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The Outside Within: Literature of Colonial Hokkaido

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Noriko Agastuma Day

2012

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Outside Within: Literature of Colonial Hokkaido

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

Professor Seiji M. Lippit, Chair

This thesis examines how historical, social, and political factors influence the creation of literary space, focusing on representations of the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido in modern Japanese literature. The works examined below are set in Hokkaido from the 1880s to the 1930s, and they all exhibit a certain ambiguous duality. This ambiguity derives from Hokkaido's dual position as an internal colony, simultaneously being both within sovereign borders and without as a colonial space. Given its status as an internal colony, however, the tension between *naichi* (mainland Japan) and Hokkaido gives rise to issues over national and ethnic authenticity. These issues of authenticity and belonging are encoded spatially in the texts, and in the dialectical relationship between *naichi* and Hokkaido, Japanese "authenticity" itself is created, questioned, or reaffirmed. Because of its nature, these works make up the first corpus of colonial literature of Japan. After the "Introduction," the works of Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908), Arishima Takeo (1878-1923), Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933), Itō Sei (1905-1969), and Honjō Mutsuo (1905-1939) will be examined.

The dissertation of Noriko Agatsuma Day is approved.

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2012

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Introduction

The northern island of Japan, Hokkaido is an important setting in modern Japanese literature and played a prominent role in the establishment of modern literature by providing a space to experiment with new concepts and alternative views. It also contributed to shaping national identity and national literature by being an ambiguously “different” other to highlight and regulate what was claimed to be “authentic.” Although it is within national borders, Hokkaido functioned as a colony, positioned at the bottom of an asymmetrical political, social, cultural power structure with the rest of Japan.¹ Hence literature on Hokkaido also represents characteristics of colonial power relations found in colonial literature elsewhere. In this sense, literature on Hokkaido can be considered the first colonial literature in Japan.

In modern Japanese literature, Hokkaido appears as a contradictory space. Despite being within national borders, it has been considered somehow outside of Japan historically. Before Meiji, the island was imagined as *kegai no chi* 化外の地 [the place beyond the control of the state] or *iiki* 異域 [foreign region], and sometimes was used as an exilic space.² The island represents boundary zone as well, an ambiguous space imagined as porous, hybrid, heterogeneous, and unsettled. But at the beginning of Meiji, to counter Russia’s southing, the name of the island was changed from Ezo to Hokkaido, and it emerged together as a part of the

¹At this point, Okinawa is not included.

²During the Kamakura period (circa 1185-1333) the island served as an exilic space.

new nation state.³ Externally, Hokkaido was included as a part of sovereign Japan. But domestically it was still excluded from Japan because it became a settler colony where the government sent unwanted populations there from Japan in order to develop the region. At the same time, the government allocated ample funding to make the space westernized. In this westernization, Hokkaido's vast, pristine condition was modified with such terms as "freedom" and "independence." As the first colonial space of Japan, Hokkaido was an experimental ground of modernization, including colonialism.

In this study, I will examine spatial representations of Hokkaido appearing in selected prewar literary works of modern Japanese literature that take place in Hokkaido. These include novels by Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908) and Arishima Takeo (1878-1923), who represent writers from the metropole, and works by Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933), Itō Sei (1905-1969), and Honjō Mutsuo (1905-1939), writers from Hokkaido. The works of these two groups of writers, from *naichi* and from Hokkaido, show significant differences similar to the dichotomies found in colonial literature. Yet being the same nationality within the same nation supersedes any such colonial dichotomy. This situation introduces issues of authenticity in which *naichi* is an "authentic" Japan and Hokkaido is an "inauthentic" Japan. In this configuration of authentic and inauthentic, writers from *naichi* push Hokkaido out from "Japan," and writers from Hokkaido struggle to belong to "Japan." I argue that these works reflect Hokkaido's contradictory dual position as an internal colony—inside and outside, included and excluded—through their ambiguous spatial representations. The ambiguity appearing in their works stems from the colonial condition that they were in, and the "difference" between *naichi* and Hokkaido is encoded spatially as different levels of authenticity.

³In 1855, the Russo-Japanese border was drawn up in the Treaty of Shimoda.

Japanese in *naichi* were attracted to westernized Hokkaido as a new, unconventional Japanese space, where they hoped to start anew under values that differ from Japan. Writers in *naichi* were no exception. Hokkaido's "blank" impression was a perfect medium for them to project newly acquired Western concepts and Christian beliefs onto the land, notably the concept of Nature. Hokkaido was seen as an accessible "foreign" land in pristine nature. But they were disappointed quickly as Hokkaido was not a semi-West, but rather similar to the Japan, whence they originally wanted to escape. They became disillusioned and subsequently returned to *naichi*. Nonetheless, they used the space as a literary site to convey something imagined as different from Japan. In their works, unorthodox, unconventional images of Hokkaido, in other words favorable, are interwoven with disgusting, horrifying, or unfavorable, images of impropriety and irregularity. Even beneath utopian images, however, darkness oozes out as undeniable evidence of the duality of Hokkaido and of modernization. Hokkaido thus is represented as an ambiguous duality between unconventional Western space and inauthentic Japan. Either way, the landscape of Hokkaido created by these writers represents an "outside" from the orthodox, authentic Japanese sphere, and "outside" of national, racial or ethnic, and cultural borders. The difference, then, in turn, reinforces the structural power relations between *naichi* and Hokkaido in which Hokkaido is positioned as inferior to *naichi*. This resonates with Partha Chatterjee's concept of "the rule of colonial difference," in which the colonized is presented as a radically different other and incorrigibly inferior to the colonizer. The "difference" is based on universality in order to reign superior over the colonized.⁴ In the colonial condition of Hokkaido such a difference is spatialized, whether the space is authentic or not as Japan and Japanese. Thus, making Hokkaido

⁴Chatterjee, Partha, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 33.

an outside “other” *naichi* can maintain its superior and authentic “identity.” In this way, their prerogatives in *naichi* are protected in tact, yet they can keep the space as a refuge for crises.

On the other hand, writers of Hokkaido internalized these views. Although their works reflect more of the actuality of the space and focus on the political, social, and cultural aspects of it, they also depict Hokkaido as an ambiguous space in their literary settings, a space neither inside nor outside, or both inside and outside. This is symbolic of the position of Hokkaido itself in Japan as well as of the writers’ own ambiguous identity and sense of belonging. Corresponding to the desire of writers from *naichi* towards Hokkaido, writers from Hokkaido express a strong desire to leave Hokkaido to go to Tokyo. Their longing for Tokyo is so eager that it is nearly an obsession. Leaving the stigmatized colonial space, they hope to be in a proper place, to become authentic, orthodox, and be on the side power. In fact, prewar Japanese writers were mostly living in Tokyo. Yet, they keep returning to the literary site of Hokkaido, even after living in Tokyo. Why? First, they may have also been disillusioned by “authentic” Japan there. Second, it is their nostalgic *kokyō*, but a source of inferiority as well.⁵ This creates a sense of ambivalence. Third, it reflects Hokkaido as a contested ground, as it emerged in Meiji through the conflict between the government and rebel forces. Hence these writers fight a vicarious battle, if not between the state and the people, then between orthodoxy and unorthodoxy, conventional and unconventional.

A Brief History of Hokkaido

Since “Abe no Hirafu crushed *ezo* in 658,” it can be said that the island, which would later be called Hokkaido, went through numerous invasions, reconciliations, suppressions, and

⁵Kobayashi Takiji talked about how nice Otaru is to whomever he met in Tokyo. Norma Field, *Reading Kobayashi Takiji for the 21st Century* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), 196.

the assimilations of Ainu by *wajin* [Japanese as opposed to Ainu].⁶ The term *ezo* 蝦夷 in Ezogashima 蝦夷が嶋 or Ezochi 蝦夷地, as Hokkaido was previously referred to, means “savages,” which are the indigenous Ainu people.⁷ Used sometimes as an exilic space, some areas of the island were populated by Japanese and controlled by local samurai clans since the fifteenth century.⁸ Even before Meiji Hokkaido was already changing into a colony of early-Japanese capitalism, as David Howell argues in his *Capitalism From Within*.⁹ The Tokugawa shogunate directly controlled Ezochi from 1799 to 1821 because of the threat of Russia’s southing and from 1854 to Meiji after Admiral Matthew Perry appeared in Hakodate.¹⁰ By the end of the Edo period, most of the coastal areas of the island were known for trading, expedition, and fisheries by Japanese, and the southern tip was developed, as a magistrate’s office called *Ezo bugyōsho*, in Hakodate in 1802. Domains of Tohoku were sent to protect the island at several

⁶*Hokkaidoshi nenpyō* by *Hokkaido Sōmubu Chijikōshitu Gyōseichōsabu*. This “fact” is taken from the *Nihon Shoki*, compiled during the Nara period (710-784). The island was used as an exilic space during the Kamakura period (circa 1185-1333), and local samurai clans started controlling the trade with Ainu.

⁷From the seventh to eleventh century, however, *ezo* was pronounced *emishi* to signify dissidents, rebels, and subversives who refused to be incorporated into the political sphere of the imperial court. Kaiho Mineo notes that “*emishi*, appearing in historical documents around the 7th~ 11th centuries, were people in the Tōhoku region who often fought against political power centered in Nara and Kyoto but were difficult to defeat.” Mineo Kaiho, *Ezo No Rekishi: Kita No Hitobito to “Nihon*, vol. Kōdansha sensho mechie (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1996), 14. *Emishi* does not necessarily indicate Ainu only. The term *emishi* has a dual meaning of valiant and ferocious, according to Kikuchi Isao, and appearing in the *Kojiki*, *emishi*’s ferocious side was connected to political disobedience and its subversive association grew. Moreover, whether or not *emishi* signifies Ainu or other people in remote regions has been debated. Started by Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882-1971) who thought *emish* and Ainu are the same, but then Hasebe Kotondo (1882-1969) equated *emishi* with people in remote regions. However, since Yamada Hidezō’s (1899-1992) linguistic and archeological research, once again the *emishi*=Ainu theory has been revived. Isao Kikuchi, *Ainu Minzoku to Nihonjin: Higashi Ajia No Naka No Ezochi* (Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1994), 32.

⁸Mineo Kaiho, *Ezo No Rekishi: Kita No Hitobito to “Nihon*, 21.

⁹*Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon, vol. 1, Iwanami Kōza Kindai Nihon to Shokuminchi* (Iwanami Shoten, 1992), 91; David Luke Howell, *Capitalism From Within: Economy, Society, and the State in a Japanese Fishery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

¹⁰ The bakufu controlled the east side of the island in 1799 after the appearance of Russian and British boats, and in 1807 the west side went under the jurisdiction of the shogunate.

strategic points. Thus, the “pristine,” “empty” image of the island is only a creation to lure settlers from *naichi*.¹¹

Formally incorporated into the territory of Japan, Hokkaido’s domestication began as a national project after the new Meiji government defeated the former shogunate force led by Enomoto Takeaki in the last battle of the Boshin war (1867-69). Enomoto had established the Republic of Ezo for about six months in Hakodate *Goryōkaku* [five-sided fortification], which was built by the bakufu previously.¹² After the suppression of the “rebel” force, Ezochi was renamed Hokkaido and the Kaitakushi was established to manage Hokkaido development.¹³ According to Nagai Hideo, the history of modern Hokkaido can be divided into three periods: From the Meiji Restoration to around 1890; from 1890 to the 1920s; and from the beginning of Showa (1926) to the end of World War II.¹⁴ The period from the Meiji Restoration to around 1890 is considered the conversion period of Hokkaido, including its name change in 1869, and Hokkaido responded to the formation of the Meiji state through slogans like *Fukoku Kyōhei* [enrich the country, strengthen the military] and *Shokusan Kōgyō* [promotion of industry].¹⁵ The government’s aspiration for Hokkaido to be an experimental ground for modernization is seen by

¹¹Yamada Sadaichi argues that defining Hokkaido as “undeveloped” or “free virgin land” is appropriate in order to clarify its economic essentials, but it was only underdeveloped for capitalism, underdeveloped and free land for settlers and colonizers, indigenous people’s stance is not reflected. Hajime Imanishi, “Teikoku Nihon to Kokunai Shokuminchi —”Naikoku Shokumin Ronsō” No Isan,” *Ritumeikan Gengo Bunka Kenkyū*, http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/re/k-rsc/lcs/kiyou/19-1/RitsIILCS_19.1pp.17-27imanishi.pdf, 23.

¹²In 1856 the government start building *the Goryōkaku* and in 1863 completed.

¹³From 1869-1871, Hokkaido was divided and ruled by samurai, individuals, and temples, instead of the centrally controlled by the kaitakushi. But many of them were not so eager of settling in Hokkaido, so it was ended in 1871, together with *haihan chiken*.

¹⁴Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō* (Sapporo-shi: HokkaidōDaigaku Shuppankai, 2007), 19.

¹⁵Under the slogan of “*Hokumon no sayaku* (they key of the northern gate)” or “*Hokumon no hōko* (Treasury of the northern gate,” Hokkaido’s migration and development began. Ibid.

the fact that that they allocated a total sum of ten million yen for its ten-year developmental plan. At a time when the national budget was fifty million yen, one million yen for the annual average was an enormous amount.¹⁶ Since Kuroda Kiyotaka, the director of the Kaitakushi, invited Horace Capron (1804-1885), former United States Commissioner of Agriculture under Presidents Johnson and Grant, as an advisor to the Kaitakushi, the modernization of Hokkaido was promoted, modeled after American capitalist development.¹⁷ American methods were introduced in Hokkaido for railway construction, mineral research, and farming. This was a period when Hokkaido was dynamically changing, and it was then that the prototype of Hokkaido as a vast wilderness of “virgin soil” was created. This period also shows the hallmark of Hokkaido, namely both the bright and dark sides of modernization. The former was represented in Westernization, and the latter in the Japanization of Ainu and the use of prison labor.¹⁸ The government sent jobless and destitute migrants there, so the island functioned as a refuge, accepting unwanted populations from *naichi*.

The modern institute of Sapporo Nōgakkō [Sapporo Agricultural School, currently Hokkaido University] played a significant role in Hokkaido development.¹⁹ It was established to

¹⁶Tamura Sadao in *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon*, 93. This is the opposite from Okinawa, for which the government did not want to spend money.

¹⁷Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō*, 345-46. Nagai points out the influence of the Western colonial policies among Hokkaido kaitaku policy planners and its participants. For example, Capron and his subordinates taught American colonial policies, Kaneko Kentaro quoted English colonial policies in his opinion regarding establishment of Dōchō (the Hokkaido Office), Satō Shōsuke studied American land questions and taught at the Sapporo Nōgakkō, Takaoka Naokichi conducted research on America and Australia, Takaoka Kumao studied and introduced Prussia domestic colonial system. Satō Shōsuke, *History of the Land Problems in the United States*, (Baltimore: John's Hopkins University, 1886). According to Nagai, Capron thought at the beginning that by liberalizing the land, self-supporting farmers would rush to Hokkaido. But instead of such farmers, during this period samurai became the primary migrants. In Meiji 23 (1890), the number of samurai household is about 8,000, consisting of 12% of the entire houses. This number is quickly exceeded by following migrants. *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁹Kamei, Hideo et al., *Choten Niji O Haku: Shiga Shigetaka “Zai Sapporo Nogakko Daininenkichu Nikki”* (Sapporo-shi: Hokkaido Daigaku Toshō Kankokai, 1998), 58-59. At first, Sapporo Nogakko was a preparatory school in Tokyo, for which girls and Ainu were incorporated through government expenditure. It was the beginning

provide much-needed colonial officials in 1876. All classes were taught in English, and the first Japanese lecture of colonial studies was taught in 1890 by Satō Shōsuke.²⁰ An American from Massachusetts, William S. Clark, the president of the Massachusetts Agricultural Collage, and his students helped to organize the school. As a by-product, Christianity was proselytized to the students, including Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930).²¹ Many prominent graduates of the college contributed to Japan's colonial project. For example, Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) served as a technical advisor for the Governor General in Taiwan, and taught colonial studies at Tokyo Imperial University.²² Yet at the beginning, as a new institution in a recently-developed colony, in order to recruit excellent students, the school provided government stipends and guaranteed Kaitakushi jobs upon graduation. Clark himself selected the best qualified students from noted English schools in Tokyo so that their English command would be already sufficient, and the students “were lured by government expenditures, which pulled [them] like [magnets pull] iron.”²³ One of those who decided to go to Sapporo Nōgakkō did so for the stipend, despite “Hokkaido being an undeveloped and inconveniently far away place known as Ezo.”²⁴ He, for the

of *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife and wise mother) education. However, it did not work well and ended in less than 4 year. Maruyama Masao notes that Christianity itself has rebel characteristics to the Japanese system, especially the emperor system. Faith in God is not compatible with the emperor system. Maruyama, Masao, *Chusei to Hangyaku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1998), 86-95.

²⁰In 1869, there was already a preliminary school in Shiba, Tokyo, where Ainu were sent to be educated. It was severely failed.

²¹Uchimura promoted Independent Church (Dokuritsu Kyōkai) that was free from any organizations and aimed for a direct connection with God. Uchimura modified his idea to make it acceptable by incorporating the two “Js,” Jesus and Japan.

²²1901 and 1906, respectively.

²³Words of graduate Fujita Tsunenobu, known as the father of Japan's aquaculture. Kamei, Hideo et al., *Choten Niji O Haku: Shiga Shigetaka “Zai Sapporo Nogakko Danininenkichu Nikki”* (Sapporo-shi: Hokkaido Daigaku Toshokan, 1998), 62

²⁴*Ibid.*, 65.

first time, wore Western clothes, provided by government, which even supplied by weekly pocket money.²⁵ It was “equal to study in Europe and America.”²⁶ Sapporo Nōgakkō was Hokkaido’s “West,” which was directly linked to central power in *naichi*. In fact, the graduates rarely stayed in Hokkaido but returned to *naichi* or went to other colonies. Hokkaido was a transitory space for those pursuing further success, just as it was for writers from the *naichi* who explored Hokkaido and subsequently left.

These students represent the brighter side of migration. But there were also people who were forcefully brought from the *naichi*. The Kaitakushi used prison labor to build the infrastructure of Hokkaido. Prisons were built for this purpose in various places in Hokkaido, including Kabato, Sorachi, Kushiro, Abashiri, and Kitami.²⁷ From all over Japan felonious and political prisoners were sent as “disposable labor” to develop Hokkaido.²⁸ Originally, like a penal colony, prisons were used to punish rebels of the Satsuma Rebellion (1877).²⁹ But around 1895, prison labor diminished and was eventually abolished because of humanistic criticism and articles based on criminal law. But prison labor was merely replaced by labor camps, in which cheap labor in coal mines was brought from *naichi* by middlemen.³⁰ The camps would soon be

²⁵Ibid., 66.

²⁶Ibid., 67.

²⁷Kazuyoshi Shigematsu, *Shiryō Hokkaido Kangoku No Rekishi* (Tokyo: Shinzansha, 2004). Kabato Prison was the first one to be built in 1882.

²⁸Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō*, 20.

²⁹Farmers revolting against the government in the Chichibu Incident in 1884 migrated to Hokkaido, and the villagers of the Asio Copper mines, where the first pollution case in Japan occurred, also migrated there. Miyamoto Kenji, who led the Japanese Communist Party from 1958 to 1977, was sentenced to life and sent to the Abashiri prison in 1945.

³⁰ However, in 1894 Inoue Kaoru questioned the need for prison labor for Hokkaido kaitaku. There are inflow of cheap laborers from *naichi*. That is called *dokōbeya* (土工部屋) labor camps. From Japan, public work contractors brought laborers. Once confined in the camp, however, it is said that no one would come out alive. These imprisoned labor camps, often called also *tako-beya* (literally, octopus chamber). Moreover, the problem of

filled with pressed-ganged Koreans and Chinese.³¹ Kobayashi Takiji's representation of slum areas in Otaru, contrast with the previously created fresh, uninhibited images of Hokkaido, has dark, filthy, and over-crowded characteristics. The dystopia of confined prison spaces and prison-like labor camps stand in sharp contrast with the utopian image of a land of "freedom" and "independence."³²

From around 1890 to the 1920s is the period when the *kaitaku* policy itself was affected by both internal demands as well as external factors, such as wars and the worldwide economic depression.³³ By the disposal act of 1897, within 20 years almost all the state-owned land in Hokkaido was completely disposed of.³⁴ Just as Arishima Takeo's successful father bought land in Hokkaido for his sons, senior statesmen, aristocrats, and wealthy merchants acquired large farms, on which tenant farmers tilled for their absentee landlords. An American way of self-supporting farmer settlers was the principal objective of Hokkaido colonization, but it was changing to semi-feudal tenant relations, which were expanded and reproduced.³⁵ On the other

prisoners became apparent because they always wanted to escape from harsh labor, and the more roads were made the easier for them to escape. Previously they had no place to escape rather than harsh nature to die, but they have houses to get in. The fear of settlers were pointed out in 1893.

³¹It is said that Koreans were brought to Japan from 1939 to 1945 to support Japan's wartime effort. About 140,000 Koreans among 700,000 were sent to Hokkaido, mostly working in mines. However, these numbers are controversial. Hajime Imanishi, "Teikoku Nihon to Kokunai Shokuminchi —"Naikoku Shokumin Ronsō" No Isan," 26.

³² Yet, as Maeda Ai convincingly argues, the closeness of the two—prisons and utopia—may not be polar opposites, especially when Hokkaido's confinement works as a safeguard. Ai Maeda, and James A Fujii, *Text and the City Essays on Japanese Modernity*, vol. Asia-Pacific (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004), 21-60. By 1872, the entire Hokkaido became jurisdiction of the Kaitakushi. Tondenhei system started in 1874 and lasted till 1904, in which settlers normally cultivate land but during emergencies also serve as soldiers.

³³Nozoe, Kenji, *Kaitaku Nomin No Kiroku* (Tokyo: Shakai Shisōsha, 1996), 50.

³⁴The Hokkaido National Land Disposal Act of 1897 was much more damaging than the preceding land disposal laws. Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō*, 21.

³⁵Nozoe, Kenji, *Kaitaku Nomin No Kiroku*, 45.

hand, the peak migration came during this period, particularly after the Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, and World War I.³⁶ Nagai claims that “the largest migration in modern Japan was to Hokkaido, even when considering emigration overseas.”³⁷ The migration of this period, however, contains not only an influx but also an outflux from Hokkaido because of the empire’s further expansion. From 1895, the colonial development of Taiwan, Karafuto, Korea, and Manchuria started in earnest, and people affected by the Depression started heading to those colonies as well as to foreign countries, including the United States.³⁸ Imanishi Hajime claims that Hokkaido became, not only a settler colony, but an “important emigration base for Karafuto and Manchuria after 1905.”³⁹ In this context, as explored in works of Kobayashi Takiji and Itō Sei, Otaru, which, as a stopover for the Karafuto route, became the most modernized city in Hokkaido around this time.⁴⁰

From around the beginning of Showa (1926) until the end of World War II, Hokkaido’s colonial experience was utilized for the war effort and for Manchurian agriculture. Just as people wanted to go to Hokkaido as part of “Hokkaido fever” in Meiji, in the 1930s, “Let’s go to the North, to the northern land and to the wilderness,” as seen in Sakaguchi Ango’s *Fubuki monogatari* (Snow storm story, 1938), seems to be a motto of the times. Manchuria was thought

³⁶The number of agricultural migrants went beyond 50,000 persons per year in 1894. Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō*, 21.

³⁷Ibid., 14.

³⁸South Manchuria Railway Zone. Since the beginning of the Taisho era (1912-1926), around 20,000 outflux per year, and sometimes the number of outflux exceeded 50% of the inflow population. Hajime Imanishi, “Teikoku Nihon to Kokunai Shokuminchi —”Naikoku Shokumin Ronsō” No Isan,” 24.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Japan possessed Southern Karafuto and flourished as an empire with colonies. Ibid.

to be a way to the new world and a new life.⁴¹ Hokkaido's colonial experience was glorified through *kaitaku seishin* [frontier spirit] to encourage settlers in Manchuria. As Takaoka Kumao noted, "Hokkaido should be a teacher and leader for our empire's colonial project."⁴² Based on the National Mobilization Law, Koreans were forcefully brought to Japan after 1939.⁴³ By the end of the war, it was estimated about 150,000 of them were sent to Hokkaido, mostly to the coal mines.⁴⁴ Moreover, about 40,000 Chinese were forcefully sent to Japan, and about half of them were sent to Hokkaido.⁴⁵

The Concept of Naichi

The term *naichi* is indicative of Hokkaido's position as an internal colony. *Naichi* is the opposite concept of *gaichi*, literally "internal" and "external land" respectively. The former refers to the mainland of Japan, excluding Okinawa, Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria, and southern islands, which are not included in *naichi* and therefore should belong to the *gaichi*, indicating foreign countries or simply colonies.⁴⁶ Although officially Hokkaido is a part of the *naichi*, people in Hokkaido refer to the rest of Japan as *naichi*, excluding themselves in doing so. This contradiction between the island's official status and people's perception puts Hokkaido in a

⁴¹Kawamura, Minato, *Ikyō No Showa Bungaku: "Manshū" to Kindai Nihon* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990), 106.

⁴²Tsutō Matsuno, *Manshu kaitaku to Hokkaido nogyo* (Tokyo: Seikatsusha, 1941), 8.

⁴³The National Mobilization Law was legislated in 1938 and laborer mobilization plan in 1939.

⁴⁴700,000 Koreans were sent to Japan. After the war, they left from Hokkaido without forming a Korea town like elsewhere. Their reality is still unclear. Hajime Imanishi, "Teikoku Nihon to Kokunai Shokuminchi —"Naikoku Shokumin Ronsō" No Isan," 24.

⁴⁵ 41,317 Chinese were also brought to Japan, but by the time they arrived in Japan they were 38,123. Ibid., 26.

⁴⁶Hase Tsuyoshi, "Kindai nihon to Hokkaido," in *Ezochi Kara Hokkaido E* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004), 252.

liminal, borderline position. Examining historical documents, Hase Tsuyoshi found that the term *naichi* appears from the last days of the Tokugawa shogunate (1850s and 60s) and had been used in official documents until the early Meiji period.⁴⁷ In 1873, however, the Kaitakushi [Colonial Development Office] regulated the use of the term in official documents, using instead names of prefectures.⁴⁸ It was a part of the process of Ezochi becoming Hokkaido, a part of the formation of the modern nation-state by erasing the sense of outsidership and remoteness that attached to the island.⁴⁹ Yet, people used the term to refer to the rest of Japan. According to Itō Sei (1905-1969), *naichi* is “all of old Japan made up of Honshū, Shikoku, and Kyūshū. We who were born in Hokkaido referred to it not because we usually felt Hokkaido is a colony, but because of not wanting to call the areas of Honshū, Shikoku, and Kyūshū separately by name.”⁵⁰ This practice is still carried on to this day, and thus Hokkaido remains “outside.”

Reinforcing popular sentiment, Hokkaido on many occasions was teamed up with other colonies. Hokkaido’s inclusion in the Colonial Exhibition [*takushoku hakurankai*] of 1912 held in Tokyo exemplifies it well. The Colonial Exhibition was held for the purpose of “introducing products and the state of *takushoku* [colonization] in Korea, Taiwan, Kwantung, Karafuto (Sakhalin), and Hokkaido, and for calling people’s attention to a colonial enterprising spirit.”⁵¹ The most popular attraction was minorities, such as the Takasago tribe from Taiwan and Ainu

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Sei Itō, *Wakai Shijin No Shōzō* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1998), 215-16.

⁵¹Yasuda Toshiaki, *Kindaichi Kyōsuke to Nihongo No Kindai* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2008), 74.

from Karafuto and Hokkaido.⁵² Physical anthropologist Tsuboi Shōgorō was an advisor of this exhibition and claimed that people can experience the empire, and added that “those who recently became Japanese nationals enjoy the national benefits the same as the old Japanese.”⁵³ On the other hand, in his *Ainu seisakushi* (History of Ainu policies, 1942), Takakura Shin’ichirō describes Hokkaido’s colonial status as “not constant, but always developing and changing”: Starting out from a colony of commerce, to a colony of exploitation, then to a settler colony. But in another taxonomy, with the increase of the number of *naichijin*, Hokkaido was developed from an indigenous colony, to a mixed colony and finally to an immigration colony.⁵⁴ Despite the persistent reference to the rest of Japan as *naichi* and the actual practice of referring to Hokkaido as a colony, Hokkaido remains an ambiguous space. It was, in fact, a part of the *naichi*, but people in Hokkaido never seemed to accept it. It was a colony, yet never be called *gaichi*.

However, *naichi* not only means the physical areas of “Honshū, Shikoku, and Kyūshū”; what the term connotes matters too: It is supposedly a space for authentic, pure Japanese—often referred to as *naichijin*, with a proper history and culture, as opposed to *gaichi*, a heterogenous, hybrid place, thus an impure and inauthentic space. These two terms complement each other in a framework of power relations. The spatial terms affect the human psyche and residents internalize their positions in the empire. *Naichi*, then, means metropole as opposed to the colonies of *gaichi*. Each time the term *gaichi* is uttered by *naichijin*, it evokes curiosity as well as

⁵²Ibid., 75.

⁵³明治博物館と日本版国内の諸人種1912 Ibid.

⁵⁴Shin’ichiro Takakura, *Ainu Seisakushi* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1942), 3-4.

contempt of lesser entities. Conversely *naichi* implies a longing for superiority and orthodoxy.⁵⁵ The dialectical relations between the two, “outside” and “inside,” are mutually implicated. In terms of power relations, Hokkaido as an immediate inferior “other” supports defining “Japan’s (*naichi*’s)” status as a hegemonic entity. Similarly, Japan’s colonized neighboring-others also function to allow the empire to position itself as superior and to define Japan’s own national identity. In this complementary system, similar to Naoki Sakai’s concept of “schema of configuration,” however, the position of outside is a forced, unilateral relationship from the side of the superior force for the maintenance of their superiority.⁵⁶

Hokkaido-born Morita Tama (1894-1970) writes about the exhilaration triggered by the concept of *naichi* in *Ishikari Otome* (A girl in Ishikari, 1940): “Oh, *naichi, naichi*, how my father, mother, and deceased grandfather looked happy whenever they uttered its name!”⁵⁷ But she is disappointed by going to Akita, Tohoku, which is much more backward than Sapporo, Hokkaido. She thinks “if I don’t go to Tokyo, what is the point of *naichi*?”⁵⁸ Morita reveals that *naichi* is not a physical place but somewhere she longs for. The terms *naichi* and *gaichi* establish an asymmetrical power structure, and sentiments attached to them are internalized and reproduced to reinforce the structure. For first-generation settlers, *naichi* is a concrete place, whence they migrated to Hokkaido. It is a place of origin, a place where their ancestors’ tombs

⁵⁵Similarly, *naichijin* is the term to differentiate Japanese from newly imperialized people (*kōminka*) in colonial Korea. Eiji Oguma, *Nihonjin No Kyokai: Okinawa Ainu Taiwan Chōsen Shokuminchi Shihai Kara Fukki Undōmade = the Boundaries of the Japanese* (Tōkyō: Shin’yōsha, 1998), 422. In Taiwan, the same thing happened. Ching, Leo T. S., *Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁵⁶Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On Japan and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

⁵⁷*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu.*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1980), 107.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 120.

are. Therefore, *naichi* is a place of identity. As Itō says “for my father, whose *kyōri* [hometown] is in Hiroshima prefecture, the term ‘naichi’ must have more obvious nostalgia.”⁵⁹ But for the generations born later in Hokkaido, *naichi* is no longer a concrete geographical designation, but rather an abstract signifier by which they are reminded of their inferiority and exclusion, or uncertainty about their belonging. Because their expectations for *naichi* are so fervent, except for cities that exhibit economic, cultural, and political power, other areas of *naichi* become meaningless, as Morita writes “if I don’t go to Tokyo, what is the point of *naichi*?” Since some areas are less modernized than Hokkaido, “naichi” is to be “superior” in many ways than Hokkaido. Ultimately, however, it should be a place for hegemony. They seek the superior other in the hierarchy they are in, which excludes themselves by referring to the other as *naichi*. Both people of *naichi* and Hokkaido have a longing gaze towards each other, but they are not equally comparable, because they are already interlocked in the uneven structure of power.

Hokkaido as Internal Colony

According to Imanishi, the term *naikoku shokuminchi* [domestic or internal colony] was used rather commonly to describe the relationship between Hokkaido and the rest of Japan in studies of prewar Hokkaido.⁶⁰ After the World War II and losing *gaichi* colonies, however, how to position Hokkaido became the focus of the study, particularly in economics. Rather than considering Hokkaido as an internal colony, economists argued over whether or not Hokkaido is *henkyō* 辺境 [frontier], and what kind of frontier it is. They come up with an American-type frontier vs. a Russian type-frontier, or a general-type frontier vs. peculiar-type frontier for some

⁵⁹Sei Itō, *Wakai Shijin No Shōzō*, 216.

⁶⁰Hajime Imanishi, “Teikoku Nihon to Kokunai Shokuminchi —”Naikoku Shokumin Ronsō” No Isan,” 20.

time.⁶¹ But in the 1970s Kaiho Mineo pointed out the weakness of these frontier theories regarding Ainu and the general populace as well as the lack of their views on Hokkaido development as a prototype of Japan's Asian colonial control.⁶² Corresponding to the paradigm shift in the 1970s, including views towards issues of prison labor, labor camps, war experience, and minorities, Hokkaido as an internal colony was emphasized more.⁶³ Nagai Hideo points out that the idea of the internal colony is used to emphasize aspects of discrimination against, subordination to, and exploitation by *naichi*, and the presence of uneven power structure between *naichi* and Hokkaido.⁶⁴

The existence of systematic disparities between Hokkaido and *naichi* is one of the reasons why Hokkaido is called an internal colony, as Tanaka Akira and Kuwabara Masato point out.⁶⁵ For example, the Conscription Law, which was enacted in 1873 in *naichi*, was gradually applied to Hokkaido, taking 25 years to cover all of Hokkaido.⁶⁶ Enforcement of the House of

⁶¹Saitō Hitoshi, for example, looking at the historical development of Hokkaido, argues that the increase of Japan's capitalistic development gradually transform Hokkaido from a frontier region to an internal colony, which, however, disappears during the wartime. Ibid., 22. Yuzawa Makoto, on the other hand, by developing a dual frontier theory, in which Hokkaido is a "peculiar frontier," different from "general, classical frontier represented by America." Ibid., 23. Ito Toshi ed. *Hokkaido ni okeru shihon to nōgyō* (Nōgyō sōgō kenkyūjo, 1958). Hoshi Makoto developed Yuzawa's argument and came up with two types of frontiers: Frontiers in advanced capitalism, such as America, and frontiers in advancing capitalism, such as Czarist Russia and Prussia. He then tried to position Hokkaido in his theory. Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō*, 339-40.

⁶²Hajime Imanishi, "Teikoku Nihon to Kokunai Shokuminchi —"Naikoku Shokumin Ronsō" No Isan," 23. Kaiho Mineo, "Hokkaido no 'kaitaku' to keiei" *Nihon rekishi* vol.16 (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1976). Why did they pursued "frontier" theories? Without using the concept of colony after the war, did they try to explain and understand Hokkaido to suit the postwar Japan?

⁶³Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō*, 10.

⁶⁴Formally pursuing frontier theory, Nagai Hideo subscribed to internal colonial theory by advocating the comparison between Hokkaido and Okinawa as well as other Japanese colonies. Ibid., 12.

⁶⁵Ibid., 23.

⁶⁶ It was first applied in 1889 and completed in 1898. It is said that Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916) transferred his family registry to Hokkaido in order to avoid conscription.

Representative Election Law, enforced in 1890 in *naichi*, was enforced in 1904 in Hokkaido.⁶⁷ The city system and the town-and-village system were similar cases.⁶⁸ These types of discrimination created movements for suffrage and autonomy in Hokkaido. On the other hand, in 1899 the Hokkaido Ex-Aborigines Protection Act was proclaimed, which was finally abolished in 1997, and the purpose of the Act is, in short, assimilation. Its central policies are to grant land for those Ainu who want to engage in agriculture and to have Ainu elementary schools for Ainu children.⁶⁹

But Kuwabara argues that characteristics of Hokkaido as internal colony are found not only in its political structure and control over minorities but also in forced labor and settlers, who were displaced from *naichi*.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the island had been an exilic space, but in Meiji it was used again as a destination for prisoners in order to facilitate the economic development of the island. Enclosed within the sovereign borders of the state, Hokkaido was an internal or domestic colony, with an ambiguous sense of belonging and a tension between inclusion and exclusion beneath the surface. As Ōe Shinobu writes, Hokkaido's internal colonial status has complex characteristics. Even since the Edo period, by exploiting indigenous Ainu the island was a feudal colonial space of exploitation. After becoming Hokkaido, by sending settlers from the metropole it functioned as a settler colony, and by using prisoners for the development of

⁶⁷It was enforced in 1902 in Hakodate, Otaru, and Sapporo, and it was 1904 when all of Hokkaido was covered.

⁶⁸The disparities were eventually diminished, but these types of discrimination created the movement for suffrage and autonomy. In Hokkaido, from 1891 to 1893 the movement to establish the Hokkaido Diet occurred, which was understood as a part of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. Ibid., 260. Moreover, in its equal status at a prefectural level, Hokkaido became a full-fledged prefecture in 1947 when the Local Autonomy Law was passed.

⁶⁹Ibid., 24.

⁷⁰Kuwabara Masato *Kindai Hokkaidoshi kenkyu josetu* (An introduction of research on modern history of Hokkaido. Ibid., 257.

Hokkaido, especially the construction of infrastructure and mining, it is thus also a penal colony.⁷¹

Hokkaido and Literature

The freedom to travel and the development of transportation made it possible for early Meiji writers to explore Hokkaido. As Ogasawara Masaru notes, the most idealistic image of Hokkaido was created by Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908), who “found” the beauty of nature in this new land in the concept of “freedom” and “independence.”⁷² Influenced by Doppo’s *Sorachigawa no kishibe* (The banks of the Sorachi River, 1902), Tokutomi Sohō (1868-1927) visited Hokkaido in 1903. Iwano Hōmei (1873-1920) writes in his *Hōrō* (Roaming, 1910) “Hokkaido is fresh and young.”⁷³ The protagonist thinks it is an open, dissolute, free land, where one can make money easily and get women quickly.⁷⁴ He adds, “Hokkaido feels like a foreign country.”⁷⁵ Ishikawa Takuboku (1886-1912), who visited Hokkaido, described Sapporo as “a big country town,” which is quiet, full of trees, and where western-style houses are lined up sparsely.⁷⁶ Because of its representations as ahistorical and vacant, Hokkaido became an ideal receptacle onto which Japanese could project their desires and a place of escape from whatever fetters had constrained them in Japan proper. For all its differences and disparities, Hokkaido

⁷¹*Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon*, viii-ix.

⁷²Ogasawara, Masaru, *Kindai Hokkaido No Bungaku: Atarashii Seishin Fudo No Keisei* (Tokyo: Nihon Hosō Shuppan Kyokai, 1973), 88.

⁷³*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu.*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1980), 108.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 88.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 18.

provided writers a taste of what is “outside” as well as new spatial perspectives, particularly a new concept of Nature. Through the framework of the West, they learned to appreciate the “untouched” natural wilderness of Hokkaido. As Karatani Kōjin points out, nature was for the first time appreciated not as famous scenery but as wilderness.⁷⁷ Then, writers of Hokkaido, who more or less internalized such views on Hokkaido, reexamined the social, political reality of the land, conceding romantic notions.

The concept of literature was introduced in Japan around the same time as the emergence of Hokkaido, and the development of Hokkaido and literature took place almost simultaneously, as both were defined and reshaped by outside forces.⁷⁸ At first, many travelogues were written, then came novels by writers, including Kōda Rohan (1867-1947), Yamada Bimyō (1868-1910), Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908), Shimazaki Tōson (1872-1943), Iwano Hōmei (1873-1920), Arishima Takeo (1878-1923), Shiga Naoya (1883-1971), and Nagata Mikihiko (1887-1964). Just as the concept of “Japanese” art was “discovered” by Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908) and reinforced by Okakura Tenshin (1863-1913) and others, “Japanese literature” was defined through such people who were exposed to the West, namely Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935) and Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909). As “Japanese literature” was being established by naichi-centered literary works, it is full of unfamiliar references to Hokkaido, such as persimmons above the hedge, thatched roofs, and rustling bamboo groves. Having a different climate and vegetation, not being able to share “Japanese” customs, literary works on Hokkaido often emphasize its difference from Japan, such as a certain exotic quality, extraordinariness, and extremity. This tendency can conversely serve to define and authenticate Japan and Japanese. Although

⁷⁷Kōjin Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), 65.

⁷⁸Tsubouchi Shōyō’s *Shōsetsu Shinzui* (1885-1886) marks the inception of modern Japanese literature, and Futabatei Shimei’s *Ukigumo* (1887-1889) is considered as the first work of modern Japanese literature.

Hokkaido served as a new topos for modern literature, canonical literature shifted quickly away from Hokkaido. Hokkaido as a literary topos was “officially” included in so-called *gaichi bungaku* [literature in colonies], or was simply treated as exceptional or aberration, not an authentically “Japanese” topos. Arishima Takeo (1878-1923), who set many of his works in Hokkaido, has diverged from Japanese literary history, as pointed out by Karatani.⁷⁹ By questioning the positionality of Arishima in Japanese literary history, which tries to somehow exclude him, Karatani claims that the “place” of Arishima means something that violates the “space” based upon “principles of exclusion.”⁸⁰ What excludes Arishima and “Hokkaido” can be the institution of Japanese literature.

There are gaps between Japanese literature and literary works taking place in Hokkaido, similar to what Imanishi Hajime points out as gaps found in the history of Hokkaido.⁸¹ First, there is a gap between the history of indigenous Ainu and the ostensible history of *kaitaku* (cultivation and development)” about those who migrated from *naichi*. Second, there is another gap between so-called “Japanese history” and historical studies of peripheral areas, such as Hokkaido, Karafuto, Okinawa, and Amami. It was because “Japanese history” was passed on as a “national history.” By the same token, “Japanese history” has a gap with former Japanese colonies, such as Taiwan, Karafuto, Korea, China, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asia. Third, compared to research on premodern Hokkaido, that of modern and contemporary Hokkaido has been extremely weak. These points correspond to the relations between Japanese literature and literary works taking place in Hokkaido. There are gaps between Japanese settlers and Ainu, in

⁷⁹Karatani notes that Japanese literary history excludes Arishima Takeo. Idem, *Sai to Shite No Basho*, vol. Kōdansha gakujutsu bunko (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1996), 35.

⁸⁰Ibid., 33-35.

⁸¹Hajime Imanishi, “Teikoku Nihon to Kokunai Shokuminchi —”Naikoku Shokumin Ronsō” No Isan,” 17.

other words, colonizers and the indigenous colonized, in terms of their representations and literary production. There are also gaps between works of orthodox Japanese literature and works taking place in Hokkaido. Moreover, there is a temporal gap between prewar and postwar, after receding from colonies of imperial Japan, naturally the term “colony” disappeared from postwar literary works on Hokkaido.

There is a gap between prewar and postwar regarding literary works in the colonies. There used to be a category of literature called *gaichi bungaku*, which means colonial literature, set in the imperial colonies of Japan. Kawamura Minato points out in his *Ikyō no Shōwa bungaku* (Showa literature in foreign land, 1990) that from 1935 to 1945 *gaichi bungaku* flourished, and that the Akutagawa prize contributed to its prosperity.⁸² The early Akutagawa prize had a *gaichi*-oriented tendency as seen in the first prize given to Ishikawa Tatsuzō (1905-1985) for his *Sōbō* (People, 1935), which is about emigrants who are heading to South America. It was followed by works taking place in Sakhalin, China, Hokkaido, and Manchuria.⁸³ During wartime when colonial development was pursued writers were encouraged or forced to support the empire’s war efforts and expansionism in the form of *kokusaku bungaku* [literature of national policy] and various government-led literary organizations. In *kaitaku bungaku* [colonial development literature], a part of *kokusaku bungaku*, Hokkaido’s *kaitaku* experience was glorified to support and encourage those settlers to go to the new “frontier” in China. For this, many Hokkaido-born writers contributed to the effort. But as the war ended, such literature was quickly abandoned, as

⁸²In 1937, the sixth Akutagawa prize was given to Hino Ashihei’s (1907-1960) *Funnyōtan* (Tales of excrement and urine, 1937). To award him, Kobayashi Hideo went to China where Hino was stationed. This is “the beginning of the Akutagawa prize crossing the ocean and leaving its footstep in China.” Kawamura, Minato, *Ikyō No Showa Bungaku: “Manshū” to Kindai Nihon*, 142.

⁸³Akutagawa awarded works that take a literary site in *gaichi* are: in 1936, Tsuruta Tomoya’s *Koshamain ki* (Hokkaido), in 1939 Samukawa Kōtarō’s *Mitsuryōsha* (Karafuto), in 1941 Tada Yūkei’s *Chōkō deruta* (China), in 1943 Ishizuka Kikuzō’s *Chanzū no koro* (China), and in 1944 Yagi Yoshinori’s *Ryū Kanfū* (Manchuria).

though to deny the fact of Japan's colonization and certain historical realities.

Probably to fill in the gap between Japanese literature and literary works taking place in Hokkaido, there has been an effort to treat literary works about Hokkaido as "Hokkaido literature." The concept of "Hokkaido literature" appeared as early as the 1950s. What is called "Hokkaido literature" can be collections under the rubric "Hokkaido" that combines any literary works on Hokkaido or/and by Hokkaido related writers. Throughout the 1960s, when, as Morioka Takashi points out, Japanese literature headed outside of established frameworks, and the 1970s, when views on "discrimination against minorities, issues of war responsibility, the emperor system, women's liberation, issues about the handicapped, and environmental issues surged," volumes of Hokkaido-related literary history and literary anthologies were produced one after another.⁸⁴ Such a trend culminated in the publication of the 23-volume *Hokkaido bungaku zenshū* (Complete works of Hokkaido literature) in 1980. But such developments risk falling into a type of scholarly local chauvinism, and many works on Hokkaido literature tend to emphasize localism, focusing on the term *fūdo* 風土 (climate), in which the difference between Hokkaido and Japan is reduced to differences in natural climate.⁸⁵ When it is reduced to a relative term, such as "northern characteristics," Hokkaido's political and social meanings tend to recede to the background. Ogasawara Masaru, however, clearly examined the connection between Japanese modernization and Hokkaido's role as a colony. Their strong desire to collect Hokkaido-related literary works itself exemplifies the regret that literary works on Hokkaido (and Hokkaido itself) have not received proper recognition from Tokyo, the metropole.

⁸⁴Takashi Morioka, "1960 Nendai Nihonbungaku No <Gaibu>" (Paper presented at the Bungaku Shisō Konwakai, Hokkaido University, Sapporo, 2006). Oguma, Eiji et al., *1968* (Tokyo: Shin'yosha, 2009), 262.

⁸⁵Kamiya Tadataka, for example, writes on Hokkaido literature, focusing on its geographical specificity for its temperament or disposition in his "Northern-ness in literature." Tadataka Kamiya, "Bungaku Ni Okeru Hoppōsei," <http://libro.do-bunkyo-dai.ac.jp/research/pdf/treatises07/08A.pdf>.

Further, there is a gap between settlers' literary works and Ainu works. "Hokkaido literature" includes works of Ainu writers. To be sure, "Hokkaido literature" is not "Ainu literature," and Ainu literature here means works written by Ainu in Japanese. In "Hokkaido literature," their works are often combined under the designation of Ainu literature, which includes what has been orally transmitted among Ainu in Japanese translation as well as Ainu writers works in Japanese. This can be a defiant act since "Japanese literature" rarely includes works of Ainu writers. But the way in which "Hokkaido literature" has included Ainu suggests that Japanese scholars may want to find a reason to include Ainu or to prove Hokkaido-ness by including Ainu. Moreover, the taxonomy "Ainu literature" itself is problematic since it is not written in the Ainu language, but in Japanese.⁸⁶

Terminology on takushoku, shokumin, and kaitaku

Takushoku 拓殖, *shokumin* 殖民 or 植民, and *kaitaku* 開拓 are difficult terms to translate. They overlap with one another and become tautological when trying to define one term by using the other. The term *takushoku* carries a legacy of imperial Japan. It was used before the end of the war, but after the war it quickly disappeared, except for names like Takushoku bank. Nitobe Inazō explains that the term *takushoku* is an official term for *shokumin*.⁸⁷ Although the characters for *kaitaku* 開拓 existed, the character for *shokumin* was not officially adopted, besides, the characters are not seen in classical Chinese. The oldest Chinese example is 民殖, which means

⁸⁶Moreover, Ainu writers are rare. In prewar poems and translations are seen, but in postwar Hatozawa Samio (1935-1971) may only be counted as a writer, as Kawamura Minato introduces, "probably only writer who made his Ainu origin public." 1999.9/4 Sankei shinbun This further questions who Ainu are. On the other hand, there are various works on Ainu by Japanese writers. In this uneven reproduction of "Ainu" by the Japanese, together with "Ainu literature," Ainu may have danger to be "confirmed" as different entities by the Japanese.

⁸⁷Nitobe Hakase *Shokumin Kōgi Oyobi Ronbunshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1943), 40.

population growth but not settlement.⁸⁸ Nitobe concludes that the term *shokumin* 殖民 is Japanese, borrowed the characters from Chinese and background notions from Europe. It does not exist in classical Japanese, thus this is a Japanese term, newly created to translate the European term “colony.”⁸⁹ Around 1871 the characters for *shokumin* 殖民 were fixed.⁹⁰ *Shokumin* with different Chinese characters 植民 is a recent phenomenon in Showa.⁹¹ Similarly, *takushoku* 拓殖 is the Japanese term as well.⁹²

Kaitaku, however, seems to have a dual meaning. It may convey a sense of opening, clearing, or reclaiming land, and does not necessarily mean colonization. But it can mean colonization when looked at differently. *Kaitakushi*, for example, is translated as Colonial Office or Development Office, depending on one’s viewpoint. From the government point of view, Hokkaido *kaitaku* may be “development,” but from indigenous eyes, it is colonization.⁹³ Moreover, its sense of going into new, untrodden areas is related to pioneering. *Kaitakusha seishin* 開拓精神 means “pioneer spirit” or “frontier spirit,” and *kaitakuchi* [reclaimed land or settlement 開拓地] is related to *henkyō*/frontier. Nowadays, Hokkaido is presented as an image of

⁸⁸Moving people and changing residence mean 徒民. Make people move and settle means 遷民. is seen as an example. 居民、處民、置民 are seen, but no example is seen for 殖民. European terms for colonies are expressed as 開新地, 徒居, 屬地, 新境. Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid., 41.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid. Further, Nitobe describes similar terms for “colony” in modern Europe, such as province, plantation, dependency, dominion, possession, territory, settlement, protectorate, and empire. Nitobe defines a colony (*shokuminchi* 植民地), as a new territory. But he admits, “there is no ‘no-man’s land,’” which only exists in theory but not in reality, so colony (*shokuminchi*) is a new territory and migration (*shokumin*) is defined as part of nationals’ movement from metropole to a new territory.” “New” then is only for the migrating people.

⁹³The independent “Colonization Department” has jurisdiction over Hokkaido, but in Japanese this department is called *Kaitakushi*, which should be translated as “Development Department.”

the American frontier, referred to as a northern frontier [*kita no furontia* with *katakana*], inheriting ancestor's frontier spirit, by which it tries to shed its colonial history as *kaitakuchi*. Instead of *kaitakuchi*, Hokkaido is modified by the image of the American frontier. In the Japanese mind, American frontiers have familiar images created by the media as vast lands of freedom and independence. However, this tendency to equate Hokkaido with the American frontier was already there, as seen in the first volume of *Kaitaku zasshi* published in 1880, in which the frontier of California was superimposed over Hokkaido.⁹⁴

Chapter Outline

This study is divided into five Chapters and covers writers from the *naichi* or metropole and writers born in Hokkaido. Chapters One and Two will examine works of writers from the metropole whose literary topos is Hokkaido. In the works of Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908) and Arishima Takeo (1878-1923), the authors imagine Hokkaido as an accessible foreign country, much different from Japan. Their expectations are not exactly a reflection of reality rather reality disappoints their fantasies. Nonetheless, they weave their fantastic world onto Hokkaido, a newly territorialized space, so convincingly that writers born in Hokkaido imitate and internalize their representations of Hokkaido when writing about Hokkaido. However, what they construct and reinforce is a framework to perceive Hokkaido as outside of Japan, different and uncivilized, in a structural power relation in which Hokkaido is lower and inferior than *naichi*.

In Chapter One, Kunikida Doppo's longing for the West is distortedly projected onto Hokkaido. His *Gyūniku to bareisho* (Beef and potatoes, 1901) depicts the disillusionment of Meiji youth as their ideals are eroded by reality. Christianity is linked to Hokkaido, particularly

⁹⁴“*Kaitaku Zasshi Hakkō No Shushi*,” *Hokkaido Kaitaku zasshi 1 (1880)*, 2-3.

Nature, and the representation of clean, stoic living is opposed to the pursuit of power and money in *naichi*, namely Tokyo. However, their expectations of living in a utopian land is crushed easily in the reality of Hokkaido. In the first place, Christianity is a substitute for the West, and Hokkaido is desired as a pseudo-West in the minds of *naichijin*. In *Sorachigawa no kishibe* (By the bank of the Sorachi River, 1902), Hokkaido's landscape is a ground to test out the newly learned concept of nature, as depicted in such works of Turgenev (1818-1883) and Wordsworth (1770-1850). It is through Western literature and Christianity that Doppo and other Meiji writers acquired their concept of Nature. The appreciation and ideology of pristine nature emerged in the Japanese mind and Japanese literature for the first time. The newly gained interiority through Christianity was brought about by the "discovery" of the exteriority of nature, as Karatani puts it.⁹⁵ Hokkaido, however, is just a site for an author to utilize and abandon.

In Chapter Two, Arishima Takeo's *Kain no Matsuei* (Descendants of Cain, 1918) and *Umareizuru nayami* (The Agony of Being Born, 1919) both depict Hokkaido as a "frontier," an "extremity." Hokkaido here is a space where one's true self comes out, where one can behave according to primordial needs, and essentially, where the barbaric side of human beings emerges. The existence of "barbaric" Ainu in Hokkaido provoked Arishima's imagination and dichotomizes civilized *naichi* and uncivilized Hokkaido. *Descendants of Cain* describes a man who behaves wildly without concern for rules and regulations. In *The Agony of Being Born*, on the other hand, he depicts the tension that lies between such a barbaric man who happens to be a painter in Hokkaido and the protagonist writer in Tokyo. Essentially rejecting the painter's desire, the protagonist writer protects his prerogatives of living in the metropolis. The protagonist's paternalism and superiority and the painter's subservience and subordinate position

⁹⁵Kōjin Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 88.

reflect the relationship between the metropole and colony. Although Arishima longs for the eruption of uncivilized power within, he fundamentally cannot cross the division.⁹⁶

Chapter Three, Four, and Five examine the works of writers born or settled long enough to consider Hokkaido as their *furusato*, including Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933), Itō Sei (1905-1969), and Honjō Mutsuo (1905-1939), who are all of the same generation. Both Kobayashi and Itō went to the same school in Otaru and depicted the city in their works. Kobayashi and Honjō dedicated themselves to the Marxist movement, but Itō was indifferent and focused on modernist literature. Their approach to power is different: Kobayashi and Honjō are defiant, and Itō is compliant. Their Hokkaido apparently is not only an abstract concept, but a concrete reality, often imagined as a dark, filthy, overcrowded area of hybridity, showing polar opposite impressions of the writers from the metropole. The Hokkaido-born writers focus on their own colonial victimization and their status as the colonized, but they fail to recall the presence of Ainu. Hokkaido's intercolonial reality makes their sense of belonging and identity ambiguous. Now *naichi* is a romantic space, though it alienates them. Their view reveals an urge to belong to the metropole, the "authentic" Japan, where power resides, by deserting colonial Hokkaido, where they feel excluded and inferior. Their expectation of the metropole and forsaking of Hokkaido is an inversion of Doppo and Arishima's imagined Hokkaido. Marxist or not, they all are pulled or pushed towards the hegemonic *naichi*, Tokyo (the metropole) or even beyond it to the West. Longing for each other's space is never symmetrical, revealing a disparity of power in the internal colonial situation.

In Chapter Three, Kobayashi sees Hokkaido through socioeconomic stratifications in *Tenkeiki no hitobito* (People in the time of transmutation, 1932) and *Chiku no hitobito* (People in

⁹⁶except through his suicide.

the zone, 1933). In both works, he particularly focuses on a slum in the city of Otaru. It is an ambiguous space, simultaneously positioned inside and outside of the city, which resembles the position of Hokkaido in Japan, sharing its internal colonial status. The ambiguity stems from power relations between the city and the slum. There is a certain antagonism between the slum and the city, as well as the slum dwellers' humiliation by the city people. In *Chiku no hitobito* there is an urge for the slum to be included into the KOPF's (Japanese Proletarian Culture Association) organizational structure, which touches on issues of inclusion and exclusion. Kobayashi shows sympathy and understanding towards underprivileged people, including Koreans, and even to the protagonist, who is indecisive about joining a socialistic crusade. The communist ideal is based on horizontality among people, and in this sense, it is similar to Christianity, though instead of God there is the Party. Kobayashi's nostalgic gaze towards Otaru appearing in both texts may imply his taking refuge from impersonal, abstract leftist movements.

In Chapter Four Itō Sei also depicts Otaru in the same period. Itō focuses on the city's hybrid, international aspects as a way to question the concept of "authenticity." Colonial tension permeates its very hybridity. Dichotomies, such as primitive and modern, colony and metropole, familiar and unfamiliar, men and women, and Ainu and Japanese, are all mingled and evince unclarity, uncertainty, and thus inauthenticity. Here Ainu is a mere sign of the threat to the protagonist's authenticity as Japanese. The hybrid between Ainu and Japanese is that of colonizer and colonized. Thus, Japanese settlers in Hokkaido bear a duality: Colonizer towards Ainu but colonized by *naichi*. As a way for colonial subjectivity to cope with the hegemonic power of the metropole, parody and caricature are used to preempt *naichijin* in order to gain the upper hand. However, in this way, the protagonist is completely taken into the logic of hegemony. Depicting the tension between metropole and colony, Hokkaido's internal colonial

status is revealed and dealt with.⁹⁷

Finally, in Chapter Five Honjō Mutsuo's *Ishikarigawa* (The Ishikari River, 1939) is a historical novel around the beginning of Meiji when the defeated samurai struggled to settle down in Hokkaido. But this is juxtaposed with his own experience of political apostasy (*tenkō*). Hokkaido is a place where one's loyalty is examined, as the samurai take up dual positions in order to survive. They promise to support nation-building efforts through the colonization of Hokkaido, but their intention lies in reinstating feudal relationships, resisting realignment with the emperor. Honjō, a Marxist writer, uses the form of the historical novel to conceal *tenkō shōsetsu* [novel] in the samurai story because of government oppression during wartime. Similar to samurai who conform first in order to resist later, the author also complies with literary regulations of state power and supports Japan's territorial expansion to convey his *tenkō* story. Both the samurai and the author, however, are included in the state system, because the very idea of "Hokkaido" is a manifestation of a government-led project, in which both of them are inescapably involved in the project and caught in uneven power relations. Hokkaido is a dual entity, where resistance and compliance take place simultaneously.

⁹⁷Kamei Hideo states that Itō Sei's choice of this local city itself is experimental, different from Tokyo-centered novels around that time. This shows the reality of Tokyo-centered "Japanese literature." Hideo Kamei, "Yūki No Machi No Meguriawase," *Kamei Hideo no hatsugen*, http://homepage2.nifty.com/k-sekirei/otaru/yuki_04.html.

Chapter 1. Utopian Hokkaido: Defiance of Meiji Society in Kunikida Doppo

Kunikida Doppo's (1871-1908) texts on Hokkaido, *Gyūniku to bareisho* (Beef and Potatoes, 1901) and *Sorachigawa no Kishibe* (The Banks of the Sorachi River, 1902), both portray the tense relationship among Hokkaido, Japan, and the West over modernization. In *Beef and Potatoes*, Doppo compares idealism and pragmatism and locates Hokkaido's ideological position among the Meiji intellectual youth. In *The Banks of the Sorachi River*, published the following year, he reveals the rejection of nature in Hokkaido. Doppo went to Hokkaido in 1895 to select a parcel of land, hoping to start a new life with his lover Nobuko, though their relationship was opposed by her middle-class parents. Although they got married in 1895, the following year Nobuko left him without any explanation at all. To a heart-broken Doppo, full of anguish, regret, and a lingering attachment to Nobuko, some suggested he should go abroad. His former employer Tokutomi Sohō of Minyūsha urged him to go to the United States, but Uchimura Kanzō encouraged Doppo to go to the States with great caution; "do not cry for yourself, but cry for the country, which is about to die of vanity and deception."¹ In the end, Doppo did not go abroad, but stayed in Japan where he worked to publish magazines and write poetry and novels. Several years after this ordeal, he returned to Hokkaido in his writing. Thus

¹Doppo Kunikida, *Azamukazaru No Ki*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 1953), 150. Sohō suggested Doppo go to either Hawaii or the States, if Doppo chose to go to the States, he would donate 100 yen to him. Uchimura himself went to the States after the separation from his first wife. *Ibid.*, 159-60.

Doppo's Hokkaido is very personal, yet at the same time, it reflects general trends of the Meiji era, especially between the two wars, when Japan started treading on the path towards imperialism. His idealism and materialism are compared to noble Hokkaido and dishonorable Tokyo, respectively, in the text. Hokkaido, "outside" of Japan, is almost like a foreign space, free from Japanese tradition. Doppo never lived in Hokkaido after all, but he remembers it as what he could not attain: the antithesis of "material contest, wealth, fame, and reputation," the norm of Meiji society.²

Hokkaido as Pseudo-West

Consisting mostly of a fictional conversation, in *Gyūniku to Bareisho* (Beef and Potatoes, 1901), seven young intellectuals in a Meiji Club share their failed convictions; for them, living in Hokkaido was an act of defiance against the values of Meiji society. But it was also an escape from pressures and disappointment in the *naichi*, the interior territory of Japan. In the two decades following the Meiji Restoration, Japanese society was solidifying, and middle-class values prevailed. Consequently, Meiji youth started facing tremendous pressure from modernized society, including the demand of *risshin shusse*, or careerism. These young intellectuals, often Christians, who felt disbarred from success, rejected the system deemed "vulgar" and materialistic and chose instead to pursue an idealistic, independent, and self-sufficient life style in Hokkaido. Beneath this idealist exterior, however, they maintained ambivalence towards the worldly success that they felt excluded from. Their spiritual pursuit may be the opposite of their resentment; they conceal their material discontent by acting morally superior to those who have worldly success in *naichi*. Brazenly justifying their conversion, in

²Ibid., 155.

which idealism and materialism are represented by potatoes and beef, respectively, they are still hesitant about their new materialistic pursuits.

There used to be a building called Meiji Club, in a Western style, not so magnificent but still a considerable building, in Sakurada hongōchō in Shiba. The building still exists now. But the owner has changed, so now Meiji Club itself is gone.³

From the beginning the mood is reminiscent of what is lost. The exterior of the building still remains the same, but the content has changed and become a legacy. One winter night, on the second floor of the building, in a stuffy hot room with a burning heater these men are revealing their life philosophy over some whiskey. Their compliance to Meiji society, which promotes slogans such as “enrich the country” and “strengthen the military [*fukoku kyōhei*],” “industry and enterprise [*shokusan kōgyō*],” and most notably, “civilization and enlightenment [*bunmei kaika*],” as well as careerism [*risshin shusse*], is noticed through their Western attire, hired rickshaws, hot wood-burning heaters, consumption of foreign-made whiskey, ability to recite Thomas Carlyle and Wordsworth in English, and the colonial job that some of them have at the fictional Hokkaido Coal Mine Company.⁴ They deserted their idealism, including a passion for the political activism of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement, poetry represented by the *shintaiishi* [poetry of the new style] movement, faith in Christianity, and Hokkaido as a land of freedom. Like the building, they are externally there, but internally they have changed by surrendering to society and no longer displaying defiance.

The Meiji Club of Doppo’s story evokes a similar building called the Rokumeikan Hall

³*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu.*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1979), 241.

⁴The young men in the Meiji club is evocative of Turgenev’s (1818-1883) last and longest novel *Virgin Soil* (1877). It depicts the *Narodniki* movement in the 1870’s led by young students and intellectual radicals, “who went to the countryside to politicize the people for revolutionary action against the Czar. It contrasts young people’s idealism and middle class’s passivity and corruption. Whether Doppo read this novel or not is not certain. However, he introduced Turgenev to Japanese readers.

[Deer Cry Pavilion], a symbol of hasty westernization, which was completed in 1883 to show Japan's level of civilization compared to the West but closed down in 1890. In the building, supposedly "westernized" Peers and Diet members in Western attire held banquets for foreign dignitaries.⁵ "Rokumeikan diplomacy" was controversial among Japanese, garnering criticism particularly from the Minyūsha and Seikyōsha. Tokutomi Sohō of Minyūsha criticized it on the basis of populism and regarded it as the "decadance of the middle class."⁶ The group of nationalists in the Seikyōsha raised their voices against such westernization, thinking it dishonored Japan's leading position in Asia.⁷ Although different hues among them exist in the ways in which how they were critical of westernization, they eventually headed down the path of imperialism all together. The westernization policy represented by the Rokumeikan Hall translated as Europeanization, however, was changing course from catching up to competing. In 1890 the Rokumeikan diplomacy ended. But there was a different kind of westernization symbolized by Hokkaido.⁸

Amidst the controversy of Japan's westernization, Hokkaido changed its emigration policy from direct to indirect protectionism. After the abolishment of the Kaitakushi [Hokkaido Development Bureau] and the era of the three prefectures (1882-1886), the Hokkaidōchō

⁵Some Westerners thought those Japanese looked like monkeys. Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852-1912* (New York ; Chichester [England]: Columbia University Press, 2002), 393.

⁶Gluck, Carol, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 70.

⁷Sohō was considered a liberalist during the Rokumeikan era, but soon turned to be conservative after the Triple Intervention (1895) and the Sino-Japanese War. He founded *Keijō nippō* in Korea in 1910. Miyake Setsurei (1860-1945) of Seikyōsha criticized such westernization policies and advocated nationalist ideals through the magazine *Nihonjin* (Japanese). The Sapporo Agricultural College graduate Shiga Shigetake, an editor of the magazine, published *Nihon fūkeiron* (Japanese landscape, 1894) to compare Japan with other countries, by which he aimed to nationalize the landscape to incite nationalism.

⁸As a part of westernization, Tokyo Club was opened in 1884. It was a members only club, and its requirement for membership was to be a "fine gentlemen," as the seven men are all referred to gentlemen.

[Hokkaido government, Dōchō in short] was established in 1886 and changed the direction of Hokkaido *kaitaku*, which had been mainly a transplantation of the destitute from the *naichi* to Hokkaido.⁹ The first chief of the Dōchō, Iwamura Michitoshi, in his policy speech stated that, “[i]n the past the primary objective for the agricultural immigration policy was the transplantation of poverty-stricken people from other prefectures. The Dōchō confirmed this made Hokkaido a congregating place for the poor, and thus declared that, thereafter, instead of the poor the rich would be transplanted.”¹⁰ To avoid Hokkaido being associated with poverty, the Dōchō abolished the protection policy for the destitute and invited capital investment for the region. For the first concrete step for proposed changes, the Dōchō suggested revising the regulation for its land disposal.¹¹

The Hokkaido Land Disposal Law of 1886 allowed for the privatization of state-owned land. As early as 1877, Ainu land was entirely incorporated into state-owned land, and in those areas, a vast imperial land, which consisted of over 20% of the whole area of Hokkaido, was created.¹² In 1883, the forcible migration of Ainu began, and through the enactment of the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Law in 1899, those former natives who would practice farming were given land free of charge, though many could not hold onto the land because of their unfamiliarity with agricultural living and the poor soil quality for cultivating crops.

⁹Hokkaidōchō existed from 1886 to 1947.

¹⁰Takakura, Shinichiro, and Takakura, Shin'ichiro Chosakushu Henshu Inkaï., *Imin to Takushoku* (Sapporo-shi: Hokkaido Shuppan Kikaku Senta, 1996), 147-48.

¹¹That includes the procedure for transferring settler's permanent family registry (*tenseki ijuusha tetsuzuki*), making the price of disposal land cheaper; allowing more than 100,000 *tsubo* (1 *tsubo* = 3.3 square meters) per person for those who have promising businesses. The Dōchō further proposed a new law for cultivation with horses to protect those individuals or companies who would cultivate more than 20 *chōbu* (1 *chōbu* = 2.45 acres) within 5 years. Takakura points out that the change was not just in agriculture but in marine industry, forestry, industry, mining industry, and commerce.

¹²Shirai, Nobuaki, *Hokkaido Kaitakusha Seishin to Kirisutokyo* (Sapporo-shi: Hokkaido Daigaku Shuppankai, 2010).

Through the Land Disposal Act, the Dōchō lent a part of the national land to Japanese citizens free of charge. The land would then be disposed of at a bargain price if it be cultivated within 10 years. This Law was changed to a free loan and free disposal in 1897.¹³ To facilitate the privatization process, the Dōchō started land surveys to make a smooth selection of land, including topographical maps and the preparation of infrastructure such as roads and railways.¹⁴ The survey accelerated colonial projects, and Japanese with money flocked to Hokkaido for their investment. They became absentee landlords by remaining in their domiciles in the metropole. Doppo's first wife's family and Arishima Takeo's father obtained their land in Hokkaido in this manner. Surveying projects started in 1886 and were completed in 1895. It was the year when Doppo went to Hokkaido to check out a parcel of land in hopes of starting a new life with Nobuko there.

To a certain extent, a desire to live self-sufficiently in Hokkaido was encouraged by the government colonial policy, and one of the immigration peaks in Hokkaido came around the time just before and after the Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895).¹⁵ Handbooks to invite and inform prospective settlers were widely available then, and before going to Hokkaido, Doppo searched high and low for information, obtaining several instruction books, such as *the Handbook for Hokkaido Agriculture*.¹⁶ Bringing immigrants, primary agricultural settlers, was important for

¹³Through the Undeveloped Hokkaido National Lands Disposal Regulation Act of 1897.

¹⁴1/50000 and 1/600000 maps. Even during the Kaitakushi era, the need of survey was known, but it was never completed and left unclear, largely because the kaitakushi's priority was not the settler's needs. It was necessary to have Ainu as guides to navigate deep forests and mountains in Hokkaido. Ainu who have been living in Hokkaido can get around well, and in many texts they appear as guides for Japanese settlers, as seen in Honjō Mutsuo's *Ishikarigawa* and Murakami Haruki's *Wild Sheep Chase*.

¹⁵Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō*, 105.

¹⁶*Hokkaido nōgyō tebikigusa* 1889-1923, Other how-tos included works published by the Dōchō and *A Guidebook for Hokkaido Migration (Hokkaido ijū no shiori*, 1894) published by the Hokkaido Association (Hokkaido Kyōkai), which advocated Hokkaido migration.

colonial Hokkaido, and there were occasions when officials from the Dōchō went to *naichi* to recruit settlers.¹⁷ Doppo went to see former Kaitakushi employee Tsuda Sen, who was close to Nobuko's mother Toyoju and was then publishing the *Nōgyō Zasshi* (Agricultural magazine 1876-1920), which urges Hokkaido colonization based on the example of Puritan settlers in America.¹⁸ Its first issue quoted George Washington's words both in *kanbun* [Chinese] and English, reflecting the change of course of intellectual learning then: "Agriculture is the most healthful, most useful, and most noble employment of men."¹⁹ Doppo also contacted Uchimura Kanzō about Hokkaido and was highly determined to carry out Hokkaido migration for "freedom, independence, and faith."²⁰

Hokkaido is desired because life in the *naichi* was opposite from freedom, independence, and faith, connoting confinement, dependency, and distrust. One of the seven men, Dōshisha graduate Kamimura, recalls how he was attracted to Hokkaido as he "definitely wanted to leave this perverted *naichi* and commit [him]self to the land of freedom in Hokkaido."²¹

It was terrific when I decidedly went to Hokkaido. It was like a denunciation I took a train at Ueno station, and when the train started moving with a whistle I leaned out of the window and spit towards Tokyo. The feeling of something terribly happy

¹⁷Ibid., 14.

¹⁸Tsuda, the first Methodist in Japan, was sent to the States as a translator together with Fukuzawa Yukichi and Seki Shimpachi to receive a warship that the bakufu ordered in 1867. Tsuda Sen is famous because of his daughter. Tsuda Umeko was sent to the States through the Iwakura mission when she was only 6. After returning, Umeko founded Joshi Eigakujuku, the forerunner of Tsudajuku daigaku. Sen, a former samurai of the Sendai clan, was close to Sasaki Toyoju, whose father was a samurai in the Sendai domain as well. Tsuda was baptized in 1876 as the first Methodist in Japan. When he died, both Nitobe and Uchimura wrote obituaries and praised Sen as a "great commoner."

¹⁹農者，人民職業中，最健全，最尊貴，而最有益者也 *Nōgyō zasshi* 1 (1876)

²⁰Doppo Kunikida, *Azamukazaru No Ki*, 44.

²¹*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 243.

welled up in me, and I really wiped my tears off secretly with a handkerchief.²²

Asked why he felt this sense of denunciation Kamimura answers it is because “people in Tokyo do nothing but are intent on fame and wealth.”²³ The tension lies between Tokyo and Kamimura. Tokyo was also a target of contempt in *Musashino* (The Musashino Plain, 1898), in which Doppo tries to delineate the Musashino Plain, but he intentionally excludes Tokyo, though topographically part of the plain. For Doppo, Tokyo is the place where “the central government organs are towering and the court case of the *tekkan jiken* [the corruption case of iron pipes for the water purification plant in 1894] takes place.”²⁴ Moreover Tokyo is the new capital and different from Edo, thus for this disconnection the center of Tokyo must be excluded, but borders should be included.²⁵ He is only contemptuous of the central part of Tokyo, where power resides. Even before Nobuko, Doppo was inclined to a “life of independence and freedom” because “[t]hose who are employed are, no matter what kind of excuse and appearance used, not able to escape to be more or less slaves. [He] would rather like to fight against nature. Choose hardship and gain freedom.”²⁶ He was expecting a feeling of suffocation, a dead-end condition of life of salaried employees in modernized society. Fighting “against nature” is an alternative choice after the realization that fighting in society does not lead anywhere. Thus, a “life of independence and

²²Ibid., 245.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Kunikida, Doppo, and Nakajima, Kenzo, *Kunikida Doppo Shu* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1974), 81.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Doppo Kunikida, *Azamukazaru No Ki*, 41. The day before the announcement of Japan’s withdrawal from the Liaodong Peninsula forced by the Triple Intervention, Doppo is worried if he should be a politician, poet, pragmatist, or prophet. He writes “troubles of the nation make me want to be a politician, but observation of life makes me otherwise.” Ibid., 32. New Meiji society brought meritocracy, one can choose to be anything if one competes well. Not recognized as a prominent writer nor accepted as a suitable husband for Nobuko, Tokyo was not a promised place for Doppo despite his *jyōkyō* [going to Tokyo] against his father’s wish. It felt like leaving one type of confinement (family) to be involved in another (society).

freedom” is a reaction to life in Tokyo where he could not be more than a salaried slave and a retreat from Tokyo into nature. Within the configuration of Tokyo as an evil center and nature as virtuous periphery, Hokkaido was chosen and given new signification.

Okamoto Seifu, also a writer like Doppo, feels pressure to succeed in Tokyo, where he was treated as a lowly person. The characters of his surname Okamoto 岡本 resemble Doppo’s 国木田, and his given name 誠夫 Seifu means “sincere husband” and is tempting not to think of a government. Okamoto lost his lover just as Doppo did, but his lover died instead of deserting him. Okamoto remembers his lover’s middle-class mother was very envious of her friends who were going abroad. She then regretted that her daughter was ruining her prosperous opportunities by having a friend like Okamoto. The feudal status system was gone, and one had to prove oneself in the new meritocratic society by climbing up the social ladder through competing with others. Kamimura’s contemptuous remark, “people in Tokyo do nothing but are intent on fame and wealth” can only show his disappointment and wounded pride caused by his life in Tokyo. His love for Hokkaido then can be a reverse, unfulfilled hope and attachment to Tokyo, that is, “fame and wealth.”

In meritocratic society in Meiji, *risshin shusse* now comes to the foreground and is becoming a strain. The Meiji modernization process was to absorb “the West,” and knowledge of foreign languages, especially English, was a route to career success.²⁷ Despite his father’s

²⁷Because of their superficial approach to Christianity, however, several years after their baptism almost all of them left the church. Just like study abroad, Katō points out, Sōseki and Ōgai spent 4 years and 2 years living in Western societies, respectively, and Tōson and Hakuchō remained in churches 5 and 4 years, respectively. Tōson, Hakuchō, and Hōmei, who had been baptized before they were 20 years old, all left the church within 5 years. Doppo was baptized by Uemura Masahisa (1858-1925) in 1891 when he was 19. It was quite rare that they were highly conscious about their conversion and made efforts to make sense out of it, but Katō singles out Masamune Hakuchō and Arishima Takeo (1878-1923) as being rare exceptions. Otherwise, proselytization did not leave any spiritual trace. Kato, Shuichi, *Nihon Bungakushi Josetsu*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1975), 354. Churches opened up windows to the West, but “the essential parts of Christianity—justice defined by the relation to the transcendental Absolute and the idea of salvation of guilt by Christ—were never totally convinced them.”

opposition, Doppo went to Tokyo [*jyōkyō*] and entered Tokyo Senmon Gakkō (carrier school), a forerunner of Waseda University, in 1887.²⁸ As Katō Shūichi points out, Meiji writers, particularly so-called naturalists, such as Shimazaki Tōson (1872-1943), Masamune Hakuchō (1879-1962), Tayama Katai (1871-1930), Tokuda Shūsei (1871-1943), Iwano Hōmei (1873-1920), and Doppo, were all born in the countryside in the 1870s, went to Tokyo, attended private schools, and were attracted to the West while in Tokyo.²⁹ They left their families and hometown to go to Tokyo, but in Tokyo, unless they were incorporated into the bureaucratic system, as Katō argues, they would remain alienated.³⁰ Since only the elite students of the imperial universities and officials were sent to the West, such as Mori Ōgai and Natsume Sōseki, but not the students of private schools, especially would-be novelists, their direct experience of the West was limited to Western literature and churches. Churches function to give them a stable identity in Tokyo, and also gave them opportunities to experience the West, as a “window to the West,” as Katō notes.³¹

Christianity spread infectiously among Meiji youth, particularly former samurai, and as Yamaji Aizan notes, the Christians who were born in the shadow of the times.³² Early Meiji Christians were exposed to American missionaries and teachers, thus to Protestants, who often

²⁸Tokyo Senmon Gakkō was founded by Ōkuma Shigenobu, sympathizer to the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement. Tsubouchi Shōyō started teaching literature there around 1890.

²⁹Tōson and Hakuchō were from old families in Nagano and Okayama respectively. Doppo, Katai, Shūsei, and Hōmei were all from families of local fallen samurai. As Katō claims, there were no one from merchant families of Edo or Osaka, and no one had the lineage of intellectual samurai class of the Tokugawa period. *Ibid.*, 345.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹The forerunner of Doshisha University, was founded by Meisokusha’s Nijijima Jō in 1875, based on Christian ideals, especially that of conscience. Nijijima Jō (Joseph Hardy Neesima) smuggled himself to the United States in 1864 and graduated from Amherst College in 1870. He learned chemistry from Clark there. He introduced Clark to Kuroda.

³²Yamaji Aizan is aware that they are mostly from ex-Tokugawa loyalists. Hiraoka, Toshio, *Nihon Kindai Bungaku No Shuppatsu* (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 1973).

themselves were warriors in the American Civil War (1861-65). Christianity connects to and substitutes for the samurai world view, providing a framework in which to maintain a samurai identity. As seen in Uchimura Kanzō's statement to Nitobe Inazō that "we are the last of bushido-infused Christians," Christianity was closely associated with chivalry or bushido.³³ According to Karatani Kōjin, "it is no accident that, beginning with Nitobe Inazō, bushido had been seen by the samurai class as having a direct link to Christianity. By becoming Christian adherents, these youths were able to secure for themselves an identity as warriors."³⁴ Uchimura Kanzō's *How I Became a Christian (1895)*, and Nitobe Inazō's *Bushido: The Soul of Japan (1900)* are full of analogies between Christianity and bushido.³⁵ Both graduates from the Sapporo Agricultural College of 1881 were the central members of the Sapporo band.³⁶ Uchimura begins: "I was born in 1861 March 23. My family belonged to the samurai class, therefore from the cradle, the reason for my birth was to fight—living means fighting."³⁷ The lord was substituted for by God, and he continues, "there is something, like chivalrous Christianity, that appeals to my national feelings."³⁸ In Hokkaido, where Uchimura was exposed to Christianity and baptized, Horace Capron at the Kaitakushi and William Clark at the Sapporo Agricultural College served

³³Karatani, Kōjin, *Kindai Nihon No Hiho. Iii, Meiji, Taisho Hen* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1998), 106. English travel writer Izabella L. Bird also found many ex-samurai students converting to Christianity in her 1878 travelogue, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. Izabella Bird, L., *Izabera Bādo No Nihon Kikō (Unbeaten Tracks in Japan)*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2008), 277.

³⁴Kōjin Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 84.

³⁵Inazō Nitobe, *Bushido: The Classic Portrait of Samurai Martial Culture* (Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2004), 59-60. Although Nitobe's *Bushido* was to present Japan in the West, the comparison between Christianity and bushido is prevalent.

³⁶Both signed a written oath and were baptized in 1878. *Yes o shinjiru mono no seiyaku*

³⁷Uchimura, Kanzō, and Suzuki, Toshiro, *Yo Wa Ikani Shite Kirisuto Shinto to Narishi Ka* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), 26.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 138.

as a volunteer soldier and colonel for the Union, respectively. Those missionaries and teachers, who emphasized the meaning of loyalty, unexpectedly touched upon the most sensitive part of those ex-samurai, since the object of loyalty was changing from the lord to the emperor, Katō points out.³⁹ In 1891, Uchimura placed Jesus above the Meiji emperor and caused an incident.⁴⁰ This made clear that Protestantism, according to Katō, created the position that absolutely transcends the empire system of Meiji, by which it prepared for the possibility of fundamental criticism of the system.⁴¹ Uchimura's Independent Church was even critical of other churches, and the association with such dissidents as Uchimura Hokkaido was seen as a place of Protestantism, which originated in criticism towards power.

Many of the fighters for the Freedom and People's Rights Movement became Christians, and to pursue their subjectivity to the fullest extent, some of them migrated to Hokkaido to live a self-sufficient life, free from government interruption. Defiant Christian groups, consisting mostly of ex-samurai who participated in the Movement, saw Hokkaido as the final destination to have their own communities, as Shirai Nobuaki has noted.⁴² In Hokkaido, they thought they could relieve poverty-stricken ex-samurai and farmers and could live independently, following their religious faith.⁴³ The defiance they showed against established authority, and Hokkaido as a

³⁹Kato, Shuichi, *Nihon Bungakushi Josetsu*, 341.

⁴⁰But this was not intentionally done by Uchimura.

⁴¹Ibid., 291.

⁴²Shirai, Nobuaki, *Hokkaido Kaitakusha Seishin to Kirisutokyo*.

⁴³Settled in 1881, the earliest *Sekishinsha* 赤心社 was motivated to protect Japan at its northern gate, to relieve impoverished samurai, and to construct a Christian ideal village. Originally the group was inspired by the example of Puritan settlers in America. Then in 1892, *Seien nojō* 聖園農場 was created for the relief of impoverished farmers in Kōchi, led by Christian Takechi Yasuya, who was an ex-samurai and was involved in a resistance war against the new Meiji government. Takechi was active in the Freedom and People's Rights movement and was imprisoned. After being released in 1889, he was deeply disillusioned by the political world and detested corrupt politicians. Instead of political ways, Takechi chose to give relief through "reformation of interiority" in an ideal community based on Christian spirit. *Hokkōsh* 北光社, on the other hand, was founded by Sakamoto Naohiro and others in 1898. With excellent English and well-informed about English liberalism, especially Mill, Spencer, and Bentham,

land “outside” of Japan and newly opened to Japanese invokes the image of Puritans, who were involved in political movements before migrating to New England (1620-1640) to establish settlements. Christianity, and in particular Protestantism, is obviously a part of westernization, yet it differed from government-sponsored materialistic civilization, reflecting a defiant, alternative westernization by deviating from orthodoxy.

As Kamimura used to be “a zealous member of the potato clique,” “an ardent member of Amen,”⁴⁴ he was drawn to a Hokkaido that was imagined to be Puritanical: “Since I was in school, whenever I heard the word Hokkaido, I felt thrilled. It is so funny that I professed to be a Puritan!” Whenever he had a chance, Kamimura went to listen to missionaries who had just come back from Hokkaido. They spoke about nature in Hokkaido, the broad flow of the Ishikari River, and forests spreading as far as one can see. The pristine, untrodden status of Hokkaido is emphasized, and it is natural for young Christians to envision Hokkaido as the American frontier or New World where Puritans headed. The use of “beef” in Doppo’s works implies modernization, the pragmatic assimilation to the new Meiji society, that was the line of the government-backed “civilization.” At the same time, “meat” implies corporeal satisfaction, indulgence, to be brief, hedonism. On the other hand, the potatoes closely relate to the New World through its connection to Ireland, the first colony of England, and mass migration to the U.S. caused by potato blight. Potatoes are perfect for settlers for it is suitable for less fertile soil and cold climates. It thus connotes austerity, much different from beef. Both beef and potatoes are symbols of westernization, but opposing values of westernization. If beef connotes social

Sakamoto was a radical fighter of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement and a politician. He became a Christian together with Takechi in 1885 and was also imprisoned for violation of the Peace Preservation Law [*hoan jōrei*]. While in prison, he received a divine revelation from the Book of Deuteronomy in the Old Testament. By following the tale of God making Moses establish Israel he decided to pursue colonial management, first in Mexico but eventually in Hokkaido.

⁴⁴*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 243.

Darwinism, competition through survival of the fittest, then potatoes suggest Puritan ethics of independence, austerity, industry, and sincerity.

Hokkaido's uncanny similarities to American frontier rhetoric are derived from the condition of settler colonies and the intimate connection to New England. Although the term frontier or *furontia* does not appear per se, Hokkaido was referred to along with lines such as 新天地 *shintenchi* [new world], 開拓地 *kaitakuchi* [settlement], and 新開地 *shinkaichi* [newly cleared land]. As a newly "opened up" space, Hokkaido only emphasized its landscape and climate and is created as an "untouched," "virgin" space, that is, it is still free from corrupt civilization or human beings, and at the same time, it is ready to be "touched," "cultivated," and "developed," as a "virgin" maiden waits to be "fertile." As the United States was established by settlers from the Old World and expanded the territory further, Hokkaido was to be developed after the model of the United States.⁴⁵

The colonization of Hokkaido was thus carried out with much help from Americans, particularly those from New England. When Kuroda Kiyotaka (1840-1900) was the Vice-Minister of the Kaitakushi, he went to the United States in 1870 to recruit agricultural specialists to help Hokkaido's colonial development.⁴⁶ Besides the United States being a predecessor of colonial development and frontier management, its climate was his concern, particularly that of New England from where the colonization had begun. Tanaka Akira explains that leaders of the Kaitakushi, including Kuroda, were mainly from Kagoshima, had grown up in the Satsuma domain in Kyushu, and did not know the northern climate.⁴⁷ Kuroda first hired the United States

⁴⁵As American Indians were driven away by new settlers, Hokkaido Ainu suffered a similar fate.

⁴⁶Kuroda Kiyotaka worked for the Kaitakushi from 1870 to 1882, and became the second Prime Minister of Japan (1888-1889).

⁴⁷Tanaka, Akira, *Hokkaido to Meiji Ishin: Henkyo Kara No Shiza* (Sapporo: Hokkaido Daigaku Tosho Kankokai, 2000), 60.

Commissioner of Agriculture, Massachusetts-born Horace Capron (1804-1885), as the Kaitakushi (1871-75) and then the president of Massachusetts Agricultural College (currently Amherst College) William Smith Clark (1826-86) as the President of the Sapporo Nōgakkō in 1876. The curriculum of the school was based on that of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, and Clark not only taught his students botany but Christianity and Puritanism; it was from his teachings that the Sapporo band emerged.⁴⁸ Other New Englanders followed him to work in the college and in Hokkaido.⁴⁹ While in the States, Uchimura writes that he should see New England because “[his] Christianity was originally from New England, and she is responsible for every internal struggle that the Christianity caused.”⁵⁰ Hoping to gain Western knowledge for colonial management, the Kaitakushi sent students to the United States, mostly to New England.⁵¹

Another New England connection came from Transcendentalism, represented by Ralph

⁴⁸Fujita gives some insight into the bounties on offer. She explains that Horace Capron, Thomas Antisell, Stuart Eldridge, and Henry S. Munroe, Americans who were all employed by the *Kaitakushi*, the Hokkaido Development Commission, “had earned annual incomes of, respectively, \$3,000, \$2,500, \$1,800, and \$1,200 in the Department of Agriculture, while their salaries were, respectively, \$10,000, \$4,000, \$2,000 and \$4,000 in Japan.” Add to this, the servants, housing, travelling expenses, etc.were paid. It can be seen working as a *yatoi* was a lucrative job. Fujita reports that Clark, one of the American *Kitakushi* employees, was able to send home \$5,000 after just eight months in Japan. Fumiko Fujita, *Hokkaido O Kaitakushita Amerikajin* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1993).

⁴⁹Hydraulic engineer William M. Wheeler (1876-1930), the first graduating class of Massachusetts Agricultural College in 1871, became a vice-principle of the Sapporo Agricultural School. Botanist David P. Penhallow (1854-1909) is famous for his discovery of wild hops in Hokkaido. Clark’s student agronomist William P. Brooks (1851-1938) became Clark’s successor at the School from 1877 to 1888. Moreover, Massachusetts-born mining engineer Benjamin S. Lyman (1835-1920) worked for the Kaitakushi to survey coal deposits and contributed to the coal industry.

⁵⁰Uchimura, Kanzō, and Suzuki, Toshiro, *Yo Wa Ikani Shite Kirisuto Shinto to Narishi Ka*, 153. Many of the students were from the ex-Satsuma domain because Kuroda was from Satsuma.

⁵¹After the Iwakura Mission came back from Western countries, they compiled an official report entitled “A True Account of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary’s Journey of Observation Through *the United States of America and Europe (Tokumei Zenken Taishi Bei-Ō Kairan Jikki, 1878)*,” in which, according to Tanaka Akira the mission saw people’s independence and freedom of the modern nation in the American frontier development: People without religion are hard to employ, and people without education are useless. Tanaka, Akira, *Hokkaido to Meiji Ishin: Henkyo Kara No Shiza*, 162. From 1871-72, for example, contrary to the Japanese government sending 49 government-funded students to England, 33 to France and Germany, and 55 to the United States out of 155, the Kaitakushi sent none to England. But 24 students out of 33 went to the United States, many to New England. The subjects of their study were practical leaning such as Agriculture, Mineralogy, Engineering, and female education for Hokkaido development. *Ibid.*, 57-59.

Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), which influenced Meiji intellectual youths because of its individualism, making man free of the social, religious, and family restrictions of the past.⁵² Through Emerson's essay "Nature" of 1836, transcendentalism became the major cultural movement in the United States in the 1830s and 40s. According to *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, transcendentalism is the natural sequel to Puritanism because of its nature of protesting against the general state of culture and society.⁵³ It was based on the inner spiritual or mental essence of human beings, and challenged the authorities, establishment, and conservative ideas and discipline, including established religions. Furthermore, it was concerned with the negative outcome of an industrialized and fragmented modern world, such as the alienation of human beings. Transcendentalists' position towards established society resonated among young Meiji intellectuals, who started seeing the negative outcomes of modernization. For the transcendentalists, nature has a central importance in allowing humans to get in touch with their souls. Meiji intellectual youths projected New England onto Hokkaido and romanticized living in nature, free and independent from society, by deserting Tokyo, where modernization brought only materialistic gratification, ignoring spiritual contentment. Hokkaido, then, was seen as a utopia, opposed to Tokyo's mammonism, hedonism, and materialistic desires. In this sense, Hokkaido stands antagonistic to a Tokyo and Japan that are swallowed up by blind materialistic modernization as a result of "civilization."⁵⁴

⁵² The major figures in the movement were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, Margaret Fuller, and Amos Bronson Alcott.

⁵³ Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Cambridge History of American Literature, Vol. 4: Nineteenth-Century Poetry, 1800-1910* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁵⁴ In the 1840s, utopian communities were created in New England by Transcendentalists, such as Brook Farm and Fruitlands, for they were critical of modern society and tried to build their own ideal communities away from cities. Similarly, many of the Christian utopian communities in Hokkaido are the antithesis of Japanese modernization, and the construction of this kind of small utopian villages is based on agriculture continues, such as Mushanokoji's Atarashiki mura (New Village). Kano, Masanao, *Kindai Nihon Shiso Annai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999), 130.

Therefore, Kamimura's simple house in Hokkaido, albeit in his fantasy, has an "American appearance," and "it is every bit of New England-colonial-era style. The roof is sharply pitched, with a grandiose chimney on its side."⁵⁵ He worries how many windows the house should have. His detailed description about the house extends to the landscape, such as windbreak forest, a clear stream with ducks and geese floating on it, and "a four-inch thick, one-piece wooden bridge over the stream." Kamimura's elaborate imagination draws a romantic, bucolic landscape painting of New England, in which humans are only an insignificant element. He tries to re-create New England in Hokkaido. Furthermore, his expectation of New England culminates with an image of winter in Hokkaido.

I was dying for winter. Somehow I felt that winter is equivalent to freedom! I was a stereotypical passionate Christian, a member of Hurray Christmas, so it seemed fake if there was not much snow or no stick-like icicles hanging from the eaves in Christmas. In my mind instead of winter in Hokkaido, rather winter was identical to Hokkaido. In the story about Hokkaido, when I hear "When winter comes..." my body trembled. In my fantasy, when in winter, snow covers my house completely. At night, flicking red firelight escapes from the glass window. Once in a while wind blows strongly, and then the snow on the branches of the forests fall with a whooshing sound. In a cow hovel, Holstein cows moo!⁵⁶

As if Kamimura traces a picture previously seen or a story previously read, his Emersonian image grows.⁵⁷ Someone in the room rises and cries out to Kamimura, "You are a poet!" But it turned out that almost every man in the room once composed poetry. After their idealistic pursuit of the Movement, poetry, Christianity, the final destination came a Christian-imbued life in Hokkaido. But as far as their fantasy about life in Hokkaido is concerned, their Christian

⁵⁵*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 243.

⁵⁶The first Holstein was imported from America in 1889 (M22).

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 250.

aspiration seems superficial and is deconstructed into fragments of landscape paintings. They are in search of “the West” through New England imagination in Hokkaido but not in Christian spirit. Christianity was a mere means to attain this bucolic, alternative West, as opposed to the competitive, industrialized, materialistic West.

Naturally they cannot find the West in Hokkaido, instead facing a miserable, austere life and a cold, life-threatening winter. Getting closer to the much-awaited arrival of winter, Kamimura was scared to live in “a shack that used bark for its walls,” thinking “if I stayed here in winter, I would die.” Without much to eat and anticipating winter, he gives up his attempt to remain in Hokkaido, concluding his act was foolish, saying “one should fight against society rather than nature.” When Western fantasies turn to real asceticism, he claims he is fed up with potatoes and wants to eat beef instead: “I am now for pragmatism. I can make money, eat tasty food, warm myself like this with you guys in front of the heater, drink, and speak freely. When I am hungry, I will eat beef.” The men in the room agree, intoxicated with whiskey this time not with “Hokkaido fever,” and they gave up pursuing spiritual aspects of westernization and returned to materialism. Hokkaido becomes a specter through the prism of Christianity and literature, and their perception is deceived by its refraction. The young Meiji intellectuals converted their idealism that was attached to Hokkaido, specifically Puritan Hokkaido, to a materialism that is attached to the “civilization” of Tokyo. Ironically, Hokkaido was a part of the modernization process of Japan, and only the spiritual image was walking alone.

They imagined Hokkaido as an alternative West to counter the West. Kamimura admits that he realized that he was “not a potato-eating character in Hokkaido,” however, under the veneer of a determined hardship and abstinence, a longing for “beef,” as well as the pursuit of career success and corporeal pleasure lie within reach. For those who were tenuously hanging on the ladder of *risshin shusse*, their choice was to either despise or conform to the system, if

Puritan Hokkaido did not work. Hokkaido with its Puritanic face allured settlers to a “frontier” space, but its severe nature or their lack of faith or determination breaks their phantom. Okamoto wants to wake up from the “torpid night mare dream” and “knock the frost off” only to return to the society that had already disappointed them.⁵⁸

Nature Out There

In his subsequent *Sorachigawa no Kishibe* (*The Banks of the Sorachi River*, 1902) the Doppo-implied narrator “I” visits Hokkaido to choose land. Compared to a cold, stern, quiet, and indifferent nature in Hokkaido, humans are greedy, noisy, yet warm and kind, particularly those who stayed behind in Tokyo. Hokkaido is identical to nature, which is ideologized as a spiritual and detached “being.” Because of its subject matter and the use of a travelogue style, *The Banks of the Sorachi River* is comparable to Doppo’s *Musashino* (*The Musashi Plain*, 1898) to some extent.⁵⁹ Doppo’s visit to Hokkaido in 1895 was indispensable to distinguish the nature of the Musashi Plain; he writes of the unique characteristics of Musashino, which are “different from the pristine nature of Hokkaido’s vast plains and great forests.”⁶⁰ Considering *Musashino* is written after his visit to Hokkaido, without experiencing the “deserted, desolate, cold, and grandeur” nature of Hokkaido, the *Musashino* plain would not have been appreciated as “mild, gentle, and quiet,” with the hybrid charm of “relics of the city and vestiges of the countryside,” of nature and living, and of the temporal continuation of Edo and novelty of Tokyo.⁶¹ Maeda Ai

⁵⁸Ibid., 254.

⁵⁹When it was published in the journal *Kokumin no tomo*, the title was *Ima no Musashino*. *Ima no Musashino* in 1898, and *Musashino* was published in 1901.

⁶⁰Doppo Kunikida, *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū*, vol. 66, Kunikida Doppo Shū (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1974).

⁶¹The term “自然 *shizen*” as nature first appears in the Meiji period, though the same characters were pronounced as *jinen* to indicate a Buddhist meaning of “as is.” Doppo designated *neejuuru* for the pronunciation of the characters

reads *Musashino* through the key concept of the “absence” of Nobuko, and the same can be said as well in *Sorachigawa*, as Doppo repeatedly expresses his loneliness due to missing human emotions and remembering people whom he left behind in Tokyo.⁶² This is again a story of loss, the loss of faith and the loss of Nobuko. Exuberance found in the Musashi Plain, however, vanishes in this work, and Doppo instead expresses an awe-filled sense of sublime towards nature in Hokkaido. Thus the distance between nature and himself remains, despite his attempt to recapture a similar sensation that he had experienced on the Musashi Plain.

Doppo describes the change in Japanese sensibility in *Musashino*; “Originally, Japanese did not seem to know much about the beauty of deciduous trees such as Japanese oaks,” but were familiar with only pinewoods that are mainly present in Japanese literature and arts.⁶³ In this new conception of “nature,” “landscape is cut off from famous places,” according to Karatani, and thus it is freed from its previously fixed sensibility.⁶⁴ Doppo must have learned how to appreciate the charm of such deciduous trees from the subtle description of landscape in Futabatei Shimei’s rendition of 1850’s Turgenev’s *Aibiki*.⁶⁵ Ogasawara Masaru claims that because Doppo finds birch trees in Hokkaido, which he had been attracted to through Futabatei’s description of them in *Aibiki*, birch trees became for the first time “beautiful” in Japan.⁶⁶ Located above 40° N latitude, the climate along with its vegetation in Hokkaido resembles New England and western

to assure its difference from *jinen*. *Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 256.

⁶²“Kunikida Doppo ‘Musashino’—Tamagawa jyōsuri” in Ai Maeda, *Genkei No Machi—Bungaku No Toshi O Aruku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006), 67-70.

⁶³Doppo Kunikida, *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū*.

⁶⁴Kōjin Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 82.

⁶⁵*The Tryst* in 1850, *Aibiki* in 1888.

⁶⁶Ogasawara, Masaru, *Kindai Hokkaido No Bungaku: Atarashii Seishin Fudo No Keisei*, 88.

Russia.⁶⁷ Hokkaido is then seen as similar to what he read about, and the position of Hokkaido as “outside” of Japan made it more natural to apply this new concept. Karatani states that “Japanese landscape, except for Hokkaido, is all covered by classic language.”⁶⁸ That is, Hokkaido is free from Japanese traditions, “Japanese sensibilities,” and the nationalization of landscape. Hokkaido’s *tabula rasa* state works for new sensibilities to be inscribed upon, Hokkaido then is much closer to the West than Japan.

The Doppo-esque protagonist “I” is on the way to the banks of the Sorachi River, where he will meet with the Dōchō officials who are surveying the area. He needs suggestions for selecting his land in Hokkaido.

In the Ishikari plain, clouds are hovering low and wandering, from the window of the train, a frightening natural power fills the plains and mountains. There is no love or emotion there. It looked as if a bleak, desolate, stern, and sublime landscape sneers at the powerlessness and transiency of humans.⁶⁹

The image of nature outside of the train is powerful and solemn. On the other hand, inside of the train, people are talking about crops, mountains, and forests, that is, “how to grab gold out of these limitless resources.”⁷⁰ They are talking loudly while smoking and drinking. “I” watches them without intermingling and keeps his distance. Going through the Ishikari Plain together with these people, with whom he cannot feel any connection, he rather senses an “uncrossable deep valley lying between them,” which resembles his life. Although “he is willing to walk outside of society, he could not bear his loneliness inside.” The same theme emerges. Should he

⁶⁷The climate is humid continental climate.

⁶⁸Karatani, Kōjin, *Kindai Nihon No Hihyo. Iii, Meiji, Taisho Hen*, 67.

⁶⁹*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 256.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

go out to live in such solemn nature, or should he stay inside with people from whom he feels profoundly different? Nature is out there, but society is in here.

Doppo shows certain characteristics towards nature in the text. They are tightly connected to one another, mutually implicated, and serve as cause and effects for one another. First, there is a distance of “I” from nature. “I” gazes at nature from afar. Nature tends to be conceived as something out there, not here. “I” looks at nature from the window of the train” or out from the second floor of the Miuraya inn. Second, he also sees nature during his stroll, in other words, he must consciously approach nature.⁷¹ Doppo rambles in the Musashi Plain to enjoy nature. Likewise, in Hokkaido he strolls about to experience nature. As the story unfolds, “I” gets closer to nature, but changes in physical distance do not change their proximity; rather, the closer he gets, the more fearful he becomes. Third, he contrasts people against nature. Doppo compares them in such a way that nature always has the upper hand, while humans are belittled. Fourth, he is *religious towards nature*. Nature is elevated into an object of worship. Nature is put on pedestal as an object of devotion:

For someone like myself, who grew up in a densely populated place, like the Chūgoku region, located on our mainland, and accustomed to seeing landscapes in which mountains and plains had been completely developed by human labor, even the wilderness of Tohoku made me feel that I wanted to embrace nature. But seeing Hokkaido, my heart danced. Sapporo is the Tokyo of Hokkaido, yet its vast landscape almost bewitched me.⁷²

⁷¹Ibid. Timothy Morton states nature is fantasy. he argues there are at least three places for “nature” in symbolic language: “First, it is a mere empty placeholder for a host of other concepts. Second, it has the force of law, a norm against which deviation is measured. Third, “nature” is a Pandora’s box, a word that encapsulates a potentially infinite series of disparate fantasy objects.” Morton, Timothy, *Ecology Without Nature: Rethinking Environmental Aesthetics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007). 14. Henry David Thoreau’s 1849 essay entitled “Walking” talks about the art of walking or sauntering. Thoreau explains *sans terre*, without land or a home, which, in the good sense, will mean having no particular home, but equally at home everywhere. These may be the words for the inn owner that Doppo was very impressed by, and projected his own thought onto him.

⁷²*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 256.

By using the Buddhist term 帰依 *kie*—becoming a believer or being converted—in “I wanted to embrace the nature” of Tohoku, “I” reveals his religious inclination towards nature. In the Christian attitude, as Uchimura said, nature is regarded as the handiwork of God, and so nature symbolizes the spiritual side of westernization for Doppo.⁷³ However, the distance between “I” and this spiritual “nature” is somehow unsettled. He needs inspiration, heavenly revelation, guidance, or love and emotion, but “there is no love or emotion there.” Moreover, it “sneers at the powerlessness and transiency of humans.” Nature is untouched by men, untamed, and independent from human influence. Devotion anthropomorphizes nature. Nature is ideologized as a detached, indifferent, super being. “I” thinks “when his power approaches closest to humans is the time when he is most quiet. When the high, far, blue sky silently looks down on the world here below [...]”⁷⁴ In this hyperbolic expression influenced by Romanticism, nature is immense and identical to God. Nature looks down on humans from above. Personification of nature may have been a trend of the time. In Natsume Sōseki’s *Sanshirō* (Sanshiro, 1908), Hirota sensei describes a fashion in translation in which nature “is all transformed to have human characteristics, such as sublime, magnificence, and heroic.”⁷⁵ Nature is personified and elevated to the level of superior beings, and in nature, humans become trivial and unimportant.

Doppo contrasts nature to the colonial exploitation of both resources and human labor. In Utashinai, where thousands of miners and hundreds of houses populate a narrow valley, “I” strolls at night away from the town. The moon appears above the mountains “that lie black like a *byōbu* screen, and the drifting clouds graze the mountains and sometimes cover them in

⁷³Kōjin Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 41.

⁷⁴Nature is personified, as written in his *Nature* (1836). Emerson sees nature through human metaphors and as creation of God. *Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 264.

⁷⁵Sōseki Natsume, *Natsume Sōseki Zenshū*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1988), 80.

front....no voice on earth, only the sound of a mountain stream can be heard.”⁷⁶ Nature is tranquil. Then suddenly, the sound of a *shamisen* breaks the silence. It was from miners’ pleasure quarters where a couple of row houses were. Each house is partitioned into many units, like “cow hovels.” They are poorly built and already warped, so through their *shōji* doors and cracks under the glow of hanging lamps, shadows of crazy, libertine men and women can be seen and noisy revelry can be heard.

The shadow of the woolly man, whose upper body is naked, is lit up like a devil, and the shadow of the prostitute whose hair is disheveled looks like a demon. Then, there is a house from which thunderous sounds emerge, as if the floor was falling, and guffaw followed. “Drink,” “Sing,” “Kill you,” “Smash you,” riot of cackling, jabbering, cursing, cheering, scolding, and words of erotic songs are almost made me torn with grief. The sobbing *shamisen* turns soon into storm, into spring rain.

Humans inside, though diabolical, “roamed,” “drifted,” “stagnated,” and “sank” here from *naichi* to be in these “cow hovels,” and “the moon coldly illuminated” them.⁷⁷ Nature and humans form a contrast, between noise and silence, chaotic motion and stillness. The darker side of modernization turns into a theatrical scene, in which humans are hellish creatures. Here, Doppo’s narrative voice for people becomes like a loquacious story teller of the previous era, different from his somehow uncomfortable narrative voice for nature, which is a mixture of the previous era and modern colloquial voices. Nature is a new notion to be described.

Doppo was most active between the Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars. In 1894, Doppo joined Tokutomi Sohō’s *Minyūsha* and was sent to China as a war correspondent to report on the Sino-Japanese War for *Kokumin shinbun*, in which he serialized *Aitei tsūshin*. Then, during the

⁷⁶*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 261.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 262.

Russo-Japanese War he edited the popular *Senji gahō* magazine to report on the war situation.⁷⁸ This interwar period is seen to mark Japan's rise as an imperial power. It was also the time when modernization was accelerated, and at the same time, negative aspects emerged behind the magnificent achievements.⁷⁹ For instance, one of the biggest social problems of the time was the Ashio Copper Mine pollution case, first reported in 1885, for which Tanaka Shōzō (1841-1913) made a direct appeal to the Meiji emperor in 1901. The letter, written by Kōtoku Shūsui, was not successfully given to the emperor, but this aroused public opinion about the incident. Tanaka's speeches also moved young Meiji intellectuals.⁸⁰ Sōseki wrote *Kōfu* (The Miner, 1908) based on the Ashio Copper Mine. Modernization started revealing its darker side. The disparity between rich and poor as an outcome of modernization caught people's attention, and slum reportage appeared in newspapers and magazines.⁸¹ Yokoyama Gennosuke published *Nihon no kasō shakai* (Lower class in Japan) in 1899 and Matsubara Iwagorō's slum reportage in *Kokumin Shinbun* was later published as *Saiankoku no Tokyo* (Darkest Tokyo, 1893).⁸² According to Maeda Ai, prior to Matsubara's reportage, William Booth's *Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890)

⁷⁸Most famously, he was an chief editor of the *Senji gahō*, which changed its name from the *Tokyo gahō* to *Kinji gahō* and to *Senji gahō* during wartime. Its pictures and quick cover of the war situation became very popular. He anticipated and published many kinds of magazines to prepare for the end of the war. He established his company Doppoisha in 1906 to publish magazines, such as the *Kinji gahō* 近事画報, *Shinkobunrin* 新古文林, and *Fujingahō* 婦人画報 after he learned know-how of graphic magazines through publishing *Senji gahō* during the Russo-Japanese War.

⁷⁹In 1895, at the end of the Sino-Japanese War, the first general-interest magazine, *Taiyō* was published. They gathered various politicians, academics, and writers.

⁸⁰Among them, Tokyo Imperial University student Kawakami Hajime was so moved that he donated what he was wearing then, his overcoat, *haori* (short Japanese overgarment), and muffler.

⁸¹*Chōya shinbun*, critical of the Meiji oligarch, published an article entitled "Real condition of the poor in Tokyo" in 1886. Then Sakurada Bunko's "Hintenchi Kikankutsu Tankenkisho (record of exploration in the hungry cold cave in poor land)" followed in the *Nippon* in 1890-91. 貧天地饑寒窟探檢記抄. Matsubara first in *kokumin shinbun*, then published.

⁸²He warns those who want to migrate to Hokkaido, they may think Hokkaido is a treasure island, but your status won't change at all, nothing different from what you have in your hometown. that their expectation most likely will not meet.

appeared in Sohō's *Kokumin no Tomo* in 1891 and 1892, and the articles shocked Japanese intellectuals. Miners, who “roamed,” “drifted,” “stagnated,” and “sank” in the valley in Hokkaido, show another dark side of modernization.⁸³

The exploitation of resources, the transportation of people and goods, construction of infrastructure, and inhumane treatment of prisoners took place in Hokkaido as well, and it was done so more rapidly and extensively to help industrialization and capitalism in Japan. Essentially, the colonization of Hokkaido was the unfolding of Japanese modernization itself. But Hokkaido's mines, particularly its coal mines, show the dark side of Hokkaido colonization. Under the slogan *shokusan kōgyō* [industrialization] in Meiji, coal was mined and sent to the *naichi* to facilitate Japanese modernization. For laborers, prisoners were used from the beginning of the development of Hokkaido, and *tondenhei* were added as “*tondenhei* and prisoners hold a position that cannot be ignored in the Hokkaido management at the earlier stage of the Dōchō.”⁸⁴ Maeda Ai contrasts paradoxical images of utopia and prison in the colonies, as “the El Dorado of the New World, colored with rosy expectations of extreme wealth and romantic adventure, was also a dismal penal colony where serious criminals exiled from the Old World were sent.”⁸⁵ “Utopian” Hokkaido was no exception. The island had been used as an exilic space throughout its history, and it is closely associated with prisoners. In order to remove prisoners from Japan, including political prisoners of the Satsuma Rebellion and the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, many penitentiaries were constructed in Meiji-era Hokkaido. These prisoners were then exploited in order to develop Hokkaido, mostly for building its infrastructure, such as

⁸³The villagers of the Ashio Copper Mine eventually migrated to Hokkaido in 1911. Natsume Sōseki in his *Kōfu* (The Miner, 1908) depicts the horrible working environment of the Ashio Copper Mine.

⁸⁴Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō*, 75.

⁸⁵Ai Maeda, and James A Fujii, *Text and the City Essays on Japanese Modernity*, 22. Until the Revolutionary War of 1776, the number of prisoners sent from England to the American colonies exceeded a thousand per year.

constructing roads, railways, bridges, and tunnels, and working in the mines. Writer Takeda Taijun (1912-1976), who lived in Hokkaido for less than a year and is sometimes referred to as a deserter from Hokkaido, emphasizes the significance and contribution of prisoners in the development of Hokkaido by comparing them with the movement of Protestants to North America and prisoners from England to Australia.⁸⁶

The development of North America, too, would not have been possible without the unavoidable escape and adventures of oppressed Protestants by the Catholics, and today's prosperity of Australia would not have been attained without the desperate energy of those prisoners who were sent to the savage, uncivilized land where no Europeans wanted to migrate. Humans were not so eager to move out their safe hometowns just because of dreams of making a fortune in one fell swoop.⁸⁷

Hokkaido, the United States, and Australia were all once penal colonies, and forced migrants' labor played an important part in their development.

Now "I" goes into inside of both a "castle" and deep inside forests. The Dōchō officials invite him to go inside of the shack, which is "no bigger than 5m x 7m. Its roof, walls, and entrance door are made up of the bark of big trees. Only the floor uses lumber, and on top of it a straw mat is laid. This is the settler's nest, house, or castle. A large fireplace on the corner of the floor is used for heat, cooking, and the ashtray."⁸⁸ It is made of pieces of "nature," skins of "nature." To "I," who anticipates winter in this shack, the Dōchō official laughs, tells him every settler lives in this kind of shack, and suggests that "I" stay in Sapporo during winter by leaving everything to tenant farmers or else stay in the shack with many books to read during winter. In the end, his image of living self-sufficiently in nature will actually mean being an absentee

⁸⁶"Ishikari Heiya" in *Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, vol. *Supplementary* (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1981), 57.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 58.

⁸⁸*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 263.

landlord exploiting tenant farmers, or being a prisoner incarcerated in the shack during winter with nothing to do but read. But does his imprisonment end when winter is over? Is there a much bigger prison in Hokkaido? There is: Nature.

Nature in Hokkaido does not inspire “I,” but rather terrifies him. It seems that “an uncrossable valley” lies between him and nature, just as there does between him and other settlers and between him and society. But with people, it may be possible to pass this valley, humans have emotions. But with nature, how can he feel embraced? “I” goes into the deep forest. Sitting on a rotten piece of wood, he gazes motionlessly at the dark part of the deep forest, and things to himself.

Where is society? Where is “history” that humankind transmitted so triumphantly? At this moment, in this place, a person could only feel he is entrusted to a single breath of nature, in its very “existence.” A Russian poet once wrote that, sitting in the forest, he felt the shadow of death approach, and it is true. And also that when the last human vanishes from the earth it will not cause a single tree leaf to tremble.⁸⁹

Nature’s indifference is overwhelming, and he feels that anyone would be threatened sitting in the deep forest that is “death-like silent, cold, and dark.” He feels a frightening loneliness and fears “the shadow of death.” Doppo expected to be embraced by nature, but nature does not show any sign, except for a death-like coldness. Although he tried to go into the depths of the forest, he still remains outside of nature.

Karatani claims that colonization in Hokkaido was important not just because of issues of productivity, but because it was where samurai were converted to commoners as well.⁹⁰ Similarly, Hokkaido’s nature can be considered a leveler, that nullifies any artificiality among

⁸⁹Ibid., 264.

⁹⁰Karatani, Kōjin, *Kindai Nihon No Hihyo. Iii, Meiji, Taisho Hen*, 67.

people, be it status, or thought, by positioning everyone at the bottom of his/her survival level. In this sense, Hokkaido appears like a prison filled with identical prisoners. Hokkaido threatens settlers as if it is a natural prison. In the end, “ideals are cold, and human emotions warm. Nature is stern and unfriendly, but the world is familiar and suitable to make a nest.”⁹¹ He is pushed out from nature, which he imagined as a separate entity from the beginning. It is himself but not nature that excludes him. He is excluded by the very concept that he adopted from the West. “I,” thus, failed to embrace the West, nature, Hokkaido, and love with its relation to Hokkaido. They are all outside.

⁹¹*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 259.

Chapter 2. Northern Frontier: Arishima Takeo's Colonial Imaginary

Arishima Takeo (1878-1923) used Hokkaido as a literary site repeatedly, namely in *Osue no shi* (The Death of Osue, 1914), *An Incident* (1914), *Kain no Matsuei* (Descendants of Cain, 1917), *Umareizuru Nayami* (The Anguish of Being Born, 1918), as well as the fragmentary *Seiza* (Constellation, 1923). Although his long novel *Aru Onna* (A Certain Woman, 1919) does not use Hokkaido as a site, it can be said to also be related to Hokkaido, since the model of the heroine is Kunikida Doppo's first wife for whom the writer went to Hokkaido. Arishima's connection to Hokkaido stems from three facts. First, he lived there twice in his life. They were "periods that are thought to be the most critical to [his] life": from age 19 to 23 for the first time as a student and from 30 to 37 for the second time as a teacher at the Sapporo Nōgakkō [Sapporo Agricultural School].¹ Second, he inherited his father's farm in Hokkaido, which was the land disposed by Dōchō, and Arishima was an absentee landlord with tenant farmers. Third, he became a Christian during his first stay at the Sapporo Agricultural School, and officially renounced the religion during his second stay at the school. In Hokkaido, he encountered destitute tenant farmers at his father's farm and underprivileged people at the Enyū yagakkō [night school], founded by Quaker Nitobe Inazō. These encounters broadened his views and

¹*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*. Edited by Ogasawara Masaru et al. Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1980), 268.

sensibility, and made him aware of social discrepancies, much different from other privileged yet socially unaware members of *Shirakabaha* [Shirakaba school], of which Arishima was an initial member. His exposure to Christianity influenced his attitude toward class issues and eventually led him to socialism. When he was a Christian, Arishima was considered to have been a successor to Uchimura Kanzō in his Sapporo Dokuritsu Kirisuto Kyōkai [Sapporo Independent Christ Church]. In fact as soon as he came back from the United States, Arishima was appointed to be the principal of the Sunday school. But his renunciation shattered their relationship completely, and Uchimura never forgave Arishima.

In his *Kain no Matsuei* (Descendants of Cain, 1917) and *Umareizuru Nayami* (The Anguish of Being Born, 1918), Arishima depicted Hokkaido as a pristine and unfamiliar “frontier” with subversive sublimity, showing the duality between internal and external, which resonates with Hokkaido’s internal colonial status as well as Arishima’s own sense of duality and estrangement. Arishima wrote about individuals’ quandaries and not about the class struggles that would be seen in forthcoming Proletarian literature. Yet rebellious qualities filled both works. An aesthetics of the sublime functions to bring out the absolute power of nature that controls humans and renders them utterly helpless. This “frontier” imaginary is necessary for Arishima so that he can highlight differences with Japan, and in the dark indeterminateness that the “frontier” exudes he can focus on the settlers’ predicament. Hokkaido’s position, belonging to Japan proper yet remaining “outside,” is similar to Arishima’s life as well. Arishima’s evocation of a northern frontier is a subversive aestheticization of Hokkaido as an internal colony in which the island represents a sublime space where “inside” and “outside” confront each other and where conversion takes place. Instead of optimistic images, conjured up by an analogy of American frontiers, Arishima’s “frontier” Hokkaido is a dark space of solemn conflict between internal and external, that is, between Japan and Hokkaido, Christianity and self, and subjugation

and liberation.

Arishima was born with a silver spoon in his mouth as the first son of Arishima Takeshi, who was a lower class samurai in the Satsuma clan before the Restoration. But Takeshi gained an important position in the new Meiji government. During the Rokumeikan era, Arishima's parents dressed in Western attire and attended balls.² When Takeshi was appointed to be the head of Yokohama Customs, the five-year-old Arishima was sent to learn English at a school in the foreign concession there, which still existed then. His *Hitofusa no Budō* (A Bunch of Grapes, 1920) describes his earlier life: “The school I went to was in Yamanote, Yokohama, where only Westerners lived, and the teachers in my school were all Westerners. On my way to and from school, I always passed the seaside road where hotels and Westerners’ companies were lined up.”³ As young Arishima crossed the border back and forth between the “outside” (the foreign settlement) and the “inside” (Japan), he was educated in two systems: English at a mission school and spartan Confucianism and samurai training at home, which included swordplay, archery, riding, with the draconian moxa discipline.⁴ He was expected to be an appropriate heir as the eldest son of the family and also a suitable Japanese citizen for the new era. This pattern of duality as well as his sense of being an “outsider” began from an early age and continued throughout his life. Arishima entered the prestigious Gakushūin Peer’s School, which was originally for children of aristocrats.⁵ Although he was chosen to be a classmate for the crown

²His mother, on the other hand, was a daughter of upper? samurai (江戸表留守居役) of the Nanbu clan, which was on the losing side at the time of the Restoration. They got married in 1877.

³Takeo Arishima, *Hitofusa No Budō* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1952), 5.

⁴*Airshima Takeo, vol. 9, Shinchō Nihon Bungaku Arubamu* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1984), 11.

⁵Kamei Shino explains how this school for aristocrats opened its gates to commoners and how prestigious it was for commoner’s children to attend the school. Gakushūin was, according to Kamei, divided into peers and commoners; within peers there were also divisions between. Shino Kamei, “Gakushūin No Yūgento—”Shirakaba” Zenshi,

prince, who would later become the Taisho emperor, Arishima, because he was the son of a samurai, was “not completely able to be assimilated to the air of the school where peers made a show of their power.”⁶ Arishima went to Hokkaido for the first time in 1896 when he was 18 years old to attend Sapporo Nōgakkō, one year after Doppo’s visit. It seems he self-exiled himself as a way to parry family pressure; at the same time, he was fascinated by the “fresh, free, primitive land,” which was connected to his “romantic fantasy of his boyhood.”⁷ As if to complete his displacement from the traditional center of Tokyo and family, he became a Christian at the Sapporo Agricultural School. His sense of split was reinforced by being a Christian. While traveling in Europe together with his brother Ikuma, Arishima lamented his own characteristics; “the character of Ikuma as an artist does not have the aspect of Puritanic contradictions like I do.”⁸ He repeatedly blamed himself for being a hypocrite, as Paul Anderer observes, was “self-deprecat[ing].”⁹

The influence of America is crucial for Arishima’s works. After graduating from the Sapporo Agricultural School, he was in the United States from 1903 until 1906. His affluent family background allowed him to study in the United States and travel throughout Europe, like his contemporary Nagai Kafū (1879-1959).¹⁰ Their experience of the West was a Grand Tour-like rite of passage for privileged Japanese. Already a Christian, Arishima’s American experience

Mushanokōji Saneatsu O Chūshin Ni—,” *Bungaku* 3.6 (2002), 218.

⁶ “Livingstone den’ no jo” in *Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu.*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1980), 248.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 262.

⁹ Paul. Anderer, *Other Worlds: Arishima Takeo and the Bounds of Modern Japanese Fiction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 21.

¹⁰ Arishima studied at and graduated from Haverford College. Nagai Kafū also stayed in the States from 1903-1908.

was similar to that of his Christian mentor, Uchimura Kanzō, including his disappointment with the Christian nation and working at an asylum. But in contrast to Uchimura, who in the end attended Hartford Seminary, Arishima's doubts regarding Christianity led him to socialism in the United States. In 1920, Arishima wrote an article entitled "Impressions of Hokkaido," in which he regrets the top-down development of Hokkaido, in contrast to America:

[Hokkaido's] somewhat desolate, crude, and free impressions may threaten novices, but that is the fascination that is hard to ignore for those who got used to living there. By living there one seems to become clear about oneself. Certain courage emerges from hardship. Because each is independently doing one's own work, one gets some encouragement. This certainly appears to be the peculiar characteristics of the residents in Hokkaido. If more freedom was artificially allowed for the land, then Hokkaido's immigrants may have contributed something new to the traditional model of Japanese. Hokkaido could have played the role of Scandinavia in European civilization or that of New England in North American civilization. But Hokkaido was completely trampled by the institutions that try to curry favor with the central government. And in current Hokkaido the natural characteristics of the land are gradually scraped down, and Hokkaido is going to finish as a mere maintainer of life that is not different from the traditional forms of *naichi*. Will a politician, who has poetic clairvoyance through which he makes use of the unique nature, never go to this land?

In that sense, the first director of the Hokkaido Kuroda had very interesting skills. A part of his ability can be seen from the city planning that seems to be larger than what is needed. The traces of developing the wild land by using large American farming implements were seen even when I was a student. For example, I have seen steam power root-pulling machines, which eradicate roots of big trees all at once, left rusty each time on my trip because their effect was too powerful to use. Kuroda also quickly sent some of girls to the United States so that they can be wives of settlers in Hokkaido. He also suggested to Mori Arinori, who was highly renowned as a then minister in the United States, that he should have an American wife. But Kuroda's feelings were

completely forgotten by the succeeding people. I think it was a pity.¹¹

Here, Hokkaido is seen through an American “frontier” imaginary, and characteristics of the residents are related to “freedom” and “independence.” “Hokkaido’s immigrants,” not indigenous people, could make a new contribution to traditional Japan. However, Hokkaido was becoming like Japan, and thus he regrets the Japanization of Hokkaido. The Japanese government tightly controlled the development and colonization of Hokkaido. Arishima expects Hokkaido to be like Scandinavia or New England. But it is a society like the United States that he expects to emerge in Hokkaido.¹² It is not limited to American agricultural implements, but to make Hokkaido like an American frontier land, where independent settlers expand their territory without being trapped by Japanese tradition and control. In such a space, “one seems to become clear about oneself.” However, by not referring or even alluding to the indigenous Ainu, Arishima’s attitude towards Hokkaido is that of a suzerain.

But what is a “frontier”? Though extremes of topography often formed frontiers in traditional states, “frontier” is not a geographical term but exists only in relation to the central power in an interconnected relationship.¹³ Arishima’s northern frontier always implies Tokyo or the metropole in its background. Frontier is an ambiguous term, often translated as *henkyō*, which can be a pre-modern remote area just at the edge of the empire or an enclave where central control is feeble. It is a concept seen from the center, imagined as different, dangerous,

¹¹*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 269-70.

¹²When Arishima was studying in the United States, before World War I, “there was thorough autonomy, free competition, and the creed of individualism.” While in Japan, it was when “the country was trying to become one entity for the Russo-Japanese War, except for Uchimura and Heiminsha.” Katō Shūichi believes it was Arishima’s experience in those countries influenced his individuality. Kato, Shuichi, *Nihon Bungakushi Josetsu*, 387-88.

¹³Anthony. Giddens, and Anthony. Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence* (Cambridge [Eng.]: Polity Press, 1985), 50.

backward, primitive, exotic, and distanced. Or *henkyō* can be a modern-day frontier within the national border, either the remote edge or inconvenient remote areas.¹⁴ Anthony Giddens explains that frontiers are similar to borders in nation-states, and “[t]he physical environment has manifestly been important in influencing where the frontiers of traditional states have lain and where the border of nation-states have been drawn.”¹⁵ To differentiate the frontiers of premodern and modern states, Giddens uses “boundaries” and “frontiers,” and this can be applied to the term “*henkyō*” as well. As an island, Hokkaido is naturally walled and known as *henkyō* in the sense of both meanings. Since *henkyō* is a one-sided view from the center, in both the modern or premodern cases, the view itself maintains asymmetrical power relations, in which *henkyō* in modern states are often synonymous with “colony.” Nitobe Inazō’s mixed use of “*henkyō*” with both “frontier” and “colony” in his lectures on colonial studies shows their interchangeability.¹⁶ It is clear that Hokkaido had been tracing the American development of its frontier experience, as Ceplon was appointed the head of the colonial office in Hokkaido and Tsuda Sen shared his belief that Hokkaido is associated with the state of California and American settlements in his *Hokkaido Kaitaku Zasshi* (Hokkaido Colonial Magazine) in 1880.¹⁷ But were American frontiers settler colonies? The optimistic glories of the “frontier” derive from the conquerors’ rhetoric. Arishima relies on American frontier imagery to evoke certain images similar to American

¹⁴Thus remote and underdeveloped areas are referred to as “frontier.”

¹⁵Ibid., 50. “Deserts, seas, mountain chains, swamp or marshland, rivers and forests have all formed frontiers in traditional states. Such natural boundaries have often been primary settlement frontiers. However, “wilderness” has frequently been inhabited by warlike groups who have, on occasion, swept outwards to take over areas administered by pre-existing states. Often they set up artificial partitions, such as the Great Wall of China, to control both entry and exit, much similar to borders. “

¹⁶*Nitobe Hakase Shokumin Kōgi Oyobi Ronbunshū*, 16. “Those who go to colonies tend to be young but many of them have bad background history, and they live immoderate lives and spread wrong practices.”

¹⁷“*Kaitaku Zasshi Hakkō No Shushi*,” 3.

frontiers in Hokkaido, and he focuses on Japanese settlers's struggles there. In this way, colonial reality is largely disregarded. The “frontier” imagery in Arishima's works, despite his humanistic concerns, serves to provide discrepancies within Japan and the Japanese by obscuring the awareness of imperial Japan's endeavor beyond “Japan.”

The fact that Arishima studied at the Sapporo Nōgakkō should not be ignored, since it is from here that the plot of modern Japan's expansion towards Taiwan, the South Sea Islands, Sakhalin, and Manchuria started.¹⁸ At first, studying agriculture there did not mean being a self-sufficient farmer, but rather learning large-scale American-style agriculture premised on commercial production and the modern capitalistic economy, as Murai Osamu states in his *Nantō Ideologī no Hassei* (Emergence of Southern Islands Ideology, 1995).¹⁹ The process of Hokkaido's colonization has complex characteristics because of the exploitation and assimilation of Ainu, the migration of Japanese settlers from *the naichi*, and heavy reliance on penal labor for the initial development. Thus Ōe Shinobu defines the multiplex characteristics of the internal colony Hokkaido as an exploitation colony, settler colony, and penal colony simultaneously.²⁰ Among them, Hokkaido's characteristics as a settler colony were studied at the Sapporo Nōgakkō exclusively and applied to neighboring countries, as Takeuchi Manabu's research shows.²¹ Thus Arishima's connection to the school colors his view on colonial Hokkaido.

¹⁸Manabu Takeno, “Shokuminchi Kaitaku to “Hokkaido No Keiken”—Shokumingaku Niokeru “Hokudai Gakuha”,” *Hokudai Hyaku Nijūgo nenshi*, http://eprints.lib.hokudai.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/2115/30002/1/ronbun_p163-201.pdf.

¹⁹Murai, Osamu, *Nantō Ideorogi No Hassei: Yanagita Kunio to Shokuminchi Shugi* (Tokyo: Ota Shuppan, 1995), 126.

²⁰*Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon*, 91.

²¹Manabu Takeno, “Shokuminchi Kaitaku to “Hokkaido No Keiken”—Shokumingaku Niokeru “Hokudai Gakuha”.”

A Rebel in Land of Exile

Arishima's *Kain no Matsuei* (Descendants of Cain, 1917), a story of a primitive man's struggle and defeat on a farm in Hokkaido, was the first book that made him popular as a writer.²² Arishima associates Hokkaido with a primitive frontier, different from the *naichi* of Japan. Similar to Mary Louise Pratt's concept of a contact zone and Frederick Jackson Turner's definition of a frontier as "a meeting point between civilized and savagery," Arishima's Hokkaido also functions as a place where Japanese settlers encounter the savage-like protagonist Nin'emon, and humans encounter wild nature.²³ This, in turn, symbolizes Arishima's encounter with his internal self, as sin. In such a hostile environment, Nin'emon subverts, through his animalistic and unconventional behavior. He embodies Arishima's ideal, integrated Whitman-like self between interior and exterior, and a rebel figure. Therefore he cannot find solace anywhere, either in nature or in human society. In contrast to the image of conquering the American frontier, Hokkaido is depicted as a space of failure. Japanese settlers in Hokkaido initially went there after "being defeated." Even in a new land, they are depicted as tolerant or perseverant, at best, if not failing completely like the protagonist. Hokkaido also evokes a space where people were banished, an image that became attached to the land. Arishima emphasized an unfamiliarity that the Japanese had never come across, and his aestheticization of Hokkaido landscape as hostile yet sublime was carried on by later writers.

The gigantic, beast-like, illiterate protagonist Hirooka Nin'emon and his wife appear "from nowhere to K village and [become] tenant farmers at the Matsukawa farm." Being

²²Takeo Arishima, *Arishima Takeo Zenshu*, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1980), 424.

²³Turner, Frederick Jackson, and Faragher, John Mack, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History, and Other Essays* (New York, N.Y.: H. Holt, 1994), 32.

controlled by an absentee landlord hopelessly, farmers cultivate the land under sub-human conditions.²⁴ Provided a revolting tiny shack marked by the rotten stench of manure, Nin'emon works hard by dreaming of a future when he will be independent and have a farm of his own. The appearance of Nin'emon, however, creates a stir on the farm since he disobeys given rules and behaves uninhibitedly by following his own desire. Meantime, nature in Hokkaido relentlessly tortures farmers, as if to ridicule human aims to conquer the land. At the same time, farmers must endure the merciless absentee landlord. After a bad harvest, without being able to pay rent, Nin'emon attempts to negotiate with the landlord but fails when facing his absolute power. Losing their baby to dysentery and horse to injury, Nin'emon and his wife become even more wretched than when they first arrived at the farm. Not able to live there any longer, they leave the farm in a snow storm and out stagger into the wilderness.

The appearance of Nin'emon and his wife with a baby at the very beginning already exudes a sense of wretchedness. Nin'emon's name is not revealed until later, and his wife is never given a name. In the opening of the story, they are part of the landscape.

Training long shadows on the earth, he walked silently, leading his skinny horse by its bridle. His wife, slightly crippled, trudged far behind him. With a big, dirty cloth bundle on her back, she carries a baby, whose head is disproportionately large, like an octopus.

Hokkaido winter approached the sky. The east wind that comes from the Japan Sea to the Uchiura Bay continuously blows off the big plain of Iburi that extends to the foot of Makka Nupuri, called Ezo Fuji, like breaking waves on the shore. It's a cold wind. When looked up at, Makka Nupuri, covered by snow till the eighth stage, stood silently against the wind with its head slightly bent. Towards the mass of clouds gathered tightly above the slope of the Konbudake mountain, the sun was setting. There were no trees on

²⁴*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 33.

the grassy plain. On a straight road, so straight that one feels helpless, only he and his wife moved like two stumbling trees.

Images of the end of the day, late Autumn, cold wind, snow, silence, exhaustion, and deformity fill these passages. Dark and uncanny images highlight the distance from the safety of everyday life to the “other” world, as Anderer uses the term *ikyō* for Arishima’s literary sites, including Hokkaido.²⁵ The exhausted appearance of the protagonist and his family all have the signs of defect, and they challenge the conventional concept of beauty and heroic protagonists. Grotesque dark images in the text are invoked: Their baby is silent, its head slumped to the side and one cannot tell “if it is alive or not”;²⁶ and the windows of the empty houses “opened their dark eyes like those in skulls to the street.”²⁷

In his earlier article “*Hangyakusha* (A Rebel, 1910)” on Rodin, Arishima praises the Gothic: “Compared to the ideal of classicism, which is organized and elegant, Gothic is the most unprecedented and most unconcealed.” He defines characteristics of Gothic art as beautification of ugliness or reformation of standard of beauty.²⁸ “Gothic” art sticks to imperfection in detail, such as “gnarled hands and wrinkled face” found in Rodin’s sculpture.²⁹ Arishima claims that this is also a realist’s standpoint to depict objects.³⁰ Not only the family of the protagonists, who are crippled, disproportioned, skinny, and exhausted, but other characters appear rather

²⁵*ikyō* means outside world, a foreign country, or a place other than one’s *kokyō* (hometown).

²⁶*Ibid.*, 28.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 29.

²⁸Takeo Arishima, “*Hangyakusha*,” *Shirakaba* 8 (1910), 38.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*Ibid.*, 41.

incapacitated both physically and mentally.³¹ Fellow tenant farmer, the bold Kasai, for example, has a half burned face, exposed red lower eyelids, and paper-thin lips.³² Nin'emon's killing and skinning his horse is depicted grotesquely and detailed both sight and smell.

A fishy smell filled the shack. Only leaving the skin on the face with its thick tongue sticking out of the side, the horse was laid stiffly naked on the straw. White sinew and red flesh are revealed there as they became uncanny stripes. Nin'emon rolled the skin like a pole, then tighten it with a straw rope.³³

The images of tombs are also a part of Gothic.³⁴ When their baby dies, Nin'emon digs a hole in the communal graveyard, carrying the child's dead body on his back. His wife was squatting, while crying and hitting mosquitoes landing on her cheeks.³⁵ As Rodin is considered a rebel by representing such "ugly," "unpleasant," and "imperfect" images, Arishima also seems to challenge convention, subverting the standard of beauty in his detailed focus and verisimilitude. After all, this is a story of subversion and failure.

The frequent mention of place names, contrasting the absence of characters' names, along with the use of dialect in their conversation, can also invoke a realistic difference and distance from the center. Especially the names of Ainu language create a place away from normalcy, establishing the image of a primitive and backward land, and provide credibility and authenticity.

³¹Realism, refers to any work at any time that attempts to create verisimilitude, that is, attempts to present an illusion of life in art as it really exists. "Should we dance with the heart of the Renaissance period or we should sing with the heat of popular period of Gothic? The choice of former is to be a hero of the day, but the other choice is to go ahead to be a rebel anyway. Ibsen, Zola, Manet, and Whitman are all traitors together with Rodin."Ibid., 50.

³²The text also evokes detailed senses such as the smell of carbolic acid filling in their shack from time to time, which is indicative of death.

³³*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 55.

³⁴Nin'emon may belong to minority group *buraku*, since skinning is traditionally their occupation.

³⁵Ibid., 48.

It is the “localization” of a literary site. In Ainu, for example, “Makka Nupuri” means a mountain above the river, and “Konbudake,” a small bump.³⁶ Some Ainu names are expressed in *katakana*, some in hybrid form with Japanese, and some Japanese translated names given in *kanji*, like ruins, or vestiges of “others.” The Ainu language in Japanese transcription thus reflects colonization and assimilation.³⁷ Names signify ownership, and these Ainu names conjure up past memories of the land. But this is Arishima’s effort at localizing his literary site in his pursuit of realism.

In his Meiji 41 (1908) diary entry, he writes that after reading Tolstoy’s play *The Power of Darkness* (1886), Arishima was surprised to see the author’s keen insight on the farmers’ life and his perfect depiction of “*rōkaru karā* [local color].”³⁸ The term local color has been translated as *kyōdo shoku* or *chihō shoku*, but it was originally used in visual art in relation to water color for the “natural” color that each object has.³⁹ It expanded, however, to cover the representation in vivid detail of the characteristic features of a particular period or country (e.g. manners, dress, scenery, etc.) in order to produce an impression of actuality.⁴⁰ Similarly, through

³⁶“Konbudake” is the modified name from Ainu’s *Tokonbo Nupuri*.

³⁷Kunihiko Kitamichi, *Ainugo Chimei De Tabisuru Hokkaido* (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 2008), 43.

³⁸Takeo Arishima, *Arishima Takeo Shū*, vol. 3, *Nihon Kindai Bungaku Taikei* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), 421.

³⁹The Independent says: We speak of water color drawings, when we should call them, as now produced, paintings. The former term had its origin in what was the fact in reference to the water-color sketches of the last century. English water-color art is an indigenous product, and began as simple topographical work, in dark ground-tints, with a light over-wash of local color, and the process has gone on from this point, and has consisted chiefly in the gradually diminishing importance of the ground-ting and increasing value of the local coloring, until at last the ground-ting was entirely discarded, and the thing begun *ab initio* as colored work. “The Art Section,” *The English Churchman and St. James’ Chronicle* 36-184, 1877. Moreover In *Great British Watercolors*, “local color” is found: “Finally they ‘stained’ the outlines with patches of local color to complete the view. Matthew Hargraves, *Great British Watercolors: From the Paul Mellon Collection At the Yale Center for British Art* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art and Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in association with Yale University Press, 2007).

⁴⁰Oxford English Dictionary “Local color” as describing regional characteristics, for example, stirred up a debate in 1911 between *Shirakaba* coterie Takamura Kōtarō (1883-1956) and critic Ishii Hakutei over Yamawaki Shintoku’s (1886-1952) painting, whether or not it expresses local color. In this case, local color is to show national color,

the concept of local color, Arishima defines “natural” characteristics of Hokkaido and, in turn, essentializes the land as foreign, far different from *naichi*. A frontier, modern Japan’s colony, is constructed through contrast with the center, such that at the place where “there should have a stone statue of *jizō* as road sign in *naichi*, a blackened sign post was standing slantingly crookedly.”⁴¹ With Nin’emon’s wife warning in dialect, “Bears come out around here,” an image of a dangerous frontier is conveyed by setting the site as distinct as possible, along with unpopulated, wild images. In this local color, Hokkaido is fixed as a different, unfamiliar, and dangerous space.

Unfamiliarity and remoteness are even more effectively emphasized by the aesthetics of the Sublime.⁴² In the landscape whence Nin’emon emerges, the snow covered “Makka Nupuri” stands silently with the setting sun in the background, which only makes the two worn-out humans in the foreground like fragile “two stumbling trees.” Such vastness represents a new depiction of Japanese terrain. Known as a gendered aesthetics “through its rugged, primitive, patriarchal associations,” the experience of the Sublime is, as Malcolm Andrews explains, “one that subverts order, coherence, a structured organization.”⁴³ Images such as rugged mountains,

national characteristics, by essentializing nations. Yamawaki Shintoku (1886-1952) was a painter, whom Bernard Leach gave high praise. Opposing Ishii, who criticized Yamawaki’s painting for being too Western and not expressing *chihō shoku* local color, Takamura responded in his German-studded *Midoriiro no Taiyō* (The Green Sun, 1910) that what is created by Japanese ends up Japanese-like. Even if Takamura paints the sun with green, it is still a Japanese painting. He admits the presence of local color, as local specifics, but does not value it. “Local color that people talk about nowadays,” Takamura writes, is a characteristic of natural color of a region. But he uses the concept to essentialize regions, in this case, to the extent of nations. This debate reflects the tension between the West and Japan in the process of defining the characteristics of Japan at the time when Japanese and Japan were Westernized. Initially, “local” meant “region” contrasted with the domestic center, but the local meant Japan seen from the West, by positioning Japan according to Western standards.

⁴¹*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 29.

⁴²Malcolm. Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 129.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 132-33.

the vast treeless plain, and the straight road in the text dislocate any familiar aestheticism and convey the shock experienced by the Japanese settlers in this unusual environment. It is also a shock for readers. Powerful winds, obscure people, vast plains, infinite wind, the difficulty of life, and magnificent mountains in the passage satisfy the concept of the Sublime.⁴⁴ When exhausted, Nin’emon and his family finally sleep a “death-like slumber,” then nature resurrects itself: “Whirlwinds mercilessly and ragingly blew over mountains and fields. A lacquer like darkness kept flowing like a big river towards the east. Only the snow on the tip of Makkanupuri shone faintly, emitting phosphorescence. Wild nature alone was resurrected.”⁴⁵ In the dark obscurity, the power of nature overwhelms everything. Away from “the calm feeling of beauty,” Arishima associates the Hokkaido landscape with coldness, darkness, primordial violence, exiles, wanderers, and primitive lifestyle.⁴⁶

Hokkaido’s close relationship with the United States makes Arishima’s literary site function as an American frontier-like region in terms being a space where civilization and savagery meet. In his 1893 speech, entitled “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” Fredrick Turner defined the American frontier as “the outer edge of the wave—the meeting point between savagery and civilization.”⁴⁷ It is an evolving place, from wilderness to primitiveness to civilization.⁴⁸ In this one-sided view from the point of view of the “civilized,”

⁴⁴Ibid., 134.

⁴⁵*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 33.

⁴⁶Thomas Docherty, *Postmodernism: A Reader* (Columbia University Press, 1992), 250.

⁴⁷*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 32.

⁴⁸Since a recurrence of the process of evolution in each Western area took place, American development shows a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line. That is, American social development is a continual rejuvenation on the frontier, and “this perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces domination American character.” Turner, Frederick Jackson, and Faragher, John Mack, *Rereading Frederick*

optimistic evolution takes place “at the hither edge of free land.”⁴⁹ Along with individualism, characteristics of Americans, such as anti-social tendencies and antipathy to control, are the effects of the frontier as well.⁵⁰ When Hokkaido is depicted as a frontier, characteristics of crudeness and backwardness are emphasized as an external, savage space of Japan. The land is foreign, wild, and different from the domestic and tamed land of Japan. In such a frontier, civilization encounters savagery, and this binary can be found on different levels in the text: Japanese settlers encounter savages like Nin’emon, who emerged from desolate nature, as if he is a part of the outside: humans encounter the hostile nature of Hokkaido; and Arishima encounters his “sinful” interiority, which is symbolized as an untamable external nature. And savage Nin’emon, at the same time, is an ideal embodiment of an integrated outside and inside, thus inevitably representing subversion. Nin’emon later challenges the landlord. However, the subtext is Arishima’s subversion of Christianity.

A hostile encounter between Japanese settlers and a savage takes place on the Matsukawa farm. As soon as he opens the office door of the farm, Nin’emon is scolded by an accountant to shut the door. So Nin’emon moves inside as he gives himself up to despair like “a beast that faced a knife.”⁵¹ The immediate encounter was that of human versus beast. Whenever Nin’emon sees “human faces, especially those of those who are somehow superior to himself, he immediately sulks.”⁵² Like Cain, he is jealous. He behaves instinctively and in an animal-like

Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History, and Other Essays, 32.

⁴⁹*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 33.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 53.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 31.

⁵²*Ibid.*

fashion, such as “a perplexed beast with an undernourished pale face.” Arishima, to the end, insists on Nin’emon’s antipathy against “humans.” Nin’emon is against other farmers, and they are against this “beast.” It is an unresolved meeting between civilization and savagery. The farmers are afraid of Nin’emon because of his size along with his hostility, so they “did not rebel against him or sneak away.”⁵³ When Nin’emon walks on the street in the city of Hakodate, people look at him as if he was just “freshly cut out from nature.”⁵⁴ He belongs to nature, the exterior. Nin’emon fights over food with his wife, who is feeding the very food to the baby, vents by hitting the neighbor’s children, and has a sexual relationship with his neighbor’s wife: “Beast!” he calls the woman, who was hiding in a roadside bush.

He jumped on her abruptly, randomly kicked and booted her. The woman while continued to claiming it hurt, she kept clinging him. And she bit him. He finally hugged her tightly and came out to the road. She tried to escape by scratching his face with her sharp nails. The two tussled and fell like dogs at each other’s throats.⁵⁵

Arishima vicariously expresses what was the object of disdain for him openly through Nin’emon . Nin’emon behaves like an animal, and he is illiterate.⁵⁶ The meeting between settlers and Nin’emon results in complete ostracism. People hide themselves whenever Nin’emon shows up, and he is blamed for anything dubious that happens in the village. So Nin’emon felt like “humans all make him out as an enemy.”⁵⁷ But Arishima is sympathetic to Nin’emon. He argues

⁵³Ibid., 43.

⁵⁴Ibid., 53.

⁵⁵Ibid., 40.

⁵⁶Arishima eventually committed a double suicide with a married woman in 1923, leaving a farewell *waka* on love, unlike act of such Westernized man. It seems too traditionally Japanese for him.

⁵⁷Ibid., 52.

that civilized people are physically unhealthy, and the “extreme division of labor, severe poverty, blind preaching, disorganized sounds and colors in the city all make civilized people suffer nervous breakdowns.”⁵⁸ He then praises savages for having the healthiest bodies, firmest ethics, and most systematic order. Introducing an example of American Indians’ nearly perfect autonomy, Arishima claims it is the civilized who make savages suddenly deprived.⁵⁹

Another meeting of civilization and savagery is between humans and nature, and they do so in a posture of antagonism, expressed in the trope of battle. A long rain “attacks” Hokkaido to the extent that “tadpoles swim in the fields.”⁶⁰ In summer, an uncomfortable sauna-like heat “attacked, and weeds in the field grew passing the crops.”⁶¹ An intensely aggressive nature is a sublime expression and is also rhetoric to frame Hokkaido as a settler colony. Nature is a battlefield for farmers, and this is especially so for settler farmers in their efforts to tame the land, which is a new and wild “frontier.” The battle, however, seems to be a losing one. In this battle, Arishima characterizes nature as always being triumphant over humans and artificiality. It refuses the invasion of humans. “The curtain of the desperate fight against nature was opened,” and trees, weeds, insects, and diseases emerge, grow, and multiply, and in their proliferation only “farmers went to their fields with weapons” to curtail life force and deplete themselves.⁶² Nature, however, is vigorous. As an insect sucks blood from a draft horse, it is “knocked to the ground

⁵⁸“*Hokuō bungaku ga atauru kyōkun* (Lessons that nothern European literature gives)” Takeo Arishima, *Arishima Takeo Zenshu*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1980), 513.

⁵⁹Ibid. This Eurocentric standard of primitivism can be a double-edged sword since it may “injure” Japanese as lower others in this dichotomy.

⁶⁰*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 40.

⁶¹Ibid., 44.

⁶²While with their sweat dripping like fertilizer, farmers bent their backs to work.

by the horse tail and struggled, as if losing life, but soon extended its wings and flew up courageously into the bright sunlight with a buzz.”⁶³ Arishima’s eyes are panoramic and microscopic, moving up and down, near and far; his gaze is flexible. Nature is regenerative and overwhelmingly strong. Whereas the protagonist’s baby dies of dysentery because of their filthy, unhygienic living conditions and malnutrition, even dysentery bacillus wins against humans.⁶⁴ Finally, in winter when snow falls and covers “fields that tell the miserable defeat of humans and forests that are triumphant territory of nature.”⁶⁵ Wild, uncontrolled, tumultuous, hostile energy attacks humans in this “frontier.” Arishima’s victimization of Japanese settlers as a predicament of “pioneers” obscures their aggression as oppressors and colonizers.⁶⁶

This wild, irrepressible nature means not merely external nature, but also one’s internal nature, which is as powerful as the sublime, wild nature outside. It consists of instinct and impulse, namely lust, jealousy, and anger, which are often controlled and kept inside a civilized and social facade. One’s battle against the internal nature in order to tame it seems to be a losing endeavor, just like the one against external nature. After he became a Christian, Arishima was disappointed and disturbed by the failure of controlling his internal nature, especially his sexual desire, even though he “lived a Puritan-like clean life by eating the Bible as food and prayer as nourishment.”⁶⁷ He suffered from his indolence and sexual desire that “became constant stings

⁶³Ibid., 45.

⁶⁴The bacillus that causes dysentery was discovered by Shiga Kiyoshi in 1897.

⁶⁵Ibid., 53.

⁶⁶Arishima blamed himself for lacking sincerity, but if he did not have a Christian framework and sin, sexual desires, for example, are not dealt with contemptuously to the point that he feels sinful. During the period of engagement with his future wife, Arishima thought his lust was finally purified, but actual “marriage completely destroyed everything.” 263 “In those days,” he writes, he was “depraved.” Ibid., 263.

⁶⁷Ibid., 252.

and started torturing [him].”⁶⁸ For the first time, he acutely felt “a sense of sin,” which previously he had no idea about.⁶⁹ Suffering from the split between his internal self and external self was intensely reinforced by Christianity in the first place, and the sense of sin is internalized to the level that he was tormented by the split even after he renounced the religion. Consequently, Arishima was obsessed to integrate interiority and exteriority and any other secondary dichotomies in order to live impulsively by following an instinctive self. In his “*Oshiminaku Ai wa Ubau* (Love Deprives without Spring, 1917), he addresses living an integrated life by throwing out “your pride and everything.”⁷⁰ “Frontier” Hokkaido is set as a meeting place of the internal and external.

Arishima’s sense of defeat from his internal nature found some release in Walt Whitman (1819-92), which provided a counter concept of the “loafer” against Christian sins. Uncertain about Christianity while in the United States, Arishima was greatly relieved from the conventional views on right and wrong through Whitman.⁷¹ Arishima understands a loafer as “someone who cannot promise, will not swear. He is a man who does not own isms or moderation....He only does what he desires. He dislikes external pressures.”⁷² Whitman became an example of an integrated self for Arishima. In his *Kusa no Ha* (Leaves of Grass) published in 1913 in Shirakaba, Arishima asserts that the relationship between the human and nature is that of interior and exterior: External nature includes mountains, trees, animals, and climate, and

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid. Honda Shūgo sees Arishima morally Christian not religiously. “I, who though I knew God, knew that I thought I knew God. From here, my disturbance started arising.” in *Oshiminaku Ai wa Ubau*.

⁷⁰*Oshiminaku Ai wa Ubau*.

⁷¹Ibid., 259.

⁷²“Wuoruto Hoittoman” in Takeo Arishima, *Arishima Takeo Zenshu*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1981).

internal nature is one's animalistic impulsive nature, which Whitman accepts, as is, including the internal division itself.⁷³ Arishima writes referring to Whitman, "Because the exterior, without waiting for the approval of the interior, is arrogantly rushing, souls cry out loud," and even the majority of missionaries, who teach the harmony of exterior and interior as the utmost of human living, make the exterior lead the interior. Arishima is critical of Christianity and its hypocrisy. Honda Shūgo argues that Arishima used the loafer philosophy as similar to an antidote to utilitarianism, and it also helped to break Arishima's "moralist shadows," which was his shield to protect his aristocratic tendency.⁷⁴ Arishima sees that Whitman would have been persecuted by any society, just like Christ, and claims, "Christ himself must have been one of ultimate loafers" since he stuck to himself despite persecution.⁷⁵ Christ, for Arishima, is a more loafer than Whitman. This way, he divides Christ from Christianity as an oppressive system of subjugation.

In this light, Nin'emon turns out to be an embodiment of the admiration for an integrated self that is not hindered by external self or external world. He not only behaves animalistically, but also makes an effort to reach his goal. Despite his antisocial behavior, Nin'emon is described as rather a mischievous yet capable worker. During winter, for example, he tries to find work outside of the farm.

Leaving his wife and baby behind, he went for wood cutting. He entered the disposed forests at the foot of the Makka Nupuri and worked without sparing himself. When the snow started melting, he went to Iwanai and earned wages working in a herring fishery. Around the time the snow in the mountains melted,

⁷³ "Kusa no Ha" in Idem, *Arishima Takeo Zenshu*.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 423. Hitori yukumono in Takeo Arishima, *Arishima Takeo Zenshu*, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1981), 245.: It is said that Whitman was a loafer-like man and was rejected as an advocate of democracy. For Arishima it is like "an absolute liberal was taunted by a nominal liberalist."

⁷⁵ "Hoittoman ni tsuite" in Idem, *Arishima Takeo Zenshu*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1980).

he returned snow-tanned and sea-tanned. His pocket was heavy enough. As soon as he returned to the farm, he bought a sturdy horse, plow, harrow, and necessary seeds.⁷⁶

Nin'emon has an ability to handle newly-introduced Western agricultural tools, and, he even plans his future: After three years working hard on his allotment, he will be the richest tenant farmer of the farm; after five years he will be a small, yet independent farmer; and after ten years when he is 37, he will have taken over rather a large farm. Nin'emon could “imagine shyly that he will be wearing a hat, double cloak, and rubber boots.”⁷⁷ He is not a villain, but simply unorthodox.⁷⁸ But because of his unorthodoxy, he is ostracized by the farm community. Arishima writes “Ninemon is the descendant of Cain himself.”⁷⁹ Cain is banished to go to Nod after killing his brother out of jealousy. Similarly Nin'emon is also banished and wanders. But what is his crime? Because of his non-split self, individuality, and unorthodoxy, which become naturally defiant, subversive, and anti-social, he was doubly punished, persecuted by the farmers and banished by the landlord.

His subversive behavior culminates when Nin'emon cross the boundary between tenants and the landlord. Because of bad harvest, the loss of their baby, and injury of their horse, a cornered Nin'emon goes to see the landlord to negotiate the rent. At Matsukawa's spacious mansion, Nin'mon is ushered to Matsukawa by “beautifully dressed maidservant” and timidly

⁷⁶*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 37.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸Even when he goes out to drink, he does not fail to bring something back for his wife: At night he returns home and hugs already sleeping wife from behind and pushes a crushed *daifukumochi* onto her mouth, that almost suffocated her.

⁷⁹Takeo Arishima, *Arishima Takeo Zenshu*, 425.

approaches landlord in the room “hot like summer.”⁸⁰

On the smooth, shiny wooden floor, which never exists in nature except for the surface of clear water, he was feeling an eerie cold and was ushered to the recesses of the house. A beautifully dressed maidservant opened the door of the master’s room, and choking strong displeasing smell assailed his nostrils. The room was hot like summer.

On tatami mats harder than boards, furs of beasts are laid here and there, and on the thick cushion on the fur of a big white bear near *shoji* screens, the landlord, who wore *dotera* jacket with *hattan* fabric, was sitting cross-legged warming his hands at the big *hibachi*.⁸¹

Matsukawa’s mansion is a place of power, like a church. Symbolically, Matsukawa sat on the pedestal on remains of beasts as if to show his absolute control of nature. Even Nin’emon is intimidated and uneasy in front of the landlord, and he sits by making himself as small as possible.⁸² In the end, Nin’emon is completely shattered and returns to his shack. He feels “hardy big hands of the landlord extend even to the sky above the farm,” which controls and oppresses farmers, as indicative of Arishima’s impression of God for humans. The voice of the landlord is prone to ring inside of his ears, “Fool.” Now the voice is internalized so that Nin’emon hears it inside. He is controlled within.⁸³ Nin’emon crosses the boundary of classes single-handedly only to fail in the end. Nin’emon’s rebelliousness and heresies could have made him a possible savior,

⁸⁰*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 54.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²Despite his intention, Nin’emon can only murmur. it was like “being in his sleep,” as if to indicate his sublime experience that enables him to articulate his reasons. *Ibid.*

⁸³Nin’emon was amazed, “How different their lives are. How different they are as humans. If the master is a human, then I am not. If I am a human, then he is not.” In his shack, “across from the smoldering brushwood, his ragged wife with disarrayed hair was sitting absentmindedly, opening her stupid eyes and mouth like knotholes. Snow started falling thick and fast. On her lap, there was no more baby.”*Ibid.*

like Christ, but he is only punished, like Cain, and left the farm into the snow.⁸⁴ Nature is even irate at Nin'emon leaving, as “dried branches broken off by the blown snow were prone to attack [him] like javelins. Every tree tossed by blown wind was messed up crazily like a witch’s hair.”⁸⁵ He has no place either inside or outside.

The subtext behind landlordism is Christianity. Like Tolstoy and Kropotkin, Arishima was a landlord and at the same time, critical of landownership. Through his encounter with socialism, he started learning about class issues and began to question landownership. Arishima’s collocation of God with landlord is derived from their similar system of control. Arishima questions, for in the Bible it is written that property is what “God owned,” and Christ seemed to strictly prohibit private ownership, yet protestantism functions as the morality of capitalism.⁸⁶ When his doubt towards Christinity grew, especially after experiencing American’s behavior towards Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War, he approached socialism and thought that Christian morals alone cannot change the gap between rich and poor as well as partiality of fortune, since morality supports the very economic system.⁸⁷ Arishima thought the morality of Protestantism “is beautiful for our ears. But when it comes to practice, it may

⁸⁴Arishima’s doubt towards Christinity grew, especially after experiencing American’s behavior towards Japan’s victory over the Russo-Japanese war. Arishima saw the reverse of the Christian nation when they disdained Japan as different race and heathen. He wondered if contemporary system is incompatible with Christian spirit, or Christian spirit is not alive in nationals of Christian nation, or if they represents Christian spirit what a stupid person Christ was.

⁸⁵Ibid., 56.

⁸⁶In the preface of his fourth edition of *The Life of Livingstone*, he wrote: “One of my young friends said the moral of Protestantism is the moral of capitalism, and I think it was accurate. Christianity that is conducted now—whoever has faith assert this—I started thinking that I must reconsider myself a Christian. To me Christ seemed to strictly prohibit private ownership. What St. Francis, who was very similar to Christ, tried to practice was such, to me.” Ibid., 259-60.

⁸⁷Ibid., 259.

demand impossibility.”⁸⁸

Arishima’s contemporary Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962) also imagined Nin’emon-like savage *sanjin* [mountain people], instigating rebellion to protest the nation’s assimilation policy in its colonies. In 1917, the same year *Kain no Matsuei* appeared, Yanagita gave a lecture entitled *Sanjinkō* [Study of Mountain People] at *Nihon Rekishi Chiri Gakkai* [The Society of Historical Geography of Japan] about *sanjin*. Though denied at the end of Taisho by Yanagita himself, *sanjin* was his pursuit of the origin and divergence of the Japanese ethnos and also represented a criticism of the *heichijin* [flatland people], who tried to homogenize people through assimilation. *Sanjin*, who represent the origin of the Japanese, are chased away by *heijichin* and must live in remote places, therefore, they are assimilated into the category of “others,” including Ainu, ancient minorities, and *burakumin*. Yanagita’s initial *sanjin* concept appeared in his *Tōno Monogatari* (1910). Its strangely provocative dedication says, “this book is presented to people in a foreign country.”⁸⁹ Besides the question of who those “people in a foreign county” are, in the preface he indicates a rebellion: “There are a lot of legends about mountain gods and mountain people. I hope by talking about these to make flatland people shudder. The only similar book to this is Chen Sheng and Wu Guang.”⁹⁰ Both Cheng Sheng and Wu Guang were the leaders of peasant rebellions at the end of the Qin Empire. Murai Osamu concludes that it sounds as though the book is to instigate rebellions of *sanjin* against *heichijin*.⁹¹ In this sense, people in a foreign

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Kunio Yanagita, *Tōno Monogatari, Yama No Jinsei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), 6.

⁹⁰Tono 陳勝吳広 in the late Qin 秦

⁹¹Murai, Osamu, *Nanto Ideorogi No Hassei: Yanagita Kunio to Shokuminchi Shugi*, 106. Murai suspects *sanjin* includes minorities in Taiwan and Korea who were oppressed to become wanderers by Japanese colonization.

country refer to those who are unintentionally included into the empire, as Murai claims. They live in the *naikoku* [domestic], which is actually a *gaikoku* [foreign country] for them. In this book, Hokkaido is used as a standard for remoteness and foreign-ness to describe Tōno, as “signs of people are rare, much less than in the Ishikari Plain in Hokkaido.”⁹² After a topographical description of Tōno, many of the annotations that follow to point out the connection with Ainu, such as: “遠野郷 Tōnogō’s tō was originally from ‘lake’ in Ainu language.”⁹³ Invoking Ainu and Hokkaido, *sanjin* connects to Nin’emon and subversion from the frontier space.⁹⁴ Both Arishima and Yanagita imagined savage figures in a remote area as a metaphor of subversion against external control, in the form of the state, landlordism, Christianity, churches, or any form of control that Japan or the Japanese internalized. Yet they reacted to the control by invoking “savages” metaphorically, which may indicate their own sense of isolation, in which they themselves felt as if they were “minorities.”

⁹²Kunio Yanagita, *Tōno Monogatari, Yama No Jinsei*, 7.

⁹³Ibid., 15. These descriptions that are scattered throughout the book will be deleted in the second edition in 1935, probably because he changed his position seeking the origin of Japanese from *sanjin* to *nantō* southern islands.

⁹⁴Yanagita was connected to Nitobe through *gōdokai* 郷土会 (Regional society). *Gōdo* means hometown, that is, the area where they share common manners and customs or folkways and natural conditions. According to Murai Osamu, *Manmō kaitaku* (colonization of Manchuria and Mongolia since 1931), which was the biggest national policy in modern Japan’s colonialism since Hokkaido colonization, was planned and urged by the members of Gōdokai. Murai, Osamu, *Nanto Ideorogi No Hassei: Yanagita Kunio to Shokuminchi Shugi*, 124. Advocating homogenous racial origins, Nitobe pursued the assimilation policy as a path to civilize those “inferior” races. But Yanagita, different from Nitobe, later criticized assimilation policy, particularly that of Hokkaido. He did not identify it as modernization or Westernization, for he saw modernization as a homogenization process. But both of them considered *gōdo* as a colonial issue. Their views away from cities to local areas may reflect their focus on growing peripheries of Japan. However, Yanagita, who differed from Nitobe’s pursuit of a homogenous nation, was critical of assimilation policies, particularly that of Hokkaido, for he saw modernization as a homogenization process.

Conversion Space

Arishima's *Umareizuru Nayami* (The Anguish of Being Born, 1918) is based on his encounter with painter Kida Kinjirō (1893-1962). The text is constructed of reminiscences of the narrator's meetings with the protagonist, a fisherman named Kimoto. This work is often thought to show Arishima's admiration for art according to the principle of art for art's sake. In the case of Yagi Yoshinori (1911-1999), he could identify with the protagonist's realistic torment, so much so that he went to see Kida Kinjirō and wrote *Gyofu gaka* (Fisherman painter, 1952).⁹⁵ The text, however, is complex, and its complexity derives from the notion of the "double." The structure of the text is a story within a story, containing the narrator's imagination in his correspondence with the protagonist. The Arishima-implied narrator is a writer who narrates and writes the text, and the protagonist is a fisherman who paints. Moreover, the anguish of the protagonist mirrors that of the narrator. In the protagonist's desire to go to Tokyo, an urban/rural tension emerges; this also implies colonial and class tension. Different from demoralizing Hokkaido in *Kain no Matsuei*, here Arishima depicts Hokkaido as a mythical frontier, where one can be reborn into one's truth. As he converted twice in Hokkaido—first becoming a Christian then renouncing the faith, Hokkaido signifies a conversion space, a place to be born or reborn.

In *The Anguish of Being Born*, the writer-narrator is surprised by paintings done by a nervous-looking boy Kimoto, who quit school in Tokyo and was on his way back to his hometown Iwanai, where he would be a fisherman in order to support his family. The writer is fascinated by Kimoto's unrefined yet powerful paintings despite having "no training and being childish." He sensed not only Kimoto's keen sense of color, but also his emotion. He remarks

⁹⁵Yagi won the Akutagawa prize for his *Ryū Kanfū* in 1944.

that “one can immediately see the heavy melancholy that a 16 or 17 year-old boy may not be able to cultivate.”⁹⁶ Unsure about his ability, Kimoto asked if he could be a painter, but the writer refrains from replying out of fear of taking responsibility for someone’s life. Ten years later, a now robust fisherman Kimoto shares with the writer his desire and hesitation of going to Tokyo to study painting. Being a fisherman yet unable to give up painting, he blames himself for living a “double life.” Kimoto’s anguish resonates with the writer’s own uncertainty of being a literary man. Stimulated by the meeting, however, the writer vividly imagines the insecure, risky life of a fisherman and the lonely, alienated life of a painter in Hokkaido. The fisherman’s life is depicted in a dramatic shipwreck, like the fight against a big whirlpool seen in Poe’s *A Descent into the Maelström* (1841), with its dark, intense expressions. Then, it is followed by socialistic contemplation about an exploitative company and the bourgeois who live their lives indolently in town. On the other hand, in his lonely painter’s life he feels like an outsider in the community. Unable to decide, Kimoto tries to commit suicide. The writer’s imagination ends here abruptly, and he then encourages Kimoto to find his true path in Hokkaido, a mythical frontier, a boundary between life and death, where one can find one’s own truth.

The duality of urban/rural manifested in the binary between Tokyo and Hokkaido implicates what is embedded in those geographical places. Tokyo and Hokkaido are put into a tense relationship through Kimoto’s desire of pursuing painting in Tokyo. Tokyo represents culture and respite from the life-threatening fisherman’s work in Hokkaido. Hokkaido suggests an obligation to his family by being a fisherman and isolation as a painter. It is a dilemma between guilt and desire, principle and reality. Having studied in Tokyo, Kimoto is a returnee to Hokkaido and has a dual quality, living in “the border between the world of art and the world of

⁹⁶*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 67-68.

reality.”⁹⁷ Painting is also what makes him different from and pushes him “outside” of the community. Kimoto retains a part of Tokyo within himself, and thus is an extraneous element in the community. He is called “crazy” or sometimes treated with antipathy. For example, the father of his friend in town sees him as “bad company,” potentially harmful to his son because of Kimoto’s individualistic qualities.⁹⁸ On the other hand, the writer is a returnee from the opposite direction. He used to live in Hokkaido but later resides in Tokyo. While in Hokkaido, he left his faith and was tormented by “two paths,” in which he was not sure if he should trust his power or not.⁹⁹ Now his relationship with Hokkaido is through his farm, on which he is an absentee landlord. Although they meet in Hokkaido, not only their trajectories but also their positions are opposite: One is a fisherman at the bottom of the society, and the other a wealthy elite. Thus their urban/rural tension indicates not merely a colonial power tension and a class tension but also their own internal vacillation.

Space of the Other

Kimoto changed dramatically by living in Hokkaido, as if to underscore the power of living in nature against an unhealthy, pretentious urban life. After spending nearly ten years in Iwanai, he has changed from a “melancholic, unhealthy looking boy who speaks Tokyo dialect” to a robust, healthy man, as the writer claims to himself, “You became robust like a big tree.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷Ibid., 103.

⁹⁸Ibid., 77,105.

⁹⁹Ibid., 70. *Futatsu no michi* (Two Paths) was the title of Arishima’s criticism in 1910.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 77.

He became a literally a “giant.”¹⁰¹ To the writer’s amazement, Kimoto drinks three cups of tea at a time after eating, and he is convinced that “extreme temperature, waves, heavy labor, and the association with rough men forged [his] muscle and nerves like iron.”¹⁰² The positive effect of life in Hokkaido on one’s physical and mental health resembles Gauguin’s expectations in Tahiti, where he escaped from European “civilization” and tried to live “natives’ life together with them in the forest.”¹⁰³ Gauguin’s *Noa Noa* was introduced in the *journal of Shirakaba* in 1912-13, introducing primitivism, the attraction to the “uncivilized,” to Japan.¹⁰⁴ As Europeans appreciated the primitive, childish quality of “natives” in their colonies as an antithesis of civilization or modernization, primitivism is closely related to colonialism. Nitobe also shares an inclination toward primitivism by claiming “frontier life” as healthy and manly.¹⁰⁵ He explains that, while civilization has a fault that ends up making humans ignorant and weak, “in the colony, there is no means to support weak people, so they fall mercilessly. As a result, society becomes vigorous. In such a society, we can expect able people to emerge.”¹⁰⁶ Influenced by social Darwinism, Nitobe observes that “all frontiersmen have penetrating eyes, broad-minds, and courage to confront difficulties,” mixing his use of colony and frontier.¹⁰⁷ Speaking a local dialect, the cheerful survivor Kimoto looks not only much taller than the writer, but also has an attractive

¹⁰¹Ibid., 74.

¹⁰²Ibid., 77.

¹⁰³Gauguin Paul, *Noa Noa* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1999), 18.

¹⁰⁴It was translated by its member Koizumi Magane (1886-1954), who later went to Taiwan to study minorities.

¹⁰⁵*Nitobe Hakase Shokumin Kōgi Oyobi Ronbunshū*, 66.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

appearance.

Your rather long, bronze face was inlaid firmly, as if it is health itself, on your thick ox-like neck that is properly set on shoulders, which were bursting with muscles. Your muscular face was tense everywhere, but the shadow of your genuine smile welling up from the heart was naturally playing about every corner of your clean-cut feature, and this made your dry face look warm. “What a matchless perfect young man,” I exclaimed inside. A man who introduces you to his lover, he must watch her heart with deep suspicion. Your wonderful manly impression made me think such a thing.¹⁰⁸

As if Gauguin’s racially and sexually intertwined gaze towards Tahitians is transmitted to Arishima through the eyes of the narrator, Kimoto’s Tahitian-like vigorous and muscular appearance is completed with skin tanned by heavy labor, which is beautified as “bronze.” His physique is perfect, like a God-created statue, to such an extent that the writer feels sexually attracted to him, fantasizing through the eyes of a woman. If Nin’emon is a barbarian, then Kimoto would be a noble savage, the savage idealized by the civilized.

But this man embodies duality. Kimoto became a strong, robust man, a perfectly beautiful savage with a “*niō*-like” body, but only externally. Internally, he has the heart of a city dweller because of his love of painting. When Kimoto realized that it is hard to paint while being a fisherman, “he fretted as if he was a beast fallen into a pitfall.”¹⁰⁹ As he is described through animal similes, Kimoto seems to be considered close to nature. But Kimoto, who “cares about his old father and was born with an obedient mind,” does not escape from the life of a fisherman

¹⁰⁸*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 75.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 78. The writer was impressed by Kimoto’s *niō*-like sturdy body. *Niō* is the guardian god of Buddhism.

and his impoverished family.¹¹⁰ In his body, “a sensitive girl-like soul” exists.¹¹¹ Kimoto is a contradictory figure who lives a “double-life.” He wonders if he should go to Tokyo to study painting and if he has enough talent to do so. His duality is expressed especially through the language that Kimoto uses. The first time with the writer, Kimoto spoke the standard dialect. But ten years later, he speaks a local dialect, his original tongue, even to the writer, who keeps speaking in Tokyo dialect. Their conversation is carried out in two dialects: One in standard Japanese and the other in a local dialect. This underlines the power relations encoded in language, making their positions distinct. Back home, however, Kimoto uses Tokyo student language when he talks to his only friend in town about art.¹¹² It is his pleasure to be able to use this language that has been “treasured to commemorate his study in Tokyo.”¹¹³ His retaining the Tokyo student language works both to resist his rural fisherman self and to maintain a limited connection to a cultured self. Thus, Kimoto vacillates through languages between the *naichi* and Hokkaido, life and art, as well as his obligation and desire. By crossing and recrossing linguistic borders, his dual identity is reinforced.

For the fisherman who wants to go to Tokyo, the writer hints that he should stay in Hokkaido. One reason is the writer’s conviction that artistic inspiration should come from nature. As Arishima praises Jean François Millet (1814-75) as a man who successfully connected living and art in his *Merei Raisan* (Admiration for Millet, 1917), he emphasizes the role of nature in art. Though Millet went to Paris to study painting, he was disappointed with urban culture and the

¹¹⁰Ibid., 76.

¹¹¹Ibid., 78.

¹¹²When Kimoto visits K, he is reading the collected letters of Michelangelo.

¹¹³Ibid., 100.

city, which was only a “disorderly devastated huge graveyard.”¹¹⁴ Like Millet, Arishima also blames cities, and is critical of urban culture, as the writer considers Kimoto being “immune from the stench of cities and is not bothered by overly sensitive nerves and excess artificial knowledge.”¹¹⁵ The countryside, on the other hand, is a healthy, essential space, connected to nature.¹¹⁶ Arishima praises the countryside, which “is an object of art, establishing the self is easier in nature than in urban culture, and ‘real’ art is created by living in the countryside.”¹¹⁷ Through the writer’s imagination Kimoto thinks “nature is alive, and it has more sublime feelings than humans do.”¹¹⁸ The pursuit of nature and the countryside is a reaction to modernization by city dwellers, as seen in Satō Haruo’s *Den’en no Yūtsu*. In this light, Arishima expects Kimoto to be a Millet-like artist, staying in Hokkaido by combining art and life successfully. He also reduces Hokkaido the countryside for city dwellers to recover their damaged selves.

But there is the frontier longing in Arishima’s praise of the countryside, as a space where one can find a “true” self. It is even better if the periphery is a remote place, such as the Alaskan frontier.¹¹⁹ After coming back from the United States in 1908 Arishima started teaching English at his old school, then the Tohoku Imperial University Agricultural College, using literary books,

¹¹⁴Takeo Arishima, *Arishima Takeo Chosakushu*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1920), 73. Fear of cholera in 1849 made Millet evacuate Paris. He left to Barbizon, a small village near Paris, and there he found his subject matter, the peasantry and rural life.

¹¹⁵*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 109.

¹¹⁶Takeo Arishima, *Arishima Takeo Chosakushu*, 5.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁸*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 101.

¹¹⁹Takeo Arishima, *Arishima Takeo Zenshu*, 387.

including Jack London's (1876-1916) *The Call of the Wild* (1903).¹²⁰ London's name had been already introduced in Japan as a socialist writer by Katayama Sen in 1903. But this novel was not widely known until 1928, when socialist Sakai Toshihiko (1871-1933) translated it as a work of proletarian literature.¹²¹ It is about the transformation of a dog called Buck. He is stolen from California and brought to Alaska (actually the Klondike region in Canada) to pull a dog sled. Through the harsh natural environment of Alaska and cruel labor, Buck turns from a pet to a powerful animal and eventually returns to the wilderness by realizing his "true" self. It is a story of liberation from the entrapment of "civilization" and society that hinder his innate characteristics as well as a story of capitalist exploitation that suppresses his true strength and power. Alaska is a space to find original power and innermost disposition that is latent. The cruel climate of the northern frontier in Alaska helped to disclose one's truth, and because of its severity and extremity one's cultured facade must vanish. It is a place for rebirth.

The connection between a frontier space and "rebirth" can be traced back to Fredrick Turner's famous 1893 speech "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in which he emphasized that the existence of frontiers defined American characteristics.

Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new

¹²⁰Sapporoshi kyōiku iinkai bunka shiryōshitsu 札幌市教育委員会文化資料室, *Nōgakkō Monogatari*, vol. 61, Sapporo Bunko (Sapporo: Hokkaido shinbunsha, 1992), 107. London was known as a socialist, so the change in Buck can be relief and self realization from slave-like conditions to the realization of his own strength and power. London visited Japan to report the Russo-Japanese War in 1903.

¹²¹Sakai Toshihiko was a socialist who quit the *Yorozuchōhō* opposing the Russo-Japanese war along with Kōtoku Shūsui and Uchimura Kanzō. He is known as a co-translator of *The Communist Manifesto* together with Shūsui.

opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character.¹²²

Turner states that “perennial rebirth” attached to American frontiers “furnish the forces dominating American character,” such as independence and freedom. In his lectures on colonial studies, Nitobe Inazō also stresses that “frontier life can resurrect the original characteristics of humans that we have almost forgotten.”¹²³ Nitobe’s favorable impression of “frontiers” also comes from the fact that Nitobe himself was a settler’s son in Iwate. Among American frontiers, however, Alaska is considered as the last frontier. Alaska emerged in American history when it was purchased from Russia in 1867; it had been a Russian colony, then became American territory. As Stephen Haycox states, the link between Russian Alaska and American Alaska is colonialism.¹²⁴ As seen in Charlie Chaplin’s *Gold Rush*, Alaska suddenly flourished with the discovery of gold and became a geographic fascination for the American imaginary. Alaska’s position on the northern edge resonates with the position of Hokkaido, which Arishima emphasizes as remote or “the northern edge of the earth” in the text.

The narrator refers to Hokkaido as “*chikyū no hokutan* 地球の北端 [the northern edge of the earth], far enough to be overlooked from the center of human activities.”¹²⁵ This “northern

¹²²Turner, Frederick Jackson, and Faragher, John Mack, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History, and Other Essays*, 32.

¹²³Nitobe *Hakase Shokumin Kōgi Oyobi Ronbunshū*, 66. Emphasizing the importance of continual change, he asks if there is no frontier in human lives, “will people be oppressed by customs and social traditions and become trivial?”

¹²⁴Stephen W. Haycox, *Alaska: An American Colony* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), xiv. For “American Alaska has been similarly dependent [like Russian Alaska] because the capital necessary to develop its natural resources has never resided in the territory,” it was similar to an internal colony. Alaska did not gain the same status as other states until 1959. After the declaration of closing the frontier line, Alaska emerged as the last frontier in American minds when gold was found. A frontier line means no more than 2 persons per square mile beyond the line. (In their frontier longing, the United States annexed Hawaii in 1898, and Philippines became an American territory in 1899. The gold rush in Aalska contributed the frontier longing of the Americans.) When thinking of minorities there, the colonial aspects are undeniable.

¹²⁵*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 109.

edge” and “human activities” are dramatically abstract. Yet the power of nature is concrete and tremendous there.

By feeling the [waves’] enormous power, the snow, which was piled up on the ledge of the cliff and was gradually sailing down the slope, is off the edge of the ground and sliding down from several hundred meters high, making a terrible rumbling sound. When it is separated from the peak of the promontory it is only a handful of snow. But its mass grows in a instant, and it falls straight down without a sound, drawing a long, white, comet-like tail. In a flash, it is a several dozen kilometer-wide crystal curtain. Do...do...do...dooooon...splash.... The vast ocean surface becomes a white plain in front of one’s eyes.¹²⁶

Appearance wise, “the northern edge of the earth” is a margin, a promontory. Metaphorically, it means the extremity of the fisherman’s work that constantly challenges his life and the extremity of the anguish in his dilemma that makes him suicidal. Arishima fundamentally identifies Hokkaido with an Alaska-like frontier, situated at the northern edge of Japan. One of the functions of American frontiers that provokes “truth” in humans is seen in the expression of conversion, scattered in the text as a metaphor of birth, including in the title of the work. When the writer reads the fisherman’s letter, he exclaims, “In the nook of the earth that no one notices or pays attention to, one noble soul is suffering for trying to break out from its mother’s womb.”¹²⁷ The writer also laments, whether or not the fisherman should be an artist is a question that only he can decide. Though “it is an agonizing labor pain,” the writer states, “you yourself suffer and you yourself heal.”¹²⁸ This way, “the northern edge of the earth” identifies Hokkaido with an Alaska-like frontier where conversion is one of its characteristics.

¹²⁶Ibid., 89.

¹²⁷Ibid., 72.

¹²⁸Ibid., 109.

In the expression “the northern edge of the earth,” there is some strangeness in the term “*chikyū*” here because it means the globe. How does the globe have edges, even though it is a center-oriented view? When the writer imagines Kimoto trying to commit suicide, he pictures himself trying to jump off the edge of the cliff, which “abruptly bent downward from the flat land that opens up into a fathomless mouth like a wound of the earth.”¹²⁹ The image of a promontory and a cliff invokes the abyss at the edge of the flat earth, from where a cataract falls. By using the term “*chikyū*” 地球 to refer to the “globe” for the “earth” in this biblical expression, Arishima might have made a mistake in his translation of the term “earth” for “globe *chikyū*” instead of “soil,” “land,” or a “nation.” If he did so intentionally meaning the globe, then it seems Arishima shares God’s omniscient view seeing people squirming on the surface of the globe as a planet: “At the edge of the earth, where human life is overwhelmed by the rough power of nature, and humans weakly raise their heads up like seeds of weeds dropped on the barren land.”¹³⁰

In this grand Genesis-like view, Kimoto is referred to as a “child of the soil,” “who is completely immune to order of cities, not bothered by overly sensitive nerves and excess artificial knowledge, but who can look simply at nature with naturally grown wisdom, strong will, and tough emotions.”¹³¹ Not only does Hokkaido become primordial, but Kimoto also becomes a “child of the soil.” Hokkaido and Kimoto are embellished to suit Arishima’s fantasy. Implying that Kimoto is a “child of the soil” born “from the bosom of this earth” invokes Adam

¹²⁹Ibid., 108.

¹³⁰Ibid., 109. A Whitman-like exaggeration is found in his Song of Myself “I believe a leaf of grass is no less than a journey-work of the stars,”

¹³¹Ibid.

emerging from the soil.¹³² If this is the earth that is “alive and breathing” and is “in anguish trying to give birth,” like Genesis, then the abstraction, typical of Taisho *kyōyōshugi* [culturism], obscures the details and complexity of the reality that the fisherman faces, not to mention that it erases the history of the land. Hokkaido suddenly is dislocated as a mythical, spiritual place detached from reality, where “true” self will emerge.¹³³ Thus, “God is only responsible” for Kimoto’s decision, the writer says, “I don’t know if it is better for you to spend the rest of your life as a fisherman or as an artist. It is too scary to say carelessly. It should be directly shown to you by God. I only pray for the moment to come to you as soon as possible.”¹³⁴ Arishima’s connection with Christianity is still conspicuous. But by viewing Hokkaido as an obscure and abstract “frontier” Kimoto’s anguish is sidestepped to finish the story.

Colonial Fathers

Furthermore, the text is filled with father images. The figure of the father seems to embody a key issue here. Mothers, on the other hand, are either dead or unnoticeable, except for the earth as a mother figure. Kimoto’s father lives the life of a fisherman as “inescapable, strenuous, yet natural, just life, and he accepts it simply without pride, vanity, or complaint and courageously welcomes it with the pliant patience of a yoke ox and determination.”¹³⁵ Whereas the father of Kimoto’s friend K, who owns a pharmacy on a fairly deserted street, “has never shown his cheerful face to Kimoto,” considering him as bad company, and becomes rude when

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Ibid., 83.

Kimoto stayed too long.¹³⁶ Both young men are voluntarily or involuntarily controlled by their fathers. Compared to his father's seriousness in his living, Kimoto is unsure about his ability in painting but he cannot give it up. K, on the other hand, gives up literature to succeed his father by making an excuse; "it is better than being a mediocre artist."¹³⁷ Besides, the writer plays a paternalistic role for Kimoto and tries to direct Kimoto's future by making Hokkaido a mythical frontier, where nature, which is so important for art, is readily available and one can be transformed into a true self. There are also invisible "fathers." Paternal control immediately invokes state power. However, it seems that state power is his lesser concern. His invisible "fathers" are what/who control his self, such as his own father, Christianity, and perhaps Uchimura. These "fathers" seem to suggest an internalized external control that one needs to subvert in order to be born again. The "father" for Arishima is an instrument, reason, or force for him to necessarily convert.

In the colony, there are many suzerain "fathers," who are thought to have authority to "civilize" colonial others, and their relations between colonizer and colonized can be mistaken in paternal rhetoric, concealing the power relations between superior/inferior, master/subordinate. As Ainu in Hokkaido were given education in Japanese language and taught sanitation to be "civilized," there were many "fathers" for them in Hokkaido. Physical anthropologist Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863-1913), for example, volunteered to seek salvation because of anti-racial discrimination.¹³⁸ However, his anti-racial discrimination is derived from Japan's duality of being

¹³⁶Ibid., 105.

¹³⁷Ibid., 100.

¹³⁸In his 1906 lecture entitled "Hokkaido's ex-natives relief and teaching project," "gentlemen, just like Hokkaido is no longer a foreign country called Ezo, Ainu are no longer foreigners called *Ezojin*. They also Japanese subjects like us. Is it our shame that there are nationals who have so little knowledge? Disdaining them is the same as disdain ing ourselves. Teaching and leading innocent people can change useless people into useful people is predecessors's duty." Oguma, Eiji, *Tan'itsu Minzoku Shinwa No Kigen: "Nihonjin" No Jigazo No Keifu = the Myth of the*

inferior in the Western context and superior in surrounding regions. In this duality his anti-discrimination works as a way to avoid the possibility of “colored” Japanese being a target of Anglo racial discrimination, as Oguma notes.¹³⁹ Classmates at the Sapporo Agricultural School Nitobe and Uchimura are father figures in the field of colonial studies and in Christianity respectively.¹⁴⁰ Both of them believed making Ainu “useful” through their civilization and treated Ainu as savages under the name of civilization.¹⁴¹ Yet another “father,” Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882-1971), established the foundation of the study on Ainu language, using Ainu for his own accomplishment. Murai Osamu blames him for not using Ainu as human beings but as samples of his study, and asks if Kindaichi really admired the Ainu language, then why did he not resist the enforcement of “national language” at *dojin gakkō* [natives’ school], since its enforcement enabled the extinction of the language?¹⁴²

A “father” is entitled to judge, so the narrator-writer hesitantly passed his value judgment on Kimoto’s paintings. The writer’s patronization is quite similar to Yanagi Muneyoshi’s. In

Homogeneous Nation (Tokyo: Shin’yosha, 1995), 79-80.

¹³⁹Ibid., 81.

¹⁴⁰Doppo had close contact with Uchimura, though he was baptized by Uemura Masahisa, Uchimura influenced many writers, such as Shiga Naoya (1883-1971) and Masamune Hakuchō (1879-1962).

¹⁴¹In his lecture on colonial studies Nitobe, a pioneer of colonial studies in Japan, talks about native policies in which he refers to Ainu as barbarians who “can hunt bears without sleeping several days, but once they have a hoe they can tolerate only a couple hours’ labor.”*Nitobe Hakase Shokumin Kōgi Oyobi Ronbunshū*, 147. Another father figure, Uchimura Kanzō praised strongly and believed in civilization of American Indian, who then can make themselves “useful” and do “productive work.” (Education of American natives in 1895) He shows humanism and egalitarianism, but it was in the name of civilization to assimilate minorities into majority’s culture. Oguma, Eiji, *Tan’Itsu Minzoku Shinwa No Kigen: “Nihonjin” No Jigazo No Keifu = the Myth of the Homogeneous Nation*, 81. English missionary John Bachelor (1854-1944) is known for helping Ainu but he also compelled them to follow his own value judgement.

¹⁴²Murai, Osamu, *Nanto Ideorogi No Hassei: Yanagita Kunio to Shokuminchi Shugi*, 146. Linguist Yasuda Toshiaki claims Kindaichi made Ainu stuffed specimens. Yasuda Toshiaki, *Kindaichi Kyōsuke to Nihongo No Kindai*, 72. Kindaichi’s position was based on the assimilation policy, which treats Ainu as an “dying” race. In such a framework, he researched their epic poetry and language with a sense of urgency and mission. He invited Ainu to come to Tokyo to stay at his home so that he can learn from them at his convenience.

Yanagi's logic, "civilized" can value "uncivilized," and he as Japanese judged Korean art. He learned it from how Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904) and Bernard Leach (1887-1979) appreciated Japanese art.¹⁴³ The narrator-writer from the metropole tries to let Kimoto decide: "How much I desired you who are like a child of soil, to be a devotee of art."¹⁴⁴ But I held my words that were about to come out of my mouth, and did not suggest you should be an artist by throwing everything away."¹⁴⁵ Referring to Kimoto as a "child," his attitude toward Kimoto is that of a father. But can Kimoto choose? If he barely survives, can he go to Tokyo? Kimoto cannot just leave his old father behind or cannot stay in Tokyo without financial means. But by drawing attention to the significance of Hokkaido, the writer insinuates Kimoto should be in Hokkaido. One who lives in the suzerain tries to keep the other "imprisoned" in the barren northern frontier, a colony.

Kimoto may have approached the writer for his gain, but in turn, the writer utilizes Kimoto for his literary production, much like other "fathers." The narrator-writer reveals he has difficulties tapping into the source of creativity, as he sits in front of his "icy manuscript paper," recognizing that the fire inside of him is thickly covered by dust.¹⁴⁶ But he is inspired by Kimoto's life and justifies writing about Kimoto's anguish. As if to lower himself, the writer humbly asks for Kimoto's generosity in the already written text, in which empathy and intrusion are entwined with each other: "Do you refuse that I imagine to depict you here? I would like to try to see by myself how much the power of empathy works in my dull head. I should decide that

¹⁴³Yanagi thought the ability to judge Korean arts lies in Japanese. Muneyoshi Yanagi, *Chōsen to Sono Geijutu*, vol. chosaku hen 6, Yanagi Muneyoshi Zenshu (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1981), 15.

¹⁴⁴*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 109.

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 66.

your generosity would allow it.”¹⁴⁷ It seems that Arishima, through the narrator-writer, consumes the fisherman under the guise of paternalism, just as Gaugin consumed Tahitians, Kindaichi Ainu, and Yanagi Koreans. When Kimoto reveals his life at the writer’s farm and how he regretted that his artistic desire would be wasted by being a poor fisherman, the writer by listening to his confession thinks “thinking about your feeling only that night in detail, I can create a powerful piece.”¹⁴⁸ He borrows and uses this noble savage’s predicament, hard labor, doubt, and a sense of entrapment, and projects himself onto Kimoto’s dilemma. The writer imagines the lonely fisherman’s life by fighting against rough seas and the severe climate all year round, and how it is to sink at the bottom of life for “*pan* [bread].”¹⁴⁹ He writes, “You, will you forgive my selfish imagination, just because I am a literary man? My imagination is stimulated one after another,” and assumes that “you will watch my imagination—my only life—grow by itself.”¹⁵⁰ The writer defends writing about Kimoto and then publishing it: “If I don’t publicize this small record, no one would know about the distress of this superior soul.” Paternalistically, the writer defends conveying his message to everyone who suffers, as “I” pray to find out “the best path for those who are in anguish by having the same doubt and trouble as you.” In fact, the model of Kimoto, Kida Kinjirō, became famous because of his being a protagonist in Arishima’s *Umareizuru Nayami*. Kida was not even indigenous but a son of settlers, a sort of double, in terms of the “colonized,” since he is at the same time a colonizer from the perspective of the indigenous people of Hokkaido.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., 79.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., 76.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 77.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., 98.

In reality, Arishima suggested that Kida Kinjirō (1893-1962), the model for Kimoto, should stay in Hokkaido because he may lose his “originality” by studying in Tokyo. When a 17-year old Kida visited Arishima’s residence, he praised Kida’s sketches as “individualistic.”¹⁵¹ Ten years later, Kida sent Arishima sketches in a letter, in which he asked if Arishima could find a job for him in Tokyo so that he could study painting there.¹⁵² Arishima, in response, suggested that Kida should stay in Hokkaido. Moreover, Arishima hinted that he would give Kida some financial help if he stayed in Hokkaido, knowing that being a fisherman he would have no time to paint.

How about staying there for a while instead of going to Tokyo? I think it is beneficial for your paintings, which have already fine characteristics, to be purely developed without getting any additional influence. Even if you come to Tokyo, you can only get some knowledge but for your skill there will be no gain. It is much better to be there and watch nature and people faithfully and eagerly. But for this you need time, money, and leeway. Time can be compensated by money, so in the end a certain amount of money solves the problem. For that, I have an idea, and soon I will let you know about it concretely.¹⁵³

No matter how he glorifies manual labor in his text, as a landlord himself Arishima knew the hardship of laborers in Hokkaido, and this letter defined Kida’s future and confined him to Hokkaido. The suzerain keeps colonial others “outside” in their discriminative standpoint.¹⁵⁴ Arishima certainly wanted to keep Kida in Hokkaido, at least, for his “primitivism.” He blocks

¹⁵¹Arishima met Kida in Sapporo. Kida was impressed by Arishima’s paintings at the Kuroyurikai (the Black Lily Society) exhibition, which was the art circle that Arishima led in the Sapporo Agricultural School.

¹⁵²Atsushi Kume, *Umareizuru Nayami Hen 1893-1953*, Kida Kinjirō Daijesuto (Iwanai, Hokkaido: Kida Kinjirō bijutsukan, 1994), 8.

¹⁵³ Arishima’s letter to Kida Kinjirō on November 3rd, 1917. *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁵⁴In 1920 Arishima and his painter brother Ikuma sent Kida’s painting to the Nikakai exhibition, without his notice, only for it to be rejected. Arishima had to apologize to Kida.

Kida from gaining “extra influence” but asks him to stay in nature, like Millet. Kamei Shino’s detailed research tells, however, that Kida did not give up the idea of going to Tokyo, and despite the image of being a faithful disciple of Arishima, Kida started having some distance from Arishima’s sphere of influence.¹⁵⁵

Arishima’s “fatherly” suggestion to Kida may indicate the tendency of those who are “advanced” wanting to “civilize” others but not allowing others to be equal to them. In his “*Shiyū nōjō kara kyōsan nōdan e* (From a Private Farm to Communal Farm)” Arishima shows his disgust upon hearing that the ideal of young people in a village in Chiba prefecture is to go to Tokyo and be a driver: “Those who only live in the countryside naturally have a longing for cities. It is the adoration for cities. Therefore they start wanting to quit being a dirty farmer and think about going to cities to do a cleaner job. Consequently, they cannot settle down.”¹⁵⁶ Is there egotism behind those who are privileged to be already in a city? When Horace Greeley (1811-1872) said “Go West young man,” is this the way to keep them away from the city and to make them develop the hinterland?¹⁵⁷ Because “Washington is not a place to live. The rents are high, the food is bad, the dust disgusting, and morals are deplorable.” Instead, “they can grow up to be successful in the West.” Hokkaido can be Buck’s Alaska, Gauguin’s Tahiti, or Millet’s Barbison, the space for city dwellers to long for and utilize, and to serve that purpose, it should be pushed away. Kimoto’s desire for Tokyo represents the longing of many folks in the countryside.¹⁵⁸ When the narrator/writer says, thinking about Kimoto’s dilemma, he rejects

¹⁵⁵Shino Kamei, *Shirarezaru Arishima Karano Jiritsu No Monogatari*, Jinsei O Kanaderu Futakumi No Duo (Sapporo: Hokkaidoritsu Bungakukan, 2007), 23-24.

¹⁵⁶Takeo Arishima, *Arishima Takeo Zenshu*, 370.

¹⁵⁷Newspaper editor Horace Greeley (1811-1872) said in 1851.

¹⁵⁸It is like developed countries that interpose their values about environmental issues to developing countries. The way Arishima tries to keep country folks there is similar to the argument taking place in the contemporary world,

Kimoto's aspiration under the guise of paternalism, as "it's enough only for me alone to go through this path of the artist. But if you do not have talent to create your own path, then please live your life as an ordinary man."¹⁵⁹ Paternalism is imposing when we think of power relations, and this is not what Kikuchi Kan mentions as "congratulatory attitude for younger generations," referring to Arishima's work.¹⁶⁰

Arishima rigorously pushes "others" out and, at the same time, refuses to be "inside" of them. In the year before his death, Arishima released his farm to tenant farmers with the slogan of 相互扶助 *sōgo fujo* (mutual aid), which was obtained from the title of Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* that Ōsugi Sakae translated as *Sōgo fujo ron* in 1917.¹⁶¹ Instead of dividing the farm among the tenants, Arishima decided that they should "commonly own the whole land" because "natural things, such as air, water, soil should be used by 'humanity' as a whole."¹⁶² But in his "*Nōjō tenmatsuki* (A Detailed Account of the Farm, 1923)" he writes that he was not convinced that the released farm would be successful but would be split apart to fall again in the capitalists' hands.¹⁶³ He writes elsewhere that "there is no freedom where it is given beneficently, but there is true freedom where it is obtained personally," however, he gave the farm to those farmers, who

between haves and have-nots, between advanced and advancing nations, such as trying to preserve old cityscapes of advancing nations for advanced nations.

¹⁵⁹*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 71.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 366.

¹⁶¹ *Sōgo fujo ron* (A Theory of Mutual Aid), Shunyōdō in 1917. this is also a slogan for Hōtokushugi. It was during the emergence of larger mass movements, together with a growing interest in socialism. Kropotkin emphasized local organization against centralization, and he put importance on agriculture and rural life and envisioned self-sufficient local communities.

¹⁶² *Kosakunin eno kokubetu* in *Ibid.*, 272.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*, 278.

do not possess “prerequisite knowledge about communal land owning.”¹⁶⁴ Similarly, his attitude toward the emerging fourth estate, the proletariat, was a rigid exclusion of himself from that estate, and he refuted Kawakami Hajime about how to deal with the fourth estate in his *Sengen Hitotsu* (One Declaration, 1922). Arishima denies Kawakami, who thinks he can work with and for the fourth estate despite not belonging to the class himself. Arishima claims that it is intrusive to think that anyone can contribute anything to the fourth estate without being a worker in the estate.¹⁶⁵ He professed he was not born in the fourth estate, so that he cannot “do ridiculous deceit acts such as justifying, discussing, and crusading for the fourth estate. From now on no matter how [his] life changes, [he] must be the product of the conventional ruling class, and this is the same as no matter how the black race is washed with soap they won’t lose their black race-ness.”¹⁶⁶ Asada Akira compares Arishima’s strictness to Uchimura’s.¹⁶⁷ Here is the total exclusion of himself from the fourth estate, and conversely, he pushes the fourth estate away. His cold strictness is seen in his short piece *An Incident* (1914), which suggests that it may also be derived from the way Arishima was raised. The protagonist gives excessive punishment to his young son, and no matter how the son begs and cries, he would not accept the apology. This is a different “father” from the one in his *Chiisaki Mono e* (To the Small Ones, 1918), which shows a father caring for his three sons after their mother’s death.

Arishima writes about his own father for the first time in his *Oyako* (Father and Child, 1923), written in the same year of his suicide and only after his father’s death, as if to show the

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹⁶⁵*Sengen hitotsu* in Takeo Arishima, *Arishima Takeo Zenshu*.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Karatani, Kōjin, *Kindai Nihon No Hiho. Iii, Meiji, Taisho Hen*, 217.

magnitude of the influence of his father. Shiga Naoya was surprised to know that Arishima accepted his father's disapproval of marrying a woman he loved and deciding to marry someone else who his father chose. Arishima was not rebellious toward his father while he was alive.¹⁶⁸ Arishima's father was a successful elite in the Meiji society. "From the eyes of his son, he must be a symbol of state power,"¹⁶⁹ Katō Shūichi writes, "if the son tried to assert himself to such a father, there is only one way in which he stays away from the state and its ruling class."¹⁷⁰ It may be why Arishima left to go to Hokkaido and stayed around "the northern edge of the earth," where he can differentiate himself from his father. Yet there was the farm. And it was his father who bought it to pass on to Arishima. In *Oyako*, the protagonist is frustrated with his father, while visiting their farm in Hokkaido from Tokyo. Their value judgements are fundamentally different, for his father is utilitarian and inhuman. The father blames the protagonist for being an idealist, and the protagonist's resistance towards his father wells up to the point "it was hard to control it even though he tries to suppress it."¹⁷¹ So he leaves his father and goes to the farm office, where a group of tenants swiftly change their attitude at the appearance of a son of the landlord and try to treat him obsequiously.

"Young master, thank you for your trouble," said one of the pale, tall men with an experienced manner representing the group. He felt that the back of the man's mouth is saying "troubling is our side." After getting cold water [by being with his father], now unpleasant lukewarm water was thrown on him. But he hoped to relate with the tenants without regret, just because he wanted to get away from the unbearable feeling there. He could not even dream

¹⁶⁸ *Airshima Takeo*, 44.

¹⁶⁹ Kato, Shuichi, *Nihon Bungakushi Josetsu*, 386.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 228.

of the tenants and himself being able to communicate with truly human feelings. Even he could not deceive himself that much.¹⁷²

The dissension between the protagonist and his father is the dissension between ideal and reality. In his idealism the protagonist accuses his father, but in reality he is locked in the position of a son of a landlord. In the end, the protagonist returns to his father and understands that each must live following one's own principle.¹⁷³ In this split between ideal and real, he tries to imagine being rebellious against controls that prevent him from independence. Thus, his binary is between liberation and subjugation. Releasing the farm was releasing his own father, as Katō argues, and his act was “the completion of his independence.”¹⁷⁴ But at the same time, it is his final trial to stick to his principle, and for Arishima the outcome was not important.

In Arishima's two conversions, first to Christianity and later in renouncing his faith, Hokkaido is a site for a possible rebirth. At the same time, Arishima regrets that it had become Japanized, thus losing its potential “spirit.” This may be why, in *Umareizuru Nayami*, the narrator-writer's glorification of Hokkaido through overly dramatic depictions of nature appears to be a forced aestheticization to suit his expectations. At the same time, he sees that principles cannot overturn reality. The strange duality or contradiction that is in Arishima and his works can be derived from this torment between principle and reality. Christianity certainly reinforced or even helped to complete this torment, even after his renunciation, and beneath the Arishima's promising frontier image, colonialism, which serves the metropole, is concealed.

¹⁷²Ibid., 227.

¹⁷³Arishima could not really be against his father, like Kimoto's friend K, because he understood his father's hardship; Takeshi's father was banished, Takeshi had to take care of his family since he was young.

¹⁷⁴Kato, Shuichi, *Nihon Bungakushi Josetsu*, 386; Ibid.

Chapter 3. Slum Within and Without: Kobayashi Takaji's Works on Otaru

Kobayashi “socialized” Hokkaido, as Ogasawara Masaru observes, moving away from previous *naichi* writers exoticization of nature in Hokkaido.¹ Until the police tortured him to death in Tokyo, Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933) lived in Hokkaido for almost all of his short life. He wrote about Hokkaido, including its nature, countryside, farming villages, the ocean, and cities. Just as insular Hokkaido can be seen as the enclosed space of an internal colony, Kobayashi uses enclosed, confined topos for literary sites in his works. For example, the labor camp in *Kangokubeya* (Prison Camp, 1927), the jail in *March 15, 1928* (1928), and a canning boat in *Kanikōsen* (Crab Canning Boat, 1928). These enclosed spaces are also where exploitation and violence take place. Brothels are another kind of enclosure seen in *Sono shuppatsu o shuppatsushita onna* (The Woman who Departed the Departure, 1927), reminiscent of Fukumoto Kazuo's expressions “*katei o kateisuru* [process the process].”² Enclosed space also implies how Kobayashi lived during hiding, as seen in his *Tōseikatsusha* (Living for the Party, 1932), in which space directly affects his life.³ To avoid being caught by the police, when renting a room, the protagonist cautiously pays attention to such details as the floors below his room, roofs from

¹Ogasawara, Masaru, *Kindai Hokkaido No Bungaku: Atarashii Seishin Fudo No Keisei*, 17.

²Kobayashi freed the prostitute Taki by paying her debt.

³This was not able to be published with the original title, so *Chūōkōron* renamed it *Tenkanjidai* (A period of changeover) after his death. Norma Field observes that 1/6 of the entire 10,459 letters were either blackened or deleted in 1933. Norma Field, *Reading Kobayashi Takiji for the 21st Century*, 226.

the window, neighbors, escape routes, and proximity to a busy street.⁴

Among such enclosed spaces, Kobayashi repeatedly wrote about an inner city slum, which is the ghettoized space in Otaru, Hokkaido. In Meiji, Matsubara Iwagorō's documentary tries to see slums as a darker side of "civilization," and in early Showa, Kobayashi similarly sees them as a darker side of modernization, particularly that of capitalism. For example, an inner city slum seen in "Bōfū keikaihō—Konnā na shimohanki (The Rainstorm Warning—The Difficult Second Half, 1929)" is referred to as the "stinking town" as opposed to the "bright town" of the city. Dwellers in the slum support the progress of the city from the bottom up, often times without benefiting from the very progress that they take part in. His late works in particular, including *Tenkeiki no hitobito* (People of the Transformative Age, 1932) and his last work *Chiku no hitobito—Hi o tsugu mono* (People in the District—Those Who Inherit the Torch, 1933), show power relations between slum and city. The position of the slum, mutually dependent yet antagonistic with the city, resembles that of Hokkaido with the *naichi*. Similar to the slum, Hokkaido is also kept in an asymmetrical power structure by its colonial functions and is located ambiguously, both inside and outside simultaneously. The texts depict the process in which power in the slums awakens and reawakens to influence the upper part of the hierarchical system, either the bourgeoisie or the central committee of a leftist organization. Kobayashi's gaze rests at the bottom, looking up to the top of a pyramid system. This reveals both a subversive force as well as a trace of admiration for "superiors," and relates to his background as a second-generation settler in colonial Hokkaido. In reading these two texts, I argue that the slum's ambiguous position in terms of its inclusion and exclusion in these stratifications, both socioeconomic and organizational, resembles the relationship between colonial Hokkaido and

⁴Kobayashi, Takiji, *Za Takiji: Kobayashi Takiji Zen Issatsu* (Tokyo: Daisan Shokan, 2003), 590.

Japan.

“Beautiful City”

Tenkeiki no Hitobito was serialized in the October edition of *Nappu*, the official organ of the NAPF [All Japan Federation of Proletarian Arts], in 1931. This is the first part of an unfinished novel that Kobayashi planned to write. The title “Tenkeiki” reflects the time of transformation, a concept that became prevalent around this time, as seen in Hani Gorō’s *Tenkeiki no rekishigaku* (History of time of transformation, 1929), itself derived from Marx’s transformation problem. Thus, it was a buzzword that indicated advanced leftist works. Later, however, *tenkeiki* became associated with *tenkō* (abandoning communist thought), as seen in *tenkō* writer Kamei Katsuichirō’s *Tenkeiki no bungaku* (Literature During the Time of Transformation, 1934). *Tenkeiki no Hitobito* has a dual structure of a Bildungsroman of a young man’s awakening to his proletarian identity, and the shift of intellectuals from a regional unionist position, represented by Yamakawa Hitoshi (Yamakawaism), to a radically political, centralized position, represented by Fukumoto Kazuo (Fukumotoism). Since the text is unfinished, these two stories are just beginning to be integrated, and the awakening of the protagonist Tatsukichi remains only at a level of inception. But it shows how Kobayashi converts the Marxist dualism of bourgeois and proletariat into a spatial dualism of city and slum in 1920s’ Otaru. It was also Kobayashi’s own “transformative” period of awakening as a Marxist, and the nostalgic tone in the text, as the city “looked beautiful,” may come from Kobayashi’s particular position in Tokyo, in which the pleasure of “looking back” on the past days may be considered a hindrance to the movement, unless it has a purpose to serve the Marxist cause.⁵

⁵Ibid., 483.

The view of Otaru begins from the level of the port, then it pans and focuses on details of the nostalgic landscape.

The water of the port was deep and blue, and the sea bottom was rocky. Consequently, thickly layered volcanic mountains rise sharply from the sea. Alongside undulations of the mountains the city of Otaru stretched its flanks along the sea. When the city reached the ends of both promontories that enveloped the port, it leveled off at the mountains and climbed up valleys. Rows of houses in the city expanded upwardly, step by step, like climbing up the stairs. Red dislocations exposed their cruel openings at unexpected places of the city. But in less than a month these exposures became flat, houses with the scent of fresh wood were built there, and became high ground with a view and fresh air. Thick, wooded residential areas with tiled roof-houses were emerging.⁶

It is depicted in such a way that the city rises from the bottom of the ocean and reaches the top of the hill, as if it were alive. The modern port city of the internal colony Hokkaido has a terraced appearance. It is integrated in the natural topography, but also modifies it. Otaru is bustling, the “red dislocations” representing rapid, though “cruel” development. Kobayashi writes that Otaru is like the heart of Hokkaido whence products from the vast hinterland of the island are sent out to *the naichi*.⁷ Originally a government-created city, it was set up as a port for shipment of coal from the state-owned Horonai mine to support industries in the *naichi*, and thus to contribute to the modernization of Japan.⁸ The port, which opened in 1899, also served as a military port in

⁶Ibid.

⁷In the 1925 census, the population of Sapporo exceeded that of Otaru. Norma Field asks “gold” for whom?

⁸Minoru Kurata, “Kobayashi Takiji Den—Takiji to Otaru: Otaru Ijū Kara Shōgakkō Sotugyō Made,” *Jinbun Kenkyū*, http://ci.nii.ac.jp/els/110006610043.pdf?id=ART0008580332&type=pdf&lang=jp&host=cinii&order_no=&ppv_type=0&lang_sw=&no=1346430806&cp=, 40.

both the Sino-and Russo-Japanese Wars.⁹ With the opening of regular service in 1907, Otaru monopolized the Karafuto trade and made Otaru more prosperous, that is, through Japan's colonial expansion. During World War I, beans were exported to Europe through Otaru, creating opportunities for wartime profiteers.¹⁰ The rapid development through the port made Otaru the biggest financial city in Hokkaido, and the first national census in the 1920s shows its population exceeded that of Sapporo, the capital of Hokkaido.¹¹ It is in this busy, bustling, and prosperous city, that the story takes place.

The city is not only topographically terraced, but the topography corresponds to social functions and class hierarchy. Otaru is like a diorama of an economically stratified space. Kobayashi's cinematic eye moves up the terrace step by step.

On the lowest level there is Oceanside Avenue, with the customs house, warehouses, a canal, and large steamboat companies; on the next level above, a building district has banks, companies, and large stores; on the next level further up, a glittering promenade district has cafes, tearooms, and night stalls; and on the next level above there is a thick green area with parks, schools, and playgrounds that leads to a residential area in uptown.¹²

In this artificial urban amphitheater, each terrace corresponds to the function of this modern city, such as production, finance, consumption, entertainment, and restoration. The lowest level is where laborers work, vendors sell goods, and prostitutes solicit sailors. The area is filled with noise, and the stinking, turbid water is filled with soot and trash. The highest level, however, is

⁹During the Russo-Japanese War, soldiers were sent to Karafuto from Otaru.

¹⁰Nozoe, Kenji, *Kaitaku Nomin No Kiroku*, 55.

¹¹The first national census.

¹²Kobayashi, Takiji, *Za Takiji: Kobayashi Takiji Zen Issatsu*, 483.

quiet and detached from the pandemonium of the lowest. Even the “northern wind that blows in directly from Siberia” cannot reach this residential district above “protected” by dense woods.¹³ This modern port city is filled with the essential components of modernity: Banks, schools, playgrounds, cafes, and factories, as well as state-of-the-art facilities, such as “Warren-type through-truss bridges,” to connect with the reclaimed land and the “elevated coal pier” to pull any type of steamboat. Within Hokkaido, which concentrates the Japanese modern in its various forms, Otaru seems as if “its heart beats with the pulse of capitalism,” as Norma Field remarks.¹⁴

However, there is a part of the city which is left behind the “pulse of capitalism,” and from this “beautiful” city theater. Temiyachō exists as if it is an outcast from the stratification of the city. It is “dark, like the bottom of the valley at night,” and only laborers live there. It is separated from the city by a visible boundary. When people in Temiya are asked about their occupation, they simply say “I am living in Temiyachō,” which sufficiently indicates what they do for a living and who they are, that is, “either they are laborers or the needy (poorer than the poor).”¹⁵ Thus, they don’t want to disclose that they live there and dislike being “seen themselves walking through the narrow path,” which functions as “a boundary” between the city and Temiyachō. Though they live in the city, they say ““going to Otaru” or “going to town.”¹⁶ They are inside of the city yet outside of it. Their unsettled status is very similar to that of people in Hokkaido, where they refer to Japan as *naichi* (internal land), as though Hokkaido is *gaichi* (external land), making the position of the island ambiguous. Just a Hokkaido is an inner colony

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Norma Field, *Reading Kobayashi Takiji for the 21st Century*, 21.

¹⁵Kobayashi, Takiji, *Za Takiji: Kobayashi Takiji Zen Issatsu*, 620.

¹⁶Ibid., 484.

of Japan, Temiyachō is an inner colony of the city of Otaru.

The inner colony of Otaru, Temiya, is a ghetto for laborers, who are further subdivided by shades and hues. Factory workers live close to the entrance of the town in row houses. But deeper inside the town, dock workers, longshoremen, and day laborers live in small, dirty houses. Shop owners in Temiya treat workers of the big factories differently from those of small sized factories and day laborers. Within the streets of the town, there are several hundred brothels with “quick cuisine” signs. It is where women with “thick red arms and rough language” stand in the dark entrance. They are “all daughters of farmers in the hinterland and nearby fishermen of Hokkaido” being sold for prostitution. Furthermore, there is another part of the town called “stinking alleys,” where only Koreans live. It is a ghetto within the ghettoized slum for laborers. “Over 3,000 Koreans are living there, sticking squalidly in and around Temiya;” they are called “Otaru’s lice.”¹⁷ After Japan’s colonization of Korea in 1910, displaced Koreans had to migrate to Japan, the metropole. Many of them were sent to Hokkaido to work in mines and labor camps,¹⁸ as seen in his *Higashi Kuccankō* (A trip to Higashi Kucchan, 1928): “on almost any train in Hokkaido, we can see the faces of ten or twenty Koreans” led by a Japanese supervisor, who delivers them to labor camps and mines.¹⁹ Temiyachō is subdivided in such a way to be stratified within as a reflection of the hierarchy outside, where Temiyachō itself is positioned at the lowest rung.

However, huge dilapidated three-story buildings exist here and there in the town, which are the last resort for unskilled day laborers. Named after each owner, the buildings are run

¹⁷Ibid., 501.

¹⁸Statistics of Koreans in mines owned by Hokkaido Tankō Kisen are found in Nagai Hideo’s *Nihon no Kindaika to Hokkaido*. Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō*, 321.

¹⁹Kobayashi, Takiji, *Za Takiji: Kobayashi Takiji Zen Issatsu*, 206.

through managers, just like absentee landlords run their farms. The condition in Iwaki *biru* (building), one of these buildings, is such that “every hallway is warped like a dried cuttlefish,” “staircases are buckled and shine black with grime,” and the structure is so wobbly that “when someone runs in the hallway on the second or third floor, the whole building sways.”²⁰ In this inhuman condition, young Tatsukichi lives alongside stevedores, street vendors, day laborers, prostitutes, shoe repairmen, and all sorts of unskilled laborers. There is a certain space for Koreans there as well, and one of three Koreans who live there “speaks better Japanese than the Japanese.” The *biru* is a microcosm of Temiya. Led by an ex-newspaper reporter in Karafuto, a residential meeting against a rent-increase is held for the first time, and an undisclosed organizer, who also lives in the *biru*, maneuvers this first meeting. In Iwaki *biru*, signs of a labor movement are emerging, instigated by intellectuals. Iwaki *biru* is an incubator, an experimental ground for mass mobilization, as well as a community that shares the same destiny. It serves as a nucleus for the revolutionary movement beyond being a mere meeting against a rent increase. Tatsukichi, however, is unaware of being a “laborer.” He thinks his socioeconomic problems can be solved by working harder.

Yet, Tasukichi becomes aware of the structure of society by experiencing the capitalists’ section of the city on the top of the terrace. In this quiet residential area, he can hear “light, beautiful piano sounds” instead of noises of machines and motors, and inhale fresh “good air” instead of polluted air from the bottom of the terrace.²¹ Tatsukichi was asked to set up a German-style heater at his factory’s president’s residence. In contrast to Iwaki *biru*, the president’s residence is filled with luxurious Western-style furniture. A seesaw and swing, which Tatsukichi

²⁰Ibid., 489.

²¹Ibid., 516.

only sees in a park, are in its garden.²² The president's family even talks differently. The children call their mother *okāsama*, and the mother replies to them politely. In the daytime the president plays mah-jongg with his guests and continues to do so even after learning of the death of a worker in his factory. For Tatsukichi it is a space “out of this world.” He started realizing that “there is no commonality between capitalists and workers, and that essentially they are divided in the relation of ‘enemy’ and ‘ally.’”²³ Guided by intellectuals, Tatsukichi awakens to see where problems lie, not in himself as he originally thought, but in “them,” those who sit above. Swinging from the lowest to the highest parts of the city, Kobayashi's Marxist dualism divides the world into the exploiting class and exploited, bourgeois and proletariat.

When Kobayashi writes that Tatsukichi is “originally a laborer but something intellectual must be grafted on top of it” since Tatsukichi went to school, he may as well be speaking about himself. Kobayashi crossed class lines, from the exploited to exploiting, from laborer to intellectual. Like Tasukichi, Kobayashi's parents came to Otaru from Akita in 1907 when Kobayashi was four, and they lived in an impoverished area of Otaru, which becomes his original landscape. In addition to concerns about his father's health, another reason for the move was encouragement from Kobayashi's successful uncle. There was also the push factor of so-called “Hokkaido fever” that stimulated people to rush to Hokkaido hoping to be successful.²⁴ But in Hokkaido, their lives did not improve much. Supported by his uncle, who owned a large

²²The house is filled with “a huge sofa, arm chairs, and a dining table with over a dozen chairs.” With the light going through curtains, the subdued colored wall paper the room looks soft and graceful. In the study, Tatsukichi saw fine books filling the walls, electric stands, thick carpet, a gold clock, and double-glazed windows. In their garden there are a seesaw and swing, which Tatsukichi has only seen in the park.

²³Ibid., 519.

²⁴Minoru Kurata, “Kobayashi Takiji Den—Takiji to Otaru: Otaru Ijū Kara Shōgakkō Sotugyō Made,” 69.

bakery, Kobayashi was sent to school, working at the bakery at the same time.²⁵ Eventually, Kobayashi attended the prestigious Otaru School of Higher Learning, founded for the commercial development of Otaru in 1910. After graduation he worked at the semi-governmental Hokkaido Takushoku Bank (Hokkaido Development Bank, abbr., Takugin), established for the colonial development of Hokkaido and Karafuto by way of loans to capitalists and large-scale landowners. Kobayashi became an elite figure to support Japan's modernization through Hokkaido's colonization.

Although he became active in literature and wrote Shiga Naoya-like pieces in the literary coterie magazine *Kurarute* that he was involved with, he was also aware of socialist ideas, like many other intellectuals of the times.²⁶ He participated in the first popular election campaign and labor disputes. Reflecting on these experiences, Kobayashi wrote in his diary in 1926:

Even though I say I am desperately poor, I still lived lackadaisically and graduated from Otaru Higher Commercial School (thanks to my relatives). The aristocratic feeling that my intellectual position naturally exudes started mixing with the "I" who is "desperately poor." Discrepancy and inconsistency in the face of every incident seemed to be coming from this mixture, just like that of a "dual national"!!²⁷

Just as Hokkaido is dual, both inside and outside of Japan, Kobayashi has a dual identity between intellectual and laborer. His duality is closely related to his spatial position, in which, essentially, an intellectual side connects to Tokyo and a laborer side to Hokkaido. Kobayashi worked hard as a manual laborer at his uncle's bakery. As Itō Sei writes, Kobayashi made money by "labor that

²⁵Otaru Commercial School

²⁶Takugin started in 1900, and the Takushoku Ginkō Otaru branch was established in 1901. After land loss through foreclosure in the late 1920s, the bank itself started functioning an absentee landlord. Otaru School of Higher Learning (current Otaru University of Commerce). *Clarte* written by Henri Barbusse.

²⁷Takiji Kobayashi, *Kanikōsen, March 15, 1928* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), 214.

wears one out by boredom, such as pushing pumps to give air to divers.”²⁸ As intellectuals in Tokyo led laborers in proletarian movements, intellectuals came above laborers in this hierarchical mentoring relationship. As a “dual national,” he has a split view towards Tokyo.

“Tokyo” connotes antagonism and longing in Kobayashi’s work. In his *Higashi Kucchankō*, for example, Tokyo is regarded as the stronghold of the bourgeois, where there are “prominent bourgeois” who own land in Hokkaido, such as “the farm of some viscount, or the farm of some famous marquis.”²⁹ Tokyo is the center, where the fruit of capitalism and modernization can be enjoyed by those bourgeoisie.³⁰ Yet, it is also a space to look up to. Tokyo is always where the “standard” is, especially for intellectuals. A friend in Tokyo sent a book by Fukumoto, noting “now it is unthinkable that any revolutionary students or workers haven’t read this book in Tokyo.”³¹ Tokyo is also the center for resources and technology, and is always more “advanced”³² than elsewhere. Conversely, Hokkaido is criticized by people from Tokyo: “Hokkaido is indeed behind.”³³ Knowing that they are behind, “students in Otaru, isolated from the center, are inquisitive about the stories of the people from Tokyo,” as if to gain deprived knowledge and to catch up.³⁴ For Kobayashi, Tokyo is a mecca for social movements. He confesses in his work that his desire to go to the center is “to be ‘recognized’ in ‘the center, as

²⁸Sei Itō, *Wakai Shijin No Shōzō*, 371.

²⁹*Kobayashi, Takiji, Za Takiji: Kobayashi Takiji Zen Issatsu*, 215.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹*Ibid.*, 540.

³²Imperial University students with organizational duties from Tokyo teach students how to use a mimeograph in Otaru. *Ibid.*, 537.

³³ *Ibid.*, 515.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 539.

though [the proletarian] movement only consisted of Tokyo.”³⁵ Even “socialist consciousness is what is exactly brought from the outside,” that is, it does not spontaneously emerge in the proletariat but from without brought by intellectuals.³⁶ After all, socialist ideas were brought from the West. Ishimoda Tadashi argues that the early stage of socialism in Japan had a tendency to be directly imported, but Takeuchi Yoshimi expands this notion further to include not only the late Meiji period but also the Comintern era as in the sphere of import.³⁷ In this hierarchy of dissemination, knowledge flows from the West to Japan, and descends from Tokyo to Hokkaido.

Kobayashi’s ambivalence to Tokyo is metaphorically seen in his *Dōshi Taguchi no kanshō* (Sentimentality of Comrade Taguchi, 1930). Taguchi remembers his older sister’s resistance to being a herring carrier on the occasion of a large haul because out of pride she does not want to be seen by her friends. Because of their poverty, however, his sister is bent on doing it. On a sunny Sunday, many tourists from Otaru and Sapporo come to watch the large haul of herring. In a special outfit, she tolerates being a spectacle for the gaze of curious city dwellers, covering her head in a towel to avoid being seen. But Taguchi noticed that she was also watching a beautiful woman from the city stealthily, judging, and probably longing for the social position of powerful others that her poor family cannot attain. It is the moment when she turns around to objectify them. Similarly, Kobayashi stealthily admires Tokyo. From insularly segregated Hokkaido towards the center, a look of repulsion and longing for Tokyo characterizes Kobayashi’s peripheral stand. He leaves Otaru for Tokyo in 1931 after being fired from the Takugin because of his *Fuzai jinushi* (Absentee Landlord, 1929), inspired by a 1927 tenant

³⁵Ibid., 217.

³⁶Ibid., 539.

³⁷Takeuchi, Yoshimi, *Nihon to Ajia* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1993), 340.

dispute on the Isono farm, with which Takugin had business dealings. By then, he was the established proletarian literary author of *March 15, 1928* and *Kanikōsen* and had been selected as a member of the central committee of the NALP. He was welcomed in Tokyo as a prominent member of the organization. Yet, Field notes how he remained a “*inakamono* (provincial)” by introducing other writers’ impressions of him in Tokyo.³⁸

In *Tenkeiki no hitobito* Kobayashi intended to cover the bustling political “changes” in the proletarian movement, namely, the rise and fall of Fukumotoism, the general strike in Otaru, and the March 15 incident, according to his supplementary notes. Although this is only an introduction to a longer novel, it touches on the change of direction in the proletarian literary movement. In the late 1920s, the proletarian literary movement came to mean a Marxist literary movement. Hirano Ken points out that literary critic Aono Suekichi’s article stimulated this change.³⁹ In September, 1926, his article “*Shizen Seichō to Mokuteki Ishiki* (Spontaneous Growth and Sense of Purpose)” appeared in the journal *Bungei Sensen* (Literary Front); here, Aono argues that the emergence of proletarian literature and the proletarian literary movement were not simultaneous, so the sublimation of spontaneous proletarian literature into a conscious proletarian literary movement, that is, Marxist literary movement, is needed.⁴⁰ This involvement of young radical Fukumotoists, such as Nakano Shigeharu and Hayashi Fusao, resulted in the intensification of internal struggles among leftist writers, instead of pushing the literary struggle forward against bourgeois ideology.⁴¹ Until NAPF was established in 1928, three organizations,

³⁸Norma Field, *Reading Kobayashi Takiji for the 21st Century*, 194-96.

³⁹Hirano, Ken, *Showa Bungakushi* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1963), 26.

⁴⁰自然生長と目的意識 Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid., 30.

each of which claimed to be a proletarian art group, existed, namely, the Progei (Japan Proletarian Arts League, JPAL), Rōgei (Worker Peasant Artists League, WPAL), and Zengei (Vanguard Artists League, VAL). *Tenkeiki no hitobito* captures these dizzying changes. They continued splitting and merging until they finally became the NAPF and WPAL in 1928, but reconfiguration resulting in confusion and antagonism continued.⁴²

Space as Abstract Component

In his final work, *Chiku no hitobito*, Kobayashi revisits Temiyachō and Otaru in 1933. Rather than continuing the incomplete *Tenkeiki no Hitobito*, Kobayashi instead jumped to a contemporary setting, a year after the Manchurian Incident, to depict the same slum after state suppression of the March 15th incident of 1928 and the April 16th incident of 1929. In the slum, the flame for the labor movement is extinguished by the state crackdown. The text depicts the reinvigoration of the “spirit” of the slum and its incorporation in the centralized organization. What is referred to as Temiyachō in the previous *Tenkeiki no Hitobito*, however, is simply referred to as “chiku” within quotation marks, so even if it is a generic term, it seems to be a proper noun. The city is also named as the abstract “Y,” but it appears to be Otaru.

People in the city, before we knew it, have been referring to this place as “chiku.” When we were little, we thought “*chiku*” was the same name for “xx” in “xx chō” and without knowing referred to it as “*chiku*.” It was much later that I learned that this “chiku” is equivalent to 地區 in *kanji*. But it was even later when I comprehended that a part of this area consisted of a certain

⁴²Socialist movements repressed after the Great Kanto Earthquake were again flourishing, represented by the publication of the *Bungei Sensen* in 1924. This magazine practically functioned as the official organ of the Proren (Japan Proletarian Literary Arts League, JPLAL), established in 1925. (in Esperanto Nippona Artista Proleta Federacio).

“special” district when looking at it from the perspective of the entire Y city.⁴³

It starts out from this recollection of *watashi* (I), who lived in “chiku” “for 20 years” since he was four years old. Paralleling Kobayashi’s own life, *watashi* seems to be the implied author. For *watashi* the term “chiku” was initially understood phonetically not semantically, so it did not mean anything else but a designation. “Chiku,” then, was considered as though it is a proper noun for those who lived there. But it is the name given by the people in the city, intending to exclude the space from the city, though it is in the city. The word *chiku* means a district, a partitioned area, but often connotes a segregated area within a city, such as *dōwa chiku* for *buraku* and *Airin chiku* for a day-laborers’ slum. Thus, it oscillates between this particular locale and generic unit, and the meaning is unsettled between them, not one or the other.

The appearance of “chiku” is much like Temiyachō, crowded with low, darkened, and disorganised houses. Its subhuman condition makes a clear delineation from that of the city. “Chiku” is separated by the river from the city as well as the boundary of Ishiyama hill, and it is connected to factories in the reclaimed land by only three bridges, so that when there is a strike, the police can block the bridges. The river that separates Y and “chiku” is dark and stagnant, always covered by glittering oil. Sometimes it smells rotten, like “empyema.”⁴⁴ The smoke from factories blackens laundry and children’s nasal mucus, and even the rain is black there. Sounds are everywhere all the time, so everyone in “chiku” speaks loudly, which becomes notorious in the city for they cannot have a confidential discussion since they cannot talk in a low voice.⁴⁵ For

⁴³Kobayashi, Takiji, *Za Takiji: Kobayashi Takiji Zen Issatsu*, 617.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid., 618.

a long time *watashi* also suffered from not being able to speak in low voice in secret meetings in Tokyo.

“Chiku” also functions to regulate the city by accepting unwanted things. This filthy, damp, smelly, and noisy “chiku” is the end product of taking over things unwanted from the city. It is symbolic that “chiku” accepts the city’s excrement; “twice a day at fixed times” barges full of feces and urine are sent from Y to near “chiku,” making the area malodorous. Similarly, unlicensed brothels are within the laborers streets. For city dwellers, going to “chiku” means going to brothels, which used to be all over the city but were moved to “chiku” because of the “appearance of the city and public morals.” Then, there is the use of the term “chiku” to obscure a clear destination. “Chiku” serves to protect the pretense and hypocrisy of the city. So in the middle of the night when laborers are sleeping before their early rise, many cars cross the dark bridges to “chiku,” “wagging their headlights like antennas.” The city’s excrement and its sexual drive are sent to and dumped in “chiku,” and in this way the city validates “chiku.” This is how colonies, especially settler colonies such as Hokkaido, function: they accept the unwanted, while protecting the needs of the metropole.⁴⁶ A settler colony is a dumping ground as well as a space of exploitation for the benefit of the metropole.⁴⁷

“Chiku” is also compared to Tokyo, not as metropolitan city, but as “the center.” Student organizer Hiraga, another doppelganger of Kobayashi, moves to the “chiku” of the city Y in the “northern country” just because it is the city where one of the largest five strikes in Japan

⁴⁶Settlers were Hokkaido’s *tondeihai*, which are like farmer soldiers to satisfy political, economic, and military needs for the metropole. Nozoe, Kenji, *Kaitaku Nomin No Kiroku*, 81.

⁴⁷It was a year after the break of the Manchurian Incident, and full-scale migration to Manchuria began from Japan, under the slogan like *Ōdōrakudo* (righteous paradise), the puppet state of Manchukuo was established.

happened and is a so-called leftist breeding ground.⁴⁸ The city dwellers think people in “chiku” are “obsequious,” “flattering,” “obliging,” and “always sensitive” to the mood of city people, like slaves studying the master. But during the March 15 and April 16 incidents, they were astonished by the power of people in “chiku” that “can take their lives away.”⁴⁹ The numbers arrested by the police from “chiku” exceeded “more than that of students in the city.”⁵⁰ But the “power” of “chiku” that seemed to be extinguished after the crackdown needs to be reinvigorated and aligned to “the center.” By forming a reading society in school and a leftist group in “chiku,” Hiraga is intent on waiting for a response from the center.⁵¹ He needs approval from the central committee of the organization and to be included in its hierarchized organization. Until then, he determines that he “has to establish the ‘foundation’ of the H regional committee of the party.” He is thinking of himself as “one of those who inherits the torch,” that is, he has “a role to protect the traditional red flame of ‘chiku’ so that it will not be extinguished and to connect it to the national organization.”⁵² When “chiku” is “being tossed about by waves and waiting for a big rescue steamship to come,” Hiraga must “make formal contact with the central organization!”⁵³

For readers at the time, however, the word “chiku” would have immediately evoked the

⁴⁸Kobayashi, Takiji, *Za Takiji: Kobayashi Takiji Zen Issatsu*, 628.

⁴⁹Ibid., 620.

⁵⁰Ibid. The March 15 Incident was a massive crackdown after the first popular election held in March, 1928, in which eight candidates from *musan seitō* (Proletarian political parties) were elected. Though small in number, the upset government started mass arrests by enforcing the Peace Preservation Law. In Otaru about 200 workers, students, and members were arrested. The April 16 incident was another massive crackdown by the government in 1929. The Peace Preservation Law was enacted when the bill for general election was passed in 1925. In 1928 when the first popular election was held, Kobayashi supported the campaign of a Rōnōtō candidate, and based on this experience wrote *Higashi Kucchankō* (Trip to Higashi Kucchan). Ibid., 109.

⁵¹Ibid., 629.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid., 633.

units in the hierarchy of leftist organization, such as the JCP. It is a term that was used to designate the smallest spatial unit, beside “cells (clandestine cells),” that formed hierarchized, centralized organization within a regional organization. “Chiku,” then, implies both the bottom of a socioeconomic hierarchical structure and a leftist organizational hierarchical structure. That is why student organizer Hiraga is so concerned to incorporate the Otaru district, including the slum, into the centralized pyramid system for the leftist organization. “Chiku” becomes an abstract notion to encompass all the similar areas that need to be included in the pyramid. But it is not happening, so Hiraga is frustrated and indignant at the center:

If the center thinks that they can leave regions forever, then it is the isolation of the center, sectarianism, and loss of the characteristics of “the center for the whole country.” Then they will be replaced as a Tokyo region and the center. Then regions will be isolated forever as regions, and the experience gained in regions won’t be shared nationally.⁵⁴

The frustration that Hiraga, who is originally from the *naichi*, feels is also that of Kobayashi, who lived in Hokkaido, and who experienced the subordinate, weaker status of the colony. There is a sense of urgency to be included and to form an ordered, strict hierarchical system in which regions are “rescued” and guided by “good organizers.” Hiraga desperately wants “chiku” to be aligned with the top-down system of the center. What makes Hiraga so intensely want to reduce Temiyachō to be just a cog of the system? It was a response to the center and to the times.

The outbreak of the Manchurian Incident in 1931 marks the beginning of a long war and the emergence of fascism. As if to respond to the Incident, the Marxist cultural movement established a new organization, KOPF (Japan Proletarian Culture Federation) by reorganizing

⁵⁴Ibid.

NAPF, which included NALP (Japanese Proletarian Writers' League).⁵⁵ A leading theorist of NAPF, Kurahara Korehito, suggested the creation of KOPF after coming back from the Soviet Union. Former organizations in NAPF can form their own cultural circles in factories and agricultural villages, and these cultural activities would be a part of the communist movement. According to Kurahara, then, by KOPF being a strong national center for these organizations, they also become supplementary organs for the JCP.⁵⁶ This relates to Hiraga's urgency to include "chiku" into the centralized hierarchy. This means, however, that members of these organizations should be "100% communists."⁵⁷ Around this time, the JCP was calling for the mass acquisition of party members, and the establishment of the KOPF apparently corresponded to the party's strategy.⁵⁸ Kobayashi, in fact, became a member of the party in 1931 and loyally pursued this centrally reorganized cultural movement, that is, the "path of bloodshed that directly confronts state power."⁵⁹ By March, 1932, a large crackdown on KOPF began. About 400 members were arrested, and Kobayashi immediately went underground. The arrests and banning of members by the police continued, which came to a peak when Kobayashi was murdered in February, 1933. Another peak followed in which executive members of the party published their

⁵⁵KOPF Federacio de Proletaj Kultur Organizoj Japanaj, and NAPF Nippona Artista Proleta Federacio in Esperanto. NAPF exceeded ideologically, literarily than Rogei.

⁵⁶Kurahara went to the Soviet Union in 1931 to attend the fifth Profintern (The Red International of Labour Unions) as an interpreter. According to the resolution of the Profintern, Kurahara published in 1931 an article entitled "Organizational issues of proletarian cultural and education—the need for reorganization based on factories and agricultural villages" in order to form popular club organizations of their own in factories and farming villages and to make them supplementary organs for the communist party or the National Council of Japanese Labor Unions (Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Kyōgikai, Zenkyō). Opposing opinion was sent from Katsumoto Seiichiro in Berlin, but it was considered as valuable.

⁵⁷Hirano, Ken, *Showa Bungakushi*, 125. This pyramid system met some oppositions within. Because KOPF is a cultural organization, it should not be allowed to form organizations made up of only 100% communists.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

criticism of the Comintern. A massive *tenkō*, abandoning the communist movement, followed.

Reflecting the change in the cultural movement's alignment with the party, *Chiku no hitobioto* ends dramatically with Hiraga finally connecting to the center and meeting *watashi* there.⁶⁰ Here, "chiku" is a part of the Hokkaido region, connecting it to the center, Tokyo. Whether it is the will of the people in "chiku" or not is not asked, but it is Hiraga's or Kobayashi's earnest wish. Spontaneously radical and communal "chiku" is now directly incorporated into the organizational hierarchy, a process that forms the climax and conclusion of the story.

"Finally!" said Hiraga.

Out of excitement that he had finally completed the duty thus far, tears welled up in his thin, sunken eyes.

We two held our hands together tightly.⁶¹

It is as though *watashi* in the center and the regional organizer Hiraga remain deeply complacent by getting closer to a hoped-for communist utopia. The importance of the slum and Hokkaido as district and region at this point exceeds their being a colony of the city and of Japan. Kobayashi, like Hiraga, worked for the NALP and KOPF, and in turn for the JCP. As Hiraga always tries to find apposite phrases of Lenin to the situations he encounters, leftist organizations have a top-down structure, as the JCP itself followed decisions of the Comintern. By the proletarian movement becoming a militaristic, centralized, and neatly ordered pyramid, it resembles that of the imperial forces of Japan, which was expanding its influence around that time.

In this strictly hierarchized organization, individuals as well as space are losing specific identities but become mere components of the organization. It can be individuals becoming

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Kobayashi, Takiji, *Za Takiji: Kobayashi Takiji Zen Issatsu*, 637.

members of a union or a local district turning into a chapter of a leftist organization, and such inclusions make concrete individuality and particularity abstract. They are all seen from the point of view of the center, for the sake of the structure. Denied individuality and specificity, however, Kobayashi finds an exit in his repeated returning to the literary site of Otaru. His detailed descriptions of the city full of proper nouns may function as a form of resistance, probably unwittingly, in the rigidity of the organization and its direction in the literary movement. Although Kobayashi attacked Hayashi Fusao (1903-75), who advocated “the reinstatement of literature that is not subordinate to politics,” his use of Otaru replete with tender nostalgia may indicate that Kobayashi was also suffocated by the rigidity of the organization and the proletarian movement.⁶² Otaru is where Kobayashi wanted to leave from to be included in the “center,” but it is also the escape route from the “center” to rediscover his denied self.

⁶²Honjō, Mutsuo, *Honjō Mutsuo Zenshu.*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Kage Shobō, 1996), 723. Hayashi Fusao came out of jail in 1932 and started publishing articles that urge the liberation of literature from the superiority of politics in 1932. Ogasawara points out that there are actually many sympathizers of Hayashi within NALP.

Chapter 4. Itō Sei's Inauthentic, Hybrid Space

While an elite in Hokkaido, the self-conscious Itō Sei (1905-1969) held a deep-seated inferiority complex towards *naichi*, particularly towards Tokyo, the metropolis of the empire. He is aware of the “reality” of Hokkaido’s specificity of being a colony, which is “inauthentically” Japanese. Itō internalized and also objectified this gaze. Itō aggressively pursued current trends to their extreme, from minor movements to the mainstream. He advocated “new psychologism (*shin-shinrishugi*),” a part of the modernist school, and actively translated modernist writers such as James Joyce, Marcel Proust, and the controversial works of D.H. Lawrence. When he translated the complete version of *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* in 1950, it became a national sensation because of its obscenity, and he was charged with violating Article 175 of the penal code.¹ His first work of fiction, *Kanjōsaibō no danmen* (Cross-section of Emotional Cells, 1930), used psychological description, a new literary methodology at the time. But his unorthodox approach may only show his struggle to be successful as a literary man in the metropole. Since Itō could not be “authentic,” he may have chosen to be unorthodox as a stratagem. But he also suffered, wondering whether he is a fake or fraud. He remains unsure inside.

In his *Yūki no Machi* (The Street of Ghosts, 1937), the Otaru, which Kobayashi Takiji

¹The first translation of Joyce was done by Doi Kōchi. He translated 10 pages from *Ulysses*. Eight years after the publication, Itō Sei, Nagamatsu Sadamu, and Tsujino Hisanori tried to translate all of *Ulysses*. The first 8 chapters were serialized in *Shi • Genjitsu* from 1930 to 1931. In December 1931, the first volume and in 1934 the second volume of the translation were published by Daiichi Shobō. As Kawabata Yasunari writes about *Ulysses* in his “James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*” in 1933, he thought it is the unprecedented destruction and at the same time the construction of literature. In Kawabata’s obituary for Itō, he mentioned that Itō influenced him and Yokomitsu by his introducing *Ulysses*.

perceived socioeconomically, is depicted psychologically. The novel was influenced by James Joyce's *Ulysses*, which Itō translated with others in 1930.² Like Dublin, Otaru was a colonial port city and had once been the center of commerce in Hokkaido. Instead of Leopold Bloom, Itō's doppelganger Utō wanders about the city. Using modernist literary techniques, including, stream of consciousness, internal dialogue, and polyphony, which he learned from the foremost Western writers such as Joyce and Proust, Itō wrote about one day in 1920s Otaru. A thriving port town, Otaru in the 1920s was also a border town that was connected to another internal colony, Karafuto (Sakhalin) with regular boat service, as well as to Manchuria, Russia, and beyond.³ With a customs office, emigrant rest station, and British consulate agent, the border of Japanese territory opened up to the outside, and at the same time, that outside also penetrated it.⁴ Otaru can be considered a "contact zone," which Mary Louis Pratt examined in *Imperial Eyes*, where heterogenous elements meet.⁵ Not only do foreign elements permeate the space, but in addition, the existence of Hokkaido's "outside" element, the Ainu, adds to its heterogeneity within.

Thus, in the eyes of the Japanese in *naichi*, Hokkaido's authenticity as Japan is questionable: are people in Hokkaido genuinely Japanese? This inauthenticity of Hokkaido implies impurity and servility when facing "Japan." In order to overcome the burden of a

²The translation received a favorable response and "brought Itō his first celebrity." Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1984), 674.

³Itō Sei, *Yuki no machi* (The Street of Ghost, 1937) in *Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, vol. 13 (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1981), 31. After the Russo-Japanese War, Japan gained south Sakhalin and Otaru became a temporary storage facility between Sakhalin and *naichi*. Therefore, many stone warehouses were built. During the Russo-Japanese War, soldiers were sent to Karafuto from Otaru. It was a secret military port. Prison labor laid railroad lines in 1880, then the port was opened in 1899. With the opening of regular service in 1907, Otaru monopolized the Karafuto trade and made Otaru more prosperous. Minoru Kurata, *Kobayashi Takiji Den* (Tokyo: Ronsōsha, 2003).

⁴1920-1941

⁵Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. ed. (London ; New York: Routledge, 2008).

colonial Hokkaido-born character, Itō uses a mode of parody in which he blames and caricatures himself, so that he can preempt others' typecasting of colonial subjects. In his parody, Otaru is presented as exotic as possible to satisfy the expectations of the people in *naichi*, and it thus becomes a violent, disorderly, promiscuous, and hybrid colonial space. Like Bakhtin's carnivalesque space, where things are turned inside-out and upside down, in Itō's Otaru, the dead are alive, people fly, and the past intersects with the present. By depicting an exaggeratedly impure and inauthentic space, much different from *naichi*, Itō inverts stigmatized difference imposed upon Hokkaido to a radical, unorthodox space, through the latest, controversial Western literary techniques. Itō tries to overcome his colonial sense of inferiority by being more "advanced" than writers in *naichi*. However, in doing so Itō does not go beyond the logic of the hegemonic metropole but remains, in the end, still within it.

Hybrid Otaru

The hybridized, graphically stirring Otaru is the obverse of an authentic, orthodox Japan. The protagonist Utō, the alter ego of Itō, gets off a train and walks down the street to the port as the story begins.

It was a cloudy, chilly day. I walked on the wide sloping road in front of the Otaru station down towards the ocean. On the opposite side of the street, many cargo boats plying the north seas, showing their fat, red sides, float on the water languidly. Their smoke stacks are slightly tilted to the back, and reddish smoke comes slithering out from their sides. From that area, the tapping sounds of motor boats reverberate in the city. It is a windswept street of a busy, dreary port town. On both sides of the street, there are stores that sell souvenirs with signboards advertising things such as Hokkaido specialties: Ainu's *attus* jackets, bears carved in wood, the eight places of interest in Otaru, ancient characters engraved in Temiya cave and the origin of characters, guidebooks for Karafuto, and detailed maps of fishing grounds in the northern Kuriru Islands. Inns are also lined up, with big signs "Shimeni," "Marusho," "Kakuichi" on their glass doors. Merchants, who look

familiar in this town for a long time, old people and middle-aged women, whom I don't need to pay attention to, are walking on the pavement.⁶

A peculiar feeling hangs over this beginning passage, with the reverberation of restless anxiety like the tapping sounds of the boats. It tends to be indolent and anxious as in other “colonial” literature, such as Satō Haruo's (1892-1964) *Jokaisen kidan* (A Strange Tale of the ‘Precepts for Women’ Fan, 1925), set in colonial Taiwan. Ainu, bears, ancient characters, and the Kurile islands are all exotic signifiers of this northern boundary of Japan. These indications of backwardness, seen as native, “ancient,” and remote, co-exist with signs of modernity, like the train station, steam ships, and motor boats.⁷ In fact, the city is filled with signs of modernity: There are cafés, movie theaters, parks, and branch offices of banks from Tokyo. In such a modern environment, the signifier “Ainu” indicates sightseeing by being a mere tourist attraction. But elements of backwardness are always there beneath the modern facade.

The city is so familiar to Utō that he does “not feel awake while walking,” yet he is not sleeping either.⁸ As Utō goes into the town, only minor things, such as “a black transformer on a utility pole or a fluttering flag on a building,” trigger his memory.⁹ Like a sign or cue, emotions attached to memories surface. Itō included a detailed handwritten map of the city to help readers get a sense of the geography.¹⁰ Streets in the city, however, correspond to his psychology, and as

⁶*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 31.

⁷The train station is another link to connect Otaru with the outside world. Otaru station was reconstructed in 1934, imitating Ueno station, and Dalian station, built in 1937, resembles both. Both Ueno and Otaru stations were designed by Sakami Saichi, and Dalian, by Ōta Sōtarō.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 349.

he goes down the streets he is submerged in his subconsciousness and its liminal status. Utō crosses from one scene to another, going over canals, railways, rivers, bridges, and he passes through time as well. He also goes into an alley, to a park, a public bathroom, a school, a restaurant, a beer hall, a theater, and a brothel. Then, one after another, he meets ghostly figures of people whom he knew, such as past lovers, friends, acquaintances, his young self, and renowned men. The scenes consist of mosaics or collages of memories to create a hybrid colonial space.

The city is a heterogenous border town, which is filled with violence, promiscuity, and grotesque scenes. A woman Utō meets in front of the only Western hotel in town is Hisae, whom he abandoned over ten years earlier. She has the face of an “old ugly woman” with deep wrinkles on both sides of her mouth, and her face powder is about to flake off.¹¹ She ushers him into a hotel restroom, where she blames him for giving her an STD. In a spectacle, a “boxing match between Japanese and foreigners,” Hisae’s current lover, Vladimir, opens his “ape-like mouth” and grabs his Japanese opponent only to be bashed onto the floor.¹² Spectators are only satisfied when “Westerners get hurt.”¹³ Hisae and Vladimir, this interracial couple, also physically fight over his longing for his wife, who may be in Tokyo or Harbin, which is then under the control of the Japanese puppet-state Manchukuo. Utō escapes from the scene, then comes across another woman in a “dirty” public toilet, where “urine is whitely splashed all over, and water collects in the cracks of the concrete in the hallway.”¹⁴ While he is urinating, a woman, who dumped their

¹¹Although she is over 40, she wears a large flower-patterned kimono worn by young women. *Ibid.*, 32.

¹²*Ibid.*, 35-36.

¹³*Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 45.

alleged baby in that very toilet, grabs Utō's, full of resentment and blame. Yet another woman shows her daughter to Utō at the railroad crossing and claims that the girl is his daughter. Showing the girl's torn underwear to Utō, she asks for some money. Grotesque and disturbing descriptions of the colonial border city, focusing particularly on primal human activities and desires, are challenges to formal, orthodox literature. It also provides vivid, visually stimulating images, such as in the hotel kitchen, where red tomatoes are squished in a big white bucket by human feet that "look like they are bloodied, stuck with red juice and green seeds."¹⁵

In such an "inauthentic place," where the authorized values of the metropole are inverted, Itō, as if to justify himself, uses parody to trivialize and deface Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933) and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892-1927). It is a carnivalesque space where one can overturn authority for brief moments. In the heart of this city of commerce, where branch offices of banks from the metropolis are lined up, Ōbayashi Takiji, standing in front of Takushoku Bank, spots Utō. Ōbayashi looks pale and extremely thin, loosely "wearing a white *yukata*," which implicates a shroud.¹⁶ When Ōbayashi laughs, his breath stinks unbearably, like something out of the dead body. In the sky, floating clouds take on the shape of a man, "unmistakably a Western face with a white mustache around his big mouth, his eyes half-opened, who has an appearance of a Jewish man in the direct lineage of Jehovah."¹⁷ Ōbayashi explains how his God wrote *New Jewish Capital* to enlighten modern society. Utō realizes Ōbayashi came to Otaru "with a conviction identical to Gabriel."¹⁸ This way, Itō turns Marxism into a "religion of materialists," in which

¹⁵Ibid., 34.

¹⁶Ibid., 39.

¹⁷Ibid., 40.

¹⁸Ibid.

“man shall live by bread and bread alone.”¹⁹ A German-accented roar proclaims the Last Judgment, and from above people fall into the hell-like bottom of the valley, where a great many are squirming in torment. In-between, Ōbayashi and Utō fly. Through the meeting with a caricatured Kobayashi Takiji, who was dead by then, Itō demystifies and diminishes Marx, Marxism, and Kobayashi.

The obscene, carnivalesque, kaleidoscopic textual space filled with designations in *Yūki no machi* is not only influenced by Western literature but also by the effect of the vulgar trend of *eroguro nansensu* (erotic, grotesque, and nonsense, *eroguro* for short). This phenomenon relates to corporeality, grotesqueness, and pleasure-seeking images represented by “Edogawa Rampo’s (1894-1965) detective stories, as well as Ono Saseo’s (1905-54) cartoons, obscene cafés, cinemas, and dance halls.”²⁰ *Eroguro* was criticized by the Marxist cultural movement as bourgeois, decadent, and unethical. In a hell-like valley, for example, Utō can recognize railway laborers, factory workers, a crowd of escaped construction workers from prison camps, longshoremen, artisans, and a dead body with a distended belly, whom Takiji eagerly looks down on one by one.²¹ This highly descriptive text resembles modernist visual art with collages of caricatured people in urban scenes, such as in pictures by Dadaist artist George Grosz (1893-1959), who was also involved in communism.²² His caricatured pictures were introduced

¹⁹Ibid., 42.

²⁰Hajimu Adachi, “Manga Kara Miru Puroretaria Bunka Undō,” *Ritsumeikan Gengo Bunka Kenkyū*, http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/re/k-rsc/lcs/kiyou/pdf_22-3/RitsIILCS_22.3pp35-51Adachi.pdf, 38.

²¹They are the proletariat, including: an elementary school teacher with tuberculosis, cleaners, plumbers, farmers, prostitutes, tinsmiths, a grass-cutter of the park, public-letter writers in front of the city hall, and white-aproned barbers.

²²Grosz introduced transparent satiric figures that occupy the canvas. A transparent Utō in the beer hall resembles this.

in Japan around 1925 and influenced Japanese artists, especially modernist painters, cartoonists, and illustrators, who were already exposed to the *eroguro* trend.²³ Adachi Hajimu, who examines the proletarian cultural movement through manga, points out that the nobility of the proletarian movement and the perverted desire of *eroguro* are both sides of the same coin as their periods overlap.²⁴ The seemingly antithetical concepts of hedonistic *eroguro* and the self-restraint of the proletarian movement influenced each other. Yet, there are differences: Works of the proletarian cultural movement tend to be centered around men, but *eroguro* focuses on women and obscene cityscapes, which depict a “human mind that has unveiled an ideological veil,” that is, a human mind filled with crude, obscene, primal desires and behaviors.²⁵ But depictions of the crowd as subject matter, for example, are shared by both camps. Though its peak moment of the trend may have passed by then, the effect of *eroguro* in Itō’s expression shows the entanglement of modernist and proletarian movements.

After caricaturing Kobayashi, Itō caricatures Akutagawa Ryūnosuke in order to criticize the literary establishment of the center. Utō goes to a literary lecture by star writers from the metropole to promote “Kaizōsha contemporary Yamato literature zenshū.”²⁶ “Yamato” indicates “pure,” “authentic” Japanese, different from Japanese that includes subjects from the colonies. Chirigawa Ryūnosuke and Murami Ton are parodies of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke and Satomi Ton (1888-1983). Chirigawa talks about “how to write beautifully,” not “what to write.”²⁷ He lectures

²³Ibid., 41.

²⁴Ibid., 49.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶It actually promoted Kaizōsha’s empon in May, 1927, two months before Akutagawa’s suicide.

²⁷*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 64.

on art, which he basically claims is to create something beautiful. Art can exist by that purpose alone, thus “epistemological elements, forms, and thoughts are only accidental, which appear on some occasions and do not appear on other occasions in the process of depicting aesthetic lyricism.”²⁸ This is indicative of proletarian literature, which is fixated on writing according to political purposes alone, despising elements of aesthetics. In a documentary film following the lecture, a thin Chirigawa appears on the screen and climbs up on a tree like “a native of the South Seas,” slovenly showing his long white underpants.²⁹ Sitting on the branch, he starts speaking in a high-pitched voice and says, “I am *kappa*.”³⁰ As if in the kingdom of kappa, where value judgements differ from Japan, Chirigawa makes a literary judgement based on his theory: how to write beautifully. The sound from a large trumpet resembles Gabriel’s trumpet, and all the writers, poets, and literary figures are lined up according to his theory. They are horizontally stretched out in a line, “just like fans buying tickets at a ballpark.”³¹ At the head of the line is a tiny old man carrying a black flag with white letters, *L’académie Japonaise*.³² All the various shapes, appearances, and looks of writers are lined up.³³ This way, Itō caricatures literary judgement by making anything serious appear trivial.

These grotesque parodies of Akutagawa and, especially, the ethical hero of Japanese

²⁸Ibid., 63.

²⁹Ibid., 64.

³⁰Ibid. “Kappa” is an imaginary creature found in Japanese folklore, and it is also the title of Akutagawa’s work. *Kappa* (1927) is a story about a mental patient, who claims that he was in the kingdom of kappa.

³¹Ibid., 65.

³²Ibid.

³³Chirigawa worries if impostors exist, and finds a young face among old, bold, white heads, who stands on the third from the front, carrying his only anthology .

Marxism Kobayashi Takiji, angered Miyamoto Yuriko (1899-1951). She criticized *Yūki no machi* as a burlesque of Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Itō as a “despicable” man.³⁴ Itō responded to Miyamoto by claiming that her reaction only showed her “inartistic mechanicalness.”³⁵ He believed that his work “clearly provided criticisms and reactions of contemporary youth about what Kobayashi Takiji and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke represented.”³⁶ Miyamoto responded to Itō's refutation again by writing “if Itō is a representative of the contemporary youth who are ambitious to be healthy, humane writers, he would have not accepted that he was criticizing what held historical significance by a poorly caricatured Kobayashi going up and down Otaru using his kimono sleeves as wings.”³⁷ Itō in response criticized Miyamoto. They argued at some length through open letters. Even in 1939, when Itō's *Machi to mura* (A city and a village), which includes *Yūki no machi* and *Yūki no mura*, was published, she criticized Itō once again: “While he is suffering from self-deprecation and self-reproach, one more intention exists, which consoles him inside and whispers rationalization.”³⁸ For Miyamoto, this is not humorous at all, and in a sense she is right. Itō demystifies, lowers, degrades, and dishonors Kobayashi and the Marxist movement by making fun of them, especially in a safe space in 1937 when the Marxist movement was being suppressed.

Itō's criticism, however, is related to his rivalry with Kobayashi Takiji. Itō, one year

³⁴ (『中外商業新報』昭和12年8月7日) It is not included in 新潮社版『伊藤整全集』全24巻. But it is included in 曾根博義『未刊著作集12 伊藤整』(白地社 1994年). Hideo Kamei, “Yūki No Machi No Meguriawase.”

³⁵ (『中外商業新報』昭和12年8月7日) It is not included in 新潮社版『伊藤整全集』全24巻. But it is included in 曾根博義『未刊著作集12 伊藤整』(白地社 1994年). Ibid.

³⁶ 「宮本百合子全集 第十一巻」新日本出版社 Ibid.

³⁷ 1937, Austust 「宮本百合子全集 第十一巻」新日本出版社Ibid.

³⁸ 「宮本百合子全集 第十一巻」新日本出版社 Yuriko Miyamoto, “Kannensei to Jojōsei—Itō Sei Shi “Machi to Mura” Ni Tsuite,” *Aozora bunko*, http://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000311/files/2805_8855.html.

senior to Kobayashi, went to the same elite school, the Otaru School of Higher Learning, sharing the same space and time in Otaru from 1917 to 1928. At the school, Itō did not know much about Kobayashi so that Itō thought Kobayashi was a wealthy son because of often seeing him coming out of a sizable bakery. Besides, Itō was so competitive that in the library when he found books that were already read by Kobayashi, he felt as if “the content was pulled out by Kobayashi.”³⁹ Both were interested in literature, but Itō was rather secretive about his writing poetry, as he was “devoted to hiding” his interest in literature.⁴⁰ He later published a lyrical poetry anthology while still in Hokkaido working as an English teacher at a newly opened junior high school. Itō did not think that there was anyone who could really review his poetry in comparison to the poets of the times. But if there were, it would be only Kobayashi Takiji.⁴¹ Itō was possibly opposed to proletarian literature, or at the least had little interest in it. He knew that port laborers in Otaru had gone on strike but did not pay any attention to it, “scared of the uncertainty of [his] own life, thinking about the safety of [his] own body, and imagining success as a poet.”⁴²

Background of Itō Sei

Itō was the first son and second child of twelve. His father was a soldier originally from Hiroshima who fought in both the Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars before going to Hokkaido.⁴³ When Itō was four, his father found a teaching job in an elementary school in Shioya, near Otaru.

³⁹Sei Itō, *Wakai Shijin No Shōzō*, 33.

⁴⁰Ibid., 25.

⁴¹Ibid., 199.

⁴²Ibid., 375.

⁴³He was severely injured in the 203 Highlands and returned to Hokkaido with his wife, their first born girl, and Takiji in her womb. He was born on the day his father returned.

Shioya was a prosperous fishing town. Among the rough fishermen, his father was considered something of an intellectual, and he soon got a job as a clerk and later secured a treasurer position in the village hall. So Itō experienced a sense of superiority vis-à-vis others in the village. He wrote “I grew up feeling a little superior because I am different from fishermen and farmers.”⁴⁴ His household was not poor like Kobayashi’s or Honjo’s, but was not affluent either. In fact, affected by the Depression after World War I, his father was in debt and lost their house.⁴⁵

Wanting to be a successful poet, Itō was longing for *naichi*, in particular Tokyo. He quit the job at the junior high school to go to Tokyo, leaving his sick father behind. As the first-born son, his irresponsible behavior is pointed out by many, including Sone Hiroyoshi.⁴⁶ Going to school was an excuse, but Itō wanted to pursue literature in Tokyo. He had published his first poetry anthology, *Yukiakiri no michi* (Snowlight path, 1926), at his own expense. The lyrical poems filled with various senses of romanticized Hokkaido nature were well received. Poets in the metropole, such as Takamura Kōtarō (1883-1956), praised Itō’s poetry. However, Itō was rather apprehensive to go to Tokyo. When teachers of the junior high school got together to drink before his departure, someone told him “There are millions of men like you in Tokyo.”⁴⁷ This hit a sore spot, and Itō burst into tears and cried out loud, as depicted in his autobiographical novel *Wakai shijin no shōzō* (A Portrait of the Poet as a Young Man, 1956).

⁴⁴Ibid., 371.

⁴⁵The occurred when Itō was preparing to go to Tokyo despite everyone’s opposition. He left for Tokyo without performing the duty of the first-born son but he left his sick father in the care of his elder sister and her husband.

⁴⁶Sone Hiroyoshi points out Itō’s sense of guilt and introduces Hirano Ken’s claim of Itō’s original sin. Sone, Hiroyoshi, and Kuroi, Senji, *Ito Sei* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1995), 404. Okuno Takeo also points out responsibilities of the first-born son. Okuno, Takeo, *Ito Sei* (Tokyo: Ushio Shuppansha, 1980), 30.

⁴⁷Sei Itō, *Wakai Shijin No Shōzō*, 377.

His “Japan,” or *naichi*, is an *ikyō* (foreign space) from the perspective of Hokkaido. While teaching at the junior high school, he had a chance to go to Niigata, his first *naichi* experience, in 1926. He saw bamboo, tile-roofs, and “Japanese-style houses” from the train.⁴⁸

I felt with surprise that I am now actually in the pure Japanese scenery that I had seen in childhood textbooks illustrations, pictures, or replicas of paintings. I knew this scenery. But I only knew it through literary works, paintings, and pictures, and by analogy and imagination. But in reality I am in it, and in front of my eyes there are old, traditional things Japanese, called *naichi*. I felt like I walked into those pictures and paintings.⁴⁹

“Pure” Japan is what Itō feels excluded from, and he only knows it through mediated images, implying Hokkaido is impure and less Japanese. His excessive expectations and typecasting of “Japan” are also shared in Abe Kōbō’s (1924-1993) *Kemonotachi wa kokyō o mezasu* (Beasts Head Home, 1957), in which a Japanese boy living in Manchuria only knows Japan through text books.

What he knows about Japan is only what he can imagine from textbooks—(Mt. Fuji, the tree scenic spots, surrounded by oceans, a green smiling island...the wind is so soft, birds chirp, fish swim...in autumn, leaves fall in the woods, the sun shines, and fruits ripen...fertile soil, industrious people...) The lost lover has a face, but this lover has no face yet.⁵⁰

The boy imagines Japan through textbooks, and Itō did the same because of growing up in Hokkaido, where people long for the *naichi*. Hokkaido is as much a colonial space as Manchuria since for both of them “Japan” is imagined through mediation. While technically Itō lives in “Japan,” it is an “inauthentic” Japan. Similarly, both the boy and Itō are Japanese, but are

⁴⁸Ibid., 220.

⁴⁹Ibid., 220-21.

⁵⁰*Kemonotachi wa kokyō o mezasu* in Kōbō Abe, *Abe Kōbōzenshū*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1998), 316.

“inauthentic” Japanese. “Japan” is imagined as an “authentic” space by those “inauthentic” Japanese from the colonies. According to Itō, the *naichi* is “all of old Japan made up of Honshū, Shikoku, and Kyūshū. We who were born in Hokkaido referred to it not because we usually felt Hokkaido is a colony, but because of not wanting to call the area of Honshū, Shikoku, and Kyūshū separately. But for my father, whose *kyōri* (hometown) is in Hiroshima prefecture, the term ‘naichi’ must have more evident nostalgia.”⁵¹ For the first-generation settlers, *naichi* is their *kōkyō* (hometown), but for Itō, born in Hokkaido, *naichi* means an exotically “authentic” Japan to which he desires to belong.

Inauthentic Japan and Japanese

Utō wanted to escape from the town so he tries to buy a ticket at a ticket office. On its exterior a picture of film actress Pearl White is hung. When Utō tries to buy a ticket he was pushed by a man, who looks like a “native of the South Sea,” and asked.

“Excuse me, but where is your *kyōri* ?”

“Eh? *Kyōri*? That is Hokkaido.”

“Aha. Can Hokkaido be a *kyōri*?”

Murmuring, he is still staring at my long, scraggy, curly hair.

“Oh, is that so, Hokkaido? By the way, do Ainu have curly hair?”

“Well, it seems that way.”

“I see. So, Ainu is a different race, isn’t it?”⁵²

Inside the building adorned by the image of a smiling Western actress, the identity of Hokkaido

⁵¹Sei Itō, *Wakai Shijin No Shōzō*, 216.

⁵²*Yūki no Machi in Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 52.

and Ainu are questioned: The validity of Hokkaido being a *kyōri* or *furusato* and of Ainu being Japanese. It is a question of “authenticity.”

The concept of *kyōri* or *furusato* relates to a place where one is born and to which one can return from an *ikyō*. In the Japanese mind, Hokkaido is *itself an ikyō*, and for this reason it cannot be a *kyōri*. But for the Hokkaido-born, the *naichi* is an *ikyō*. Narita Ryūichi examines the emergence of the concepts of *kokyō*, *kyōri*, and *furusato* and points out that they relate to cities.⁵³ *The concept of kokyō* appears by way of the concept of *risshin shusse*, in which young men go to cities; from their positions in the cities, their hometowns are perceived as *kokyō*. The concept thus relates to migration. The sense of *kokyō* existed previously as well, but when an unprecedented migration took place in the Meiji period, it became a modern concept. In addition to the migration from the countryside to the city, in the context of migration from Japan to foreign countries, Japan itself became a *kokyō*. Similarly, the *naichi* also functions as a *kokyō* in the colony. For the first generation settlers, Hokkaido is not a *kokyō*, but as they settle down, especially for their children born in Hokkaido, Hokkaido becomes a place of identity. In that sense, it is the same for Ainu, whose identity is connected to Hokkaido. Similarly, do the colonized in Japanese colonies share the same sense of *kokyō* as a place of identity with Japanese settlers? This creates confusion in the minds of metropolitans because the distinction between “natives” and “settlers” becomes uncertain.

After the man who is described like a “native of the South Sea” learns that Hokkaido is Utō’s *kyōri*, he stares at Utō’s curly hair and starts explaining racial differences manifested in hair.⁵⁴ According to the man, “the cross-section of a strand of hair of the Yamato race is generally

⁵³Ryuichi. Narita, *Kokyo No Soshitsu to Saisei* (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2000), 21.

⁵⁴The appearance of “the South Seas” reflects the time of the “South Seas boom [*nanyō būmu*]” with migration to

round,” but that of the Westerners is oval.⁵⁵ The body is an ideological battle ground to define and justify the concept of race and ethnicity, which demands “purity” and “authenticity.” With his curly hair, Utō’s Japanese authenticity is in doubt. Since he says it is not a permanent but natural, the man thinks Utō is of mixed blood, with Ainu ancestry. Thus, the man continues, “We must protect the pure spirit of Japan. We must absolutely denounce those who have mixed blood. Moral decay begins from there.”⁵⁶ Blood is the proof of purity, and Utō seems impure with his possible hybridity. Purity and authenticity are all for “Japanese,” but not for the other “Japanese.” In his use of “Yamato” a tension of authenticity prevails.

The use of the term “Yamato” is equivalent to *naichi* here, and using both Yamato and Japan simultaneously in the text is a reflection of the time when Japan was moving towards the second Sino-Japanese War. When the colonized became Japanese subjects, known as *kōminka*, there are division unofficially created between “authentic” Japanese, who were in *naichi*, and “inauthentic” Japanese, who had recently become Japanese. The former was specified as *naichijin* to differentiate from Japanese *nihonjin*, which included colonial subjects as well as the *naichijin*. “Yamato race” here is equivalent to “pure” and “authentic” Japanese, that is *naichijin*. As Oguma points out in his *The Boundaries of the Japanese*, the popular use of *naichijin*, despite the prohibition of the term, seems to be prevalent.⁵⁷ Itō also used Yamato for “contemporary Yamato literary anthology [*gendai Yamato bungaku zenshū*],” as if to criticize *naichi*-centered

the South Seas in the 1930s, as Mark Peattie notes. *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon*, 204.

⁵⁵Yūki no Machi in *Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 52.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Eiji Oguma, *Nihonjin No Kyokai: Okinawa Ainu Taiwan Chōsen Shokuminchi Shihai Kara Fukki Undōmade = the Boundaries of the Japanese*, 421-22. The reference to *naichijin* was abolished in newspapers in 1938.

literary activities.⁵⁸ It was the moment when Japan needed to include the colonized in the imperial war effort by making them “Japanese.”

At the ticket office, Utō asks for a third-class sleeping-car ticket to Ueno. But the station employee, looking elsewhere, refuses to sell him the ticket. When Utō insists on knowing why, the station employee goes to the wall where a family tree is hung. He points out the name at the bottom, where Utō’s name is, and then he moves his finger above to show Utō his ancestors’ names, which are names of Ainu. Right above his name, two and three generations ago, names are written in *kanji*. But around the fifth row, a long line is pulled to the side. From then on only five-letter or six-letter *katakana* names, such as “Shirimonui, Isarappe, Fuggoppe, and Kamuishupp,” continue above,⁵⁹ Utō immediately understands the reason of the station staff’s rejection: His bloodline contains Ainu ancestors. He realizes that he was not “even entitled to talk to this station employee.”⁶⁰ Utō accepts the discrimination against Ainu without contesting it. The views on Ainu are fixed from the beginning of the text. Without a single appearance of Ainu, the term Ainu is used to implicate “difference.” At first, Ainu appeared as a touristic object symbolic of Hokkaido, together with the other objects that show backward-ness. Ainu are not living people but are reduced to a mere legacy of Hokkaido, a sign. Then, the sign Ainu is indicative of obscure Japanese-ness. Although they have been Japanese since the beginning of Meiji, they have been positioned “outside” of “Japanese.” Similar to Hokkaido being “outside” and seemingly never be able to be inside, Ainu have been excluded from “authenticity.” However, their “inauthenticity” is essential to define the “authenticity” of Japanese. Those

⁵⁸*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 56.

⁵⁹They are Ainu names, and in Meiji Ainu were forced to take Japanese names.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 34.

Japanese who do not have any Ainu blood are “pure” and “authentic.” In other words, the concept of authenticity alone cannot be defined without the concept of inauthenticity. Utō’s past is dug up, and his connection with Ainu is revealed, but only to reveal the gaze of the *naichi* toward colonies, where possible “difference” is converted to “inauthenticity.”

But what is the basis of Utō’s servility? Utō’s servility may confirm the suspicion of the minds of *naichi*. Itō may believe that he outwits the minds of *naichijin* by preempting their imagination. But he does so only at the expense of the Ainu. This echoes Itō’s taking a third-class train and ferry from Hokkaido to the *naichi*. He waited in the third-class waiting room, where everyone looks tired and dirty.⁶¹ He looks at them but feels he doesn’t belong there, as he is different. Sitting in the bottom of the boat, however, such superiority vanishes.⁶² He feels “humiliation,” as if to suggest “fishermen and migrants” are lower than “ladies and gentlemen,” even lower than the train.⁶³ He thought he was superior to those “dirty fishermen and migrant passengers.”⁶⁴ But compared to the first- and second-class passengers, his sense of superiority subsides.⁶⁵ He realizes he belongs to the third-class. His sense of superiority over “fishermen and migrant workers” is the flip side of inferiority towards *the naichi*. Itō has as much class consciousness as Marxists. Nonetheless, he sticks to the third-class, because he does not want to be restlessly in a place where he does not belong. Accepting being considered as a socially

⁶¹There is a mother, who is propped on her piled-up luggage on the bench, nursing her baby, a father, who is writing a telegraph by licking his pencil, a boy with the filthy sole of the feet, who is sleeping by them, a rural gentleman with a dirty collar and crooked tie, fishermen, who has come back from the fishery, communicating loudly in Akita or Aomori dialect, a monk-like man, a beggar going on a pilgrimage, etc. Sei Itō, *Wakai Shijin No Shōzō*, 217.

⁶²Ibid., 19.

⁶³Ibid., 218.

⁶⁴Ibid., 219.

⁶⁵*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 214; Sei Itō, *Wakai Shijin No Shōzō*, 219.

outcast Ainu is the same as his taking a third-class seat.

Hybridity and inauthentic Japanese-ness are seen in language as well. As his father was from Hiroshima, Itō spoke a hybrid language between the Hiroshima dialect and his mother's Tohoku fishing town's rather rough dialect. Japanese settlers in Hokkaido are from the *naichi*, and hybridized each other's language to make a common tongue. Nakano Shigeharu points out this common tongue in his experience when he went to Hokkaido.⁶⁶ After leaving Tokyo, until landing in Hokkaido, people's speech was hard to understand. But suddenly in Hokkaido their speech is instantly understandable. He wrote: "It is a culture created by lower-class people from all over the place, who had to work by communicating with others, different from those who can take care of things by sitting inside."⁶⁷ Suzuki Akiyo examines how Itō feels inferior to people from *naichi*, especially in terms of language.⁶⁸ Itō felt ashamed in front of people who speak Kyoto dialect. One of the professors in the Otaru School of Higher Education was a graduate of Kyoto University and his wife was from Kyoto. She uses a "soft and beautiful song-like language that [Itō] has never heard of in this area."⁶⁹ Her younger sister who was living together with them comes out when he visited there, and made him embarrassed with her soft Kyoto dialect, which constantly made him feel that "he is a crude country boy detached from old Japanese traditions."⁷⁰ The beautiful younger sister made him feel that he is meeting with a

⁶⁶Nakano Shigeharu, "Hokkaido no sakkatachi (Writers in Hokkaido)" appeared in *Bungaku* 1967 Feb. in *Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 214.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Akiyo Suzuki, "Itō Sei "Wakai Shijin No Shōzō" Niokeru Airurando Bungaku—Hokkaido, Airukando, Naichi—," *Ritsumeikan Gengo Bunka Kenkyū*, http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/re/k-rsc/lcs/kiyou/pdf_22-4/RitsIILCS_22.4pp.131-152Suzuki.pdf.

⁶⁹Sei Itō, *Wakai Shijin No Shōzō*, 134.

⁷⁰Ibid., 135.

strange girl from a far away country, almost like “a girl from a foreign country.”⁷¹ In this strangely reversed perspective, Kyoto is an *ikyō* and thus, *the naichi* is foreign. He is alienated from the “old Japanese tradition.”⁷² Itō used a fisherman’s Tohoku dialect at home, but spoke a strange hybrid tongue outside.

Once in Kyoto, he was scared of being considered an intellectual-like bumpkin from Tohoku. But his hybrid tongue deceived his origins. After revealing him as being from Hokkaido, he was seen as mixed blood with Ainu from his curly hair.⁷³ Nonetheless, he felt relief that “his tongue does not make him sound like he is from Akita or Aomori.” He decided to “tolerate being considered to have Ainu blood.”⁷⁴ The *naichi* is further divided and essentially signifies Tokyo, the metropolis; areas such as Akita and Aomori, although geographically part of the *naichi*, are nevertheless treated contemptuously. A poem that Itō wrote before going to Tokyo contains the phrase, “the imaginary sweet *kokyō* is a lie.”⁷⁵ By the same token, “*naichi*” is a lie. The physical place exists, but it signifies Tokyo, the metropolis, with all the recognition and fame he may gain there. In this sense, “*naichi*” is not a geographical term but an imaginary creation, essentially derived from Itō’s humiliation and inferiority born in colonial Hokkaido.

A colonial upbringing is defined as servile. At a beer hall, many acquaintances of Utō, without noticing him, talk about him over beer. His old classmates are talking about him coming back defeated.⁷⁶ Colleagues in Tokyo who just arrived in Otaru talk about Utō: The way of the

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid., 233.

⁷⁵Ibid., 374.

⁷⁶“He should have worked at a bank or a company without saying anything. We can only expect failure if he wants

town being dirty and greedy is “just like him.”⁷⁷

When one grows up in this kind of place, such a person like him is formed, one who is stingy and can only imitate someone else’s art. After all the culture in the colony is nothing but a transplant. Such characteristics of culture stay with those who grew up there. That is why Utō’s works have no originality. Everything he writes is a medley quotation or translation. The way he makes his way in the world forcibly shows his colonial upbringing. What a despicable character!⁷⁸

Obviously, the people in *naichi* are looking down on people in the colony, as they lack originality (authenticity) and mimic (servile), thus they are not authentic or genuine but fake or copies at the best. Is Itō parodying his own colonial position by the logic of the metropole?⁷⁹

The use of parody and other latest Western literary techniques are Itō’s way to overcome his being inferior to the metropole. He is already defined as different from *naichijin*, if not exotically then dubiously, converts to unorthodoxy to compete with orthodoxy of the *naichi*. Using their logic to define “unorthodoxy,” he vigorously pursues the path of aesthetic modernism. Incorporating Western techniques in his writing, Itō tries to preempt the logic of metropole, which he is so concerned about. To overcome and compensate for his inauthenticity or inferiority, he goes beyond the metropole, to the forefront of literary experimentation in the West, just to gain a position in the metropole. He tries to authenticate himself through

to use such language that we learned at our school. He should do just translation if that is the case, but he repeats failing because he writes novels and criticism.” *Yūki no Machi* in *Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 68.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Homi Bhabha writes on mimicry as “an indeterminacy: mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal,” but at the same time it is “also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference of recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power.” Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2004), 122-23.

Westernization. The Western literary methodologies that no one knows about in Japan give Itō a sense of superiority. By virtue of the West, which Japan itself is in an inferior position, Itō tries to be equal or better than “authentic” Japanese writers. Self blame, self-caricaturing of Japanese in Hokkaido mixed with Ainu is a way to convey his resistance to the “humiliation” he feels, being treated as lower because of being born in a colony. To outwit them, Itō strives to win using their logic of lowering colonial subjects. Posing as a victim in a parody he essentially resists accusations. In an inverted way, by losing agency, he gains agency. To show he is on top of “their” game, to show that he knows what is going on in their minds. It is a marvelous, pertinacious pursuit to win, to be successful in the hegemonic logic, but only revealing his internalized colonial attitude in the end.

Disappointed by the comments of his acquaintances, Utō is ushered to an unofficial red light district with *noren* written “*kisoba* [buckwheat noodle]” to be consoled by “cradle-like hands.”⁸⁰ Suddenly various dialects are spoken by those women under the sign of *sobaya* in humid lanes. Some are from Tokyo, “I came from Tokyo last month. Since the earthquake a year ago, I have been living alone. But I was not encouraged, so I migrated.”⁸¹ Each lane has a name of the geographical region and is occupied by women allegedly from that area. But it is misleading. His childhood friend from Shioya stands on Esashi lane. When Utō went up to the second floor of the *sobaya*, she finds out the customer is Utō. As Utō gets drunk his mind starts eroding, and he talks with her in the village dialect used when he was a child.⁸² On the second floor with his friend, he returns to the local where he can use his “mother” tongue. As his

⁸⁰*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 69.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²*Ibid.*, 71.

standard language also erodes, even Otaru is left behind downstairs.

Maeda Ai defines the second floor as an “interior of interior.”⁸³ He writes, the “Japanese second floor is a lonely hideout similar to the Western attic, yet it is closely tied to the world of downstairs.”⁸⁴ People upstairs cannot be free from the thick signs of people downstairs, and people downstairs cannot be allowed to be indifferent to the existence of people upstairs, particularly, the upstairs of *sobaya*, which was used for a convenient space for trysts during the Edo period.⁸⁵ Even in the early Showa, however, *sobaya* still served as a brothel or a place to have secret dates upstairs in Hokkaido. Itō had used the upstairs of *sobaya* during winter with his first lover. They could go out to meet in a field, by the ocean, and on a hill in other seasons, but in winter there is no suitable place outside in the cold climates of Hokkaido. So they go inside of a stuffy *sobaya*. The upstairs of the *sobaya* is ineffectively divided from downstairs. The sides are partitioned only by *fusuma* doors, and in such a room they had to be worried about people all around overhearing them.

The kind of uncertain, unauthorized, and unsettled space of the upstairs of *the sobaya* resembles Hokkaido as an internal colony, which is connected to and simultaneously disconnected from Japan. In such a space (Hokkaido), people, particularly Itō, are uneasy of the judgement of the downstairs (metropole), where hegemony resides. Although *Yuki no machi* seems to be dealing with guilt, it is not a kind of guilt that Okuno Takeo suspects as guilt of intellectuals of the times. It is rather a dissembled guilt seen in “self-deprecation” and “self-

⁸³Ai Maeda, *Kindai Nihon No Bungaku Kūkan: Rekishi, Kotoba, Jōkyō*, Shohan ed., vol. Heibonsha library ; 499 (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 2004), 306.

⁸⁴Ibid., 308.

⁸⁵“Nikai no geshuku” in Maeda, Ai, *Toshi Kukan No Naka No Bungaku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1989), 307.

reproach” as a way to outwit the metropole’s hegemonic definitions and criticisms.⁸⁶ This self-critical tone becomes almost like Itō’s literary style in which he skillfully positions himself in a superior position by being a humble yet is still a comical victim. It ends with the comment, “I must live.” With Japan’s fascistic control getting harsher, Itō wrote *Yuki no mura* (A phantom village, 1938), which takes place in his local village Shioya, to ultimately return to animistic nature and a Buddhist-world view by avoiding unwelcome Western elements in wartime.⁸⁷

⁸⁶Okuno, Takeo, *Ito Sei*, 11.

⁸⁷*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu.*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1980), 5. Itō tried to overcome his inferiority by the metropole’s hegemonic logic and became successful, which is evident in publishing 18 volumes of *Nihon bundanshi* (History of Japanese literary circles, 1953-1973) and being awarded many literary awards, as well as the third class Orders of the Sacred Treasure in 1969. After his death in 1969, posthumously published and completed in 1973. Senuma Shigeki started continuing Itō’s *bundanshi* in 1971, and he published it from vol. 19 to vol. 24 (1977-1978).

Chapter 5. The Conflation of Forms in Equivocal Space: Honjō Mutsuo

In the wilderness of Hokkaido a group of defeated samurai seeks a place to settle. It is towards the end of the day, getting darker and colder, as if to suggest their declining fate.

They walked a lot. Pushing their way along, they climbed up the steep, pathless mountains. Hearing the sound of water, they came down this valley. They went by bushes and tree roots, jumped up on rocks, forced their way in the water, and stepped on gravel. After a midday snack, they changed their worn waraji. They went against a stream that was getting narrower.¹

During the time of the Meiji Restoration, the “displacement of two powers,” the samurai are given severe punishment by the new Meiji government as a consequence for siding with the shogunate.² They decide to migrate to Hokkaido, where state-led *kaitaku* (colonial development) is promoted. Losing their status as samurai and becoming common settlers, they nevertheless obstinately strive to keep their identity intact. They outwardly promise to work for the *Kaitakushi* [Colonial Development Bureau], thus to participate in building a modern nation-state. But their real intension is to reconstitute their feudal clan, which is prohibited and has been dysfunctional, adhering to the feudal *taigi* [moral code of samurai, that is, loyalty to their lord]. In such a precarious situation, they go “against the stream.” Closely following historical events, Honjō writes about the samurai’s sense of humiliation and regret caused by their defeat and

¹*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*. Edited by Ogasawara Masaru et al. Vol. 8, (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1980), 5.

²*Ibid.*, 193.

depicts their determination not to change by not following the “current.”

Honjō Mutsuo’s (1905-1939) *Ishikarigawa* (The River Ishikari, 1939) was serialized in *Enju* from September 1938 to March 1939.³ Honjō was inspired by his contemporary Mikhail Sholokhov’s (1905-84) *Quiet Flows the Don*, an epic story of a militaristic autonomous community of the Don Cossack and ways in which they are affected by power. He also wanted to write an epic of the rise and fall of the Ishikari river, where he was born, through the fallen samurai’s point of view.⁴ But because of his deteriorating health, Honjō only completed the first part of his intended epic. Although Hokkaido is a place for the samurai to survive in the new era, when the samurai find their final settlement Tōbetsu, they truly feel “relief that finally they stepped on their place to die without interruption.”⁵ “Place to die” seems to represent a quintessential samurai ethic but it can be Honjō’s quite realistic sentiment of imagining his *furusato* Tōbetsu as a place to return for his final days. When it was published, the work was considered for the 8th Akutagawa prize.⁶ The reception was so good that the *Tōhō* offered a contract to make a film adaptation of it. But the film *Daichi no samurai* (Samurai of the earth) was created much later, in 1956. Shortly after his death in 1939, *Ishikarigawa* was also adapted as a play for the reopening of the Tsukiji Shōgekijyō [Tsukiji Little Theater].⁷

Written in a style using excess copulas, *Ishikarigawa* creates an enhancing sense of

³The last chapter was added when it was published by Daikando in May, 1939.

⁴Part of *Quiet Flows the Don* was translated and introduced to Japanese in 1931. Honjō, Mutsuo, *Honjō Mutsuo Zenshu*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kage Shobō, 1993), 422.

⁵*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 141.

⁶Honjō was nominated as a preliminary candidate.

⁷The debut was directed by Murayama Tomoyoshi. Kubo Sakae was originally going to direct this play, but Murayama and Kubo had a severe disagreement over the interpretation of *Ishikarigawa*. Ogasawara, Masaru, *Kubo Sakae: Ogasawara Masaru Hyoronshu*. (Tokyo: Shinjuku Shobo, 2004), 27.

historical gravitas about the fallen samurai.⁸ *Ishikarigawa*, in fact, conflates different genres, namely, the historical novel, *tenkō* novel, and *kaitaku* novel, all intimating one another. In the form of the historical novel, *Ishikarigawa* depicts the samurai's conversion to commoners, in which their regret and humiliation caused by defeat as well as their determination to adhere to the old *taigi* despite the disintegration of feudalism and the advance of modernization in the early Meiji. *Ishikarigawa* is also a *tenkō* novel if shifting the setting from Meiji to early Showa and substituting samurai with leftists, who accepted *tenkō* (political apostasy in which they abandon their Marxist ideology). They are determined to remain Marxists, even though it can be fatal to be so. The novel reflects Honjō's ambivalence towards the NALP [Japan Proletarian Writers' League], of which he was a member, oscillating between criticism and praise, doubt and conviction. Yet from his description of the samurai's efforts to settle down in Hokkaido, *Ishikarigawa* is also a *kaitaku* novel, at the time of the literature of national policy. *Kaitaku* in Meiji parallels Manchurian colonization in the early Showa. The obscurity derived from these closely intertwined structures and content implicates the author's effort to simultaneously resist and comply with state power, largely in response to wartime literary control. Hokkaido as a literary site is a contradictory space. It is expected to be a refuge where settlers hope to start a new life in order to reconstitute what is unattainable because of state oppression. But in actuality it is a colonial space where one becomes complicit with an imperialist project. By using this setting, Honjō resists state control yet appears to be supporting their colonial policy. Hokkaido is contradictory, as is the text and the author. Faced with wartime literary control the background,

⁸The text has a peculiar diction. For example, “*Mohaya higure de atta* (It was already dusk)” and “*Zuibun to aruita node aru* (They had walked quite a bit).” This “*de atta*,” “*node aru*,” or “*node atta*” seems to be a little odd. Rather than just “*da*,” “*noda*,” or “*nodatta*,” Honjō's diction is slightly circuitous. This differs from his other works. He may have wanted to create a sense of historical gravitas during the early Meiji among samurai. From this diction alone Honjō's commitment to write this long novel is in evidence.

Ishikarigawa negotiates state control and literary production through conflation. To reflect its ambiguity, the literary site of Hokkaido provides an equivocal space where both resistance and compliance to state power take place simultaneously.

Layered Implications

Samurai

The samurai are defeated by punitive force. It is still an unsettled time of the early Meiji. After their defeat the stipend of the subsidiary domain of Sendai is reduced to “65 *koku* from 15,000 *koku*,” the “samurai status of 670 some retainers” is stripped away for them to be commoners, and their homes and land are confiscated.⁹ Suddenly they are thrown out on the street and given no space to “settle their indignation or resentment.”¹⁰ In his *Teichūkōron* (Commentary in the tenth year of Meiji, 1901) Fukuzawa Yukichi describes the severe consequences of the “overturn” of the government by the former vassals of the shogunate: Some committed suicide, and some became beggars; the worst was “the lords and retainers in the domains in Tōhoku, who mistook their direction,” and whose difficulties were “unbearable.”¹¹ The defeated samurai are now labeled as subversive rebels, who must atone for their “sins.”¹² Despite the submission of the samurai to the new government and their atonement, however,

⁹ *Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Fukuzawa Yukichi, “Teichūkōron” in *Meiji Jūnen Teichūkōron / Yasegaman no setsu* (Commentary in the tenth year of Meiji, 1901/*Fighting to the Bitter End*) Yukichi Fukuzawa, *Meiji Jūnen Teichū Kōron / Yasegaman No Setsu* (Tokyo: Jiji shimpōsha, 1901), 20-21.

¹² The saying “*Kateba kangun makereba zokugun* (Winners are called the imperial force, and losers the rebel force)” reveals that “*Might is right*,” the definition of loyalty is unclear and relative.

“resentment and inextinguishable antagonism are smoldering inside of them.”¹³ They grieve, “We could have risen. Should have risen many times, and should have fought to the death by sword.”¹⁴ The samurai feel they are “living in disgrace.”¹⁵

Out of desperation, the samurai migrate to Hokkaido, as if to seek asylum, to live “without interruption” or “to die without humiliation.”¹⁶ Hokkaido, still in transition from Ezochi, is a newly territorialized space and the development of the land is an urgent matter. As an experimental site for Japan’s modernization process, a national policy of colonization is pursued in Hokkaido. “If the government policy is turning to *kaitaku*,” the samurai think, “then there must be suitable land for them in the vast, almost untouched Ezochi,”¹⁷ which seems to have “room for their survival.”¹⁸ Dependent on agriculture, they can be defiant, this time “either to conquer or to die at the very end” in a “pristine virgin land.”¹⁹ The term *shokumin* [colonization] is literally “planting people,” so for building a modern nation-state, those “planted” people can protect Japanese territory from “Russia’s southing,” and contribute to the “pacification of Ezo.”²⁰ The samurai carefully prepare their statement to the Kaitakushi to get permission, using diction that matches national policy. They say things, such as “land

¹³*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 35.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁸*Ibid.* But within the clan, the majority chose to stay where they were, hoping to be saved by the new government.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 209.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 111.

cultivation, propagation of settlers, and strict protection of the northern gate, and these would be the foundation for further expansion of the imperial power.”²¹

However, their concern is not really in nation-building, but in their own survival with the old moral code in *kegai no chi* [land outside of state control], which is how they knew of Ezochi. By going into its “primitive forests” they imagine reconstituting their old relationships, which privatizes land and people, centered around their lord. But modernization processes include the change of their object of loyalty from the lord to the emperor, by dissolving the group and becoming individuals directly connected to and equal under the emperor. So they follow the government policy of colonization as if they sincerely care about the nation. By showing their compliance to the government, they hope that they can survive “independently.” It is inevitable for them to conform in order to resist. Despite the conversion, from samurai to commoners, and to farmers, they still remain samurai, keeping the memory alive: “Bloody days were not that long time ago.”²²

Leftist Allusions

The samurai appear to be an allegory of Japanese leftists, precisely leftist writers in the 1930s, through their defeat and subsequent *tenkō* by state power, and the tension between the state and the group resembles the tension between the state and the samurai clan. *Tenkō* means political apostasy in Japan. The term emerged after Japanese Marxists voluntarily or involuntarily gave up their leftist ideology in the 1930s, especially after the executive members of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) Sano Manabu and Nabeyama Sadachika issued a

²¹Ibid., 196.

²²Ibid., 108.

statement from prison in 1933. The statement includes the separation of the JCP from the Comintern, affirmation of the emperor system, and support of Japan's Manchurian invasion. After their statement, massive *tenkō* followed. Leftists were already shaken by the revision of the Peace Preservation Law in 1928, which introduced capital punishment, and by the murder of Kobayashi Takiji by police earlier in 1933. Therefore, they were ready to renounce whatever might threaten their lives. Corresponding to samurai, those leftists were warriors for the revolutionary movement and had to give up their ideological principles because they were defeated by state oppression. When the samurai converted from the ruling class to commoners, which is “the lower class that they despised so much,”²³ their “*tenkō*” is described as “stepping on thin ice, we have finally crossed, haven't we?”²⁴ By “stepping on thin ice” the leftists crossed the line as well, just like former oppressed Christians stepped on *fumi-e*—a plate with Christian symbols—to be trodden on in order to prove oneself a non-Christian.²⁵ Through this loyalty test, however, some changed completely, and some kept their principles and defiance intact.

Honjō depicts with disdain those who go with the current by abandoning their principles. The encounter of *karō* [chief retainer] with a policeman at the Kaitakushi, highlights Honjō's concern with the internal consistency.

They looked at each other, showing their feelings openly. It was an extreme comparison between two eras. One wore Western clothes and shoes. But the other wore kimono, swords, and *waraji*. And both of them out of their learned arrogance instantly felt that they had been the same rank of samurai in the previous era. Then because of their same rank, the *karō* felt even more contemptuous

²³Ibid., 91.

²⁴Ibid., 93.

²⁵From the early 17th century to the beginning of Meiji.

of those who sold out their principles for security without any contemplation. He spit.²⁶

To be sure, both are converted samurai. One is a policeman for the new government, and the other now a common settler, who is ridiculed as “Ainu’s retainer” at the Kaitakushi.²⁷ Their appearance indicates the level of *tenkō*: Modern clothes imply their *tenkō*, and traditional clothing indicates they have not given up yet. Honjō emphasizes the samurai’s constancy, such that in a settlement retainers live in grass huts, women don’t do their hair any longer, “yet their etiquette and feeling have not changed at all.”²⁸ External changes do not alter their interior, and they still live in their feudal system with the lord as their center. Since almost all the leftists accepted *tenkō*, Honjō treats *tenkō* as an almost inevitable course of history, and his concern seems to lie in internal consistency: Whether one stays internally unchanged as before or not. Those who converted only superficially are called pseudo-*tenkō*, which means their *tenkō* is only external. Honjō tries his hardest to differentiate between pseudo-*tenkō* and *tenkō*. His contempt towards those who completely converted may be a justification for his own *tenkō*. Defining his *tenkō* qualitatively different from other leftists’ *tenkō* who altered themselves to suit the times, he despises them, as if to say “I accepted it, but I have not changed.” When he stresses this consistency so much, it seems he downplays his own *tenkō* or even denies it. His contempt of those leftists who accepted *tenkō* may be as strong as or even stronger than his contempt of state power.²⁹ Honjō’s contempt may show his moral superiority within the *tenkō* realm. No samurai

²⁶ Ibid., 189.

²⁷ Ibid., 191.

²⁸ Ibid., 52.

²⁹ Strong contempt towards state power represented by bureaucrats as opposed to the people also exhibits a dichotomy reminiscent of proletarian literature.

left without converting. Then what separates one from another is how they converted and to what degree.

Honjō delineates the advent of the new era with a helpless sentiment. In their ceremonial banquet, old retainers sit in front of the lord.³⁰ After the first drink, the lord normally withdraws so that the retainers feel relaxed and drink. This time, though, he does not leave but “tiredly propped himself on the side arm rest, and took a careless posture by sitting comfortably.”³¹ In front of him, very quickly the whole room becomes “out of control.”³² Finally one lies down. Someone notices this improper behavior and reproaches him:

“Shinozaki-*dono* [Mr. Shinozaki], we are in front of the lord. Shinozaki-*dono*,” said somebody who is still sober and shook Shinozaki’s waist.

“Shut up,” Shinozaki shook off someone’s hand and with his eyes closed said out loud, “So what. That is about the old days.”³³

Previously suppressed and muted emotions started appearing with the collapse of the structure, and “in a choking air, the previous lord was patiently watching previous retainers.”³⁴ It is a moment when a loyal retainer is converted to a Japanese national by discarding his previous fundamental principles. Now they are all equal under the emperor. But it is Honjō who is watching the change of previous members beneath this former retainer Shinozaki. Not only contemptuously but he describes such a “deserter” in a state of helplessness.

³⁰Ibid., 165.

³¹Ibid., 166.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., 168.

³⁴Ibid., 170.

Both in samurai society and leftist organizations individual agency was denied, and absolute subordination was asked in these top-down systems. Honjō was critical of NALP, where members mute their feelings, especially fear, inside and try not to be noticed. The protagonist of Honjō's *Maibotsu* (Burying, unknown), painter Yamamoto who belongs to KOPF, cannot disclose his true self, which is constantly being scared of "the ruling class's raids."³⁵ He pretends to be all right by suppressing the "ugliness," but he is relieved after the end of each meeting that his ugliness is not revealed.³⁶ Yet another character in his *Kokyō* (Native place, unknown) thinks "speaking up is identical to reveal one's own incapacity in public and also demands serious courage."³⁷ So they don't speak up like silent samurai. There is no argument, but that does not mean there are no objections. Even in front of dead K's body, implying Kobayashi Takiji, members of NALP do not show their true feelings.³⁸ The protagonist wants to know the members' real feelings rather than dogmatic rigidity. Honjō writes "we shouldn't be *Hokke-kyō* [Lotus sutra] believers," and "there is too much unreasonableness and compulsion in our movement, which is supposed to follow the most rational historical volition."³⁹ He writes the realistic, honest oscillation of the members, who are critical of the organization that suppresses people's emotions under rigid dogma.

But such criticism towards the organization changes in *Ishikarigawa*, in which the samurai community should be united without independent opinions, just like the previous

³⁵*Maibotsu* is a posthumous story, published in 1964. Honjō, Mutsuo, *Honjō Mutsuo Zenshu*, 197.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*Kokyo* is a posthumous story, published in 1964. Ogasawara Masaru suspects Honjō may have been feeling shameful about his *tenkō* or for revealing his own weakness. *Ibid.*, 160.

³⁸*Dantai* (Organization, 1935)

³⁹*Ibid.*, 118.

organization. One retainer comes forward and tells the *karō* that the lord should let people go since “equality is declared. But we are bound to the hollow names of lord and vassals and keep wandering aimlessly in this wilderness.”⁴⁰ The *karō* dismisses this suggestion with disgust. Yet he also understands the dilemma as a “dispute between right chest and left chest,” and he also “pursued this thousands of times in his heart.”⁴¹ But he declares they should stick to *taigi* as if to end the agony of being torn in a dilemma, saying “everything is up to the lord, if we are anyway going to perish.”⁴² There is a sense of resignation, if not fanaticism. Maruyama Masao in his examination of loyalty argues loyalty inevitably includes remonstrance but is changed to absolute subordination during the Edo period when samurai were at peace. He notes that loyalty is not “servile bureaucratism” or “turning to the direction of sunrise of me-tooism.”⁴³ If loyalty is sincere and passionate, there should be a conflict between static loyalty, which is to keep one’s place, and dynamic loyalty, which is to fight for the clan at the time of emergency beyond one’s place.⁴⁴ Honjō’s constancy, then is asking for total surrender to the lord, which does not allow any difference and opposition. But one follows by suppressing one’s emotions, therefore suppressing the self. Then his loyalty or internal constancy becomes itself an object of loyalty. Honjō does not ask about the aim of it, but it seems that the act of “loyalty” itself is the absolute object of worship. Sticking to ideological principles is the ultimatum. It does not matter about the content of the principle. Like most of *tenkō* literature, in this sense, *Ishikarigawa* shows its

⁴⁰*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 69.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²*Ibid.*, 70.

⁴³Maruyama, Masao, *Chusei to Hangyaku*, 27.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 26-27.

intense concern about morals but does not examine the movement itself. However, this blind loyalty has its sentimental impact and corresponds exactly to emperor worship and wartime spiritualism.

Kaitaku as National Policy

Ishikarigawa came out after the outbreak of the second Sino Japanese War, under which “beautiful” slogans people were mobilized for the war effort. The Hirota Cabinet (1936-37) planned the expansion of Manchurian migration in 1936, in which within 20 years one million Japanese households would settle there in order to make up 10% of the population of Manchukuo. Sending settlers to Manchria escalated with the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War.⁴⁵ The background of this massive migration was not so much as a solution to social unrest and food problems. But “the migration was based on the highest strategical demands of *Nichimen Ittaika* [the Unification of Japan and Manchuria] and *Gozoku Kyōwa* [the Harmony of the Five Ethnicities],”⁴⁶ just as Hokkaido development was pursued under slogans such as “Development of Northern Gate,” which the samurai thought “beautiful only in terms of words.”⁴⁷ Yamamuro Shin’ichi notes Manchurian migration had the purpose of protecting the land from Russian invasions, seen in sending armed immigrants to mostly northern and western regions in Manchruia.⁴⁸ Out of these, *Manmō kaitaku seishōnen giyūdan* [Volunteer youth corps to Manchria-Mongolia] was reputed as “Showa’s *sakimori* [soldiers of Showa]” from 1938 to

⁴⁵Nozoe, Kenji, *Kaitaku Nomin No Kiroku*, 85. The purpose of the Colonial Bureau [*takumushō*] was to alleviate devastated Japanese farm villages by sending people to Manchria. At the same time, in Manchuria the armed migration was planned for peace in Manchuria. Their plans were combined, and in 1932 the first group of armed emigrants was sent by the Colonial Bureau.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu*, 111.

⁴⁸It started in 1932. Yamamuro, Shin’ichi, *Kimera: Manshūkoku No Shōzō* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993), 351.

1945.⁴⁹ This “resonates somewhere with Hokkaido kaitaku,” particularly in the early Meiji, when Kaitaku was intended to prevent Russia’s southing by *todenhei* [soldier farmers] there.⁵⁰ Through the samurai’s kaitaku, it is not difficult to recall the current Man-Mōkaitaku.

As the *Kaitakushi* tried to establish American style agriculture in Hokkaido just because their climates are similar, Hokkaido-style plow farming was finally introduced to Manchuria because of the similar climate between Hokkaido and Manchuria.⁵¹ The samurai criticize “the government or even the kaitakushi for not knowing Ezochi well.”⁵² Similarly, the military, state, and scholars under government influence pushed emigration to Manchuria, emphasizing spiritualism of “*kaitakusha damashii* [pioneer spirit]” rather than giving agricultural guidance, despite Yanaihara Tadao’s opposition.⁵³ Because of its kaitaku content, *Ishikarigawa* alludes to Manchurian colonization of the 1930s. In its kaitaku discourse of *Ishikarigawa*, the samurai’s adherence to *taigi* becomes indistinguishable from emperor reverence, and the samurai’s selfless service to the clan relates to *messhi hōkō* [sacrifice self in service to the public] promoted in the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement, started in 1937.⁵⁴ Through kaitaku, then, the text

⁴⁹About 87000 were sent to Manmō. Ibid. The first in 1932, the second in 1933, their brides were sent later, for the third group, it was going to be normal immigrants, not armed. The first one created Iyasaka village. It continued till 1939, for the fifth. Nozoe, Kenji, *Kaitaku Nomin No Kiroku*, 84.

⁵⁰*Monogatari Hokkaido Bungaku Seisuishi (Sapporo: Naniwa Shobō, 1971), 118.*

⁵¹*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu, 206.* Around 1939 the Hokkaido-style farming was tried out, after the failures of practicing Manchurian-style farming by Japanese settlers. draft horses were used so that the settlers could develop vast field. Because of the lack of horses and skills to handle horses and plows, the introduction of Hokkaido-style farming was not successful. Besides when it was introduced to Hokkaido, it took several years to manage it well there. Kobayashi, Hideo, “*Manshu*” *No Rekishi* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2008), 206.

⁵²*Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu, 185.* The American Commissioner of Agriculture believed that American-style agriculture would be established in Hokkaido, and whatever Capron planned.

⁵³Kobayashi, Hideo, “*Manshu*” *No Rekishi*, 186-187, 197.

⁵⁴*Hakkō ichiu*, (eight crown cords, one roof-all the world under one roof), *Kyokoku icchi*, and *Kennin jikyū. Kokumin seishin sōdōin undō*

promotes imperial war efforts and spiritualism is encouraged. The samurai are the best example of that kind of spiritualism. They live a hideously barbaric life on their settlements out in the wilderness by residing in thatched shacks; only the lord is given a boarding house and uses a “rare lamp.” Their relationship with the lord was based on a reciprocal relationship, in which the lord gives protection and a stipend, and retainers in response serve him. Now it is only the framework, but still they stick to it. Their blind subordination is identical to emperor worship.

Background of Honjō Mutsuo

Honjō was born in Tōbetsu near the Ishikari river in 1905, the sixth son of a settler, who was a lower-ranking samurai from Kyūshū. Honjō’s childhood was lived in poverty in which “everything was self sufficient” in the settlement.⁵⁵ After being a substitute teacher at age 15, he went to another “colony,” Karafuto, where his elder brother lived, and worked as a factory worker. In Karafuto he met oppressed Koreans (then Japanese) and later wrote about them in works such as *Kemuri* (Smoke, 1935) and *Ōentai* (Support team, unknown).⁵⁶ In 1921 Honjō went to Tokyo to study at the tuition-free Aoyama Normal School.⁵⁷ He taught the children of wealthy, education-minded families at first at the prestigious Hongō Seishi Elementary School. Later he appealed to move to the Fukagawa Meiji Elementary School in a working-class district. In his *Kyōin monogatari* (A story of teachers, 1930) he writes that a classroom is a despotic state, and that teachers are a kind of slave. He considers elementary school teachers the “bottom of

⁵⁵His name Mutsuo means the sixth son. Mutsu 陸 is six. *Hitotsu no ginka* in *Mutsuo Honjō, Honjō Mutsuo Zenshu*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kage Shobō, 1999), 71.

⁵⁶*Support team* was published in 1964.

⁵⁷Only the southern part of Karafuto was ceded from Russia after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. Until 1942 it was *gaichi*, then in 1943 became a part of Hokkaido.

risshin shusse [success in life]” and envies Imperial university students who are “flocking at Hakuji and bakeries” as something “he should not see.”⁵⁸ The disillusioned Honjō concludes “even educational institutions are only idealistic business in capitalistic society.”⁵⁹ It was “natural” for him to be a Marxist, “like water flows to a lower place.”⁶⁰

In 1928, he quit his job to dedicate himself to writing and joined the newly established NALP. However, in his years at NALP, Honjō could not publish much, taking care of the office responsibilities of the organization.⁶¹ Later, in his many of unpublished writings, the organization is criticized. The disbanding of the NALP in February 1934 caused distress and a sense of failure among leftist writers, but it also brought a sense of relief from “iron rules” to not only its members but also literary sympathizers around the NALP.⁶² Honjō was also relieved from his organizational obligations and finally had time to write. Proletarian literature was still written even after 1934.⁶³ Honjō wrote *Shiroi kabe* (White Walls, 1934) about “mentally retarded”

⁵⁸*Kyōin monogatari* (A story of teachers, 1930) in *Ibid.*, 246. The coffee shop in Hongō and modern bakeries are a far reach for Honjō.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁶⁰ *Dantai* in Honjō, Mutsuo, *Honjō Mutsuo Zenshu*, 129.

⁶¹ He published some works, including an essay *Shihonhugika no shōgakkō* (Elementary schools under capitalism, 1928), which was banned immediately. It analyzes the education system in Japan as a way to create literates for capitalist progress. There is a certain similarity here to Louis Althusser. Before the disbandment the organization, he lost his comrade wife to appendicitis. Because of their indigence, such a common disease could not be treated until it became critical. He was 30 and started the literary coterie *Genjitu* (Reality) with Fujiwara Sadamu, Kamei Katsuichirō, Ono Ysuhito, Yasuda Yojūrō, and Oguma Hideo.

⁶² Hirano, Ken, *Showa Bungakushi*, 207.

⁶³ Kubo’s *Kazanbaichi* can be considered the last “orthodox” work of proletarian literature that was allowed to be published. It is because, as Hirano writes, Kubo finished writing the second part right before the battle of Xuzhou, in the second Sino-Japanese War. After that it was impossible to publish such works. *Ibid.*, 158. Such proletarian works include Tokunaga Sunao’s *Watashi no “reimeiki”* (My ‘dawn,’ 1934), Hayama Yoshiki’s *Sankei ni ikuru hitobito* (Those who live in ravine, 1934), Chūjyō (Miyamoto) Yuriko’s *Chibusa* (Breasts, 1935), Nakano Shigeharu’s *Kisha no kamataki* (A stoker of locomotives, 1937), and Kubo Sakae’s *Kazanbaichi* (Land of volcanic ash, 1937-1938) to name a few.

elementary school children, who are labeled such just because of their socioeconomic background and their atypical answers to an intelligence test. It also contains the children's memory of Koreans being killed during the Kanto earthquake, which is rarely seen in other writers' works.⁶⁴ Through this work, Honjō was known as a writer for the first time. In 1936, Honjō joined Takeda Rintarō's *Jinmin Bunko* as a head editor, and his *Otoko no ko onna no ko* (A boy and a girl, 1936) on juvenile delinquency received a Jinmin Bunko award.

Whether or not Honjō himself accepted *tenkō* is not clear. However, since only a handful of leftists did not accept *tenkō*, it is hard to think he did not either.⁶⁵ Even if he did not, he must have felt a sense of failure since leftist organizations were dissolved or dysfunctional, and legal leftist activities were prohibited. In his works, many “defeated leftists” are seen. They quit and leave the proletarian revolutionary movement with regret, shame, and discontent. His *Ishi no Hashi* (A stone bridge, 1936), for example, takes the form of a letter of an elder brother in Karafuto blaming his younger Honjō-like brother, who gave up on the leftist movement: “Why did you throw away this human glory? Why didn't you fight forever?”⁶⁶ This voice of regret is repeated in *Ishikarigawa* through the lost samurai, “We could have risen. Should have risen many times, and should have fought to the death by sword.”⁶⁷ Along with proletarian novels,

⁶⁴A few versions exist. Among them, there are a censored version with many xs, a shorter version that took the censored parts out, and the *Nauka* version that has complete descriptions of murdering Koreans.

⁶⁵Nine communists did not go through *tenkō*. They include Miyamoto Kenji, Fukumoto Kazuo, and Miyamoto Yuriko. However, Kubo Sakae (who died in 1945, and therefore was not counted) should be included. It is said that Miyamoto Yuriko's non-*tenkō* may be a glorification through Kenji.

⁶⁶*Ishi no Hashi* in Honjō, Mutsuo, *Honjō Mutsuo Zenshu*, 395.

⁶⁷The samurai had fallen “living in disgrace.” From these voices, Honjō's own conversion may be seen. Since he was a secret member of the JCP, and he may not have been noticed on the JCP's list. Yet while he was traveling in Hokkaido and Karafuto, where he met his family and conducted research on *Ishikarigawa*, it is said that a plainclothes man was always with him.

Honjō wrote what can be categorized as *tenkō* novels as well. However, he did not publish many of them. They are filled with not only regret and a sense of failure but also criticism towards the organization and its members.

The Necessity of Nebulousness

Ishikarigawa's layered structure is a response to the time when literary expression was controlled by the state and directed to support the war efforts. As a literary author, Honjō was active from 1934 to 1939, from the end of the proletarian movement to the intensification of the war. This also overlaps with the period of *bungei fukkō* [literary revival], which roughly corresponds to the time of the death of Kobayashi Takiji till the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war.⁶⁸ The weakening and eventual cessation of the proletarian movement is closely related to the emergence of the literary revival, which includes *tenkō* literature. Because intellectuals were, more or less, affected by Marxism, as the movement weakened, many were relieved from strong Marxist moralistic pressures. Together with their repulsion towards wartime literary control, literature took off as a form of literary revival.⁶⁹ Beginning with the publication of the *Bungakukai* in 1933, this literary revival was an counterattack against ideologized literature by the Marxist movement and state literary control. In 1936, however, Takeda Rintarō left the *Bungakukai* group to “protect a line of prose spirit and leftist realism” and published *Jinmin*

⁶⁸The period from 1931 to 1937 was also a time of increasing terrorism and strengthening state oppression towards, such as the March Incident and the October Incident in 1931. In 1932 Inoue Finance Minister was assassinated, and the Ketsumeidan Incident and 5.15 Incident took place. In 1933 the Jinpeitai Incident occurred, and in 1935 Nagata Tetsuzan was killed. In 1936 the 2.26 Incident happened. In the background of enforcing discipline after the 2.26, Chinese invasion became a national policy. And this brings to military fascism. These affected cultural aspects of Japan. The journal *Jinmin bunko* started in 1936 but discontinued in 1938.

⁶⁹ Those who were involved in the *Bungakukai* included Kobayashi Hideo, Hayashi Fusako, Kawabata Yasunari, and Takeda Rintarō. Hayashi and Takeda were ex-proletarian writers who went through literary *tenkō* before Sano and Nabeyama's statement. Okuno, Takeo, *Nihon Bungakushi: Kindai Kara Gendai E* (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1970), 138.

bunko as a space for proletarian writers, which Honjō joined.⁷⁰ Moreover, *Nihon Rōmanha* [The Japan Romantic school] was published in 1935, which was established by *tenkō* writers. They aimed to establish classical and romantic “pure literature” that was “not polluted by reality.”⁷¹ Eventually together with the *Nihon Rōmanha* the *Bungakukai* became the center of the art school and argued with the *Jinmin bunko* school. These three schools show a tendency to value literature over politics, as Okuno Takeo notes, and through *tenkō* they threw away their preconceived ideas of friend and foe towards each other.⁷²

Tenkō Shōsetsu

Almost every leftist writer, voluntarily or involuntarily, accepted *tenkō* by 1934, and they started writing about their *tenkō* experience during this literary Indian Summer. Among those writers, Murayama Tomoyoshi’s *Byakuya* (White night, 1934) is considered the first *tenkō shōsetsu* [novels on *tenkō*]. Comparing the defeat of the protagonist in jail to someone who does not accept *tenkō*, “repenting and confessing one’s own weakness” became the defining standard of *tenkō* literature.⁷³ Thus *tenkō* is considered largely connected to moral issues, blaming weakness, and rarely criticizing the revolutionary movement itself.⁷⁴ But *tenkō shōsetsu* is not just about repenting. Works such as Nakano Shigeharu’s *Mura no ie* (A house in a village, 1935) asserts one’s belief even after *tenkō*. Although it is a *tenkō* novel, but his *tenkō* is only external,

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid., 139. They were more art for art’s sake and actively shifted from *tenkō* to nationalism.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Hirano, Ken, *Showa Bungakushi*, 208.

⁷⁴Ibid., 209. Except for Hiraita Eijirō’s *Dansō* (The gap, 1935).

and internally he adheres to his belief.⁷⁵ Either way, because of its confessional quality, *tenkō* novels tend to be like *watakushi shōsetsu* [I-novels]. In fact, under the pressure of writing a certain type of literature, these ex-leftists writers were exploring I-novels to write about a previously ignored self. Honjō's *Ishikarigawa* has such characteristics as shame, self-blame, and resistance to conversion, and a quality of the I-novel, which will be discussed below. It is a *tenkō* novel, but as *tenkō* literature its publication was somewhat late.⁷⁶

Oppression and Compliance

Why, then, is the *tenkō* part of *Ishikarigawa* in the background of the samurai's *kaitaku* story? As the war progressed cultural oppression also intensified, and such literary works were not allowed to be published.⁷⁷ In the meantime, the last proletarian literary magazine *Jinmin Bunko* (since 1936) was discontinued in January 1938 after constantly being censored and banned. The oppression of this period is characterized by its nebulosity, according to Takeuchi, because of the reduced *fuseji* [symbols used in place of a censored word] and the use of black lists of unfavorable writers and critics.⁷⁸ The suppression of speech in such a way resulted in tendencies to create circuitous, unclear expressions whose true meaning was hard to

⁷⁵Shimaki Kensaku wrote his first work *Rai* (Leprosy, 1934), which praises non-*tenkō* attitudes as superior. He was unique to be categorized as a *tenkō* writer without being a proletarian writer beforehand. But later he went through his own version of "tenkō," after his *Saiken* (1937) was banned.

⁷⁶Regardless, later any works written by *tenkō* writers would be referred to as *tenkō* literature.

⁷⁷*Ikiteiru heitai* was based on his trip to Nanjing when Chūōkōron sent Ishikawa as a war correspondent after the outbreak of the war in 1937. Because of its "realistic" depictions of the war, the work was banned on the day of the publication.

⁷⁸Moreover, Yamamoto Yūzō's *Shinpen Robō no ishi* (1940), Tokuda Shūsei's *Shukuzu* (1941), and Tanizaki Junichirō's *Sasameyuki* (1943) were all banned in the middle of serialization. On the contrary, military or *Naikaku jyōhōbu* (the Cabinet Information Division), which was set up in September 1937, gave recommended manuscripts to publishers to publish.

see.⁷⁹ But suppression of speech is one aspect, and maneuvering another. The writers were basically forced to support the war in various ways, and their literary space rapidly deteriorated. *Naikaku jyōhōbu* [Cabinet Information Bureau] requested writers to go to the front with the army, “known as “*pen butai* [pen corps]. In September, 1938, the first twenty some writers left, and writers were continuously sent to the front.⁸⁰ At the same time, with the backing of the military and bureaucrats, literary organizations were created to support the war efforts. *Nōmin bungaku konwakai* [Discussion Forum for farmer Literature] created in 1938 was the direct reason for the flourishing of *farmer literature*, which puts spirituality and routine life above politics.⁸¹ Honjō joined *Nōmin Bungaku Konwakai*, along with other writers, who belong to the genealogy of proletarian literature.⁸² They set up literary awards, published books, and planned observational tours to Manchruian *kaitaku* settlements. Many similar literary organizations were formed by 1940, and soon all the organizations would be merged into a unified *Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai* [Patriotic Association for Japanese Literature] in 1942 after the outbreak of the Pacific War.⁸³ Through these organizations, the government decided what could be written and

⁷⁹This is according to Takeuchi Yoshimi. *Tenku to Teiko No Jidai: Chunichi Senso Kara Haisen Made.*, vol. 8, *Nihon Puroretaria Bungaku Taikei* (Kyoto: Sanichi Shobo, 1969), 407. Reflecting the limitations imposed on literature, Honjō wrote *Ishikari wa idaku* (Ishikari harbors, 1938) and *Ishikarigawa* around this time. Both are structurally complex and are full of implied meanings.

⁸⁰In September 1937, the government set up *naikaku jyōhōbu* (the Cabinet Information Division) to collect and disseminate information, which would be eventually dissolved to form the Japanese Board of Information in 1940 to manipulate public opinion for the war. It was derived from *naikaku jyōhō iinkai* (the Cabinet Information Committee). The first members include Kataoka Teppei, Niwa Fumio, Hayashi Fumiko, Yoshikawa Eiji, and Yoshiya Nobuko.

⁸¹Shimaki Kensaku, Wada Tsutō, and others joined. Shimaki wrote “Kokusaku to nōmin bungaku [National policy and farmer literature].” Hirano, Ken, *Showa Bungakushi*, 225-26.

⁸²They include Wada Tsutō, Shimaki Kensaku, Hayama Yoshiki, and Tokunaga Sunao.

⁸³It included *Keikoku bungaku no kai* (Meeting of Ruling literature), *Kokubō bungei Renmei* (League of national defense literature), and *Kagayaku Butai* (Victorious Japan). *Tairiku kaitaku bungei konwakai* (Continental Colonial Development literature Harmonious Discussion Society) followed, under the auspices of *Takumushō* (the Ministry

how it could be written, and nearly no writers could resist. But they had to join.⁸⁴

Out of these organizations and “support” of the government, *kokusaku bungaku* [literature of national policy] was promoted for the purpose of supporting national policy, which includes various sub-genre of literature, such as *nōmin bungaku* [farmer literature], *tairiku kaitaku bungaku* [continental development literature], *seisan bungaku* [production literature], and *kaiyō bungaku* [maritime literature]. Ironically such literature of national policy was carried out mostly by ex-leftist writers. For example, farmer literature, which Louis Young defines as “anti-urban, anti-Marxist, rural literature,” was written by those who were “baptized in leftist thought.”⁸⁵ For other literature of national policy, the involvement of ex-leftists is the same.⁸⁶ Why did ex-leftist writers support national policy literature? According to Hirano, it is because they had to express their adaptation to national policy and were skilled to create literature out of political ideology.⁸⁷ In national policy literature the way of depicting things was strictly

of Colonial Affairs) in 1939.

⁸⁴Even hard-core leftist writers and theorists like Nakano Shigeharu, Miyamoto Yuriko, and Kurahara Korehito joined. Tokutomi Sohō served as the president of the *Bungaku Hōkokukai*, which had about 2,000 members. This means almost all the writers in Japan. *Tenko to Teiko No Jidai: Chunichi Senso Kara Haisen Made*, 410. Except for Takeda Rintaro who was in gaichi, only a few, such as Nakazato Kaizan and Uchida Hyakken refused to join. Nakano Shigeharu was worried to be excluded so he sent a letter to Kikuchi Hiroshi asking about participation. Hirano, Ken, *Showa Bungakushi*, 242.

⁸⁵Ibid., 229. Farmer literature includes Wada Tsutō's *Yokudo* (Fertile land, 1937) and Itō Einosuke's *Fukurō* (An owl, 1937). Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 389. Almost all the works of continental development literature, in which *kaitaku* (land development) and *shokumin* (migration and settlement) are synonymous with colonization and expansionism, were also written by ex-leftist writers. *Kaitaku bungaku* includes Tateno Nobuyuki's *Kōhō no tuschi* (The soil behind us, 1939), Tokunaga Sunao's *Senkentai* (Dispatchers, 1939), and Yuasa Katsue's *Senku imin* (Leading migrants, 1939).

⁸⁶*Seisan bungaku* includes Mamiya Mosuke *Aragane* (Ore, 1938), Namamoto Takako's *Nambu tetsubinko* (Artisans of Nanbu iron kettle, 1938), and Hashimoto Eikichi's *Kōdō* (A pit, 1939). *Kaiyo bungaku* includes Ōe Kenji's *Imin igo* (After emigration, 1939), Sawa Sōichi's *Ohōtsukukai* (The Sea of Okhotsk, 1939), and Mamiya Mosuke's *Jidai no eiyū* (Hero of the times, 1939).

⁸⁷Hirano, Ken, *Showa Bungakushi*, 229.

controlled in a certain framework, such as a “courageous soldier fighting for the nation” and “farmers making efforts for producing more.”⁸⁸ Therefore, between Marxist literature and literature of national policy ex-leftist writers were skilled to produce a kind of one-directional work.⁸⁹ Okuno Takeo also points out the “technocratic consciousness” of ex-proletarian writers, in which they were voluntarily involved in the national policy literature, and cooperated and promoted the invasive war.⁹⁰

Although writers in general prioritized their being Japanese nationals over being a writer or an intellectual in a national emergency, it was also done through “actively cooperating on national policies in order to preserve their prerogative as writers and their livelihood.”⁹¹ This was even more pronounced for ex-leftist writers, who were considered to be anti-imperialistic and anti-war. Ex-leftist writers rushed to conform with national policy, in a similar manner that they accepted *tenkō*.⁹² Survival should not be disregarded, and compromising was nearly everyone’s situation unless one was genuinely nationalistic. In this sense, *Ishikarigawa* is a part of literature of national policy inevitably conforming to the imperial project of *kaitaku*. In fact, following Honjō’s *Ishikarigawa* writers of second-generation settlers in Hokkaido started writing their

⁸⁸Ibid., 231.

⁸⁹Ibid., 229.

⁹⁰Okuno, Takeo, *Nihon Bungakushi: Kindai Kara Gendai E*, 176. They had to prove their patriotism. After *tenkō*, they tried to be closer to the masses and society. In the process, though, they could not keep their independence in an ever growing nationalism and national consciousness.

⁹¹Ibid., 175-76.

⁹²Honjō took up some editing work for an exam magazine for army and navy students, but confesses this was only for money: “In his *Tsuma ni okuru no sho* (A letter to my wife, 1935), he explains to his dead wife the reason why he does such things: “You may stare at me with a frown and ask if I had thrown away the ideological principle that I have been defending. I am sad about my weak will. This was only for money. I sold myself for debt. It was undoubtedly a major reason.” Honjō, Mutsuo, *Honjō Mutsuo Zenshu*, 240.

ancestors' attempts at *kaitaku*.⁹³ These writers glorify their ancestors' hardships in their attempt to colonize Hokkaido, by which they give support and create exemplary settlers for Manchurian colonization. Their works are unambiguously literature of national policy. *Ishikarigawa* often is categorized as one of these *kaitaku* novels, but as Ogasawara Masaru notes, a rebellious spirit that tries to go against the stream of the times that is found in *Ishikarigawa* cannot be found in other works of *kaitaku* literature. In *Ishikarigawa*, a *tenkō* novel is hidden underneath. *Kaitaku* is then the means for the samurai to immediately comply with state colonial projects but at the same time to resist by trying to create their own defiant community. Resistance and compliance intermingle in *Ishikarigawa* as if they are two sides of the same coin.

Resistance

Writers were not just complying but also resisting, which takes dexterous forms, namely historical novels. As the war intensified, literature of national policy waned, and around 1940 *rekishi bungaku* [historical literature] proliferated.⁹⁴ Hirano in his *Showa Bungakushi* (Literary history of Showa, 1963) notes that artistic resistance during the wartime can be categorized into three main types, namely *watakushi shōsetsu* [I-novels], *rekishi shōsetsu* [historical novels], and

⁹³Some examples for *kaitaku* literature are Bandō Mitsuo's (1906-1946) *Heison* (A soldiers' village, 1939), Hirano Tadashi's (1902-1986) *Shintotsuskawagō* (Shintotsukawa village, 1942) and Tsujimura Motoko's (1906-1946) *Maoi genya* (Maoi plain, 1942). Bandō Mitsuo's *Heison* (A soldiers' village, 1939), heads symbolically towards *kaitaku* literature trying to be Showa's *tondenhei*. Ogasawara, Masaru, *Kindai Hokkaido No Bungaku: Atarashii Seishin Fudo No Keisei*, 375.

⁹⁴Historical literary works include Ema Shū's *Yama no tami* (People in the mountain, 1938-40), Nakayama Gishū's *Ishibumi* (Tomstone, 1939), Fujimori Seikichi's *Ōhara Yūgaku* (1940), Ozaki Shirō's *Kagaribi* (Bonfire, 1941), and Honjō's *Ishikarigawa*. Besides *Ishikarigawa*, Fujimori Seikichi's *Hiren no Tamechika*, Nakayama Yoshihide's *Ishibumi*, Ozaki Shirō's *Kagaribi* etc were written around 1938-1939. Historical novels written after 1940 include Hashimoto Eikichi's *Tenpyō* and *Keizu*, Niwa Fumio's *Jitsu Rekishi Gendaishi*, Okada Saburō's *Tokachi*, Hayashi Fumiko's *Takizawa Bakin*, and Tokunaga Sunao's *Hikari o kakageru hitobito*. Hirano, Ken, *Showa Bungakushi*, 238.

fūzoku shōsetsu [objective everyday life novels on commoners].⁹⁵ But Hirao eliminates the I-novel since the characteristics of it lie in subjective expressions, and “even such subjective expressions were getting troublesome” in those days.⁹⁶ However, historical novels can be a way to express subjectivity “on the pretext of past events.”⁹⁷ Likewise, Takeuchi points out the popularity of the historical novel around the time and argues two reasons for their popularity: Escape from reality and resistance to the times.⁹⁸

Honjō wrote three historical novels: *Ishikari wa idaku* (Ishikari harbors, 1938), which juxtaposes the time of the Meiji Restoration and the early Showa, *Ishikarigawa* (1939), and his last unfinished work *Akaebisu fūbunki* (The record of hearsay of red barbarians, 1939) on Russian southing right before the Restoration. All three explore the time around the Meiji Restoration and the areas of Hokkaido and Karafuto, coping with transitional moments. Thus thematically, they are similar. *Akaebisu fūbunki* begins with a preface:

I am not especially planning a so-called *rekishi shōsetsu*. Writing a historical novel is beyond my ability. I just feel very closely connected to those specific people in the specific times much more than those who are walking around at this moment, to the extent that it may become *watakushi shōsetsu* if time is ignored.

But a person in those days could not live arbitrarily any longer. By tracing the recorded deeds, how these deeds emerged when various conditions surrounding him created certain weight in

⁹⁵Ibid., 237. *Fūzoku shōsetsu* include Tokunaga Sunao's *Tokyo no katasumi* (A corner of Tokyo, 1940), Hirotsu Kazuo's *Chimata no rekishi* (History of society, 1940), and Takami Jun's *Ikanaru hoshi no motoni* (Beneath what star, 1939).

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Ibid., 238.

⁹⁸*Tenko to Teiko No Jidai: Chunichi Senso Kara Haisen Made*, 416.

his psychology—to grasp such relations is the hope of writing this novel.⁹⁹

Honjō feels so “closely connected” to certain people in the historical past as though they are himself. The historical novel is a form for him to rely on to write *watakushi shōsetsu*, that is, to express Honjō’s own “psychology.” Historical people and events allude to something else that cannot be expressed in those times, since Honjō also “cannot live arbitrarily any longer” in wartime. Lost leftists’ sentiments in the 1930s are superimposed on the actual migration and settlement of a lost samurai clan from Tohoku to Hokkaido in their defeat and following survival. This oblique methodology can negotiate with restrictions of wartime Japan.

The form of historical novels is not the only means to resist but is also a means to support the war since it has a sense of returning, and the emphasis on “national characteristics” or national unity itself is essential in wartime. Samurai, for example, are a sign of “Japan” and their collective effort to retain their feudal system seem to be collectively supporting nationalism and national consciousness. Then the form of historical novels itself complies with nationalism and thus, imperialism. At the same time, however, Takeuchi wonders if the trend of historical novels is related to a sense of rivalry to nationalism and the extolling of classics by *Nihon Rōmanha* [Japanese romantic school] as well.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, historical novels are written and published for some time, and are not just a wartime fad. Nakamura Shin’ichirō examines various historical novels, including novels that readers already know about the plot, novels that do not face reality

⁹⁹Honjō, Mutsuo, *Honjō Mutsuo Zenshu*, 97.

¹⁰⁰Okuno also thinks that “Writers in *Nihon Rōmanha* were, in part, promoters of imperialism, but at the same time they protected the independence of literature by resisting the Establishment.” In fact, many *rekishi shōsetsu*, such as Hayashi Fusao’s *Saigō Takmori* (1939), Niwa Fumio’s *Kinnō todokede* (Imperialism notification, 1942), and Dazai Osamu’s *Udaijin Sanetomo* (Minister of the right Sanetomo, 1943), were written by writers of *Rōmanha* and popular literature writers as well. *Tenka to Teiko No Jidai: Chunichi Senso Kara Haisen Made*, 416.

but tend to escape from it, and novels that are invaded by different intellectual realms of history. There are many historical novels, such as Mori Ōgai's *Ōshio Heihachirō* (1914), Akutagawa Ryūnosuke's *Rashōmon* (1915), and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's *Shōshō Shigemoto no haha* (1950).¹⁰¹

But during wartime two distinct characteristics in historical novels can be seen: A form of historical novel as a means for I-novels and its inclination towards the Meiji Restoration. Literary works related to the Meiji Restoration were prevalent in the 1930s. Elise K. Tipton explains that the change of view on the Meiji Restoration began as early as Russo-Japanese War as a result of encountering Marxism. Intellectuals started viewing the Restoration as emphasizing “socioeconomic factors as motive forces for the overthrow of the shogunate.”¹⁰² In the 1930s, in the debate known as *Nihon shihonshugi ronsō* [Dispute on Japanese capitalism], Marxists debated how to define the nature of the Meiji Restoration, as “the starting point of capitalism in Japan.”¹⁰³ Specifically, they debated “whether it was a bourgeois revolution or whether it represented the reorganization of absolutism, which is an issue that continues to be a point of contention even today.”¹⁰⁴ The revaluation of the Meiji Restoration and its influence on literary works include Kubo Sake's *Goryōkaku Kessho* (Writing in blood at the five-sided fortification,

¹⁰¹Nakamura gives examples, including Mori Ōgai's *Sanshōdayū* (1915), Akutagawa Ryūnosuke's *Hana* (1916) and *Imogayu* (1916), and Satō Haruo's *Kikusuitan* (1936), and Orikuchi Shinobu's (1939, 1943) *Shisha no sho*. Nakamura, Shinichiro, *Kono Hyakunen No Shosetsu: Jinsei to Bungaku to* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1974), 207-22.

¹⁰²Elise K. Tipton, *Modern Japan: A Social and Political History*, 2nd ed. ed. (London ; New York: Routledge, 2008), 39-40. It traces conservatism to the socioeconomic background of the Meiji leaders and their supporters; that is, their membership in the old samurai elite with the support of wealthy landlords and newly emerging bourgeoisie. Tipton points out that the change in views on the nature of Meiji reforms from that of “the Meiji leaders as a united group of enlightened, far-sighted statesmen who accomplished their goals with remarkable speed” to that of “the conservatism of the Meiji leaders rather than their reforming zeal, the limitation of the changes rather than their extent.”

¹⁰³ Sugiyama Mitsunobu, “The World Conception of Japanese Social Science: The Kōza Faction, the Ōtsuka School, and the Uno School of Economics.” Tani E. Barlow, *New Asian Marxisms* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 208.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*

1934), which introduces a global view that the Restoration was a proxy war between Britain and France. *Ishikarigawa* is not far from this leftist genealogy. Similar to Kubo's work, *Ishikarigawa* deals with the Meiji Restoration from colonial Hokkaido, but unlike Kubo, who tries to see it from the view point celebrated Enomoto Takeaki, Honjō does it from the lost samurai settler's point of view.¹⁰⁵ But the text remains equivocal.

Literary Site of Hokkaido

Pseudo-Asylum

What then is the significance of Hokkaido as a literary site in *Ishikarigawa*? Despite colonial development, in the samurai's imagination Hokkaido is a space outside of state control, *kegai no chi*. Its "outsideness" is evoked in such designations, though it is Japanese territory. This creates a vision of Hokkaido as a space of escape from "Japan" where one can live free from state control. Meiji Hokkaido provided refuge for the lost, defeated, and persecuted. Many of the advocates of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, for example, went to Hokkaido after the Movement was suppressed and waned, after the so-called set-back of the Movement in 1884.¹⁰⁶ Nagai Hideo explains that some of those who took diverse paths in Hokkaido, such as becoming settlers, land owners, merchants, and Christian missionaries.¹⁰⁷ The theoretical leader of the Movement Nakae Chōmin (1847-1901) went to Hokkaido after being disappointed by the failure of a common front in the Diet and worked as the chief editor for the *Hokumon Shimpō* (Northern gate newspaper) in Otaru in 1891.¹⁰⁸ Inoue Denzō, who was sentenced to death as one

¹⁰⁵Enomoto tried to make an independent Republic in Hokkaido.

¹⁰⁶Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō*, 172-73.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Others include Sakamoto Naohiro (1853-1911) and Maeda Eikichi. Soon Chōmin became a broker there. Chōmin

of the leaders of the Chichibu incident in 1884, went underground in Hokkaido and became a public letter-writer in Ishikari.¹⁰⁹

Although they were away from “Japan,” they nonetheless supported the national policy of *kaitaku*, that is, colonization. An advocate of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement, Takechi Yasuya (1847-1894), who created in 1893 a Christian farm intending to be a Christian utopia, writes “there is nothing more urgent than Hokkaido colonization as national management policy,” and he was “willing to make an ideal new *kyōdo* [homeland], to nurture virtues of new vigor and new life, and to have time to repay the nation some day.”¹¹⁰ Here, there is a strange mixture of independence from the state and nationalistic compliance with it. However, it is not so strange because Hokkaido is not completely outside of Japan but only imagined as outside. Their domestic “refuge” is a colonial space, so rather than escape they go into the heart of state policy, imperial expansionism. Their own idealism coexists with national policy, or ironically supports it wholeheartedly. Another advocate of the Movement, Arima Gennai (1842-1895) went to Sapporo trying to be a settler. He wrote, “It may be fun to live and end life by carrying a hoe and tilling with a cow in the vast Hokkaido plain, even though it may only produce potatoes and beans.”¹¹¹ This sounds like Doppo’s utopian expectation, simple and innocent, yet it is nothing but colonization. By using Hokkaido as a literary site, Honjō must have hoped to negotiate with state power. But because of Hokkaido’s contradictory equivocality of refuge and colonization, the samurai’s *kaitaku* narrative supports rather than evades state power. Nagai Hideo notes that

Nakae, *Sansuijin Keijin Mondō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 260.

¹⁰⁹It was a sericultural farmers’ armed uprising in Saitama as a part of the intensified Freedom and People’s Rights Movement.

¹¹⁰Hideo Nagai, *Nihon No Kindaika to Hokkaidō*, 174.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 173.

Hokkaido was considered a free, new world and was also within the framework of the state system as a government-led settler colony.¹¹² The samurai were implicated in colonization, thus nation building. As a defeated man himself, Honjō sought literary asylum in Hokkaido, many leftists sought pseudo-asylum in Manchuria to avoid imperialist oppression.

In Japan only a few political refugees were seen. The case of communist Sugimoto Ryōkichi is a rare example. He crossed the border in Karafuto to go to the Soviet Union in 1938 to seek political asylum, accompanying actress Okada Yoshiko.¹¹³ It made sensational news at the time. But many left for Manchuria as a space for “pseudo-asylum.”¹¹⁴ Manchuria was thought of as a place “where one can escape from a contained space of Japan and seek things that cannot be realized in Japan”¹¹⁵ Once there was a phenomenon called “Hokkaido fever” in Meiji, but in the 1930s, “Let’s go to the North, to the northern land, and to the wilderness,” seen in Sakaguchi Ango’s *Fubuki monogatari* (Snow storm story, 1938), became a motto, and Manchuria was thought to be a way to the new world and a new life.¹¹⁶ In the “vast free space,” the study of communism was even possible, thus, as Yamamuro claims, Manchuria has a meaning of “*azyl* [asylum].”¹¹⁷ Asylum is a kind of sanctuary where the power of the state cannot reach, so criminals, the persecuted, and escapees can seek refuge there.¹¹⁸ Many *tenkō* leftists went to

¹¹²Ibid., 177.

¹¹³The Southern half of Karafuto was Japanese territory ceded from Russia in 1905 after the Russo-Japanese War in the Treaty of Portsmouth.

¹¹⁴Yamamuro, Shin’ichi, *Kimera: Manshūkoku No Shōzō*, 355.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 355-56.

¹¹⁶Kawamura, Minato, *Ikyō No Showa Bungaku: “Manshū” to Kindai Nihon*, 106.

¹¹⁷Yamamuro, Shin’ichi, *Kimera: Manshūkoku No Shōzō*, 355-56.

¹¹⁸Amino Yoshiko delineates sanctuaries in the medieval Japan, which are identical to the concept of *azyl*. Yoshihiko

Manchuria to avoid oppressive state power but ended up working for them, such as employees for *Mantetsu* [The South Manchuria Railway Company] and *Man'ei* [Manchurian Film Cooperation]. Escape turns to collaboration. Because Manchuria is not a foreign country, called *gaichi*, it is an oblique colonial space, just like Hokkaido.

Manchuria accepted domestic refugees like Ōtsuka Yūshō, who was a leader of a bank robbery, to acquire money for the JCP.¹¹⁹ Amakasu Masahiko, an officer in the imperial Japanese army, also left for Manchuria in 1930. He was considered to be the perpetrator of the Amakatsu Incident, killing socialists Ōsugi Sakae, Itō Noe, and her nephew, during the Kanto earthquake. In Manchuria he was involved in *Man'ei* since 1939. In the case of leftist scholars in the 1930s, “who had lost their jobs in the Communist Academy (Komu Akademī) and the Rōnō Faction Professors’ Group Incidents” by criticizing national policies, they became “members of [the] very national policy and research organizations in various capacities,” such as *Man'tetsu Chōsabū* [the South Manchuria Railway Research Bureau], *Tōa kenkyūjyo* [the East Asia Research Institute], and *Taiheiyō Kyōkai* [the Pacific Cooperation Council].¹²⁰ Sugiyama Mitsunobu notes “Because the pressure to lend support to official expansionary policies was so great, those scholars who did attempt to express subversive opinions in the context of their national policy research took great risks.”¹²¹ They “escaped” from Japan (*naichi*) to *gaichi* more or less hoping to get away from state power, however, that seems to only be an illusion. They

Amino, *Muen, Kugai, Raku—Nihon Chūsei No Jiyū to Heiwa* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1996).

¹¹⁹It was known as the Ōmori bank robbery in 1932. Ōtsuka was the brother-in-law of Kawakami Hajime.

¹²⁰Tani E. Barlow, *New Asian Marxisms*, 215. For example, Yamada Seitarō and Hirano Yoshitarō (Komu Adademī) worked for Tōa. Rōno faction-Takahashi Masao worked for Tairiku Shinbun in Shanghai.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, 216.

promoted imperialism in various ways there. Hokkaido and Manchuria are spaces where subversion and collaboration mingle in those who seek refuge there. In other words, they cannot escape, and the colonies are not really “outside.”

Refuge in Manifest Identity

Through the literary site of Hokkaido, Honjō seems to try to evade state power by negotiating with it. That way, Hokkaido may function as a refuge for him. Not only evading state power, but he may have also wanted to escape from a desperate imperial war, his regret over *tenkō*, general prejudice against “*aka* [red implying communists],” and the impossibility to live as a Marxist, feeling no place to settle. His unpublished work, with the suggestive title *Kisha o orita otoko* (A man who got off the train, 1937), is about a man who left the movement and visited his hometown. He meets his old classmate but cannot disclose his past. He wanders around the town feeling he doesn’t belong anywhere. Lying on the cold futon in an inn, he sees an earthworm fall from the ceiling to his pillow.

It lost food while crawling on the wet ceiling. Although it is dirty *tatami* mat, it is still not a place for the earthworm to live. The worm was astounded and panicked. It rolled and turned its long body. Then the worm started slowly wriggling. It was a desperate effort to find a means of escape.¹²²

Honjō resembles the worm, who lost his “food” and is in the wrong place at the wrong time, trying to find an escape route. But to where? The protagonist then hears the police downstairs talking to the owner of the inn to check him out. There is no escape, but Honjō only escapes in imaginary Hokkaido with the determination to stick to his principles. Then, an act of allegiance

¹²²Honjō, Mutsuo, *Honjō Mutsuo Zenshu*, 627.

gives him relief. Honjō can take refuge in allegiance.

His earnest wish of being loyal may mean solidifying his identity and can be his desire to overcome his uncertainty. In an posthumous essay “Shiwasu no puro bungaku undō (Proletarian literary movement in December),” written probably sometime not long before the dissolution of NALP in 1934, Honjō writes about working at an office of the NALP. As the movement deteriorated, the position became extremely dangerous, thus only a “good-natured, conscientious man will be made to sit there,” including Honjō.¹²³ Other members, instead of encouraging such persons, justify the choice because “he is not a writer or a theorist.”¹²⁴ Honjō cries out over the lack of support and the lack of time to write. As if resonating with this, the protagonist of *Kokyō* (Hometown, 1935) Nogi does not answer the police, who interrogate him after torturing him.

“What are you?” he was asked.

Nogi was at a loss.

“If you are an intellectual, then let us deal with you intellectual-like, if you are a laborer, then laborer-like. What are you anyway?”

“Well?”

“Well? What? Don’t you know about yourself?”¹²⁵

Nogi hesitates to reveal himself, but at the same time, he is uncertain, whether he is an intellectual or a laborer, if he is a writer or a theorist. As the *karō* in *Ishikarigawa* quits his equivocality by resigning to the lord blindly, Honjō tries to overcome his own ambivalence by depicting the samurai who stick to their principles. His strangely sentimental inflation of *taigi*

¹²³Ibid., 718.

¹²⁴Ibid., 719.

¹²⁵Ibid., 178.

may be his desire to be remembered as a loyal Marxist writer as a kind of testament. Honjō wrote, “Let’s believe in the ultimate future. Surviving is hard, but my life is not so precious that I must sell my principles to live.”¹²⁶ Besides wartime control, nearing death may have caused Honjō to choose to be a loyal Marxist, but not loyal to Marxism. Iroically, in *Ishikarigawa* the samurai’s allegiance is based on compliance, which erodes a very loyal image. Therefore he cannot get out of uncertainty, just like the identity of Hokkaido.

¹²⁶Letter on September 6, 1938. Ogasawara, Masaru, *Kindai Hokkaido No Bungaku: Atarashii Seishin Fudo No Keisei*, 357-58.

Epilogue

What were seen as characteristics of Hokkaido's colonial representation are carried on through the postwar period, even after "decolonization."¹²⁷ Hokkaido is attractive as a foreign, extreme, and out-of-this-world space, and it functions as a refuge for writers from Tokyo. In this sense, as the term "naichi" lives on, there are vestiges of the discrepancy between *naichi* and Hokkaido. After the 1960s and 70s, however, minorities started voicing themselves, including women, the disabled, *zainichi*, *buraku*, and Ainu. the prevalence of "Hokkaido literature" was not an exception to this trend. Their voices, unfiltered by authorities, started coming out politically and in literature. They articulate aspects of Hokkaido that are different from the representations created by previous writers, and they worked to deconstruct its imagery. Hokkaido can be categorized into two major evocations: One is as an exotic, outside space; the other is a space of reminiscence for the imperial past. These two are not mutually exclusive, but there seems to be priority given to one over the other. The latter leads to the reexamination of the definition of "Hokkaido" itself, including the binary between Hokkaido and *naichi*. Below are only a few examples.

During the occupation era, Takeda Taijun (1912-76) visited Hokkaido in 1946, after coming back from Shanghai where he learned of Japan's defeat. Leaving a war-torn, debris-

¹²⁷For Duara, decolonization means "not only the transference of legal sovereignty, but a movement for moral justice and political solidarity against imperialism." In this sense, Hokkaido did not become independent, but its colonial past was simply erased after the World War II. The manifestation of independence, however, was lingering in Hokkaido. Prasenjit. Duara, *Decolonization : Perspectives From Now and Then* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2004), 2.

filled, and destitute Tokyo, he took up a position at Hokkaido Imperial University, where he taught Japanese literature.¹²⁸ Although he was there for only 6 months before returning to Tokyo, he wrote several Hokkaido-related works which depict Hokkaido as an outside world, different from Japan. His *Sairo no hotorinite* (By the Silo, 1948) and *Nisshoku to sakura no koro* (The Time of Solar Eclipse and Cherry Blossoms, 1949), both of which were based on his experience teaching at the university, show an unsettled commitment to work and his alienation from the city Sapporo, which has a Russian-like nature and frontier roughness. Hokkaido is a space different from Tokyo, and traditional Japan is not sustained but ceases there. Written in the moment of transition of Japan between imperialism and democracy, a man is caught in his duality. Takeda juxtaposes the memory of Meiji Hokkaido with current Japan under the occupation: the influx of foreign elements and migration of the defeated to Hokkaido (Takeda being one of them) following enormous changes in society.

The year Ampo (the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan) was signed, Kaikō Takeshi's (1930-89) *Robinson no matsuei* (Descendant of Robinson, 1960) was published. Resembling Arishima's *Kain no matsuei* (Descendant of Cain, 1917) and alluding to Robinson Crusoe, who survives on an uninhabited island, Kaikō depicts a man's struggle in the wilderness of Hokkaido right after the end of World War II. The protagonist was lured by government's deception to go to Hokkaido after losing everything in the bombing of Tokyo. This is similar to those who were defeated and went to Hokkaido as a last resort at the beginning of Meiji. The text is a record of battle, paralleling the immediate postwar confusion and chaos with the turmoil around the time of Ampo. Although the protagonist leaves society to live like Robinson Crusoe, his struggle against the power of incorrigible nature is a

¹²⁸Hokkaido Imperial University became Hokkaido University in 1947.

representation of the struggle against similarly oppressive power.

In Murakami Haruki's (1949-) *Hitsuji o meguru bōken* (*A Wild Sheep Chase*, 1982), the protagonist goes to Hokkaido in search of a sheep, the emblem of the colonial past of the empire. In this work, Hokkaido becomes a world of the dead or a spirit world, where the protagonist meets his disappeared friend. The space Murakami chooses is the hinterland, off the beaten track in Hokkaido.¹²⁹ A keen dedication to the past through a dead friend and an imperial past in both Hokkaido and Manchuria gives a somber sense of what is otherwise an adventure story, filled with urbanism, decadence, and an exoticism that could have appeared in such magazines as *Shinseinen* (1920-1950). This somber tone, however, may relate to Murakami's own sense of loss in the student movement of the 1970s, as Kawamoto Saburō points out.¹³⁰ The work appeared in Japan's transition from the world of "ideas" and "activism" to that of "leisurely pursuit" and "amusement."¹³¹ In 1988, he returns once again to Hokkaido for his *Dansu dansu dansu* (*Dance dance dance*), a serial of *A Wild Sheep Chase*, to visit the out-of-the-worldly space through a door in an abandoned building.

Kawamura Minato introduces Hatozawa Samio (1935-71) as probably the only writer who made his Ainu origins public.¹³² Hatozawa's *Taidan • Ainu* (*Conversation • Ainu*, 1970)

¹²⁹Before arriving at his destination, the protagonist takes a plane, changes numerous trains, rides in a jeep, and crosses on foot a negative energy field, before finally arriving at a country house.

¹³⁰Saburō Kawamoto, *Murakami Haruki ron shūsei* (Tokyo: Wakakusa Shobō, 2006), 91. Saburō Kawamoto, *Murakami Haruki Ron Shūsei (Murakami Haruki Study Books)* (Tokyo: Wakakusa Shobo, 2006), 91.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, 81.

¹³²*Gendai Ainu Bungaku Sakuhinsen* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2010), 283. Why does this happen? Miyoshi Fumio's (1929-1978) *Shakushain ga naku* (*Shakushain wails*, 1972) replies to the question if Ainu exist in actuality: "After the lengthy invasion and the result of assimilation policy, they are completely mixed. It is hard to say that they still retain their ethnic faith and culture. In that sense, Ainu do not exist any longer. However, at the level of discrimination, for both discriminated and discriminating, naturally Ainu do exist, and from there issues of Ainu emerge. When young Ainu come out, claiming that they are Ainu not Ainu-Japanese, then apparently Ainu exist."

Hokkaido Bungaku Zenshu., vol. 11 (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1980), 341.

takes the form of a conversation between “Hatozawa Samio (age 35)” and an anonymous woman (age 23). “Hatozawa” reveals himself to be Ainu, but the woman conceals her Ainu identity, concerned about suffering discrimination. “Hatozawa” claims that there are two groups of Ainu: One which promotes their identity as Ainu and the other which is silent like shellfish.¹³³ Thus they either don’t respond to anything or are used for tourism.¹³⁴ Hatozawa criticizes both Japanese and Ainu, particularly those who fall into images that are created by the Japanese, and he claims that now a definition of Ainu is needed.¹³⁵ As if being transcribed from a recorder, the work is somewhat indicative of the oral history of Ainu, which is denied in proper Japanese literary history. The population of Ainu is even vague in the census.¹³⁶ The examination of Ainu identity inevitably forces a reexamination of Hokkaido and Japanese imperialism.

Nakagami Kenji (1946-92), himself a minority, challenges the literature of written language with an oral tradition of the minorities as well as the concept of minorities in Japan. His *Sennen no yuraku* (A thousand years of pleasure, 1982) is depicted in the form of a written oral text by an old woman in a space called *roji*, separated from outside of the standardized world. The space functions with different values from the world of “normalcy” or Japan. It is a sort of asylum, a sanctuary for oppressed and those discriminated against, including Ainu. In fact, in *roji*, minorities are not separately labeled but interchangeable. Similarly, in his posthumous and fragmented *Izoku* (1993, Different tribes), Nakagami introduces a gallery of Japanese minorities, including *burakumin*, *zainichi*, Ainu, *Ryūkyūan*, and Taiwanese, who are “outsiders” to Japan,

¹³³Ibid., 257.

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Ibid., 290.

¹³⁶The Japanese government admitted only in 2008 that Ainu are an indigenous people of Japan. Although it was celebrated as a significant turning point in the history of Hokkaido and Japan, its practical benefits are in question.

yet were once labeled Japanese. Each character also represents a space. In these works, Nakagami redefines “minorities” but refuses to be defined by the system that categorizes them as minorities. Leo Ching argues that “Japanese or Japaneseness, Taiwanese or Taiwanese, aborigines or aboriginality, and Chinese or Chineseness—as embodied in compartmentalized national, racial, or cultural categories—do not exist outside the temporality and spatiality of colonial modernity, but are instead enabled by it.”¹³⁷ Similarly, the space “Hokkaido” is a mere sign for the particular time and condition of colonial modernity.

¹³⁷Ching, Leo T. S., *Becoming “Japanese”*: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation, 11.

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