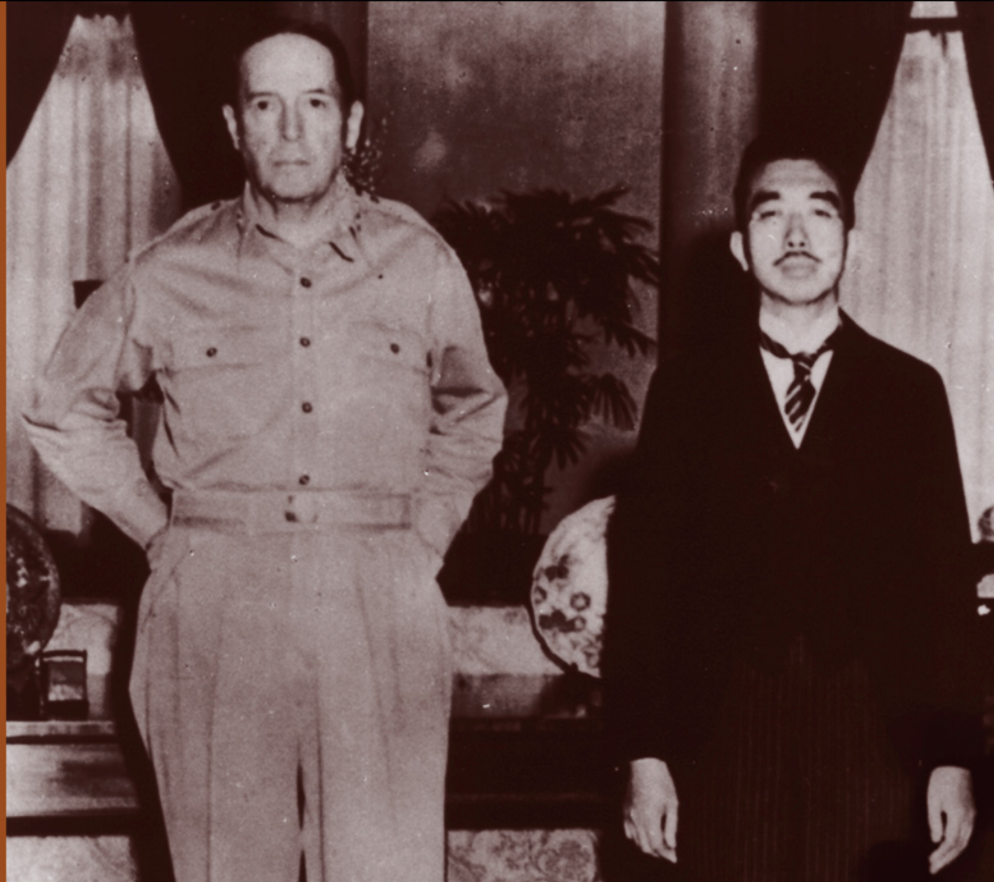

JAPAN ON DISPLAY

Photography and the emperor

Morris Low

Japan on Display

Sixty years on from the end of the Pacific War, *Japan on Display* examines representations of the Meiji Emperor, Mutsuhito (1852–1912), and his grandson the Shōwa Emperor, Hirohito, who was regarded as a symbol of the nation, in both war and peacetime. Much of this representation was aided by the phenomenon of photography.

The introduction and development of photography in the nineteenth century coincided with the need to make Hirohito's grandfather, the young Meiji Emperor, more visible. It was important to show the world that Japan was a civilised nation, worthy of international respect. Photobooks and albums became a popular format for presenting seemingly objective images of the monarch, reminding the Japanese of their proximity to the emperor, and the imperial family. In the twentieth century, these 'national albums' provided a visual record of wars fought in the name of the emperor, while also documenting the reconstruction of Tokyo, scientific expeditions, and imperial tours. Collectively, they create a visual narrative of the nation, one in which Emperor Hirohito (1901–89) and science and technology were prominent.

Drawing on archival documents, photographs, and sources in both Japanese and English, this book throws new light on the history of twentieth-century Japan and the central role of Hirohito. With Japan's defeat in the Pacific War, the emperor was transformed from wartime leader to peace-loving scientist. *Japan on Display* seeks to understand this reinvention of a more 'human' emperor and the role that photography played in the process.

Morris Low is Professor of East Asian Sciences and Technology at Johns Hopkins University. His previous publications include *Science, Technology and Society in Contemporary Japan* (1999); *Science, Technology and R&D in Japan* (2001); *Asian Masculinities* (2003); *Building a Modern Japan* (2005); and *Science and the Building of a New Japan* (2005).

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Preface

On 7 January 1989, when I was an exchange student at Waseda University in Tokyo, Emperor Hirohito died. His death was front-page news and I hurriedly bought copies of the daily newspapers that morning at Takadanobaba Station. My professor drove me to the Imperial Palace that afternoon, where I observed the mourning crowds, and signed a book of condolence. The palace appeared rather gloomy. Foreign tourists, crowds of Japanese, and media representatives all waited expectantly outside the palace, waiting for something which never came. It was with a sense of anti-climax that I witnessed the end of the Shōwa period.

In subsequent weeks, I collected the many magazines which commemorated the life of the emperor, fascinated by how the media had helped transform the emperor from a man of war to a family man, a man of science. Since that time, in various studies, I have come to a better understanding of the ways in which photography has been complicit in maintaining and perpetuating the emperor system.

I am grateful to Thomas A. Robinson at Duke University Press for permission to include a version of my chapter ‘The Japanese Colonial Eye: Travel, Exploration and Empire’, which first appeared in Nicolas Peterson and Christopher Pinney (eds), *Photography’s Other Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 100–18. Amy Woods, Taylor and Francis, kindly provided permission to include a version of ‘The Emperor’s Sons Go to War: Competing Masculinities in Modern Japan’, in Kam Louie and Morris Low (eds), *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), pp. 81–99. I have also drawn on the following two papers published by journals in the Taylor and Francis Group, www.tandf.co.uk: ‘The Japanese Nation in Evolution: W.E. Griffis, Hybridity and the Whiteness of the Japanese Race’, *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 11, no. 2–3, 1999, pp. 203–34; ‘Displaying the Future: Techno-Nationalism and the Rise of the Consumer in Postwar Japan’, History and Technology, Vol. 19, no. 3 (September 2003), pp. 197–209. Thanks to Jan Dennyschene for facilitating this, and to Dr Caroline Turner, Humanities Research Centre, The Australian National University for permitting a version of the following article to be included: ‘Japan, Modernity and the Tokyo Olympics’, *Humanities Research* (July 1999), pp. 33–51.

Readers will be aware that there is an extensive literature on the emperor in both Japanese and English. Routledge has previously published *Emperor Hirohito and Shōwa Japan: A Political Biography* (1992) by Stephen S. Large. Large also placed Hirohito's life in context with his short book *Emperors of the Rising Sun: Three Biographies* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1997) which included chapters on the Meiji Emperor and the Taishō Emperor. Around the same time, Takashi Fujitani's important *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996) appeared. Peter Wetzler's *Hirohito and War: Imperial Tradition and Military Decision Making in Prewar Japan* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1998) addressed the key question of the extent of the emperor's role in military planning. This was soon followed by Sterling and Peggy Seagrave's *The Yamato Dynasty: The Secret History of Japan's Imperial Family* (New York, NY: Broadway Books, 1999). John W. Dower's *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1999) was arguably most important in situating the Emperor in the context of postwar Japan. While Dower (1999) does provide useful insights on the role of photography in portraying the emperor, the connection with science is not really made.

In the last few years, the key books on the Japanese imperial family have been Herbert P. Bix's *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 2000); Kenneth J. Ruoff's *The People's Emperor: Democracy and the Japanese Monarchy, 1945–1955* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001); and Donald Keene's *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852–1912* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002). *Japan on Display* builds on these excellent studies, but it is not a biography, nor is it strictly a history of photography in Japan. Rather, the book examines the role of photography in representations of Japan and the emperor. In addition, *Japan on Display* covers a period of over 100 years, beginning with Commodore Matthew Perry's expedition to Japan in 1853 and 1854. It ends with the death of the Shōwa Emperor in 1989. I use an array of sources, including collections of old photographs and Allied Occupation-period archival documents, to argue that, through photography, the emperor and the nation were able to be reinvented.

Since 1989, my own trajectory has taken me from Waseda University to Monash University in Melbourne, where I had my first academic position in the Department of Japanese Studies. Lecturing at Monash and completing a Ph.D. dissertation in the Department of History at the University of Sydney was a challenge. The thesis was finally completed in 1993. After six years at Monash, I took up a research fellowship for three and a half years in the Division of Pacific and Asian History in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University. I then moved on to a position at the University of Queensland in what became the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies where I taught for five and a half years, most of which time I was also a trustee of the Queensland Art Gallery. I am now in the Department of the History of Science and Technology at Johns Hopkins University, where I have finally

been able to bring this long-term project to some closure. I thank all my friends, colleagues, and students at these institutions for their support over the years.

Many of the illustrations contained in this book have been sourced from the collection of the author, unless otherwise indicated. I am grateful to Nao Kawai, Kyodo News International, for permission to use Yuichi 'Jackson' Ishizaki's photograph of General Douglas MacArthur and Emperor Hirohito. Thanks also to Russell Atkinson and Fee Jessen at the eSales Unit of the Australian War Memorial for permission to use Occupation-period photographs of the emperor's tours of Osaka and Kure.

I also wish to express my warm thanks to Stephanie Rogers and Helen Baker at Routledge, and the copy-editor who has worked on this project. Without their interest, support, and patience, this book would not have been possible. I am also grateful to Tessa Morris-Suzuki who agreed to include this in the ASAA East Asia series of research monographs and for her helpful comments and suggestions especially in the final stages of the manuscript.

As with most books dealing with Japan, a few words are required on romanisation and other conventions followed in this book. Although family names precede given names in Japan, many Japanese (often those who have lived abroad for extended periods) write their names in reverse order when writing in English. In this book, Japanese names are generally given in the text in Japanese order. This also applies in the notes for Japanese language sources. When English-language sources by Japanese authors are referred to, their names are given as published, in order to respect the intent of the authors.

The romanisation of Japanese follows that found in Koh Masuda (ed.), *Kenkyusha's New Japanese–English Dictionary*, fourth edition (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1974). I have avoided use of hyphens unless absolutely necessary. The names of some people are romanised differently, because they are widely known by a certain spelling. Macrons over elongated vowels in well-known place names, such as Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka have been dropped, unless when appearing in romanised titles of publications. This book follows British spelling. Verbs are spelt with 'ise' instead of 'ize'. In quotations, the original spelling has been retained.

Morris Low
Baltimore

1 Imagining the emperor

Introduction

Sixty years after the end of the Pacific War, it is still difficult to understand the process by which the Japanese people came to imagine themselves as a distinct nation centred on the emperor. For better or for worse, the emperor was used to help define Japan as a nation and photography played a significant role in representing him. How was he imagined? His legitimacy was associated with having been part of a mythic 'unbroken' imperial line but in the postwar period, he aligned himself with science and rationality. How do we reconcile these contrasting representations?

Many studies of modern Japan contrast tradition with modernity. The former is portrayed as being continually eroded away by the latter. We can view the emperor system and ideas surrounding it in terms of a culturally constructed version of the past which has helped the Japanese people make sense of who they are and where they come from. At the same time as the introduction of Western science and technology occurred in Japan, the nation was reinventing the imperial institution and the mythology associated with it.[1] The maintenance and elaboration of the imperial house needs to be understood as part of Japan's process of modernisation and the 'invention of tradition'.[2]

An impetus behind the introduction of Western institutions in late nineteenth-century Japan was not only to build a strong and rich nation, but crucially, to be seen to be doing this. As the late writer Susan Sontag suggested, 'sentiment is more likely to crystallize around a photograph than around a verbal slogan'.[3] Japan needed to be perceived as modern by the Japanese public and by the Western powers that had imposed unequal treaties on Japan. Like it or not, Japan was on display and seeking validation that it was a civilised and great nation. We can talk about Japan seeking to embrace what has been called 'exhibitory modernity'.[4] At the same time, however, the Japanese people looked to their past in the form of the imperial institution to unify their country. The emperor lent an aura of continuity with the past that reassured the Japanese embarking on a path of Westernisation. The image of the emperor helped to integrate the national space of Japan.

In the Meiji period (1868–1912), the introduction of science and technology not only helped create a network of national power in Japan but it facilitated Japan's entry into the global knowledge system. Western science was seen as a way of demystifying the world and overcoming superstition.[5] Technology, in the form of the camera, the telegraph, and railways, provided a communications system for the nation, breaking down feudal barriers and linking the Japanese people. Photography provided new modes of documentation and ways of transmitting information, enhancing the way Japanese imagined Japan and how they visualised the emperor and the nation. Telegraph lines became the foundation of nation-wide information networks, and the development of railway lines helped move people and goods both in Japan and the growing empire. The expansion of railways enhanced access to the remote reaches of the empire. Photography was also an enabling technology for imperial expansion, linking images of colonial subjects and territories to the centre in Japan.

The spectacle of court ceremonies, imperial tours and military parades was used to support imperial power. Such events were part of the staging of the modern nation. [6] Spectacle was highly political, helping to legitimate colonial expansion and maintain social control within Japan. The continuing role of the emperor served to bridge the break between modernity and tradition. The story of the unbroken imperial line and descent from the Sun Goddess Amaterasu somehow defied close inspection, remaining at the core of Japanese national identity at least until the end of the Second World War.

Perry goes to Japan

Our story begins back in the mid-nineteenth century. The global expansion of European and American power promoted the spread of photography. In 1854, Commodore Matthew C. Perry visited Japan with a view to forcing Japan to open its ports to trade with the West. He had visited previously the year before. This time he brought with him a telegraph set and model railway, symbols of Western science and technology. Perry's visits are often seen as heralding the beginning of rapid, almost miraculous industrialisation during the Meiji period (1868–1912). The Japanese were taught the need to learn Western science and technology 'at the point of a gun' with the arrival of Commodore Perry and his 'black ships'. But what tends to be forgotten is that photography was one of the technologies that was introduced and, in many ways, the camera was seen as a scientific tool, a means by which the world could be represented more accurately. Despite this perception, images were produced within a context of social power and ideology. This book examines how photography provided a means by which to project beliefs regarding the emperor of Japan, his relationship to his subjects, and his empire. We shall see that visual culture reinforced power relations, affirming the role of the emperor and through him, the state, in modern Japan.

At the same time as Japan was modernising, there was a reaching back to traditions with the nation rallying behind the emperor. The historian Herbert Bix argues that much of Japan's modern history needs to be reinterpreted 'by

placing the emperor, the imperial institution, and emperor ideology at the very center of events'.[7] However, we need to view the emperor not only as an active figure in Japan's modern history but also as a product of it.[8] How do we reconcile these very different images of Japan: Western technological innovation and a centuries-old monarchy?

David Harvey has recently argued that 'one of the myths of modernity is that it constitutes a radical break with the past'.[9] The Meiji Restoration of 1867–8 is better seen as a period of transition rather than a revolution which obliterated the past. The centrality of the emperor in modern Japan illustrates how the new could only be inscribed with reference to the past. Indeed, Yoshimi Shunya suggests that Japan's emperor system itself can be understood as a system of power that is mediated by communication technologies. The visibility and absence of the emperor's body was registered by the media, which reported on it at a national level.[10] The emperor system was not possible without the active cooperation of the mass media. This book is about how the emperor came to symbolise Japan, and how visual technologies (especially photography) helped to put Japan on display.

What it also sheds light on is how the Japanese experienced modernity. Takashi Fujitani has argued that the Japanese monarchy has been at the 'heart of Japan's modernity'.[11] By examining the link between Japan's modernisation and the emperor, this book can challenge the idea that modernity was simply viewed as an import from the West.[12] Representations often attempted to promote a syncretic image of Japan as a hybrid culture, one which borrowed from other nations and yet remained distinctive. Japan's industrialisation unleashed modernising social forces which eroded some local cultural difference but at the same time helped create a national identity. This identity was paradoxically linked not only with the nation's ability to borrow from other nations, internationalise and modernise, but also with the preservation of cultural traditions such as the emperor system.

While Perry offered quite a spectacle, what we sometimes forget is that Japan was on display as well and the camera was there to capture it. Commodore Perry was impressed by Japanese technology which he and his squadron observed and subsequently recorded with impressive precision in their official report, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan* (1856).[13] Perry himself realised that the thousand or so junks which he saw at the port of Hakodate, on the southwestern tip of the northern island of Hokkaidō, were constrained in design and size not due to any lack of Japanese ingenuity, but rather because of the strict laws created to ensure that most Japanese sailing vessels could not venture far from land. *The Narrative of the Expedition* indicates grudging praise of the Japanese:

> We saw nothing remarkable in the manner or workmanship of the Japanese shipbuilders. It is doubtful whether they have any scientific rules for drafting or modelling, or for ascertaining the displacement of their vessels; nor perhaps has it been necessary, as the law confined them all to one model and size.[14]

The illustrations which accompany this statement tell a different story, however, for they are among the most handsome in the report, and their visual detail suggests they were the subject of some considerable degree of admiration at the time. What is not immediately apparent is that some of the illustrations were based on daguerreotypes that had been taken in Japan. Thus, the camera was important in the production of evidence, a way of collecting data, and displaying it. Photography helped to convey some of the first impressions that many in the West had of Japan.

Acting Master's Mate Eliphalet Brown took photographs while Perry spent many months negotiating with the Japanese. The images, the first photographs to be taken in Japan, were daguerreotypes. They were produced by using silver or silver-coated copper plates to register an image in a camera obscura. These were unique images. As the process did not involve separate negatives, it was not possible to make multiple copies. In order to produce copies, the daguerreotypes were published as engravings and lithographs in the official expedition report. [15] Although it appears that Brown took 400 to 500 photographs, most of the daguerreotypes were destroyed when there was a fire at the lithographic firm in Philadelphia that produced plates based on them for the report.[16]

Rear Admiral George Preble, who accompanied Perry on his expedition, noted how his fellow crewmen 'praised the finished workmanship' of the Japanese matchlocks they saw in Uraga, as well as the rice wine sake which some of the officers found 'quite palatable'. Furthermore, Preble admired some of the textiles and lacquerware given to the Americans, which in his opinion were 'far superior' to those produced by the Chinese. All these items involved technologies which were quite complex, but the Japanese excelled in them. It is no surprise that swordsmiths sometimes had backgrounds in gunmaking. Sake breweries were quite mechanised and were not unlike factories. Similarly, the manufacture of silk cloth involved the development of sophisticated looms such as the treadle-operated tall loom (takahata), first brought into Japan from China in the late sixteenth century. From this it is evident that accounts which portray the Meiji Restoration as a crucial watershed in the technological development of Japan have seriously underestimated the status and extent of prior indigenous techno-scientific capabilities.

Perry's expedition can, in some ways be considered a voyage of discovery. *A Scientist with Perry in Japan*[17] gives an account of an agriculturist, Dr. James Morrow, who accompanied the Perry expedition. Cole, in his introduction, writes:

> The spreading of scientific methods and the benefits derived there from were integral in the cultural extroversion of Americans and may be regarded as missionary in nature. The Americans had theories, inventions, machines and techniques which they were anxious to demonstrate to the Japanese and others in exchange for scientific data which would add to various departments of knowledge.[18]

Morrow's task was to collect specimens of plants and seeds which were likely to be of benefit to agriculture and of interest to Western scholars and American museums. Upon their return to the United States, Perry and Morrow made a point of quickly publishing their discovery of many new species from among the 1,500 to 2,000 varieties of specimens, which they had taken back with them.[19] The specimens helped give the Americans not only a sense of the climate and agricultural potential of Japan but also served as a message to others that they were interested in Japan's natural resources, and had a stake in the region.

Perry's expedition can also be viewed as bringing an American culture of imitation to Japan.[20] Although the Japanese had long borrowed from other cultures, Perry introduced technology that enhanced the ability of the Japanese to imitate. The expedition itself can be likened to a well-staged drama, a show of force designed to intimidate the Japanese.[21] Among the gifts to the Japanese was a working, quarter-scale model of a steam locomotive built by Richard Norris and Co. of Philadelphia.[22] A somewhat alarmed samurai rode around the circular track sitting on top of the passenger car. Other 'performers' included sailors dressed as black 'Ethiopian' minstrels who provided live after-dinner entertainment for the Japanese.[23] They were surrogates for things that Perry could not bring the Japanese. He tantalised them with what trade could potentially offer: access to Western technology and culture. And to show what Japan could offer, a camera captured images for a ready audience back home and reproduction in a published report.

The mimetic capacity of photography to capture a likeness was feared. Some Japanese women were ordered by Japanese government officials to be photographed at Daianji temple in Shimoda. Like a portrait painting (of which there was a long tradition among the elite) but deemed worse, the women were worried that their souls would leave and reside in the photograph. A rumour circulated that anyone who was photographed would die within three years. There continued to be an association of photography with death.[24] This reflects how the power of mimesis is the way it draws on 'the character and power of the original, to the point whereby the representation may even assume that character and that power'.[25]

This book is about how the state in Japan has often employed visual techniques to promote an emperor-centred sense of national identity. In the late nineteenth century, the Japanese embarked on a program of Westernisation which can be interpreted as the caucasianisation of the Japanese. It served to distance the Japanese from their Asian neighbours, and showed European nations that Japan was a world power worthy of respect. Images of the emperor were used to promote progress and national cohesion. It can be argued that representations of the emperor played an integral part in the production of modernity in Japan; and an important aspect of that modernity was the resurgence of mimesis. The reproduction of the emperor's image helped establish a connection between the viewer and the imperial personage. In his portrait we see tradition, modernity, and national culture coming together. Photographic technologies also made it possible to represent natural phenomena discovered during scientific expeditions,

throwing further glory on the emperor and the growing empire, and giving viewers a sense of participation. Notions of god-given whiteness and brightness linked the body of the emperor to the lives and bodies of Japanese soldiers.

Early Japanese photography

Ozawa Takeshi and Richard Lane have written about the origins of Japanese photography. The camera obscura was used early on by artists and scholars of Western science such as Hiraga Gennai (1728–79)[26] and Shiba Kōkan (1747–1818) to project an image onto a surface which they then traced.[27] The first portable box-type camera obscura is said to have been constructed in around 1665 by Robert Boyle (1627–91). The device was introduced into China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and from there imported to Nagasaki in 1718.

Early 'photographers' were often *samurai* scholars of Dutch studies (known as *rangaku*) who incorporated the study of photography into their research.[28] Although *rangaku* was mainly concerned with medicine, *rangaku* scholars translated and studied Western works in other fields such as physics, chemistry, astronomy, mathematics, geography, metallurgy, navigation, ballistics and military tactics.[29] In the 1850s and 1860s, these *samurai* scientists were leaders in studying daguerreotype and wet-plate photography. In terms of subject matter, they began with portraits, training their cameras on to fellow *samurai*.

Even before Perry's visit, a daguerreotype set had been brought to Nagasaki in 1843, the only Japanese port through which Dutch traders were permitted to enter. It appears that the equipment was mistakenly not unloaded at the time, but when it was brought to Nagasaki a second time in 1848, the merchant and sometime-scientist Ueno Toshinojō purchased it and delivered it to the Satsuma domain in southern Kyūshū. The Satsuma clan were keen to learn about Western science and technology and eager to use it to their military and economic advantage. Shimazu Noriakira, Lord of Satsuma, and clan scientists experimented with the daguerreotype camera in 1849. It appears that the camera was slightly damaged and photographs were unsatisfactory.[30] These experiments aside, it appears that it was not until Perry's second visit in 1854 that the first successful photographs were taken in Japan.

In 1858, Ueno's son Ueno Hikoma began studying chemistry at the naval training school in Nagasaki. His teacher was the physician Johannes L.C. Pompe van Meerdervoort who was based at the Dutch Factory from 1857–62. The Factory was a trading post of the Dutch East India Company. Ueno started experimenting with photography with help from Pompe van Meerdervoort, who happened to be an amateur photographer. With the arrival of the professional French photographer P. Rossier in Nagasaki in 1859, Ueno learnt the wet-collodion process which was a considerable improvement over the daguerreotype. He would later become famous as a portrait photographer.[31] Although Ueno's clients were mainly foreign residents, in the years leading up to and during the Meiji Restoration, there were young *samurai* who had photographs taken by Ueno for their families, in case they were killed during the conflict.[32]

What is fascinating is that the study of photography was seen as very much part of the efforts to master Western science and technology, with all its potential military, political and economic ramifications. The Satsuma clan promoted photography and Lord Shimazu used it as a way to persuade other *samurai* families that Japan should change its isolationist policies.[33] The Satsuma clan played a major role in what is known as the Meiji Restoration. It ushered in a period of great change in Japan.

The Meiji Restoration

Some scholars view the Meiji Restoration (1867–8) as a 'transition' between the Tokugawa and Meiji periods rather than a 'revolution' in the sense of the great world revolutions, or a 'Restoration'.[34] Shogunates (a type of military dictatorship) had long existed in Japan since the establishment of a feudal government by Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–99) in the twelfth century. The emperor and his court were relegated to an obsure life in Kyoto, unable to wield political power, but a sovereign nonetheless. Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) established the last such shogunate in the early seventeenth century and began what is known as the Tokugawa period (or Edo period because of the location of the *shōgun*'s capital at Edo, present-day Tokyo). The Meiji Restoration would later restore the emperor as both sovereign and ruler.[35]

Commodore Matthew Perry was sent to Japan to ensure protection of American seamen, to gain access to Japanese ports for provisions and coal, and to seek rights of trade. Perry reached Uraga on 8 July 1853, accompanied by two steam frigates and two sailing ships. He warned the Japanese that he would return in 1854 with a much larger force if no reply could be given immediately to his proposals. A reply was promised by the following spring. Perry returned to Uraga accompanied by eight ships, and entered into a series of meetings which began on 8 March 1854. A treaty was signed on 31 March at Kanagawa, in which the Japanese agreed to open up the port of Shimoda immediately, and the port of Hakodate in a year's time. Similar agreements were soon signed with Russia and Britain.[36]

In 1866, a *bakufu* (feudal government) force was sent to the borders of the Chōshū domain and engaged in a conflict which is known as the Four-Sided War. The Chôshû forces were victorious. On 10 January 1867, Hitotsubashi Keiki (1837–1913) became *shōgun*, the fifteenth and the last in the Tokugawa line. Shortly after, Emperor Kōmei passed away and his 15 year old heir succeeded him to reign for 45 years. Anti-*bakufu* domains feared a *bakufu* resurgence, assisted by Western powers such as France.

The feudal government was overthrown by lower *samurai* and *rōnin* (masterless *samurai*) from the western clans of Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa and Hizen, supported by merchants especially from Osaka such as Mitsui, in whom 70 per cent of the nation's wealth had come to be concentrated. The Restoration was a shift of governmental power from the upper to the lower *samurai*, facilitated by the merchants.[37]

On 8 November 1867, Keiki announced his decision to surrender his administrative functions, but not his title, to the throne. On 19 November Keiki submitted his resignation as *shōgun*. By the morning of 3 January 1868, the Kyoto palace was in the hands of loyalists, and a *coup d'etat* had occurred. An announcement was made which accepted Keiki's resignation and stated that the emperor would resume responsibilities for government. Senior offices of the court and the *bakufu* would be abolished and a new structure of offices established.[38]

The historian Harold Bolitho has written that the coup did not involve a large number of loyalists, and that 'any combination of *daimyo* and *samurai*, if determined to save the *bakufu*, could have done so. They did not bother, however, simply because they did not feel they had anything to fear from its passing'.[39] On 26 January 1868, Keiki's troops moved towards Kyoto, and were defeated by a Satsuma-Chōshū force. Keiki withdrew to Edo. In case the opposite were to occur and the forces loyal to the emperor were defeated, there were contingency plans for the emperor to be disguised as a court lady and, together with the empress dowager, be escorted to safety.[40] Fortunately for the emperor, this masquerade did not eventuate, but it would not be long before he would be required to change his appearance again.

In early February, Osaka Castle surrendered. At the end of February, a military force under Prince Arisugawa marched towards Edo. On 6 April a truce was arranged whereby Keiki would resign as the head of the Tokugawa house and this was agreed to by Keiki on 3 May. On 1 November 1869 Keiki was pardoned in the interests of national unity, as were others who had served him. Some of the latter actually gained high office in the Meiji bureaucracy. Even in this 'revolution', 'men of talent' were valued for their potential contribution to national strength.[41]

In April 1868, a Charter Oath was issued by the emperor which provided a framework for the policy of the new government. In 1869 the feudal lords became imperial governors. The court nobles and feudal lords would be categorised as nobility (*kizoku* and changed two years later to *kazoku*[42]), and *samurai* divided into gentry (*shizoku*) and footsoldiers. *Samurai* stipends were severely cut. In 1871, the domains were abolished and replaced by prefectures which were governed by the emperor's appointees. Edo, present-day Tokyo, became the imperial capital.[43] In 1880, the court titles of the *shōgun* were returned to him and he was given the highest rank in the new peerage.[44]

Many historians agree that the Restoration was a result of the efforts of *samurai*, and that there was no major contribution from the commoners. The Restoration resulted in the abolition of *samurai* status and security, in effect, by the *samurai* themselves.[45] The greater government power was not dissimilar to that urged by *bakufu* reformers and the policies which were followed were likely to have been followed by a reformed Tokugawa *bakufu*.[46]

The Meiji Restoration was as E.H. Norman put it:

> a race to overtake the advanced Western nations with their machine technology and armaments, and Japanese economic and even political

independence were at stake; Japan had to enter the race with the handicap of a tariff fixed by the unequal treaty system which lasted for half a century.[47]

It is thus not surprising that the Meiji Government would devote its energy to centralisation and modernisation of the army and police force. A modern army and navy required strategic industries such as: heavy industries, engineering, mining and shipbuilding. But we should note that military industries had already been introduced by the Satsuma, Hizen and Chōshū clans before the Restoration. The Meiji Government took the lead in mining and heavy industrial production. Engineering, technical and naval schools were established with the assistance of foreign instructors and students were also sent abroad to master technology in key industries. Transportation and communication were developed as well. Paradoxically, the modern army and police force, telegraph, railways and improved access of village leaders to those in power, deprived the peasants of rebellion and put them under centralised control.[48]

It is notable that in Japan's transition, state reforms were a primary force in change. There was a deliberate borrowing of Western models to 'catch up' and the transition was compressed. There was a reassertion, not overthrow, of traditional authority. In terms of social and political upheaval, the Tokugawa-Meiji transition was very smooth.[49] The young Emperor Meiji was 'restored' to sovereign power, but few Japanese had much sense of what he looked like.

For those close to the young emperor such as the leading Chōshū statesman Kido Takayoshi (1833–77), going to a photography studio seemed as much as part of social life as collecting swords, writing poetry, collecting paintings, and enjoying the tea ceremony. Kido's diary for the years immediately after the Restoration reveals how he spent his leisure time in such pursuits. Kido owned from 25–30 scroll paintings of landscapes in the *Nanga* style by Tanomura Chikuden (1777–1835). While these traditional paintings of idealised mountains and valleys in Chinese style appealed greatly to Kido, he is also recorded as often having had his photograph taken. For example, on 7 July 1869, Kido and his friends went to a studio to be photographed. Less than six months later on 13 December, Kido visited a photographic studio yet again, after having viewed some paintings and calligraphy the day before. On 28 May 1870, he and a friend had a photographer visit them in the inn where they were staying. That evening, Kido purchased some antiques from a nearby shop. For Kido, having his photograph taken was part of his social life, just as collecting art and antiques were. He embraced both tradition and modernity in the Meiji era.[50]

The visualisation of the emperor

While Kido was eager to be photographed, what of the emperor? The German doctor Engelbert Kaempfer, who served as physician to the Dutch Factory in Nagasaki in the late seventeenth century, imagined the emperor at the time as a being so holy that his feet could not touch the ground, and whose person could not be exposed to the open air or sun. His hair, beard and nails could not be cut,

and his body only cleaned while asleep. Folklore had it that in ancient times he was obliged to sit on the throne for hours on end each morning, without moving, so as to preserve the peace and harmony of his empire. So Kaempfer reported in his *The History of Japan*. As Carmen Blacker has argued, little evidence can actually be found to corroborate such beliefs about the emperor's person, but such descriptions apparently were typical of taboos imposed on sacral kings, and it is said that the emperor did not leave the confines of the Kyoto palace in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And even when citizens were allowed limited access to the palace grounds, they were not able to view the emperor's face. His body constituted a vessel for a sacred spirit.[51] With a two-layered system of authority in place, consisting of the emperor and *shōgun*, it suited the feudal government that the emperor was an unknown quantity.

The arrival in 1853–4 of Commodore Matthew C. Perry showed the Japanese that an ostentatious display of military strength and masculinity were important in imposing one's authority on others. His visits were a calculated form of public performance. The increasing threat of foreign invasion signalled to the Japanese that there was an urgent need for such display. With the Meiji Restoration in 1868, it became necessary to communicate the change in the structure of power. The British diplomat Ernest Satow had an audience with the young emperor that year. On meeting him, Satow noted that:

> His complexion was white, perhaps artificially so rendered, his mouth badly formed, what a doctor would call prognathous, but the general contour was good. His eyebrows were shaven off, and painted in an inch higher up. His costume consisted of a long black loose cape hanging backwards, a white upper garment or mantle and voluminous purple trousers.[52]

It appears that it was also usual for his teeth to be blackened. However by 1870, this and the shaving of the eyebrows by noblemen were banned. In 1871, the emperor started wearing Western clothing for some official ceremonies.[53]

In the 1870s and 1880s, imperial visits were a way of making visible the connection between the new centralised government and the emperor, through a form of theatre.[54] What is often forgotten is that photographers accompanied the emperor on these visits to the provinces.[55] In 1872, the photographer Uchida Kuichi produced a lavish, two-album set of photographs of places visited by Emperor Meiji during his first imperial tour of western Japan. Each photograph was accompanied by handwritten captions in Japanese.[56] The photographs traced the journey of the emperor through space and time.

In later years, the authority of the Meiji emperor would be conveyed more through images rather than in the flesh. The initial motivation appears to have been international relations and the need to represent the emperor abroad. In May 1872, the emperor posed for Uchida Kuichi, in traditional court dress. Uchida had worked under Ueno Hikoma and was considered the best portrait photographer in Tokyo at the time. The photographs were intended to be given to foreign dignitaries in exchange for photographs of monarchs of other countries,

but this plan did not eventuate. The image was deemed to be not sufficiently modern.[57]

In 1872, the emperor visited the Imperial Dockyard and Arsenal at Yokosuka, as well as a science laboratory and the opening of a railway line, dressed in traditional costume (see Figure 1.1). William Elliot Griffis, who had worked in Japan as a foreign government employee, reminisced about meeting the Emperor Meiji (Mutsuhito) at the opening:

> Mutsuhito was arrayed in flowing crimson and white robes and wore a black cap with a lofty ribbon or upright feather of fluted gold. When Ito [Hirobumi] and Okubo [Shigenobu] had rushed to complete the railway from Tokyo to Yokohama … the Emperor again, but for the last time in public, wore the ancient costume. After that event Mutsuhito donned modern dress.[58]

It was clear to those who were there that the juxtaposition of the past with the future was rather jarring, and in November there was a proclamation that Western dress would be worn for all such official, government occasions. Thus, after 1872, the emperor was portrayed in Western military uniform.[59]

In October 1873, Uchida took another photograph of the emperor, this time dressed in Western military uniform, with hair parted down the middle and the beginnings of a moustache and beard.[60] This photograph was not initially intended for wide distribution and there were prohibitions on selling the emperor's portrait. It was, however, eventually circulated to government offices and schools, and photographic copies were distributed commercially.[61] While selling the emperor's photograph was frowned on, the circulation and copying of the image did provide a sense of continuity for a nation in evolution. The portrait also provided an opportunity for the state to define the emperor in conformity with what was considered to be the norms of appearance and taste in the West.

The photograph appeared in the English-language newspaper *The Far East* in 1873 (see Figure 1.2). The newspaper catered to the foreign community in Yokohama, where it was published. The introduction of albumen paper enabled ready reproduction of photographs. These images were laboriously pasted into the pages of the newspaper, with some 600 photographs appearing in the newspaper during its five year life from May 1870–August 1875.[62]

In this way, photographs of the emperor helped make the invisible visible, what has been referred to as the visualisation of the emperor.[63] The photograph signalled that it was permissible to gaze on the imperial countenance, with due respect. It was a communicative act that signalled how the emperor (and the photographer) wished to represent him. Within the space of a few years, his face and style of dress had been transformed. We can view the framed window of the photograph as a proscenium arch presenting us with a drama of sorts, a theatrical event, or as the frame around a painting that we are privileged to see.

The introduction of photography changed the popular conception of what constituted an adequate representation of reality. For Westerners, it was a means of extending pre-existing realist tendencies, but for the Japanese, it was

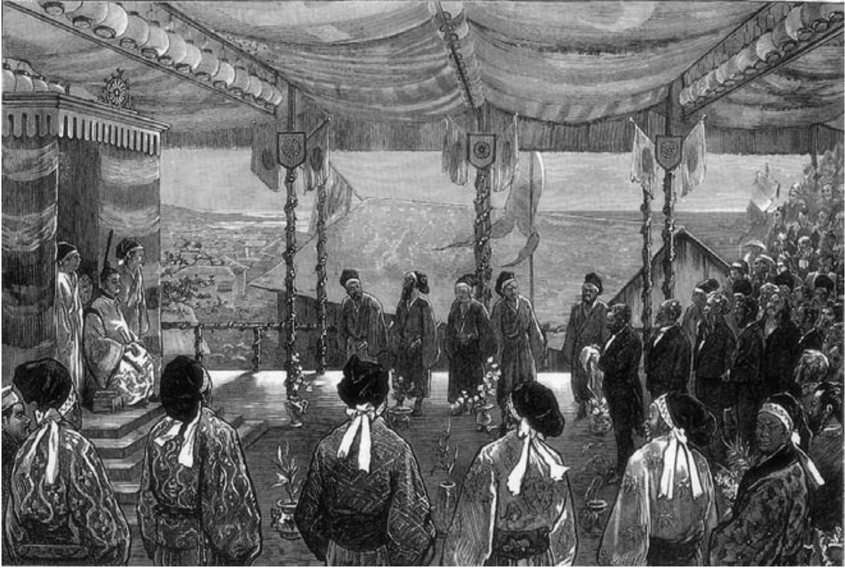


Figure 1.1 The young Meiji Emperor dressed in traditional clothing at the opening of the first railway in Japan. *The Illustrated London News*, 28 December 1872, p. 637. Engraving: F. Wentworth. Collection of the author.

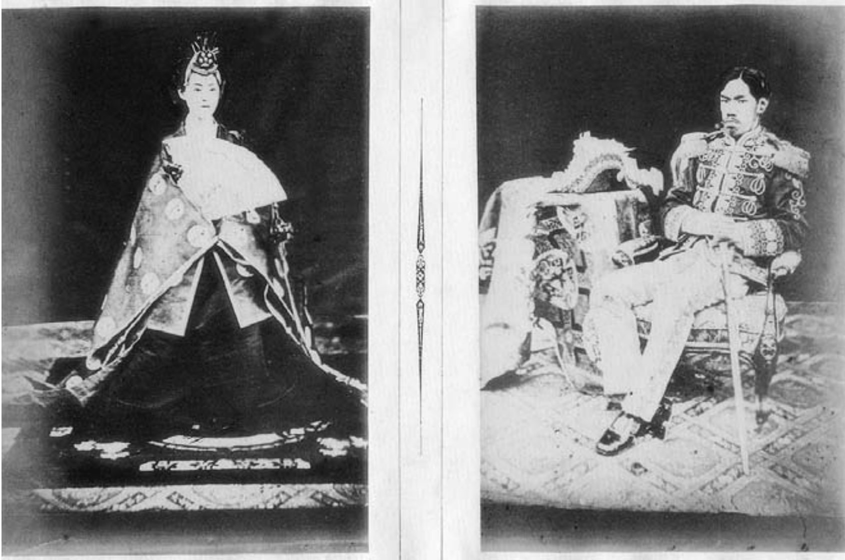


Figure 1.2 Empress Haruko and the Meiji Emperor. Albumen prints taken from *The Far East* (c. 1873). Collection of the author.

startling. It encouraged ukiyo-e woodblock print artists in the Meiji era to strive for a realism that approximated that of photographs.[64] And sometimes, the photographs that were circulated were in fact reproductions of art works, such as a portrait of the emperor by Edoardo Chiossone who was, at the time of the drawing in January 1888, employed by the Printing Bureau. Photographs of the conte crayon drawing were circulated widely shortly after.[65] They served the purpose of providing a more recent portrait of the emperor than those taken by Uchida in the early 1870s. The emperor was reluctant to be photographed again and was, instead, secretly sketched by Chiossone while dining out. Photographs of this highly realistic drawing were given to foreign dignitaries and distributed to schools as the imperial portrait (*goshin'ei*).[66]

Thanks to Perry's expedition, Japan was increasingly on display to the rest of the world. Visual representations played an important part in constructing a sense of national identity centring on the emperor and in promoting Japan as a civilised nation to those outside. Images of the Emperor Meiji and the locomotive served as symbols of progress and civilisation. Japanese participation at international exhibitions served to celebrate Japan's past and its technological future. Photography not only helped record these events, but cameras, photographic equipment and photographs were part of the displays.

Many of the photographs that will be discussed in this book appeared in what the historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki refers to as 'national albums': albums of original photographic prints or books of reproductions made to simulate an album, that were aimed at a national, and sometimes an international audience.[67] Portfolios of images added a sense of narrative that a single photograph often lacked. They help tell the story of the nation in a format reminiscent of a family album. This is not surprising. It is how people often arrange and store images, ensuring they are preserved for later generations. In this way, albums have helped the Japanese people to envisage the nation, to construct a relationship with the emperor. As Susan Sontag observed, 'through photographs, each family constructs a portrait chronicle of itself – a portable kit of images that bear witness to its connectedness'.[68] When these albums were published for large-scale distribution, they effectively produced a consensus in terms of the narrative of the nation and each family's relationship with the emperor. They began to understand and experience what being part of the nation meant. Albums gave the illusion of participation.

The imperial portrait

Japan's first minister of education, Mori Arinori (1847–89), was a firm believer that education should contribute not only to the wellbeing of the people, but also be strongly linked to the goals of the state.[69] For Mori, encouraging Japanese school students to show due respect to *goshin'ei*, the imperial portrait consisting of a set of photographs of the emperor and empress, was a way of achieving this. Mori was assassinated in 1889 but soon after, in the early 1890s, the set of imperial photographs were distributed to schools throughout Japan, along with

the 1890 imperial rescript on education signed by the emperor which encouraged students to be:

> … filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends be true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; … should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne.[70]

Schools were instructed to read out the rescript at school assemblies, ceremonies and other appropriate occasions. In this way, students were continually encouraged to live worthy lives, make sacrifices for the state, and thereby show loyalty to the emperor.

Although the term *goshin'ei* was widely used, the official term used by the Imperial Household Agency was *o shashin* (honorable photograph). Nevertheless, *goshin'ei* came to refer to the official photographs of the emperor and empress, images that were distributed as imperial gifts and treasured by the institutions that received them.[71] Schools were required to provide a safe, fixed home for the sacred pictures and imperial rescript on education. Teachers took turns at safeguarding them as if their very lives depended on it. While the words of the emperor contained in the imperial rescript were seen as important, it was the images of the imperial couple that were treated with special care. The photographs were seen as shadows of the emperor and empress, their *bunshin* (their other selves). Both female and male teachers were involved in protecting the sacred gift, with men in particular assigned the job at night. It was only after the Second World War that such guard duty came to an end in schools.[72]

The photographs and rescript were kept for safekeeping in a *hōanden* (altar of the imperial family) that could be found at each school. Hideko Tamura Friedman recalled how, at her school in Hiroshima, this took the form of a mausoleum-like stone structure just inside the school gate. Those who passed it were required to show their respect by bowing deeply.[73]

We need to see the use of the photographs as part of what the historian, Sandra Wilson, has described as the discourse in Japan of national greatness. She has argued that between 1890 and 1919, this dominant discourse could be clearly seen in the press, at industrial expositions, and in the writings of Japanese intellectuals.[74] Photography was used to promote an imperial identity linked not only to the notion of a special relationship between the emperor and his subjects but also with the effort to create a new imperial order in the Asia–Pacific region. Not only were the Japanese people encouraged to think in terms of being part of an empire of their own, but those whom the Japanese sought to subjugate were encouraged to see themselves as new subjects in a new order. Participation in international exhibitions provided the Japanese with an opportunity to promote the idea of a greater Japan.

International exhibitions

International exhibitions gave visitors the impression that the world was on display before their very eyes. The age of exhibitions from the mid-nineteenth century through to the twentieth century was also the age of empires and nation-states. Exhibitions brought together art, science and technology often in the form of trade fairs designed for mass entertainment. They helped to strengthen imperial rule and cement imperial relations by portraying the various classes and regions of empire, linking them into networks of knowledge which served to maintain social order across political borders. Exhibitions were a celebration of the authority of the emperor and his growing empire. Products of the nation and empire were on display. Collectively, they helped to project certain ideas of national identity, and provided the public with opportunities to create their own identities and sense of self.[75] It was important to be seen as being modern, but exhibiting tradition in the form of the emperor could also be of strategic value.

Peter Kornicki has reminded us of the importance of exhibitions held in Japan for local audiences. He notes how the Swedish scientist A.E. Nordenskiöld remarked, on his visit to Japan in September 1879, that:

> In no country is there at this day such a love of exhibitions as in Japan. There are small exhibitions in most of the large towns. Many were exceedingly instructive; in all there were to be seen beautiful wares, porcelain, swords, silk, cloths, etc.[76]

These exhibitions were inspired by international exhibitions abroad which Japan eagerly participated in. The Meiji government organised five, large-scale, domestic industrial exhibitions called 'Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai' ('National Exposition for the Encouragement of Industry'). Each was three to four months long. The first three were held in Ueno Park in 1877, 1882, and 1890. The fourth was held in Kyoto in 1895, and the fifth in Osaka in 1903. These exhibitions were designed to encourage national development and foreign trade.[77] They were the setting for visual ideas about Japan as a modern and eventually imperial nation to be promoted. Ties with the imperial institution were explicitly made by the involvement of the emperor and members of his family.[78]

By the 1880s, a market in Japanese antiquarian wares had grown, and Japan sought to exploit its arts and crafts in the context of trade and diplomatic policy. Indications are, thus, that the Japanese Government used these representations of its culture in order to obtain diplomatic and economic equality. After the Meiji Restoration, Japanese Governments ensured that a large Japanese exhibition would appear at every major international exhibition until 1925. Japan went to great efforts to ensure that Japan would be perceived as a respectable, modern nation.[79]

Exhibitions were a form of display that were undertaken for specific reasons, and carried out in order to achieve certain results. The 'exhibition' can be considered as a tool or instrument by which: (1) to 'show off' (national

prestige); (2) to promote the interests of the exhibitor (sale of goods); (3) to create comparisons with other exhibitors (encourage competition); and (4) to provide cultural pleasure and impress visitors (instrument of propaganda).[80]

It is appropriate to talk of Japanese 'cultural policy', as government officials sought to use cultural relations for the purposes of national policy.[81] Japanese participation in international and national expositions has often coincided with 'turning points' in Japanese history. The Industrial Exposition held in Tokyo in 1877 coincided with Japanese civil unrest. The fourth such exposition in Kyoto in 1895 occurred at the time of the Sino–Japanese War. Japan's participation in 1904 at the St Louis Exposition was during the Russo–Japanese War.

The historian Miriam Silverberg has argued that Japanese mass culture came to be constituted by spectacles such as expositions. She notes that there were linkages between these events and the mass media. While they served to promote an 'ethnocentric, essentialist, and productivist state ideology and apparatus premised on ultimate allegiance to the emperor',[82] she suggests that there was a tension between this and mass-produced consumer culture where individuals could make choices.

Such timing was not mere coincidence. Kaneko Kentarō attended the St Louis Exposition to gain American support for the war and to obtain large war loans.[83] Graham Berry, the premier of the State of Victoria in Australia, organised the Melbourne Exhibition of 1880 in order to stimulate a recovery from the economic and political turmoil of the 1870s. The Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 was held during a time of great industrial unrest. The pomp and pageantry of exhibitions, and the ideals of economic progress and social harmony were all at odds with the contemporary reality.[84]

The first world exposition, the Crystal Palace Exposition, was held in London in 1851, an opportunity for Great Britain to show off the results of the industrial revolution. This was followed in 1889 by the Paris Expo which came complete with the Eiffel Tower. Paris world fairs were held in 1855, 1867, 1878, 1889, and 1900. The United States also recognised the importance of holding expositions. A number were held in succession: New York in 1853, Chicago in 1863, St Louis in 1904, and San Francisco in 1915.[85] We need to remember that people saw photographs at these fairs and expositions.

Japanese participation at international exhibitions dates from the nineteenth century. Japan was first represented at the Paris world fair of 1867. Tokugawa Akitake, the younger brother of the *shōgun*, was sent to France accompanied by 28 officials after being invited to participate by Napoleon III. The Shogunate and the two provinces/domains of Satsuma and Hizen mounted small-scale displays. The Meiji Restoration soon followed, after which Japan was next represented at the Vienna Exposition in 1873. Japanese craftsmen were also sent to study foreign methods. The Japanese were also invited to participate in the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876 to commemorate the national independence of the United States. At US government displays at Philadelphia, photography had a strong presence.[86]

An analysis of the position of Japanese displays reveals American perceptions of the power of the Japanese.[87] A small bazaar and tea house, as well as a two-storey building were constructed near the west gate of the exhibition grounds. There were also Japanese displays in the agricultural hall and the main exhibition building. In the latter, the Japanese display was positioned next to that of China, in the western part of the building. This replicated Japan's geographical location from the perspective of the United States.[88] The exhibitions which followed the Crystal Palace followed its model of dividing floor space up like the map of the world into different national sections, and different racial groups. It was thus thought 'natural' for the oriental races of China and Japan to be placed on their own to the west of the Americas.[89]

The exhibitions provided a 'kaleidoscope' of the peoples and cultures of the world. While there was cultural diversity, nineteenth century Westerners were reassured by the 'modernisation' (Westernisation) of the world and their own superior place within the panorama. Foreign cultures could be savoured within the safe confines of the exposition, with visitors temporarily taking on the roles of travellers or colonisers of the world. Foreign cultures were not threatening if they were regarded as mere amusements.[90]

Japan's exhibits at Philadelphia were extensive and involved a great deal of preparation. They involved the efforts of 284 separate exhibitors. The Japanese displays, especially the 'traditional' art wares such as porcelain, bronzes, silks, embroideries, and lacquerware, attracted a great deal of interest, partly because of their novelty and also because of the neatness and precision of Japanese craftsmanship. Even though Americans were aware of Japan's efforts to modernise, the Japanese government emphasised Japanese art and craftwork, the more aesthetic aspects of Japanese culture.[91] Many of the pieces on display were purchased by William T. Walters (now in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore) and General Hector Tyndale (whose works are now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art). The Pennsylvania Museum (now the Philadelphia Museum of Art) also made direct purchases from the exhibition.[92]

In 1885, the Japanese participated at a smaller exposition in New Orleans. This was followed by what was considered one of America's most successful expositions, The World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. This celebrated the 400th anniversary of the landing of Columbus. The official cost of the exposition was more than $28 million. The Japanese pavilion consisted of three parts, a new version of the Phoenix Hall which was built near Kyoto in the twelfth century. Different wings displayed important periods in the Japanese art history. There were also displays in other buildings, such as the Palace of Fine Arts. There were also displays relating to Japanese manufactures and the Japanese lifestyle: exhibits of rice, tea, tobacco, vermicelli, hemp, mineral waters, umbrella handles, artificial fruit, photographs of railways, surgical instruments, textbooks, razors, safes, buttons, silverware, toys, perfumes, etc.[93]

The Japanese looked to the Columbian Exposition as a way by which to prove that Japan had come of age, and was worthy of the respect and confidence of other nations. The Japanese hoped that the unequal treaties, which granted foreign

Figure 1.3 The Japan–China War: The Souvenir of the Demonstration of the Citizens of Tokio (Tokyo: Yeghi (Egi) Shoten, 1984), cover. Collection of the author.

powers extraterritorial rights in Japan, could be revised.[94] Participation involved great cost, with the Japanese Diet authorising budgets of 630,000 yen for the Columbian Exposition in 1893. In addition to this was the costs carried by the prefectural governments and private firms that provided the bulk of the exhibits. Given Japan's enthusiasm for expositions, it was considered money well-spent for it provided opportunities by which Japan could absorb the latest innovations overseas and promote its own products. Japan's exhibits were a source of national pride and often politically motivated.[95] Japan wished to encourage revision of the unequal treaties by showing the world that it had modernised at the Chicago exposition of 1893.[96]

Sino–Japanese War

Two of the most spectacular events during Emperor Meiji's reign were wars. While the most common images in Japan of the Sino–Japanese War (1894–5) were colour woodblock prints, Donald Keene suggests that many of the artists relied on their imagination or consulted photographs. Keene surmises that the Japanese public found the prints provided more exciting images of the war than the photographs could provide.[97]

However, a published album of photographs that survives today does show how photographs would soon have the upper hand. The album records Japanese

Figure 1.4 Kawakami Otojirō and his theatrical troupe reenact the battle of Pyongyang at Ueno Park, 9 December 1894, taken from *The Japan–China War: The Souvenir of the Demonstration of the Citizens of Tokio* (Tokyo: Yeghi (Egi) Shoten, 1894). Collection of the author.

wartime celebrations in Tokyo's Ueno Park on 9 December 1894. Entitled *The Japan–China War: The Souvenir of the Demonstration of the Citizens of Tokio*, the album was published by Yeghi (Egi) Shoten in Tokyo around late 1894 (see Figure 1.3). It provided a happy souvenir for those who attended the celebrations, and for those who were absent, a belated opportunity to participate, if not necessarily in the war itself, certainly in the celebrations. With captions in English and Japanese, it shows how the war captured international interest. The album provides some basic information about the war, but what we see are not images of the Sino–Japanese War itself but photographs of the reenactment of events, as the Japanese wished to see them.[98] We can view the celebrations in terms of how:

> In the pre-modern state, power was made visible through signs displayed in the form of theater, with processions, progresses, royal entries, coronations and funerals, and rituals which guaranteed the well-being and continued power of the rulers (and their dominant relations to the ruled).[99]

The album opens with a photograph of crowds of people gathering in front of the Imperial Palace, paying their respects, before proceeding to Ueno Park. There is some blurring due to the excited movement of people in the foreground. We then see a big arch erected near Sanmaibashi, illuminated by two electric lights, and

crowds milling around beneath it. At Ueno Park, a 'Temporary Museum of the Plunders' shows a selection of the spoils of war.

Much of the celebrations involved mimicry and simulational play, with Ueno Park transformed into a theme park. A highlight of the day was a theatrical performance by the renowned Kawakami Otojirō troupe (see Figure 1.4). The lively reenactment of the battle of Pyongyang (15–16 September 1894), in the safe confines of the museum garden at Ueno, helped the Japanese relive the first large-scale conflict of the war with the Chinese. The actors and the audience were, in a sense, making history. Pyongyang was regarded as the last Chinese stronghold in Korea. When Private Harada Jūkichi climbed the city wall and opened the gate from inside, he became a national hero.[100] The event was so important that a 42 foot high replica of the gate was built at the park to remind everyone of Harada's brave deed, and to provide props for the make-believe that was occurring within.

The day of celebrations ended with an evening fireworks display, courtesy of the Hirayama Fire Works Co. of Yokohama. Fireworks were launched from a crude replica of the battleship Ting-Yuen that led the Chinese Northern Fleet. Floating in a lake at a safe distance from the crowd, the spectacle gave the impression that the vessel was under fire. It simulated the important Battle of the Yellow Sea (17 September 1894).[101] The album notes that the Imperial Crown Prince was in attendance. In this way, the album provided a souvenir of the war in miniature, as played out within the confines of the park, and under the watchful gaze of a member of the imperial family. The album extended the experience to a wider audience and made the event itself a part of history. As S.C.M. Paine has noted, 'the war changed not only Japanese perceptions about themselves but also their perceptions of others'.[102] The war marked the end of a period in which Japan had been in the shadow of China. Now it was the reverse and if the album is anything to go by, the Japanese were euphoric.

Russo–Japanese War

The Russo–Japanese War of 1904–5 is considered even more of a turning point in Japanese history. The war itself was a visual spectacle, this time with journalists, photographers and movie cameramen[103] accompanying the armies and navies. Although impressive war triptychs were produced by woodblock prints artists,[104] photography seemed, more than ever, to have come into its own.[105] General Nogi Maresuke was championed as one of the heroes, despite being under-prepared and having shown problematic judgement. A picture from one of the photographic collections published in 1905 shows him driving in open carriage to the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, immediately after his triumphal return from the conflict on 14 January of that year. With captions in both Japanese and English, publishers were marketing the war to an international audience.[106] This helped ensure that news of Japan's victory spread throughout the world. The photographs provided the Japanese with powerful documentation for their histories of the conflict. In times

of war, and in its aftermath, the photograph provided a powerful surrogate for those who could not experience the action firsthand.[107]

Stereographs or 'stereo views' of the war were also popular, giving viewers a sense of heightened realism, as if they were on the battlefield. The international publisher Underwood and Underwood included images of Nogi in the many they produced of the war. As the caption of one of the photographic portraits (c. 1905) described him, he was 'skilful, brave, patient, irresistible – captor of Port Arthur'.[108]

Images of all sorts were in circulation. Photographs of the conflict were published in postcard form.[109] Russo–Japanese War films were very popular in Japan, with approximately 80 per cent of films released in 1904–5 about the war. These documentaries involved varying degrees of manipulation of fact.[110] As the cinema grew in popularity, the interest in stereographs declined. All were part of the considerable traffic in visual images during the Meiji period.

Travel and photography

The victory over the Russians was seen as a coming of age for Japan. Amidst this buoyant time for the Japanese, the Imperial Government Railways published a deluxe, oblong folio album with woven silk covers and purple tassels. The publication entitled *Sights and Scenes in Fair Japan* (1905) included 50 hand coloured collotype photographs printed on gilt-edged pages of heavy card by Ogawa Kazumasa. The only attribution to Ogawa is his small studio stamp on the penultimate page.[111]

The album is a prime example of how the rise of photography accompanied the rise of tourism in Japan and elsewhere. Landscapes and tourist spots were, in this way, deemed important and beautiful by tourist boards and government organisations.[112] The very format of the album gave viewers a sense of progression. On opening the album and turning the title page, two full-page maps show the extent of the railway services offered in Japan, with lines extending even as far as Korea. This is then placed within the context of the 'International Railway and Steamship Connections'. A hand-coloured collotype of 'The Main Entrance to the Imperial Palace, Tokyo' soon follows (see Figure 1.5). We then are treated to many scenes of traditional Japan: cherry blossoms in Ueno Park, Tokyo; the large bronze statue of Buddha at Kamakura; a view of Mt Fuji; Ise Shrine; Kiyomizu Temple and Kinkakuji (Golden Pavilion) in Kyoto. Interspersed among these images, however, are signs of modernity: a car and rickshaw on a wide, modern Tokyo street with red-brick, Western-style buildings on either side, and a sea of electric power lines criss-crossing the street and continuing all the way down the thoroughfare. A photograph of a drapery section in a modern Tokyo department store shows glass display cases of kimono fabric, with seated female customers being attended to by male shop assistants. And to remind us that it is the rail service that provided access to all these places, we are shown an image of a steam train passing through a pine grove in Kyushu. While there is no text in the album, apart from the captions, it is clear that the Imperial Government Railways

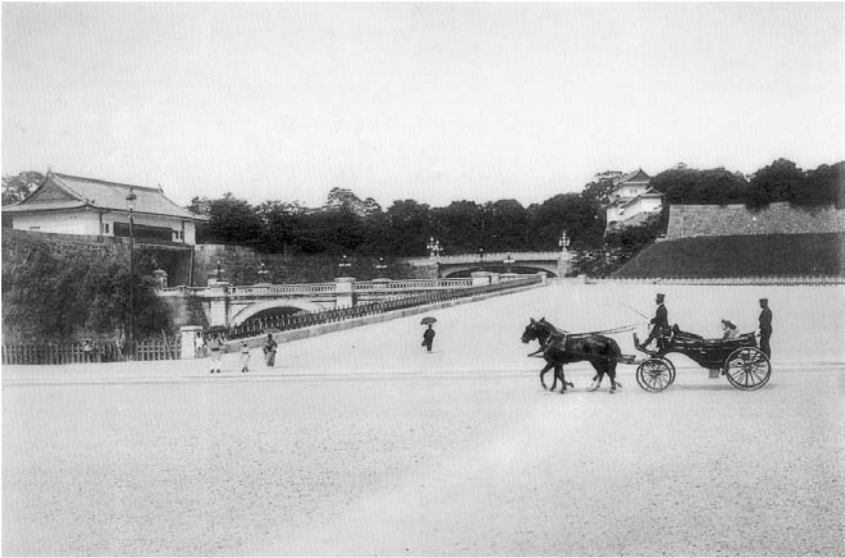


Figure 1.5 'The Main Entrance to the Imperial Palace, Tokyo' taken from *Sights and Scenes in Fair Japan* (Tokyo: Imperial Government Railways, Japan, 1905). Collotype photograph: Ogawa Kazumasa. Collection of the author.

offered tourists a special experience, and the deluxe publication suggested that first class travel was a very real option. Photographs offered railway companies not only an attractive way to entice tourists but also provided the means by which to survey areas of potential expansion.

Going to the movies

In 1912, when Emperor Meiji passed away, there were 44 movie theatres in Tokyo and its vicinity. By 1929, shortly after the enthronement ceremonies of his grandson the Shōwa Emperor, Hirohito, the number of cinemas had increased to 207, with the number of annual admissions trebling from 12,772,247 to a huge 36,917,425.[113] The growth, especially in the late 1920s, coincided with the beginning of the era of talking movies. The Marxist critic and cultural theorist Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke wrote about going to the movies in an article for the magazine *Gendai* entitled 'Tōkii o mite' ('Watching the Talkies') (1930). Although he acknowledged that talkies represented a more advanced level of film-making, he was unable to work out what was being said and in this regard, considered it a retrogressive step. Movies spoke a global language as long as they were silent. Although much of human nature, manners and customs, and mentality were universal, what got in the way of mutual understanding between people of different nations were differences in language. He attributed the amazing growth in popularity of films to the fact that silent films had dispensed with words

that had previously stood in the way of mutual understanding between people. Talkies, he felt, by introducing this barrier to communication, had reduced the value of film as an international language.[114]

Hirabayashi pointed out that there had been an attempt in Japan to boycott American films due to fears that it would lead to the Americanisation of culture. As people throughout the world became more enamoured of the talkies, the international dominance of American culture would become more serious. For the next generation of Japanese about to be born, films, airplanes and radio, would be seen as part of their everyday, natural environment and they would have difficulty in imagining a world without them. Radio, television and other forms of communication would brighten the lives of people in rural areas. All in all, Hirabayashi saw technology in a positive light.[115]

We shall see that photographic technology, the rise of the mass media, colonial relations, and scientific discourse all affected how the image of the emperor and, indeed, Japan was portrayed. Japanese colonialism spurred the growth of photographic practice. Images in journals, expedition reports and the popular press helped communicate 'scientific' knowledge which served to justify Japan's expansionist aspirations, and reminded the Japanese of their special place in the world *vis à vis* the people of Asia. Photographs helped the Japanese to classify not only scientific specimens but human beings. We can thus view photography as helping to produce evidence in fields such as geology, biology, and anthropology, and reinforcing racial hierarchies. This can be seen in how the Japanese embarked on expeditions to various parts of the growing empire, in the name of the emperor. The voluminous reports that were published owe an aesthetic debt to the album as well. Not only were group photographs included but the many photographs with captions remind readers of travel albums compiled by tourists on their return.

The tensions between tradition and modernity would be resolved in the post-Second World War period when Emperor Hirohito (b. 1901) denounced his divine status and was revealed by the media to be a scientist – a marine biologist. Science was seen as reaffirming the values of Western liberal democracy and the Emperor was transformed from possible war criminal to scholar. In trawling the waters of Sagami Bay near his villa, he would show the world that nature had survived the horrors of the war and that there would be peace and prosperity. In the deluxe publications that were generated by the Emperor's laboratory, we will see how the veracity of the photograph was challenged by hand-drawn and painted illustrations that harked back to the early days of natural history.

The introduction of photography in Japan was more than just a process of imitation of Western technology and replacement of existing techniques of representation.[116] Imagining the emperor and Japan involved the use of different methods of representation at any one time. In this way, the Japanese people formed an image of themselves (and the world) that reaffirmed elements considered integral to their national identity (the emperor and certain aspects of tradition), at the same time as Japan emerged as a modern nation state. As we saw for Kido, photography became part of everyday life.

2 The death of the Meiji Emperor

Introduction

The public mourning of Emperor Meiji on his death on 30 July 1912 was part testimony to the effectiveness of ceremonies and rituals which had helped construct the memory of an emperor-centred, national past. While there has been some suggestion that the Japanese during the Tokugawa period (c. 1600–1868) may have been less openly emotional at times of bereavement,[1] the sense of loss on the death of Meiji seems to be at odds with such comments. This chapter shows how the commemoration of the life of the emperor and celebration of events during his reign helped to shape national memory.

How can we measure the impact of media images on public perceptions? The writer Tayama Katai wrote of his feelings when heard of Meiji's death:

> My mind was filled with a confusion of all sorts of things. The Saigo Rebellion (1877) – my father had died in that campaign. Then came the Sino–Japanese War. During the Russo–Japanese War I served in a photography unit and saw with my own eyes the splendor of His Majesty's august virtue shine over the Eight Quarters of the World.[2]

Such words are evidence of how wars, ceremonies, and events in the life of the emperor were promoted as important moments in the life of the nation. As we saw in the previous chapter, we need to remember the way such events were presented to the public, both in Japan and abroad.

Meiji no tennō

How were photographs used to commemorate the life of the emperor? Publishers were quick to exploit the national mourning on his death. On 6 August, only a week after he had died, Shiseisha Shuppanbu released the hardcover book entitled *Meiji no tennō* (*The Meiji Emperor*).[3] It was hugely popular and two days later it was already in its third printing. It provided readers with reports and photographs of the days leading up to the emperor's demise. A particularly poignant photograph in the book taken on 28 July shows a kimono-clad man and young boy praying

Figure 2.1 Man and boy praying for the emperor's recovery, outside the Imperial Palace, 28 July 1912, taken from Sugi Kenji (ed), *Meiji no tennō* (*The Meiji Emperor*) (Tokyo: Shiseisha Shuppanbu, 1912), p. 220. Collection: The University of Queensland Library.

earnestly for the emperor's recovery. They are sitting on the lawn in front of the Nijūbashi bridge, just outside of the Imperial Palace. In front of them is a pine tree with a portrait of the emperor attached (see Figure 2.1). An umbrella leans quietly against the tree and it is clear that we are intruding on a quiet moment of deep contemplation.[4] Photographs served as proxies for the real thing. The emotions of the Japanese people were directed towards these images, and the print media packaged photographs and text relating to the emperor to meet the demand for nostalgia, commemoration and mourning. In this way, a cultural memory was formed.

Meiji Seitenshi

The death of Emperor Meiji provided an occasion for national albums which had the dual purpose of not only celebrating the achievements of the late emperor, but also encouraging the nation to look forward to a new emperor. This can be seen in the special, 10 September 1912 issue of the popular magazine *Taiyō* (*The Sun*) which was entitled *Meiji Seitenshi* (*The Wise and Virtuous Emperor Meiji*).[5] The magazine was the flagship journal of the publisher, Hakubunkan. It enjoyed a wide readership and was highly influential. As the historian Carol Gluck suggests, it helped to define the collective identity of the Japanese people.[6] The cover was adorned by a folk art-style, stenciled image of a *haniwa* (clay burial mound figure)

of a warrior and a horse. On opening the magazine, readers would have been startled by the colourful image of the late emperor, hand-tipped on to a dark sheet of card, and framed by a thick black line, very reminiscent of a family album.

After leafing through book advertisements for publishers Shiseidō, Keizai Zasshisha and Shiseisha Shuppanbu, readers were confronted by a stark portrait of a different sort, namely two maps showing the Japanese Empire before and after the emperor's reign. The top map showed Japan and neighbouring areas in the first year of Meiji (1868). Bright red ink showed the territory of Japan. The map below showed that Japan's world had considerably 'broadened' by the late Meiji period, with more red over a larger part of the surrounding territory. The Japanese Empire had, put simply, expanded.

The image of the older, late emperor on the next page showed that, as a result, the emperor was tired. Nostalgic, photographic images of the young Emperor Meiji in traditional costume, and his consort, the Empress Haruko followed. Each image was framed with hand-drawn flourishes, with the imperial crest of the chrysanthemum in each corner. These photographs were followed by an image of the new Emperor Taishō (Yoshihito) and the new Empress. Each image was framed by an array of half-chrysanthemums which served to provide a celebratory touch to each page. Echoing the image of the *haniwa* figures on the cover were two, full-page photographs of the three young princes. The first showed Crown Prince Hirohito, dressed, like the others, in military-style uniform. The Crown Prince and his younger brother Prince Yasuhito were each shown astride ponies (see Figure 2.2), and the third brother Prince Nobuhito was shown in an oval window, inset into the page of his brother Yasuhito. Even on a magazine page, the number three son would have to share the limelight with his older brother. In this way, the photographs naturalised the military role of the emperor that the Crown Prince in particular would take on, with the appropriate level of respect that birth order gave them. More advertisements followed, providing a brief respite for the reader before images of scenes from the life of Emperor Meiji. Particularly prominent was a double-page spread showing Grand Military Maneouvres in 1907.

It is surprising how sophisticated some of the product placement in the magazine was. Although it would be inappropriate to use the Emperor Meiji to endorse an actual commercial product, the magazine went very close to it. A close-up of the Emperor Meiji during a military exercise in 1909 showed that the emperor remained active until late in his life. The scene was very filmic, as if the image was provided to readers courtesy of the moving picture camera advertised on the adjacent, red page. The link was heightened by the graphic device of a rising sun with eight rays emanating from it (see Figure 2.3). The rays described the many ways the camera could be used: for education and hobby purposes, for use within the home and in the entertainment industry, for advertising and for propaganda purposes. Several more pages of military exercises follow.

The above-mentioned advertisement, and its careful placement, shows the sophistication of magazine layout and is an indication of how popular photography had become. The camera was now part of everyday life. As even the advertisement

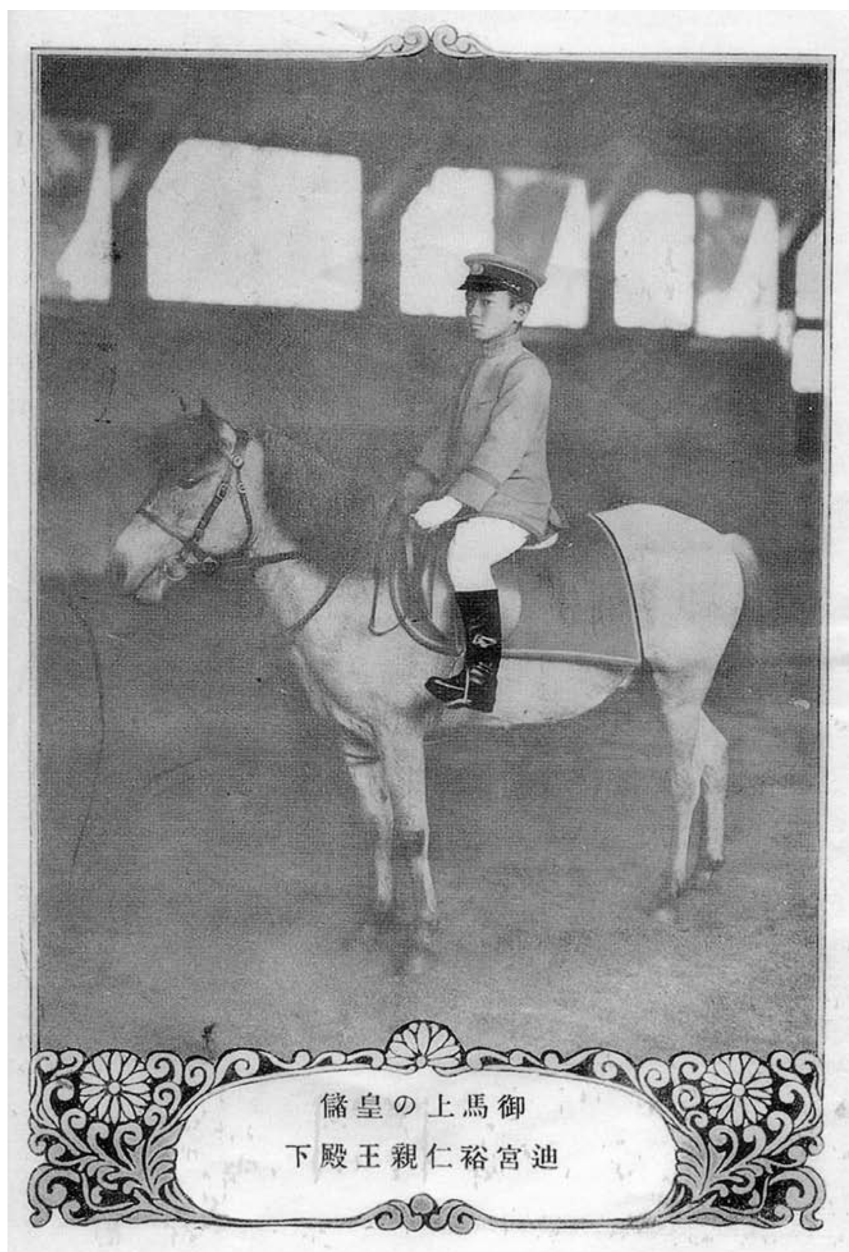


Figure 2.2 Crown Prince Michinomya Hirohito on a pony, taken from Asada Hikoichi, *Meiji Seitenshi* (*The Wise and Virtuous Emperor Meiji*), special issue of *Taiyō*, Vol. 18, no. 13 (10 September 1912). Collection: The University of Queensland Library.

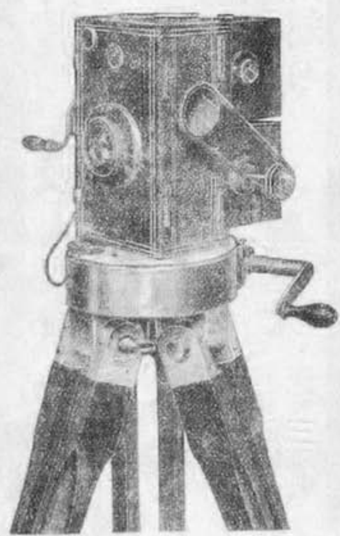


Figure 2.3 Advertisement for a moving picture camera, taken from Asada Hikoichi, *Meiji Seitenshi* (*The Wise and Virtuous Emperor Meiji*), special issue of *Taiyō*, Vol. 18, no. 13 (10 September 1912). Collection: The University of Queensland Library.

made clear, it lent itself to mobilisation by the state for propaganda purposes. Photography was complicit in the promotion of the emperor system.

The late emperor of Japan as a world monarch

On 30 July 1913, the first anniversary of the Emperor Meiji's death, a book entitled *The Late Emperor of Japan as a World Monarch* was published by Eibun Tsūshinsha (Liberal News Agency) and presented to the new Taishō Emperor, Empress, and Dowager Empress.[7] Opening the book, we see the title page, and a sheet of thin tissue paper reveals an image of the late emperor, followed soon after on the next page by a photograph of the still youthful looking Empress Dowager, in her Western finery. This page is followed by four images (of different sizes) of the late emperor at different times in his life, juxtaposed in a way reminiscent of a family photo album. Closer inspection reveals that they are arranged in clockwise order of advancing age.

The format changes on the next page with the sheet simply divided into two. The top half is devoted to an image of the Emperor Meiji presiding over a military conference at Imperial Headquarters during the Sino–Japanese War of 1894–5. Below that, we see a photograph of the late emperor reviewing the troops at the Grand Army Manoeuvres in the ancient capital of Nara in 1910. To the left of the image can be seen the figure of the ever-loyal General Nogi following on horseback. Given the suicides of General Nogi and his wife soon after the death of the emperor, this image would have had special resonance for those who saw it at the time.

The next page is more filmic in nature, with four images of equal size, arranged in clockwise order. Two images capture scenes of soldiers and sailors bowing and praying for the recovery of the emperor at the Nijūbashi bridge outside the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. We next see the figures of kimono-clad men, women and children prostrate, praying for the emperor's recovery, but alas, the emperor dies on 30 July, and Prince Fushimi is shown leaving the Palace in a horse-drawn carriage.

The following page has a similar format of four photographs, but this time an additional fifth image can be found at the centre – an oval image of the ox-drawn funeral car. Around this central image are scenes of the Nijūbashi bridge at the Imperial Palace, distant view of the Imperial Funeral Shrine at Aoyama, a shot of the Imperial Funeral Procession, and then the arrival scene at the Shrine at Aoyama. The photographs trace the progress of the funeral car, almost as if we are viewing the scenes from the funeral car itself. The next page shows the funeral procession making its way to the Momoyama Imperial Mausoleum in Kyoto, via the Imperial Funeral Train. We see the Imperial Palanquin on the road to the Mausoleum, and the final central image shows the emperor's final resting place – the Mausoleum – awaiting to receive his remains on 14 September.

A new page is turned and we are greeted by a photograph of a serious-looking Taishō Emperor in military uniform, followed soon after by the Empress, and then a separate image of their three children. The photographs of the children are

arranged in triangular or pyramid-like order with the Crown Prince Michinomiya Hirohito at the top in rectangular image and oval-shaped images of his brothers Prince Takamatsunomiya Nobuhito and Prince Atsunomiya Yasuhito below.

All these images provide front matter for the main aim of the book – to reprint international press coverage in Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Hungary, Russia, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, The Netherlands, Poland, the United States, Hawai‘i, the Philippines, Chile, Peru, Brazil, Australia, Africa, Turkey, Persia, India, Siam, Saigon (French protectorate of Cochinchina), and lastly China. In this way, the book acknowledges how images can be viewed and interpreted in multiple ways. A chapter was devoted to press coverage in each country. The first chapter was entitled ‘The Late Emperor of Japan as Appeared to Britons’, with later chapter titles such as ‘The Late Emperor of Japan as Appeared to Saigon’ being variations on the same title. However, for China, the Japanese were interested in only printing articles from the foreign press. It was entitled ‘The Late Emperor of Japan as Appeared to Foreigners in China’. Not only did it acknowledge the primacy of foreigners in that country, it reflected the audience that the Japanese were seeking to address. Each chapter thus provided a portrait of the late emperor of Japan from the eyes of the people in each country. This reinforced the idea of *The Late Emperor of Japan as a World Monarch*, the very title of the book. As the editor, Mochizuki Kotarō, proclaimed in the Preface, ‘no other sovereign has called forth such universal respect and eulogy as the Emperor Meiji the Great’. [8]

Of course, such a compilation risked the possibility of including comments which might be less than complimentary. Mochizuki was prepared for this. Indeed, any slightly negative comments were seen as reflecting two things: problems in bilateral relations with the country in question, or deficiencies in the ‘mental qualities’ of the people concerned. In this regard, Mochizuki saw the book as a useful diplomatic tool:

> Should our country for some unfortunate reason, have a misunderstanding with any nation in the future the book will be particularly useful for finding out the grounds for the re-establishment of mutual good-will. Furthermore it will show us which people are yet far from achieving a proper comprehension of us; a good means of national diplomacy.[9]

It was rather telling that the generally glowing commentary from Great Britain appeared first in the volume, and the press articles from the foreign press in China came last. Indeed, it reflected how in the editor’s words:

> Journalism is a good mirror for reflecting the intellectual attainments of all peoples. Where culture is high the papers will betray it in thought and opinion; and where it is less advanced the papers will be less intellectual. In other words, we shall be able to discern the mental qualities of each particular people by what they observed about His Imperial Majesty the Emperor Meiji.[10]

The press reports complemented the photographs, showing how images are open to interpretation. *The Times* reported in the days leading up to the emperor's demise how Japanese people would crouch and pray outside the palace, rise and depart, with their places taken by a sea of other Japanese who streamed in from all directions:

> The few electric lights on the gateposts and the paper lanterns which were borne by half a dozen persons in the crowd cast but a feeble light on this almost weird spectacle, which testified impressively to the place that the Emperor holds in the hearts of the people, and to which a momentary touch of modernity was added by a flashlight photographer.[11]

In many ways, the book itself was testimony to the rise of global communications and how quickly news spread throughout the world of the death of the emperor. The eulogies themselves highlighted the legacy of the Emperor Meiji as a moderniser, and the photographs at the front of the book showed the power of reproductive technologies to capture the essence of what the emperor stood for. Indeed, a theme in many of the press reports was the increased visibility of the emperor after the Meiji Restoration (1867–8):

> To the Western nations the late Emperor has always seemed something of a mystery. It has been commonly supposed that instead of moving in a fierce light, like the monarchs of Europe, he lived behind a veil. From the moment when he made his famous progress from Kyoto to Tokyo, and seated himself in the palace of the usurping Shoguns, there was never any veil between the Emperor Mutsuhito and his adoring subjects. He reverted to the practice of his earlier ancestors, and moved about among the people.[12]

In the House of Commons, Prime Minister Asquith moved a vote of condolence that was seconded by Bonar Law who remarked on how the late emperor had torn down the barrier between himself and his people.[13] A lengthy report in *The Standard* qualified such remarks by suggesting that:

> … a subtler and less material barrier separated him from the common world. No one could look upon him from above. Europeans and Japanese alike were expected not to use an upper window as the Emperor passed through the streets. The Russians incurred great unpopularity when they erected a lofty and gorgeous cathedral on an eminence overlooking the royal palace.[14]

Increased visibility came with conditions, and there were still protocols in place that needed to be respected. The *Westminster Gazette* also reported that 'it is still not considered quite proper by the masses of the people to look at his Majesty as he is driving through the streets'.[15]

The themes of visibility, transformation (of both the emperor and Japan) and spectacle were repeated in many press reports. It was noted that 'soon after his

accession, he presented to the world the unique spectacle of an absolute ruler voluntarily transforming himself into a constitutional monarch'.[16] The press reports collected from French sources included an article from *Le Temps* on the suicide of the hero of the Russo–Japanese War, General Nogi.[17]

It was noted, rather assuringly, by the American press, that the new Taishō Emperor, Yoshihito:

> … takes his bath like an Englishman, dresses like an American and eats like a European. Women attendants in his household are reduced to those serving as maids to his wife, and in other ways he has evidenced a desire to aid in establishing the stricter regime of Western civilization.[18]

Press scrutiny of the imperial family provided evidence to the people of the world, and the Japanese themselves, that they were becoming a 'civilised' nation. Photography was a part of this enhanced visibility, but the reluctance of the Emperor Meiji to be photographed (perhaps because of the association with death) often meant that older photographs tended to circulate. Hamilton Holt, the managing editor of the American magazine *The Independent*, wrote of being presented to the emperor in October 1912. He noted how:

> His Majesty was dressed in the uniform of a generalissimo. He was taller than the majority of his subjects, but he looked older that I had expected; for the pictures of him with which the world is familiar were taken years ago, when he was a young man. His complexion is very dark, with drooping mandarin-like beard and mustache, his countenance somber, and his mien impassive and austere. But no one could fail to be impressed with his penetrating eyes and his supreme and majestic dignity.[19]

This statement highlights the strategic role of photography in international relations. The continued association of the emperor with his younger self projected an image of a more energetic and vibrant monarch, and nation.

The dignified demeanour of the portraits and way they were presented and framed within publications suggest that while the Japanese people became more familiar with the emperor's image, and his visage became a normal part of everyday life, there was a respectful emotional distance maintained, nevertheless.

The death of General Nogi

Despite having committed ritual suicide together, a commemorative postcard issued on 13 April 1913 shows General Nogi Maresuke and his wife as having been associated with separate rooms and spaces (see Figure 2.4). Postcards had become very popular during the Russo–Japanese War, and it was perhaps fitting that one would be devoted to Nogi and his wife. The card has a simple green and brown background that seems to owe something to both Art Deco and traditional kimono fabric design. Against this hybrid background we have two photographs,

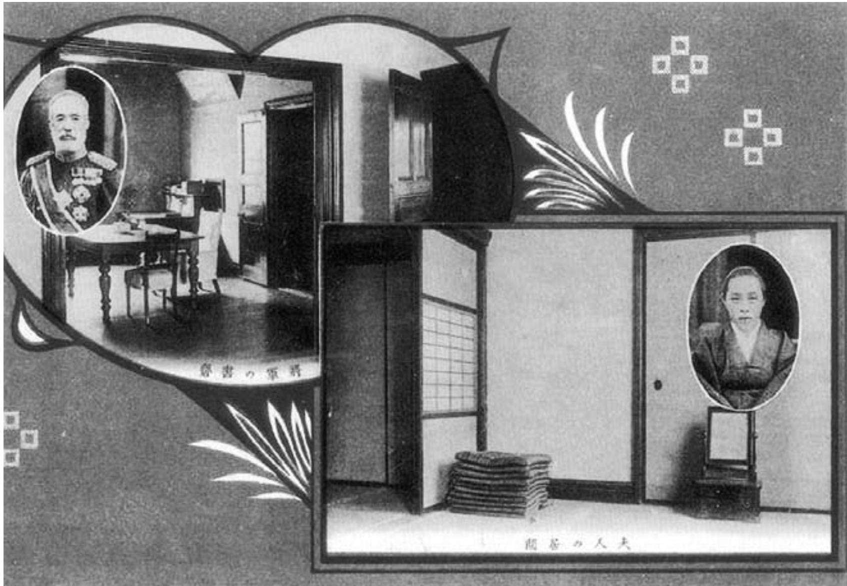


Figure 2.4 Commemorative postcard showing General Nogi Maresuke, his wife, and rooms in their home, issued on 13 April 1913. Collection of the author.

just slightly overlapping, like a page from a crowded photo album. In the top left corner, a photograph of General Nogi's Western-style study has a small portrait of him inset within it. A portrait of his wife Shizuko, dressed in kimono, is in the bottom right corner of the postcard, superimposed onto an image of her almost bare, tatami-mat living quarters. The postcard shows the highly gendered nature of a Japanese home, and linking of Nogi with modernity and his wife with tradition. As Sharalyn Orbaugh has argued, narratives of Japanese modernisation have often involved a gender politics that excluded women.[20] The postcard may also indirectly refer to how Nogi often lived apart from his wife, he with his mother and she with their two sons who ultimately would die during the Russo–Japanese War. One photograph of Nogi shows him dressed in military uniform with a photograph of his beloved sons in one hand, facing the camera.[21] Painfully for Nogi, he would outlive his own children.[22]

Postcards were a form of social communication. They provided the Japanese public with a way of sharing communal memories.[23] While photography and the postcard played a part in commemorating Nogi and his wife, photographs were also an important part of the drama on the day of their deaths. It was 13 September 1912, the day of the funeral ceremony for Emperor Meiji. Nogi and his wife posed for a formal photograph. The general visited the Imperial Palace to pay his last respects, then returned home. Once both were in their living quarters, they gathered photographs of the emperor, their two deceased sons, and Nogi's parents.

The general committed suicide with his own sword, and his wife stabbed herself to death with a dagger.[24] In this way, photographs provided a record of lives about to be lost and served as proxies for loved ones now departed.

Seeing the world

On 3 March 1921, Crown Prince Hirohito embarked on a trip to Europe, departing from Yokohama and stopping at Hong Kong, Singapore and Colombo on the way. *The London Times* that day reported how:

> One of the Crown Prince's greatest assets as heir to the Throne of Japan is his striking resemblance both in person and character to his grandfather, the great Emperor Mutsuhito, of the Meiji era. … It is related that many of the aged Court dignitaries were moved to tears by the striking resemblance of the Crown Prince's appearance and deportment to that of his grandfather. Anecdotes of this likeness and of his kindness in disposition are related amongst all classes of the population and these stories, coupled with the great reverence for the Throne which is traditional in Japan, have greatly enhanced the Prince's popularity.

In this way, the very face of the crown prince was linked to the great Meiji Emperor, and reference to his father, the ill Taishō Emperor, was downplayed.[25] In years to come, Hirohito would think back fondly on his European trip.

The early 1920s was a time of considerable internationalist spirit and rising interest in things visual. The First World War had stimulated the Japanese economy and the number of amateur photographers in Japan increased dramatically. The historian John W. Dower has suggested that the value of imports of photographic materials increased almost eight times between 1916 and 1922.[26] A major exhibition of First World War posters was held in Tokyo and Osaka in 1921 under the auspices of the *Asahi shinbun* newspaper company. The exhibition consisted of posters from the United States (150), France (12), Germany (400), and Japan (250). There were also several posters from Great Britain. With the establishment of war museums in the aftermath of the First World War, the organisers found that it was more difficult than expected to obtain posters from England. Despite such problems, those that were gathered were displayed to great effect on the third and fourth floors of the Tokyo company headquarters, filling the walls of meeting rooms, corridors, and the staff dining room.[27] The exhibition was very popular and many waited 30 minutes in order to gain entry. Numbers had to be controlled in order to avoid overcrowding.[28]

An illustrated book was published by the company to commemorate the exhibition. The event was a wake-up call to Japan that it had neglected the propaganda uses of images. As Major General Kōno Tsunekichi lamented in the book, Japan's posters were the poorest in the world. They still had far to go in comparison with the posters of other nations.[29] The exhibition proved to visitors that going to battle also involved using text and images to promote their cause.

The Great Earthquake of 1923

As the camera advertisement in the magazine *Taiyō* suggested, the Taishō period (1912–26) coincided with the rise of amateur photography. The importation of photographic equipment increased, and prices fell, making photography more accessible to the many 'sarariiman' (male white-collar workers) and government clerks working in the cities.[30] Camera magazines such a *Kamera* (*Camera*) catered for the growing numbers of enthusiasts by providing helpful advice. For example, in the special Spring 1922 issue of the magazine, Takakuwa Katsuo provided advice about the camera no-go areas in Tokyo Bay. Photography was prohibited in the vicinity of the Army's fortified zone, and in and around the naval dockyards.[31] It was against this backdrop of the rising popularity of photography that the Great Earthquake of 1923 occurred.

Crown Prince Hirohito had become Prince Regent on 25 November 1921 while an ill Emperor Taishō was hidden from view.[32] The Great Earthquake of 1923 that hit Tokyo and Yokohama on 1 September 1923 provided a dress rehearsal for the role of emperor that Hirohito would soon take on.[33] Another testing time for Hirohito was an attempted assassination on 23 December 1923, on his way to opening a new session of parliament at the Diet building. He managed to maintain his composure. Subsequently, the media took to publishing photographs of a bespectacled young Hirohito, sitting calmly at a desk and gazing at the camera over an open book. As the historian Stephen Large suggests, 'these photographs projected Hirohito as a man of probity, competence, and self-assurance, one who could be relied upon to perform the political functions of constitutional monarchy'.[34]

Coverage in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake also cast Hirohito in a positive light as a caring future leader. The earthquake occurred at the head of Sagami Bay which led into Tokyo Bay.[35] A message from the Crown Prince was issued on 4 September. It stated that:

> I have witnessed in person the actual condition in the devastated district and am greatly grieved at the sad fate of the unfortunate victims. Gravely concerned about the sufferings of those ill-fated subjects who met such disaster, the Imperial House had decided to bestow upon them monetary gifts from the privy purse to console their afflictions.[36]

The earthquake provides a window into understanding the tensions between modern Japan, and a lingering, superstitious Japan. Great efforts went to portraying Hirohito in a good light. The notion of an emperor/prince regent who was the 'supernatural' source of Japan's strength[37] sat uncomfortably with the image of a modern monarch-in-waiting. In late imperial China, it was thought that people were responsible for their weather. The emperor's conduct had the greatest bearing.[38] It is unclear to what extent the earthquake was seen as the result of errant behaviour on the part of the emperor or his son in Japan, but it is well known that the first day of September, known as 'Nihyaku tōka' or the '210th

Day' (according to the old lunar calendar), is unlucky. Superstition has it that the day is associated with something bad – inclement weather or worse.[39] The day is generally viewed as the beginning of the typhoon season.

Despite the devastation, press coverage was able to see the disaster in a somewhat positive light. The lead article in the October issue of *The Far Eastern Review* published in Shanghai called it 'The Dawn of a New Era'. The author, G. Bronson Rea, suggested that the calamity would turn out to be a blessing. American sympathy that was being extended to the Japanese would, it was hoped, ensure that talk of a Pacific war would be out of the question. On the first page of the article was a photograph designed to provide human interest and arouse some of that sympathy: a woman who had lost all members of her family is shown seeking refuge in an old temple graveyard. On the next page, perhaps out of protocol, we see the Prince Regent in action, receiving a report of the disaster from Baron Gotō Shinpei in Ueno Park in Tokyo. A second image shows the Prince Regent, escorted by the Imperial Guards, passing through the park. On a later page, six photographs of 'How the Railways and Tramways Fared during the Fire' are provided, followed by more details of the damage and American efforts to help the Japanese. The article ends with yet more photographs, including a panorama view of devastated Tokyo.[40]

Another article in the same issue of *Far Eastern Review* cited the Imperial Edict of 12 September which was signed by Emperor Taishō, the Prince Regent, and countersigned by the Prime Minister and other ministers. Lest the earthquake be deemed to be a bad omen, the edict stated that 'Whilst we deplore the happening of such calamity under Our own rule, it is beyond human will or effort to prevent the inexorable convulsions of nature'. The edict called for government officials to provide disaster relief and for the whole nation to assist.[41]

Another Imperial Edict was issued on 11 November. Entitled 'Imperial Edict Enjoining Sincere and Strenuous Life', the edict called for a return to the basics and avoidance of the frivolous:

> In recent years, much progress has been made in science and human wisdom. At the same time frivolous and extravagant habits have set in and even rash and extreme tendencies are not unknown. If these habits and tendencies are not checked now, the future of the country, we fear, is dark, the disaster which befell the Japanese nation being very severe. It may not be possible to hope for the restoration of national culture and prosperity unless the determined will of the whole nation is aroused.[42]

The earthquake was seen as an opportunity to rein in excess, as if the earthquake may have been punishment. Thus, it was not only the reconstruction of Tokyo that was being called for but also a restoration of moral values. The Edict went on to call for order:

> Our subjects must faithfully observe the honourable tradition of national education and must endeavour to elevate the twin cardinal virtues of knowledge

> and morals. They must discard frivolous habits and lead a sincere and strong life, avoiding rashness and extremities. Let them be gentle and fair, be good to their parents, relatives and neighbours, be friendly and harmonious to all, and let them observe public morality and public order, respect all responsibilities and temperance, be loyal to the sovereign and pious to parents.[43]

The foregrounding of the role of the Prince Regent in Japan's response to the earthquake can been seen elsewhere as well. A photograph album entitled *Fukkō* (*Reconstruction*) published by the city of Tokyo in March 1930 suggests that the success of Tokyo's reconstruction was in no small way due to the benign gaze and concern of the Crown Prince who was, by the time of publication, Emperor Hirohito. Consisting of a series of hand-tipped photographs mounted on thick pages of black card and bound in a hard, textured paper cover held together by a piece of elegant cord, this was, for all intents and purposes, a family album. Only the last two pages of the album betrayed the fact that this had a wider circulation: a printed explanation of the reconstruction of the capital by the Mayor of Tokyo, followed by the information that the album was compiled for the city of Tokyo by Jiichiisan Shōkai, a company that specialised in producing 'kōsokudo shashin' ('fast photographs'), based in the Ginza district of Tokyo.

The album, one of many produced to commemorate Tokyo's reconstruction, opens with a photograph of the emperor in military-style dress overlooking the city from an elevated position in Ueno Park, on 24 March 1930. This was the very location that the emperor had visited not long after the earthquake had struck. To remind viewers of this, we are next provided with a flashback photograph of the then Prince Regent inspecting the damage in Ueno Park on 15 September 1923, accompanied by military officers, officials and Gotō Shinpei (see Figure 2.5). The next photograph shows a modern building with a prominent clock showing the time of 11.58am, when the great earthquake had originally struck. We are then presented with a bird's eye view of the destruction that had occurred: an aerial photograph taken on 3 September. The next page provides us with a close-up of a devastated section of Tokyo that appears to have been razed to the ground: a scene not unlike those of Hiroshima after the atomic bomb had been dropped. We are then provided with another aerial view showing how that barren landscape was now filled with modern buildings. The next shot shows a street scene in the Hongo area of Tokyo with modern automobiles travelling down a wide, tree-lined street. The next scene is of the incredibly wide road Shōwa dōri, in the Edobashi area. A large number of people are shown riding bicycles down the street. Another road, Taishō dōri in Kudanzaka, is shown from afar, this time with modern vehicles speeding along in both directions. It was no coincidence that roads named after the two emperors and reign names, Shōwa and Taishō, were shown. One page provides a pullout, extended photograph consisting of two images: the Nakamise shops leading from the outer gate to the main gate of the Asakusa Kannon Temple, immediately after the earthquake and after reconstruction. Other such photographs show the bridge Eitaibashi, and the Ginza shopping district, both destroyed and then rebuilt. In a way, it is an example of an important genre of

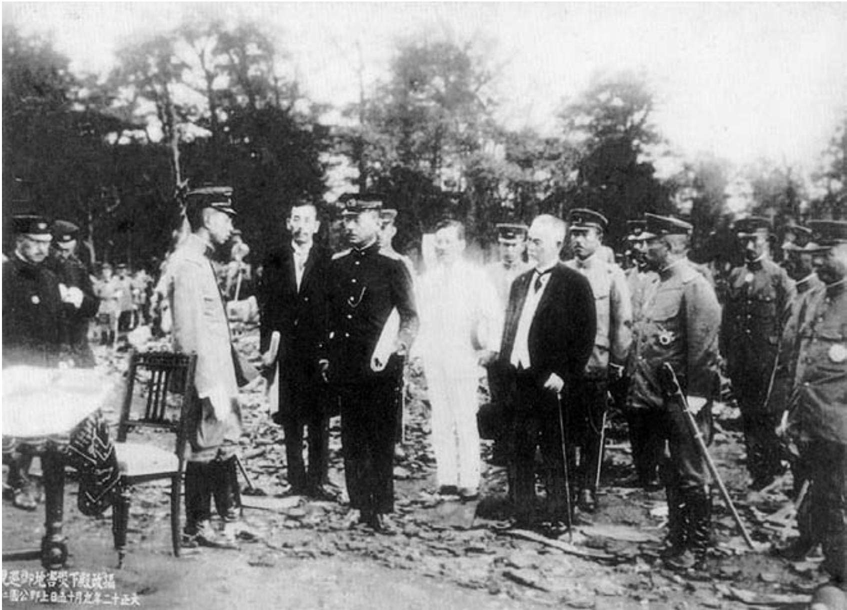


Figure 2.5 Prince Regent inspecting the damage in Ueno Park on 15 September 1923, accompanied by military officers, officials and Gotō Shinpei. From Tōkyō-shi (Tokyo City) (ed.), *Fukkō* (*Reconstruction*) (Tokyo: Tōkyō-shi, 1930). Collection of the author.

photobook: the construction diary.[44] Other images in the album include schools, a hospital, more bridges, a market and other city infrastructure. A modern city had emerged triumphant.

The earthquake also provided the Ministry of Education with an opportunity to promote stories of ‘praiseworthy acts and good deeds’ (biji zenkō) contained in volumes of Education Materials Related to the Earthquakes (Shinsai ni kansuru kyōiku shiryō). Included in Volume 3 was ‘The Voice of the Imperial Portrait’. The story reported how shortly after the great earthquake, the principal at the Kyōbashi Primary School in Tokyo had all the staff move out on to the sports ground where the imperial portrait was laid out. Fire, however, broke out and five unmarried teachers maintained vigil over the portrait while their colleagues returned to their families. The fires got closer so the teachers placed the portrait in a box and made their way through the fleeing crowds to Meiji Jingu shrine. Despite their own desperation, the crowds respectfully made way for the portrait. In this way, the Ministry of Education used the earthquake to strengthen moral values and loyalty to the emperor, at a time when the Taishō Emperor himself was unwell. The heroic efforts of the five teachers to save the image of the emperor was in part due to the belief that they were in the presence of the emperor and the photograph embodied the monarch himself.[45]

The Shōwa enthronement ceremonies

On the death of Taishō, Hirohito ascended to the throne in late 1926. The enthronement ceremonies of the Shōwa Emperor were, despite some secrecy, performed within a mass culture. Their presentation in the mass media provides an opportunity to study how the emperor was portrayed to the public. Given the absence of Taishō from public life for much of his reign, there were attempts to directly link the new Emperor Hirohito to Emperor Meiji. Nostalgia was important in enabling the Japanese people to not only look back to see how far they had come, but important in enabling them to look forward and imagine a bright future under the reign of the Shōwa Emperor, Hirohito. The completion of the Meiji Kaigakan or Memorial Picture Gallery in the outer gardens of the Meiji Shrine in Tokyo was part of that nostalgia. Construction of the shrine itself had commenced in 1913 and was mostly completed by 1920. It provided Tokyo with a national monument of its own to commemorate Emperor Meiji, given that his mausoleum was located in Kyoto.[46]

The Picture Gallery was designed by the architect Kobayashi Masatsu, and consisted of a narrow hall divided into East and West Wings, divided by a domed central entrance. In the East Wing, 40 Nihonga (Japanese-style) paintings, the style of painting that the Emperor Meiji preferred,[47] document key events in his life from his birth in 1852 through to 1878. Quite appropriately, painting no. 41, the first of the 40 Western-style oil paintings, shows the emperor receiving General U.S. Grant, former US President, who visited Tokyo on 3 July 1879. Each painting was dedicated by a distinguished person, company or organisation, and painted by a different artist.[48] The paintings were produced between 1926 and 1936. Why were photographs not used instead? Paintings lent themselves to depicting scenes in large format, in colour, and gave artists considerable artistic licence. As John McGee has suggested, the Gallery and its contents ‘echo Meiji-period tensions between Japan and the West, between feudalist tradition and industrialised modernity, between nationhood and empire’.[49] The Gallery gave those who walked through it a particular vision of history, reinforced by what they learnt at school and images they were exposed to via the mass media.

As much as photography lent itself to providing the best chronicle of Tokyo’s reconstruction in the wake of the earthquake, the Japanese turned to paintings to record the achievement of the Emperor Meiji. The Memorial Picture Gallery was but part of a state-organised culture of commemoration of the emperor that continued into the reign of the Shōwa Emperor, Hirohito. The glory of the former reflected positively on the latter.

Modern technology was, however, exploited in other ways. In 1928, the year of Hirohito’s enthronement, radio broadcasts and press reports were used to create public interest in the formal ceremonies known as *sokui no rei*. These began with an imperial procession from Tokyo to Kyoto on 6 November 1928. A key ceremony occurred on 10 November where the emperor proclaimed his commitment to bringing harmony to the Japanese people, peace and goodwill to the world, and promoting the prosperity of the country. The *daijōsai* (great food-

offering ceremony) was held in Kyoto, beginning on the night of 14 November. The ceremony marked the deification of the emperor.[50] Given that parts of the ceremony were not able to even be watched by the imperial family, how were the enthronement ceremonies depicted in print form?

Daniel Clarence Holtom's outline of what generally took place entitled *The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies* (1928) is arguably one of the most well-known accounts available in English. In contrast to Japanese publications we have seen which mimicked family photograph albums, Holtom's book is almost orientalist in nature. Published by Kyo Bun Kwan (Kyōbunkan) and printed by the Japan Advertiser Press in Tokyo, the book has the appearance of a traditional, Japanese style book with stitched binding down the side and each page consisting of one half of a sheet of thin, laid paper, folded down the centre.[51] Unlike the albums we have discussed so far, the book contains not one portrait of the emperor or of his family. Instead, we are provided with a long, foldout illustration of the *daijôsai* based on an old print. The figures are largely faceless. Although there are photographs included in the book, notably of 'The Passing of the Ark of the Sacred Mirror' and the Imperial Carriage, these are in fact from the Taishō Emperor's enthronement ceremonies which were illustrated in the collection of photographs *Tairei shashinchō* (1915).[52] Many of the other illustrations are line drawings.

The book offers us access within limits. While we may think that deference to the emperor may have been a reason for the lack of royal portraits, the fact that the book was released on 18 August 1928, before the actual main ceremonies, meant that photographs of the events could not be included. The enthronement ceremonies of Emperor Taishō provided a convenient reference point for writing about what was about to take place. Photographs were taken of the enthronement ceremonies, but none was permitted of the more secret rituals that Holtom describes.[53]

The mix of photographs, line drawings, and illustrations based on old prints enabled Holtom to depict what was claimed to be generic ceremonies passed down from emperor to emperor. They make for a hybrid book which marked a shift in style and demeanour, from modern Tokyo to the more traditional Kyoto. The imperial procession involved both horse and train, a blend of past and present. In this way, the publication reinforced the idea that some things about Japan did not change.

Through the judicious use of mixed media, readers could be given a more varied visual experience that could not be achieved by solely relying on the realism of photographs. A certain air of restraint can also be seen in *Present-Day Japan: Coronation Number*, a special issue of the *English Supplement of The Osaka Asahi and The Tokyo Asahi* (1928).[54] A painted image by Okada Saburosuke of a woman in traditional costume graced the cover instead. It showed one of the performers of the Gosechi Dance that was scheduled for 16 November. The young woman, we are told, was one of five chosen from the noble families of Kyoto. Artist impressions also had the advantage of being able to produce images before the event itself!

Rather tellingly, the back cover consisted of an advertisement for the South Manchuria Railway Company. Three-quarters of the image consisted of a pleasant

Chinese scene painted by Itō Junzō showing a young Chinese woman sitting on a donkey with two standing figures, and flowering bushes on either side. A Chinese building looms hazily in the distance on a hill. This soft, somewhat romantic image suggested a nostalgia for a China of the past. The South Manchuria Railway Company would literally transport passengers back to that time. Below the painting was a map which showed the extent of the railways and how it served to link Korea, Russia and China with its network of services. The emperor and empire were but two sides of the same coin. Japanese internationalism reinforced Japanese nationalism.

Full-page coloured plates within the supplement included reproductions of separate, painted portraits of the emperor and empress by Wada Eisaku, each on facing pages; a fold-out scene on high-quality, textured paper showing the forthcoming coronation ceremonies painted by Ikai Shōkoku; a late seventeenth-century, ukiyo-e painting of an elegant female figure by Iwasa Matabei; one page showing two examples of Japanese textiles; a colourful photographic portrait of the Kabuki actor Matsumoto Kōshirō as the character Umeō Maru in the classical play 'Sugawara Denju Tenarai Kagami' first produced in 1746; and a photographic portrait of a Nō (Noh) actor Kongo Iwao as the angel in 'Hagoromo'. Other images were printed along with the text of the supplement on its normal newsprint, in black and white. Some of the captions were given in both English and French attesting to the international readership. The seemingly eclectic mix of colour plates of traditional Japanese culture show how the enthronement ceremonies were very much designed as a series of historical pageants 'wherein Japan relives her long and glorious past'.[55]

The publication shows us how *The Asahi* sought to strike a balance between 'the compelling efficiency of technology versus the human need to soften and embellish reality'[56] by combining painted images with photographs. Photographs, too, were interpretations of reality, but compared to paintings, seemed to offer a rendering which was sometimes too precise. There was, at times, a yearning for the handmade mark and the aura associated with it, even in reproduction. Photomechanical reproduction did not supersede painterly processes of representation. Both influenced each other and photography and painting were taken to a new level.

The lead article in *Present-Day Japan: Coronation Number* was entitled 'The New Spirit of Japan' and written by Murayama Ryōhei, President of the *Asahi shinbun*. Murayama explained that that it would be an enlightened era (as flagged by the reign name of 'Shōwa' which means 'enlightenment and peace'). Enlightenment, he argued, 'is opposed to darkness'.[57] Murayama deftly aligned the mission of *The Asahi* with the meaning of 'Shōwa' by explaining that the fundamental principle of the newspaper was to 'lead the nation through the channels of good and healthy thought and contribute to the progress of the nation and the world at large'.[58] Intentional or not, the increased exposure of the emperor via the newspaper and other forms of mass media helped to make the monarch more visible. His was an image that was white and bright.

While the enthronement ceremonies were a spectacle, few were privy to the rituals that were carried out. Nevertheless, Kyoto municipal authorities sought to celebrate the occasion with other activities that would be open to all. An exposition was held from 20 September to 25 December 1928. The site was spread over nine acres in the western, eastern and southern parts of the city. Prince Kuni Kunihiko was President of the fair.[59] The emphasis was on industry and the Japanese empire. As an article in the supplement explained:

> Interesting exhibits not only from Japan proper but also from such outlying places as Korea, Kwantung Province, Kamchatka, Formosa and the South Seas will be shown in attractively built halls, among which the magnificent 'Coronation Hall' and the building for art industries, machines, electricity, agriculture, forestry, aquatic products, inventions, objects of educational value, and the products of Manchuria, Mongolia, Kamchatka, Hokkaido, Korea, and Formosa will be the most predominant.[60]

The exposition would, it proclaimed, cross boundaries and present a panorama of world progress.

As the historian Herbert P. Bix has put it:

> By the time the rites of his formal ascension ended, in November, the Japanese people had been soothed and comforted by constant repetition of the myths of their racial purity (i.e. homogeneity) and moral superiority over all other peoples.[61]

3 Hybridity and whiteness of the Japanese

Introduction

How did the Japanese interpret photographic images? We can come to some understanding by examining the context in which images of the Japanese and colonial subjects were produced and viewed. In this chapter, I argue that modern notions of race were introduced into Japan which influenced the way images of the emperor and his subjects were transmitted. By the early twentieth century, the words 'race' and 'nation' came to be linked via the term 'Yamato minzoku' ('Japanese race') as part of efforts to promote the emperor as head of the family state. The Japanese people were, it was said, linked to the emperor not only by blood but by Yamato spirit.[1]

The promotion of an imperial identity created a dilemma for intellectuals in terms of how to reconcile a national identity based on a special relationship with the emperor, with the reality of a culturally and ethnically diverse colonial empire.[2] This chapter argues that the introduction of Darwinian theory by Edward Sylvester Morse, and the promotion of Social Darwinist ideas by foreign employees such as William Elliot Griffis, encouraged the emergence of a discourse which argued that the Japanese people were of mixed racial stock. At the same time, thanks to racial mixing with the Ainu, it was argued that the Japanese were in fact white.

To be modern required not only introducing Western institutions and dressing like Europeans, but it also helped to be seen like them. As Alastair Bonnett has argued, modernity was associated with the figure of the white European.[3] This perception, along with Social Darwinist ideas and eugenic thought in Japan, helped shape narratives of Japanese national identity written by both Westerners and the Japanese themselves.

Representations of the whiteness of the Japanese fluctuate in relation to changes in Japanese national identity. The Japanese could be at once white and hybrid, depending on what they chose to emphasise. By examining photographs in Morse's collection and the writing of William Elliot Griffis (1843–1928), a science educator, this chapter shows how foreign advisers employed in Japan in the late nineteenth century were an important point of reference in defining Japanese difference. The logic used by Griffis was in turn employed to promote the Japanese empire. To the end, there was an uneasy feeling that the Japanese were at one and yet apart from their Asian brothers. As Bonnett argues:

> … any understanding of the interpretation, or translation, of 'Western modernity' into different cultures around the world demands an understanding of these cultures' adoption and adaptation of notions of racial whiteness.[4]

Subjugation of the Ainu and denigration of other Asian people were testimony to the superiority of the Japanese. As Alexis Dudden has suggested, 'a regime was civilized only if it could claim the ability to transform an uncivilized people'.[5] And Japan's victory in the Russo–Japanese War showed that Japan had now evolved into a modern nation that could take its rightful place on the world stage with Western powers.

Edward Sylvester Morse

In 1877, the American zoologist Edward Sylvester Morse (1838–1925) went to Japan to study brachiopods, two-shelled marine animals that live on the ocean floor. While they resemble molluscs or clams, internally they are quite different. One of the attractions of brachiopods is that they have an excellent fossil record. Morse hoped to compare modern brachiopoda with fossils and prove the theory of evolutionary development. He hoped to show that brachiopoda were marine worms with shells, not molluscs.[6]

Morse's first visit to Japan was from June to November 1877. He gave what was said to be the first lecture in Japan on evolution on 6 October 1877, and was pleased to receive a positive response.[7] He returned to Japan in April 1878 as the newly appointed chair of zoology at Tokyo Imperial University where he lectured on botany, zoology, and Darwinian theory. He stayed until September 1879. From 1880 through to 1916, he was director of the Peabody Academy of Science in Salem, Massachusetts, now known as the Peabody Essex Museum.[8]

While in Japan, Morse kept a journal into which he made notes and sketches of daily life, for he 'realized the importance of recording matters of interest at the time the observations were made, knowing full well that soon they would become hackneyed and escape recognition'.[9] He was keen to capture the peculiarities of a fast-changing Japan. His friend, William Sturgis Bigelow who accompanied Morse to Japan on his third trip from June 1882 to February 1883, encouraged him to prepare the journal for publication. Bigelow chastised Morse for spending too much time on his scientific work, writing:

> The only thing I don't like in your letter is the confession that you are still frittering away your valuable time on the lower forms of animal life, which anybody can attend to, instead of devoting it to the highest, about the manners and customs of which no one is so well qualified to speak as you. Honestly, now, isn't a Japanese a higher organism than a worm? Drop your damned Brachiopods. They'll always be there and will inevitably be taken care of by somebody or others as the years go by, and remember that the Japanese organisms which you and I knew familiarly forty years ago are vanishing types, many of which have already disappeared completely from the face of

> the earth, and that men of our age are literally the last people who have seen the organisms alive.[10]

As preparation for the book entitled *Japan Day by Day* (1917), Morse resolved to classify his material under various headings and present his observations of Japan in twelve lectures at the Lowell Institute of Boston in winter of 1881–2. The lectures covered: the country, people and their language; traits of the Japanese; houses and diet; homes and their surroundings; children, their toys and games; temples; cultural life including theatres and music; urban life and health; rural life and natural surroundings; education; industrial occupations; ceramics and visual art; and antiquities.[11]

It was the same motivation to capture a vanishing Japan that no doubt prompted Morse to begin a photography collection. Although this collection has received little attention, the images found therein fall within the categories mentioned above. While none was included in the two-volume *Japan Day by Day*, they do nevertheless reinforce Morse's intention to capture the 'peculiarities' of Japan before they disappeared and the classifications that he created to describe them. Morse devotes one chapter to the Ainu people.[12] Although, like the rest of the book, there are only sketches to illustrate the text, one can find photographs of Ainu contained in his photography collection housed at the Peabody Essex Museum of Salem.

The images of Ainu from Sakhalin and Hokkaido were given to the Peabody in 1918 by Morse's daughter Mrs Russell Robb who was with Morse in Japan. They were probably all taken by the Sapporo photographer Takebayashi Seiichi around 1877–8. Two of the images show Ainu in Hokkaido and their thatched houses.[13] On 13 July 1878, Morse traveled from Yokohama to the island of Hokkaido. When Morse entered an Ainu hut for the first time, he was able to observe the Ainu men up close. He noted the 'heavy black beards and tangled mops of long hair, their faces strongly resembling those of our race. Not a trace of Mongolian was detected'.[14] Morse was surprised to note that:

> They were all really intelligent-looking men, with their long, dignified beards, and it was impossible to realize that they were low, unlettered savages without moral courage, lazy, and strongly given to drunkenness, supporting themselves by hunting with bow and arrow and fishing.[15]

In a way, Morse could not believe his own eyes. Preconceived notions of the Ainu as a lower form of life on the evolutionary scale, suggested to Morse that what he was seeing could not be true.

Morse was struck by the difference between the Ainu people and the mainland Japanese. This extended to the ways that homes were built. He observed that the thatched roofs were different from those that he had seen in Japan, consisting of:

> horizontal ridges, with a steep ridge running up vertically nearly two feet, and surmounted by a round stick. This was apparently held in its place by a

> straw rope which bound it to a transverse beam running through the base of the ridge.[16]

While Morse's sketches go some way to helping us envision the style of roof, the photographs taken by Takebayashi of Ainu houses show us how they were part of the local landscape.

Morse also noted the appearance of an Ainu woman who entered the hut:

> She had large coarse features and a wild untamed look in her eye … I have seen three Ainu women thus far, and they all had an indigo-colored area resembling a mustache painted about their mouths. It is a curious custom, and though bad enough looking, it was not half so hideous as the blackened teeth of the Japanese married women.[17]

Of Ainu children, Morse remarked that they 'resemble very closely European children, having large eyes and pleasant faces, but are exceedingly timid and bashful'.[18] In attempting to sketch the children and other Ainu, Morse encountered some resistance. He wrote that:

> I had some difficulty in making sketches of the Ainus, as among some of them there is a superstitious dread of having their pictures made. So, while sketching them, I pretended to be interested in something else, now and then getting in a glance when their attention was directed elsewhere.[19]

Such a strategy was not possible with a camera. The photographs of Ainu people in the Morse collection do show a degree of coercion. Indeed, they mainly consist of images of Sakhalin Ainu who had been forcibly relocated from their homes to Tsuishikari near Sapporo as a result of a treaty between Russia and Japan in 1875. Despite being displaced people, the photographs of individual Ainu do show a quiet dignity, despite only having arrived shortly before the photographs were taken.[20] There are, in addition to those eight photographs of one or two individuals, three group photographs of Sakhalin Ainu. In one, Ainu women are seated in a row, with the central figure breastfeeding a baby. Standing to the right of the image is Dr William S. Clark, the first president of Sapporo Agricultural College, Hokkaido. To the left is a Japanese man, Hori Seitarō, his secretary and interpreter.[21] Yaguchi Yujin argues that the Ainu woman shown exposing her breast is unlikely to have easily agreed to do so. Cultural norms would have discouraged her from stripping in Takebayashi's photographic studio in Sapporo.[22]

The Ainu people themselves would be put on display and photographed at the 1904 St Louis World's Fair to commemorate the Louisiana Purchase. Social Darwinist ideas about vanishing races placed them amongst the endangered peoples of the world. Visitors to the exposition could see them for themselves before it was too late. Eric Breitbart argues that it was the display of native peoples in 'authentic' surroundings that distinguished the St Louis fair from the others that preceded it.[23] The appearance of the nine Ainu at St Louis was seen as a coup as

only one of the 600 Japanese who visited had apparently ever seen one. However, there was some disappointment:

> The polite manners of the Ainu proved their chief mark of distinction. There was some disappointment when the band of primitive folk arrived in St Louis. They were the hairy Ainu, true enough, but they weren't man-eaters, dog-eaters, or wild men … Another disappointment in the Ainu was the cleanliness of this particular group …[24]

Like Morse, they were expecting people less dignified. And despite Morse's role in Japan's modernisation as a highly paid government employee, there is the clear impression from his writing and his photography collection that he and other Americans 'wanted Japan to remain a timeless, exotic refuge from modernity'.[25] Although many of the photographs appear documentary in character and taken out in the field, there are many examples of photographs dated c. 1880 and c. 1890 that seem to have been produced for foreign tourists keen to take home an idea of what life in Japan was once like. These are hand-coloured in the manner of traditional woodblock prints to evoke the past, provide colour, and capitalise on the existing market for prints.

The photographs included images that had been staged in studios where actors took on the role of representing various professions. They fed the market for pictures of old Japan, not new. Part of the demand was generated by the some 1,200 foreigners living in Yokohama in 1880. By 1890, these 'Yokohama photographs' became a major export industry. In 1897, almost 25,000 photographs were exported to Europe and America.[26]

William Elliot Griffis

In his book *The Japanese Nation in Evolution* (1907), Griffis argues that because of racial mixing with the Ainu people, the Japanese are an Aryan race and not Mongolian, hence their success at modernisation. By so doing, he is able to marginalise the Ainu, and justify Japanese colonial authority over the Chinese people.

Social Darwinism provided Griffis with a powerful rhetorical framework on which to plot Japan's development (and to promote himself as a Japan expert). Despite the racial, cultural and geographic evidence to the contrary, his book *The Japanese Nation in Evolution* (1907) attempts to de-Asianise Japan. The science of evolution was used to legitimate what was happening to the 'uncivilised' people throughout the world, rendering their treatment at the hands of colonial powers as natural and inevitable – a sign of the progress of advanced nations.[27]

During the Tokugawa period (c. 1600–1868), it was assumed that inequality existed among groups, various peoples, countries, classes and races. Since the late nineteenth century, myths of origins and narratives about biological descent, which were part of an existing racialism, became important elements in the cultural construction of national identity in Japan.[28] Histories of Japan facilitated

this process, and Westerners have been involved in their production. Griffis, a graduate of Rutgers University, was one of a large number of foreign advisers in Japan during the Meiji period (1868–1912). On their return home, they often represented Japanese culture as a potential model for the rest of the world, to enhance their own prospects, by drawing attention to their achievements in Japan. At the same time, they contributed to Japan's national project.

Japan has, throughout this century, meant different things to different people. Through a close reading of one of Griffis's books, this section will attempt to identify the historical context in which the photographs contained within were viewed. Griffis's writing clearly shows how his attitudes to issues, such as race, were transformed into a complex narrative about the origins and history of the Japanese people, and the illustrations were integral to this. For Griffis, science educator and clergyman, Japan provided strong evidence of how race was the key to understanding national evolution, and how science could serve as a civilising influence. Race was equated with nation, and by understanding their racial superiority one could understand the basis for their military and economic success. Photographs reinforced his message, which was in short, that (1) human biology (Aryan blood) can account for much of the success of the Japanese, and (2) that power struggles between nations can be viewed as an evolutionary struggle between races.

The role of foreign employees

Hired foreigners like Griffis and Morse were, in many ways, budding imperialists sponsored by their nations, and were linked with the unequal treaties and trade agreements. The Meiji government sought to regulate the employment of such foreigners. Domains were ordered, from as early as August 1868, to seek permission from the foreign office before hiring what were known as *oyatoi gaikokujin* (honourable foreign menial or hireling). There were many types of hired foreigners, half being Chinese labourers, and also those who pretended to be professors. Labourers aside, there were two types of professional advisers: general advisers and specialist advisers. In the early Meiji period, the former tended to be more numerous. During the period 1870–85, the Public Works Ministry (Kōbushō) employed 60 per cent of the foreign employees. Increasing numbers became involved in education.[29]

The hired foreigners taught the Japanese and thus ironically paved the way for a steady reduction in the use of foreign advisers. By the turn of the century, native Japanese were in total control of decision-making. In any year of the Meiji period there tended to be around 8,000 hired foreigners, about half of whom were Chinese day-labourers, and only about 3,000 professional in government service. The peak period was 1874 and 1875, with 800 new foreign employees in each of these years. Seventy-five per cent of hired foreigners received salaries which were appropriate for upper civil service ranks. The majority of the foreigners were in either the 26–30 or 31–35 year old categories.[30]

Most of the professional foreign employees came from the four countries which played the most important part in Japan's foreign relations at the time: Great Britain, France, the United States, and Germany. Certain nationalities developed particular lines of work. The British took over from the French in naval training; German advisers replaced the French in Army training; Americans established a foreign mail service at Yokohama. The most important American project was the technical assistance mission that went to the island of Hokkaidō. Their activities included mining, railway construction, agricultural experimentation and related industries.[31]

Meiji leaders recognised that the employment of foreign employees was a necessary, but temporary evil. It was thus deemed necessary to educate Japanese to replace foreigners as quickly as possible. The average length of service of professional advisers to these 'barbaric' people was around five years, and Griffis was not particularly different, working in Japan for a total of three and a half years. He initially taught at the domain school Meishinkan which was located in provincial Fukui, not far from the Sea of Japan.[32] In 1871, government measures to abolish domains and transfer former feudal lords to the capital encouraged many of his students to pursue study in Tokyo or overseas. Griffis, too, looked elsewhere. In January 1872, after having taught in Fukui for nine months, Griffis made the trip eastwards to Tokyo, where he took up an appointment teaching chemistry and physics at Daigaku Nankō (School for Western Studies) which had been established in 1870. That college was a forerunner of the Kaisei Gakkō which in turn would become Tokyo University.[33]

Griffis was important in promoting Western science, especially chemistry, in Fukui, but with the dispersal of his students, the gains were somewhat diminished. As his biographer suggests, 'it would be going too far to claim any seminal or national influence for his efforts'.[34] Griffis contributed more to Japan after he left, by writing extensively about his experiences there and the country's history. For Griffis, teaching, preaching and writing were all linked. To what extent his writings found an audience back in Japan is difficult to gauge. But we do know that foreign instructors helped introduce the discourse of race into Japan. The cultural authority of their writings and teachings resulted in acceptance of the racial hierarchies they constructed. This was at a seminal time, for it was only after the 1880s that a real sense of nation was inculcated among the population. The nation had to be perceived as a natural community, defined by a common ancestry and culture, hence the importance of portraying Japan as a family state with the emperor at its head.[35]

Social Darwinist ideas were part of the cultural resources that Griffis drew on to engage his audience at the turn of the century, just after Japan's victory in the Russo–Japanese War (1904–5). His work joins what can be called 'narratives of the nation'[36] which appeared in the early twentieth century to help legitimate the precedence of state over society. Griffis was not alone in writing such narratives. There were other former Japan hands who made the most of their knowledge gained from Japan as hired foreigners in the late nineteenth century. The way they structure their material shows that Social Darwinism was useful in explaining

Japan's emergence in Asia as a powerful player. As we shall see, they found more difficulty in explaining the defeat of a white power, Russia, than the decline of the indigenous Ainu people.

Griffis departed for the United States in July 1874, where he was to go on to write some 50 books and numerous magazine articles, many of which dealt with some aspect of Japan. Griffis often inserted himself in his writings, more in an attempt at self-promotion than for any enlightened desire for reflexivity. This was part of a strategy to give former foreigners employed in Japan their fair due. In 1903, Griffis retired from his ministerial duties to devote himself to writing and giving lectures. *The Japanese Nation in Evolution* (1907) was one of the results. While ostensibly about Japan, the book is as much about the development or stagnation of Griffis's ideas as it might be about the so-called 'Mikado's Empire' which he wrote about in the 1870s.

Japan's defeat of China and Russia called into question existing racial classifications. How could the Japanese be elevated so quickly from half barbarians to imperial power? It was a problem for Western commentators, like Griffis, and for the Japanese, that outwardly the Japanese seemed to share the yellowness of the people who they sought to dominate. While such racial similarities could be used to advantage in promoting Pan–Asianist concepts such as the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the Japanese sought to place themselves in a superior position to that of other Asians by articulating European concepts of hierarchy and domination, most notably Social Darwinism. By doing so, they could justify Japanese expansionism.

The Japanese nation in evolution

Griffis's account is one example of how this was articulated for a Western readership. The question of the origins of the Japanese has been highly political, with archaeology and anthropology used to construct relationships, which are sometimes questionable, between Japan's ancient history and contemporary perceptions of its role and status in the world.[37] Tessa Morris-Suzuki has written of how Japanese ethnography at the turn-of-the-century wrote of the indigenous people of Hokkaidō and the northern 'frontier' as representatives of a prehistoric stage of human development which Japan had passed through.[38]

So, too, Griffis. In *The Japanese Nation in Evolution*, he traces the origins of the Japanese to the Ainu, and thereby claims the Japanese for the Caucasians, creating in them a white tribe of Asia. By doing so, Griffis legitimates Japanese imperialism as a natural and inevitable process of survival of the fittest. Asian races invited colonisation and the Japanese obliged. By using such suspect logic, Griffis and other Western writers were able to come to terms with Japan's economic and military success (indicators of whiteness). Such success was simply an extension of their own. The Ainu origins showed that the Japanese were really white not yellow. By doing so, Griffis attempted to allay fears that the civilised European world would be over-run by primitive Asians. Griffis de-Asianises the

Japanese. They are not primitive, although still somewhat barbaric. With the help of Americans they will join the 'universal brotherhood'.

The Japanese Nation in Evolution is a prime example of how a scientific racial discourse emerged to account for existing inequalities. As Leo Ching argues, it is the 'process of exploitation and discrimination itself that produces and establishes racial identities and differentiation in a system of asymmetrical power relationship, not the other way around'.[39] Japan has, in fact, long been a multicultural nation, with a cultural pluralism which has been somewhat hidden. The emergence of the newly industrialised economies of Asia suggest that Griffis's West is no longer the model to follow, nor is his 'science' (as opposed to technology) necessarily the key to success.

Even before writing *The Japanese Nation in Evolution*, Griffis was prone to generalisations about Japan. In his mammoth 700-page book *The Mikado's Empire* (1876), he characterises the political system in terms of 'Mikadoism', the emperor system. He sees Japanese history in terms of an unbroken line of emperors, that is one long dynasty rather than many different eras.[40] This is integral to his argument for the existence of a single dynastic line, for it allows for the cultural integration of Japan, creating a picture of unified identity. Griffis's Japan was a monocultural and homogeneous nation, where 'Mikadoism is the secret of Japanese unity, as of national development'.[41]

The Japanese Nation in Evolution: Steps in the Progress of a Great People was published in 1907, by George G. Harrap and Co. in Covent Garden, London, and by Thomas Y. Crowell and Co. in New York. The book served to help popularise the notion of a superhuman race who dedicated themselves to the pursuit of national objectives. Coming also after the Russo–Japanese War, it trumpeted Japan as evidence of the benefits of collective discipline, patriotism, and the scientific method. Given the failure of many to explain Japan's victory over Russia in material terms, it was easier to attribute it to Japanese spirit.[42] In looking to an Asian nation for lessons, race was potentially a problem, but as we shall see, authors such as Griffis were able to overcome it. Indeed, on the very title page of *The Japanese Nation in Evolution*, Griffis proclaims that 'race is the key to history'. He offers a thesis which is startling in its use of history and anthropology to serve his own goals and interests.

Griffis wrote in positive terms about Japan and its people, emphasising the new Japan which he and Western culture had helped shape. The book's subtitle indirectly reminds us that countries like the United States, and people like himself, had helped Japan to advance, but by virtue of race, this was already pre-determined because they were a 'great people'. Griffis saw America as the nation which Japan should emulate, and what success modern Japan enjoyed was a reflection of his own nation's glory. The next page of text in *The Japanese Nation in Evolution* is a highly revealing page-long thanks to God:

> In admiration of Japan's triumphs in peace (greater even than those in war) the author (in the words of the civil administrator of Formosa) gives 'thanks to the Great Guardian Spirit who through unbroken ages has continually guided

> His Majesty the Emperor and each one of his imperial ancestors' as well as our own savage forefathers, our mediaeval seers, and our modern leaders into this twentieth century, so auspicious for the coming union and reconciliation of Orient and Occident in which Japan, America and Great Britain are to bear a noble part.[43]

In just one page, Griffis effectively acknowledges Japan's military victories; pays respect to Taiwan's colonial administrator Gotō Shinpei (1857–1929) (known for his scientific approach to colonialism); reiterates the notion of Mikadoism and the idea of an unbroken imperial line; and reminds us how Japan, America and Britain share a common god, and common destiny as major world powers. Griffis seems to be operating under the illusion that he offers a universal perspective on things, and that Japan's current position was but fulfillment of a historical destiny.

The last few lines of the dedication can be read in a number of ways. It clearly promotes the idea of Griffis and Japan as the bridge, indeed God's instrument, joining East and West; supports colonial expansion, and suggests that it is Japan, American and Britain's noble role to do so, thereby bringing together East and West. Why the Japanese people, as the preface later tells us:

> seem to me to have, above every other nation on earth, the power to become the true middle term in the surely coming union and reconciliation of the Orient and the Occident; ... I have tried to show in this work.[44]

For those who want to know quickly, one needs only remember the words on the title page 'race is the key to history'.

In the preface to the book, Griffis acknowledges how he has 'coined some of the newer opinions'[45] which can be interpreted as meaning a Social Darwinist approach to analysing world affairs and Japan's place in them. Indeed, Social Darwinist ideas suffuse the book. In the preface, he warns readers that rather than focussing on personalities in history, he looks more at the common people who 'in their long struggle upward, have been led, as my faith is, of God'.[46] Theirs has been a god-given progress. It is not surprising to know that shortly after returning to the United States in 1874, Griffis entered the Union Theological Seminary, joining the ministry a few years later. He had long planned to study for the ministry, but chose to initially study science at Rutgers, hence his work as a science educator in Japan.[47]

In contrast with other commentators on Japan who yearn for a lost past, Griffis is steadfastly located in the present, with his interest focussed on modern Japan and its evolution from a more savage and pagan state. Thus, even when looking at its history, it is in service to the present. Griffis views the past as inevitably leading to the present. What historical sources inform Griffis's book? Griffis writes of how the *Kojiki* (*Ancient Records of Japan*), and *Nihongi* (*Chronicles of Japan*) dating back to the eighth century, 'have been constantly by me',[48] although he qualifies this with the caveat that in reading them one must check their statements

by referring to Chinese and Korean sources, and archaeological and linguistic evidence.[49]

Mindful that 'myths are easier to make than science',[50] he boasts how his more scientific approach to history will explore shell mounds, placenames, the physiology and physiognomy of the people, as well as 'their mental and moral traits', to arrive at a Japanese history focussed more on ordinary human beings.[51] His attempt to classify human groups, however, is used to set up a hierarchy of dominance. The Ainu–Japanese he sees as the key race into which other ethnic minorities can and should be assimilated. One wonders about the scientific basis of his work. In his earlier book *The Mikado's Empire* (1876), he makes a case for 'The Japanese Origin of the North American Indians'.[52] In *The Japanese Nation in Evolution*, Griffis goes to pains to emphasise the 'scientific' basis for the links between the Japanese and Europeans. For him, race is not necessarily a question of skin colour:

> There is no necessary distinction between the Oriental and Occidental, the brown man and the white man. That the 'yellow brain', and the Japanese heart are ultimately different from those of the Yankee or the Briton, is the notion of tradition, not the fact of science.[53]

Griffis puts down criticisms of the Japanese that they nigh eliminated the Ainu, and would do so to the Koreans. He suggests that 'Korea is Japan's Ireland',[54] and also points out that the Japanese absorbed the Ainu (and white blood in the process):

> for the better working of his own brain, the improvement of his own potencies, and the beautifying of his own physiognomy.[55]

The frontispiece to the book shows a prime example of Japanese manhood, the bemedalled photographic portrait of Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō (1848–1934). Indeed, Griffis's book is sandwiched between the portraits of two military officers. Despite this emphasis on Japan's military achievements, how Japan's alleged homogeneity is affected by the increased diversity arising from colonial expansion is not taken up by Griffis.

The list of illustrations convey the author's aims: to describe Japan's evolution through its people. It is not unlike a portrait gallery, but might also be described as a human catalogue, an inventory of individuals. As we turn the pages, we observe differences in the physical and 'moral' appearance (demeanour, pose, and dress or state of undress) of each of those portrayed. The portrait of Admiral Tōgō, reminding us how far the Japanese have come, is followed by images of 'Our Aryan Kinsmen in Japan. Ainu Subjects of the Mikado', and 'Of the First Families in Japan. Ainu Father and Son'. We then jump to a 'Tattooed Letter Carrier, 1870' who is almost naked. The next human figures we see are 'Students in the Woman's University in Tokio', followed by 'General Kuroki' and 'Crown Princess Sada and Crown Prince Yoshihito'. The only other people we later see are 'The Yedo

Shogun and his Wife in Treaty Days', 'Founders of Political Parties in Japan', and 'Sannomiya, Court Chamberlain' and 'General Kodama Gentarō (1852–1906) "Chief of Staff"' who appear together on the same page.

In the first page of actual text, Griffis relates how 'White men, belonging to the great Aryan family ... were the first "Japanese"'.[56] Despite being white, he considered them a 'composite', and not a pure 'Mongolian' race. It is this hybridness of blood (albeit white) and 'temperament' which, rather than flagging degeneracy of the white race, constitutes Japan's strength for it 'partakes of the potencies of both Europe and Asia'.[57] Readers are reminded that the Ainu, an Aryan people, formerly could be found throughout Japan, and not only the northern islands as was then the case. Griffis thus states his case why it is the Japanese who are most suited to bridging East and West.

Hybridity and the Japanese race

Japan has long been multicultural, but it has been more convenient for writers such as Griffis to project it as a monocultural nation in order to come to terms with its success. The emperor system helped serve this purpose, but he argues that it is race, namely Japan's whiteness, which would help Japan to regain its former greatness, which it perhaps enjoyed prior to the influence of Chinese culture. Recent research suggests that there were actually several ancient waves of immigration. An early wave of people came from South-east Asia or South China, and a second wave emanated from North-east Asia (probably the Korean peninsula). These groups mixed with the aboriginal Jōmon inhabitants. Pure Jōmon characteristics were preserved only in the Ainu communities in northern Japan. By the seventh century, the North-east Asian immigrants made up the majority of the population.[58] Such inter-mixing does not lend itself well to portrayals of a homogenous nation. Griffis does not deny that mixing with 'the Yamato and other races'[59] occurred, but he argues for special significance to be given to the role of Ainu blood in 'the Japanese composite'.[60] This is no new message. In the preface to *The Mikado's Empire* (1876), he wrote how 'the basic stock of the Japanese people is Aino [sic]; and that in this fact lies the root of the marvellous difference in the psychology of the Japanese and their neighbours the Chinese'.

Throughout *The Japanese Nation in Evolution*, Griffis is keen to differentiate the Japanese from the Chinese, whom he considers as being effete and arrogant. For the Japanese who had formerly employed him, it was important that the West be able to distinguish between the two, for it helped to justify Japan's new role as colonial power. Griffis blatantly states that 'the Japanese are more Aryan than Chinese'.[61] Chinese cultural influence, in this schema of things, is considered to have stymied Japanese originality. Japanese identity is constructed by negating what is Chinese.

Griffis blames Chinese cultural influence for having relegated women to lower status in society. When the Japanese unshackled themselves from such Chinese notions in the late nineteenth century, and borrowed Germanic and Christian ideas, they were in Griffis's words, able to 'purify and exalt the ancient tradition' of

Aryan culture.[62] Those Ainu who were not absorbed into the larger population and remained largely unexposed to Western ways remained 'savage and uncivilized', 'beyond the pale of the civilizing and refining influences enjoyed by the Japanese', becoming 'a cowed, divided, and broken-spirited people'.[63] Griffis then classifies the inhabitants of Japan into two groups, setting up a taxonomy of the Japanese people: the savage Yezo (Hokkaidō) Ainu, and the Ainu–Japanese. Thanks to the civilising influences (read Japanisation) of domestic life, bodily hygiene, agriculture, education, religion, culture, and most importantly 'vigorous mental and political discipline',[64] the Ainu–Japanese were saved from the ignorance and savagery of the Hokkaidō Ainu. Griffis tends to equate the civilising process as one necessarily involving the loss of Ainu identity and customs. The idea that the 'higher civilized races' were entitled to eliminate the 'lower races' was not uncommon at the turn of the century. For Griffis, however, the Ainu who did not intermarry were not a total write-off – they too had evolved to some extent. For evidence of this, he points to heroic deeds throughout history, their fighting spirit suggestive of their fiery, white nature.

It is through such stratagems that the Ainu are defined as not only being spatially different (living in the northern periphery), but temporally different as well.[65] They are portrayed as belonging to a different time, as artifacts from Japan's past. In Griffis's pseudo-scientific classification of the Ainu as savage, he points to how metals did not feature in the daily lives of the Ainu people, and incorrectly states that they were ignorant of 'how to get or work them'.[66] But given a good wash, one would hardly recognise them for 'they become "white folks" at once', such is the redeeming feature of having white blood. Indeed, they are so decidedly Aryan, that they share similar limitations of other Europeans. He cites a Mr Archibald Gowan Campbell as having said, in 1898, that 'they have a distinct bias for veracity and will frequently tell the truth to their own disadvantage'.[67] They are described as being generally polite. Their occasional bout of anger could be attributed to the 'old savage' in them. Griffis then turns this around and becomes quite poetic, suggesting that the potential for fieriness in Ainu blood is perhaps its strength. It affirms that:

> One ruddy drop of manly blood
> The surging seas outweighs

and that its:

> ... atom's force
> Moves the light-poised universe.[68]

This contradicts what Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935) wrote of the Ainu in the revised fifth edition of *Things Japanese* (1905). He suggests that:

> So far as blood ... is concerned, the Japanese have in the long run been little, if at all, affected by Aino [sic Ainu] influence. The simple reason is that the half-breeds, though numerous, die out in the second or third generation.[69]

Chamberlain's attitude to racial mixing, too, seems to differ from that of Griffis. Mind you, while Griffis categorises the Hokkaido Ainu as savages, the Ainu–Japanese (without Christianity and civilising Western influences) are still barbarians, albeit 'with arts and taste'.[70] The distinction between savages and barbarians is important. There is a hierarchy in the evolutionary tree, and being a barbarian was decidedly better than being a savage.

This seems to reflect the influence of the evolutionary classifications of Lewis H. Morgan (1818–81) which are described in his classic *Ancient Society* (1877):

> Like the successive geological formations, the tribes of mankind may be arranged, according to their relative conditions, into successive strata. When thus arranged, they reveal with some degree of certainty the entire range of human progress from savagery to civilization.[71]

Morgan viewed humankind as having passed through three successive stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilisation.[72] This simplistic cataloguing of cultures became very popular and was adopted by Frederick Engels in his *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1902).[73]

Identification of savagery tends to be rationalised as a cause for the dying out of those who practise savage customs. The victims are literally blamed for their own demise. What both Morgan and Griffis ignore in their evolutionary classification of culture is the potential for cross-cultural borrowing and the 'advancement' of 'savage' people. For these two men and others like Herbert Spencer, 'contemporary primitive society was arrested in its development and illustrative of the early stages of all social evolution'.[74] In line with this, Griffis sees a fusing together of one Japanese race, and no room for multiple identities.

Griffis uses binary oppositions such as savage/civilised to give meaning to his activities in Japan and to illustrate evolution at work. In *The Japanese Nation in Evolution*, he legitimates the relationship between coloniser and the colonised in terms of white and non-white. Griffis uses the hybridity of the Japanese race as justification for colonial expansion:

> In repossessing, since 1895, Formosa, with its copper-colored aborigines, and since 1869 the Riu Kiu (Loo Choo) islands, which stretch like the cross-pieces of a long rope-ladder, the Japanese are simply repatriating their kinsmen and reoccupying the dwelling-places of their Malay ancestors. In concentrating all the Ainu of the Hokkaido in Yezo island, they are showing kindness to their Aryan forebears.[75]

Japan is, by virtue of race and evolution, 'the epitome and residuary legatee of all Asia'.[76] By virtue of their hybridity, they are entitled to cross racial boundaries again in pursuit of empire. He goes so far as to suggest that the Japanese 'are not only the most improvable race in Asia, but possibly even in the world'.[77] It is thus a combination of the hybridity of the Japanese and those atoms of superior Aryan blood which have been mixed in, which predispose them to success:

> Step by step the Tokio [sic] Government proceeded to assert the legitimate rights of Japan, by annexing formally and incorporating in the Empire what by blood, language, and history, had long been a part of Japan.[78]

And as if the pursuit of science would provide the ultimate justification:

> Yezo [Hokkaidō] was colonized and given scientific reconnaissance and survey by a band of American scientific men.[79]

Griffis excuses himself from writing on Japan's economic development during the Meiji period for he considers that from an historical point of view, there is nothing particularly new or strange about it, it is 'but only evolution'. He naturalises the activities of the Japanese (including colonialism) as the outcomes of doing 'what their genius has always prompted them to do'.[80] Japan merely obeys what he calls the first law of nature, namely that 'self-preservation' is Japan's highest ambition.[81] What it does, is done in the name of science, to facilitate 'the evolution of the average Japanese into a modern man'.[82] Training in science and theology certainly equipped Griffis with an array of metaphors; not least being that of a hybrid flower, which closes during the Tokugawa period, but then reopens to serve as the link between China and America, East and West. This was as it should, for her 'blended Aryan and Mongol inheritance fitted her to absorb the new civilization'.[83] Japan's subsequent rapid development does not surprise Griffis for it represents 'an evolution of inner powers stimulated by Occidental intellect and forces'.[84]

Griffis portrays the Russo–Japanese War, and Japan's victory in 1905 as a 'supreme struggle for life',[85] a Darwinian struggle which served to renew Japan and remind the Japanese that they were not inferior to Europeans. But again, Griffis is not at all surprised for 'why should the Japanese fear the kinsmen of their own ancestors?'. He sees the war as having been a formative experience in national evolution for it encouraged greater unity and the development of military might.[86] But the struggles have not been confined to those with foreign powers, but have occurred more so within their own nation.[87]

Griffis compares 'progress' in Japan and in northern Europe, and in terms of pace suggests that there is very little essential difference.[88] However impressive Japan's military development has been, however, Griffis laments Japan's relative slowness to advance in education, morals, social reform, 'the virtues of truth, chastity, stability of marriage'.[89] It is in these areas that the West (especially Christianity and foreign educators like himself) could still be of great assistance:

> Science, as certain as earthquakes, will assuredly overturn certain political dogmas and superstitions in Japan which nominally grant the people liberty, while in reality withholding it.[90]

He asks where Japan can obtain 'the moral force to drive their new motors'. He suggests that 'the Nation in evolution must rule'.[91] But as he states at the end of

the book, behind almost every one of the radical reforms carried out in the New Japan was a man who was directly influenced by Christianity, or was a pupil of missionaries.[92]

While Griffis's book serves as a defence of the morality of white imperialism, the final chapter of the book shows how highly Japan-centric he had become. He concludes that while Japan will be greatly modified by Western influences, 'the "Orient" will modify the "Occident" with equal power and mutual benefit'.[93] And in case any reader still entertained prejudices against the Japanese, he steadfastly states in the final paragraph that:

> The Japanese are not 'Mongolian'. They justly refuse to be classed as such. In the end, both deserving and winning success, they will gain social as they have already won political equality with Occidentals, and the world will be the better for it.[94]

The absurdity of these pronouncements shows how fervent people such as Griffis were to incorporate the world, to articulate totalising ideals, grand narratives, which would enable them to understand and make sense of the world.[95]

Ideas found in *The Japanese Nation in Evolution* (1907) resonate with those in the book *Fifty Years of New Japan* (1909) edited by Ōkuma Shigenobu. In that book, Nitobe writes on Western influence in Japan. He speculates that:

> In the receptive faculty of the Japanese race there must be something which makes it near akin to the races of Europe. Is it due to the Aryan blood which may have come to us through the Hindoos [sic], as Professor Hamy once told me he felt he had proved by craniological evidence? Whatever the explanation, the unquestionable fact remains, that the intellectual influence which one race can exert upon another 'is relative of the latter'.[96]

In the same volume, however, Tsuzuki Keiroku discouraged placing undue emphasis on racial differences. Despite the Japanese being of smaller stature than Westerners, he felt that it was wrong of them to consider the Japanese as being of 'quite a different stuff from themselves'.[97]

Race and empire

Despite protestations on the part of people like Tsuzuki, some Japanese did seek to establish a racial hierarchy, using progress in science to indicate difference. During the Meiji period it enabled them to discover how 'backward' they were and how much they had to catch up. In time, it would also indicate how far they had come, a convenient way of distinguishing themselves from other, less 'civilised' races who outwardly seemed very similar to themselves, perhaps too close for comfort.[98] Photographs of the 'natives' of Formosa in colonialist literature reinforced the notion that the further away from whiteness one was, the less advanced and less worthy one was of respect.[99] In the book entitled *Japanese Rule in Formosa* (1907)

written by Takekoshi Yosaburo, a member of the Japanese Diet, photographs of the ‘savage types’ of people who could be found on the island were placed side by side, evidence of the ‘conditions’ on the island that invited colonization by the Japanese. As Takekoshi argued in some introductory words:

> Western nations have long believed that on their shoulders alone rested the responsibility of colonizing the yet unopened portions of the globe, and extending to the inhabitants the benefits of civilisation; but now we Japanese, rising from the ocean in the extreme Orient, wish as a nation to take part in this great and glorious work.[100]

Japan represented itself as both Western and non-Western. With the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, Japan portrayed itself as a hybrid, Asian nation. In Issue 27 of the illustrated, English-language magazine *Nippon* (1941), readers were reminded that it was 2,601 years since the accession to the throne of Emperor Jinmu (also romanised as Jimmu), the first emperor of Japan. Nisimura Sinzi (Nishimura Shinji) argued in the magazine that:

> Japanese are not a pure race but a mixture of various bloods. … From what I have observed, it seems that the racial constituents of the Japanese are Negritos, Palaeo-Ainu, Tunguses, Indonesians, Indo-Chinese, the Han-race and Mongolians. Of these seven races the principal factor is Tunguses. The Negritos have played only a very weak part.

The article was illustrated with photographs of typical racial types: seven ‘representative’ men whose faces seem to contribute to a composite picture of a ‘modern Japanese’ man.[101] Such visual methods date back to the nineteenth century when the English scientist Francis Galton developed a theory of the composite portrait. If 20 different photographs of 20 different individuals were put together, one can arrive at a single, homogenised facial image which represented a purity of racial type. The notion was that by comparing things within a certain class, it was possible to reveal their shared characteristics.[102]

Readers were reminded that the Japanese were special due to having taken on the good characteristics of all these people. This served to legitimate Japan’s multi-nation empire and Japan’s role at the centre. As Tessa Morris-Suzuki has so nicely put it, ‘the Japanese *minzoku* becomes the still center into which cultural difference is continuously absorbed, consumed, and transformed into cultural homogeneity’.[103]

Western and Japanese authors moved back and forth to account for Japanese success and to justify Japanese imperialism. This influenced how the Japanese were seen by themselves and others, and how their colonial subjects were seen in relation to them. In the next chapter, we examine Japanese scientific activities in Manchuria and see how it reflected further glory on the emperor who himself went on extended tours of Japan. Photography became part of scientific activity and a tool of imperialism, defining what was normal and abnormal, who was Japanese and not Japanese.

4 Collecting Manchuria

Introduction

John Elsner and Roger Cardinal have likened empire-building to collecting:

> Empire is a collection of countries and of populations; a country is a collection of regions and peoples; each given people is a collection of individuals, divided into governed and governers – that is collectables and collectors.[1]

The many Japanese scientists, journalists and photographers who travelled throughout the Japanese Empire sought to carefully examine and record. The diversity of the cultures that they encountered gave rise to taxonomies, which helped them to classify, number and put populations into order. Photography was called into the service of empirical observation and of empire.

While photography is said to have changed the way the Japanese saw things, it also documents how the Japanese worldview changed as well. Photography allowed the Japanese to 'see' the Emperor, visit historic sites, and view the growing Japanese empire for themselves.[2] How can we obtain meaning from Japanese photographs? We can use attitudes to photography and science to gain a sense of Japanese confidence in a Western-inspired modernity. The illustrated reports and scientific papers gave readers a sense of possession of the lands surveyed and the people who inhabited them. Importantly, photography seemed to provide an objective view of the world.[3] It provided visual evidence.

This chapter explores the role of photography in the Japanese colonisation of Manchukuo (also known as Manchoukuo or Manchuria) from the images in the reports of the First Scientific Expedition to Manchukuo in 1933 in which photography is prominent. The Japanese used colonial/neo-colonial science as part of the process of colonisation to demonstrate the need to bring modernity to the region. The term 'colonial science' refers to the overt use of scientific research for territorial expansion and domination, and also to the use of a colony or territory as a source of scientific and often commercially useful material and data by the home country. The Expedition was formed in May with the full team arriving in Manchukuo in July and leaving in October. At the time, Japanese photography was expanding into journalism and scientific reports and

in the Expedition Reports provided evidence for how far the Japanese had come compared to the less civilised people whom they colonised. Photography helped authorise the colonisation by authenticating the conditions in Manchukuo and provided an important tool for making a stocktake of its informal empire. By making Manchukuo visible it became appropriable,[4] but barely had photography played its part in the appropriation before it was being questioned by the Japanese themselves.

Colonial science in Manchuria

Manchuria was the subject of colonial science well before the Japanese arrived. In 1896 the Russian botanist Vladmir Komarov and two other naturalists used their time there not only to make botanical collections but to explore the regions where the lines for the new Manchurian railway were to be marked out.[5] By the end of the Russo–Japanese War in 1905, the Japanese had won dominance over southern Manchuria, and the rail lines from Mukden to the port of Dairen (formerly known as Dalny) which had been built by the Russians. The South Manchuria Railway Company (SMR) was established by Japan in 1906, half of the original capital of the company being provided by the Japanese government. This company dominated the Manchurian economy, with control over railways, coal mines and industrial plants. The railways provided Japan with the means by which to exploit Manchuria's natural resources and territory beyond its borders. The next few decades saw a period of intense railroad rivalry between China, Russia and Japan, in which economic and territorial rights were at stake.[6]

The first president of the SMR was Gotō Shinpei, who had been chief civil administrator in Taiwan during the period 1898–1906. Gotō advocated a scientific approach to colonialism which stressed the need for research for colonial development and which included the use of railways as a force for 'progress'.[7] In Gotō's eyes, colonial policy must restructure the social and physical environment in order for certain social changes and evolution to occur. Gotō invited Japanese scholars to examine and compile information on Chinese legal history and customs in order for Gotō and his administrators to implement certain reforms.[8]

The Japanese colonial administrations showed a concern for the history and cultural traditions of the territories. Research and publications on the cultural heritage and historic preservation resulted in a positive contribution to their subject peoples by Japanese colonial rule. This included multivolume histories, biographical dictionaries, and huge compendia of fauna and flora of various places.[9] Colonial universities and colleges were established in Seoul, Taipei, Lushun and Manchuria during the 1920s, but the majority of students were Japanese. Scientific research which was conducted in the colonies tended to be limited to studies which were deemed 'necessary for local development', and pure research confined to the imperial universities back on mainland Japan.

In the years leading up to the 1930s, Japan used the plague as one of a number of reasons for increasing its influence in Manchuria. There are a large number of scientific papers published in English by research staff of Japanese institutions

in Manchuria and China which indicate how epidemics provided opportunities for scientific research, and promoted the notion that the Japanese presence was a necessary and desirable one.[10] If disease was to be controlled not only in the laboratory but throughout Manchuria and China, Japanese would have to be present in the area and impose certain disciplines on the population.

The proximate excuse to do this did not, however, come from science but from political manipulation. Lieutenant Colonel Kanji Ishiwara, who had been assigned to the Kwantung Army in late 1928, developed a solution to the problem in Manchuria by suggesting that Manchuria be made into a new state. In 1931 Ishiwara and staff officers of the Kwantung Army organised a small explosion to occur on 18 September near a SMR line just outside Mukden, thus beginning the Mukden Incident, also known as the Manchurian Incident, which provided the excuse to takeover. The Kwantung Army attacked the army of Chang Hsueh-liang (Zhang Xueliang) and occupied Mukden. Japanese spokesmen declared to the public that Japanese occupation was necessary because of the inability of China to maintain peace and order in the region. By late November Japanese forces began to enter territory to the far north of Mukden and one month later the occupation of Manchuria had met with success. By January 1932, the Kwantung Army and SMR had cooperated in drawing up development plans for the new state and in March Manchukuo was born.[11]

The Japanese news media enthusiastically promoted the war, with newspapers vying with each other to track the progress of the Kwantung Army. It can be said, thus, that the conflict with China was accompanied by a 'war fever'[12] and news war in Japan which in turn encouraged technological innovation in newspaper production and the diffusion of radio. Young argues that 'to a large extent, Manchurian empire building took place in the realm of the imagination'[13] and the mass media played an important role.

The new name of 'Manchukuo' was a means of imposing a new conception on the space, a way by which the Japanese established their domain. As in China, the Japanese imposed their own place-names and architecture.[14] They also created a break with traditional time and declared a new history. Although Manchuria was never formally a colony, the Japanese gained virtual control by the establishment of Manchukuo.

The most prominent Japanese organisation supporting scientific research in Manchuria was undoubtedly the SMR, Japan's engine of progress in Manchuria.[15] In recent years there has been a spate of books, mainly reminiscences, which have been published in Japan on the SMR.[16] The company established a number of research institutions, two being the Central Laboratory and the Geological Institute in Dairen. These institutions employed scientists who were given the task of finding exploitable resources and developing manufacturing processes which would lead to the creation of new industries.[17] The laboratories authenticated knowledge and lent legitimacy to colonial policy. Such activities or 'public services' were, it seems, funded from the earnings of the SMR railway operations and the mines which it operated. They were considered as being part of the industrial and cultural development of Manchuria.

Institutions such as the Manchukuo Institute of Scientific Research and Manchurian museums produced English language research reports which served to disseminate throughout the world the achievements of Japanese colonial science in Manchuria. The museums reminded readers of the reductive nature of the scientific enterprise, housing within their walls and journal pages the gems of knowledge which they had collected. They provided the public face of 'objective', 'non-political' science. Manchuria would provide knowledge for the rest of the world, and a space in the Asian continent for the Japanese.

While the scientific journals published by the institutions appear to be highly technical, they show many characteristics of colonial science which might be of interest to the historian. Endō Ryūji's paper on fossils published in 1937 by SMR's Manchurian Science Museum does refer briefly to changes in the peace and order. Endō outlines how bandits and anti-foreign feeling in the Hsaio-shih area in 1928 prevented much fieldwork from being carried out whereas in the 1930s (with occupation by the Japanese) he was able to re-examine some of the localities.[18]

Many of the papers published suggest an emphasis on studies which could be of commercial benefit. They show how the mapping of Manchuria depended on economic, as well as strategic factors. But perhaps more importantly, the text of the very many papers produced established, by their sheer volume and continued publication, a type of authority derived from scientific discourse, from 'knowing' Manchuria, which legitimated the Japanese presence there and enabled them to survey the landscape.

What is also clear from the papers is the existence of research networks between Manchurian institutions and universities back in Japan. These links facilitated data collection and provided channels for the flow of specimens to the home country, and the making of local knowledge global. There were, for example, amateur scientists who, while normally pre-occupied by commercial work for Japanese companies in Manchuria, would come across interesting fossils which they would report about to scholars in universities in Japan. For them, it was the centre and the periphery was Manchuria. Publications also show a flow of information to scholars back in Japan, and research funding which emanated from the centre and flowed to the periphery. In the process, Manchuria and its occupants were reduced to fossil-like specimens which could be counted, described, classified and rendered harmless.

Thus science was one of those technologies of control. It provided a vocabulary with which to transform the subjugated peoples into what would become in 1938, the Greater East-Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, a new order in Asia which would initially bring together China, Manchukuo and Japan. As Hardt and Negri argue, 'the triple imperative of the Empire is incorporate, differentiate, manage'.[19] Territorial expansion involved an inclusive moment when all within its boundaries would be welcome, but 'science' would be used to help differentiate, and military control brought in to help manage and hierarchise differences. In this way, boundaries were created and a sense of national consciousness was engendered.

'The First Scientific Expedition'

As Stefan Tanaka has pointed out, early Japanese research on Manchuria tended not to involve any fieldwork or data collection in the region of study. Rather, scholars focussed on collecting important documents.[20] The First Scientific Expedition was a belated attempt to remedy this situation.[21] Instigated by the dapper Viscount Toki Akira, Vice-Parliamentary Secretary of the War Office of Japan, the expedition was led by the distinguished scholar Tokunaga Shigeyasu, Professor of Waseda University.

Science structured the way that members of the expedition saw Manchukuo and reported on it. Twenty-five impressive volumes of scientific papers were produced. Members of the expedition met with sufficient hardships during the trip to be awarded the Asahi Cultural Prize of 1937. The newspaper *Asahi shinbun* was one of the sponsors of the expedition, along with the Japanese Foreign Office, South Manchuria Railway Company, Foundation for the Promotion of Scientific and Industrial Research of Japan, and others. Tokunaga also acknowledges the assistance of officers of the Kwantung Army during the expedition. *Asahi shinbun*'s media coverage, by plane, ensured a successful reception for the expedition upon its return.

The expedition was more symbolic than useful. The report, published between 1934–40, consisted of a description of the journey and many volumes of scientific papers. These were divided into six sections (a general report, geology, geography, botany, zoology, and anthropology). The text was written in both English and Japanese to assure both local and international audiences of Japan's good intentions in Manchukuo. It was important to be seen as willing to share scientific results freely with the rest of the world.

The photographs which are discussed here are among 69 images in the general report by Tokunaga. The hundreds of other photographs contained in the report serve as illustrations to scientific papers, and are very specific in content. They include topographical images of diggings and the geography of Jehol; examples of excavated fossilised specimens; and many photographs of butterflies, freshwater fish, and birds of Jehol. The final section on 'Anthropology' is devoted to an examination of ancient artefacts that were excavated. The sheer bulk of images and text reinforce the scientific value of the expedition. As Tokunaga wrote in the final volume published in 1940, 149 new species and 64 new subspecies were found.[22] Sixty-eight of these were animals and 124 were plants. Twenty-one were identified as being extinct animals and plants.

The picture which emerges from the voluminous report of around 4,000 pages and 820 plates is one of a sparsely populated geographic region ready for the taking, one which could be used to further Japan's expansion and absorb some of its excess population. Its position on the periphery suited its perceived role as part of Japan's protective buffer zone.[23]

The expedition mapped out the new space of the Japanese empire, as it progressed through the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1933. The portable space carved out by the expedition, and by the camera, was marked out by the Japanese flag, a symbol

which allegedly struck fear into the hearts of the 'natives'. It was not only the flag. Dressed in travelling garb not unlike that of British explorers, and accompanied by around 30 troops, the expedition evokes associations with European explorers in nineteenth-century Africa. As Japan came late to colonialism, it was able to draw on the old and new technologies of observation and documentation. The expedition appropriated some of the forms and narratives of exploration, which Europeans had created, and notions of manliness along with them.

The Expedition trekked through the desolate terrain of Jehol province which was added to Manchukuo in 1933. Tokunaga saw Jehol as 'virgin land remaining untouched with [sic] scientific work'. He declared that the expedition was evidence of the closer relationship between Japan and Manchukuo, and that it was conducted in the lofty hope of 'developing Asian civilization'.[24] Jehol was metaphorically portrayed as the feminine, ready for the taking. In the process, it would contribute to a greater Pan–Asian identity.

We can also tell much from silences and absences found in the Report. Prior to setting out for three months in Jehol, the expedition leader Tokunaga and an assistant N. Naora spent 20 days visiting Ku-hsiang-tung on the outskirts of Harbin, where they conducted palaeontological and anthropological work. This helps us to understand the discrepancy between the June starting date of the expedition and the July arrival of the rest of the members of the expedition. This fuzziness in the actual beginning date of the expedition is a telling one, as it avoids the need for photographs of the 25 white-Russian labourers who were employed to assist them.[25] The reversal of power in Manchuria that this implied may have overly complicated the simple narratives and racial hierarchies that the photographs were seeking to establish. While the population of Manchuria was estimated to be 90 per cent Han Chinese in 1931,[26] Harbin was an 'un-Chinese' city, more a European city with a hybrid mix of architectural styles and many Russian residents thanks to the earlier development of a Russian railway line in Manchuria.[27] The large number of Russians competing for work with the Chinese as labourers upset expectations regarding racial hierarchies.[28] In many ways, the elegant city of Harbin did not conform to stereotypes that the media may have hoped for.

The involvement of *Asahi shinbun* did ensure wide coverage of the expedition 'proper' back home. Its central role in the expedition helped determine the perceived success. The press has been important in promoting the idea of the explorer as hero, irrespective of the actual results of expeditions. Japan was no different from England and the United States in this respect.[29] The Reports which were generated from their experiences in the 'frontier' were also derivative of explorers' accounts. *Asahi* had launched a photo-illustrated magazine *Asahi gurafu* ten years prior to the expedition, in the tumultuous year of 1923 when the Great Kantō Earthquake destroyed much of Tokyo. The company also launched *Asahi kamera* in 1926, for the All Japan Association of Photographic Societies which served to bring together various amateur photography groups.[30] It was thus against the backdrop of an image-hungry media feeding a mass consumer society that the expedition occurred. Visual representations served to help integrate Japanese society and usher in modernity in a way hitherto unknown.[31]

How could the Expedition's activities be justified? Scientific knowledge, or the data collection which passes for it, has very specific settings, such as laboratories, or takes certain forms such as expeditions. Whether exploration is used as a pretext for territorial expansion or not, certain types of equipment and clothing were deemed necessary for the gathering of virgin facts, previously unknown to the Japanese and perhaps Westerners, but certainly known to the people resident there. How is it that the scientific world could call the local knowledge of 'natives' new 'discoveries' uncovered by the scientific expedition? It has been argued that 'many of the characteristic signs of a good [scientific] witness were thought to exist as a consequence of the actual physiology of the human body'.[32] Dressing for the part helped. Not surprisingly, the creators of the knowledge were always men, and their *bonafides* could be confirmed by their actions and status. In Japan, this meant affiliation with an imperial university, and connections with an influential professor.

Copies of the early volumes of the report dated October 1934 were received by the Linnean Society of London on 10 December 1934. They tended to confirm British attitudes at the time that:

> Manchuria was destined by the accident of history to become the cockpit of international ambitions. Nominally Chinese soil, and yet outside China proper, its strategic and industrial importance caused world statesmen to realise the complications which might arise from the presence of a predominant foreign Power attempting to occupy and exploit it.[33]
>
> … developments financed and carried out by the Japanese in Manchuria have transformed the country from an empty, backward land into an area destined to play an increasingly important part, under whatever regime, in the industrial economy of the Far East.[34]

Seeing the sights of Manchukuo

The militaristic tone of the expedition, escorted as it was by some 30 soldiers, and its much trumpeted successful conclusion, were further proof of Japan's ability to match European colonial powers and to exert its superiority over the people of other Asian countries. For the Japanese, military success was evidence of Japan's modernity.[35] In the report of the expedition, we see the commanding gaze over the landscape in the form of photographic panoramas. Since the late nineteenth century, panoramic oil paintings of military conquests were popular attractions in places such as Asakusa. Photographs also instilled a similar sense of nationalistic euphoria. They delivered a visual experience of the new territories under Japanese control.[36]

The extended photographs in the expedition report are joined together like a panorama, allowing spatial mobility, and giving us some sense of the body moving over the terrain. They illustrate how in the 1920s and 1930s, the Japanese were introduced to new ways of looking at things thanks to the 'real' photographs provided by science. Whether it was the body under the gaze of the camera for

medical purposes, photographs of the heavens for scientific purposes, shots of biological specimens under microscopes, or aerial photographs of the land, the Japanese were being introduced to ways of viewing things during this time which differed dramatically from the past.[37] In the name of science, the expedition observed the local people, using their various types of equipment to record the event. Observation of cultural difference facilitated defining the Japanese national character. Protected by troops and with progress checked by a plane, the expedition was not unlike tourism.

Mark C. Elliott has explained that even for Chinese, up until the early part of the twentieth century, Manchuria was an isolated geographic region, a space which had an identity which was distinct from the rest of China. Ironically, it was after 1931, with the creation of 'Manchukuo' it was really transformed into a 'place', as part of Japan's informal empire. It was ironically in the 1930s and early 1940s under the Japanese, that Manchuria enjoyed a more independent identity. Its strategic importance was the subject of a large body of literature.[38]

A manifestation of the expansion of the Japanese empire was the growth of international tourism, and a considerable body of literature grew up around it. In the fourth edition of *Peking, North China, South Manchuria and Korea* published by Thomas Cook and Son in 1920, the South Manchuria Railway Company was urging travellers and tourists journeying between Tokyo and Peking to 'travel via the South Manchuria Railway, which runs from Fusan to Mukden and passes through magnificent scenery and furnishes the last link in the newest highway round the world'.[39] Thomas Cook and Son reassured travellers that they would:

> find something different, something new – yet ancient, an (sic) unique change from the 'modern civilisation series' of Europe and the Far West … Fortunately, beyond a mere fringe of the coast-line of this great 'grandsire of empires,' … today the Chinese people are as simple and primitive in their habits and customs as they have been for ages past.[40]

Prompted, no doubt, by such urgings, the 1930s saw a boom in Japanese tourism. In 1931, the Marxist critic Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke travelled to France. While there, he penned an article entitled 'Furansu made no tabi' ('A Trip to France'), which was published in the magazine *Sokoku* (*The Homeland*) (June 1931). He observed that when Japanese travelled overseas, they usually took a camera with them. This was seen by frequent travellers as a sure way of distinguishing a Japanese from a Chinese person. A popular camera of choice at the time was the Eastman Kodak Company's Ciné-Kodak 16 mm home movie camera.[41]

On disembarking at a port, often the first thing that Japanese tourists would do would be to take a photograph. This, he ruminated, was not surprising, as many things would strike Japanese as new and unusual. He likened this to intellectuals like himself reading a book and wanting to recklessly start underlining parts of the text from page one. Similarly, Japanese travellers would quickly point their camera at almost anything. However, he bemoaned how taking photographs often went beyond a pastime and become a burden. Although advised by colleagues to

take a camera, he was not wealthy enough to afford a Ciné-Kodak camera. This, he felt, saved him from the troublesome task of having to take photographs and gave him more time to enjoy his travels. He bought postcards and books about the places he visited instead. In this way, he committed to memory what others preferred to burn on to celluloid. It would not only save luggage space but there would be less risk of loss or theft.[42]

Expansion of Japan's sphere of influence and renewed confidence created new opportunities for consumers. The First Scientific Expedition to Manchukuo can be likened to an upmarket, outback safari, combining a chance to see the natives, pick up some souvenirs, and taste a sense of danger without getting killed. Commentaries at the time describe Manchukuo more as theme-park than informal colony. The expedition's report helped construct Manchukuo as a tourist attraction by providing the documentation.[43] Like good theme parks, there was the threat of danger. The expedition encountered anti-Japanese guerillas whom they invariably described as 'bandits'. It has been estimated that in mid-1932 there were some 300,000 to 400,000 such people in Manchukuo opposing the Japanese army, but by the time of the expedition, their numbers had been greatly reduced.[44]

The photographs in the expedition's general report are numbered and bear captions. They are assembled in a clear sequence, rather filmic in nature, and tell the narrative of the expedition, miniaturising the landscape in the process and shaping it for consumption by the reader/potential settler.[45] As Tokunaga, the expedition leader, relates:

> Prior to proceeding to the research we solemnly performed the inauguration ceremony at Hsinking on August 2, 1933, and on October 12 all of the party returned to Hsinking just for a time making the expected investigation and research. As to the entire course in details (sic) I have explained with illustrations in Section I of the present report.[46]

Given the circular nature of the Expedition's route, photographs, in serial order, are seen as a useful way to convey to readers the sense of progress made by the expedition.

The snapshots of the countryside, towns and even toilets, are strangely devoid of people. They reinforce Tokunaga's belief that 'uncivilized as Jehol people are, among them little or no hygienic idea has effectively been fostered'.[47] The images are in line with other propaganda which often implied that no one lived there – *terra nullius*. An uninspiring photograph of a dilapidated, solitary 'Farm house near Chih-feng' highlights this idea. The Manchukuo which was framed by the camera lens was one that they had imagined. It is only when we are to be shown people who are grotesque and different, with swollen necks, do the locals in the southern districts of Jehol warrant a picture. These pictures are rather taxonomic in nature, but the people photographed seem to be somewhat bemused, as if indulging the Japanese and resisting dehumanisation.

Masculinity and self-cultivation

The Expedition's journey served a variety of purposes. It can be seen as a way of nurturing budding colonialists and heroicising Japanese imperialism. At the ceremony at the commencement of the Expedition at Hsin-king, the new capital of Manchukuo, on 2 August 1933, members of the Expedition swore that they would:

> exalt the spirit of loyalty and patriotism, and shall act impartially for the honour of the corporation [the Expedition] formed by friendship and co-operation.[48]

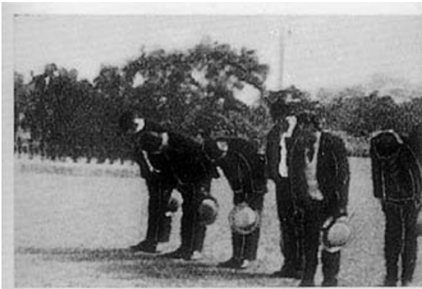
This was done in the presence of the Emperor of Manchukuo. The harsh conditions that the men subsequently experienced made them more conscious of their bodies:

> Situated in the southern extremity of Manchoukuo, Hsing-lun-hsien district is so steep a land as to allow no auto to pass, and in consequence rarely has any scientist's body of Japan ever explored the land.[49]

We are reminded at the end of the exhibition of the greater significance of the Expedition. On 12 October, a dispersion ceremony was held at Hsin-king Shrine, where the expedition began (see Figure 4.1). The photograph of the ceremony shows members of the Expedition bowing in the direction of the Imperial Palace of Japan, back in Japan proper.[50]

From the images of the expedition, we can gain a sense of the changes in masculine identity as Japan underwent modernity. We see traces of the interplay between Japanese notions of masculinity and Western modes of masculine identity. The photographs show how the Japanese removed their laboratory coats and suits and donned tropical and military uniforms, reshaping their physical selves and their masculinity in the process (see Figure 4.2). Members of the expedition literally had to dress the part. Photographs show them as selfless pioneers, but not entirely comfortable with the role or the clothing. They adopted the garb of British colonials in order not to surprise the natives, who no doubt were meant to somehow be used to domination. In the eyes of the local inhabitants, these uniforms would have empowered and masculinised the Japanese men, but those very same uniforms served to discipline and regulate the wearers as well.

This Western-inspired masculine identity served to create a sense of difference from the Manchurians – one of the cultural strategies of Japanese colonialism. The urbane images of Viscount Toki and Professor Tokunaga in the report highlight this, as does the obituary for the professor in the final volume. Tokunaga contracted pneumonia and died of heart failure on 8 February 1940, just as the final report was being checked by proof-readers. This was a somehow fitting end to the drama of the expedition. As Nakai Takenoshin wrote in Tokunaga's obituary:

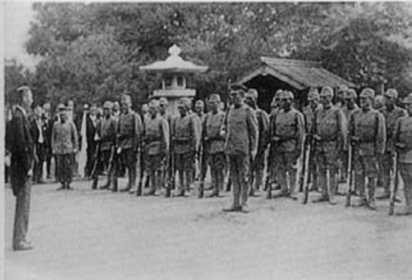


1 二重橋前ニテ宮城ニ向ヒ拜スル團員。(7月22日)
In front of the Nijiubashi members worshipping at Imperial Palace (July 22)

2 明治神宮ニ參拜スル團員。(7月22日)
Members worshipping at the Meiji Shrine. (July 22)

3 東京驛出發ノ在京團員。(7月23日) The members who reside in Tokyo leaving Tokyo station. (July 23)

4 神戸出發ニ際シ歡送ニ應ズル船中ノ團員。(7月24日)
Members upon the deck of steamer at Kobe, returning salute to those who are sending them off. (July 24)



5 新京神社靈前ニ於ケル莊嚴ナル結團式。(8月2日)
Inauguration ceremony of the expedition solemnized before Hsin-king Shrine. (Aug. 2)

6 屢襲ヒ來ル豪雨ノ爲メ、刻マレタル黄土ノ光景ヲ、奉山線車窓ヨリ望ム。(8月4日) From the carriage window of a train on Ho-shan line members look at a terrace of loess dissected on account of a severe rain. (Aug. 4)

Figure 4.1 Report of the First Scientific Expedition to Manchoukuo: Under the Leadership of Shigeyasu Tokunaga, Section 1 (Tokyo: Office of the Scientific Expedition to Manchouchou. Faculty of Science and Engineering, Waseda University, 1934), p. 64. Collection: Waseda University Library.

Figure 4.2 Group photograph of members of the expedition, 22 September 1933, taken from *Report of the First Scientific Expedition to Manchoukuo: Under the Leadership of Shigeyasu Tokunaga, Section 1* (Tokyo: Office of the Scientific Expedition to Manchouchou. Faculty of Science and Engineering, Waseda University, 1934). Collection: Waseda University Library.

> The difficulties of a work of this kind – the first in the history of our country – can hardly be appreciated in the initial stages, but we have come to realise that our late leader alone could have brought it to a successful conclusion under the prevailing conditions of national emergency. To his example of undaunted courage and untiring energy we owe not only the success of the exploration itself, traversing regions infested by bandits, braving epidemics, rigours of climate and shortage of supplies, but also the completion of the study of materials collected and the many other steps leading to the final publication of results after some eight years of arduous and often disheartening toil, severely handicapped owing to the national emergency by depletion of staff and scarcity of appliances.[51]

This was a martyr for science and the nation.

Joshua Fogel has written of the research trips of third-year students of the Shanghai-based Tō-A Dōbun Shoin (East Asian Common Culture Academy) which was established by the adventurer Arao Kiyoshi. It would eventually become a university. The institution stressed practical training on contemporary aspects of China, including the language. The annual summer vacation trips were an extension of this approach to education, and served to reproduce an ideology of

manhood based on exploration. The trips first began in 1907, and continued until 1942. Small groups of students travelled throughout China and neighbouring areas, producing, like the Manchukuo Expedition, mammoth accounts (450 to over 1,000 pages) reporting on various aspects of Chinese life.[52] These documents helped Japan stake its claim in Manchukuo. They form part of the 'colonial library'[53] of Japanese imperialism, the texts reveal the various discourses at work.

In 1933, the same year as the Expedition, 86 of the 90 students who participated in the annual research trip, went to Manchukuo. Dividing into 26 groups, they scattered throughout the countryside. Like the members of the Expedition, they observed the lack of order, but perhaps because of their youth and training, tended to be more sympathetic to the plight of the Chinese they saw, and questioning of the Japanese sense of racial superiority.[54] Their involvement with Chinese society and culture was a deeper one than that of the Scientific Expedition, which used Western methods of data collection to justify the distance which they placed between themselves and their objects of study.

Endō Ryūji provides us with another example of a Japanese researcher conducting fieldwork. In terms of encounters with local people, he refers briefly to changes in the peace and order. He outlines how bandits and anti-foreign feeling in the Hsaio-shih area in 1928 prevented much fieldwork from being carried out whereas in the 1930s (with occupation by the Japanese) he was able to re-examine some of the localities.[55]

The enthusiasm of Japanese scientists like Endō in persisting with their work, in the face of real danger, shows how determined they were to sort and organise China and Manchuria, to reduce the region to manageable proportions suitable for the pages of academic journals. This can be partly understood by the way in which 'objectivity' assumed a distance between the observer and that being observed, between colonisers and the colonised. The people of Manchuria were not so much the 'other' to the Japanese, but rather a people lower down in the hierarchy in terms of industrial development, hygiene, rationality and order. To show this the Japanese used Western labels to specify and categorise, in effect mapping an Asian people with a Western tool of empire.

Examination of many papers emanating out of Manchuria suggests an emphasis on studies which could be of commercial benefit. The papers show how the mapping of Manchuria depended on economic, as well as strategic factors. But perhaps more importantly, the text of the very many papers produced established, by their sheer volume and continued publication, a type of authority derived from scientific discourse, from 'knowing' Manchuria, which legitimated the Japanese presence there and enabled them to survey the landscape.

What is also clear from scientific publications is the existence of research networks between Manchurian institutions and universities back in Japan. These links facilitated data collection and provided channels for the flow of specimens to the home country. For example, key members of the expedition, Shimizu Saburō and Satō Suteso, belonged to the Japanese-run Shanghai Science Institute. Mori Tamezō was Professor at Keijō University in Seoul.

There were amateur scientists who, while normally pre-occupied by commercial work for Japanese companies in Manchuria, would come across interesting fossils which they would report about to scholars in universities in Japan. For them, it was the centre and the periphery was Manchuria. Publications also show a flow of information to scholars back in Japan, and research funding which emanated from the centre and flowed to the periphery. In the process, Manchuria and its occupants were reduced to fossil-like specimens which could be counted, described, classified and rendered harmless.

In the years after the completion of the Expedition, attitudes to the 'truthfulness' of photography changed. A book published by the English-language newspaper *The Japan Times and Mail* in 1937, attempted to explain *The Truth Behind the Sino–Japanese Crisis*. It was subtitled *Japan Acts to Keep Eastern Civilization Safe for the World*. What is so fascinating is that it was only four years after the expedition that the 'truthfulness' of photographs is questioned. A page of three photographs entitled 'How China Fools Public Abroad' shows a lonely, burnt Chinese baby sitting on railway tracks amidst wartime devastation. Below the photograph is another image depicting the same baby, an older boy, and a man posing them for the photograph. The third photograph shows the standing boy in place of the baby. As the caption reads:

> These photographs show how, through clever posing, war pictures can be made to win the sympathy of people abroad by misrepresenting the truth. The picture at the top is a photograph widely circulated in the United States. In it a Chinese baby is shown as the only apparent survivor in a scene of desolation … In the picture below, at left, which was taken at exactly the same spot as the photograph at the top, a rescue worker is shown placing the child between the tracks, apparently for photographic purposes[56]

On 7 July 1937, a clash occurred between Japanese and Chinese troops at Marco Polo Bridge near Peking. That month, the Japanese Imperial Army and Navy prohibited the publication of photographs deemed to be detrimental to the war effort. In August, fighting broke out in Shanghai which led to a full-scale conflict. In September, imports of photographic equipment into Japan were restricted.[57]

Japanese modernity was indeed a colonial modernity, and colonial space could at times provide an imaginary space in which Japanese could carve out their own dreams. Scientific objectification of Manchukuo in the Expedition's reports facilitated appropriation of its history and its future. While some of the rhetoric was Pan–Asian, it is clear that the expedition was done for the greater glory of the Emperor of Japan and the nation he symbolised.

The expedition also served to reinforce the self-worth of the Japanese, as men, scientists and colonisers. Jehol was virgin territory, and the men could assert themselves there, safe in the knowledge that they had the scientific tools and military might to do so. Photographs referred to in this chapter reinforced the difference between the more urbane members of the expedition to Manchukuo and the 'backward' subjects of territories under Japanese control.

The photographs reflect the eye of Japanese scientists who, whether they liked it or not, became colonising subjects. The emptiness of Jehol reinforced the notion that it was ready for colonisation. Images of the ‘uncivilised’ people were evidence that they could benefit from Japanese medical science and better hygiene.

Through the use of Western science and the camera, the Japanese sought to impose a modernity on the Chinese and people of Manchuria which was entwined with their own colonialist project. We can conceive the use of photography as part of cross-cultural communications, spectatorship which provoked thoughts and action. A certain ‘look’ involves power relations which can subjugate or empower. But the empire could strike back. The Japanese became all too aware that the object of their gaze could manipulate visual images as well. Let us next look more closely at the scientific research that was conducted and the networks that helped sustain it.

Geological research and networks

The ‘informal empire’ of Manchukuo began with the creation of an empire of communication. Telegraph and railway technology provided the infrastructure which facilitated the creation of networks. The most prominent Japanese organisation supporting scientific research in Manchuria was undoubtedly the South Manchuria Railway Company. The SMR established a number of research institutions, two being the Central Laboratory and the Geological Institute in Dairen. These institutions employed scientists who were given the task of finding exploitable resources and developing manufacturing processes which would lead to the creation of new industries. The laboratories authenticated knowledge and lent legitimacy to colonial policy. Such activities or ‘public services’ were, it seems, funded from the earnings of the SMR railway operations and the mines which it operated. They were considered as being part of the industrial and cultural development of Manchuria.

Institutions such as the Manchukuo Institute of Scientific Research and Manchurian museums produced English language research reports which served to disseminate throughout the world the achievements of Japanese colonial science in Manchuria. The museums reminded readers of the reductive nature of the scientific enterprise, housing within their walls and journal pages the gems of knowledge which they had collected. They provided the public face of ‘objective’, ‘non-political’ science. Manchuria would provide knowledge for the rest of the world, and a space in the Asian continent for the Japanese – the research networks between Manchurian institutions and universities back in Japan. These links facilitated data collection and provided channels for the flow of specimens to the home country, and the making of local knowledge global. There were, for example, amateur scientists who, while normally pre-occupied by commercial work for Japanese companies in Manchuria, would come across interesting fossils which they would report about to scholars in universities in Japan. For them, it was the centre and the periphery was Manchuria.

Even before the Manchurian Incident of 1931, the Geological Institute of the South Manchuria Railway Company had published maps which enabled the *Geological Atlas of Eastern Asia* to be compiled by the Tokyo Geographical Society (1929)[58] and distributed throughout the world. But it was not until 1933 that we have major Japanese palaeontological research conducted under the auspices of the First Scientific Expedition to Manchukuo led by Tokunaga. Fossils and human remains were found by Tokunaga during excavations in Harbin.[59] But like the city of Harbin itself which owed much to the presence of Russians, Japanese research built on the work of Russian scholars, notably the work of A.S. Loukashkin and V.V. Ponosoff.[60] Although Russian geologists continued to be affiliated in the 1930s with research institutes taken over by Japanese such as the Institute of Scientific Research, Manchukuo (Tairiku Kagakuin),[61] Japanese primacy in Manchuria meant that Japanese scholars had the upper hand.

Endō Ryūji and Shikama Tokio participated in excavations at Ku-shiang-tun by the Central National Museum of Manchukuo in 1937–8. Three human skulls (the 'Djalainor Man') were found, along with stone implements dating back to the mesolithic period. Their excavation and interest in the remains reflect the quest to trace the origins of humankind. Unfortunately, the disarray caused by the Pacific War resulted in the scattering and loss of materials which had been excavated, and delays in publishing the results.[62]

Endō was a palaeontologist affiliated with the Central National Museum of Manchukuo in Hsinking. He was associated with the pioneer Yabe Hisakatsu, professor at Tohoku University.[63] Endō had worked at the Fu-shun Middle School, then at the Manchuria Teachers' College and then the SMR Educational Institute. During the summer and spring vacation he engaged in fieldwork. He had developed an international network, having spent two years studying at the US National Museum.[64] Another key scholar at the Museum was Noda Mitsuo (Mituo), curator of geology. In the summer of 1934, Noda conducted stratigraphical studies of areas in Southern Manchukuo, under Yabe and Endō's direction.[65] These geologists were part of a group of more than 20 Japanese geologists and paleontologists who were actively engaged in a geological survey of Manchuria.[66]

Fieldwork in Manchuria was a rite of passage for budding geologists and palaeontologists. Sugi Ken'ichi (Kyushu Imperial University) ventured to Southern Manchuria in summer of 1939 and spent a few days at Fu-shun Coalfield. He was interested in the basaltic rocks which could be found among the beds of shale there. He thanks Dr. S. Yamane of the Imperial Geological Survey of Japan for assistance in the chemical analysis of the rock specimens obtained there.[67] Minato Masao from Hokkaido Imperial University was another example of this. He collected fossils in Manchuria in the northern summer of 1941. His research was reported in journals both in Manchuria and back in Japan.[68]

These scholars constituted a network, with nodes in Manchuria, Japan, Korea, and elsewhere in the Empire. Rather than co-opting members in each respective country, the tendency was for Japanese researchers to go abroad, work in Japanese-run institutes, and return with data, publications, and valuable experience. Kon'no Enzō of Kyushu Imperial University dedicates his 1941 paper on research

conducted in northern Korea to ‘the late S. Kawasaki, the former Director of the Geological Survey, Government General of Tyōsen (Chōsen or Korea)’. Most of Kon’no’s introduction is devoted to acknowledging his wide network of Japanese colleagues in geological institutes at the imperial universities of Tokyo, Kyoto, Kyushu, Hokkaido. He also thanks a number of foreign authorities on palaeobotany of European background, but none of Asian background.[69]

Data

By mapping the natural resources of the Empire, the Japanese could discover the geological past and potential future for the land which they appropriated. Scientific illustrations help us to understand the way the land and people were seen. The image of a barren land was transformed into one of scientific and mineral riches, not only in Manchuria and Japan, but as far away as Australia. The local people appear less as collaborators, but more a means of calibrating the land and its features.[70] Japanese geologists were invariably shown in action shots.[71]

Examination of journals and publications held by Waseda University Library show a flow of information to scholars back in Japan, and research funding which emanated from the centre and flowed to the periphery. In the process, Manchuria and its occupants were reduced to specimens or data which could be counted, described, classified and rendered harmless. The papers emanating out of Manchuria suggest an emphasis on studies which could be of commercial benefit. They show how the mapping of Manchuria depended on economic, as well as strategic factors. But perhaps more importantly, the text of the very many papers produced established, by their sheer volume and continued publication, a type of authority derived from scientific discourse, from ‘knowing’ Manchuria, which legitimated the Japanese presence there and enabled them to survey the landscape.

Loss of empire

Despite the loss of empire that came with Japan’s defeat in the Pacific War, Japanese scholars continued to draw on the legacy of colonial science conducted in Manchuria and China, Korea, Taiwan and South-east Asia. In March 1950, the Tokyo Geographical Society inaugurated a project to preserve, compile and publish data which had been collected often under wartime conditions. A three-volume set entitled *Tōa chishitsu kōsanshi* (*Geology and Mineral Resources of East Asia*) was ultimately published in 1952 in Japanese, with a volume devoted to China, Manchuria, and Korea respectively. Some 15 years later, with high economic growth and a renewed pride in Japanese achievement, the University of Tokyo Press published the set in English. Each volume this time had sections on all three areas.[72]

The book set reflected the Americanisation of science in postwar Japan. Publication of the English edition was assisted by the US Geological Survey which supplied maps and assistance in translation, and place names tended to conform to the US Board of Geographic Names.[73] Indeed, the Cold War was seen

by the editor Ogura Tsutomu and his fellow compilers as justifying publication. As the Preface points out to readers, 'since all of China and Manchuria and the northern half of the Korean Peninsula is now closed to Western – and Japanese – geologists'.[74] Some of the articles included were written from memory by the researchers due to the destruction of data. This perhaps helps to account for why the dates of the original articles are not indicated. The lack of dates might be justified by the excuse that 'a few decades are minute in terms of geologic time',[75] but it also draws attention away from the colonial origins of the fieldwork. The references listed at the end of each article show that scientific research cannot escape situatedness in time and place. For the purposes of this chapter, that place was Manchuria, and the time was in the 1930s and 1940s.

Minato was one of three chief editors of the major book *The Geological Development of the Japanese Islands*.[76] This deluxe book, published in 1965, reflects the high production values of Japanese printing, and renewed confidence in things Japanese in the aftermath of the Tokyo Olympics. Despite its focus on Japan, the references contained in the book provide some insight into what became of the colonial network of researchers.

Although Endō continued to draw on his research in Manchuria on his return to Japan, presenting his findings at an international geological conference in 1956,[77] Endō, Minato, Noda and Shikama all went on to conduct research in Japan, with Minato being especially prolific.[78] Shikama was associated with Tohoku University.[79] Minato remained at Hokkaido University as Professor of Geology in the Department of Geology and Mineralogy, Faculty of Science. Noda appears to have found a position in the Department of Earth Sciences in the Faculty of General Education, Kyushu University.[80] Endō appears to have ended his career as a professor at Saitama University.[81]

Conclusion

The collection of data and publication of findings from the fringes of the empire invigorated a network centred in Japan and extending throughout the world. Photography provided important visual evidence and justification for the growing empire. Use of photography in propaganda campaigns did, however, make the public more skeptical of the veracity of the visual image. Individual researchers benefited from their fieldwork abroad and their work reflected well on the organisations to which they were affiliated. The Manchurian Incident in 1931 and the establishment of Manchukuo soon after, provided Japanese scholars with new territory to incorporate as part of their field, more sites to excavate, and more fossils, geological specimens and human remains to classify and differentiate. A scientific network of knowledge emerged which facilitated the management of Manchuria's past, and ultimately helped control its future. Even with Japan's defeat, the scientific knowledge thereby gained continued to have academic currency, albeit in a very different political context. This helps us to understand why science could, in the aftermath of the war, help transform Emperor Hirohito into a more sympathetic public figure.

5 The emperor's sons go to war

Between the wars

By the 1920s, the government had implemented educational measures to base Japanese nationalism on loyalty to the emperor. Attempts were made to replace the moral values of villages which had previously centred on local Shintō deities, the community and the family, with a system which was much more rooted in the nation-state. In this system, the emperor took the place of the deities, and the idea of the community was extended to encompass the state. The mass media provided part of the machinery by which this could be achieved.[1]

The media were encouraged to cover Emperor Hirohito's enthronement ceremonies in 1928. These took place over two sites: Tokyo and Kyoto, despite only five years having lapsed since Tokyo had experienced the great earthquake of 1923. Tokyo was still being rebuilt. Nevertheless, press coverage of the events helped to glamorise the monarchy and remind everyone of the importance of the nation's capital. D.C. Holtom's illustrated book *The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies with an Account of the Imperial Regalia* was published that same year, as part of the efforts to promote greater awareness of the Japanese monarchy amongst English-speaking people. There was certainly a desire to fostering an international image for the monarchy and part of this strategy was linking the royal families in Japan and Britain. A positive association had been made between the imperial institution in both countries when Hirohito visited Britain in 1921 as crown prince. The Prince of Wales reciprocated by visiting Japan the year after.[2] The enhanced visibility of the Japanese monarchy arguably translated into diplomatic power.[3]

The book encouraged favorable comparisons. Complete with three colour plates and many black and white illustrations, it provided readers with a description of the enthronement ceremonies and outlined the history and significance of the events that took place. The year of activities came to a climax with Hirohito and his wife Nagako travelling to the ancient capital of Kyoto. The state procession left via Nijūbashi, the 'Double Bridge' at the entrance to the palace.[4]

It was especially in the 1930s that Japanese men underwent a form of religious indoctrination into State Shintō, which vested authority in the emperor. 'Church' and 'State' came together in the person of the emperor. How could the emperor, the symbol of spiritual unity, be imagined if his body was 'off-limits'? As Zeljko

Cipris has argued, there is little reference to the emperor in the war literature of the 1930s. Rather, the presence of the emperor is communicated by the 'radiant aura' which accompanies the Japanese soldiers doing battle in China. Cipris argues that brightness is a recurring image in the war writings of Ozaki Shiro, Kobayashi Hideo, Hino Ashihei, Hayashi Fumiko, and Ishikawa Tatsuzō. By the Second World War, this is stated quite explicitly in morale lectures given by army officers: 'The Imperial Family is the light, the life, the pride of Japan'.[5] The light emitted by the emperor, descendant of the sun goddess, legitimises and aestheticises the Japanese military effort, sometimes bathing the emperor's sons in a heavenly glow.[6]

The emperor goes to Hokkaido

Emperor Hirohito was portrayed as a godlike figure of authority in the years leading up to the Second World War. The emperor visited Hokkaido during the period 24 September to 12 October 1936. The visit referred to in Japanese as 'Rikugun tokubetsu dai enshū narabi chihō gyōkō' or 'Special Army Maneuvers and Regional Tour of the Emperor' was significant in that it was one of a series of regional tours that served to help mobilise Japan for the war effort. As the name suggests, it fulfilled a dual role of a large scale military exercise and an imperial visit to regional Japan. After the Hokkaido tour, these excursions came to an end.

A book was published by the Hokkaido Government Office in 1937 to commemorate this last special tour, a reminder to the people of Hokkaido that they were part of the nation. The deluxe book is composed of images with very short captions and an itinerary at the back. Photographs take up almost the entire page. It is as if words are not required, and if necessary, out of deference, can be left to the very end. The images of the emperor, up close and far away, transcend the need for explanation. It is as if photographs are deemed sufficiently expressive not to require them.[7] The emperor's image transcended written words and any need for a voice.

The album (*kinen shashinchō*) provides us with a glimpse of how the emperor was presented to the people as a divine, supreme commander (or *tōkan*) who traversed the land by automobile cavalcade and sometimes white horse (see Figure 5.1). The tours vested visible authority in the emperor. In subsequent years, he receded from public gaze. Instead, propaganda films and magazine images alluded to the emperor in a less direct way, appealing to a sense of the sacred via scenes of a pristine Mt Fuji hovering in the background. Such images reminded the Japanese of their proximity to the emperor. After Japan's defeat, Hirohito again went on tour, minus the horse and dressed in quite a different way.

Emperor Hirohito's trip to Hokkaido built upon a variety of ideas about Japanese masculinity, the 'whiteness' of the Japanese, notions of an unbroken imperial line, and the proximity of the Japanese people to that. The trip needs to be contextualised within the history of representations of the emperor, and understood as an extension of that history. One of the major questions this chapter asks is what did the trip signify?

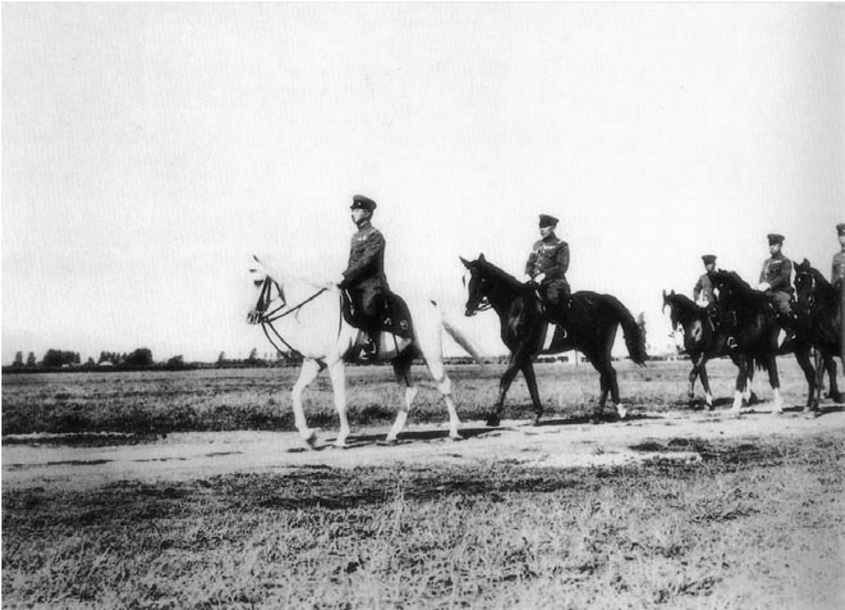


Figure 5.1 Emperor Hirohito dressed in military uniform and on horseback, 1936, taken from *Rikugun tokubetsu dai enshū narabi chihō gyōkō* (*Special Army Maneuvers and Regional Tour of the Emperor*) (Sapporo: Hokkaido Government Office 1937). Collection of the author.

The symbol of the emperor has been a site of contestation and debate. But whatever one's views of his wartime role and degree of responsibility might be, the trip to Hokkaido helps us to see how the figure of Hirohito came to represent that of a wartime military leader. Photographs, albeit taken from a distance, show the production of a self through masculine display and commemoration. The image of the emperor riding a white horse reinforced the notion that he was divine. It was part of a spectacle that, for some reason, abruptly came to an end after this tour.

In a way, the emperor's trip to Hokkaido represented a type of extended ritual performed in a mass culture under the gaze of the camera.[8] All that remains of the trip, for me, is the way in which it is commemorated in an official album of photographs published by the Hokkaido government. It provides us with an opportunity to examine how the emperor was presented to the Japanese people, especially those in Hokkaido, and how the tour served to involve the people of Hokkaido in what was the increasing militarization of Japan.

The tour can be described as a type of ritual if we define it as David Chaney does, as 'a class of occasions which are felt to be peculiarly significant for the collectivity'.[9] We will see in the photographs that this is achieved through the use of distinctive forms of dress and ceremonial settings bordering on theatre. But most importantly, 'they are not put on for commercial benefit or poltical advantage',[10] or at least not overtly political purposes.

While there had been tours to other parts of Japan, the tour to Hokkaido was to be the last for some time. The tour to Hokkaido provided an opportunity for the local people to identify with the emperor and the nation that he represented. In a sense, it was a national mission. As Takashi Fujitani writes, the modern state:

> became a memory machine. It transfigured the physical landscape, recast the emperor's body … and set loose a profusion of other 'mnemonic sites,' ranging from tiny commemorative postage stamps to the emperor's spectacular capital cities and national pageants. The land, the imperial body, and many other sites were marked by signs that symbolized both the nation's timeless, unique and splendid past and its prosperity, power, and capacity to progress.[11]

Yet, as Fujitani points out, this also involved 'the writing out, the erasure or marginalization, of alternative meanings and memories'.[12] The declaration of Hokkaido as *terra nullius* and the formal dispossession of the Ainu lands during the Meiji period go uncommented on. Rather, Hokkaido is portrayed as the frontier, a place that is belatedly embracing modernity.

Without the collusion of the media and the photographer's camera, the ritual would have been limited to only the participants. It is fascinating to consider the interdependence of the mass media and civic ritual that Chaney writes of.[13] Like an exhibition catalogue that remains long after the show has ended, the commemorative volume published in the wake of the tour was an important ingredient of the spectacle.

Close attention to the materiality of the book will help us understand how the media was able to extend the reach of the emperor (and the state), and endow him with a particular persona. We know that the book is special when we first glimpse its gold brocade covers. Bound on the right hand side in traditional Japanese manner, we see two brown tassels falling from it. We open the book, although it would be more appropriately termed a photo album, and we come across the first image of the emperor.

The emperor is clothed in military dress and in the background we see an image of the imperial palace in Tokyo and the iconic image of Nijū-bashi, the double-arch stone bridge, framed softly by the branches of a tree (see Figure 5.2). In order to reinforce his religious significance, we are shown a scene from late in the tour when the emperor pays his respects to the Sapporo Shrine on 7 October. The shrine fell into the prewar category of Kanpeidaisha, the Second Highest Class.

We then return to the emperor's actual departure from the imperial palace in Tokyo. We see a cavalcade of cars leaving the palace grounds (*kyūiki on hatsuren* or imperial car departure from palace grounds) on 24 September. We thus lose sight of the body of the emperor and see him only distantly, and fleetingly, during his tour of Hokkaido, as one of the locals might glimpse him. We see him using various modes of transport, travelling by car, horse and train.

On 26 September, the emperor reached Muroran and travelled to Asahikawa. From 27–28 September he visited Kushiro and Nemuro, and then went on to the

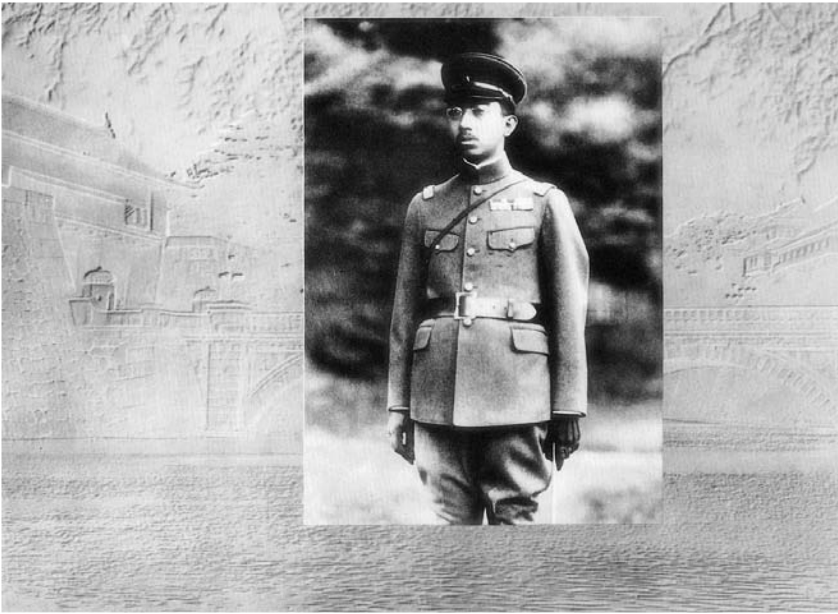


Figure 5.2 Emperor Hirohito dressed in military uniform against the backdrop of the Imperial Palace, Tokyo, taken from *Rikugun tokubetsu dai enshū narabi chihō gyōkō* (*Special Army Maneuvers and Regional Tour of the Emperor*) (Sapporo: Hokkaido Government Office, 1937). Collection of author.

Obihiro region on 29 September. On 30 September, the emperor reached Ōki-mura. From 1–2 October, he visited Sapporo and from 3 October presided over military exercises. On 6 October the emperor inspected the troops as part of a military review and parade (*kanpeiki*). He subsequently returned to the Sapporo region (6–8 October) and on 9 October travelled to Otaru, then on to Hakodate on 10 October, and on 12 October he arrived back in Tokyo.

The emperor is not depicted as a man of the people for the only people we glimpse are local dignitaries lined up to greet him or among senior military men. We do not see workers, but only displays and lifeless exhibitions of their work or handicrafts. Apart from military parades, we see little of the emperor in action. Rather, it is his absence from rooms that we notice. We do, however, see the emperor actually visiting the Schools of Science and Engineering at Hokkaido Imperial University. Even in the late 1930s being linked to science and technology, or industry, had positive connotations.

In a way, the emperor was the embodiment of a type of masculine identity and the tour to Hokkaido represented a performance of national identity. It is difficult to gain much sense of the feelings and thoughts of the 'real' emperor and perhaps because of this there has been so much debate about his wartime responsibility. A sense of the emperor as a real person was not necessary as whether visible or not,

there was a sense that there was a type of mystical radiance that emanated from him whether he could be seen or not.

Like all good journeys, this one has closure. We return to Nijūbashi in Tokyo where we started. What it shows is how Tokyo displaced Kyoto as the 'locus of tradition'.[14] The location of the emperor in Tokyo established a tradition that the album, in its own way, reinforced. Perhaps Hokkaido, too, could become part of a collective national past, albeit an invented one.

By 1937, the year of the outbreak of hostilities with China, there was a growing awareness among the Japanese that photographs (and science) could be open to interpretation. The emergence of photography coincides with the expansion of the Japanese Empire and a growing objectification of nature. Amateur photography became more popular than ever, with the March 1937 issue of the magazine *Amachua kamera* (*Amateur Camera*) containing articles on photography for *sarariman*, factory workers, artists, hobbyists, and school children. Photography, it seemed, was for everyone.[15]

Japanese nationalist ideologies played themselves out not only by photos, but by constructing rigid social constructions of the masculine which linked men irrevocably to the state. The power of the state flowed through a network of disciplinary codes and institutions intent on conformity, discipline and submission. The norms and standards which demarcated ideals of manliness were disseminated in schools and in military training, through strict regulations, via Shintō beliefs, and images propagated by the mass media. The ultimate reinforcement of these norms in Japanese military culture saw Japanese soldiers socialised into merciless aggressors. At the same time, however, soldiers were subjugated to a status as servants of the emperor.[16]

Mt Fuji

In addition to literature, propaganda films and magazine images often appealed to a sense of the sacred, creating an identity for the Japanese which transcended the corrupting influences of the West.[17] This transcendence emanated from the purity of the imperial house, and was often flagged by images of a pristine Mt Fuji, hovering in the background. They reminded the Japanese of their proximity to the emperor, that they were supposedly related by blood to the imperial family, and that the emperor was the blood father and patriarch.[18] Photographs of the emperor and his family were inserted into family albums, reinforcing such beliefs (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4). According to this logic, every Japanese shared some of the divinity of the emperor and because of that, were the chosen people.[19]

In the 1937 issue of *Travel in Japan*, Kurahashi Sōzō wrote of how:

> … the very heart of primary school education, is to be found in the Imperial Photograph and the Imperial Rescript on Education, possessed by every primary school in the Empire. On certain fixed days each year the Imperial Photograph is disclosed in the auditorium of the school, and the Imperial Rescript on Education is read by the principal of the school.

Figure 5.3 Emperor Hirohito in bemedalled, military-style dress, taken from an old, unknown Japanese soldier's album. Collection of the author.

Figure 5.4 Emperor Hirohito, Empress Nagako and their seven children, taken from an old, unknown Japanese soldier's album. Collection of the author.

The article was illustrated by a photograph of Mt Fuji being projected on a screen in a darkened classroom of young boys. The caption read 'Object lesson through cinematograph'.[20]

When the film *Fuji no chishitsu* (*The Geology of Mt Fuji*) was released in 1940, there were criticisms about the disrespectful way the national symbol was treated.[21] It is possible that Kamei Fumio, who wrote the script, intended the film to be an attack on the antiscientific nature of worship of the mountain. After the bombing of Pearl Harbour in 1941, Japanese war films became more blatantly nationalistic. War films focussed on service to the nation, and the training of young men for war service was one of the popular themes.[22] *Fuji ni chikafu: Shōnen senshahei kunren no kiroku* (*Pledging Oneself Before Mt Fuji: A Record of the Training of Young Tankmen*) (1943) is an hour-long film which shows the day to day operations of a training school for youths aged between 15 and 18 years, located under the benign gaze of Mt Fuji.[23] It is in the light (not the shadow) of the mountain that nationalist, racial and imperial discourses come together.[24] We are regularly reminded by the appearance of Mt Fuji that 'Japaneseness' is linked to notions of purity, racial and cultural homogeneity.[25]

The first five minutes of the film show the energy of youth: lots of running, shouts and cries. This is followed by the image of Mt Fuji. We then see five minutes of the boys undergoing training: camoulflage, in *kendō* battle, being lectured to about the

mechanics of tanks, and doing laundry. This is then interrupted by another shot of the mountain. After footage showing them keeping themselves clean and undergoing various forms of training, we reach halfway into the film, and rather predictably, another view of Mt Fuji interrupts. An actual military exercise follows. One of the boy soldiers is shown at home celebrating New Year with his parents, before we return to the battlefield where we see tanks in combat. On a map, we are shown the progress made in battle by the boys, probably simulated. Through a slit-window of a tank we see the eyes of the boys, indicating that it was through their eyes that we had seen the previous action. At the end of the film, the full faces of the boys radiate with an innocence which reflects the light of Mt Fuji. It is as though the war is a performance, and that the boys have been prematurely thrust into manhood.

The film shows how masculinist and nationalist ideologies were linked during military training.[26] Japanese men underwent various forms of discipline, in order to become loyal subjects who would fight and die for the nation. The Japanese used notions associated with the *samurai* code of *bushidō* to justify various practices.[27] The battle cries and *kendō* were ways in which the boys were socialised into the military culture. These activities were reminders of an invented tradition which Tokugawa scholars had constructed as a set of military virtues, emphasising discipline and loyalty, to counter earlier images of *samurai* as more independent men.[28] For Japanese soldiers during the Pacific War, this sense of having a superior spiritual energy was important when facing their materially stronger adversaries. They were encouraged to think that while the enemy might have more impressive physiques, they were less determined than the Japanese. Australians were considered as having 'just big bodies, with small hearts'.[29]

In the film, the Japanese audience was reminded of the person and the authority of the emperor by Mt Fuji, but away from the cinema and on the battlefield, various ceremonial observances served this purpose. Practices included daily bowing in the direction of the Imperial Palace at the start of each morning; reading of the Imperial Rescript of the Meiji emperor; and the celebration of special events connected with the Japanese emperor, past and present; and deep respect for the regimental flag which symbolised the power of the emperor.[30]

Despite their supposed ability to transcend the corporeality of their bodies, in death it was important to ensure that some part of the bodies of Japanese servicemen was repatriated back to Japan. Some soldiers left locks of their hair behind, in the hope that it might be memorialised at the Yasukuni Shrine. Sometimes not all bodies could be retrieved. In one case when a company of 21 men lost their lives en route to Lae, only three bodies were able to be returned, by submarine. These were cremated and the ashes divided among 21 boxes, which were then sent home.[31]

The wartime poetry of Kusano Shinpei (1903–88) takes Mt Fuji as its theme, and helps us to understand the need to repatriate Japanese bodies. Probably written when the poet served as an adviser to the Ministry of Publicity, in the puppet government of Wang Ching-wei (1883–1944), in Canton in the early 1940s and published in 1943, the poems are nationalistic in tone, and combine mythology with Pan–Asianism. His poems on Mt Fuji, which can be considered an extension of his work in propaganda, conveniently created a site where various ideologies

intersected.[32] Mt Fuji was a holy mountain, symbolic of Japan. The further one was from the mountain (also read emperor) the darker it would become. Japanese soldiers became nostalgic for its light, and the whiteness of its snow-capped peak. This can be seen in the 'South Seas March Song' composed by Major-General Horii Tomotarō, who was stationed in Rabaul and Buna:

> Vigorous youths of the Southern Seas
> Who have been reared by the sea,
> The time to test your strength has come.
> It is delightful to leave a wake behind,
> Cleaving the black sea.
> Where are you Japan? Your light cannot be seen.[33]

In these sometimes obscure ways, the emperor ideology and the cult of the emperor was important in how the war was presented and consumed.[34]

Women must also bear some of the responsibility for sending their sons into the 'darkness'. As Ann Stoler has written, there have been a number of studies which have explored the interplay of state authority and gender, viewing state building and empire building as familially generated social processes.[35] Recent historical research on women who participated in wartime patriotic groups suggests that men are not the only propagators of national ideology.[36] In a letter written by Yamamoto Uki to her son were the following rousing words:

> In spite of my age, I am practising how to handle a bamboo spear. If the enemy comes, I will strike to kill. You are my son – and yet you are not my son. You are the son of the Emperor. Your body is not yours – it belongs to the Emperor. Therefore you must take good care of yourself.[37]

Freda Freiberg has examined the film 'The Story of Tank Commander Nishizumi' (1940) where the military unit is portrayed as a family, with the emperor as father, commander as mother, and soldiers as loving brothers. Unlike in Hollywood films, the only appearance of a woman is in a photograph of a soldier's mother or wife, just prior to death in battle. Women and romance are decidedly lacking.[38]

The emperor in Allied propaganda

Given the reverence shown to the emperor, Allied psychological warfare agents realised that attempts to discredit the emperor could spur Japanese soldiers on to fight even more ferociously. Inappropriate exposure of the emperor in propaganda would be viewed as defacement, so it was generally agreed that personal attacks against the emperor would be refrained from. Some people begged to differ, most notably General Douglas MacArthur's Headquarters (GHQ).[39] Around 1944, GHQ instructed that some Japanese language propaganda leaflets be produced and distributed by the Far Eastern Liaison Office, in Brisbane, Australia. These were at variance with political warfare directives and the advice of its own Japan

experts, that there would be no attacks on the emperor. General Sir Thomas Blamey made representations to General MacArthur, and the response was that such matters were operational and not a political matter. Many memoranda were exchanged between GHQ and Australian military authorities.

It was all too tempting for Allied propagandists to use the image of the emperor against the Japanese. They challenged the emperor's actual power by drawing attention to some of the military setbacks of the Japanese armed forces. The leaflets which were to be distributed were of the following format. They carried in the top-left corner large characters which said 'What is your emperor doing about this?', to the right of which was a frontal photo of the emperor in either ceremonial, bemedalled uniform or a side shot of him clutching a pair of binoculars and wearing what appears to be combat dress. Both portray him as rather passively looking at the viewer, while the Japanese forces and their defences are destroyed. It is almost as if the extended arm of the emperor is unable to prevent Japan's defeat and demise. An arrow in the shape of a sleeved arm, which introduces some action into the image, questions his omnipotency by pointing to a photo in the lower half of the leaflet which variously portrays: a Japanese transport plane being shot down, a Japanese garrison at Salamaua in New Guinea being bombed, and a Japanese destroyer being destroyed at Cape Gloucester, New Britain (see Figure 5.5). Explanations of what the scenes depict are given in characters alongside.[40]

The sacred space occupied by the emperor was a highly charged one, which the Allied Forces were fearful of transgressing. Unbeknownst to them, the imperial family was occasionally the butt of jokes, toilet-wall graffiti, and subversive remarks by the Japanese people themselves. Some members of the public protested about the law that required the emperor's picture to appear in public institutions. They saw the emperor as nothing more than wall decoration. Newspaper images of members of the royal family were sometimes sent to officials with rude comments written over them, or stuck on to telegraph poles for all to see.[41] While to some, the elevated image of the emperor invited defacement, the consequences were uncertain. The leaflets are acknowledgement of the power of his image. They tried to disprove his actual power and loosen the belief in his god-like status. The altercation between GHQ and Australian authorities reflects the tension which this caused. The demystification of the emperor would have to await Japan's defeat and Allied Occupation. Yet even then, his body and his actions could not be properly scrutinised. There was still some magic left in the state and the role of the emperor.[42]

Part of the reluctance of the Japanese to describe the Pacific War as a battle against white supremacism is that ideas of hybrid selves had been used to argue that the Japanese were in fact white. Japanese settlement in Manchuria and racial mixing were part of the drive towards the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. These images sat uncomfortably with representations of the body of the emperor as white, bright and pure. The making of a Japanese imperial order introduced anxieties over what constituted Japaneseness. And Japan's alliance with Germany and Italy meant that any crass description of the war as a conflict between white and non-white was inappropriate.[43]

Figure 5.5 Australian propaganda leaflet portraying the emperor and a Japanese destroyer being destroyed at Cape Gloucester, New Britain A1067/1, PI 46/2/2/21, Australian Archives, Canberra.

1940 Tokyo Olympics

The original proposal to schedule the Olympics in Tokyo directly after the 1936 Berlin Olympics, seemed to bond Germany and Japan. Tokyo was awarded the Olympics the day prior to the opening of the Games in Berlin in 1936, but by 1938, Japan's conflict with China and shortages in building materials, especially steel, meant that it had little option but to withdraw from hosting the Games.[44]

Kanō Jigorō (1860–1938), a pioneering figure in the development of *jūdō* and the Olympic movement in Japan, reflected how Japanese could embrace both the old and new. He adapted techniques from various schools of the martial art of *jūjutsu* to form the basis of his new *jūdō*, a sport more grounded in the modern science of physiology and dynamics. He established the Japan Amateur Sports Association in 1911 as the body to select Olympic representatives, and he was instrumental in winning the 1940 Olympics for Tokyo.[45]

The Japanese Government also strategically planned to hold the International Exposition of Japan in 1940 at Tokyo and Yokohama, in order to commemorate the 2,600th anniversary of the accession to the throne of Emperor Jinmu, the first emperor of Japan, 'and his illustrious successors who have ruled over Japan in an unbroken line for 26 centuries'.[46] This is despite the fact that most professional historians did not believe that Jinmu had begun his reign in 660 BC.[47] The war with China also did not help. It was not surprising that like the Olympics, the Exposition did not come to fruition.[48] It would not be until the postwar period when the first Tokyo Olympiad would be held.

The Olympics and Expo were major international events which, if held in 1940, would have served to legitimate the Japanese empire. Almost a quarter of a century later, the Olympics served a different purpose – an opportunity to welcome Japan back to the family of nations and to celebrate its postwar reconstruction and economic growth. Both the prewar and postwar plans to hold the Olympics are evidence of the syncretism of Japanese culture in which a type of code-switching occurs. Representations of Japanese identity can be fluid, and alternate between one rooted in Japanese (and Asian) traditions and one more closely linked with the West.[49] Japan, it was felt, was uniquely placed to take leadership in Asia as it brought together both East and West. Indeed, Japan could potentially 'lead the world to a higher level of cultural synthesis that surpassed Western modernism itself'.[50]

Technological development

The Olympic Games were not only a celebration but also a stimulus for further technological development. Shin Mizukoshi has written of how the 1940 Olympics encouraged engineers to develop television technology in the hope of telecasting Japan's glory. The Olympics were to be but one of a number of national events which would feature television technology, from the late 1930s to the 1940s. These included the *Kōha Teishin Tenrankai* (*Asian Communications Exhibition*), *Shisō Senden Tenrankai* (*Ideological Propaganda Exhibition*), and *Kagayaku Gijutsu Tenrankai* (*Brilliant Technology Exhibition*).[51] While one might not immediately

link the Olympics with technology and propaganda, in Japan's case there is a clear relationship.

The same confidence which prompted Japan's proposal to host the Olympics in 1940 can also be seen in the development of railways. In prewar Japan, trains served as agents for Japanese expansion. A part of Japan's expansionist policy for Asia was the first 'bullet super-express' which was running by 1939. Visitors to Manchukuo could apparently travel the 944 km between Dairen and Harbin in 12.5 hours by riding the 'stream-lined, ultra modern super-express "Asia"'. Reports describe it as having provided roomy, air-conditioned comfort for passengers, 'the last word in speed and comfort'. Maximum operating speed was said at the time to have been 140 km/hr.[52] The early attempts to develop television (communications) and the very real expansion of railways (mass transportation) were part of attempts to establish in Japan the 'modern apparatus of circulation'.[53] Such technologies worked to increasingly globalise the Japanese, introduced new forms of modernity, facilitated social cohesion and at the same time aided the movement and migration of people from Japan to other parts of the empire.

Overcoming modernity

In July 1942, a symposium was held in Tokyo entitled 'Kindai no chōkoku' ('Overcoming Modernity'). It was organised by Kawakami Tetsutarō, with support from the leftist literary magazine *Bungakkai* (*Literary World*). Participants discussed modern Western civilisation and its reception in Japan, against the backdrop of the Pacific War. The symposium provided the intellectuals who attended with an opportunity to rethink modernity. Some equated modern with the West. There was the hope that Japan might take this Western-inspired modernity to the next stage and that it might herald the beginning of an era where traditional Japanese cultural values might emerge more strongly.[54]

The symposium participants can be roughly divided into three groups: the *Literary World* circle, the Kyoto School of Philosophy, and the Japan Romantic School. The latter faction placed great value on the traditional beauty of Japanese culture and longed for an alternative world order outside of the modern which involved the creation of an alternative system of representation in which the centrality of reason was replaced by beauty.[55] Kamei Katsuichirō, a member of the Japan Romantic School faction and also the *Literary World* circle, criticised film and photography for producing images which, while rich in detail, were unable to capture the shadows and nuances of what was being photographed. While photomechanical forms of reproduction enabled the wide distribution of images, they failed to transmit the aura of an artwork, person or event that was photographed. Kamei felt that it was no longer a question of humans mastering machines but more frequently one of being unconsciously being made a slave to machines. The popularity of films and photography was, in his opinion, bordering on this.[56]

The role of photography and the cinema in the Americanisation of Japanese culture led some intellectuals to call for a return to more traditional cultural values

during the Pacific War. The film critic Tsumura Hideo commented on how the photographs of Deanna Durbin and Tyrone Power were found everywhere, evidence of the popularity of American movies in Japan. Film was seen as the catalyst for the Americanisation of Asia. Nevertheless, Tsumura was all too aware of the usefulness of film in helping to create a new order. It was in documentaries by Leni Riefenstahl such as *Triumph of the Will* (1934) that 'a true overcoming of the modern spirit' could be discovered.[57] Attempts to somehow separate Japanese and American mass culture were destined for failure as the latter had become too strongly integrated into everyday life. In postwar Japan, the Japanese embraced an American-inspired modernity. The nation looked decidedly towards the future. Japan, like the emperor, was quick to reinvent itself, using science and rationality to distance itself from the past.

6 The emperor, imperial tours and the Tokyo Olympics

The emperor in defeat and decline

The surrender of the emperor was broadcast throughout the nation at noon on 15 August 1945, giving a voice to the site of so much focussed attention. The Court language the emperor spoke was barely intelligible and required translation into everyday Japanese.[1] In a way, his utterances about the war, and the degree of agency he possessed, continue to be interpreted and speculated about to this very day. The visualisation of the emperor had been successful but it was the first time that most Japanese had heard him speak. In an article entitled 'Japan Surrendered', the *Asahi shinbun* correspondent Okada Seizō compared the situation with the opening scene of Charlie Chaplin's film *City Lights: A Comedy Romance in Pantomime* (1931), a silent film with synchronised musical accompaniment. A large statue entitled 'Peace and Prosperity' is about to be unveiled before hundreds of members of the public.[2] The mayor is the first dignitary to speak. Instead of his voice, however, the audience hears the sounds of a kazoo. He comes across sounding like a demented person or a whimpering child. The voice of the next dignitary, a spokesperson for a women's club, sounds similarly bad, only higher pitched.[3] The scene served to make fun of figures of authority, and what they had to say, but can also be interpreted as referring to the poor sound quality of many of the early talking pictures that had just appeared.[4]

Okada felt that the emperor's speech was similar to that of the mayor's in that most people could not really understand what was being said until the next morning's newspapers had reported it in print. Okada's article reflects the highly visual nature of everyday life in Japan. When reaching for ways to express what had occurred, he turned to a foreign film – not any film, however. Charlie Chaplin was extremely popular in Japan. He was able to recoup the production costs of many of his films from the Japanese market alone.[5] Other Japanese also framed their memories of the day they heard the emperor's voice by alluding to film. Aihara Yū, the wife of a farmer from Shizuoka prefecture remembered the experience like an old, black and white newsreel.[6]

It is significant that immediately after the war, during the Allied Occupation of Japan, imperial visits were revived once more.[7] While Emperor Hirohito showed that he was a monarch of the people, his visits also served to unite the population

during a potentially divisive time. However, given the loaded image of Mt Fuji and its imperialistic connotations, Occupation film policy prohibited depictions of that holy mountain, along with any representations of samurai values.[8] But pictures could speak a thousand words. Japan's defeat saw an emasculation of its military forces, and of the emperor. A photograph taken on 27 September 1945, juxtaposed the body of the emperor against the bulk of General Douglas MacArthur (see Figure 6.1). It was one of three photographs taken at what was the first meeting between the emperor and MacArthur. The other two photographs were rejected as one showed MacArthur with his eyes closed and the other depicted the emperor with his mouth open.[9] It was fortunate that there was one image that was deemed acceptable. It famously conveyed the powerful message that it was folly for the Japanese to have thought that they might defeat such a towering foe. Apart from the differences in physiques, and the changed power-relations which the juxtaposition represented, the unemotive face of the emperor reveals little. The double portrait does not so much reveal the emperor's feelings as to mask them.[10]

As Irokawa Daikichi points out, postwar media coverage of the emperor waxed and waned in the postwar period. The years from 1947 to 1950 (when the emperor toured the nation) were the time of intense coverage. The symbolic power of the emperor continued on after Japan's defeat. This owed something to the example of the British royal family. In late 1945, the emperor was given a book in English on the British monarch which included photographs showing the king mingling with the people and even visiting coal mines. It sent a powerful and timely message to Hirohito.[11] During his visit to Osaka in 1947, the emperor walked near the crowds who waited to see him (see Figure 6.2), duly inspected public infrastructure such as waterworks (see Figure 6.3), and acknowledged the power of the press by visiting the printing plant of the newspaper *Mainichi shinbun* (see Figure 6.4)

Postwar photographs of the emperor effectively re-narrate the story of his life and cast him as a man of peace, of science, and of family. Indeed, we can view the emperor's life as a series of transformations, from warrior to an almost salaryman-like existence. His transformation into the people's emperor reflected the democratic aspirations of the Japanese people. The media itself and the very reproductibility of images served to democratise the appeal of the emperor, allowing access to him by one and all.

A black and white photograph of the emperor appeared in *The South China Morning Post* (c. 1949). The caption read 'A "democratic" monarch in the making: Once a virtual prisoner, victim of centuries of tradition in the Palace at Tokyo, Emperor Hirohito of Japan now mixes far more freely in circles outside the Palace'. The bespectacled emperor seems to be trying to smile, with a partly open mouth and the sun shining on the left-side of his face. His face almost fills the entire frame of the camera.[12]

The emperor made many tours of the country during the Occupation period (1945–52), as part of the remaking of his image. The Allied Translator and Interpreter Section of the Military Intelligence Section of General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ SCAP) produced a report in August 1949 concerning current attitudes to the emperor. Media reports at the time

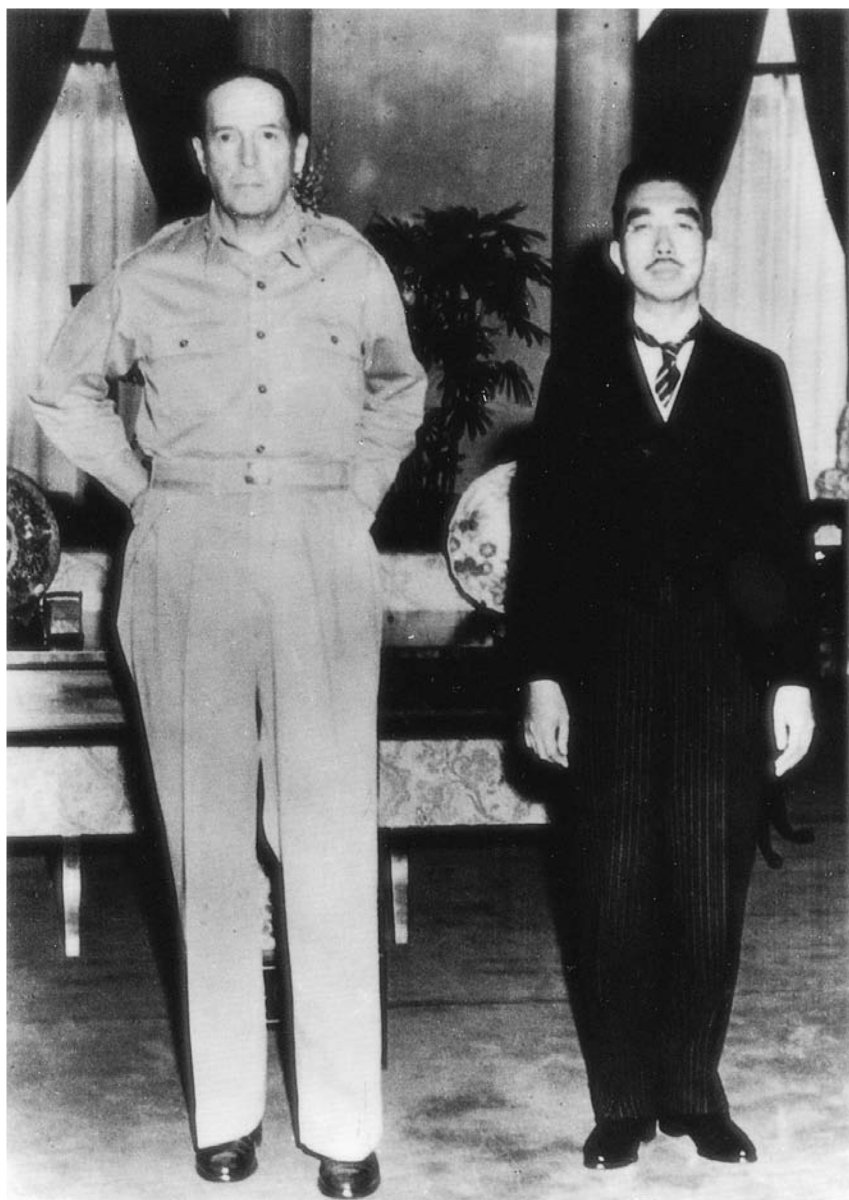


Figure 6.1 Emperor Hirohito and General Douglas MacArthur at the US Embassy in Tokyo, 27 September 1945. Photograph: Yuichi 'Jackson' Ishizaki. Courtesy: Kyodo News International, New York.

Figure 6.2 The emperor acknowledges the crowd during a visit to Osaka, 1947. Photograph: W.H. Freeman. Australian War Memorial Negative Number 133228.

Figure 6.3 The emperor inspects waterworks in Osaka, 1947. Australian War Memorial Negative Number 133214.

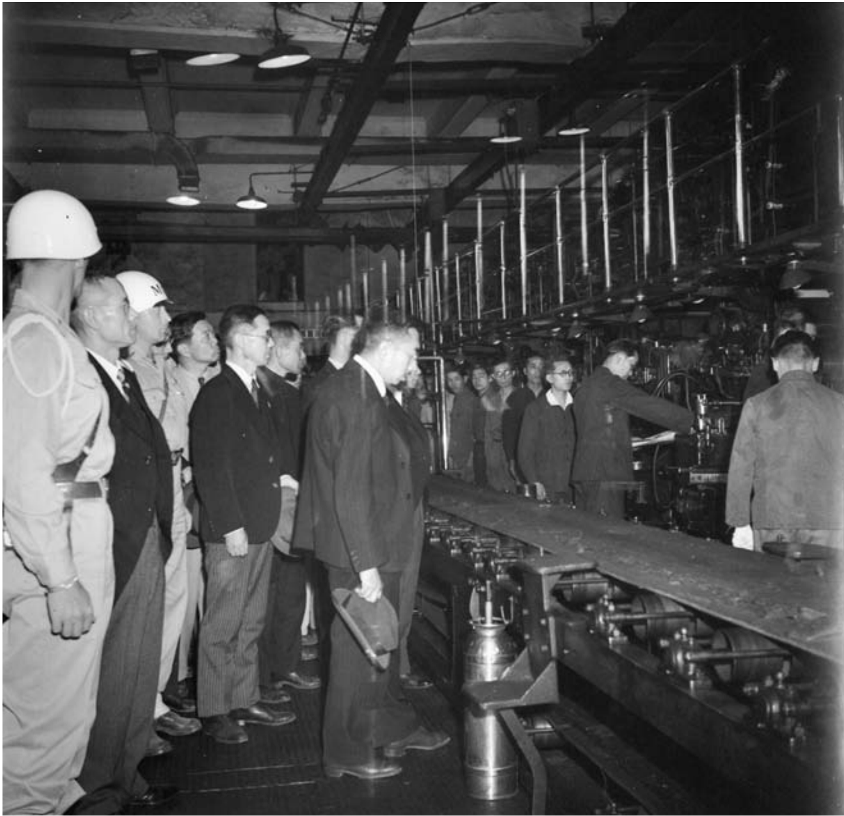


Figure 6.4 The emperor watches the printing press of the newspaper *Mainichi Shinbun*, Osaka, 1947. Photograph: W.H. Freeman. Australian War Memorial Negative Number 133209.

of a tour to Kyūshū in May 1949 suggested that he remained very popular among the people. This, it was argued, reflected public acceptance of the emperor's new role as a symbol of the nation rather than as a divine ruler. Despite the adulation, critics continued to call for the emperor's abdication and the abolition of the Imperial institution.[13]

The *South China Morning Post* photograph reflected what the weekly magazine *Shūkan asahi* (circulation 80,000) reported as a more intimate relationship between the emperor and his people. In contrast to previous, traditional practice where the crowds along a route would bow low and remain silent, crowds now greeted the emperor with applause. In a roundtable discussion reported in the magazine, an Asahi journalist suggested that this should be the new etiquette. The journalist approvingly commented that the emperor 'behaved like a man and not like a god'.[14]

Photographs were an important part of accounts of the more human emperor. One which appeared in the monthly *Gekkan Nishi Nippon* (circulation 27,000)

which was published in Fukuoka by the *Nishi Nippon* newspaper, showed the emperor waving his hat to the crowd. As the article movingly reported:

> The Emperor now walks with the people. Whether waving his hat in an atom bombed area or shaking the soil encrusted hand of a farmer or walking deep down into a coal pit, he is no different from any of us. Let us stop talking about his responsibility for the 'defeat of the time' and share our joys with him; let us encourage one another and together consider the future of a new Japan.[15]

This eloquently shows how the new image of the emperor, reinforced by photography, imperial royal tours and media reports, helped to build a new Japan that, rightly or wrongly, did not come to terms with its colonial and wartime past and looked steadfastly to the future.

A symposium on 'Intellectuals and the Emperor System' was reported on in a mid-1949 issue of the monthly magazine *Hokkoku bunka*, published in Kanazawa in Ishikawa prefecture. The papers were published as articles in the magazine. The last of the seven articles was by Suzuki Masaharu, who was a professor at Kanazawa Teacher's College. He contrasted the hypnotic worshipfulness of the Japanese during the emperor's trip to the Hokuriku region in 1948, to the affinity between the British monarch and his people that he saw in the film *London Olympics*. In the British film, he observes a more 'natural flow of familiarity and courtesy' and 'close contact with ordinary life'.[16] He called for efforts to elevate the national consciousness of the Japanese people rather than getting rid of the emperor. Indeed, it would be a film on the Tokyo Olympics that would illustrate that such a sense of national identity had emerged by 1964. It is clear that media reports on the movements of the emperor helped fan public interest.

The *Evening Post* newspaper of Tokyo (1 January 1948) reported that on a tour of Shimonoseki at the southern tip of the main island of Honshu, 400 Japanese newspaper reporters and photographers greeted the emperor at the railway station.[17] This media interest continued. *The Christian Science Monitor* (31 March 1950) observed that on a recent tour of the island of Shikoku, 'there was such a mob of Japanese news photographers seeking human-interest shots that they nearly knocked him off his feet'.[18]

In a secret memo dated 5 January 1948, the historian and diplomat E.H. Norman reported on the tours on behalf of the Canadian Liaison Mission in Tokyo which he headed from August 1946 through to October 1950.[19] There was an Imperial train which ran in two parts. The first consisted of five or six coaches which carried lower-ranking officials, police and a large contingent of journalists and photographers.[20]

The main train followed 10 or 15 minutes later at a safe distance, in case of sabotage. That part of the train also consisted of five or six coaches but much grander. Even this portable space, occupied by the emperor as the train sped through the countryside, was deeply symbolic. The emperor occupied the central coach. The carriage was decorated ornately with fine wood and metal work. A large

golden chrysanthemum on the outside indicated the coach's special status. Even senior members of the royal retinue treated this space as one not to be violated. The senior chamberlain who rode in one of the front coaches of the main train would not pass through the emperor's coach to access the rear coaches. Rather, he would have to await a station stop in order to proceed.[21]

Norman reported that the crowds that awaited roadside to greet the emperor were actually highly organised and far from spontaneous. They 'were lined up … according to profession or sex with tablets indicating the category of each group'.[22] The emperor and his retinue kept their distance by generally walking on the opposite side of the road to where the people were assembled.

The emperor's passage through the countryside, even at a distance, was nevertheless memorialised by the erection of small structures commemorating where the emperor had stopped. There was seldom direct contact between the emperor and the people, or for that matter with the local soil. The emperor tended to walk on soft carpet wherever he went. The tours showed that the public were still in awe of the emperor. Norman reported that the Imperial Household Bureau treated the emperor 'as a virtual prisoner, to be exhibited to the populace as a sort of totem or mascot'.[23]

The postwar tours, like those in the 1930s, came to an end with a final tour to Hokkaido in 1954. Was it surprising that Hokkaido always came last? The emperor visited every prefecture except Okinawa.[24] This reinforced the belief that the Okinawans were different. Not only did they have a language and history that was different from that of mainland Japanese, but the emperor and other leaders had, in the final stages of the Pacific War, decided to sacrifice Okinawa in a brutal battle with the Allied Forces. Okinawa was expendable. Despite the official end of the Allied Occupation in 1952, American troops remained in Okinawa. The archipelago remained under direct US military control until 1972, and US military bases remain to this very day.[25]

Photographs of the emperor on tour captured a special moment in Japan's history. They provided what can be described as 'images of national belonging',[26] and marked the end of the war and a new beginning. But the emperor was soon to recede from the public gaze.

The emperor and the promotion of industry

The words *fukoku kyōhei* (rich nation, strong army) had been used to spur the development of industry during the Meiji period.[27] Emperor Meiji attended events promoting national interests, and the media was encouraged to cover the events. Even after the death of Emperor Meiji, the Dowager Empress, his consort, continued to promote industry. In 1917, she visited the headquarters of Gunze Raw Silk Manufacturing Company in Ayabe city in Kyoto. The visit was in recognition of the company's contribution to industry. It was fitting that the Dowager Empress visited the company. Early in the Meiji period, images of the emperor and empress cultivating silkworms within the palace, with the help of ladies-in-waiting, encouraged the nation to be industrious (see Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5 ‘Meiji fujin fūzokuga kōi yōsan’ (‘Custom of Women in the Meiji Period: Cultivation of Silkworms at the Highest Levels’). Lithograph: Ariyama Teijirō, Tokyo, 1892. Collection of the author.

Some 20 years later, the company was still reminiscing about the visit in a handsome, green, leather-bound publication aimed at foreign clients and business associates. Gunze was first established in 1896, and by the late 1930s, it boasted 32 filatures throughout Japan and 20,000 employees. Although, in the heavily illustrated book, it attributed its success to close relations with thousands of sericulturists and cocoon producers in Japan, as well as textile and hosiery manufacturers in the United States, the Gunze company publication remarked that:

> The Gunze Raw Silk Mfg Co., Ltd. never forgets this highest honor [of being accorded a visit by the Dowager Empress], and in order to show our profound gratitude for the gracious favour thus bestowed on our firm, we have redoubled our efforts in the solution of most difficult problems in our chosen field of silk industry.[28]

On the opposite page, a flag pole flying the *hinomaru* (circle of the sun) echoes these remarks. As if the company awaits another imperial visit, a photograph of one of the ‘Drawing Rooms for Distinguished Visitors’ is shown. While sumptuous Western-style furnishings are depicted, the room is empty. Below the two photographs, we see a modern, open-plan office with both male and female

office workers, and on the next page, we are shown internal and external views of the chemical laboratory. The message is that silk-manufacturing is also a scientific industry.

The company would wait until 1947 for a visit by the emperor. As part of his tour of Western Honshū, the main island, Emperor Hirohito would visit a Gunze factory in Kurayoshi, Tottori prefecture. Arriving just before noon on 28 November, he spent almost one and a half hours inspecting production facilities.[29] He also visited the factories of other companies on that tour, helping to rally both the employees and administration, and encouraging them to overcome adversity in the years immediately after Japan's defeat in the Pacific War.

Emperor Hirohito and Empress Nagako visit NKK

Like his grandfather before him, it was important for Emperor Hirohito to be seen endorsing Japan's industrialisation. On 2 November 1955, the emperor and empress visited the Kawasaki Mill of Nihon Kōkan Kabushiki Kaisha (Japan Steel Tube Co. Ltd. and known as NKK). The event was commemorated by the compilation of a reddish brown, leather-bound photo album, with actual photographs and hand-written captions. The opening photograph was a circular portrait of the imperial couple. In a subtle example of product placement, it is as if we are seeing the emperor and empress through a steel pipe, which of course, the company manufactured. The caption reads 'Seiju banzai' ('Long Live the Emperor!'). Later photographs include one of the NKK President Kawada Shige leading the royal couple through the Kawasaki Mill, with the employees showing due deference by removing their caps and bowing (see Figure 6.6). Photographs of facilities such as the forge-welded tube workshop provide an image of a modern Japan. Yet even then, while the visit by the royal couple suggested continuities, NKK was in the midst of considerable change.

First founded in 1912, by the end of the First World War, NKK employed several thousand workers. In 1936, the Kawasaki Mill became an integrated facility with the firing of its first blast furnace. It produced iron, steel, and metal products such as its innovative seamless steel pipe. By the end of the Pacific War, the Kawasaki Mill had five blast furnaces, some 18,000 workers, and an annual output of 2.3 million tons of iron and steel.[30]

Why did the emperor and empress visit? NKK was the largest prewar, private steelmaker. However, by the time of the visit, the company was considered to be less dynamic than the other major steel firms and President Kawada was criticised for not showing greater leadership. However, in contrast to the bureaucratic image of Yawata Steel and the merchant-like Fuji Steel, NKK enjoyed a more genteel image, not least because of the employment of several men in the company from prominent families.[31]

Another factor was that the company had not long celebrated its fortieth anniversary, which it commemorated with a company history published in 1952,[32] just as it had ten years before in 1942 on the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary.[33] However, photographs and histories are selective in what they choose to reveal.

Figure 6.6 The emperor and empress visit the NKK Kawasaki Mill, 2 November 1955, taken from a commemorative photograph album. Collection of the author.

From 1942 until the end of the Pacific War, thousands of Koreans were forced to work at NKK. Sixteen year old Kim Kyung-seok worked long hours at the Kawasaki Mill. In April 1943, hundreds of Korean labourers went on strike. Police arrested 15 of the alleged ringleaders, including Kim. He was severely beaten and due to injuries, was no longer able to work. He was repatriated in February 1944. Almost 50 years later in September 1991, Kim took NKK to court, requesting compensation and an apology. In 1999, NKK became the first Japanese company to pay compensation to a former forced labourer when it settled out of court.[34]

Shortly before the November 1955 visit of the emperor and empress to the Kawasaki Mill, thousands of workers went on strike, demanding a pay increase, despite orders by their supervisors to work. The NKK Kawasaki union organised meetings on 9 and 14 September that were attended by up to 7,000 members. On 17 September, perhaps mindful of the impending royal visit, NKK managers offered a 5 per cent pay increase, but Kawasaki union members voted to continue the strike and the mill closed down for one day on 22 September. The pay offer was further increased.[35]

The steel industry was an important part of the postwar economy. Steel executives were fond of the saying '*Tetsu wa kokka nari*' ('Whither steel, so goes the nation').[36] It was as if steel was the new silk. The visit by the emperor and empress at Kawasaki underlined this perception. The technology may have appeared state-of-the-art to the emperor as he strolled through the Mill, but NKK had already decided to adopt the basic oxygen furnace (BOF) to convert pig iron

to steel. NKK was one of the first companies in the world to do so.[37] The company had hitherto used Thomas converters and open hearth furnaces.

It has been reported that in the mid-1950s the imperial couple would amuse themselves and their attendants by watching newsreels produced by the Asahi, Mainichi and Yomiuri newspapers screened at the palace.[38] But it was not until the 1964 Tokyo Olympics that the emperor himself would return to the spotlight.[39]

1964 Tokyo Olympics

Emperor Hirohito presided over the opening of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. The ceremony provides a glimpse of how the Japanese emperor system had been affected by the Second World War and the Allied Occupation. The success of the Tokyo Olympics promoted a vision of 'Japaneseness' with the emperor still at its core. Media representations of the Olympics provide a window to understanding how Japan sought to frame its past and its future. Increasingly, that future was tied to science and technology.

The dream of linking Japan via a high-speed train network, mentioned in a previous chapter, continued into the postwar period. The construction of the new railway line was pushed forward, with the result that a commercial service started on 1 October 1964, the same year as the Olympic Games in Tokyo. Both served to heighten national prestige.[40] The Japanese National Railways opened the new Tōkaidō *Shinkansen* (literally the 'Tōkaidō New Trunk Line') between Tokyo and Osaka ten days prior to the opening of the Olympic Games. The train has often been referred to as the 'bullet train' because of its high speed.[41] The new Tōkaidō line was seen as a symbol of the modernisation of Japanese railroads, and in a broader sense, Japan itself. Japan would take its rightful place in the 'sun', and the railways 'their rightful place alongside road and airline services'.[42] The coming of the second bullet train heralded a period of renewed Japanese confidence and was, in many respects, a manifestation of postwar Japanese techno-nationalism. Many agreed that the *shinkansen* embodied 'Utopian concepts which those modernizing an existing line can at best realize partially'.[43] That it was realised just prior to the opening of the Olympics, at a time of high economic growth, is no historical accident. The view from a *shinkansen* window became a central visual experience for travellers, an impressive reminder of Japan's modernity, especially its technological prowess.[44] The train facilitated national cohesion, bringing even isolated regions and communities into contact with each other.

The Olympics are not only opportunities for sporting fans to enjoy performances by athletes from throughout the world, they are also significant moments of representation and display.[45] The noted Japanese director Ichikawa Kon captured those moments in his well-known film *Tokyo Olympiad, 1964* (1965) for the Tōhō Film Company. Like Leni Riefenstahl's film of the 1936 Olympic Games *Olympia* (1938) which celebrated the body and the Nazi state,[46] it too had a message to convey to the rest of the world. By examining Ichikawa's portrayal of the Olympics, we can come to understand how the Games served a number of purposes for the Japanese. Japan had travelled a long way since its defeat in the

Pacific War. The very same emperor, who had broadcast his country's surrender less than two decades before, now greeted the countries of the world with pride. The historian Stephen Large has written that such events helped to sell the emperor to the Japanese public as the 'human emperor'.[47] Ichikawa's film further promoted the idea that the imperial household had adapted to postwar Japanese democracy by making connections between the previously sacred body of the emperor, the private moments of individual spectators, the sporting achievements of athletes and the masses who saw the film at the cinema.

For those both watching, and participating in, the Olympics in 1964, the Tokyo Olympics conjured up mixed feelings. These were embodied in the torch bearer, Sakai Yoshinori, who was born the day after the atomic bomb blast in Hiroshima in 1945. After lighting the Olympic flame in the main stadium, pigeons symbolising peace were released to signal a new Japan. The new Japan was intent on rebuilding industries and concentrating on economic goals. The success of the women's volleyball team showed how the pressure to succeed was great. The high achieving spirit of many Japanese was reflected in both sport and in industry. It was as if the Olympics was a metaphor for what Japan had become.

The opening of the film is particularly powerful, juxtaposing as it does old and new facets of Japan. It begins with a bright sun (read Japan) and the destruction of old buildings to make way for the new (read postwar modernisation). Like Riefenstahl's film, there is an attempt to create linkages with classical Greek culture. In Ichikawa's production, a shot of Greece reminds viewers of the origins of the Olympics, and then we are transported back to Japan with another shot of a rising sun. The Olympic torch travels through Istanbul, Beirut, Tehran, Lahore, New Delhi, Rangoon, Hong Kong and other countries. We then are reminded of Japan's past with an aerial view of Hiroshima's A-Bomb Dome. Young and old Japanese faces greet blonde foreigners coming off a Pan American jet. The torch is carried through an old Japanese town, tiled roofs of old houses flagging traditional Japan, helped along by a glimpse of *bunraku* puppet heads.

We return to signs of Japan's emerging modernity with the jostling and bustle of Japanese waiting to greet the foreigners in Tokyo for the Olympics. An image of Mt Fuji fills the screen, with what appears to be a vehicle zooming across the foreground. The car signals youth and speed, just like the international athletes visiting what clearly is a modern Tokyo. The raising of flags reinforces the image of an international event, as does the parade of countries in the opening ceremony. This internationalist theme can also be seen in Riefenstahl's 'Olympia', for Nazi Germany, like postwar Japan, was keen to convince the world of its peaceful intentions.[48]

The camera captures the face of Emperor Hirohito, his son Prince Akihito, and the face of an unknown old man overcome with emotion. Like the Japanese viewers of the film, he no doubt was conscious of how far the Japanese had come. While visions of the past might well have been going through his mind, a shot of a Seiko clock indicating that it was 2pm firmly locates us back into the present. Economic concerns are not far away. Is this an early example of indirect cinematic merchandising? The opening of the Olympics by the emperor, the arrival of the

torch bearer, the lighting of the flame, and release of pigeons, all serve to create a cathartic sense that we are witnessing something quite special.

Each scene seems to serve the purpose of making us aware of the coexistence of both tradition and modernity. While this might be disorienting for some Japanese, such as the old man, there appears to be no looking back. The only old building remaining is that of a building in Hiroshima which serves as a reminder that Japan had been a victim. The only image of Japan as an aggressor that we leave with is as a competitor in sport. The film provides an idealistic, easy-to-understand metaphor for Japan's reconstruction, its return to the international community, and subsequent high economic growth.

Much of the remainder of the film focuses on the athletes, their performances, and national affiliations. We could be anywhere, and perhaps that is a hidden message as well. There appears, at first, to be no radical difference that might set Asian modernity apart from that in the West. We are, however, occasionally reminded that we are in smoggy, fast-developing Japan, a land of tradition where some women still wear kimono. There still seems to be some traces of exotic Japan, but much of it is a thing of the past. Japan was achieving the standardisation and uniformity of industrialised nations elsewhere. Gone are the mass drills of wartime. In postwar Japan, considerable effort was being made to make sport more 'scientific' and less ideologically based.

We gaze at the bodies of athletes in a way somehow different from that of Riefenstahl's 'Olympia'. Gone is the eugenicist quest for a perfect body, and instead we see bodies of all shapes excelling in competition. We witness the excitement of the men's 100 metre freestyle swimming race, and then glimpse more of the countryside thanks to a cycling event. Women's volleyball is one of the few opportunities for us to see the raising of the Japanese flag, before the film closes with a ceremony and fireworks. Japan actually won 16 gold medals, the third largest number after the United States and the Soviet Union. Japanese success served to reinforce growing pride in their achievements, in both sport and the world of trade.

The Japanese who attended the Olympics, the hordes of people who viewed Ichikawa's film, and those who were passengers on the *shinkansen*, were all treated to a visual spectacle which destabilised previous modes of perception. They were presented with images framed by the sporting arena, screen or high-speed train window.[49] For those who watched the film years later on television, the film served to transform the Japanese memory of the Olympics into a visual archive of filmed or remembered moments.

To commemorate the Olympics, Fuji Photo Film Co. published an album of selected photographs from that year's annual photo contest sponsored by the company. The themes for the contest were 'Youth of Japan' and 'Scenery of Japan'. While large group photographs of bodies in action were plentiful, the previous emphasis on recording mass formations was replaced by depictions of 'youthful energies',[50] blurred images, smiling faces and bodies out of synchronisation with each other. The photographs were used to decorate the rooms of the Olympic Village, and members of Olympic teams and officials were presented with copies

of the album. Fuji Film's publication provided in book-form what Ichikawa sought to achieve on film. Both are powerful statements about how the Japanese saw themselves in the postwar period. Ichikawa, and the photographers who were selected for Fuji's album, sought to change perceptions of the Japanese by framing the body in images which emphasised individualism, something which they associated with democracy and the West.

Reconstructing Tokyo

The postwar refashioning of the image of the emperor, and indeed Japan, was accompanied by the transformation of Tokyo. Japan was on display. The 1964 Summer Olympics was a chance to introduce to the world Japan's reconstructed capital city, and home of the emperor. The Olympics also provided an opportunity and justification for transforming areas of Tokyo adjacent to the Olympic site. Homes and businesses were relocated for the creation of 'Olympic Thoroughfares'. Omotesandō-dōri, the main street going through Harajuku, was widened and made into a tree-lined boulevard which many Tokyoites refer to as their version of the Champs Élysées in Paris. Harajuku became a magnet for foreigners and Western fashion. The changes which Tokyo underwent were facilitated by the fact that Azuma Ryūtarō was governor of Tokyo from 1959 until after the Games, and also Chairman of the Japan Olympics Committee.[51]

In a way, the 1964 Games were a substitute for the cancelled 1940 Olympics, which along with the planned international exposition, would glorify the 'uninterrupted' imperial line and Japan's empire. The continuities between wartime Japan and postwar Japan can also be seen in the appropriation of army land for sporting events. What had been a drilling ground for the Japanese army became a main base of operations for the Allied Occupation and renamed 'Washington Heights'. Much of Washington Heights became an athletes' village during the Olympics and was returned to the people in the form of Yoyogi Park.[52]

A constant reminder of the Olympic years is the National Gymnasium complex (consisting of two buildings) designed by Tange Kenzō. Tange was one of the main authors of 'Tokyo Plan 1960' which proposed to prepare Tokyo for the Olympics and solve some of the city's urban problems. The roofing of the main building was at once both reminiscent of Mt Fuji and symbolic of modern Japanese architecture which drew on traditional Japanese design motifs.[53] While many of the changes to the landscape imbued the space of Tokyo with a Western-inspired modernity, the building was a potent reminder of Japanese culture, albeit distilled.

The redevelopment of Tokyo included an expanded road system, new parks, improved water supply system, bullet train, monorail line, expansion of subways, more hotels, and the Olympic site itself. The need to transport overseas visitors arriving in Japan swiftly to their destinations meant the creation of extra infrastructure which later benefited all Japanese. The Haneda Monorail Line opened less than a month before the Games and carried visitors from Tokyo's main airport to link up with the Yamanote Loop railway line. Similarly, the bullet train

(*shinkansen*) dates from around the same time; a lasting reminder to all visitors to Japan of the country's modernity: its efficiency and technological know-how.[54]

Response of overseas visitors

In *Olympic Diary: Tokyo 1964*, Neil Allen provides a day-by-day account of his experience of the Games. His first entry for Tokyo is dated Sunday, 4 October and begins with a poem by the Emperor Meiji which highlights how Japan has long been the site where things both foreign and native came together:

> In my garden
> Side by side
> Native plants, foreign plants,
> Growing together.[55]

Allen then relates how disorienting being in Tokyo was. The Olympic site was like 'a private lung of its own', outside of which was the sprawling metropolis, the maze of streets, where 'someone who could not speak Japanese might well be lost for days'.[56] In his final entry, almost three weeks later on 24 October, Allen sums up his experience with the following words:

> The Japanese organization has been superb. The television aids, the electronic gadgets, the thousands of voluntary helpers and the eagerness of the ordinary public of Tokyo have seen to that. But there has been some inflexibility and we saw it again this evening when those who made rules were really asking for trouble.[57]

Allen leaves us with a sense of Japan as a modern nation, with a large population who have enthusiastically supported the Games, but who have little tolerance for those who do not conform to regulations.

Christopher Brasher's account, *Tokyo 1964: A Diary of the XVIIIth Olympiad*, is dedicated to the British athletic team. It focuses on their performances, with little mention of Tokyo. He, like Allen, refers to the bustle of the city, 'the traffic is appalling, building is going on everywhere, Tokyo is an ugly city'. Within this city where 'the taxi-drivers do drive like kamikaze pilots' he compliments the Japanese on having created peace and tranquility in the form of the Olympic Village.[58] He draws on various stereotypes of Japanese culture to frame his impressions of the bustling city. The reference to *kamikaze* taxidrivers is repeated a few pages later, with a comment on how they commit *seppuku* (suicide).[59] He describes the opening ceremony as 'the most brilliantly organized spectacle ever held in international sport'[60] and devotes the remainder of the book to 'the proper business of the Games – sport between the nations of the world'.[61] Like Allen, he congratulates Japan on its impeccable organisation of the Games, but as can be seen by the contents of the book, 'the staging of the Games is, after all, no

more than a setting for the athletes'.[62] He describes how in the closing ceremony, nationality is forgotten.

For postwar Japan, the 1964 Olympics helped to internationalise Japan as it emerged from defeat and reconstruction. Japanese and overseas visitors alike realised the poignancy of that moment in Japanese history, aware that Japan was still very much in the process of becoming a modern nation.

Conclusion

The imperial tours conducted during the Allied Occupation and the later spectacle of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics both, in their own way, enabled the emperor and Japan to present a new image to the world, one more in keeping with new postwar priorities. It also spurred on the development of Tokyo, transforming it into a city, a space with modern infrastructure and the imperial palace at its centre. The Olympics ostensibly helped draw the line between the hardship of the immediate postwar years, and a more prosperous future, courtesy of high economic growth. Advertising images, photographs, films, and even the view from the train window, all referred to in this chapter, were powerful modes of representing modernity in Japan. These representations and written accounts of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics reveal to us how the Japanese were readmitted to the family of nations. But as we have seen, many Japanese and foreigners left the Games knowing that the Japanese were somehow different, for the modernity which emerged was of their own making, one which successfully coupled both local and global worlds, and still included the emperor.

7 Techno-nationalism and the family

Introduction

The dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki heralded a new era for Japan's self identity. Defeat in the Pacific War saw the decline of emperor-centred nationalism and the beginning of another.[1] In place of a state-led nationalism that had disastrous consequences, a softer nationalism in Japan emerged which was linked to the idea of a common commitment to economic growth fuelled by science and technology. This chapter is concerned with this softer form of nationalism.[2] The chapter begins with the postwar portrayal of the emperor as a family man, and the visit by this more benevolent emperor to Hiroshima. A techno-nationalism emerged that linked the consumption of nuclear-generated electricity and use of electrical appliances in the home with being Japanese. It is ironic that Japan's vision of its future became so tied to the atom, albeit a peaceful one.

If we examine exhibitions focusing on science and technology, we can see how spectacle remained important in promoting nationalism. Futuristic displays in museums, expositions and department stores helped the Japanese to dream, to imagine a techno-scientific future for themselves and their children. The exhibitions engendered a sense of national identity and commitment. Through such displays, the state and the private sector have engendered a type of techno-nationalism, which ensures that the Japanese people continue to look to the future rather than its atomic past.

Science, technology and postwar Japanese identity

Many Japanese have considered the Pacific War a 'useful' war that stimulated science and technology.[3] Shortly after Emperor Hirohito announced Japan's surrender on radio on 15 August 1945, Prime Minister Suzuki Kantarō urged the Japanese people to build a new Japan and to work towards progress in science and technology that was considered 'our greatest deficiency in this war'.[4] The intellectual Nanbara Shigeru called for the creation of a new national spirit after Japan's defeat, which would be linked to the formation of world citizens through a 'cultural state', a 'peace state', a 'moral state' and a 'democratic state'. What we

see articulated at this time is a type of nationalism linked to science and technology that adopts a universalist stance.[5]

The way the war ended had a major impact on the way the Japanese saw science. Underlying their belief in it was the understanding that scientific research, both fundamental and applied, would ultimately contribute to Japan's long-term economic prosperity. As in Germany, there was a belief that wartime regimes had ignored science at their peril. Immediately after the end of the war, many Japanese absolved themselves of any personal responsibility for what had occurred by accusing Japan's leaders of having misled them. The 'irrational' militarists were 'unscientific' in the way they waged war, and their nation's defeat could be traced to weaknesses in their science and technology, as symbolised by the atomic bomb, or rather the lack of one.[6] Instead of dwelling on the past (and interrogating the war responsibility of the emperor), it was more convenient for both the Allied Occupation and many Japanese to look forward to the future, one in which science and technology would be mobilised for Japan's economic reconstruction. Both ends of the political spectrum were generally in agreement with this. Debate tended to focus on how science would be used and for what purposes.

Japan's defeat was seen by the Japanese as victory of technology over spirit despite much of Japan's defeat having taken place in Asia against forces which had considerably poorer technological resources. Japan nevertheless stubbornly adheres to the idea that Japan was defeated by the United States rather than by an alliance of countries, for to think otherwise would mean drawing a very different set of lessons from the war experience.[7] While many countries such as Britain, France, Russia and Germany have pointed to their contributions in the development of the bomb, the atomic bomb still tends to be portrayed as a triumph of American know-how.

The weak opposition to atomic energy by the Japanese people can be seen as a combination of their technological fatalism and a pragmatic belief that the danger has been somehow kept at a distance. While this belief in the power and value of technology dates back to the Meiji period, the shift from militarism to pacifism in postwar Japan has served to further strengthen it.[8] This shift is not unrelated to the fact that Japan was the first nation to fall victim to the atomic bomb.

Comparison with postwar Germany provides useful insights.[9] Both Japan and Germany after 1945, under the aegis of victorious occupying powers, faced the task of reconstruction. Survival and the economic viability of their countries was a real concern. The economic and strategic relevance of scientific research and development was obvious to everyone, particularly in fields such as atomic energy. Whether the power of German or Japanese science was seen as a danger or a benefit depended on the changing context. Likewise, science could appear as a symbol of ideological purity or, alternatively, danger. As in Japan, one frequently repeated argument was the assertion that West Germany's natural resources were too meager for its dense population. Long-term economic viability would only come from the export trade, especially of highly engineered and technically advanced products. For physicists, the dream of atomic energy was very appealing.

But in Japan there were some hurdles to overcome, namely the association with the atomic bomb.

From 1946, family photographs of the emperor could be found in many newspapers and magazines. Although these images often appeared informal, they were palace-approved portrayals designed to show the more human side of the emperor, his loyal wife, and their children, and downplay his role in the war effort. One photograph taken in April 1946 shows the family walking on the beach at Hayama with their children.[10] Another holiday portrait, taken in summer of the year after, shows Empress Nagako in comfortable walking shoes and wearing a light, floral dress. She lovingly brushes the emperor's hair with her hand while he holds his hat. Meanwhile, other members of the family, all wearing hats, look smilingly at the camera.[11]

Photography was seen as helping to reassert and strengthen family life. In the July 1946 issue of the photography magazine *Kamera* (*Camera*), Higuchi Shinsuke advised readers about choosing a secondhand camera. He noted that in the difficult times since Japan's defeat, photography played an important role for cultured people seeking some form of recreation and enjoyment. Photographs he had taken gave pleasure to his friends and family, and could be sent in letters to relatives who lived far away. Photographs could provide a record of their daily lives and provide a tool for the scientific advancement of young people who were helping to build a new Japan.[12]

Indeed, the magazine saw photography as a way of promoting United States–Japan relations. A column gave nine examples of sentences that could be used when discussing photography with an American. Suggested conversation topics included asking what sort of photographs the American liked taking; how the scenery compared with the United States; whether the American liked taking photographs of Japanese women; advice on shooting good pictures of Mt Fuji; how to show each other photographs; and discussing the developing of film and printing of photographs.[13]

The emperor visits Hiroshima

Postwar visits of the emperor to various parts of Japan provided opportunities to promote a positive, more human face of the emperor via the mass media. In December 1947, the Head of the Australian Mission in Japan forwarded back to Australia an eyewitness account of the emperor's visit to Hiroshima written by A.B. Jamieson. The Head of Mission prefaced the account with the comment that the Allied Occupation seemed to be strengthening the position of the emperor:

> by enforcing the process of modernisation while leaving unchanged the fundamental basis of his power – namely the uncritical devotion of the people who certainly look on him as more than a symbol.[14]

He further reported his impressions of the Tokyo war crimes trials that had been taking place:

> So far as the International Military Tribunal is concerned, the truth is that the documents uncovered in the process of the trial have shown that the Emperor in fact should be in the dock with other accused.[15]

Shaw thus warned the Australian government of the dangers of reinstating someone who 'to say the least, proved himself a willing tool and ally of Japan's recent militarist and aggressive leaders'.[16] It was against this backdrop that the emperor visited Kure, where the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces (BCOF) were located, and the city of Hiroshima on 7 December 1947. At Kure, BCOF personnel, armed with cameras, jostled with each other to get the best vantage point (see Figure 7.1). The emperor mounted a podium, dressed in civilian clothes. Gone were the medals and military dress. He surveyed the crowd in a quiet and dignified manner (see Figure 7.2).

The trip to Hiroshima was a deeply symbolic one as it was the first time that the emperor had visited since the end of the war. A large press contingent awaited his arrival at the village of Miyajimaguchi. The photographers jostled for a good position towards the front of the greeting party at the jetty. A naval launch arrived with the emperor and his entourage. As Jamieson relates in his account:

> The Emperor's suite came down to the lower deck and he stood alone on the upper deck for nearly two minutes while the photographers and newsreel men, Allied and Japanese, took the first of their shots.[17]

What is astonishing is the degree to which the needs of the camera shaped the emperor's visit. Jamieson suggested that the somewhat shabby appearance of the emperor was a deliberate strategy to portray him as a 'democratic' emperor. His appearance contrasted with that of the officials from the Imperial Household Department. Whereas they wore smart black coats and striped pants, he wore a plain dark suit, grey overcoat, dark grey Homburg hat and brown shoes that had seen better days. As Jamieson observed, the emperor 'did seem to symbolize the down at the heels but determined look characteristic of present-day Japan'.[18]

The emperor and his entourage made their way by car to the city of Hiroshima. A particularly poignant moment was when the emperor made his first stop to talk to a group of orphaned boys and a few mothers with scarred faces who carried children who had been badly disfigured. What is interesting is how the photographers, almost sensing a special moment, contributed to the frenzy that ensued:

> While the cameras clicked and turned and the crowd pushed in more and more excitedly, the Emperor listened, hat in hand, to a short explanation of what had happened to this group. He murmured a few 'Is that so's' and made as though to speak into a microphone that was being held out towards him. Then his lip trembled and with a short bow, he turned back to his car. At this point, the crowd went berserk.[19]

Figure 7.1 BCOF personnel eagerly awaiting the arrival of the emperor at Kure, 7 December 1947. Photograph: Alan G. Cuthbert. Australian War Memorial Negative Number 145191.

The next stop was at a makeshift city plaza in Hiroshima where the mayor, city officials and a crowd of 50,000 gathered to welcome him. The emperor went up to the rostrum where he was photographed from all angles. This was an important moment, a turning point in Japanese history. It brought a sense of closure to the wartime experience and encouraged the Japanese who had suffered so much, to look forward to the future. He:

> … said he could not find words to express his sympathy for what they had suffered and praised them for their efforts at reconstruction. This, he hoped, would be a basis for the reconstruction of a peaceful Japan which would contribute to world peace.[20]

While this visit was but one of the trips the emperor had made as part of a series of imperial tours throughout Japan, it was agreed by the correspondents who had covered the tour that they had never seen such frenzied enthusiasm as they did in Hiroshima. While early on in the tours, the emperor had been nervous and the Allied newsreel men and photographers were intrusive, it appears that the emperor became increasingly used to being on display for the cameras, and the Japanese people themselves became more used to gazing directly at the emperor.[21] As one of the Hiroshima city officials told the Allied press group covering the trip,

Figure 7.2 The emperor on a podium at Kure, 7 December 1947. Photograph: Alan G. Cuthbert. Australian War Memorial Negative Number 145196.

'The Emperor is the source of our atomic energy for reconstruction, as powerful as the American atomic energy is for destruction'.[22]

Such an analogy had first been made over 40 years earlier in 1911 by Sugiura Shigetake, the then Crown Prince's ethics instructor. As Peter Wetzler has explained, Sugiura sought to explain *kokutai* (national polity), the imperial house and the origins of the Japanese state in terms of physics. Sugiura argued that:

> It may be inferred from the principles of physics that no other nation has accumulated more energy … If this energy continues to be accumulated from now on, one can expect that this energy will increasingly extend throughout the world.[23]

The peaceful atom

During the Occupation, writing on the effects of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was heavily censored from 1945 to 1949. Discussion of the effects of the atomic bombs was discouraged.[24] As the historian John W. Dower explains, ‘the Japanese as a whole did not begin to really *visualize* the human consequences of the bombs in concrete, vivid ways until three or four years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been destroyed’ (his italics).[25] Photographs of the effects of the atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki were not published in Japan until after the end of the Allied Occupation in 1952. Rather, it was through the drawings and paintings of Maruki Toshi and Maruki Iri that were published and exhibited in 1950 and 1951 that the Japanese people learned of the horrors of what had occurred.

Stephen Kelen, an Australian soldier who was posted to Japan as a member of BCOF, has written of how some Japanese turned to the performing arts to express what had occurred. On a Saturday afternoon, in 1947–8, 38-year-old Okudaira Hiroka, Director of the Hamura Ballet School in Hiroshima, brought his *Atomic Ballet* to the Kure Royal Theatre where members of his company performed before the troops. The short, ten-minute ballet consisted of three parts: ‘Explosion’, ‘Crowd of the Living’ and ‘Reconstruction’. The Atom Bomb was played by 31-year-old Hamura Kiyoshi who was the founder and principal artist. Amid a cacophony of loud gongs, cymbals and drums, the Explosion occurred, creating havoc. The Atom Bomb was dressed only in black shorts. He held two sheets of white silk in his hands with which he confronted the terrified people around him. The second scene involved dancers enacting the deadly effects of the explosion, writhing around the stage in terrible pain and then dying. The third and final scene was the Dance of Reconstruction. It ended triumphantly with the five lead dancers striking a victory pose, symbolising how the people of Hiroshima had overcome adversity and rebuilt.[26]

The delayed coming-to-terms of the Japanese people with the atomic bomb experience has arguably contributed to what has been described as a ‘nuclear allergy’. The Japanese oppose the production of atomic weapons on the one hand, but have nevertheless enthusiastically pursued nuclear power on the other. The latter is viewed as being atomic energy for peaceful purposes.[27] As in Germany, a frequent argument in favor of pursuing nuclear power has been that the country is densely populated and lacking in natural resources. It is not surprising that in both countries, physicists would be involved in debates concerning energy production.

At the same time as embracing nuclear power, there was a widespread perception that courtesy of the atomic bomb, the Japanese were victims of the war rather than aggressors. The atomic bomb experience enabled the Japanese to fashion themselves as champions of a non-nuclear world.[28] The physicist Taketani Mituo felt that as the world’s first victim country of the atomic bomb, the Japanese had a right to conduct research on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, with the assistance of overseas countries. He felt that such countries should unconditionally supply Japan with the

necessary quantities of uranium, and that atomic energy research should not be of a secretive nature.[29] By his writings, Taketani was instrumental in educating the public about the facts and implications of atomic energy. In February 1952, Taketani called for the Japanese to build their own nuclear reactors, in order to break the stranglehold on such know-how held by nations possessing nuclear weapons.[30]

While Americans were wary of allowing Germans and Japanese to become involved again in atomic research, President Eisenhower's 'Atoms for Peace' plan facilitated their re-involvement. On 8 December 1953, President Eisenhower presented his plan to the General Assembly of the United Nations, which set the stage for international cooperation in atomic energy and the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Meanwhile, overseas developments included the establishment of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority (AEA), and approval of plans for the construction of the world's first large scale nuclear power reactor: a 138 MWe (megawatts electricity) gas-cooled graphite-moderated Calder Hall reactor. In 1954, Japanese politicians rushed to take advantage of the 'Atoms for Peace' plan and a budget allocation for a nuclear reactor was approved by the Japanese national parliament, the Diet.

Chitoshi Yanaga, in his classic study of *Big Business in Japanese Politics* (1968), credits the mass media and a strong public relations campaign with effectively reversing public opinion from resistance to support of atoms for peace. He sees the entrepreneur Shōriki Matsutarō as leading the campaign.[31] Shōriki described the change in public opinion in the following dramatic manner:

> The bloodshot eyes of the Japanese, sparkling with hatred of atomic energy, changed overnight to serene eyes adoring the goddess of peace![32]

As president of the newspaper *Yomiuri shinbun*, he was well placed to help bring about the change. In 1955, he was instrumental in the establishment of the Council for the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy (Genshiryoku Heiwa Riyō Kondankai). Shōriki explained the aims of the Council in glowing, dramatic terms. Nuclear power would transform the 'terrible weapon of destruction' and provide salvation by liberating humanity from poverty and disease. The dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were a 'baptism of fiery devastation', but:

> In a nation suffering from population pressure, loss of territory, and paucity of natural resources, and in need of speedy improvements in industrial technology, agriculture, and medicine, and in promotion and expansion of new industries, the time has come for the whole nation to forge ahead without any hesitation whatsoever.[33]

The civilian nuclear power program was a site for articulating ideas of a technological Japan. As Gabrielle Hecht has shown, salvation and liberation were themes that were aspects of popular representations of technological change in postwar France as well.[34] Shōriki actively promoted such ideas through the mass media that he controlled.

The Atoms for Peace Exhibition in Hibiya Park in Tokyo in 1955 was one example of the spectacle that Shōriki encouraged. The exhibition was located at the meeting point of several pathways in the park. The very layout of the routes to the exhibition seemed to echo the structure of the atom.[35] The exhibition was sponsored by Shōriki's newspaper, in conjunction with the US Information Service, and lasted six weeks (1 November–12 December 1955). Sixty per cent of visitors were students. Most visitors who were surveyed were convinced that atomic energy would 'increase the happiness of mankind'.[36] They left the exhibition with their fears of the atom largely dispelled.

Although Japan's science and technology-led future was enacted by a cast which included industrialists, entrepreneurs, scientists and engineers, politicians and policymakers, what is startling is the role that Shōriki played in all of this. In 1956, he was instrumental in the establishment of both the Japan Atomic Industrial Forum (JAIF) and the Japan Atomic Energy Commission (JAEC) which he chaired. Two years later, the British Calder Hall reactor was introduced into Japan on his urging.

How did ordinary Japanese see the new technological Japan that was emerging after the war? If we examine representations of the new Japan promoted by government and industry, we can identify nationalistic discourses around which Japanese identity was linked. Science and technology was seen not only as part of Japan's future, but part of everyday life.

Nationalism and consumerism in postwar Japan

A woman in Western-style clothing sits on *tatami* floor matting, reading in front of a television set located in an alcove where the family Buddhist altar sits, adjacent to a hanging scroll that depicts the season.[37] Such scenes were not an uncommon sight in the early 1960s, a time when 'a quest for a new identity and a new national role in a changing world' was foremost in the minds of many Japanese.[38] The television set increasingly became the focus of the home. Indeed, Kang Sangjung and Yoshimi Shunya consider that household electrical appliances were the foundation of postwar Japanese nationalism.[39] Consumer goods were intimately linked with the image of Japanese technological strength which emerged at this time, just before the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Also, as Alastair Bonnett has argued, whiteness has been associated with a lifestyle tied to a consumption-led identity.[40] Japan embraced this in the postwar period.

As the aforementioned domestic scene illustrates, Japan's industrialisation unleashed modernising social forces that served to erode some local cultural difference but at the same time helped create a national identity. This identity was paradoxically linked not only with the nation's ability to borrow from other nations, internationalise and modernise, but also with the preservation of cultural traditions.

How did this transformation occur? The state has played a role, in conjunction with the private sector, in encouraging the Japanese to see technological innovation as part of their sense of identity. Sheldon Garon has examined the theme of how the

state and its institutions interacted with civil society, with government directives making their way into the homes of the Japanese people.[41] In daily life, nationalism and national aims are flagged in not always obvious forms. Michael Billig calls this phenomena 'banal nationalism'.[42] In the postwar period, nationalism came to be linked more to economic aims than military expansion, even if the end result was indeed a richer and stronger nation. The consumption of electrical products and postwar national prosperity were intimately tied with being Japanese. The family home was the site of much of this consumption.

In the mid-1950s, Japan experienced a *denka būmu* (boom in electric appliances for the home). Household electric appliances, especially the television, washing machine, and refrigerator, grew in popularity. By 1963, 90 per cent of households had television sets.[43] This strong linkage between national ambition and technological innovation could be seen clearly elsewhere. For example, the Tōkaidō bullet train between Tokyo and Osaka was launched just prior to the opening of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964.

As early as 1960, Sony boasted in advertisements how its portable television sets provided 'One more reason for Japan to be proud!' (*Nippon no hokori ga mata hitotsu!*). This slogan heralded the rise of techno-nationalism. Japanese manufacturers of consumer electrical goods would repeatedly declare how the technological capabilities of Japan's engineers were attracting worldwide attention.[44]

Japan's electrical products (and their success) were linked to 'Japaneseness', with advertisements for electric appliances emphasising the influence of Japanese culture (in terms of choice of color, craftsmanship and affinity with nature) on technological strength, despite the products owing much to Western know-how.[45] Japanese consumers went to department stores to buy them.

Department stores have long been an important site of leisure and consumption in Japan, including special exhibitions.[46] Back in 1911, Shirokiya built new premises at Nihonbashi, Tokyo. The building consisted of four stories and a tower and came complete with the first exhibition hall, a feature of Japanese department stores which makes them, in Edward Seidensticker's words, a cross between 'a museum and amusement park'.[47] Even in 1931, it was still boasting that it was the largest department store in the Orient.[48] Japanese department stores offered spectacle and special events. Visitors would hopefully buy things at the same time.

Atomic energy and everyday life

One special event for the Takashimaya Department Store in Nanba, Osaka during the week 17–22 October 1961 was the exhibition *Atomic Energy and Everyday Life* (*Seikatsu to musubu genshiryoku*).[49] The use of the word *seikatsu* ('everyday life') indicates how housewives, who hold the real micro-power that controls 'everyday life',[50] were a key target audience for the exhibition. The exhibition effectively formed a bridge between Japan's political economy and the individual experience of those who visited the exhibition. Women were seen as important to achieving a national consensus about the need for atomic energy. The universalist discourse

of science was used to quell any fears of what nuclear power might bring. The visitors positioned themselves within the grand narrative of science. The venue was the exhibition hall on the third level of the store. Falling during the important autumn period, the exhibition coincided with the Ninth Kōchi Exhibition of Local Products and Tourism in the basement, a reminder that the ‘local’ coexisted with more global concerns.

In the exhibition, the complex political economy of atomic energy is envisioned and presented as a rational system free from problems. The people who inhabit the rosy future it offers are occasionally dressed in protective clothing but the potential adverse environmental impact is otherwise not considered. By extensive use of images, illustrations and diagrams, the exhibition offered a series of consumer-friendly images that could be captured at a glance.

The Takashimaya exhibition shows how the technological sublime offered by the atom promised self-fulfillment and transcendence over current-day problems, into the future. At the same time, however, there is the accompanying notion that the Japanese people must accommodate technological progress.[51]

The main organisers of the exhibition were the Foundation for the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy in Japan and the Japan Atomic Industrial Forum, but sponsors included the Osaka Prefectural Government, Osaka City, Osaka Chamber of Commerce and the Osaka Science and Technology Center. It is also not surprising to see manufacturers such as Matsushita Electric (which has used the brand names National and Panasonic) and Sumitomo Electric being credited at the bottom of some of the signage in the exhibition displays.

The fuzziness between journalism and promotion is apparent in advertising handled by the Osaka branch of the advertising agency Dentsū. Takashimaya sponsored the *Asahi shinbun* news on the Asahi Broadcasting Station on 17 October 1961. One scripted announcement at the end of the news spoke of atomic energy as the ‘third fire’, and how it now had deep links to the everyday lives of the Japanese people. It stressed how photographs, diagrams and films made the content of the exhibition easy to understand. The placement of the announcement deliberately makes unclear what the status of the comments are and whether they are paid for. A radio announcement broadcast a couple of days later on MBS on 19 October, spoke of how the exhibition articulated Japan’s dreams for tomorrow.

The exhibition, as a whole, was a type of transcendental experience, helped no doubt by the modernist, streamlined design. The emphasis on curved walls and the creation of a display space that echoed the structure of the atom were novel ways of imbuing visitors with an exciting modern moment.

There was a strong educational aspect to the displays. Each display had specific aims and particular scientific narratives to promote. Part Two of the exhibition focused on research reactors. One of the key projects being promoted in the region was the Kansai Research Reactor, a project which ultimately was not realised. Part Four was devoted to plans for a nuclear ship. The Japan Nuclear Ship Development Agency (JNSDA) was established in 1963 to construct ‘Mutsu’, Japan’s first nuclear-powered commercial vessel. Part Five explained what isotopes are, the different types of radioisotopes, and what radioactivity is. This was followed by

sections of the exhibition that examined the industrial uses (Part Six) and medical uses (Part Seven) of isotopes. Visitors, many of whom were students, would leave the exhibition convinced of the multiple peaceful uses of the atom, and the centrality of science to the country's welfare.

The exhibition showed how the Japanese were able to reconcile the establishment of a nuclear industry in their own country with the devastation that had been wrought in Hiroshima and Nagasaki 16 years earlier. Despite the all too well known narrative of how Japan lost the war, there was belief that an atom that had been 'tamed' would work for the benefit of 'mankind'. But the male mannequins dressed in laboratory coats and uniforms on display suggested that the nuclear age was a highly gendered future which owed its origins to the West, especially the United States. They reminded visitors to the exhibition that men still retained symbolic power in Japanese society.

The exhibition provided a display of scientific and technological achievement, and I would argue, opportunities for the state to literally project ideas of national identity. This can be clearly seen in films shown at the exhibition. A small theatre within the exhibition space showed 16mm colour films at 11am, 1.30pm and 4pm everyday. Films included *The Uses of Radioactivity*, *Promoting the Development of Nuclear Reactors* and *Atomic Energy in Japan*. Such films were part of a distinct genre devoted to science and technology. One popular theme was large-scale public construction projects such as the building of dams. One popular title at this time was Nihon Eigashinsha's *Ōinaru Kurobe* (*The Great Kurobe*) in Cinemascope. The film depicted the construction of the No. 4 hydroelectric power plant on the Kurobe River.[52] Another award-winning film was *Parusu no sekai* (*The World of the Pulse*) (1963) produced by Tokyo Cinema for Matsushita Electric, in Eastmancolor. The film reminded viewers that 'electronics, living organisms and human beings all operate according to electric pulses'. By humanising its products, Matsushita sought to improve its image as a technology company.[53]

The Science and Technology Agency had planned and produced such movies, as well as television programs, in the hope that:

> public interest be increased, that people be made to understand the importance of science and technology and their cooperation obtained.[54]

In 1960, the Agency established Science and Technology Week around the date of 18 April. In 1964, the Agency named 26 October 'Atomic Energy Day' to commemorate the first time that nuclear power was successfully generated in Japan. These dates continue to be the focus of promotions relating to nuclear power, and more broadly science and technology. They serve as small reminders of where Japan's future lies.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen how the emperor's visit to Hiroshima marked a brief turning point. In place of an emperor-centred nationalism, a type of economic

nationalism emerged that was strongly linked to science and technology. This was referred to as 'techno-nationalism'. The exhibitions discussed in this chapter provided opportunities for creating and projecting ideas of national identity linked closely to the peaceful atom. Expositions and department stores were highly visible sites where the power of the state and private sector converged and where the future could be displayed. Science, technology and consumption were all portrayed as good through many verbal and visual instructions. The Takashimaya exhibition and accompanying media coverage show that while department stores, newspapers, radio and television, and advertising agencies have been responsible for propagating techno-nationalism, it is clear that the state in the form of the bureaucracy is a major influence. It is not surprising that in the next chapter we will see the emperor himself was promoted in the postwar period as a keen scientist.

8 The emperor as scientist

Introduction

After Japan's defeat in the Second World War, there were immediate calls for the building of a new Japan, a 'scientific Japan'. In the August–September 1945 issue of the popular science magazine *Kagaku asahi*, Professor Okabe Kinjirō of Osaka University called for a new start in scientific research. He envisaged a Japan that could contribute greatly to a world culture (*sekai bunka*) by producing the likes of scientists such as Noguchi Hideyo, Nagaoka Hantarō, Honda Kōtarō, and Yukawa Hideki.[1] It was in this context of the immediate postwar period that the emperor himself was promoted as a scientist. As Chalmers Johnson has recently suggested, an image of the emperor as a peaceful marine biologist was carefully constructed. This drew attention away from the wartime activities of the emperor and the Imperial Household's role in the war effort.[2] In Leonard Mosley's biography of the emperor published in the wake of the Tokyo Olympics, in 1966, the monarch was portrayed as 'a gentle introvert, scholarly and civilized man of peace who found himself Emperor of a nation bent on war and conquest'.[3] He is described as having 'found the courage and the resource, in spite of military fanatics and palace conspiracies, to outwit the plotters and end the war'.[4]

This chapter traces images of the scientist, from the years just prior to Hirohito's ascendancy to the throne. We see the impact of Albert Einstein's visit in 1922, and then fast-forward to Japan's defeat. The world learned that the emperor devoted his spare time to biology, despite the misgivings of the military. The link between 'the scientist' and the nation was further strengthened when the physicist Yukawa Hideki was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1949. His colleague Tomonaga Sin'itirō belatedly won a second in 1965. The Nobel Prizes reinforced the prestige associated with being a scientist, but films such as *Gojira* (*Godzilla*) released in 1954 reveal public unease about what scientists could do.

Einstein and modernity in Japan

Although the first Japanese Nobel Prize was awarded to Yukawa in 1949, the large-scale, public impact of the Prize was first felt in Japan over a quarter of a century earlier. In late 1922, Albert Einstein was invited by the Japanese publishing house

Kaizōsha to visit Japan as part of a lecture tour. En route to Japan on 9 November 1922, it was announced that he had been awarded the Nobel Prize for physics for 1921. This added to the enthusiastic welcome Einstein received on arriving in Japan on 17 November.[5] He stayed six weeks in total.[6] During this time, he influenced the development of Japanese mathematics and physics by stimulating the interest of young Japanese.[7]

Einstein's visit created an 'Einstein boom'. Kaizōsha and local newspapers contributed to the excitement.[8] The public did not always understand the theory of relativity, but things German were highly regarded and Einstein (despite being branded as a non-German by some nationalists at home) was feted as a representative of German science. Japanese enthusiasm for German know-how almost reached cult proportions, with Kaizōsha's four-volume set of the complete works of Einstein (the first in the world) selling around 4,000 copies during this 'boom'. The enthusiasm reflects the thirst for scientific knowledge which prompted the emergence of the first popular science magazines that began to appear in the early 1920s: *Kagaku chishiki* (*Scientific Knowledge*) in 1921 and *Kagaku gahō* (*Science Illustrated*) in 1923.[9]

Kaneko Tsutomu argues that Einstein's tour of Japan, and subsequent visits to South America and the United States, helped transform Einstein into a charismatic figure who was acclaimed wherever he went.[10] Kaneko suggests that the Einstein boom not only transformed Einstein into a media personality but served as a catalyst for the introduction of a Western-inspired modernity in Japan.[11] Viewed in this way, Einstein's visit to Japan can be considered part of the creative context of the Taishō period (1912–26) when Crown Prince Hirohito himself became interested in science. Einstein embodied the idea of the importance of the individual in society, and seemed to indicate that each person could contribute to society by striving for excellence, and speaking out on political matters. However, responses to the Great Kantō Earthquake that occurred soon after his visit on 1 September 1923, arguably reflected the tensions between the desire for greater individualism and the reality that Japan was a new nationalist state fearful of political dissent. The earthquake destroyed almost 44 per cent of Tokyo. Japanese leftists, Koreans and Chinese were wrongly accused of sabotage and murdered by the authorities and mobs of people.[12]

Einstein's work was viewed as heralding a new era by political activists. Japan in the early 1920s provided a particularly appropriate context for his ideas, his anti-war views and for modern physics in general. It was a time of political change, with the founding of the Japan Communist Party, the era of so-called Taishō democracy. Japanese intellectuals equated the physical world and Einstein's revolutionary ideas with social change. The National Federation of Students' Self-Government Associations championed Einstein and telegraphed in Kyoto: 'We pay our great respect to your attitude during the World War of all-out resistance to capitalist nations and the war they brought about'. Relativity had become politicised.[13]

On his way home from Japan, Einstein wrote to student activists and members of the Japanese Proletarian Alliance who had welcomed him to Japan. He wrote of his fear of growing militarism, and hoped that the Japanese would move toward

a path of international cooperation.[14] Like Yukawa at a later time, Einstein felt that intellectuals could play a valuable role in the peace movement, and his Nobel Prize was an indicator of a special status.

The emperor as a scientist

At the end of the Second World War, there were calls for the emperor to be put on trial as a war criminal. There were rumours that the emperor might abdicate. However, for General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP), the emperor was more useful alive and on the throne. In August 1946, Kamei Fumio's film *The Japanese Tragedy* was banned for suggesting that the emperor had been a war criminal. Made for the newsreel company Nippon Eigasha (known as Nichi-ei), the film used photographs, newspaper clippings, and excerpts from newsreels and documentaries to show how the emperor and others had glorified the war effort. In one shot, an image of the emperor dressed in military uniform dissolved into a postwar image of the emperor in civilian clothes, meek and mild.[15]

In April 1948, the Analysis and Research Division of the Civil Information and Education Section of GHQ SCAP reported on a four-page spread in the illustrated magazine *Asahi gurafu* (circulation 25,000) which consisted of photographs taken in the Imperial Palace grounds in Tokyo. The article was entitled 'The Imperial Palace Comes Before the Camera'. The gaze of the camera reflected the eyes of the people. The photos were taken by a member of the first group of cameramen to photograph the inner grounds, when the palace was opened to the public. One photograph strategically revealed the emperor's biological laboratory.[16]

In August 1948, the popular science magazine *Kagaku asahi* published an article on the emperor as a scientist. It throws light on how the media helped construct the emperor not only as a man of peace, but as a man of science and a man of the people. The article took the form of an interview between an unnamed journalist and two scientists, Dr Hattori Hirotarō and Saitō Tsugio, who were both associated with the Biological Laboratory of the Imperial Household. Hattori was Chief of the Laboratory. Saitō, who was employed at the laboratory, said very little.[17]

Hattori explained that the laboratory had originally been built in 1925 at the Takanawa Palace in the grounds of the Akasaka Detached Palace in Tokyo. The laboratory was a facility built expressly for the use of Crown Prince Hirohito. When Hirohito became emperor in 1926 and moved to the Imperial Palace, the laboratory went with him. Whereas previously it had occupied a rather modest space of 45 *tsubo* (one tsubo = approximately 36 square feet), the new laboratory occupied a much larger 250 *tsubo*. The traditional-style Japanese building was completed in September 1928 – rather timely as Hirohito's collecting had begun in earnest the year before. A photograph of the laboratory accompanied the article. While the interior was not revealed, the message was that Japan had not rejected tradition. It continued to shape Japan's path to modernity.

Hattori suggests that the military had initially expressed dismay at the Prince's interest in biology, but after four or five years they became reluctantly used to the

idea. After the events of 26 February 1936 when young officers led an attempted coup, calling for a 'Shōwa Restoration', the military became more supportive of the emperor and his interest in research.[18]

Leonard Mosley, in his biography of the emperor, suggests that even after the events of 1936, court officials felt that the emperor's study of biology was excessive and that his time would be better spent reading of the Chinese classics. One official went so far as preventing delivery to the Imperial Palace of some scientific films on marine life and seashore flora. Baron Harada, secretary to Prince Saionji, is said to have recorded in his diary for 1937 and 1938 that Baron Kido Koichi had remarked, 'It has to be confessed that the emperor possesses all the excessive characteristics of a scientist, and hence no sympathy for the thinking of rightwingers and the like'.[19]

Hattori argued that, from the very beginning, he was convinced of the need for the emperor to gather specimens and examine them under the microscope himself rather than rely on assistants. He called him 'the human emperor who loves science' (*kagaku o aisuru ningen tennō ni tsuite*). Japan's traditions and modernity were not incompatible. As proof of this, the article was accompanied by photographs of the emperor-scientist in action.

In June of that year, the emperor and empress traveled to the imperial villa at Nasu in the north-eastern part of Tochigi prefecture, a summer resort area renowned for its natural beauty including azaleas. During the ten-day trip, the emperor spent four or five hours each day strolling around the tableland near his residence. The photographs carried the heading 'The Recent Emperor'. Gone was the militaristic attire and in its place the emperor wore a soft hat, a casual suit and no tie. One photograph showed the emperor crouching down to collect slime mould, while another shows him cutting an azalea branch. In a third photograph, he is accompanied by Empress Nagako who holds a parasol to protect them from the sun. She points to a specimen on the ground before them. As the caption put it, the emperor had quietly been doing his research, getting to know the natural environment around him.[20] The emperor collected slime moulds, ferns, and seed plants when he visited Nasu.[21]

The photographs had interesting parallels to late nineteenth century images of Emperor Meiji and his consort overseeing the cultivation of silkworms within the Imperial Palace. In both the Meiji period and postwar Shōwa period, the emperor was a symbol of industriousness, spurring the Japanese to work for the good of the nation. The postwar images of the emperor sought to associate his collecting with the creation of a new and better Japan. In the wake of the loss of Empire and the devastation of much of Japan, the nostalgia for the colonial impulse to collect other cultures was confined literally to the emperor's backyard.

It was revealed in the article that the emperor referred to Dr Hattori as 'sensei' ('teacher'), a marker of respect and deference. While Hattori, in turn, kept a deferential distance from the emperor when he visited the laboratory every Thursday and Saturday, it was sometimes difficult to avoid coming into contact with the emperor in the confines of the laboratory. In this way, the emperor was reconstructed as the 'human emperor' who got his hands dirty, and also came into

close contact with his subjects. But most importantly, even the emperor showed due respect to those who had achieved excellence.

Despite not yet having written a scientific paper, it was suggested that the emperor had developed an international reputation in his own right. He had been made an honorary member of the Linnean Society back in 1930, joining the likes of the Queen of England, the Prince of Wales, and the King of Sweden. Hattori also revealed that the Emperor had mastered French, followed by English and German. In this way, the emperor was portrayed as an international scientist, albeit an unpublished one. The reason for the lack of publications, it was argued, was that it had been deemed inappropriate for him to attach his name to biological specimens that he might discover, lest it give the impression that he was neglecting his public duties. Now in a more 'democratic' Japan, it was felt that the emperor need not hold back. In the new Japan, the emperor-scientist could enjoy the freedom to study and publish his scientific work. Occupation authorities had expressed surprise at what he had achieved and his reluctance to publish, but the response from Hattori was that at the time, it was just not deemed possible.[22]

The emperor was at the time of the interview working on specimens collected from Sagami Bay and examining hydrozoa which were plentiful in the area but yet to become the object of much research.[23] It has also been suggested in an article over 40 years later in *Look Japan* that he chose to specialise in hydrozoa from the range of invertebrates as 'they seemed to suit his self-effacing personality'.[24] The last four words were repeated under a photograph showing the late emperor peering at a bottled specimen in his hands: 'Hydrozoa: Suited the Late Emperor's Self-Effacing Personality'. The same article also showed the emperor in action, peering through a microscope to examine a specimen. The caption to this photograph assured readers that 'The Emperor's Keen Eye Quickly Selected the Most Important Specimens'.[25] Not only did the emperor have a good eye, but he was modest as well.

Sagami Bay was a rich area for collecting. The HMS Challenger Expedition had visited the Bay when the ship stopped off in Japan in 1875 during its voyage around the globe from 1872 to 1876.[26] The US Bureau of Fisheries Steamer 'Albatross' also visited Sagami Bay in 1906 prior to its Philippine Expedition from 1907 to 1910.[27]

The emperor's research method basically involved the collection of specimens, sorting them, and classifying them. The emperor would collect marine organisms whenever he stayed at Sagami Bay. He then handed them to artists at the Biological Laboratory to paint while the specimens were still fresh. Interestingly, this provided better documentation than colour photography could offer at the time. It is said that over the years, more than 28,000 marine specimens were sent to the emperor from throughout the world for classification.[28] He in turn would lend specimens to various experts to work on, apart from hydrozoa or hydroids which he kept for himself as they were his specialty and the object of his lifework. In time, electron-scanning micrographs would supplement hand-drawn illustrations in the monographs which were generated by the laboratory. This can be seen in one of the last monographs to

be published before he died, Nakamura Kōichirō's *The Sea Spiders of Sagami Bay* (1987).[29]

In the same month as the *Kagaku asahi* profile of the emperor as a scientist, a cartoon appeared in the 1 August 1948 issue of the popular, left-wing magazine *Shinsō* that ridiculed the new portrayal. Entitled 'Diary of the Human Emperor: The Case of the Unusual Microorganism', the cartoon showed the emperor waiting with an attendant in a research boat while a diver collects specimens. The emperor looks excitedly at a sample and speeds back to his palace laboratory where he peers through a microscope and is amazed to find a multi-legged organism waving a flag and holding up a placard stating 'I demand the emperor's abdication!'.[30]

Less than a year later, an article appeared in the *Melbourne Herald* (19 March 1949) which also was somewhat perplexed at the emperor's rather mundane hobby. The journalist G. Ward Price reported on how the emperor devoted most of his leisure time to marine biology and that the emperor had intimated to him that he hoped to soon produce a book on molluscs. Under the sketched portrait of the emperor were the words 'Hirohito, writing book on molluscs'.[31]

There appears to have been a major campaign to promote the emperor as a scientist. In May 1949, a book entitled *Tennō to seibutsugaku kenkyū* (*The Emperor and Biological Research*) by Tanaka Toku was published. The book included intimate photographs of the emperor casually collecting specimens.[32] The empress was included in two of the shots and referred to as the emperor's *kyōryokusha* or someone who assisted him in his endeavours. This image of the emperor as a family man who was close to nature was repeated in another illustrated book entitled *Tennō no inshō* (*Impressions of the Emperor*). All photographs were characterised by their seemingly informal poses.[33]

The marine fauna and flora from Sagami Bay were very rich, and the emperor and his laboratory made a major contribution. Specimens from Sagami Bay ultimately defined the research output of the laboratory for over half a century. It was no coincidence that one of the Emperor's holiday homes was situated nearby at Hayama. While there or at Nasu, he would collect biological specimens.[34] One of the Emperor's early collaborators was Baba Kikutarō (1905–2001). His two major works were *The Opisthobranchia of Sagami Bay Collected by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan* (1949)[35] and *Opisthobranchia of Sagami Bay Supplement Collected by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan* (1955).[36] Both deal with a particular group of mollusca (molluscs) and are interesting, not only because they were the laboratory's first such publications, but they are also noteworthy for the careful descriptions of new species and attractive colour illustrations.

The 1949 publication was reviewed by Tuge (pronounced Tsuge) Hideomi. Tuge noted that the research reported in the book was not by the emperor himself, but that it was conducted under his auspices. Because of this connection, the book served to promote an image, both within Japan and overseas, of the emperor as a scholar. This in turn served to protect and perpetuate the emperor system. Tuge stated that he himself had never heard the emperor present a paper, nor had he seen a scientific article written by the emperor. Given this, Tuge felt that it was difficult to evaluate the emperor as a biologist. Tuge was of the opinion that if

Baba had conducted the research, then it should be published under Baba's name. However, Tuge was realistic enough to acknowledge that if this were the case, it would have been unlikely that such a deluxe book would have been published in the first place.[37]

In contrast to Tuge's critique of the publication, G. Evelyn Hutchinson, an English-born American zoologist at Yale University, waxed lyrical about the book in the October 1950 issue of *American Scientist*. He especially admired the specimens which were illustrated, writing that:

> The opisthobranch mollusks, or sea-slugs, are among the most brilliant and curiously decorative marine organisms, which seem as though they could easily glide in and out of a Japanese print.[38]

Almost all the species of opisthobranch that were reported on were illustrated, 'not only by line drawings of anatomical detail, but as living animals in a series of fifty colored plates of truly imperial excellence'.[39] The beautiful book was seen by Hutchinson as 'representing the best aspect of modern Japanese culture'.[40] In this way, Japanese tradition was linked to modern science.

In 1951, an illustrated children's book was published entitled *Tennō to seibutsu saishū* (*The Emperor and His Collection of Biological Specimens*). It included hand-drawn illustrations and text and photographs. The Introduction to the book stated that through its natural-looking, colour photographs (by Toda Tatsuo) and illustrations (by Okada Sōzō), readers would come to understand how the emperor came to love nature, and how he came to start collecting biological specimens. The story book's young readers were told how many new species had been discovered from among the specimens, and that (as Tuge feared) the emperor was now regarded as a fine biologist throughout the world.[41]

It was not long before another scholarly publication by one of the emperor's collaborators was published. Tokioka Takasi (Takashi) was attached to the Seto Marine Biological Laboratory at Kyoto University. In *Ascidians of Sagami Bay* (1953), Tokioka described morphological characteristics and the geographical distribution of the specimens collected by the emperor. In addition, he illustrated their external forms and anatomical structures. The monograph identified 21 new species.[42]

The emperor was developing an international reputation for his collecting activities. A profile of the emperor in the English language newspaper *Japan News* (26 March 1956) noted how he was a 'Sunday scientist' who relaxed by retreating into the microscopic world of marine life.[43] The many monographs emanating from the Biological Laboratory contributed to his growing reputation. Enough specimens were being accumulated for certain groups to be the subject of entire monographs which dealt principally with the classification of marine specimens. Monographs included volumes on opisthobranchs, ascidians, crabs, hydrocorals, scleractinian corals, shells, sea-stars, and anomura. Anomura are crustaceans that look like crabs but have at most three pairs of walking legs instead of four. Ascidians are a class of sea squirts which often live in shallow waters and can be

found attached to rocks and coral reefs. Opisthobranchs are a subclass of marine organisms that are often naked or unprotected such as sea slugs and pteropods, and have only one gill.[44]

The images contained within the pages included line drawings, reproductions of watercolour and pencil drawings, and electron micrographs. The pictures are not only vital in terms of categorising the specimens, but also attest to the wealth of natural phenomena in Japanese waters. Distributed throughout the world, they provided evidence of the hardworking, scholarly emperor. The emperor's collecting reassured Japan that despite the indignities of wartime, over-fishing and pollution, the nation's natural inheritance had somehow been preserved. The emperor's scholarship served to extend the taxonomies of science, bringing order into the seeming chaos of Sagami Bay. His collecting was seasonal – confined to his leisure time and visits to his holiday homes.

In the 8 November 1954 issue of the newspaper *Asahi shinbun*, it was reported that the *ningen tennō* ('human emperor') had traveled to Izu peninsula, an area located south-west of Tokyo, and south of Mt Fuji. An area renowned for its beautiful scenery, Izu is part of a national park. The emperor had spent five days visiting Izu, and was heading back to Tokyo that day, accompanied by the empress. The article emphasised how that part of the itinerary was a strictly private one. Requests for official visits and inspections during this time were refused. Instead, this final part of the trip was solely spent conducting biological research. The article suggested that it was, in some ways, a test case for possible future research trips.

The article emphasised the ordinariness of the emperor. He maintained a low profile, riding in a relatively inconspicuous Cadillac which did not fly the emperor's flag. As if to prove it, the article included a picture of a cardigan-clad scholar-emperor aboard the ship Hayama-maru. Although he was accompanied by assistants, the photographs showed an 'active' emperor, looking out to sea in search of marine specimens. What's more, the article suggested that he was a gentleman with a sense of humour who enjoyed cracking jokes and who was, at the same time, a loving family man.[45]

Japan's first Nobel Prize

In 1949, Yukawa Hideki was awarded Japan's first Nobel Prize for his achievements in theoretical physics, part of which was carried out during the Second World War. At the dinner which followed the award ceremony, he told how the Japanese people, then in the process of rebuilding Japan, were greatly encouraged by the news.[46] The euphoria that followed Yukawa's award has been labelled the 'Yukawa Effect'. Coming at a time of Allied occupation, the prize served to bolster the self-confidence of the Japanese and like the example of the emperor, changed Japanese attitudes to science. The National Diet passed two resolutions recommending an increase in government funding of research and development. A building in honour of Yukawa ('Yukawa Hall') was constructed on the campus of Kyoto University, officially opening in 1952. In 1953, the Research Institute for

Fundamental Physics (RIFP) which served as a gathering point for the Elementary Particle Theory Group, was established in Yukawa Hall, and headed by Yukawa.

Yukawa's colleague Tomonaga Sin-itirō received the prize for his contribution to elementary particle physics in 1965, again for work that evolved partly during the war. The Nobel Prize was long in coming. In 1946 Tomonaga won the Asahi Cultural Prize for his work on meson theory and his super-many-time theory. He was awarded the Japan Academy Prize in 1948, along with Kotani Masao, for their joint research on magnetrons.

There has been a perception that scholars who have been 'prized' internationally deserve to be listened to on a variety of matters, not always connected with their area of specialisation. These 'experts' were public men. The Japanese embraced Tomonaga and Yukawa as 'experts' to whom they could defer. The status of laureate created a market for their extensive writings. Tomonaga's writing became almost as well-known as his physics.[47] It also gave them international credibility when they championed the cause of nuclear disarmament.

Scientists and Godzilla

At the same time, however, the Japanese public entertained mixed feeling about scientists who understood the atom. The depiction of scientists in Godzilla monster movies of the 1950s reflected the sometimes ambivalent feeling that the Japanese had regarding science. It was during the 1950s that fear of the 'nuclear' and radioactivity became more widespread. In the United States, a number of horror movies were made in which monsters were created or woken up as a result of the use of nuclear weapons. In 1953, *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms* attacked New York City and this was followed by an invasion of monster ants in Los Angeles, in the film *Them!* (1954).[48] In such films, the Cold War has often been depicted using imaginary monsters, which in many ways could be likened to fighter planes. It can be argued that Americans and Japanese projected their fear of nuclear war onto a mutant monster in order to be able to overcome such fears by defeating it.[49] The Japanese film, *Rodan* (1956), was about flying monsters as well which were hatched as a result of bomb tests. The population scanned the skies for sign of the monsters. Almost every such monster film showed the Cold War features of (1) mass evacuation; (2) the destruction of cities; (3) mobilisation of troops; and (4) presence of scientific advisers.[50]

The first atomic mutant monster film to be produced by the Japanese film industry was *Godzilla* produced by Tōhō studios in 1954. The location this time was Tokyo. It was around this time that Seventh Day Adventists became convinced of a 'Second Coming', which would be preceded by an Armageddon of nuclear war.[51] The American atomic bomb tests in the Pacific brought up from the depths of the ocean Godzilla, a 400 foot prehistoric reptile that, unfortunately for the Japanese, stomped all over Tokyo. *Godzilla* resulted in the first Japanese movie to achieve international financial success. *Godzilla* combined the familiar themes of wiped-out cities, prehistoric animals and the 'monstrous' results of scientific experiments. This

film reflected general concern throughout the world about the hydrogen bomb tests occurring in the Pacific.[52]

Godzilla had been greatly influenced by the rerelease of *King Kong* in 1952 and *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms*. *Godzilla* became a box office hit. Tōhō knew a good 'thing' when they saw it, and began churning out monster movies such as *Rodan* (1956), and *Mothra* (1961).[53] By 2004, Godzilla had starred in some 28 feature films.[54]

Godzilla was resurrected by American hydrogen bombs, and the Beast from 20,000 Fathoms and the Deadly Mantis were melted out of a frozen state. Scientists went down a tunnel to see the forbidden sight of a monster hatching from its egg. Radioactive birth, monsters and malformed offspring were linked. These 1950s monsters symbolised the punishing of mankind for tampering with nature via technology, a theme which echoed that of the mad scientist in the 1920s to 1940s. In a time of McCarthyism, doubts about American Cold War heroes and the wonders and benefits of their technological tools were thought of as disloyal and discouraged. The science fiction movies thus provided the means by which doubts could be expressed as to the wisdom of more bomb tests, in a more veiled manner.[55]

Postwar movies tended not to show mad scientists. Instead, a clean-cut, white-suited scientist would help to destroy the monster (alias nuclear weapon) with a new radioactive isotope. Good science was portrayed as being victorious over the bad effects of science.[56] Other movies of the 1950s, of monsters which were mutated or destroyed by nuclear energy, included: *It Came from Beneath the Sea* (1955, giant octopus), *Gigantis* (1955), *Tarantula* (1955), *Attack of the Crab Monsters* (1956), *Beginning of the End* (1957, locusts), *Earth versus the Spider* (1958), *The Fly* (1958), *Behemoth, the Sea Monster* (1959), and *The Black Scorpion* (1959).[57]

Godzilla and the Japanese monster movies represent an attempt by the Japanese to come to terms with nuclear history and its effects on Japanese society. On 6 November 1952, the United States exploded its first hydrogen bomb in the Pacific and in the following year the Soviet Union also exploded one. In March 1954, 28 military personnel and 239 Marshall Islanders were exposed to fallout from an H-bomb explosion. A Japanese tuna boat called the *Fukuryū Maru* or *Lucky Dragon* was also hit by the fallout and as a result the crew developed radiation sickness and one soon died. The Japanese protests against the bomb tests grew and the Japanese became more concerned with those who survived Hiroshima. Tōhō Studios meanwhile began production of its first monster movie.[58]

The Japanese monsters can be seen as both metaphors for nuclear weapons and for the United States. *Godzilla* thus addresses the United States–Japan relationship, and more specifically nuclear war, the Allied Occupation, and hydrogen bomb tests.[59] In some ways Japan was like Godzilla which had awoken from an imperial past and faced a postwar industrial future. Despite all this, the film was also popular in the United States. It was perhaps easier for Americans to project their own nuclear fears onto another culture and thereby allow it to remain more of an imaginary scenario.[60]

The version of *Godzilla* which was released in the United States was reedited by Embassy Pictures. More than 30 minutes were cut and new scenes were added with Raymond Burr as the reporter Steve Martin. Direct references to Hiroshima and songs about peace were cut from the film. *Godzilla* (*Gojira* in Japanese) became *Godzilla, King of the Monsters* (1956) in order to link the film somehow with King Kong. Dialogue about the sacrifice of young women to Godzilla by Micronesian islanders is also added, thus supporting the parallels with King Kong and thus changing the story.[61]

There is a strong Japan-centred dimension to postwar Japanese movies which tends toward the idea of a people 'wronged' and 'Japan as Victim'. The perception of Japan as atomic bomb victim and as a victim of technology, especially American technology, is pervasive.[62] This, too, in no small way can be linked to the deference to the United States and the anti-American tenor of much popular culture in postwar Japan.

It is interesting to examine the ideology which has been built around the atomic bombing of Japan and the concept of 'Japan as Victim'. Associated with this is the strong belief in technology which some commentators describe as 'technological fatalism'. It is interesting to speculate that if the Japanese were in possession of the bomb and the historiography had shown this to the world after the war, how very different things may have been. Tsurumi Shunsuke has no qualms in stating that the Japanese would have used the bomb if it had been at their disposal, but attempts to separate such actions as the will of the government, not the people. The Japanese people are therefore justified, as human beings, to protest against the use of nuclear weapons for they do not do so in the name of their government.[63]

Donald Richie has described how Japanese films have tended to portray the atomic bombing of Japan as ruining the country and their future and that all the Japanese could do after the war was to sit down and bemoan the fact.[64] The Japanese monster pictures of the 1950s and 1960s are seen as further exploiting the idea of a people poorly done by for the monsters just happen to pick Japan because it knows so much about total devastation.[65] It is pertinent, however, that it is scientists who come to the rescue of Japan for in tandem with the image of Japan as victim is the equally potent belief in technology.

Scientists as men of peace

Both Yukawa and Tomonaga used their status as Nobel laureates to campaign for nuclear disarmament. Being both Japanese (as 'victims' of the bomb) and physicists (the creators), they occupied a special position. Yukawa was one of 11 signatories to the Russell–Einstein Manifesto, authored by eight Nobel Prize winners and other scientists.[66] In 1955, the year after *Godzilla* was released in Japan, Yukawa became a member of the World Peace Appeal Group of Seven Committee, along with Shimonakaya Saburō, Kaya Seiji (professor in metallurgical physics, Tokyo University) and others. They were later joined by Tomonaga and the Nobel-Prize-winning novelist, Kawabata Yasunari.[67] The group became part of the League for the Establishment of a World Federation of Nations.

The Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs were also a manifestation of the desire of scientists to become public watchdogs. In 1957, the First Pugwash Conference was held in Canada. Many of the participants were physicists. Yukawa, Tomonaga and Yukawa's nephew Ogawa Iwao, who had conducted research on radiation, were amongst them.[68] In 1958, Yukawa became an adviser to the World Association of World Federalists (WAWF). At the 1961 world conference in Vienna he was elected president, and continued in that position until 1965.

Yukawa called for other countries to follow Japan's example of a 'peace constitution' and to renounce war. He had hopes for a revitalised United Nations as a true world federation. He felt that world federation should, however, be achieved concurrently with global reduction in armaments.[69]

By the 1960s, the emperor, along with Japan's scientists, had become symbols of peace. This was in contrast to competing images of scientists having been responsible for the atomic bomb, and the view of the emperor as war criminal responsible for Japan's involvement in the Pacific War. But it was not until as late as 1967 that a scientific paper was published under the emperor's actual name.[70] In the foreword to a paper published in 1977, he wrote of how he had spent his leisure time for over 50 years pursuing his study of biology with the guidance of Dr Hattori Hirotarō and then with Dr Tomiyama Ichirō. The emperor effectively recast the entire Shōwa period (beginning in 1926) as a time of science rather than empire-building and war.[71]

The emperor managed to combine his interest in biology with cultural diplomacy, but this time science seemed decoupled from empire. This is despite the fact that the very paper entitled 'Five Hydroid Species from the Gulf of Aqaba, Red Sea' was the result of a gift of eight specimens received on 11 December 1974, from Crown Prince Hassan bin Talal, who had visited the emperor at his palace in Tokyo earlier that year. Hydroids or hydrozoa are multicellular marine animals in which the cells are derived from two layers, the epidermis and gastrodermis.[72] The specimens became part of the collection of the Biological Laboratory of the Imperial Household.[73]

The international image of science was highlighted by the emperor's acknowledgement of the assistance of American scientists whom he had met during a visit to the United States in 1975. He thanked Dr F.M. Bayer, curator in the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution, and Dr James D. Ebert, ex-Director of the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole, Massachusetts.[74] The state would continue to promote positive images of science and technology and the beneficial aspects of the United States–Japan relationship. Since 1985, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, originally founded by a grant from the emperor in 1932, has awarded the International Prize for Biology to commemorate the emperor's long-term interest in biological research.[75]

A revised edition of *The Opisthobranchia of Sagami Bay Collected by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan* (1949) appeared in 1990, the year after the emperor had died. It was claimed in the Foreword that 'while collecting specimens, the emperor took great care not to injure or destroy any which were not needed for his research, and immediately returned to the sea everything that he considered

unnecessary for this purpose'.[76] Thus in death, the emperor-scientist was portrayed as a gentle man who respected the life of the marine organisms he studied.

The publications which emanated from the Biological Laboratory of the Imperial Household show how new technologies did not always displace older ones. Despite the introduction of photography in the nineteenth century, line drawings and coloured pencil and watercolour illustrations continued to be included even in the laboratory's more recent publications. As Alex Soojung-Kim Pang explains, while photography might have initially encouraged illustrators to achieve more accuracy, the emergence of photomechanical printing technologies encouraged simpler zoological illustrations. Half-tone printing may have facilitated reproduction of photographs, but it worked best with line drawings.[77] And even when colour photography became more commonly available, black and white photographs were sometimes preferred for illustrations. In *The Brittle Stars of Sagami Bay* (1982), we see two pages of colour photographs, with the remainder of the plates consisting of black and white photographs. Black and white line drawings continued to be included in the text. This was also the pattern in another monograph *The Sea-Stars of Sagami Bay* (1973).[78] Even when more colour plates are included such as in *The Crustacean Anomura of Sagami Bay* (1978), there were still only two pages of colour photographs. The remaining two pages of colour plates were reproductions of colour drawings and watercolours.[79] Reflecting this longstanding preference for hand-drawn representations of natural phenomena, *The Crabs of Sagami Bay* (1965) consists almost completely of colour plates of colour drawings.[80]

Despite Hirohito's death in 1989, his research left a considerable legacy. His eldest son, the current Emperor Akihito, developed an interest in marine biology,[81] and the collections that Hirohito left behind continued to be a source of interest. In 1997, the former Portugese President Mario Soares visited Japan and requested that a selection of shellfish specimens collected by Hirohito be exhibited in the Japan Pavilion at the World Exposition '98 in Lisbon, Portugal.[82] In 1999, the magazine *Bungei shunju* published two articles by Akihito: an article on the history of Japanese science and a more technical paper on the development of gobioid fish.[83] Both were accompanied by expert commentary and illustrations: a photograph of Akihito in his Akasaka laboratory in 1984, reading a scientific paper with his microscope in the background; and line drawings of the fish that he studied.

In this chapter, we have seen how the Japanese media helped to reinvent the emperor as a scientist. Such a strategy was not an entirely safe one. There were other images of 'the scientist' in circulation, both positive and negative. These images ranged from Einstein to Yukawa, and it is fortunate that both were associated with peace. Their faces became part of Japanese popular culture. But the space that they occupied in the Japanese imagination was shared by other faces and possible futures. Godzilla showed that science could be a force for both good and bad. The Godzilla films helped the Japanese deal with the war in an indirect fashion, by re-enacting stories of Japan under attack. The biological specimens that the emperor collected from Sagami Bay helped the Japanese to forget their wartime past.

Epilogue

The death of the Shōwa Emperor

At the Tokyo Olympics in 1964, Emperor Hirohito confessed to Edwin O. Reischauer, the US Ambassador, that it was the first time since 1957 that he had attended a public spectacle. In 1957 he and the empress had attended a performance of Kabuki.[1] While this might suggest that he was cut off from the Japanese people, he hastened to add that this was not the case as he was a keen watcher of television. It is ironic that not only did the television screen provide a window to the lives of the imperial family, but it, in turn, provided the emperor with a window to lives of the Japanese people.

Roland Barthes viewed the Imperial Palace and Emperor Hirohito as providing Tokyo with an 'empty' centre. He wrote of 'our synesthetic sentiment of the City which requires that any urban space have a center to go to, to return from, a complete site to dream of and in relation to which to advance or retreat; in a word, to invent oneself'.[2] While the Shōwa Emperor has, in the past, provided Japan with a 'centre' by which to orient itself, in the postwar years, the centre shifted to the Japanese economy. The *White Paper on Japan's Economy 1961* produced by the Japanese government bore the subtitle 'Consumption is a Virtue: The Era of Throw-Away Culture Begins', as if declaring the idea that waste is a virtue.[3] The Japanese were encouraged to believe that through careful shopping they could acquire good taste, improve themselves, be happier and more attractive. Consumerism came to be seen as part of the expression of individual identity.

By the late 1980s, the emperor was back in the news. Many media outlets were waiting for the event of the decade: the death of the emperor. Obituaries for the emperor had already been prepared, and it was generally known that Hirohito was not in the best of health. In 1988, numerous small, progressive groups of citizens gathered in Tokyo to discuss the wartime responsibility of the emperor. There were rallies and many publications which contemplated the end of the Shōwa era. The mayor of Nagasaki was harassed for his public comments on the role of the emperor during the Second World War, but there were no major clashes or incidents involving right-wing activists, as was feared. It seemed as if saturation media coverage of the emperor's illness that year had taken its toll on even them.

In order to ensure that the emperor would be remembered as an international man of science, rather than a man of war, an exhibition was held during the summer of 1988 at the National Science Museum in Ueno Park, Tokyo. It was open from 5 July through to 7 August 1988. The exhibition, to commemorate

the 110th anniversary of the museum, was entitled *Tennō heika no seibutsugaku gokenkyū* (*The Biological Research of His Majesty the Emperor*), and sponsored by the Ministry of Education, the Tokyo Education Committee, and the newspaper company Yomiuri Shinbunsha. The exhibition publication included an opening greeting from Frederick M. Bayer, curator in the Department of Invertebrate Zoology in the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. The exhibition and publication included many photographs which documented the emperor's love of nature from when he was a young boy collecting insects in 1911 through to when he was a young man and prince regent in his own laboratory in 1925. These served to document his longstanding interest in biology, one which eventually resulted in impressive scholarly publications which were also displayed.[4]

In subsequent months, there were daily reports on how much blood the emperor had lost. The 'vital signs' of his bodily functions were flashed nightly on the news, and one could estimate his chances of survival by looking at his place in the order of news items. First-up in the news meant that the situation was grave. It was during these last months that Prince Aya, second son to the then Crown Prince, left for England to take up studies at Oxford University. His travels back and forth between the United Kingdom and Japan also provided royalty watchers with another means by which to gauge the seriousness of the emperor's illness.

It was reported in the press that the emperor continued to enjoy watching his favourite television programmes, at a time when conservative opinion had it that he was close to comatose. This was but one of the many signs designed to signify that the emperor was still conscious – that Japan still had its long-serving emperor. Tired journalists maintained all-night vigils outside the imperial abode, in order not to miss the moment that so many in the media had been waiting for.

The hotel and hospitality industry made massive losses because of the cancellation of functions and the decline in corporate merrymaking. Various organisations cut back on entertainment, and festivities throughout the country were cancelled lest they be deemed as showing disrespect. The fact that the prolonged illness had already had a negative impact on the services industry led to speculation that the Japanese government sought to avoid any further damage to the Japanese economy, upon the actual death of the emperor.

The emperor died two days after the end of the New Year holiday on Saturday, 7 January 1989. If he had passed away one day earlier, it would have come immediately after the celebrations and spoilt what was considered the start of another happy, prosperous year. It would, furthermore, have been a weekday and consequently the entire weekend would had to have been devoted to mourning. As it was, Japan wept for its emperor on a Sunday, and it was back to business as usual on the following day. It is significant that department stores chose not to close that day, but merely adorned their shop assistants with ribbons of the appropriate colour. Lights were, however, dimmed in the Ginza shopping district.

The amount of television devoted to documentaries on the emperor that weekend raised the ire of many Japanese. It was reported that a number of videotape rental shops had been overwhelmed by patronage from frustrated and bored viewers.

The media commentary was typical of what could be called ‘overkill’; the media had far too long to prepare for what all had known to be imminent. Readymade obituaries, television programmes, and look-alike magazines owed much to the cooperation of the Imperial Household Agency.

The emperor died of cancer, but was never told. The reason, it seems, was that such a revelation would cause him further pain and the nation more anguish despite the heavily promoted image of the emperor as a man of science. One of the Tokyo University professors who had originally diagnosed the cause of the royal illness was persuaded by his colleagues that his findings were ‘inconclusive’. He himself died shortly after from, we are told, natural causes. His widow, however, declared to the world that her husband had been right and truthful in his original diagnosis. Such is the social stigma and connotations of death attached to cancer in Japan.

Among the many magazines that carried articles commemorating the emperor was the monthly popular science magazine *Kagaku asahi* (*Asahi Science*). A series of articles on the biological research of the emperor and his son appeared from January through to April 1989.[5] The final article focussed on how the new emperor, Akihito, took up where his father left off, by also pursuing marine biology. Now readers were provided with photographs of Akihito presenting a scientific paper; Akihito in his laboratory, and Akihito gathering specimens. The series of illustrated articles provided closure on the emperor’s career and looked optimistically to the future.

Takashi Fujitani has written of how the death of the emperor, especially his funeral procession, can be viewed as a performance shaped by the technology of Japan’s electronic media age. He considers the event on 24 February 1989 as a made-for-television ritual event. He argues that what television viewers saw on their screens was constructed by the medium.[6] The motorcade passed the National Diet Building and the Olympic Stadium. Fujitani writes of how, when the imperial hearse passed the Stadium, the image of the hearse was superimposed with an image of the five Olympic rings and the words ‘TOKYO 1964’.[7] This reminds us of how important the Olympiad was, not only for the image of the emperor and Japan, but also of how technology has helped to shape Japanese identity.

Electronic media transformed the way that the Japanese saw the emperor and themselves. Beginning in the nineteenth century with the introduction of photography, television came to be the central technology for the formation of the nation’s memory. Representations of the emperor, we have seen, played a key part. Whereas previously the emperor helped to define the very identity of the Japanese, consumption and arguably over-consumption have seemed to take precedence in recent years.

Identity formation in Japan came to be increasingly blurred or indistinct, and it may be more apt to speak of hybrid or multiple identities which individuals can take on. Technology creates new means for the formation and expression of identity. The internet is a prime example of how technology reflects the expansion of the consumer economy, and how electronic culture is merging with visual culture. The nation-state is no longer the sole arbiter of cultural identity.

Wide access to education in Japan has contributed to increased social mobility. This fluctuation, especially by the upwardly mobile, has led to a desire to assert their social identity through conspicuous consumption (and waste). Imitation by those below them in the hierarchy has spurred a continuing cycle of new fashion and consumption by the upwardly mobile to differentiate themselves from those considered inferior. The fast pace at which this is sometimes done leads to more complex ideas of self than have previously existed.[8] The instability of identity means that individuals feel the need to reinvent themselves, through the purchase of fashion-driven products, and more recently by travelling in cyberspace.[9]

Who was the emperor? And how did photography shape our understanding of his life and achievements? In this book we have seen how the emperor was able to become more visible. Photobooks and albums became a popular format for presenting images of the Meiji emperor, framing his visage within the narrative of a family, and the evolution of a nation. At the same time, the absence of emotion had a distancing effect. Mutsuhito's reluctance to be photographed meant that Japan continued to be associated with a young and awkward-looking monarch, even at the time of his death.

In the twentieth century, photography helped to mediate the relationship between the Shōwa emperor and his public. In the 1920s, photography helped to ease the transition from an active prince regent to emperor. The album format continued to be used to display examples of Japanese imperial achievement, with reports of scientific expeditions to Manchuria and elsewhere, tours of regional Japan, and company visits to promote industry. Wartime images of Hirohito as military leader and demi-god were, in defeat, overtaken by a barrage of images of a more 'human' emperor: humble monarch, family man, loving husband, and marine biologist. Regional tours of Japan during the Occupation period provided photo opportunities for the media and a chance for a still adoring public to discover the reinvented emperor.

Since the end of the Second World War, the nation-state as sole organ of power has been declining, to be replaced by more pluralistic systems where the nation-state shares power with other institutions which are sometimes transnational or more regional in nature. Japanese identity has become increasingly less associated with the relationship between the emperor and the Japanese people. Frustration with the political system has encouraged an inward looking culture, focussing more on the individual's needs. Consumption can be viewed as 'compensation for the failure of the social and political system to provide opportunities for individual liberation and satisfaction'.[10]

We have come to see the way people construct their identities as more complex. Other loyalties have supplanted old nationalisms. In the aftermath of Japan's defeat in the Second World War, the Japanese people were transformed from Hirohito's subjects to Japanese citizens. Biology, it is claimed, provided the emperor with the means for self-actualisation as a scientist.[11] With the declining relevance of the imperial house to their lives, many Japanese have been shopping for an identity, and their 'personal choice' is more about selecting consumer products and a lifestyle than nationalism and political preferences.

In death, it became clear how memories of the emperor were tied to moments captured by the camera. Continuing debates over the emperor's wartime role reflect conflicting representations of the emperor and who he was. Despite the nineteenth-century expectation that the camera could capture 'pictorial truth', we have seen, in this book, how photography has been open to manipulation. Indeed, the persistence of hand-drawn illustrations of biological specimens collected by the emperor in numerous postwar publications suggest that even he realised that photographs were sometimes not always the best way to convey scientific truth. While photography arguably ushered in a period of more objective image-making, it also made plain the contingent nature of representations, and the subjective way in which the subject could be framed and captured.

The artist Felix Gonzalez-Torres suggested that 'We think of ourselves as one, a-historical phenomenon. Actually, we're a compilation of histories, past, present and future, always, always shifting, adding, subtracting, gaining'.[12] The face of the emperor was a work in progress – a shifting target that does not necessarily provide one answer when interrogated. Representations of the emperor in one role served to cast doubt on other representations, especially those associated with the war. Rather than promoting certainty, images of the emperor as family man and scientist were deliberately designed to create doubt.

After the emperor's death, his 29 April birthday became 'Green Day', reinforcing the idea of a nature-loving monarch. On 13 May 2005, almost 60 years after the end of the war, the upper house of Japan's parliament passed a bill to rename this 'Shōwa Day' to unambiguously commemorate Hirohito's reign as emperor. The lower house had previously approved the bill the month before. The renaming of the national holiday was seen as inviting opposition from both China and South Korea, countries where there are still painful memories of the colonial past and the Pacific War.[13] Images of the emperor and Japan's wartime past are still at the centre of continuing debate. For those in Asia, the emperor was regarded as a symbol of Japanese militarism and aggression, but for some Japanese, he is a revered figure, even a man of science.

We have seen in this book how photography played an important role in shaping the imperial identity of the Japanese people, firstly through the propagation of the imperial portrait. Images of military victories and celebrations combined with reports of scientific expeditions and wartime propaganda, to present the Japanese people with a collective sense of superiority over other Asian peoples and suggest that perhaps they were even white. In defeat and with the loss of empire, Emperor Hirohito became a man of science. It was as if Japan had, courtesy of the atomic bomb, decided to tie its future to empiricism and put its belief in the emperor as a living deity aside. The many press photographs of the newly 'human' emperor served to erase wartime memories. Despite the widespread association of photography with realism, the images of the reinvented emperor became, ironically, a way to repress representations of the emperor as wartime leader. In a way, the banality of postwar Japanese consumer culture and the emergence of a techno-nationalism centring on electrical appliances, illustrated the lack of

engagement on the part of the Japanese with their wartime past, and the failure to acknowledge their collective responsibility for the war, and that of the emperor.

Notes

1 Imagining the emperor

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2 The death of the Meiji Emperor

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