autumn publishing house.

47 Doak, *Dreams of Difference*, xxxvii.

those urging writers to support the war effort.<sup>48</sup> From that point on, Kikuchi, Kobayashi, Hayashi, and even the later Nobel Prize winner Kawabata Yasunari were frequently dispatched to Taiwan and Manchukuo and other places of the empire. They were all in favour of romanticism and were associated with both the home front literary movements and the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature.

It is very hard to understand what happened across the empire in the late 1930s and early 1940s by only considering the context of the Romantic School, which since its founding had also been undergoing various transformations. From 1938 onward, inviting metropolitan writers, journalists, and government officials to imperial holdings became a crucial part of state policy that aimed to augment the ideological mission of building the empire across Asia. Behind these movements lay the assumption that “culture, specifically Japanese culture, needed to be strengthened and expanded throughout the region to support Imperial Japan’s wartime initiatives”.<sup>49</sup> Some cultural and literary resources, such as the term “shit realism,” were borrowed from earlier debates, and some writers in Manchukuo were connected with the Japanese Romantic School; yet, in the 1940s, the romanticism prevailing in Taiwan and Manchukuo derived its legitimacy and force from the mobilisation of literature and arts. In other words, once concepts such as “shit realism” and “romanticism” that had been used in the 1930s were re-introduced in a colonial context in the 1940s, they gained a new vitality that might be better understood against the historical background of what was happening across the empire.

### Romanticism as an Anti-modernist Force

How then, can we understand the simultaneous appearance of romanticism in both Taiwan and Manchukuo against the historical background of Japan’s rising imperialism in the twentieth century? When studying the emergence of Chinese nationalism on the global stage, Karl Rebecca once asked, “What happens when the purportedly coincidental temporal nature of events comes to be spatially understood? That is, what happens when historical-spatial logic comes to explain the seemingly arbitrary temporal unity and coincidence of disparate events?”<sup>50</sup> If the discourse of romanticism in both Taiwan and

48 Barak Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 80.

49 Culver, *Glorify the Empire*, 174.

50 Karl, *Staging the World*, 8.

Manchukuo could be conceptualised within the broader context of Japan's modernity in which imperialism was a significant part as well as its critique that developed from the late 1920s onwards, we find many connections to explain their coexistence. Rather than confining our discussion of romanticism to its ties to the Romantic School, a more logical path to understanding modern Japan's intellectual trajectory would be to place the Romantic School *within* the broad framework of Japan's modern "romanticism". Here, I take this to mean that romanticism was a revolutionary force that extended beyond the borders of metropolitan Japan.

The romanticism that Nishikawa absorbed from French modern literature had its cultural roots in the spirit of anti-enlightenment and anti-rationalism; this same quality of romanticism surfaced in the Japanese counterparts of the Romantic School. For example, French literary decadence synthesised different means of expression—such as painting and music—in order to appeal to readers' senses and intuition rather than their rationality. Romanticism or decadence was developed as a reaction to the scientific and technological progress that constituted the main idea of enlightenment and modernity.

This feeling of the crisis of modernity and the resulting research into the cultural resources of ancient times or local places could also be found in the literary and cultural expression of the Japanese Romantic School, which developed in the late 1920s and early 1930s when broader historical events were transforming the globe after the First World War and a sense of national and cultural crisis prevailed.<sup>51</sup> In order to cure the "diseases" of Japan's modernity, Yasuda Yojūrō mourned the loss of ancient Japan and found consolation in the beauty of Japanese traditional bridges.<sup>52</sup> Yanagi Sōsetsu also found beauty in craft that embodied culture in its authentic form, in Korean potters and in Okinawa's dances. A sense of *fin de siècle*, the crisis of modernity, can be sensed in Nishikawa's mourning of the end of Taiwan's local history and using images such as the ancestral temple of Yan Guonian. In fact, Kleeman has highlighted similarities between Nishikawa's writing and Yanagi's research on folk arts. She argues:

There are many similarities between Yanagi and Nishikawa: the Western influence in their formative years, the dramatic return to Eastern tastes, their acknowledged positions as aesthetes, and their focus on folk arts and crafts rather than the traditional high arts.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Doak, *Dreams of Difference*, xx.

<sup>52</sup> Tansman, *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism*, 88.

<sup>53</sup> Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun*, 84.

Both Nishikawa and Yanagi assumed the role of a cultural connoisseur appropriating indigenous cultural artefacts.<sup>54</sup>

Yet, according to Kleeman, the difference is that Yanagi at times found himself in an antagonistic relationship with the government, but Nishikawa maintained good relations with the colonial government.<sup>55</sup> Very different from Kleeman's evaluation, Tansman, however, suggests that Yanagi's interest in the local idiom was imbued with a fascist hue when his folk-craft discourse inevitably led to a discourse of mythical national identity and to that of freshness, purity, and death.<sup>56</sup> In other words, both Nishikawa and Yanagi participated in the development of imperialist cultural expression. The real difference between them is that Nishikawa's use of Taiwan's local folk-craft arts and ancient history to relieve his anxiety about Japan's developing modern literature had its own complexity, which was in turn generated by the colonial context. While Yanagi's travel across the spatial and temporal room was a regeneration of the Japanese myth of national identity, Nishikawa's romantic, exotic, and often decadent artistic expressions tended to involve a discourse of nativism, articulated in the name of local and cultural identities. His romantic critique was specifically related to Taiwan's colonial modernity, which eventually led him to the big question of Japan's modernity.

Unlike Rudyard Kipling who believed in the alliance between Western science and political power at work in colonial India, Nishikawa and his exotic literature, which drew resources arbitrarily from Taiwan's local culture and religion, did not always support the scientific colonial governance endorsed by anthropologists at Taipei Imperial University. Said has suggested that the figure of Colonel Creighton, the ethnographer-scholar-soldier in Kipling's novel *Kim* is "the culmination of a change taking place over generations in the personification of British power in India."<sup>57</sup> Behind Creighton was a history of late-eighteenth-century adventures and pioneers who often declared their unrestricted authority upon their personal preference. In contrast, Japan was a latecomer in the imperialist competition and many of its modern disciplines, including those developed in colonial Taiwan, were an selective adoption of the western module. Colonial Japan sought to accomplish Britain's century-long process of combining scientific governance and power in just a few decades. From the beginning of Japan's colonisation of Taiwan, a strong scientific tone was established. Many anthropologists and even Shimada who

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54 Ibid., 86.

55 Ibid., 84.

56 Tansman, *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism*, 112.

57 Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 153.

worked at the Taipei Imperial University looked upon Taiwan as the chance to develop Japan's modern science by using it as a laboratory to apply and test theories. Unlike both Kipling and those colonial scientists who believed in the efficient governance of rules and controls, Nishikawa's exotic literature often found itself in opposition to the scientific colonisation. His questioning of the colonial modernity in Taiwan seemed to challenge the whole course of Japan's modernisation based on the European model.

At first glance, the romanticism harbouring in Manchukuo does not seem very relevant to Yasuda Yojūro's romantic, yet fascist theory. It looks rather like an aesthetic expression that was enforced by imperialist ideology. However, if we can agree that both fascism and romanticism were movements of a cultural revolution that aimed to break away from social and political restraints, we could probably find a spiritual connection between the discourse of establishing Manchukuo and the resurgence of Japanese anti-modernity discourse after the end of the First World War. Early on, many perceived the establishment of Manchukuo as an independent state as implementation of Kita Ikki's idea of "Reorganisation of Japan" (*Nihon kaizō* 日本改造), which had failed in Japan, yet was a success in Manchuria. Ōuchi and Tachibana, as well as many other leftists in Manchukuo were ardent supporters of the founding of Manchukuo as an independent state based on the harmony of its peoples and an agrarian autonomy. They sincerely believed that the Kwangtung Army was aiming to spread the benefits to China and Mongolia, to liberate the Asian continent from capitalism through agrarianism. In fact, Manchukuo was viewed as a reaction against Japan's crisis of capitalism. When these romantic ideas did not work out after the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Tachibana sought cooperation with Ishihara's East Asian League. Manchukuo's Kingly Way, as expressed by Tachibana, was developed into a slogan of antagonism towards Western imperialist ways. He was even recruited into the Shōwa Research Association, which supported cooperation among Asian countries. Working closely with Tachibana, Ōuchi demonstrated starting from his early years strong support for a proletarian revolution. From declaring Manchukuo an independent entity to expressing enthusiasm about a rivalry with the West later on, many deployments of "romanticism" in Manchukuo could be summarised as a reaction to Japanese modernity that was heavily reliant on westernisation and capitalism.

Many contemporary researchers such as Hashikawa Bunzō and Nakajima Makoto have opted to label Ōuchi's friend, Tachibana, who was the founder and chief editor of *Manchurian Review*, as an ultranationalist, alongside Kita Ikki, Okawa Shumei, and Tōyama Mitsuru. Nakajima has argued that "almost without exception, all of them failed to realise their dreams. At the beginning



they stood for the liberation of Asian peoples, admiring and assisting China's national revolution, but ended as the catalyst for Japanese imperialism."<sup>58</sup> Hashikawa Bunsō has also suggested that the intellectual and spiritual root of the notorious Japanese Romantic School actually was the Manchurian Incident, which Yasuda Yōjūrō saw as an embodiment of a new idea and a new world view. The establishment of Manchukuo was accordingly a realisation of romanticism.<sup>59</sup> Romanticism as a broad intellectual mechanism that resulted in many intellectual, literary, and even military consequences was not only closely related to the Manchurian Incident and the founding of Manchukuo, but also transformed what later became known as the Romantic School. What these different intellectuals, writers, and military actors shared was a wish to break away from Japan's "mediocre" modernity, so strongly influenced by a troubled capitalism.

The simultaneous yet divergent appearance of romanticism in both Taiwan and Manchukuo was a result of the "unevenness" that marked Japan's capitalist modernity that it had been developing since the Meiji period, and of the anti-modernity discourses that were forged as a reaction and response to this uneven modernity. The spread of capitalism established "coexisting different temporalities that combined to become the principal source of the crisis of modernity."<sup>60</sup> These coexisting different temporalities included both Japan's colonisation in Taiwan and pan-Asianism in Manchukuo. Within these different temporalities were various reactions to Japan's modernity as a whole, whose manifestations included: pan-Asian attempts that sought its way out of capitalist Japan, the Romantic School that tried to find a remedy in Japan's tradition and mystic national history, agrarian radicalism that aspired to restore connection to the hometown, a proletarian movement and literature with ambitions to eradicate social inequality, and colonial literature, itself, that sought to rejuvenate Japan's modern literature. The differences in form do not suggest that capitalist modernity or its antithesis is internally paradoxical. Rather, they prove that dissimilar and even contradictory discourses can exist within the same history of modernity.

58 Nakajima, *Ajia shugi no kōbō*, 64.

59 Hashikawa Bunsō 橋川文三, *Zōho Nihon rōmanhahihan josetsu* 増補日本浪漫派批判序説 [*Supplementary Critique of the Japanese Romantic School*] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1965), 28–29.

60 Harry Harootunian, "Constitutive Ambiguities: The Persistence of Modernism and Fascism in Japan's Modern History," in *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*, ed. Alan Tansman (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 82.

Here, I need to turn to Yokomitsu Riichi's *Shanghai*, which I mentioned at the very beginning of this book. As a prominent writer of Japanese New-Sensationalism, just like many of his counterparts writing for *Literary Arena*, Yokomitsu was also regarded as having discarded his Marxist belief, a process encapsulated in his *Shanghai*. Yet Yokomitsu wrote *Shanghai*—in which the Japanese protagonist fails to embrace the cosmopolitanism promised by Marxism and turns to Japanese nationalism—in the late 1920s, before the suppression of the proletarian movement in Japan. The individual crisis Yokomitsu encountered was within the modern history of Japan. Having had direct experience of international capitalism during his stay in Shanghai in May 1928, Yokomitsu asked the important question in his writing: How do individuals find their respective roles in an age of global capitalism? This topic of the tension between individuals and nations confronting a rampant force in the form of global capitalism that inevitably leads to accelerated imperialist expansion was meaningful for all Japanese people living in the early Shōwa period. It is from this perspective that I regard Nishikawa's Japanese colonial literature and identity formation in Taiwan, as well as the dilemma that Ōuchi and Tachibana faced in Manchukuo as an extension and continuity of the reaction to Japan's modern crisis. In other words, they were entangled in the same spiritual and intellectual history of Japan's modernity that developed after the First World War.

In the 1920s, the crisis of the Japanese capitalistic economy was exacerbated. The post-war depression had produced many labour disputes among urban workers. In the countryside tenant-landlord disputes became common. In 1917 there were 173 tenant unions, in 1923 the number was 1,530, and in 1927 it had increased to 4,582.<sup>61</sup> With the collapse of the international silk market and the sharp fall in rice prices, the impact of the Great Depression was felt throughout the country.<sup>62</sup> Against this background, the Japan Communist Party was formed in 1922. During the years from the 1920s to the 1930s, Marxism became a popular ideological trend among the intelligentsia. In fact, it almost became a kind of wisdom shared by the whole of society. The publisher of *Reconstruction*, who had close connections with *Manchurian Review*, printed Marx's masterpiece *Capital* in the form of a cheap series of books priced at one yen per book. The sales volume once reached as high as 150,000 sets.<sup>63</sup> However, proletarian

61 Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 566.

62 Ibid., 568.

63 Rin Shūmei 林淑美, *Shōwa ideorogī: Shisō toshite no bungaku* 昭和イデオロギー: 思想としての文学 [*Shōwa Ideology: Literature as Thought*] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005), 438.

movements did not withstand the pressure from the state. The reaction to Japan's modern crisis had to take other forms, such as the conversion of the left, further invasion into Manchuria, the Manchukuo-Japan economic bloc, or even the subsequent design of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. The "contested modernities" which included both left- and right-wing movements of the 1920s and 1930s were "the result of dissatisfaction with industrialization and its sociopolitical consequences".<sup>64</sup> Both represented attempts to solve social and economic problems arising in the wake of the First World War, and both viewed the Meiji Restoration as incomplete and both wanted to cure the diseases of modernity.<sup>65</sup> Yet, both failed to stop Japan from falling into the "dark valley".

When discussing the spiritual and intellectual history of Shōwa Japan, Hashikawa Bunsō has suggested that the proletarian movement, the conversion of the left, and the ensuing Romantic School were interconnected and very components of Japan's intellectual history.<sup>66</sup> The scope of Hashikawa's study of Japan's romanticism as an anti-modern force could be expanded to include the influence of colonial elements that relieved Japan's modern crisis. Andrew Gordon has argued that the invasion into Manchuria became a way for Japan to restore its economy, which was adversely affected by the global economic crisis. Before the Manchurian Incident, the average price of basic agricultural commodities including rice and barley fell by 43 percent and disputes between tenants and landlords surged in Japan's countryside.<sup>67</sup> In Tokyo annual rates of failure among retail stores almost doubled from 1926 to 1930.<sup>68</sup> Yet the invasion of Manchuria coincided with, and partly caused, a rebound of Japan's domestic economy, with the industrial output rising 82 percent between 1931 and 1934, thanks to the heavy and chemical industries that produced arms in Korea and Manchuria.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, as Elise Tipton has pointed out, the government also turned to mass emigration as a solution to the rural crisis that had plagued Japan before the Manchurian Incident. Starting in 1932 with experimental settlements in Manchuria, the policy expanded in 1936 into

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64 Elise K. Tipton, *Modern Japan: A Social and Political History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 122.

65 Ibid., 123.

66 Hashikawa, *Zōho Nihon rōmanhahihan josetsu*, 13.

67 Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 183.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid., 193.

the ambitious “Millions to Manchuria” project.<sup>70</sup> As the contemporaneous spaces of Japan, the colonies were not external to Japanese modern history; rather, it was through Japan’s material historicity deployed in various temporalities that Japan as an empire was rendered possible and Japanese modernity could be conceived in its entirety.

Yet romanticism as a reaction to modernity was created as an offspring within the borders of modernity and thus carried with it an Oedipal fantasy.<sup>71</sup> Take, for instance, Yokomitsu’s Shanghai trip: It was sponsored by Yamamoto Sanehiko (山本実彦 1885–1952), the president of *Reconstruction*’s publishing house. Established in the wake of the end of the First World War, the journal *Reconstruction* found a way to compete in Japan’s market by publishing in East Asia and by feeding the Japanese readership with reports of the Manchurian Incident, the Shanghai War of 1932, and other historical events related to Japan’s presence in East Asia. Yokomitsu’s *Shanghai* was a part of *Reconstruction*’s vision of Japan’s East Asia.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, Nishikawa’s writing on Japanese exoticism in the South was based on Japan’s southward policy and more directly on his family’s fortune in the iron-ore industry in Taiwan. Ōuchi and Tachibana’s dream of establishing an independent Manchukuo was only possible through the large-scale, empire-wide trafficking of underpaid Chinese coolies and the huge revenue of opium sales. Despite their variance, these forms of “romantic” reaction demonstrated ambivalence and in the end culminated concertedly in an anti-West discourse that was not so very different from the official imperialist ideology. When discussing Joseph Conrad’s novel *Nostromo*, Said suggests that Conrad was both anti-imperialist and imperialist, and at the same time progressive while also deeply reactionary. He could see the imperialism of the British and American owners of the San Tomé silver mine doomed by their own pretentious and impossible ambitions, but he could not see an alternative to this cruel tautology.<sup>73</sup> This seeming paradox could also be applied to Japan’s broad discourse of romanticism developed since the late 1920s, which sensitively identified the crisis of Japan’s modernity, yet could not imagine an alternative to the further deployment of imperialism.

70 Tipton, *Modern Japan*, 122.

71 Doak, *Dreams of Difference*, xix.

72 Toeda Hirokazu 十重田裕一, “Yokomitsu Riichi ni okeru Taishō Shōwaki media to bungaku no kenkyū 横光利一における大正・昭和期メディアと文学の研究 [Research on the Media and Literature in Regards to Yokomitsu Riichi in the Taishō and Shōwa Periods]” (PhD. diss., Waseda University, Japan, 2010), 156.

73 Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xviii.

## Local Literature in Ambivalence

Along with the appearance of romantic discourse in the late 1930s and 1940s, both Taiwan and Manchukuo saw an upsurge in debates over the nature of “local literature” (*chihō bungaku* 地方文学).<sup>1</sup> The debate over Manchurian literature (*Manshū bungaku* 満洲文学) or Taiwanese literature (*Taiwan bungaku* 台湾文学) portrayed Taiwan or Manchuria as an imagined community, a geographical and cultural space, and a place that could be called home.<sup>2</sup> Literature and other forms of cultural production played a crucial role in constructing the imagined community of the specific colonial region, while on the other hand, also configuring national identities. The efforts to codify and develop these “local literatures” revealed the tension between Japanese writers and the colonial space they lived in, the tension between Japanese nationalism and localism, and the conflicts that sprung up between the colonisers and colonised when they articulated their respective interests.

In her study of the debate over the notion of Manchurian literature, Kimberly Kono has chastised the Japanese critics in Manchukuo as privileging a Japanese perspective and overlooking the impressions of colonised Chinese and Manchu. In the end, according to Kono, their opinion of Manchurian literature revealed their Japan-centred attitudes, despite their claims of trying to establish an independent Manchukuo and Manchurian literature.<sup>3</sup> If we compare the idea of Manchurian literature with the notion of Taiwanese literature, we can find a similar highly political tendency of privileging a Japanese perspective. As the Sino-Japanese War and the Greater East Asian War progressed, Japanese writers living in Taiwan and Manchukuo had to adjust their own literary work as often as the empire expected. However, no matter how strong the tone of independence was, there was a simultaneous return to Japan in both Taiwan and Manchukuo after 1942. All the debates that occurred in Taiwan and Manchukuo in the name of “local literature” simply became steps leading to their final immersion in the Japanese empire. The emergence of a local discourse indicated that local identities had been annihilated and successfully substituted with imperialist ones.

1 There are many possible English translations of *chihō*, including region, countryside, periphery, native, and local.

2 Kono, *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature*, 120.

3 *Ibid.*, 141.

However, a further question can be raised: Is there any connection between the rise of local literature in Manchukuo and Taiwan? How can we understand the emergence of local literature from a perspective of the empire? Tsai Hui-yu Caroline has suggested that within Japan's broad "cooperative sphere"—which included Japan proper at its centre, "internal colonies" such as Hokkaido and Ryukyu where the constitution was applicable in one form or another, colonies where the Japanese constitution was not applied, those territories in China under direct or indirect Japanese military control, and the southeast Asian sphere—all had their "proper" positions.<sup>4</sup> The local literature in Taiwan and Manchukuo appeared in an era when the New Order in East Asia and the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere were established consecutively, and it was therefore shaped by the grand scheme of the empire. All together the debate over local literature in Taiwan and Manchukuo revealed the complexity of Japanese nationalism as a historical process of identification.

### Taiwanese Literature in the South

"Taiwanese literature" had always been a battlefield of power struggles and thus experienced a long history of controversy. The earliest germination of Taiwanese literature was the New Literature Movement around 1920. It mainly comprised local literature with a nationalist consciousness that dealt with Taiwan's unique culture and history. Up until 1937, it referred to works by native Taiwanese writers.<sup>5</sup> At that time, Japanese writers in Taiwan mostly focused on short poems, or *haiku*, and other genres of traditional literature, which were regarded as Japanese or *naichi* literature.<sup>6</sup> Many Japanese intellectuals defined Taiwanese literature as native to the Taiwanese, and as a branch coexisting with Japanese literature in Taiwan. The literary arena, thus, was clearly divided into the Japanese literary world and the Taiwanese literary world.

This division was also evident in Shimada's narrative of the literary history of Taiwan. After relocating to Taiwan, Nishikawa became preoccupied with how to enrich the Japanese literary tradition by employing Taiwanese elements. Accordingly, his writing carried a heavy Japanese heritage. Shimada praised Nishikawa, claiming that he had inherited the artistic spirit of Irako Seihaku.

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4 Ts'ai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building*, 171.

5 Liu, "Shui de wenxue?" 49–51.

6 Although Taiwan was *gaichi* for Japan, those Japanese who lived on the island regarded themselves as *naichi* Japanese in order to stress their Japanese identity and distinguish themselves from native Taiwanese.

Because of their efforts, Taiwan was able to make its name in Japanese literary history for the first time. As a second generation Japanese in Taiwan, Nishikawa initially had a strong desire to be regarded as a colonial writer comparable to Gautier in France, contributing to the expansion of Japan's literary territory. In 1937, Nishikawa compiled the entry "Taiwanese literature" for *The Great Dictionary of World Literature and Arts* (*Sekai bungei daijiten* 世界文藝大辞典), the editor-in-chief of which was Yoshie Takamatsu, Nishikawa's supervisor at Waseda University. In his narration of the history of Taiwanese literature during the colonial period, Nishikawa includes mentions of Irako Seihaku, who once lived in Taiwan; Satō Haruo, who had traveled around Taiwan; Tokutomi Roka (徳富蘆花 1868–1927), who had never been to Taiwan, but had links to it; and Nishikawa's own magazine *Masō*, which focused on poetry. However, he did not include literature by native Taiwanese writers due to his conviction that these did not deserve to be mentioned.<sup>7</sup> At that time, both Nishikawa and Shimada were prejudiced against the literature of the native Taiwanese. In their eyes, what could properly be called "Taiwanese literature" was confined to literature produced by Japanese, who were sojourning in Taiwan, and was parallel to French colonial literature.

The Japanese colonial literature of Taiwan existed in a paradox. On the one hand, it needed to maintain its distinctness; on the other hand, it desired to be acknowledged by the empire and to share the fate of Japanese imperial history. Taiwan as a colony was "different from Japan as well as subordinate to Japan".<sup>8</sup> Taiwan, with its unique climate, people, culture, and society that were different from metropolitan Japan, generated a form of *gaichi* literature not only distinct from Japanese literature but also beneficial to the enrichment of it. In Nishikawa's case, he learned from French colonial literature, which in turn, appropriated the literature of Provence to enlarge its own scope. Yet, regardless of the exotic and alien Taiwanese elements, a form of "Japaneseness" had to be maintained. The key to the success of Japanese colonial literature in Taiwan depended on an ability to transform "local vulgarity" into "genuine Japanese elegance", as praised by Shimada. The uniqueness, the significance, as well as the justification for Japanese colonial literature in Taiwan lay in its irreplaceable locality. Those Taiwanese elements were considered valuable only if they were used to develop Japanese literature.

However, after the empire had readjusted its scheme toward the South, the attention to Taiwanese local customs and history found purpose solely in

7 Hashimoto, "Daotian Jin'er 'Hualidao wenxue zhi' yanjiu," 140.

8 Yu-Lin Lee, "The Nation and the Colony: On the Japanese Rhetoric of *Gaichi Bungaku*," *Tamkang Review* 41: 1 (December 2010): 101.



the empire's broad discourse on the South. Two years later, in 1939, however, Nishikawa attempted to attach new meanings to Taiwanese literature. In his article, "Outlook for the Taiwan Literary World," he offered a comprehensive introduction and exposition of works by Japanese and Taiwanese literati, including Yano Hōjin, Shimada Kinji, Huang Deshi, Yang Yunping, Shui Yinping, Hamada Hayao, Ikeda Toshio, Zhang Wenhuan, and Nakayama Susumu, ranging over a variety of areas including poetry, criticism, novels, prose, and drama. He reminded his peers with the following words:

South is south, north is north. When one stays in the picturesque South, why should one keep missing the leaden snowy sky in the North? Japan will at last expand to the south. How can we literati face our offspring without profound self-consciousness? It is our duty to build a far-reaching and powerful Taiwanese literature!<sup>9</sup>

In this article, Nishikawa offered a superficially affirmative presentation of all the literati, including left-wing writers, who subscribed to a conflicting ideology, and Taiwanese writers, who held different literary opinions. The criteria for Taiwanese literature was significantly relaxed, referring now to all literature produced in Taiwan, regardless of languages or nationalities. This position was diametrically opposite to his early efforts to avoid being called a Taiwanese writer. What these words reveal are Nishikawa's identification with Japan as the empire and of himself as the leader of the colonial literary arena. Nishikawa's identification with Japan played out between the imperial and the native, the internal and the external, as reflected through his own, often, eclectic literature.

However, the promotion of the South within the empire ironically marked the end of the independence of the South. In a review on the profound implications for the southward policy, Shimizu has suggested that while "it marked a terminal point in southward thought", the southward policy also simultaneously ended "the concept of the southern regions as distinct and separate, and placed it instead in a subordinate position within a system centred on continental Asia".<sup>10</sup> Similarly, colonial writers yearned for recognition from metropolitan Japan only when the colony was marginalised and distinct. Once the colony was closely incorporated into the empire, there would be no room for

9 Nishikawa, "Taiwan bungeikai no tenbō," 461.

10 Shimizu Hajime, "Ishihara Hirochirō," 84–85, quoted from Peattie, "Nanshin: The 'Southward Advance,' 1931–1941, as a Prelude to the Japanese Occupation of Southeast Asia," 212.

any ambiguity. As Ide Isamu has noted, Nishikawa's constant use of "South" and "southern sea" only reveal that his standpoint was in Japan and that he cast his vision to the South from there.<sup>11</sup> The Taiwanese literature he proposed was to be no more than a part of Japanese literature that cultivated a southern flavour. What Nishikawa really meant by "Taiwanese literature" was Japanese imperial literature in Taiwan, with a role equally important to that produced in Tokyo.

Around the same time, the idea of the East Asian New Order (*Dai Tōa shin chitsujo* 大東亜新秩序) was put forward at a joint meeting of the foreign minister and the chiefs of the Japanese Army and Navy on 28 December, 1939.<sup>12</sup> It was declared in the form of a Fundamental National Policy (*Kihon kokusaku yōkō* 基本国策要綱) by Konoe Fumimaro on 26 July 1940, when he formed a cabinet for the second time. The Policy aimed to build an East Asian New Order, with Japan as its centre and the co-prosperity of Japan, Manchukuo, and China as its base.<sup>13</sup> A week later, Konoe's foreign minister, Matsuoka Yōsuke, expanded the East Asian New Order into the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, which explicitly considered Japan's interest in the vast South.<sup>14</sup> In this new scheme, Taiwan and the Taiwanese people played a significant role in Japan's military and economic confrontation with the system of Western imperialism. Taiwanese literature also acted as an important cultural battlefield for mobilisation. The conflicts between an unrelenting pursuit of Japaneseness and the need to accommodate the "similar yet inferior" others were resolved in the later phase of the Japanese empire, when the culture and literature of the other nations located in the South were to be mobilised.

In October 1940, the Imperial Rule Assistance Association was established in Japan. It was a crucial step toward the Nazi single-party state model. Kishida Kunio (岸田國士 1890–1954) was the first Minister of Cultural Affairs. Taiwan enjoyed a short period of local revival before Kishida stepped down in July 1942. In January 1941, the Imperial Rule Assistance Association published *Fundamentals and Strategies in Pioneering Local Culture* (*Chihō bunka*

11 Ide, *Juezhān shìqī Taiwan de Rìrén zuójia yu "huángmín wénxué"*, 57.

12 Lin Qingyuan 林庆元 and Yang Qifu 杨齐福, "*Dadongya gongrongquan*" *yuanliu* "大东亚共荣圈"源流 [*The Genealogy of the "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere"*] (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2006), 387.

13 "Kihon kokusaku yōkō 基本国策要綱 [The Fundamental National Policy]," in *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabini shuyō bunsho* 日本外交年表並主要文書 [*A Chronology of Japan's Foreign Affairs and its Primary Documents*], ed. Gaimushō (Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1966), 436–437.

14 Lin and Yang, "*Dadongya gongrongquan*" *yuanliu*, 389.

*shinkensetsu no konpon rinen to sono hōsaku* 地方文化新建設の根本理念とその方策), which highlighted the importance of developing local cultures across the empire.<sup>15</sup> This gave rise to the revival of Taiwanese local literary consciousness. Taiwan was no longer marginalised as an inferior *gaichi* or colony; rather, it was as crucial as the “arms” of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, as summarised by Nakamura Tetsu.<sup>16</sup> From 1938 to 1942, the idea of “Taiwanese literature in the South” developed alongside the progress of the Japanese empire, which was affected by the southward policy, the idea of the East Asian New Order, and the establishment of Imperial Rule Assistance Association.

The publication of Nishikawa’s “Outlook for the Taiwan Literary World” prompted a flood of voices among Japanese writers in the Taiwanese literary arena, urging writers not to follow Japan’s metropolitan literature blindly but to establish a literature unique to Taiwan. Many of Japan’s intellectuals, such as Shimada, Yano, Nakamura Satoru, and Kudō Yoshimi, who had gathered around Nishikawa and were working at Taipei Imperial University, were assigned the task of researching the South and assisting the Japanese empire in implementing its southward policy. In early 1940, the Taiwanese Poets’ Association and *Literary Taiwan*, both of which were under Nishikawa’s leadership, came into existence. Several months later, the foundation of The Association of Taiwanese Artists formally declared Nishikawa’s leading role in the Taiwanese literary arena. Ironically, the concept of Taiwan as a vibrant local point became legitimate only when Taiwan turned into a part of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Nishikawa’s discovery of Taiwanese literature in the South was not shared by his Taiwanese peers. For example, Taiwanese writer Long Yingzong, who was versed in Japanese and worked for both Nishikawa’s *Literary Taiwan* and *Taiwan Daily News*, had a very different perception of Taiwanese literature in the South. In an essay titled “The Chair in the Tropic”, he writes:

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- 15 “Chihōbunka shinkensetsu no konpon rinen to sono hōsaku 地方文化新建設の根本理念とその方策 [Fundamentals and Strategies in Pioneering Local Culture],” in *Shiryōshū sōryokusen to bunka* 資料集総力戦と文化 [A Collection of Materials on the Total War and Culture], ed. Kitagawa Kenzō 北河賢三 and Takaoka Hiroyuki 高岡裕之 (Tokyo: Ōtsuki shoten, 2000), 3–4.
  - 16 Nakamura Tetsu 中村哲, “Guanyu Taiwan de wenhua 关于台湾的文化 [Regarding Taiwanese Culture],” *Taiwan Bungei* 4: 2 (February 1943). Quoted in Huang Yingzhe 黄英哲 ed. *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan wenyi pinglunji* 日治时期台湾文艺评论集 [A Collection of Literary Reviews from Colonial Taiwan] (Tainan: Guojia Taiwan wenxueguan choubenichu, 2006), 76–86.

The South is the original cradle of human civilisation. But now everything is about the North. All that is left in the South is the fecundity of nature and the perished life. This applies to India, Indochina and Java. It may also apply to Taiwan, where we can see hardly any cultural flourishing. Literary works of these places are always exotic. The tropics only provide the materials for creating literary exoticism, as found in works of Rudyard Kipling, Pierre Loti, William Somerset Maugham and Paul Gauguin. In Taiwan, writings of Satō Haruo, Nakamura Jihei and Masugi Shizue all belong to this form of literature. We seldom hear of a writer who was born in the tropics and inherited the blood of the tropics for many generations. How terrible the climate and natural conditions are here.<sup>17</sup>

Long divided people who wrote literature in this so-called “tropical area” into two groups: One group was composed of Japanese writers who were full of beautiful ideas. They shaped and polished their language and worked along the island in search of exquisite language and romantic ideas. In contrast, the other group consisted of native Taiwanese, stumbling along the road of literature. Most of them were driven by economic hardship and had to learn Japanese. Unlike the Japanese writers, they could very often not articulate themselves because they were confined by their language proficiencies. The literature of Japanese writers in Taiwan was world-class. Their skillfulness was daunting. Meanwhile, Long claims that the literature of Taiwanese writers was extremely immature. These writers lacked language proficiency and skills, yet still they wrote literature on real life in Taiwan.<sup>18</sup> In this article, written in 1941, a separation between Japanese writers and Taiwanese writers can still be sensed. Long not only opposed a form of romantic literary exoticism, but also revealed the harsh conditions under which Taiwanese writers were required to live and write. Far from being stable literary concepts, ideas of Taiwanese literature and literature of the South were contested sites where the tension between various parties remained palpable. For native Taiwanese writers like Long, the idea of Taiwanese literature above all required better writing and living conditions, an independent voice from Japanese writers, and the space for Taiwanese to develop their own literature—none of which had been achieved.

17 Long Yingzong 龙瑛宗, “Redai de yizi 热带的椅子 [A Chair in the Tropics],” in *Long Yingzong quanji di-6-juan* 龙瑛宗全集第六卷 [*The Complete Works of Long Yingzong vol. 6*], ed. Chen Wanyi, trans. Ye Di (Tainan: guojia Taiwan wenxueguan choubieichu, 2006), 183.

18 Ibid., 184.

Nevertheless, by 1942, an independent identity of “Taiwanese literature” had been largely planted in the hearts of many Taiwanese writers. At the first Greater East Asian Writers Convention of November 1942, Taiwanese native writer Zhang Wenhuan asked whether the Convention signaled a disappearance of the literary center, a position that had been long occupied by Tokyo. Now Japanese literature seemed to be constituted by literature from across the empire, including many peripheral or local places such as Taiwan.<sup>19</sup> Yet, the reply by his Japanese peer Hamada Hayao severely dampened Zhang’s optimism. Hamada argued that the position of Taiwanese literature could not be judged from a local perspective set against Tokyo; rather, it had to be considered under the aspect of the empire’s southward march.<sup>20</sup> The value of Taiwanese literature rested not so much on its localness or periphery against the metropolitan center as on its connection to the South. For Japanese writers like Hamada and Nishikawa, Tokyo’s absolute position could not be so easily replaced. Although they accepted and embraced the imperial policy of external expansion, they judged that the real meaning of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere lay in offering a gateway to the South. Neither adequately fulfilled Long’s or Zhang’s request to develop a form of Taiwanese literature that was free from Tokyo’s interventions.

### Between National and Colonial: Manchurian Literature in Question

The meaning and characteristics of Manchurian literature were also subject to controversy. Its sudden appearance between 1932 and 1936, and its subsequent disappearance in the 1940s, can be interpreted as an epitome of the ideological journey of Ōuchi and his contemporaries in Manchukuo. For example, Ōuchi, typical among the intellectuals, was initially an ardent supporter of the idea of an independent Manchurian literature written by writers in Manchukuo, regardless of their race or nation. But just as Nishikawa did in Taiwan, Ōuchi also had to compromise with the concept of “returning to Japan” after 1940.

19 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, Zhang Wenhua 张文环, Long Yingzong 龙瑛宗, “Taiwan daihyōteki sakka no bungei wo kataru zadankai 台湾代表的作家の文藝を語る座談会 [Symposium on the Literature of Prominent Taiwanese Writers],” *Taiwan geijutsu* 3: 11 (November 1942): 11.

20 Ibid.

### *Early Local Consciousness*

When Ōuchi and three other writers received prizes in a literary competition organised by *Manchurian Daily News*, the comments on Ōuchi's "On the Street of the North" were noteworthy: "Full of local dialogues and psychological depictions, Ōuchi's writing stands out—despite his obscurity—even when it is reviewed in the metropolitan literary arena."<sup>21</sup> Yet this kind of compliment did not really work for Ōuchi, who was seeking an independent literary identity rather than following the doctrine of metropolitan Japan.

Kinoshita Mokutarō, who had written many poems on the "southern barbarian", once expressed his thoughts on how to develop Manchurian literature upon his transfer to Manchuria in 1916.<sup>22</sup> He reflected that although many Japanese moved back and forth between the mainland and Manchuria, very few were willing to settle in Manchuria. One reason, he contemplated, was that Manchuria had no local literature or arts that could capture the specific beauty of the area. In order to support the development of Manchuria, Kinoshita believed that the SMR should invite Japanese writers to Manchuria and support them for at least five to six years, during which period, those writers could concentrate exclusively on creating local literature that could fully expose the region's beauty.<sup>23</sup>

Kinoshita's view was not acceptable to Ōuchi, who was interested in creating a "real" image of Manchuria. In contrast to Kinoshita's suggestion of introducing metropolitan Japanese writers into Manchuria, Ōuchi proposed that Manchurian literature should be developed by writers living in Manchuria. He believed the crux of the problem was that writers living in Manchuria had imitated the literature of metropolitan Japan far too long. As long they persisted down this track, the reality of Manchurian society would be ignored, and therefore, the spirit and personality of Manchurian literature was lost.<sup>24</sup>

As early as 1924, Ōuchi had already conceptualised what Manchurian literature should be. According to him, it should contain "local flavour" (*chihō tokushoku* 地方特色) or colonial sentiments (*shokuminchi jōchō* 植民地情調) that represented the features of Manchuria; beautiful poetry lines that expressed

<sup>21</sup> Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 74.

<sup>22</sup> The Manchurian Medical College was founded in 1911 by the SMR. It was changed into a university in 1922. Kinoshita Mokutarō worked at the Manchurian Medical College from September 1916 to July 1920. *Manshū ika daigaku* 滿洲医科大学, *Manshū ika daigaku ichiran* 滿洲医科大学一覽 [Overview of Manchuria Medical University] (Hoten: Manshū ika daigaku, 1934), 99.

<sup>23</sup> Ōuchi, *Manshū bungaku nijūnen*, 184.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

“nostalgia” (*kyōshū* 郷愁); and the revelation of cosmopolitanism (*sekaishugi seishin no jitsugen* 世界主義精神の実現) that depicted national interactions in Manchuria.<sup>25</sup> From the earlier days, “nostalgia” was a constant poetic theme that captured the hearts of writers living outside the Japanese peninsula. Yet writers such as Ōuchi—who felt no regret and enjoyed the new landscape of Manchuria—soon replaced the theme of nostalgia with their enthusiasm for living in the new land.<sup>26</sup> But despite these expectations, the literary sentiment that dwelled on the colonial reality fundamentally conflicted with the longing for cosmopolitanism, which in Ōuchi’s case was demonstrated by the Marxist variations of proletarian unification and national harmony.

### *Debate over Manchurian Literature*

A large-scale debate over Manchurian literature was triggered only in 1936 and 1937, published in *The Yearbook of Manchurian Literature and Arts* in 1937. This debate could be regarded as a response to the abolition of extraterritoriality in Manchukuo in 1936 and to the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937.<sup>27</sup> It can also be seen as a reaction to the subsequent influx of Japanese emigration that had started in 1937. As to the relationship between Manchurian literature and Japanese literature, Furukawa Tetsujirō’s discussion centring on the possible rivalry between Dalian ideology and Shinkyō ideology showed a hint of the predominant Japanese cultural influence in Manchukuo. He viewed both ideologies as fundamentally different: “Dalian culture was exported from Japan by sea, stamped ‘made in Japan’”. In contrast, “the culture that flourished in Shinkyō was developed from the culture of Manchukuo, unlike those ‘made in Japan’ and developed from the Japanese motherland.”<sup>28</sup> Differentiating between Dalian ideology and Shinkyō ideology represented a benchmark for capturing the crisis of identity that determined one’s Japaneseness.

25 Ibid., 54.

26 Ibid., 52.

27 Amano Masami 天野真美, “Henyōsuru bungaku: Manshū bungaku ronsō wo megutte 変容する文学：満洲文学論争をめぐって [Changing Literature: On the Manchurian Literature Debate],” in “*Shōwa*” *bungakushi ni okeru “Manshū” no mondai dai-2* 「昭和」文学史における「満洲」の問題第2 [*The Issue of Manchuria in the Literary History of the Shōwa Period No. 2*] ed. Sugino Yōkichi (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku kyōikugakubu Sugino Yōkichi kenkyūshitsu, 1992), 54.

28 Furukawa Tetsujirō 古川哲次郎, “Manshū bungaku zakkō 満洲文学雑考 [Some Thoughts on Manchurian Literature],” in *Manshū bungei nenkan dai-3-shū* 満洲文藝年鑑第3輯 [*The Yearbook of Manchurian Literature and Arts vol. 3*] (1939; reprint, Fukuoka: Ashi shobō, 1993), 75.



Honke Isamu, whose pen name was Jō'ōsu, rejected this identification with Manchukuo even more bluntly. According to him, Manchurian literature was an extension of Japanese literature, adding: "Although Manchukuo has possessed an independent history for a long time, we don't see anything that could be called Manchurian literature."<sup>29</sup> Thus, Japanese writers, who were supposed to lead Manchukuo, should assume the responsibility of building a Manchurian literary arena. In his view, these writers should position themselves close to the Japanese literary tradition, given the fact that the official language of Manchukuo was Japanese. This, by extension, meant turning Manchurian literature into Japan's nativist/local literature. In order to solve the crisis of conflict between love for Japan, the nation, and love for Manchukuo and the local place, Jō'ōsu made his love for Manchukuo subject to his love for Japan. He argued that Japanese writers living in Manchukuo needed to sacrifice a fraction of their love to Japan for the future of Manchurian literature. This would in turn become the real expression of their love for Japan.<sup>30</sup> Here, Manchukuo and Manchurian literature undoubtedly belonged to Japan and the Japanese language. Thus, a strong identification with the Japanese nation can be sensed here.

In sharp contrast to Jō'ōsu's view, were writers such as Yoshino Haruo, Kizaki Ryū, Nishimura Shin'ichirō, and Ōuchi, who opined that the literature of Manchukuo had its own value and was different from Japanese literature. Their thinking stemmed from the theoretical foundation that was behind the establishment of Manchukuo. Yoshino Haruo not only differentiated Japanese literature in Japan from Japanese literature in Manchukuo, but also argued that Manchurian literature should be written by people living in Manchukuo rather than by visitors. This articulation of the privilege of sojourners sounds similar to debates over Taiwanese literature when Nishikawa and Shimada had argued that authentic Taiwanese literature could only be achieved by writers living in Taiwan. However, in Taiwan, Nishikawa aimed to justify his special literary contribution to Japanese literary achievements and thereby assert his Japanese identity. In contrast, Yoshino Haruo sought to defend the independence of Manchurian literature. It was at this point that a clear distinction began to emerge between Manchurian literature and colonial literature in Taiwan.

Among the group of supporters of an independent Manchurian literature, Ōuchi's outlook was more closely aligned with Kanō Saburō's view than of

29 Jō'ōsu 城小碓, "Manshū bungaku no seishin 滿洲文学の精神 [The Spirit of Manchurian Literature]," in *Manshū bungei nenkan dai-2-shū* 滿洲文藝年鑑第2輯 [*The Yearbook of Manchurian Literature and Arts* vol. 2] (1938; reprint, Fukuoka: Ashi shobō, 1993), 25.

30 Ibid., 29.

others. This may have been due to their common training in Marxist theory. Both were aware of the existence of Chinese literary productions, which in quantity overwhelmingly dominated the field. They realised the feasibility of defining Manchurian literature in a way that associated it with Chinese literature.<sup>31</sup> This view was in line with their basic understanding of Manchukuo as a state comprised of different nations with each having its own traditions before becoming a part of Manchukuo.

Although focused mainly on literary themes, the debates demonstrated an identity crisis fuelled by political and military transformations. Diplomatic support for the rhetoric of building an independent Manchukuo peaked in 1936 and 1937 when a treaty for the partial abolition of extraterritoriality in Manchukuo was signed by Manchukuo and Japan. According to the “Treaty between Japan and Manchukuo regarding the living conditions, taxation and other matters of Japanese subjects in Manchukuo”, Japanese people could travel freely between Manchukuo and Japan, with rights over land and property in Manchukuo.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the SMR was required to surrender its authority over local administration to Manchukuo’s direct governance, and all its employees were transferred to the Manchukuo government. The daily life of the Japanese people was affected in perceptible ways: for example, in Manchukuo, they were subjected to the Manchukuo laws and were required to pay taxes. While there was no nationality law that consistently defined their rights and duties, the Japanese people declared themselves “Japanese” or “Manchukuo” subjects, according to the types of benefits they wanted to gain from the system.<sup>33</sup> It

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31 Kanō, “Manshū bunka no tame ni,” 13.

32 Manshūkoku ni okeru Nihonkoku shinmin no kyojū oyobi Manshūkoku no kazei tō ni kansuru Nihonkoku Manshūkoku kan jōyaku 満洲国ニ於ケル日本国臣民ノ居住及満洲国ノ課税等ニ関スル日本国満洲国間条約 [Treaty between Japan and Manchukuo regarding the living conditions, taxation and other matters of Japanese subjects in Manchukuo], File No. A03022067100. The Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR) <http://www.jacar.go.jp>

33 Xie, *Weimanzhouguoshi xinbian*, 436. If the situation of other nations like Koreans is taken into account, things get even more complicated. Like their Japanese counterparts, Korean people in Manchukuo continued to hold dual nationalities, in both Manchukuo and Korea, due to the fact that they were supposed to register in the family register system of the Government General of Korea. They served in the Japanese army run by the Government General’s Office rather than in the Manchukuo army. They had to pay taxes to the Manchukuo government while paying a conscription duty to Korea. Meanwhile, the Korean family register administration was moved from the Japanese consulates in Manchuria to the Manchukuo State’s Department of Police. For a discussion on the

was in this historical context that a crisis in identity, together with the literary debate over Manchurian literature, unfolded.

In and around 1937, independent Manchurian literature reached an apex in its discourse, leading to a wave of state-sponsored literary activities. It saw the establishment of the Manchuria Literary Academy, the first fully-fledged literary organisation in Manchukuo, in Dalian in July 1937. A month later, the first publication of the official journal *News Letter of the Manchuria Literary Academy* came out. The Academy organised literary activities across Manchukuo and set up the Manchuria Literary Academy Award (*Manshū bunwakai shō* 満洲文話会賞), which was a mix of Manchurian literature and sponsored literary activities jointly with organisations in Japan.<sup>34</sup> It also published three volumes of *The Yearbook of Manchurian Literature and Arts* in which the debates over the notion of Manchurian literature were published. The chief of the Manchuria Literary Academy was Yoshino Haruo, who was both a colleague of Ōuchi at *Manchurian Daily News* and a former classmate of Nishikawa at Waseda University. Although informal literary communications and contextual contact between Japanese and Chinese writers had prehistoric ties, 1937 signaled the beginning of large-scale, government-sponsored publication and translation efforts. The Manchuria Literary Academy sponsored various literary activities, including the publication of a large volume of Chinese writings, many of which were later translated by Ōuchi.

From a policy angle, the flourishing of Manchurian literature from 1937 to 1940 coincided with the period of Konoe Fumimaro's cabinet and his new policies. After the Japanese Army achieved virtual control over the vast inland areas of China, the over-arching perception was that the Sino-Japanese relationship had entered a new constructive phase that replaced the previous hostilities. In January 1938, Konoe's government even announced that it would no longer deal with Chiang Kai-shek's regime.<sup>35</sup> According to Tachibana, the Sinologist and the main editor of *Manchurian Review*, the Japanese Army seriously considered confronting the Soviet Union in the years around 1938, when they formulated a six-year plan (from 1938 to 1943) to expand Japan's military. Manchukuo accordingly drew up a five-year industrialisation plan

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identity change of Korean colonial subjects living in Manchuria after the abolition of extraterritoriality, see Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 134–139.

34 Ozaki, *Kindai bungaku no kizuato*, 226.

35 Kazuo Yagami, *Konoe Fumimaro And the Failure of Peace in Japan 1937–1941: A Critical Appraisal of the Three-time Prime Minister* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2006), 52–53.

(from 1937 to 1941) to facilitate Japan's industrial and military needs.<sup>36</sup> As a result, Manchukuo came to be closely intertwined with Japan. It was against this backdrop then that Sino-Japanese cooperation (*Nikka teikei* 日華提携) and Manchuria-Japanese cooperation (*Nichi-Man teikei* 日滿提携) became the new catchphrases. In 1940, when Konoe's government and theorists in the Japanese Army conceived a future position for Japan at the centre of a New Order of Greater East Asia that included Indochina and the East Indies, the official slogan publicly promoted a partnership of Japan-Manchukuo-China.<sup>37</sup> With the support of this policy as well as substantial financial sponsorship, Manchurian literature enjoyed a short period of success based on an agenda of Sino-Japanese literary interaction and communication. The debate over the nature of Manchurian literature, which gained much attention after 1936, can either be seen as an ideological confirmation of the realities on the ground or as resistance against the old perception of the relationship between Japan and Manchukuo.

In 1940, however, this debate took a strange twist. It occurred in June of that year during "the 2600th anniversary," when Puyi, the puppet emperor of Manchukuo, travelled to Japan to salute his brother, the Japanese emperor. The moment that the Japanese Sun Goddess (*Amaterasu-ōmikami* 天照大神) was introduced to Manchukuo, and was imposed upon the people of Manchukuo, the rhetoric of Manchukuo as an independent state was tacitly replaced by the political slogan of "Japan and Manchukuo as one" (*Nichi-Man ittai* 日滿一体).<sup>38</sup> Since Manchurian literature represented an important dimension of Japan's ideological domain, it had to adapt both its definition and character to conform to political change and the new literary organisations that were imposed upon it.

This trend was first demonstrated in December 1939 during Yamada Seizaburō's migration to Manchukuo. He brought with him a Japanese proposal for the formation of the Japan-Manchukuo Literature Council. The purpose of this proposal, which received much attention from the Kwantung

36 Tachibana Shiraki 橘樸, "Kyōwakai no shinro kakutei ni kansuru kanken 協和会の進路確定に関する管見 [My View Regarding the Future of the Manchurian Concordia Association]," in *Tachibana Shiraki chosakushū dai-2-kan* 橘樸著作集第2巻 [Collected Writings of Tachibana Shiraki vol. 2], ed. Tachibana Shiraki Chosakushū Kankōinkai (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1966), 191–192.

37 Ibid., 81.

38 *Amaterasu-ōmikami* is the Sun Goddess among Japan's Shinto deities. She is believed to be directly linked in lineage to the Imperial Household of Japan and the Japanese emperors were considered her descendants.



ILLUSTRATION 14 *The Japanese Emperor and the Emperor of Manchukuo heading to a military review. Cited from Manshūkoku kōtei goraihō shashin taikan 満洲国皇帝御来訪写真大観 [The Album of the Manchurian Emperor's Visit] (Tokyo: Ikubunsha Shuppanbu, 1936). Courtesy of the National Diet Library.*



ILLUSTRATION 15 *Puyi's visit to the Meiji Shrine. Cited from Manshukoku kotei heika tokyoshi hogeishi 満洲国皇帝陛下東京市奉迎志 [Record of Tokyo's Reception of the Emperor of Manchukuo] (Tokyo, 1936). Courtesy of the National Diet Library.*

Army, was to bring Japanese writers and officials to Manchukuo to discuss further integration of Japan and Manchukuo in literary matters.<sup>39</sup> The core idea of the outreach by the Council was to reiterate the inseparability of Japan and Manchukuo. Its principal mission was to enhance the literary activities between these two nations. The Council urged the Manchurian literary arena to sever links to the old cultural tradition and to create a new type of culture, which was presented as one free from monopolisation by certain groups of people, but rather enjoyed by all.<sup>40</sup> As the news coverage shows, the Manchuria Literary Academy and the Japan-Manchukuo Literature Council agreed to offer a joint literary award to encourage the writers of Manchukuo and Japan to take Manchukuo as their theme.<sup>41</sup> The concept of Manchurian literature had been diluted into “literature of Japan and Manchukuo” so as to encompass even the writing of Japanese writers in Japan. This was a significantly compromised position compared to Yoshino’s argument that Manchurian literature should only refer to writing by writers living in Manchukuo.

The overall situation of Manchurian publication in the early 1940s was that Manchurian publication “depended exclusively on metropolitan Japan” (内地への依存関係), as summarised by Haruyama Yukio who was often dispatched to Taiwan and Manchuria.<sup>42</sup> There were many contributing factors, such as the stagnation of the development of Manchurian literature and arts, the small market, and the low quality of journal editing.<sup>43</sup> But, after all, the fundamental reason was that “the publication in East Asia should be guided by

39 Yamada Seizaburō had been a former leader of the proletarian literary movement before he recanted his position. Yamada was followed by Japanese writer Kondō Haruo, who arrived in Manchuria on 18 December 1939 and passed on many more details regarding literary consultations between Japan and Manchukuo. The Kwantung Army and the Manchurian embassy in Japan were both involved in the preparatory work. See Kondō Haruo, “Nichi-man bunka no kōryū ni tsuite,” *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 29 (January 1940): 8.

40 “Nichi-Man bungei kyōgikai seiritsu shuisho 日滿文藝協議会成立趣意書 [Proposal for Founding of the Japan-Manchukuo Literature Council]” and “Nichi-Man bungei kyōgikai kaisoku 日滿文藝協議会会則 [Regulations of the Japan-Manchukuo Literature Council],” *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 29 (January 1940): 7 and Kondō Haruo 近藤春雄, “Nichi-Man bunka no kōryū ni tsuite 日滿文化の交流について [Cultural Exchange between Japan and Manchukuo],” *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 29 (January 1940): 8.

41 “Nichi-Man bungei kyōgikai ni tsuite,” 3.

42 Haruyama Yukio 春山行夫, *Manshū no bunka* 満洲の文化 [Manchurian Culture] (Tokyo: Ōsaka yagō shoten, 1943), 275.

43 *Ibid.*, 255.



metropolitan Japan".<sup>44</sup> Starting in the late 1930s and 1940s, Japanese reading materials poured into Manchuria. In 1940 for instance, the copies of newspapers imported from metropolitan Japan into Manchukuo reached an astonishing number of 54,795,727.<sup>45</sup> In other words, 147,000 copies of metropolitan newspaper were on average read each day. Considering that the number of Japanese households in Manchuria was 168,000, the reading rate was very high.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, most of the important Manchurian literary anthologies in the late 1930s and early 1940s were published in metropolitan Japan, involving publishing houses such as *Chūō kōronsha*, *Sōgensha*, *Shinchōsha*, and *Sanwa shobō*.<sup>47</sup> The development of Manchurian literature was defined by the publishing space offered by metropolitan Japan. Underlying the literary and cultural interaction between Japan and Manchukuo was the resurrection of the belief that Japan and Manchukuo should be inseparable, both economically and politically. Manchurian literature had to veil any prominent manifestations of independence at a time when Manchukuo was put in the ambivalent position of compromising with Japan while formally being an independent state.

### Cultural Imperialisation in Taiwan and Manchukuo

The concepts of Taiwanese literature and of Manchurian literature were imagined, constructed cultural spaces that revealed the instability of Japanese identity in the colonies. They formed competing narrations, being shaped by the colonial policy in Taiwan and Manchukuo, both of which conducted also their own debates over local literature. Yet, by 1941, the imperialisation movement in Taiwan and Manchukuo had generally run its course, at which time literary activities in these two places started to demonstrate more similarities and connections.

#### *A Comparative Perspective*

After Kobayashi Seizō became the Governor-General in late 1936, the Chinese language was forbidden in the school system and in all newspapers and

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44 Ibid., 275.

45 Ibid., 276.

46 Ibid., 277.

47 Ibid., 255.



magazines in Taiwan.<sup>48</sup> When the National Spirits Mobilisation Movement started in Japan in September 1937, Taiwan was prepared to follow. Kobayashi proposed establishing a bureau for Taiwan's National Spirits Mobilisation Movement on 24 September to reinforce Japan's imperialist progress. Within three months, different forms of movements aimed at reforming Taiwan's "backward religion and customs" took place, giving rise to the large-scale "Regulating Temples" movement that started in December.

In Manchukuo, however, the launch of national mobilisation movements did not substantially commence until February 1938, when the Diet of Japan under Prime Minister Konoe passed the National Mobilisation Law (*Kokka sōdōinhō* 国家総動員法). In contrast to the relatively loose control that Japan showed towards Manchukuo between 1937 and 1940, the more stringent control was reserved for Taiwan, which had less of a chance to develop its own literature, that is, until Kobayashi was replaced in November 1940. According to Cai Jingtang, the process of the imperialisation movement in Taiwan can be divided into two stages, with Kobayashi's resignation as the separation point. The first stage, roughly ranging from 1937 to 1940 featured strong-headed policies that aimed at suppressing and eventually eradicating subversive elements.<sup>49</sup> Though the empire's right over the people and resources were repeatedly stressed, the culture and custom of other nations were to be discriminated if not eliminated. Taiwan had not yet entered a stage of being a part of Japan's local.

Nishikawa, who was living in Taiwan at the time, must have envied the active literary activities in Manchukuo in the years between 1937 and 1940. He regarded the Manchuria Academy as a desirable and superior model for the Taiwanese literary world to follow. In "Colonial Literature in the New Order", published in the *Taiwan Times* in 1940, Nishikawa aired his envy at developments in at least one of the other colonies:

The most active cultural institution now in Manchuria is the Manchuria Literary Academy, which has been the central institution of the Manchurian literary arena and has prospered extraordinarily by absorbing talent from different fields. As well it has established a close relationship with the Ministry of Civil Affairs... On the commission of the

48 Kawahara Isao, "The State of Taiwanese Culture and Taiwanese New literature in 1937," in *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945: History, Culture, Memory*, ed. Liao Binghui and Wang Dewei (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 130.

49 Cai Jingtang 蔡锦堂, "Zailun 'huangminhua yundong' 再论“皇民化运动” [The Imperialisation Movement Revisited]," *Tamkang History Review* 18 (September 2007): 227–245.

Ministry of Civil Affairs, with eleven painters and poets already sent to Japan, another seventeen writers and poets have obtained the opportunity of launching multi-perspective literary studies in outlying regions. Moreover, publications by members of the Manchuria Literary Academy have attracted considerable subsidies from the government.<sup>50</sup>

Nishikawa also noted that, under the auspices of the Consonance Society and the SMR, Ōuchi, Kitamura Kenjirō, Yoshino Haruo, and Xiao Song were to visit different places in the vastness of Manchukuo in November 1939. Ōuchi travelled to eastern Manchukuo and Korea to attain a better understanding of these areas.<sup>51</sup> A year later, supported by the Ministry of Civil Affairs, Ōuchi was offered a second chance to travel. This time, he went to Japan, where he was welcomed by the Association of Japanese Artists and the Central Association for Japanese Arts (*Bungei chūōkai* 文藝中央会).<sup>52</sup> Japanese writers such as Yokomitsu Riichi and Kobayashi Hideo attended the welcoming party. It was during this visit that Ōuchi updated his understanding of the “new order” movement in the Japanese literary arena.<sup>53</sup> The achievements of his erstwhile Waseda classmate, Yoshino Haruo, convinced Nishikawa to recognise the Manchuria Literary Academy as an example for Taiwanese literature. Nishikawa called upon the Taiwanese literary arena to seize the “rare opportunity” posed by the new policy to unite Taiwanese literature, fine arts, music, film, and other artistic disciplines into a whole. The Manchurian literary arena offered a desirable and superior model for Nishikawa to engage with.

Though Taiwan and Manchukuo both belonged to Japan's imperial holdings, Manchukuo gained a better position in the years around 1937, favoured by Konoe's foreign policy, while opportunities to develop Taiwan's local literature were hampered by a harsh colonial policy as a result of the exacting environment of the imperialisation movement. Taiwan was a formal colony of the Japanese empire, an “appendage” of Japan's imagination of Asia. Thus, Taiwan had to be further imperialised rather than encouraged within the framework of

50 Nishikawa, “Shintaiseika no gaichi bungaku,” 469–470.

51 See Ōuchi's travel report: “Tōman hokusen shisatsu ryokō hōkokusho 東滿北鮮視察旅行報告書 [Report on Travels in Eastern Manchurian and Northern Korea],” *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 29 (January 1939): 5.

52 “Nihon oyobi kokunai okuchi shisatsu haken 日本及び国内奥地視察派遣 [Inspections in Japan and Manchukuo],” *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 38 (October 1940): 1.

53 Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, “Saikin ni okeru Nihon bunkakai no dōkō 最近における日本文化界の動向 [Recent Trends in Japanese Cultural Circles],” *Manshū bunwakai tsūshin* 39 (November 1940): 26.

“cooperation” or “co-prosperity” that Manchukuo enjoyed during that period. Japan’s differentiated policies in Taiwan and Manchukuo led to disparate responses in these two areas during the period between 1937 and 1940. The literary scenes in Manchukuo and Taiwan had almost opposite fates during these times.

### *Intensified Imperialisation*

Nishikawa’s article demonstrating his admiration for the Manchuria Literary Academy was written in 1940. Ironically, this was the time when the empire’s neglect of the South also officially came to an end. When the cabinet proclaimed the initial policy regarding East Asia in 1938, it embraced only Japan, China, and Manchukuo, and did not take the position of Taiwan and the South seriously. However, with the proclamation of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere in August 1940, Taiwan was officially bestowed the leading role in the empire’s further advancement into the South. The southward policy that was heavily based in Taiwan became firm and unchangeable when Japan signed the Japanese-Soviet Nonaggression Pact with the Soviet Union in April 1941. Against this background, *Folklore of Taiwan* and associated anthropological research gained an opportunity to thrive. In Taiwan, the idea of local literature or Taiwanese literature garnered attention in both Taiwanese and Japanese literary circles rather late, not until after the southward policy was proposed. Yet, the active period between 1940 and 1941 was entangled in the imperialisation movement. In April 1941, the Imperial Association of Taiwan was founded, followed by subsequent branches opening up across Taiwan to facilitate the imperialisation movement. In August 1941, Yano gave a public speech highlighting the historical significance of the institutionalisation of Taiwan, which can be summarised as follows: The literature of Taiwan was more than local literature; rather, it had gained Japaneseness (*nihonsei* 日本性) as well as attention from the metropolis.<sup>54</sup>

Manchukuo’s literary scene underwent a transformation of sorts when both the Manchurian administration and the Manchuria Literary Academy experienced several changes in July of 1940. For starters, the Academy switched from being an institution to benefit its members and promote Manchurian literature to an institution organising national cultural movements on the

54 Yano Hōjin 矢野峰人, “Taiwan bungaku no reimei 台湾文学の黎明 [The Dawn of Literature in Taiwan],” *Bungei Taiwan* 5:3 (December 1942), quoted in *Nihon tōchiki Taiwan bungaku bungei hyōronshū* 日本統治期台湾文学文藝評論集第4巻 [Collection of Colonial Taiwan’s Literature and Criticism, vol.4], ed. Nakajima Toshiō, Kawahara Isao and Shimomura Sakujirō (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobō, 2001), 310.

home front and interacting internationally with Japan. After completing the reformation of the Academy, Ōuchi travelled to Tokyo to learn from Japan's experiences of mobilising the literary arena. During his visit, he contacted the Association of Japanese Artists, the Central Association of Literature, and the Association of Japanese Writers (*Nihon bungakusha kai* 日本文学者会), the latter two of which were established in October 1940 to support the Imperial Rule Assistance Association that was created that same month.<sup>55</sup> The Central Association of Literature was a united front of many literary and artistic groups, while the Association of Japanese Writers was a purely literary association founded by 23 Japanese writers, including Kishida and Itō Sei.<sup>56</sup> It could be regarded as the predecessor of 1942's Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature. Ōuchi's trip to Tokyo gave him firsthand experience of the institutionalisation of literature in Japan. Upon his return, Ōuchi suggested that the Manchuria Literary Academy work more closely with those Japanese organisations and learn more from them.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile, by 1940, the idea of Manchurian literature already had already lost its early ambition of building a literature independent from Japan's intervention.

The reformation of the Manchurian administration and the Manchuria Literary Academy was closely followed in March 1941 by the release of the Outline of Guidance on Art and Literature, whose goal was to organise the literary arena. All writers in Manchukuo were required to be registered. The Outline was followed by the founding of the Association of Manchurian Artists in July 1941, whose main goal was to increase literary productions that would conform to the spirit of Manchukuo's founding, and thereby boost feelings of nationalism in the people.<sup>58</sup> Yamada, who had played a significant role in suppressing discontentment, became the Association's president.<sup>59</sup> Ōuchi and his Chinese friends, Gu Ding and Jue Qing, were appointed committee members. The government also made efforts to form organisations such as the Association of Manchurian Drama and the Association of Manchurian

55 The Imperial Rule Assistance Association was an umbrella organisation formed to unite all Japanese by profession to aid the war. Ozaki, *Kindai bungaku no kizuato*, 4–5.

56 Ibid., 5.

57 Ōuchi, “Saikin ni okeru Nihon bunkakai no dōkō,” 26.

58 Yamada Seizaburō 山田清三郎, “Manzhou wenyijia xiehui de chengli 满洲文艺家协会的成立 [The Association of Manchurian Artists],” *Xinmanzhou* 4: 1 (January 1942): 129.

59 According to Ozaki Hotsuki, during the establishing of The Association of Manchurian Artists, the actions of members of the Manchuria Literary Academy were not all positive. The conflict between the Manchuria Literary Academy and the Manchurian government was finally resolved thanks to Yamada Seizaburō's public declaration and influence. Ozaki, *Kindai bungaku no kizuato*, 240–241.

Orchestras, which were eventually co-opted into the Union of Manchurian Art and Literature in August 1941. By the middle of 1941, literary mobilisation in Manchukuo was almost completed.

One year later, Ōuchi wrote an article titled “The Return to Japan”. Here, he introduced Akiyama Kenzō’s (秋山謙蔵 1903–1978) book, *The Confirmation of History* (*Rekishī no kakunin* 歴史の確認), which suggested that in order to face future challenges that could arise from establishing the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, it would be prudent to recognise the meaning of the Manchurian Incident in a politically correct way.<sup>60</sup> This was a revisit of his early thinking. By 1942, Ōuchi had finished the search for his identity and his ideological journey in Manchukuo and finally reached the conclusion that there was only one form of national culture and literature—and that this form was Japanese.

### *The Greater East Asian Writers Convention across the Empire*

The mobilisation of literature in both Taiwan and Manchukuo was largely completed by 1941, at which time the imperialisation movement was about to enter a new stage, starting with the foundation of the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature in Japan in May 1942. By this time, most of Japan’s novelists, playwrights, critics, and poets had already chosen to join the Society, either out of patriotism or simple fear that non-membership would damage their publication prospects.<sup>61</sup> One of the major tasks of the Patriotic Society was to organise the Greater East Asian Writers Convention (GEAWC), which was held between 1942 and 1944.

The first round of the GEAWC took place in Tokyo in November 1942, with 57 delegates from Japan and 26 from Manchukuo, Mongolia, and China in attendance. Writers from Taiwan and Korea did not attend the Greater East Asian Writers Convention as formal delegates. Since 1942, the policy “empire-wide administrative consolidation” (*naigaichi gyōsei ichigenka* 内外地行政一元化) had been adopted in Taiwan, Korea, and Karafuto to integrate formal colonies and Japan.<sup>62</sup> Taiwan was reintegrated into Japan in an unprecedented way: administrative boundaries between the colony and metropolitan Japan were suspended. Delegates from Taiwan were, therefore, not listed as official

60 Yamaguchi Shin’ichi, “Nihon e no kaiki 日本への回帰 [The Return to Japan],” *Manshū hyōron* 22: 18 (May 1942): 21.

61 Ben-Ami Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 116.

62 Ts’ai, *Taiwan in Japan’s Empire Building*, 193–195.

delegates. The convention was ostensibly opened up to delegates from Asian countries.

In consistency with Manchurian national harmony, Manchukuo sent a team of Chinese writers, including Gu Ding, Jue Qing, Xiao Song, and Wu Ying to attend the meeting. Yamada led the delegation. Once back in Manchukuo, reports of the GEAWC appeared in many journals and newspapers. The Chinese language journal, *New Manchuria* (*Shin manzhou* 新满洲), set up a column titled *Discussion of the Issue of Greater East Asian Literature* (*Dadongya wenxue wuren zhangtan* 大东亚文学五人掌谈). Although Ōuchi did not have first-hand experience of the meeting, he showed his passion by covering the news and spreading propaganda about the meeting in journals. He participated in discussions as an auditor, and engaged in heated dialogues concerning issues such as GEAWC's achievements, its abiding philosophy, and its current task in undertaking Manchurian literature.<sup>63</sup>

Taiwan had no quota of formal deputies, but Nishikawa, Long Yingzong, Zhang Wenhua, and Hamada Hayao attended the GEAWC nevertheless. After their return, *Literary Taiwan*, which was under the direct supervision of Nishikawa, published a special issue on the GEAWC. Nishikawa expressed his inspiration from the meeting in a poem titled "One Decision". Here, he clearly outlined his determination to contribute to the Japanese empire's ambitious plan for representing the South.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to *Literary Taiwan*, Nishikawa and The Association of Taiwanese Artists organised tours in December 1942 to talk about the literature of Greater East Asia in Taiwan, which reinforced the GEAWC goals. All the delegates to the GEAWC participated in the tour speeches. The topic of Nishikawa's speech was "Literature is also a War", in which he urged writers to contribute to the war.<sup>65</sup> *Literature of Taiwan*, a rival journal to Nishikawa's *Literary Taiwan*, seems to have been involved in participating in these propaganda activities as well. It also ran a special issue on the GEAWC in January 1943, though nearly four months later. It published speeches of the meeting, including Hamada's "The Achievements of the GEAWC", Nishikawa's "Returning from the GEAWC" and "The Spread of Japanese Language", and other articles written by Zhang

63 Liu, "1939–1945nian dongbei diqu wenxue qikan yanjiu," 31–32.

64 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Hitotsu no ketsui 一つの決意 [One Decision]," *Bungei Taiwan* 5: 3 (December 1942): 11.

65 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Bungaku mo sensō 文学も戦争 [Literature Is Also War]," *Bungei Taiwan* 5: 3 (December 1942): 38–39.

Wenhua and Long Yingzong. Judging from the content, news coverage, and articles containing these opinions were duplicated in a simple way.<sup>66</sup>

Rather than serving the purpose of connecting writers across the empire, the GEAWC offered a peculiar demonstration of the cultural and national tensions within the empire. As Yamada later recalled in his memoir, Chinese delegates from Manchukuo presented dull and repetitive speeches that were in compliance with the spirit of the conference. Yet when drinking together in private, Yamada came face to face with his Chinese counterparts' pejorative views toward Japanese writers.<sup>67</sup> A similar tension also can be discerned between the Korean writers and their Japanese counterparts. When the Korean writer Yi Kwang-su (李光洙 1892–1950), whose speech at the GEAWC was widely praised, disclosed his difficulties in writing as a Japanese-Korean writer to his Japanese friends, Kusano Shinpei (草野心平 1903–1988) and Kawakami Tetsutarō (河上徹太郎 1902–1980) during one of the drinking events, he received no sympathy, but instead harsh criticism.<sup>68</sup>

Literary interactions between Japan and China, and between the metropolis and its colonies has a long history that began even before Japanese colonisation. According to Thornber, Beijing, Shanghai, Seoul, Taipei, Dalian, and other urban centres in the colonies and semi-colonies served as dynamic “nebulae” of intercultural artistic dialogue. The communication and literary integration between metropolitan, and colonial and semi-colonial writers was so heavy that they “regularly joined one another’s literary societies, published in one another’s periodicals, and forged deep friendships.”<sup>69</sup> Yet literary communication and textual contact were inevitably compromised and hindered after 1942. Ozaki once compared the GEAWC to the early Meiji period’s Meeting of Chinese and Japanese literati (*Nisshi bunjin daikai* 日支文人大会). As he recorded, from 1882 to 1884 and 1888 to 1900, Li Shuchang (黎庶昌 1837–1896), the Chinese ambassador in Japan at the time, organised spring and autumn meetings attended by many Japanese poets and even Korean intellectuals. They communicated with each other through brush-talks (*bitan* 笔谈) in

66 For the table of contents of *Wenxue Taiwan*, see Nakajima Toshirō 中島利郎, *Riju shiqi Taiwan wenxue zazhi zongmu, renming suoyin* 日据时期台湾文学杂志总目人名索引 [Indexes and Tables of Contents of the Literary Journals in Colonial Taiwan] (Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1995), 55.

67 Yamada Seizaburō 山田清三郎, *Tenkōki: arashi no jidai* 転向記: 嵐の時代 [Notes on Recantation: The Stormy Period] (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1957), 130–131.

68 Hamada Hayao 濱田隼雄, “Taikai no inshō 大会の印象 [Impressions of the Greater East Asian Writers Convention],” *Bungei Taiwan* 5: 3 (December 1942): 17–21.

69 Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion*, 33.



classical Chinese, and entertained themselves by composing poems and drinking.<sup>70</sup> In contrast, sixty years later, the GEAWC forced all of its attendants to use Japanese, the language of Greater East Asia. The conference venue offered few chances for delegates to communicate with each other. Japanese writers sat in the middle of the conference room, impeding any possible communication among regional delegates, who were arranged to sit along two sides. Instead of living in the Imperial Hotel Tokyo with the delegates from Manchukuo and China, Taiwanese and Korean delegates were accommodated in a separate hotel. During the entire course of the event, writers were not allowed to arrange their own activities. The very few chances that writers could communicate with each other took place in buses and trains, and on the way to various conference venues.<sup>71</sup> In the 1940s, literary communication arranged by all sorts of organisations was more or less tinged with political hues. The space of personal literary contact shrunk drastically.

One year later, a second round of the GEAWC was held in 1943 in Tokyo. This time, Ōuchi attended the meeting with Yamada and Gu Ding, both of whom had attended the first convention in 1942. Ōuchi participated in discussions on 26 August: The core issue of his topic was the establishment of “The Japan-Manchukuo-China Cultural Accord” (*Nichi-Man-Ka bunka kyōtei* 日滿華文化協定).<sup>72</sup> Further cooperation among writers of Japan, Manchukuo, and China, one of the main themes of the second round of the GEAWC, had been decided a year earlier. The literary translation and cooperation between Chinese and Japanese writers, therefore, was encouraged from the Japanese side. After the meeting, a few expected special issues on the GEAWC appeared in various journals and newspapers in Manchukuo. For example, *News Letter of Manchurian Literature and Art* printed Yamada’s article, “The Achievements of the GEAWC”, a platitudinous title that could be commonly found in the news coverage of the GEAWC.<sup>73</sup> It also featured the opinions of Ōuchi and other writers on how to construct the literature of Greater East Asia.

70 Ozaki, *Kindai bungaku no kizuato*, 12.

71 Liu Shuqin, “‘Waidi’de moluo: Taiwan daibiaomen de diyici dongya wenxue zhe dahui ‘外地’的没落：台湾代表们的第一次东亚文学者大会 [Collapse of the Outer Lands: The First Greater East Asian Writers Convention for Taiwanese Delegates],” (paper presented at the First World Congress of Taiwan Studies, Academic Sinica, Taiwan, April 26–28, 2012).

72 Ozaki, *Kindai bungaku no kizuato*, 30.

73 Yamada Seizaburō 山田清三郎, “Dai Tōa bungakusha taikai no seika 大東亜文学者大会の成果 [The Achievements of the Greater East Asian Writers Convention],” *Manshū geibun tsūshin* 2: 9 (October 1943): 3–5, quoted in Tanimoto Sumiko 谷本澄子, “Manshū geibun tsūshin saimoku (shita) 滿洲藝文通信細目 (下) [Details of *The News*

The rampant mobilisation in Japan spread into its colonies, seriously affecting Taiwan. The Patriotic Society of Taiwanese Literature, a counterpart of the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature in Japan, was founded in April 1943.<sup>74</sup> This paralleled the establishment of another literary organisation in Korea around the same time—the Korean Writers Patriotic Society. The Patriotic Society of Taiwanese Literature was more than a local organisation responsible for Taiwan's local cultural affairs. It also served to connect Taiwan's literary arena with the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature in the metropolis. In May 1944, Nishikawa's *Literary Taiwan* and Zhang Wenhuan's *Literature of Taiwan* were forced to fuse into a new journal titled *Literature and Arts of Taiwan* (*Taiwan bungei* 台湾文藝), the official journal of the Patriotic Society of Taiwanese Literature. During this period, the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature had its second national conference to advocate for general mobilisation (*sōkekki* 総蹶起).<sup>75</sup> Endorsing this action, The Taiwanese Patriotic Society not only convened a similar conference in Taiwan, but also published the declaration of the “Taiwan literary arena's general mobilisation” (*Taiwan bungakukai no sōkekki* 台湾文学界の総蹶起) in the second issue of *Literature and Arts of Taiwan*.<sup>76</sup> In this article, what “Taiwanese literature” really meant was “imperial literature” (*kōmin bungaku* 皇民文学). This segment of Japan and Taiwan's mutual history and the intimacy shared between the Patriotic Society of Japanese Literature and The Patriotic Society of Taiwanese Literature were not acceptable to Manchukuo.

The imperialisation movement involved many concrete reformations, such as the promotion of Japanese education and the change of Chinese names into Japanese names. Before this, the literature that Nishikawa was devoted to creating involved Japanese (colonial) literature in Taiwan having an abiding aspiration of being recognised by metropolitan Japan. After May 1943, however, there was no need to struggle for such recognition since “imperial literature” was unmistakably a part of the Japanese empire, written in Japanese and by “imperial subjects”. At this point, for Nishikawa in Taiwan, the boundaries

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*Letter of Manchurian Literature and Arts (The Second Part)]*,” *Shokuminchi bunka kenkyū* 3 (2004): 102.

74 Nakajima Toshiō 中島利郎, “Kessen Taiwan shōsetsushū no kankō to Nishikawa Mitsuru 決戦台湾小説集の刊行と西川満 [The Publication of the Collection of Short Stories for the War and Nishikawa Mitsuru],” in *Taiwan no “DaiTōa sensō”: bungaku, media, bunka*, 台湾の「大東亜戦争」: 文学・メディア・文化 [*Taiwan's Greater East Asian War: Literature, Media, Culture*], ed. Fujii Shōzō, Ō Eitetsu and Tarumi Chie (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2002), 81.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

between Japanese literature and colonial literature, national identification with Japan as a nation and Japan as an empire had collapsed.

### Locating the Local

The call for a “Taiwanese” identity does not necessitate a rejection of a colonial “Japanese” identity.<sup>77</sup>

The rise of “local” in Taiwan and Manchuria was closely related to Japan’s empire-wide, broad imperialist scheme. Imperial and colonial policies after 1937 to a large extent shaped the national and local consciousness. This dynamic relationship between empire and the process of identity formation becomes clearer if we take into account the case of Korean literature. Though Japanese-language writing in colonial Korea does not fall within the scope of this book, a glimpse of Korean local literature further clarifies how the discourses of local literature in various colonial settings differed from each other while remaining connected to the broad empire. I use the debate over Korean literature as a reference to present a broad picture of the tensions and connections across the empire.

### *The Ambivalent Local*

Like Taiwan, Korea after 1942 also became an imperial “local” position within the empire. The policy of “Japan and Korea as one body” (*Naisen ittai* 内鮮一体) was sanctioned in the late 1930s after Minami Jirō (南次郎 1874–1955) was appointed as Governor-General in August 1936. In the following years, just as in the case of Taiwan, the Korean language was prohibited, visits to Shinto temples were enforced, Japanese-style surnames were adopted, and the Korean people were conscripted into the Imperial Army. After 1942, when Koiso Kuniaki (小磯国昭 1880–1950) took office as Minami Jirō’s successor, the division between Japan and colonial Korea was largely perceived to have disappeared. A new idea of local had emerged.

The leading Korean intellectual Ch’oe Chaesŏ (崔載瑞 1908–1964) was fascinated by this opportunity to forge an equal position with Tokyo, as indicated by the series of articles he published in the literary journal *National Literature* (*Kokumin bungaku* 国民文学), of which he served as the editor-in-chief. For example, at a workshop to celebrate the one-year anniversary of the journal’s founding, Ch’oe had a conversation with his Japanese peers during which he

77 Ching, *Becoming Japanese*, 123.

asked many questions about “the position of Korean literature” (*chōsen bungaku no chii* 朝鮮文学の地位). The Japanese writers suggested that unlike local literature such as Hokkaido literature, Korean literature had to be loaded with motifs and sprits that would be beneficial to the empire, and that it should be categorised as literature of the people (*kokumin bungaku* 国民文学).<sup>78</sup> But while the Japanese writers were focused on what Korean literature could mean to Japan, other Korean writers such as Yu Chin-o (俞鎮午 1906–1987) and Kim Chong-han (金鍾漢 1916–1944) cared more about how to represent the uniqueness of Korean history and tradition. They opposed the standard imposed by metropolitan Japan and instead called for a discovery of Korea’s unique beauty.<sup>79</sup> The meaning of the local and its representation also became a controversy that often surfaced in both Taiwan and Manchuria. Similar to the case of Taiwan and Manchukuo, the notion of “Korean literature” was also a cultural space open to tensions and conflicts between Korean national writers and Japanese writers. It is in these writers’ articulation of a unique Koreaness that the tension between the empire and the colonised is revealed.

In order to incorporate colonial people from various nations, the Japanese empire bestowed citizenship upon its colonial subjects. After 1925, both Koreans and Taiwanese who lived in Japan could even vote and be voted for.<sup>80</sup> The imperial integration relied heavily on the premise that all people within the empire belonged to “Japan”. Although people in Manchukuo were not forced to accept Japanese citizenship, Chinese national literature was forcefully subsumed under the literature of Japanese *kokumin*, which was also prevalent in Taiwan and Korea. The nationalism of the colonised people and Japanese citizenship in the colonial context were virtually two separate fields that often conflicted with each other.

Among the many social and political categories, nationalism is often seen as well situated within colonialism, and is believed to have played a significant role in anti-colonial movements, though it was often expressed in the appropriation and subversion of forms borrowed from colonialism’s institutions. For example, when discussing the interplay between globalisation, colonialism, and nationalism, Arif Dirlik suggests that “colonialism generated nationalism in opposition to it but was instrumental for the same reason in the global spread of nationalism. Nationalism, on the other hand, has been a colonizing activity itself in erasing local differences in order to create a homog-

78 “Kokumin bungaku no ichinen wo kataru 国民文学の一年を語る [Reviewing the Past Year of National Literature],” *Kokumin bungaku* 2: 9 (November 1942): 93.

79 Ibid., 94.

80 Ts’ai, *Taiwan in Japan’s Empire Building*, 200.

enous national culture.”<sup>81</sup> In other words, born with colonialism, nationalism tended to suppress and homogenise differences. This is, according to Partha Chatterjee, because the nationalism of non-European colonial countries is inherent in the hegemony of Western rationalism.<sup>82</sup> However, anti-colonial nationalism has a remedy. Chatterjee suggests that “anticolonial nationalism creates its own domain of sovereignty within colonial society well before its political battle with the imperial power”, and that it does this “by dividing the world of social institutions and practices into two domains—the material and the spiritual.”<sup>83</sup> While the material domain of the economy, statecraft, and science and technology became a domain where the West had proved its superiority, the spiritual domain remained an “inner” domain bearing the “essential” marks of cultural identity. One of the examples of the inner spiritual domain Chatterjee gives is the forgotten corpus of Sanskrit drama that was written in a local language and differed from the European model. Literature and folklore formed a crucial part of this inner domain.

Serk-Bae Suh, however, tells a different story about the nationalism of colonial Korea. While the political slogan “Japan and Korea as one body” was gaining momentum in the 1940s, Ch’oe Chaesŏ chose to abandon the Korean nationalism that was based on folk culture or ethnicity to create the identity of a Japanese *kokumin*. He criticised that Korean national literature served only to instil a feeling of primordial community based on ethnicity or the folk. He was determined to arouse the Korean people from the “folkish” feeling of Korean nationalism to the reality that they were now national subjects of the Japanese empire.<sup>84</sup> In an era when Korean-language literature was gradually losing its vitality due to the exclusive use of Japanese as the medium of literary expression, Ch’oe Chaesŏ promoted the subjugation of Korean culture to the culture of Japan in his Japanese-language book, *Korean Literature in a Time of Transition* (*Tenkanki no Chōsen bungaku* 転換期の朝鮮文学).<sup>85</sup> Instead of using Korean nationalism and national cultural resources as the anti-colonialist weapon from the spiritual domain that Chatterjee describes, Ch’oe turned them into a component of colonial hegemony.

81 Dirlik, “Architectures of Global Modernity, Colonialism, and Places,” 46–47.

82 Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 10.

83 Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 6.

84 Serk-Bae Suh, “The Location of ‘Korean’ Culture: Ch’oe Chaesŏ and Korean Literature in a Time of Transition,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 70: 1 (February 2001): 58.

85 Ibid., 61.

Unlike the “authentic” nationalism of colonial India that represented the anti-colonialism force, the discourse of local in the Japanese empire was constructed collaboratively by the Japanese and the Asian others and, therefore, did not lead to such forms of anti-colonial nationalism. In Korea, issues of cultural uniqueness and the Korean language were discussed; in Taiwan, research on the culture and history of the southern sphere including Taiwan were conducted; and in Manchukuo a debate over independent identity and literature was proposed. Yet these actions did not lead to anti-colonial nationalism. Rather, they were born within colonialism and engraved by the colonial discourse; they may not have promoted the “colonial local”, but they at least embodied its ambivalence. Regarding the emergence of “colonial local” across the empire, Liu Shuqin has suggested that when the concept of Taiwanese native literature (*Xiangtu wenxue* 乡土文学), a literary form corresponding to Taiwanese nationalism, emerged in the early 1930s, it worked as a rival force against Japanese colonialism. The notion of local that surged in the late 1930s, in contrast, was inherent in the logic of colonialism. It reflected the regional rationality of colonialism.<sup>86</sup> Yet unlike the Indian nationalist thought that appropriated the cultural resources of Western hegemony, the prevalence of local literature in Japan’s Asian colonies was mediated by pan-Asianist sentiment, together with an aspiration for modernity. Many Taiwanese and Korean writers promoted the cultural and local literature because they hoped that it would eventually weaken the colonial hierarchy between the metropolis and the colonies and provide a space for them.<sup>87</sup> The cultural and racial affinities between Japan and the colonial nations again worked out.

### *Local in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere*

Though a former colony of Japan, Korea was in many ways tied to Manchuria or Manchukuo. Early on, instead of being part of “Japan and Korea as one body”, Korea was often located in the corporeal unity of Korea and Manchuria. For example, the annexation of Korea was deemed a crucial step toward the colonisation of Manchuria, which would form the basis for occupying China proper and eventually the whole of Asia.<sup>88</sup> After the establishment of Manchukuo, Korean farmers who lost their lands were also encouraged to move to Manchukuo to neutralise the predominance of *manjin*. These complicated relations were reflected in literature: We can find many exchanges between

86 Liu Shuqin 柳书琴, “‘Zonglizhan’ yu defang wenhua “总力战”与地方文化 [“Total War” and Regional Cultures],” *Taiwan shenhui yanjiu jikan* 79 (September 2009): 132.

87 Ibid., 122.

88 Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 47.

Korean writers and writers in Manchukuo. For example, the Akutagawa prize of 1944 was given to Obi Jūzō (小尾十三 1908–1979), who lived and wrote in Manchukuo but published his writings in *National Literature* in colonial Korea. The work of Wu Ying, the Manchurian woman writer, also appeared in *National Literature*. In 1945, Ch'oe had even written an open letter to Gu Ding, which was published in *National Literature*, to discuss the connectedness of Korean literature and Manchurian literature. Ch'oe believed that Manchurian and Korean writers had a duty to develop local literature independent of metropolitan Japan's literary influence.<sup>89</sup> Thus, a literary fellowship connected Manchurian and colonial Korea.

Accompanying the emergence of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere was the colonial administrative reform, which started in 1942. Korea and Taiwan were closely integrated into the empire. They were supervised by the Home Ministry while the rest of Japan's overseas possessions—Manchuria and the South Sea Islands—was overseen by the new Ministry of Greater East Asia established in November 1942.<sup>90</sup> Under the supervision of the Home Ministry, the status of Korea had still differed from that of Taiwan. The Governor-General of Korea was free from the Home Ministry's supervision when it came to general administration.<sup>91</sup> Korea was relatively independent. When the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere was established, however, Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria, and Tokyo were reorganised based on a new set of imperial relationships that redefined the imperial core and peripheries.

The dramatic changes in the empire's colonial relationships raised confusion among Korean writers. For example, Ch'oe asked his Japanese peers about the position of Korea. He clearly understood that the South was economically crucial to the Japanese empire, while the Japan-Manchukuo-China bloc still remained the centre of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.<sup>92</sup> Where, then, to locate Korea in Japan's new blueprint? Korea under Japanese occupation was a formal colony like Taiwan and had undergone similar administrative reformation after 1942; yet it was geographically and culturally more connected to Manchukuo. In the new picture of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, Korea's position in the empire was nevertheless defined by the slogan of "Japan and Korea as one body", as Ch'oe's Japanese peers told

89 Ishida Kōzō 石田耕造, "Koteishi ni 古丁氏に [To Gu Ding]," *Kokumin bungaku* 5: 1 (January 1945): 28–32. Ishida Kōzō is the Japanese name of Chae-sō Ch'oe.

90 Ts'ai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building*, 193.

91 Ibid., 194.

92 Chae-sō Ch'oe 崔載瑞, "Daitōa bunkaken no kōsō 大東亜文化圏の構想 [The Concept of the Greater East Asian Culture Sphere]," *Kokumin bungaku* 2: 2 (February 1942): 38.



him in response.<sup>93</sup> This, however, did not mean a simple combination of Japan and Korea, but the intensified progression of imperialism. Korea was far from independent of or equal to metropolitan Japan, despite what the slogan “Japan and Korea as one body” might suggest. Just like all other parts of the empire, Korea had its “proper” position in the empire.

As we have seen, the formation of knowledge of which literature is an indispensable part, the romanticism as a revolutionary force across the empire, and the emergence of “local literature” linked Taiwan to Manchukuo. The broad environment of imperialisation from 1937 onwards shaped Nishikawa’s and Ōuchi’s literature and identities in similar ways, and involved them in the final stage of Japan’s national mobilisation. They were placed in different situations, affected by different imperialist policies and had different motivations. Nonetheless, both Ōuchi and Nishikawa started to conform to Japan’s romantic spirit of leading Asia. This placed both of them in opposition to the native literatures and cultures of Taiwan and Manchuria, as the conflict between the dominant Japanese culture of the coloniser and the dominated culture of the colonised was played out in the form of struggles between Chinese realism and Japanese romanticism. By studying the similarity between the literary activities in Manchuria and Taiwan, it can be safely concluded that as two parts of the Japanese empire, Taiwan and Manchuria were related to each other in many respects and together shaped Japanese nationalism in the twentieth century. The complexities entailed in their identification with Japan historically substantiate the general concept of Japanese nationalism.

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93 Ibid., 41.

## Japanese Nationalism and Its Discontents

By examining the literary activities in Taiwan and Manchuria in the interwar period, this book has provided an account of the variety and heterogeneity of Japanese identities in the two areas and example of two personalities. In Taiwan, Nishikawa was driven by his abiding quest for recognition from Japanese national literature; in contrast, Ōuchi was filled with suspicion of and contempt for slogans of “the people of the whole state of Japan” and “the whole nation of Japan”. There were marked inconsistencies in their understanding of the relations between state, nation, and empire. Like Ōuchi, some of the Japanese people living in Manchukuo before 1935 were self-identified as Japanese in the sense of *minzoku*. Their *kokumin* and *kokka* loyalties were with Manchukuo. In contrast, Nishikawa’s concern was with his legitimate position in Japanese literary history: he believed that he was not only a member of Japanese *kokumin*, but also belonged to the Japanese nation. In the Japanese empire where citizenship was used to integrate people of different nations, being a Japanese *kokumin* did not guarantee that Nishikawa could be a writer of Japan. The differentiation between “self” and the “other” in colonial Taiwan was worked out through the articulation of nation. Nishikawa’s early concern was to be recognised by the Japanese literary circle and to stay within the boundary of the nation-state while Ōuchi’s identification with Japan as a nation-state was from the beginning tenuous at best. Many progressive Japanese intellectuals including Ōuchi sincerely believed that the Japanese people were not exercising unilateral dominance in Manchukuo, nor was the bourgeoisie the only legitimate social class there.

Nishikawa and Ōuchi’s understanding of imperialism and colonialism was embodied in their literature and translations. Rather than fulfilling his imperialist ambitions, Nishikawa’s early poetry was inspired by both Japanese poetic aestheticism and French symbolism. His colonial vision was first revealed in approximately 1936 when he engaged in juxtaposing Taiwanese religion and customs with prostitutes. Similar to his French counterparts, the literary achievement that Nishikawa showcased to his counterparts living in metropolitan Japan was achieved by exoticising and feminizing Taiwanese local culture and customs. For Nishikawa, living in Japan’s colony, the development of literature was not limited to resources from the Japanese tradition and his knowledge of foreign literature. Instead, he was offered a unique chance to enrich his literature. The geographical and cultural landscape of Taiwan

provided additional resources that writers of metropolitan Japan could not access. His participation in justifying Japanese colonial governance eventually led him to the understanding of Japan as a multi-national empire. In Manchuria, Ōuchi's early interaction with Chinese writers, his resistance to Japanese imperialist capitalism, his advocacy of a proletarian alliance and his susceptibility to Marxism made his participation in Manchukuo distinct from a purely imperialist way. This optimistic thinking allowed Ōuchi to engage actively in the building of Manchukuo without doubting the fundamentally imperialist character of Manchukuo. Returning to Manchukuo as a translator and literary commentator, Ōuchi's perceptions of Manchuria and Japan were mainly embodied in his translations of Chinese literary works. It was through translation that Manchurian reality and Ōuchi's early utopian vision of pan-Asianism was reconciled.

However, despite their early different identifications, both writers responded to the call to join the "decisive battle" of Japan in the 1940s and were caught in colonial integration based on the universal idea of *kokumin*. As we have seen, the formation of knowledge of which literature is an indispensable part, the romanticism as a revolutionary force across the empire, and the emergence of "local literature" linked Taiwan to Manchukuo. The broad environment of the imperialisation movement from 1937 onwards shaped Nishikawa's and Ōuchi's literature and identities in similar ways, and involved them in the final stage of Japan's national mobilisation. They were placed in different situations, affected by different imperialist policies and had different motivations. Nonetheless, both Ōuchi and Nishikawa started to conform to Japan's romantic spirit of leading Asia. This placed both of them in opposition to the native literatures and cultures of Taiwan and Manchuria, as the conflict between the dominant Japanese culture of the coloniser and the dominated culture of the colonised was played out in the form of struggles between Chinese realism and Japanese romanticism. By studying the similarity between the literary activities in Manchuria and Taiwan, it can be safely concluded that as two parts of the Japanese empire, Taiwan and Manchuria were related to each other in many respects and together shaped Japanese nationalism in the twentieth century. The complexities entailed in their identification with Japan historically substantiate the general concept of Japanese nationalism.

Notions of the meaning of the Japanese *kokumin*, and with what form of Japan—state, empire, or nation—people identified, remained ambiguous throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as is argued by Mariko Asano Tamanai:

Japanese intellectuals did not draw an unambiguous line between the state and the emperor, between the state and the nation, between Japanese people and the people of other ethnicities who resided in the Japanese Empire.<sup>1</sup>

Theories of what Japan was, including theory of the national body (*kokutai-ron* 国体論), theory of Orient (*tōyō-ron* 東洋論), and theory of a mixed nation (*fukugō minzoku-ron* 複合民族論), co-existed and competed with each other in an era in which Japan engaged in various political and cultural activities. Accordingly, the Japanese people living in the early twentieth century conceptualised Japan in different specific ways. Some tried to separate themselves from the Japanese state while others attempted to attach themselves to it. Japanese statism is not an isomorph of nationalism in the nationalist discourse. State as a political concept that did not spread into every corner of the world until the early twentieth century is a significant frame of reference for the study of nationalism. However, it is not the only means that constitutes an alternative imagination of nation. The study of Japanese nationalism in the early twentieth century, nevertheless, needs to take into account of the role of empire as another imagined and constructed political unit. By recounting the history of colonial literature and colonial experience outside metropolitan Japan, this book has made efforts in liberating nationalism from a nation-state framework. Rather than being a pre-existing concept insulated from exchanges with the outside, Japanese nationalism and the identities of Japanese writers such as Nishikawa and Ōuchi were formed in the process of exchanges with Asian colonies. Both the literature and the identities of Japanese colonial writers were formed in the relationship with the colonised “others” in Taiwan and Manchuria. Japanese colonial writers’ self conceptions of race, nation, class, and gender were all formed through encounters with the colonies while Japanese nationalism was largely shaped by transnational forces of imperialism and pan-Asianism. The mission of studying Japanese nationalism demands a transnational and comparative vision that takes into account not only Asian, but also colonial factors so that colonial history could be conceptualised as the irreducible constituent of the history of modern Japan. What happened in colonies and in metropolitan Japan were part of the same historical process from which Japanese modernity was generated.

The relation between metropolitan Japan and her colonies was complicated. From the many literary institutions to the simultaneous rise of discourses of romanticism in Taiwan and Manchuria, the social and cultural dynamics of

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1 Tamanoi, *Memory Maps*, 149.

metropolitan Japan were exported into colonies and this was especially evident after 1940. Nevertheless, colonies were not simply the recipient of exportation; rather, they had their own agendas that were highly relative to local history and realities while at the same time mutually constructive of the modern history of Japan. Taiwan and Manchuria stood for two opposite directions of Japanese expansion, representing respectively the southward policy and the continental policy that had its base in the north. Japanese nationalism and literature in these two areas were influenced by local realities while at the same time they shared responsibilities of reciprocating the empire. Nishikawa's colonial literature of exoticism is the best example demonstrating how the national literary tradition was carried on in the colonies, while Ōuchi's translation was deeply embedded in the colonial realities of Manchukuo. Taiwan and Manchukuo, existing as the imperialist remedy for capitalism, came into being due to the rapid development of Japanese modernisation since the Meiji period. However, the variants and heterogeneity inherent in their writings and identity formations do not suggest that modernity is paradoxical. Rather, it proves that "there can exist different and even contradictory discourses with the same strategy", capable of forming the same field of force relations.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, when stressing the peculiarity of Manchukuo in Japan's history of imperialism, it is instructive to reflect on the common features of the literary activities of Taiwan and Manchuria, given that the two regions comprised a co-existing space in the same empire.

Nevertheless, Japan's colonial measures in Taiwan and the arguable pan-Asianism in Manchukuo failed to regenerate a new Japan, in the same way as they failed to liberate Asian countries. In contrast, the modern history of Japan in the interwar years became a process in which individual discontinuities, disjunctions, and the potential for nonconformity were liquidated and channelled into the goal of empire defence. The distance between individuals and the imperial power started to diminish after 1937 when the Second Sino-Japanese War erupted; it eventually disappeared after 1940. The imperialist intervention by metropolitan Japan, engineered through political and financial means, propelled the confluence of national identity and imperialist identity. Even though they co-existed as two separate colonial areas in the Japanese empire, Taiwan and Manchuria shared the same imperialist Japanese history. The contemporaneous colonial space of Japan was not external to Japan and Japanese nationalism; rather, it was through Japan's material historicity that Japan as an empire was rendered possible and Japanese nationalism was conceived in its entirety.

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2 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1980), 100.

Continuity, rather than the rupture from Japan in the colonial period marked post-war Japan. The complexity of Japanese nationalism was reinforced, rather than terminated, by Japan's surrender to the Allied Forces on 15 August 1945. The repatriation that followed saw several million Japanese from all over the world returned to Japan. By the time of repatriation, 519,000 Japanese nationals were estimated to be in Taiwan while the number of Japanese people in Manchuria was up to round 2.2 million.<sup>3</sup> By August 1945, altogether 6.9 million people, including 3.2 million Japanese civilians and 3.7 million soldiers, were outside of the Japanese home islands. The number constituted nine percent of Japan's total population of 72 million.<sup>4</sup> According to a report by Paul J. Mueller, a major general in the American forces, up until 1949, except for the estimated 400,000 Japanese retained in the Soviet areas, more than 6,114,000 Japanese had been repatriated.<sup>5</sup>

After Japan's defeat, the Japanese state failed to protect these people, whose identification with Japan was subject to ambiguity again in various ways. While some realised more than ever that their nationality was Japanese, others succumbed to the "*kyodatsu* condition" which means "exhaustion and despair".<sup>6</sup> Those who were unable to identify with a state that had led them to such a devastating outcome were not few.<sup>7</sup> The Japanese state became a "failed state" in the eyes of its overseas citizens, and abundant repatriate memoirs published in post-war Japan vividly have recalled this "failed" Japanese state.<sup>8</sup> A Japanese woman recalled that when she arrived in Japan, she had no option but to become a beggar, having lost her husband, her children and all the things she once had possessed in Manchuria.<sup>9</sup> For people like her, Japan did not represent

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3 Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 38.

4 *Ibid.*, 2.

5 Major General Paul J. Mueller, *Occupied Japan*, A Progress Report, April 1, 1949, <http://www.army.mil/-news/1949/04/01/4613-occupied-japan---a-progress-report/>

6 John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 88–89.

7 Gao Yuan 高媛, "Kankō no seijigaku: senzen sengo ni okeru Nihonjin no Manshū kankō 観光の政治学：戦前戦後における日本人の満洲観光 [The Politics of Tourism: Japanese Tourism in Manchuria in and after the Second World War]," (PhD diss., Tokyo University, 2004), 239.

8 Tamanoi, *Memory Maps*, 141.

9 "Tairiku de nanimo kamo ushinatte 大陸で何もかも失って [Lost Everything on the Continent]," in *Dōkokuno daichi o ato ni shite: yokuryū, g'yūgun, tairiku kara no hikiage kiroku* 慟哭の大地をあとにして：抑留、義勇軍、大陸からの引き揚げ記録 [Leaving Traces on the Wailing Earth: Records of Detention, the Volunteer Army and Repatriation], ed. Sōka gakkai seinenbu hansen shuppan iinkai (Tokyo: Daisan bunmeisha, 1984), 50.

a motherland shielding her people from desperation. Nishikawa had a similar experience, as he recalled the “infernal” experience of repatriation as follows:

When we are on a free train taking us to the destination, I see a young man in front of us unwrapping rice balls from newspapers. My eldest son, who has not seen rice balls ever since we left Taipei, is desperately staring at the rice balls. I am too late to prevent my son's imprudence. The young man sympathises with us and gives us one rice ball, which has to be divided into three parts for my three children.<sup>10</sup>

Upon the repatriation, the “glory” days of Taiwan were forever over.

For people repatriated from the colonies the end of war and the meaning of the subsequent postwar were different from that of those who had lived in metropolitan Japan. At home, people expressed concern about overseas returners, but the metropolitan Japanese maintained a kind of unwillingness to recognise overseas experiences of war's end as part of the national experience of defeat, which led to a deficient recognition of the life experience as well as sufferings of those who had lived overseas.<sup>11</sup> Lori Watt argues that “Japanese at home and abroad lived through different kinds of space and time in the transition from wartime empire to postwar nation.”<sup>12</sup> When those metropolitan Japanese remained in the same space after defeat and only moved forward from wartime to occupation, and to postwar temporalities, those colonial Japanese had to undergo a transition from Japanese dominated colonial space to foreign ones.<sup>13</sup> It is understandable that Nishikawa could never continue his literary career as how he had done in colonial Taiwan. Three years after his repatriation, Nishikawa was still struggling to survive, plagued by poverty. The repatriation experience generated a new round of identity crises in postwar Japan.

The postwar period was not a period of abandoning nationalism. Rather, nationalism and the issue of Japan's national identity are still at the very center of all sorts political and intellectual agendas. But, the nationalist tune was no longer being called by the rulers in response merely to state needs, but was

10 Chen Zaoxiang 陈藻香, “Xichuan Man yu Mazu 西川满与妈祖 [Nishikawa Mitsuru and Maso].” In *Houzhiminzhuyi: Taiwan yu Riben lunwenji* 后殖民主义：台湾与日本论文集 [Postcolonialism: A Collection of Papers on Taiwan and Japan], ed. Guoli Taiwan daxue Ribenyu wenxuexi (Taipei: Taiwan University, Department of Japanese, 2002), 20.

11 Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*, 54.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.



being called principally by the ruled, and the great mass of the people were beginning to express national sentiments in their own terms.<sup>14</sup> One significant means of expressing national sentiments is the war memories and narrations of the war experience generated by the real colonial history. These war memories and narrations will in turn shape postcolonial histories of both Japan and the former colonised countries. Both Nishikawa and Ōuchi left accounts of their experience of living in Japan's colonial peripheries. Twelve years following his return to Japan, Ōuchi wrote a book titled *Episodes of China* (*Chūgoku sakki* 中国札記). In the first chapter, "I love China", Ōuchi narrates his 25-year experience in China and his love for his "second hometown".<sup>15</sup> Ōuchi's post-war memoirs are not unique. There was a strikingly similar sense of nostalgia for the colonial place and past in post-war memoirs published in Japan. Ever since the early 1990s, there has even been a travel package of Manchuria offered to Japanese people.<sup>16</sup>

Nishikawa too expresses his love for Taiwan and Taiwanese history. In the preface to his collection of translated stories edited in 1997, at the age of 89 years, he expresses his wish to dedicate his writings to Taiwan, the place in which he was allowed to live and the place he loved.<sup>17</sup> His reputation as a connoisseur of Taiwanese religions and customs was largely established after the war. His writings on Taiwanese folklore were compiled into an off-print and published in the form of limited publications in Tokyo in 1981 by the house managed by Nishikawa himself.<sup>18</sup> In 1999, under the supervision of Chen Zaoxiang, the Zhiliang Press of Taiwan published a second edition. According to Chen Zaoxiang, during his stay in Taiwan, Nishikawa only published works featuring Maso in the title eleven times.<sup>19</sup> However, in the period between 1949 and 1996, Nishikawa published a further 78 works on Maso. Quite a few, ranging from novels to fortunetelling books, were new compositions.<sup>20</sup> They

14 Brown, *Nationalism in Japan*, 252.

15 Yamaguchi Shin'ichi, *Chūgoku sakki* 中国札記 [*Episodes of China*] (private version, 1958), 1.

16 Gao Yuan 高媛, "Kioku sangyō to shite no tsūrizumu 記憶産業としてのツーリズム [Tourism as Memory Industry]," *Gendai shisō* 29 (2001): 219–229.

17 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満, "Xu 序 [Preface]," in *Xichuan Man xiaoshuoji di-yi-juan* 西川满小说集第一卷 [*A Collection of Nishikawa Mitsuru's Short Stories, vol. 1*], ed. Ye Shitao and Chen Qianwu (Gaoxiong: Chunhui chubanshe, 1997), 1–3.

18 Nakajima, *Nishikawa Mitsuru zenshoshi*, 116–117.

19 There were *Maso Festival*, *Maso Goes to Heaven* (媽祖升天), *The Grand Maso Temple* (大天后宮) and *The Goddess in Heaven*. Among them, *Maso Festival* was published several times. See Chen, "Xichuan Man yu Mazu," 15.

20 Ibid., 23.

aimed to discover “the long-forgotten customs of Taiwanese ancestors, which had been concealed by the Japanese colonial government and crushed by the Nationalist regime”.<sup>21</sup> It fully demonstrated Nishikawa's nostalgia toward Taiwan. Like many who experienced the war, Nishikawa and Ōuchi's post-war conceptualisation of Japan was always haunted by their lived experience in the colonies.

These post-war memoirs are not only records of personal lives, but nor are they only about the past; rather, they influence the contemporary histories of Taiwan and China in innumerable facets. They also shape the historiography of Japan's imperialism in Asia. For instance, the most complete collection of Nishikawa Mitsuru's works is currently preserved with awe in the library of Taiwanese literature in Aletheia University in Taiwan, thanks to Nishikawa's donation in 1996 to celebrate the establishment of the department of Taiwanese literature.<sup>22</sup> Ever since then, Nishikawa's writings on Taiwanese customs and folklore have been widely circulated as textbooks for teaching a young generation of Taiwanese of their cultural roots, articulating “the uniqueness of Taiwanese culture” that has been long forgotten.<sup>23</sup> Nishikawa's prewar experience of a colonial writer kept exerting influences on the formation of contemporary Taiwanese nationalism. Perhaps this is the reason why the intersection of Japanese colonial literature and Japanese nationalism observed from the Asian and colonial angle is still a rewarding area to research.

Just during the process I was writing this book several events that rekindled people's interest in the Asian past happened. By the end of January 2010, Chinese and Japanese researchers from the Japan-China joint history research group released its public version of their findings from the first term joint history project. At the same time, a group of scholars from China, Japan, and the United States assembled in Tokyo to lay the groundwork for joint research on the Second Sino-Japanese War, 1931–1945. Research on the thorny history between China and Japan still held much worldwide attention, given China and Japan represented the second and the third biggest economic entities

21 Kleeman, “Gender, Ethnography, and Colonial Cultural Production,” 307.

22 Jingdian zazhi, *Taiwan renwen sibainian*, 283.

23 A-chin Hsiao, *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 2000), 220. In the preface to the reprinted version of *A Record of Taiwanese Customs* that was released in 1999, the chief editor Chen Zaoxiang stated that the purpose of editing this book is to teach the young generation the local culture that distinguished from both that of Japan and China. See Chen Zaoxiang, “Xu 序 [Preface],” in *Hualidao xianfeng lu 华丽岛显风录 [A Record of Taiwanese Customs]*, ed. and trans. Chen Zaoxiang (Taipei: Zhiliang chubanshe, 1999), 5.

in the world. In July 2011, a memorial wall in Fangzheng county in former Manchuria provoked discontent and criticism from Chinese nationalists. The wall to memorialise more than 5,000 Japanese settlers who stayed and died in that county was demolished. The history of Manchuria came back into public vision in a much unexpected way. Early 2012, the Chinese city of Nanjing suspended its relationship with Nagoya, Japan, after Nagoya's mayor refused to acknowledge the existence of the Japanese army's 1937 Nanjing Massacre. Nearly at the time, the cabinet of Japan released names of 39 uninhabited islands, including some known as the Senkaku islands in Japan, and the Diaoyu islands in China, which instigated strong opposition from both China and Taiwan. In 2013, ties between China and Japan have been repeatedly strained by disputes over territorial sovereignty of the islands. Japan, under the leadership of Abe Shinzō, who took over as the prime minister in December 2012, saw the unprecedented resurgence of nationalism. The new prime minister even admitted his government's intention to revise Japan's pacifist constitution. The Sino-Japanese relationship seems to have entered a deadlock and the peace of East Asia is again in great danger. The colonial past is still much with us. Though the Japanese colonial empire only lasted for fifty years and the end of the Second World War also brought to the end of Japanese colonial holdings in Taiwan and Manchuria, colonial interactions left their imprint on Asian societies, and the impact of the colonial experience continued even after the formal end of the empire. The resolution of tensions between the Mainland China and the Taiwan Straits, between North Korea and South Korea, Japan's mired sovereignty over Okinawa, and conflicts of the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands awaits a more effective understanding of Japan's past in the interwar years. Far from being overcome or surpassed, nationalism and imperial history are still important areas for contemporary Asia. The possibility of binding Asian countries more closely with each other highlights the imperative and significance of inquiring into the past. When choosing colonial literature as a topic in a bid to revisit, to historicise, and to individualise Japanese nationalism, I direct my vision to the future of a true reconciliation.

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