Introduction

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By any measure, Japan's modern empire was formidable. The only major non-Western colonial power in the twentieth century, Japan controlled a vast area of Asia and numerous archipelagos in the Pacific Ocean. Its reach extended from Sakhalin Island north of the Japanese archipelago to the Solomon Islands in the South Pacific and expanded into Manchuria, areas of China, Korea, and much of Southeast Asia and Micronesia. Over the more than seven decades of Japanese colonial rule (1869–1945), Japan successfully naturalized two colonies (Ainu Moshir/Hokkaido and the Ryukyu Kingdom/Okinawa)[1] into its national territory. The massive extraction of resources and extensive cultural assimilation policies radically impacted the lives of millions of Asians and Pacific Islanders. The political, economic, and cultural ramifications of this era are still felt today.

Over the last thirty years, the field of Japanese studies has produced an impressive body of Japanese and English language scholarship on Japan's colonial era. Initially, solid groundwork was laid with works elucidating economic, legal, and agricultural policies produced in the imperial center and imposed on the colonial periphery.[2] More recently, critical work emphasizes that despite overwhelming unequal power relations, all colonial processes

intrinsically demand a political, economic, and cultural *exchange* through negotiation, struggle, collaboration, and resistance. Excellent scholarship addressing the multifaceted exchanges among Japan's colonies and the metropole, the discursive construction of colonized and colonizing subjects, and key social, scientific, academic, and cultural institutions that bolstered Japanese imperialism is now available. Numerous books and essays interrogate the complex cultural and political negotiation of colonial identities and reveal the importance of the collective imagination and the role of ordinary Japanese in the colonial project.[3]

Building on this strong foundation, *Reading Colonial Japan* aims to deepen knowledge of Japanese colonialism(s), providing both an eclectic selection of translated Japanese primary sources and analytical essays that illuminate the specificities of Japan's many and varied colonial projects. The primary documents, which span a variety of genres, including legal documents, children's literature, cookbooks, serialized comics, as well as literary texts by well-known authors of the time, serve to highlight the centrality of cultural production and dissemination to colonial endeavors and to accentuate the myriad ways colonialism permeated every facet of life. In the essays, the contributors are primarily concerned with representation and rhetoric and how these intersect with operations of power. They investigate the workings of imperialist discourse through close readings of cultural representations in colonial narratives and imagery, revealing how the Japanese imperial project was understood, imagined, and lived. The scholars herein take as a premise that colonialism is not simply a military quest, legal process, or government-led project. Rather, it is a complex cultural system, both in the formulation of underpinning ideology and the execution of policies backed by those ideological beliefs. In addition to forming economic and political structures, colonial powers enlist the participation of various institutions, educational processes, and publication networks, which produce "knowledge" that rationalizes the colonial order. By making available and analyzing a wide range of sources that represent "media" during the Japanese colonial period, we engage in a dialogue with scholarship in cultural studies and highlight the powerful role language and imagination play in producing the material realities of Japanese colonialism.

No colonial project succeeds without substantial support from its citizenry. In fact, cultural production by a broad spectrum of "ordinary" Japanese citizens—for instance, a housewife in Manchuria, settlers in Korea, manga artists and fiction writers in mainland Japan—functioned effectively

to reinforce the official political, economic, and cultural policies that controlled and violated the lives of the colonized throughout Japan's empire. Whether individual Japanese actively promoted the imperial project or quietly acquiesced to its demands, they were, to varying degrees, complicit with imperial ideology. Although a young man's volunteering for the army might have been a conspicuous expression of loyalty to the imperial state, the works herein show that no one was precluded from participating in the promotion and maintenance of the colonial campaign. Women, for instance, published "memoirs" that mobilized colonial rhetoric and their promotion of state policies in locally published cookbooks served imperial causes in significant ways well beyond the restricted domestic sphere of the home. Likewise, children's manga, such as *The Adventures of Dankichi*, included in this volume, showcase both unsettling manifestations of racialized colonial justifications and the unapologetic recruitment of Japanese children's imaginary world and minds. In fact, every mode of expression was mobilized to further the colonial agenda. If laws such as the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Law dramatically impinged on and restricted the lives of the colonized, a variety of fictional works justified unequal power relations between Japan and its many colonial entities. Be it depictions of the naturescape in Hokkaido that erased the existence of the island's indigenous population, or the "retelling" of a violent legend of Taiwanese "barbarians," literary depictions of the Other joined forces with official arguments to shore up a colonial world order. Many Japanese citizens from all walks of life consumed, accepted, and reiterated the implicit and explicit messages of such texts, thereby participating in the imperial project in the most mundane, yet indispensible, ways.

Serving as the mainstay of the theoretical framework of this volume are the following two premises: that colonial discourse never marshals a totalizing persuasive power and that colonial powers do not exert their authority through a single, cohesive, and consistent ideology. As formidable as is the ideological capacity to determine reality, especially when backed by overwhelming military force and economic privileges, there always exist inherent contradictions, competing ideologies, and intersecting subjectivities. As the resistance movements in Taiwan and Korea suggest, not everyone was convinced of the "benevolence" of the Japanese imperial project. The experiences of a collaborating colonial elite in Korea, a Chinese "coolie" in Manchuria, an Okinawan police officer, or a Japanese female settler differed greatly as any individual's place within a group and the empire was determined by a number of shifting, and not infrequently incompatible, factors. In fact,

one of the most laborious tasks of colonial authorities was to police various levels of slippage that potentially undermined the order of the empire. For instance, with growing numbers of Japanese citizens living in colonies abroad, a great deal of apprehension and suspicion was directed toward colonial settlers who were deemed morally bankrupt and sexually decadent. The barometer of these "perversities" came in the form of "news" of Japanese men and women becoming intimate in every way possible with colonial subjects, single women leading independent lives, and the free flow of drink, drugs, and wild sex. After the defeat, the distrust and disdain of the Japanese expatriates became evident when rather than a hearty welcome home, forceful internment and humiliating medical examinations greeted the returnees.[4] If the issue of Japanese expatriates evinces the instability of the rhetoric professing the inherent superiority and civilized nature of the Japanese colonizer, the imperial conscription of colonial male subjects reveals a bittersweet compromise of the colonial government. In lining up an impressive number of male bodies for the front lines, the colonial government succeeded, but whether to trust them enough with rifles was a matter that generated tremendous anxiety.[5] As is demonstrated by a few examples, multiple discourses and representations were circulated and modified, and sometimes collided, as various actors responded to changing political, economic, and social imperatives in the varying colonial contexts.

Disparate, even contradictory, ideas, ideals, identities, and imagery are the mortar of any colonial project. This is not to suggest that the discursive construction of, for example, the colonizer and colonized specifically or the colonial undertaking generally was generated without devastating consequences. There are important historical works that record the crimes and injustices of the Japanese empire and translated works by colonial subjects that lend personal perspectives on the tragic loss of livelihoods and lives. The critical readings in this volume, however, focus attention on how colonial logic in texts written by various members of the colonizing nation converts the obviously belligerent and violent facts of colonialism into a "palatable," even noble cause, greases the wheels of empire, and fans the fires of imperial desire. They expose and challenge the rhetorical mechanisms used to erase the voices of the colonized and monopolize the authority to define their cultures and histories. We hope to further fill in the picture of Japan's diverse empire and stimulate discussion among scholars concerned about the broader questions of colonialism in the past and present.

Re-Viewing Japanese Colonial History

Typically, Japan's age of empire is dated from 1895 to 1945, beginning when Taiwan was ceded to Japan following its victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), and concluding with Japan's defeat in the Asia-Pacific War (1931–1945). What is commonly characterized as Japan's "formal" empire includes Taiwan, Southern Sakhalin, Korea, the Kwantung area of the Liaodong peninsula in China, and most islands in the South Seas.[6] Japan also wielded considerable political and economic influence over much of China through military threat and installed a puppet government in "Manchukuo," which allowed de facto Japanese rule in Manchuria. By 1945, after numerous military victories in the Pacific region, the imperial reach extended to Vietnam, the Philippines, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, Timor, Hong Kong, and Singapore.

However, viewing Japan's forceful acquisition of the Ainu homelands and the Ryukyu Kingdom during the Meiji era (1868–1912) as obvious acts of colonialism, we date the inception of Japan's modern empire to 1869, when Japanese officials unilaterally laid claim to the island now known as Hokkaido, and firmly locate Okinawa within colonial history. Naturalized as "Japan proper" in colonialist rhetoric, both Hokkaido and Okinawa have commonly been dismissed as "internal colonies," which obfuscates the violent enterprise of territorial appropriation, economic exploitation, and cultural repression that enabled the "Japanization" of these lands and their people. The explicit inclusion of Hokkaido and Okinawa in Japan's colonial history in this volume functions to challenge the Meiji elite's self-interested characterization of the exploitation of these lands as "development" of "Japanese territory" and their subjugation of the indigenous inhabitants as "protection." Committed to a project of deconstructing imperialist discourse, the contributors herein offer criticisms of colonial euphemisms and justifications, reflecting on the ways the cases of Hokkaido and Okinawa both reinforce and complicate received notions of colonial operations generally, and Japan's empire specifically.

In an attempt to fill a gap, we include two chapters on Hokkaido, which to an even greater degree than Okinawa has been too often overlooked in scholarship.[7] In doing so, we also seek to emphasize the crucial role the colonization of Hokkaido played in constructing the modern Japanese nation and empire. It is our presumption that the fledgling nation-state of "Japan" (established in 1868) and the island now called "Hokkaido" (claimed in

1869) were constructed in tandem and that these processes were inextricably linked. Borrowing the words of Leo Ching, we affirm that "cultural and political identities, be they metropolitan or colonial, do not exist prior to the processes of colonialism."[8] Thus, Japan's identity as an "advanced," "civilized" nation endowed with a natural political, economic, and cultural superiority was forged in opposition to depictions of other Asian countries as "backward," "barbaric" and incapable of surviving in modern times. These differences between colonizer and colonized were not manifest realities, but rather products of colonial discourse employed to validate Japanese imperial expansion in Asia. Before Japan consolidated its political and economic infrastructure and embarked on imperial expansion through the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), Hokkaido was fertile ground in which imperial ideology, legal rationalizations, assimilation policies, and settlement campaigns were conceived, implemented, and tested. The colonial experiments conducted during these early years of empire informed, in significant ways, the political, economic, and cultural strategies in the later "formal" empire.

Although not the focus of this work, the question of what should constitute the end of Japan's empire also deserves reconsideration. The year 1945 might mark the conclusion of the Asia-Pacific War and the liberation of Japan's colonial subjects, but residual effects manifest in many obvious and subtle ways to this day. The continued presence of U.S. bases in Okinawa with Japanese official sanction, the charged protests against prime ministers' visits to Yasukuni Shrine, territorial disputes over the Dokdo/Takeshima Islands and the "Northern Territories" with Korea and Russia respectively, and the ongoing debates about Japan's responsibility for Korean survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are just a few examples of the ways the colonial past lives on in the present.

To help our readers, the next few pages present the broadest outline of Japan's complex imperial history that spanned more than seventy years. Richer detail provided in individual essays will build on this preliminary narrative and further contextualize each colonial case.

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After the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868, which brought centuries of samurai rule to an end, the leaders of the newly installed government characterized their victory as a "restoration" of imperial rule. Scrambling to establish authority and consolidate a disparate population

along the lines of a Western model of the nation-state, the elite quickly defined the most pressing tasks—foreign relations, the tax system, and the "development" (*kaitaku*) of Ezo, "land of the barbarians," the then Japanese appellation for the island of Hokkaido.[9] This last priority, making Ezo into "a little Japan," was understood to serve a number of goals, including generating much-needed revenue for the nation-building project, showing the emperor's "power and prestige to the world," and discouraging Russian designs on the territory. Elites soon realized that resettling disgruntled former samurai, who had lost their status and economic privileges, could also help dissipate pent-up dissatisfaction that had resulted in numerous violent uprisings. To that end, a colonial farming militia (*tondenhei*) was established, and general campaigns for migration to Hokkaido were pursued to alleviate worsening poverty in rural areas of the mainland. Already during the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) a certain degree of economic and political subordination at the hands of shogunal and Matsumae domain officials contributed to weakening Ainu communities. With the installation of the colonial government under the aegis of the Hokkaido Development Agency in 1869, Japan commenced full-scale economic exploitation of the island's resources and massive migration from the mainland so that by the end of the nineteenth century Japanese settlers greatly outnumbered the deprived and displaced Ainu population.

The Ryukyu Kingdom had its own long and troubled history with Japan. After nearly two centuries of political independence, vigorous maritime trade with much of Asia, and a flourishing of arts and architecture, the Ryukyu Islands were invaded by the Satsuma domain in 1609. For the next 270 years, Satsuma dispatched countless directives, injunctions, and judgments on matters of trade, governance, and cultural practices, forcing Ryukyuan kings to negotiate a delicate balance of power with Satsuma, the central shogunal officials of Japan, and the Ming and Qing courts in China. This quasi-autonomous status came to an end in 1879, a decade after the Meiji Restoration, when Japan officially, and unilaterally, annexed "Okinawa," in what is called the "disposition of Ryukyu" (*Ryūkyū shobun*).[10] Despite having proclaimed the Ryukyu Islands Japanese territory, the disregard for the Okinawan population was extreme, evidenced by Tokyo's rejection of Japanese governor Uesugi Shigenori's proposal that would have greatly alleviated poverty without necessitating either an increased tax burden on Okinawans or financial support from the central government. Impoverishment, unemployment, and illiteracy engendered by Japan's singular

and oppressive economic policies toward Okinawa were then attributed to an inherent inferiority of the people of the islands. Those able to migrate to the mainland encountered fierce discrimination in employment and lodging. Assimilation rhetoric may have suggested that Okinawans could become national citizens and the emperor's subjects through the eradication of local customs and the adoption of the Japanese language, but economic, political, and cultural campaigns that ensured hardship, privation, and stigmatization made clear that they were not to be considered fully "Japanese." Okinawa's marginalized position in the nation was made alarmingly evident in 1945 by the Battle of Okinawa, one of the bloodiest battles fought in the Pacific, when the Japanese Imperial Army mercilessly and indiscriminatly killed civilians and forced them to commit suicide.

After more than two decades of national consolidation and colonial exploits in Hokkaido and Okinawa, the Meiji leaders had established the foundation of Japan's political and economic infrastructure and inculcated nationalistic sentiment in its citizenry as deemed appropriate to a modern nation-state. The attempt to secure a colonial foothold in Taiwan in 1874 through the Taiwan Expedition had failed, but following triumph in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Japan ushered in its age of formal empire. The Treaty of Shimonoseki granted possession of Taiwan to Japan in perpetuity. As a measure to stave off anti-Japanese sentiment, Taiwanese were initially allowed to relocate to mainland China, yet for over ten years the colonial rulers met vigorous resistance to which they responded with violent repression. The colonial administration quickly embarked on plans to control and modernize police, transportation, communication, trade, and financial systems. It gradually promoted public education and health facilities and introduced agricultural innovations and new tax schemes. Although these did bring about various improvements in the lives of some Taiwanese, the colonial policies were crafted to benefit local Japanese settlers and the needs of the metropole. This was most evident in the policy of confiscating "untitled land" and selling it to Japanese migrants and corporate interests. With sugarcane and rice production dominating the economy, Taiwan proved to be a relatively profitable colony for the Japanese empire, evidenced by the fact that it did not receive governmental subsidies after 1904.[11] Nevertheless Taiwanese experienced double standards in education and employment as well as constant surveillance by an extensive police force that was charged with a variety of tasks, including suppressing dissidents, taking the census, collecting taxes, and promoting and enforcing economic, social, and cultural programs.

Long before Korea's official annexation in 1910, Japan jockeyed to promote its national interests on the peninsula. As early as 1873, a faction in the Meiji government advocated an invasion of Korea, but officials of the Iwakura clique quashed the idea, arguing that Japan was not yet prepared to take on such a costly and provocative endeavor. In 1876, using "gunboat diplomacy," a tactic to which it had previously fallen victim, Japan pressured Korea to agree to unequal trade, the opening of ports, and extraterritorial rights for Japanese. In the ensuing years, Japan incited numerous confrontations with Korea in which its covetous officials attempted to take advantage of the escalating factionalism within the Yi court. Still, it was the stunning victory over Russia in 1905 that lent Japan vital leverage in negotiations. Granted "permission" by major Western powers to make Korea a "protectorate," Japan steadily took over the political and economic reins in the peninsula. In 1910, the Korean emperor was forced to sign away absolute sovereignty to the emperor of Japan. Japanese official and commercial interests were favored through the seizure and allocation of fertile or useful land, protection of markets for Japanese products, and numerous structural and tax incentives. To deal with problems of a growing population and increased wages in the metropolitan center, the colonial government tightly managed the production and cost of food and the flow of labor. Opposition to Japan's rule, most notably the March 1st Movement in 1919, was met with overwhelming military repression.

More so than other colonies, Taiwan and Korea constituted "agricultural appendages" of Japan,[12] providing much of the staple foodstuffs, especially rice, for the main islands. As the war dragged on, imperializing (*kōminka*) policies that began in 1937 further impinged on everyday life as the colonizers tried to instill "Japanese spirit" in the colonized. Taiwanese and Koreans were urged to abandon their "backward" traditions and to adopt Japanese daily customs and cultural practices. Additionally, in the 1940s, they faced the most thorough assimilation campaigns, exemplified by, for example, compulsory Japanese language acquisition, name changes, and emperor worship at Shinto shrines. At the same time that the people of Taiwan and Korea were assured that they were Japanese citizens, a wide array of publications disparaged their histories, societies, and cultures, effectively maintaining the divide between colonizer and colonized. Taiwanese and Korean men were first encouraged to volunteer and then from 1945 drafted into military service. Slogans such as "Japan and Korea as One" (*nissen ittai*) aimed to channel all human and natural resources into the war effort and obfuscate the ever-increasing burden on colonial subjects in these occupied territories.

The 1905 defeat of Russia also allowed Japan to take possession of the southern half of Sakhalin, which Japan named Karafuto, and the Kwantung territory on the Liaodong peninsula. The latter aided Japan in making crucial inroads into Manchuria and China. Strategic military bases were built in Port Arthur and Dalian. Japan's control of Manchuria extended out from the network of tracks of the Southern Manchurian Railroad, over which Japan held absolute authority. Japan wielded considerable influence backed by the constant military presence of the Kwantung Army, strategic alliances with local leaders, and its ascendancy in the economy. In 1931, the Kwantung Army, ignoring the chain of command, sabotaged a section of the Southern Manchurian Railroad and then blamed Chinese radicals. This, now known as the Manchurian Incident, precipitated the full-scale invasion of Manchuria and establishment of Manchukuo, a puppet-state of Japan, in 1932. Responding to a growing economic and population crisis in the metropole, Japanese colonial administrators implemented a massive immigration campaign and diversified Manchuria's economy according to state and corporate interests.

Another feather in the cap of Japan's formal empire was acquired in 1914 when, taking advantage of the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, Japan demanded a transfer of Germany's mandate in the colonial territories of the Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana Islands in Micronesia. This distant and diverse collection of islands was known to Japanese as the South Seas (*Nan'yō*). Since the 1880s and 1890s, popular adventure novels and firsthand accounts by civilian attachments to naval training missions in the South Seas had fed the Japanese popular imagination fanciful images of a tropical paradise, enormous commercial profits, and exciting escapades in areas inhabited by "barbaric natives." First a naval and then, from 1922, a civil administration oversaw the typical political and economic integration of the well over 1,300 islands into the empire. Preferential support to Japanese individuals and companies generated substantial commercial profits, and an imported labor force of poor Japanese, Okinawans, and Koreans quickly outnumbered Micronesians. Material conditions may have initially improved for indigenous inhabitants, but social stratification clearly favored Japanese colonists, and in the last years of the war Micronesians endured some of the fiercest battles between Japan and the United States.

Beginning in 1940, the former Asian colonies and territories of Britain, France, Holland, Germany, and the United States fell into Japanese hands after bloody combat in the Pacific. For instance, Japan took over French

Indochina (Vietnam) in 1940, the Philippines and Hong Kong were under Japanese occupation soon after the attack on Pearl Harbor, and 1942 saw the invasions of Burma, Singapore, and Indonesia. Japan's defeat in 1945 meant liberation for most of its colonized and occupied territories. Still, the legacy of this history continues to fundamentally shape political and economic relations in Asia.

Connecting Texts, Contexts, and Critiques

Our project is two-fold: if the primary sources accentuate the wide array of representations of the empire, the critical essays illuminate the encompassing human involvement, underscoring that people of all walks of life were not merely implicated in but inevitably or willingly *participated* in the expansion and management of the empire. The contributors have uncovered a corpus of original materials that represent the profusion of discourse during the colonial era, and the project is conceived partly out of a desire to bring these previously unearthed sources to a wider audience of scholars, students, and individuals interested in thinking about the many forms colonialism and imperialism assume.

The primary sources included in this volume expound on a set of questions and dilemmas that were defining features of Japan's imperial policies and institutions. We feature a customary colonial tool—legal documents—that did not just restrict, regulate, and punish individuals and communities, but also played a crucial role in constructing colonial identities. The 1899 Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Law exemplifies the potency of legal doctrines for imperial conquest, which were deployed in Hokkaido under the pretense of "protection," echoing the "developmentalist" rhetoric employed by the United States in subjugating America's native peoples. Analysis of legal language and its underpinning logic offers insights into how laws masked violent and discriminatory practices.

In contrast to laws, sources such as manga and children's stories might at first seem innocuous and even unrelated to the colonial quest. The effects of these popular media are not directly linked to military actions. Rather, they help shape an imaginary realm, one that generates imperialist aspirations and builds a consensus for imperial conquests. Hence, the heroic tale of Dankichi's adventure in the South Seas in manga format, presented in the last chapter of this book, became an imperialist fantasy shared by many Japanese children and adults in the 1930s. In it, and many other colonial works,

the theme of the "barbaric" Other looms large. Thus, juvenile publications, along with other popular and practical cultural texts such as literary texts and cookbooks, worked in tandem with political proclamations, economic treatises, and legal codes to construct the prevailing perceptions of and attitudes toward Japan's colonial subjects and imperial pursuits.

While the organization in this anthology generally follows a historical chronology of Japan's colonial aggression, its theoretical and thematic currents warrant discussion. Each primary source in translation is paired with an essay that suggests one of the ways to corroborate its meaning in relation to imperial discourse. Because any study of imperialism has to first identify the mechanisms of power, the point of departure for the contributors to this volume is an inquiry into the workings of power in a variety of cultural texts and contexts.

Compared to its European counterparts, Japan's empire as a main subject of postcolonial studies has had a shorter history, spanning just over three decades. The theories of colonial encounters modeled after the European experiences have thus served, to a certain degree, as points of reference and barometers for understanding the Japanese case. Drawing on intellectuals such as Michel Foucault, the contributing scholars in this volume investigate the processes of subjection, surveillance, and subordination that are underlying operations of power. The Althusserian notion of "ideological state apparatuses" and the significance of social practices in constituting the subject also inform the scholarship herein, which problematizes independent subjectivity outside of ideology. Edward Said's theorization of the Orient helps us understand how cultural productions of the Other both feed and feed off of the hierarchical relations between two entities. Examinations of the human psyche trapped in the colonial milieu benefit from the work of Albert Memmi and Homi Bhabha on identity formation. Contributors are inspired by and readily make use of the conceptual and linguistic tools that these and other theoreticians of postcolonial studies have advanced. At the same time, in addition to reinforcing such theories, the works in this volume shed new light on and complicate ideas and themes long studied in Western colonial contexts.

In addition to theoretical concerns woven through the essays, this anthology presents intertwining dialogues on intersecting subject matters. While Komori Yōichi showcases the juridical implementation of the expansionist aspirations in Hokkaido through a close analysis of the vocabulary and tone of colonial logic, Michele Mason's essay shows how fiction metaphorically

emptied the space of Hokkaido, facilitating the incursion of Japanese settlers. Despite ample evidence that testifies to the history of the indigenous population, Japanese literary depictions of Hokkaido, such as "The Shores of the Sorachi River," primarily and consistently evoke an uninhabited and richly resourced island in need of human "development." These first two chapters speak to the way words and ideas bring into being very material and tragic realities, focusing sharp legal and literary lenses on Japan's earliest modern colonial project.

Komori's and Robert Tierney's essays emphasize the function of emerging educational institutions and disciplines in producing "knowledge" that underwrote and rationalized the empire. These scholars map the multidirectional pathways between the theories, histories, and conceptual frameworks formulated by intellectuals in fields such as archeology, linguistics, and anthropology and colonial policy and expansion. Although they treat two very different geographic locations, Hokkaido and Taiwan respectively, each conveys the disturbing fact of the complicity of academic institutions, scholarly research, and educational models in Japan's empire.

As brutal and oppressive as institutional and official colonial subjugation was, its more subtle and nuanced, but nevertheless lasting effects were inscribed in human psychology. Davinder Bhowmik most forcefully employs Homi Bhabha's theory of "hybridity" to discuss the split and straddling identities of an Okinawan policeman in the short fictional work "Officer Ukuma." The protagonist pursues access to power and prestige through state-sanctioned roles only to confront in the end how he is structurally alienated in the power hierarchy. Tierney's essay on the short story "Demon Bird," which simulates ethnographic recordings of the irrational, superstitious colonial Other, elucidates how the narrator repeatedly undermines his own credibility as purveyor of "objective" knowledge. When read carefully, Tierney argues, the story does not necessarily reinforce colonialist logic, but rather calls into question the "civilized" nature of the colonizer and exposes the unsettling, violent, and chaotic conditions of colonial reality. Read together, Bhowmik's and Tierney's essays highlight the precarious state of colonial subjectivities and inevitable contradictions in colonial rhetoric. Thus, Officer Ukuma's search for professional success proves futile in the end, and the narrator of "Demon Bird" cannot but betray the slippage in the colonial implementation of ethnography as a scholarly discipline.

Working with two unique texts, Kimberly Kono and Helen Lee focus attention on colonial collaboration in the gendered interior sphere of the

home. Kono elaborates on women's participation in the empire by introducing the term "imperialist motherhood" in her treatment of *Manchu Girl*, a Japanese woman's "autobiographical" work that recounts her mission to assimilate a Manchurian maid. The colonizer-colonized relationship rests on a trope of intimacy between a "motherly guardian" and an "adoptive daughter" in a narrative that prioritizes the dilemmas and desires of the narrating Japanese colonizer even as she purports to report honestly the thoughts and voice of her house servant. Lee's essay delineates the challenging tasks of mothers who were called upon to maximize nutrition and produce healthy bodies for the state in colonial homes in Korea during the total mobilization era, the final phase of Japan's empire during which all imperial subjects were plagued by dire food shortages. *The Manual of Home Cuisine*, Lee notes, dishes up much more than just recipes and practical tips for procuring ingredients at a time of scarcity. Its prescriptions for spiritual nourishment are meant to harness patriotic sentiment and foster "Japanese-ness" in a community far removed from the "homeland." Kono and Lee link in important ways the seemingly immaterial realm of creating and maintaining national/colonial identities with material conditions and displays of national allegiance. Attempts by the narrator of *Manchu Girl* to "Japanize" her Manchurian charge through her coaching on proper manners, clothing, and language resonates with the cookbook's exhortations that Japanese subjects demonstrate their loyalty to the emperor and the colonial cause by performing daily proper prayers and etiquette at mealtimes.

The colonialist logic and imperial zeal that manifested mostly in the adult world also penetrated the realm of children's imagination, revealing how extensive the reach of colonial propaganda was at the time. Kawamura Minato's and Kota Inoue's essays investigate two distinctly different children's works. Kawamura offers a nuanced reading and contextualization of the serial manga *The Adventures of Dankichi*, whose protagonist lives out the adventurous imperialist dream by traveling to an unknown island in the tropical South Seas and subjugating the savage Other, becoming their king. Here, imperialist ambitions are unabashedly exhibited, even glorified. Extremely racialized visuals, shocking to today's reader, work with a storyline that bolsters the natural superiority of the little Japanese leader who recruits the "barbarians" into his "elite army corps." In contrast, Inoue's primary text, "Wolf Forest, Basket Forest, and Thief Forest," seems a rather benign, even humorous, chronicle of a group of human farmers who carry out tension-filled negotiations with mischievous inhabitants of the surrounding forests. Inoue's close reading,

however, excavates a not-so-obvious critique of colonial usurpation illustrated in the tale. Though the tone of the original works vary on a spectrum ranging from outrageously jingoistic to subtly critical, Kawamura and Inoue each point to the broad circulation of such sources that collectively incubated ideas endorsing the foundational ideologies of imperialism and belied the violation and violence inherent in colonial processes.

In *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, we have endeavored to draw some of the cultural and historical contours of Japan's age of empire. Revealing operations of power in the intersections of cultural production and colonial practices has been an overarching goal. Needless to say, each essay in this collection represents just one reading of its paired primary source. We imagine there is much more to say about these original texts when viewed through different theoretical or disciplinary frameworks or approached with different intellectual interests. We invite readers—both Asian specialists and scholars and students of colonialism—to articulate additional interpretations and critical commentary. It would be gratifying if these primary documents and analytical essays stimulated further discussion of the serious and persisting questions of colonialism of the past and inspired meaningful reflection on the implications for our present moment.

Notes

1. Ainu Moshir, literally "the land of humans," is the Ainu name for their native land, which was populated by many independent Ainu communities. The Ryukyu Islands were unified in 1429 by King Shō Hashi of the central region (Chūzan), and were thereafter known as the Ryukyu Kingdom. In this volume, we will follow the custom of writing the the word "Ryukyu" without long vowels.

2. The first two volumes of the trilogy on Japan's modern empire were instrumental in launching Japanese colonial studies. See Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), and Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).

3. The list of such works is ever growing, and while not exhaustive, here are some examples that have come out in just the last decade or so. Jennifer Robertson's *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (1998), Louise Young's *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (1998), Leo T. S. Ching's *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (2001), Faye Yuan Kleeman's *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (2003), Sabine Früstück's *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (2003), Prasenjit Duara's

Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern (2003), Alexis Dudden's *Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power* (2005), Miriam Silverberg's *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (2006), Michael Baskett's *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (2008), Mark E. Caprio's *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945* (2009), and Mark Driscoll's *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1895–1945* (2010). Consider also the works of contributors to this volume, including Davinder Bhowmik's *Writing Okinawa: Narrative Acts of Identity and Resistance* (2008), Kimberly Kono's *Romance, Family and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature* (2010), and Robert Tierney's *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame* (2010).

4. Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

5. Miyada Setsuko, *Chōsen minshū to kōminka seisaku* (Koreans and Kōminka Policies) (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1985).

6. Taiwan, Korea, and Southern Sakhalin were sovereign colonies over which Japan had exclusive control. Japan first "leased" Kwantung in 1905 and in 1915 extended the lease until 1998. Japan was accorded a mandate in the South Seas in 1914, and this mandate nominally fell under the authority of the League of Nations Council, until Japan withdrew from the league in 1933. We have not included Tsingtao (Qingdao) of the Shandong peninsula, as it was under Japanese control for the relatively short period of four years.

7. Okinawa's distance from the mainland, its sacrifice during World War II (exemplified by the Battle of Okinawa), and the continued presence of U.S. military bases with the Japanese state's approval make the legacy of Japanese colonialism there manifestly clear. Excellent scholarship on Okinawan history and politics and collections of translated works by Okinawan authors and poets published over the last ten years have expanded on the many ways colonial relations live on in Okinawan politics and society today. See, for example, Laura Hein and Mark Selden, eds., *Islands of Discontent: Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), Glen D. Hook and Richard Siddle, eds., *Japan and Okinawa: Structure and Subjectivity* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), and Mike Molasky and Steve Rabson, eds., *Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature from Okinawa* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000). In contrast, the contemporary repercussions of Hokkaido's colonial era are much less obvious, and scholars have taken longer to turn their attention to its colonial history. An excellent contribution to this subject, however, is Richard Siddle's *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996).

8. Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 11.

9. These are laid out in the Iwakura Proposal (*Iwakura teigi*, February 28, 1869). Tanaka Akira, *Hokkaidō to Meiji ishin* (Hokkaido and the Meiji Restoration) (Sapporo: Hokkaidō daigaku tosho kankōkai, 2000), 26.

10. For a helpful explanation of the "disposition of Ryukyu," see the "Epilogue

and Conclusions" chapter of Gregory Smits' *Visions of Ryukyu: Identity and Ideology in Early Modern Thought and Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 143–62.

11. In contrast, in Korea and Manchuria subsidies were necessary until Japan's defeat in 1945. Samuel Pao-San Ho, "Colonialism and Development: Korea, Taiwan, and Kwantung," in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*, eds. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 358.

12. Ibid., 350.