

# Off the Beaten Path: (Post-) Colonial Travel Writings on Taiwan

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## 1 *Introduction: Narrating Other, Narrating Self*

This paper deals with an area of Taiwanese literature that is off, way off from the mainstream. In fact, in some circles it may not even qualify as 'Taiwanese Literature'. If the term »mainstream« implies 'common', 'popular', 'easily accessible', and 'commercially viable', the current discussion gestures to a very different sphere of literary production. The language used in this body of literature is not Chinese but Japanese and the writers are Japanese authors, colonial settlers, travelers, and ex-soldiers.

If Taiwanese literature can be defined as written by Taiwanese writers (a loaded term) and/or on the subject matters related to Taiwan, then the body of literature dealt with here would belong to the latter category. Focusing on the travel writing of Taiwan, my paper explores the construction of 'Taiwan' in the colonial and postcolonial eras by various Japanese writers and Taiwanese writers who wrote in the Japanese language.

Initially, I wanted to bring in a comparative perspective by contrasting travel writings written by the native Taiwanese to those written by Japanese

writers during the colonial period in order to think through issues related to modernity, locations, and identity. But surprisingly, I found almost no writings during that period by native Taiwanese writers.

In the classical sense, there were several famous travelogues (*youji* 遊記) such as Yu Yonghe's 郁永河 (1645-?) *Bihai jiyou* 裨海紀游 (A Travel Account Taking Advantage of the Sea, 1697), Luo Dachun's 羅大春 (d1890) *Taiwan haifang bing kaishan riji* 臺灣海防並開山日記 (Taiwan's Sea Defense with a Diary About Exploring the Mountains), Hu Chuan's 胡傳 (1841-1895) *Taiwan riji yu bingqi* 臺灣日記與稟啟 (Taiwan Diary and Report), and Jiang Shiche's 蔣師轍 (1844-1876) *Taiwan riji* 臺灣日記 (Taiwan Diary), just to name a few.

However, these travelogues to and in Taiwan were all written in the 17th to 19th centuries, in other words, prior to the Japanese Colonial period. The authors of these records were predominately officials on expeditions and some exiled literati.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, around the same period, the Taiwanese writer Cai Tinglan 蔡廷蘭 (1801-1859) delineated his unexpected journey to Vietnam in *Hainan zazhu* 海南雜著 (1837).<sup>2</sup> But it seems that until the post-martial law era in the late 1980s, there was an absence of discourse on Taiwan. The nostalgic longing for a primordial landscape and for the grandeur of historical sites and monuments were directed toward the other side of the Taiwan Strait. Perhaps the writing of the Other (be it people or natural landscape) inevitably takes the eye of an outsider. The genre of travel writing stems from meaning-making on the strange and exotic (colonial) frontier. That is, the constructions of Taiwan, both in the pre-colonial and colonial period are seen through the 'imperial gaze'. No other writings within the confines of 'Taiwanese literature', either

1 See Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center, 2004. Harvard East Asian Monographs; 230); Lin Shuhui 林淑慧, »Taiwan Qinqzhi qianqi lüyou shuxie de wenhua yiyun« 臺灣清治前期旅遊書寫的文化義蘊 [The Cultural Significance of Taiwan Travel Writing During the Early Qing], *Zhongguo xueshu niankan* 中國學術年刊 27 (2005), 245-279; id., »Lüyou, jiyi yu lunshu: Cai Tinglan *Hainanzazhu* de kuajie zhi lü 旅遊、記憶與論述—蔡廷蘭《海南雜著》的跨界之旅« [Travel, Memory, and Discourse: Cai Tinglan's Trip to the Land Beyond in »Notes from Hainan«], *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 26,4 (Dec 2008), 219-247.

2 In the fall of 1835, at age 35, Cai Tinglan travelled from Penghu to Fuzhou to take his civil examination. On his way back from Jinmen he encountered a typhoon that took him to Vietnam, a journey that formed the basis for his *Hainan zazhu*. The book provides unique insight into early 19th century Vietnam and was translated into and published in Russian (1872, 1877), French (1878) and Japanese and Vietnamese at the turn of the 20th century. For a detailed study, see Lin Shuhui, *Lüyou, jiyi yu lunshu*.

mainstream or off the mainstream, come close to this genre for its sole focus on the site of 'Taiwan' itself.

Although the travel and ethnographic writings produced by Japanese colonial writers targeted a metropolitan audience, the concretization of knowledge concerning the heretofore »unknown« terrain and its people invoked »the spatial and temporal copresence of a subject previously separated by geographic and historic disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect.«<sup>3</sup> It is this interactive space and time, what Said called »imaginative geography« and what Mary Louise Pratt refers to as the »contact zone«, that a mere descriptive travel account is transformed into a discursive, transactional cultural space.

I have argued elsewhere that in the case of an ethnographer, writer, and aesthete like Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川滿 (1908–1999), whose fascination with traditional Taiwanese folk art dominated his artistic career, his systematization of colonial knowledge later became a source through which the native population conceptualized and even exoticized itself.<sup>4</sup> A more recent case was proposed by Japanese scholar of Colonial Taiwan Marukawa Tetsushi 丸川哲史 (b1963). Marukawa analyzed the representations of Taiwan in the media (TV and print advertisements) of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP or *Minjindang* 民進黨) in the 2000 Presidential election. Marukawa argues that by employing the Taiwanese New Cinema director Wu Nien-jen 吳念真 (b1952) to capture the native landscape and entrusting the theme song to Taiwanese-language folksong singer Chen Mingzhang 陳明章 (b1965), for the first time in Taiwanese history, a concrete visual construct was created to mobilize the voters. In this sense, the lush, green rice fields and the traditional red-brick farm houses evoke a nostalgic rhetoric about Taiwan while at the same time articulating a Taiwanese discourse of the self. Even though the geographical parameters (in this case, the boundaries of Taiwan proper) were historically determined, there is heterogeneity in the power dynamic, manifest in the variety of genres employed and the appropriation of the physical environment that warrants a closer examination of this body of works.

3 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), 6–7.

4 Faye Kleeman, »Cong baodao lai de mingxinpian: Zhimindi zhuyi biaoxiang yu diguo xiangxiangli de jingjie« 從寶島來的明信片：殖民地主義表象與帝國想象力的境界 [Visual Imagination of the Japanese Empire: Production, Appropriation, Circulation, and Transformation], in *Taiwan Imagined and Its Reality: An Exploration of Literature, History, and Culture*, ed. by K. C. Tu (Santa Barbara: University of California at Santa Barbara, 2006), 35–46.

## 2 *Empire, Encounters and (Post-) Colonial Travel Theory*

During the past decades interest in tourism studies has been rekindled, energized by research under perspectives such as postcolonial studies and global studies. Recent studies highlight conflicts between globalization and nationalism, ethnicities and authenticities, gender and colonial space, and reveal the ethical implications of the asymmetrical power dynamic of the tourist gaze and the native.<sup>5</sup> This body of new research places the movement of human and material culture (often the result of the movement of capital) in the context of coloniality of the past and the current neocolonial environments, exploring mobility, diasporas, circulations and transformations of knowledge and goods. They analyze the acceleration of crossing national and other borders seen in tourism through the lens of the (post-) colonial enterprise. In light of the politicization of space and the problematization of pleasure, neither the grand tour of monuments nor the private side trip of a personal nature can be viewed naively as just a simple jaunt.

Japanese colonialism played a major role in shaping East Asian modernity. The process of modernization (i.e., Westernization), filtered through Japanese imperial intentions, zigzagged through the linkage of cosmopolitan cities from Dalian, Seoul, Tokyo, Shanghai, Taipei, to British colonial Hong Kong. The circulation, assimilation, and transformation of a modernity mediated by colonial power are the focus of my current long-term project. This paper, attending to the aforementioned issues, will be a site-specific study of the cultural flows between Taiwan and Japan, addressing explicitly Japanese perceptions of Taiwan from the pre-colonial (mid-18th to late 19th centuries) through the end of the colonial rule in the mid 20th century to current conditions. Inspired by Emma Jinhua Teng's comprehensive and groundbreaking study of the changing Chinese perceptions of Taiwan from the late 17th century on,<sup>6</sup> I will take a parallel look at the Japanese constructions of Taiwan from the late 18th century to the postwar period by delving into various genres of travel writing and the popular mystery novel set in Taiwan, tracing Taiwan's trajectory from 'savage island' to

5 *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, ed. by Alison Blunt and Rose Gillian (New York: Guilford Press, 1994); *The Ethics of Tourism Development*, ed. by Mick Smith and Rosaleen Duffy (London; New York: Routledge, 2003); *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, ed. by C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker (London; New York: Routledge, 2004).

6 Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*.

Japan's 'sovereign territory'. The paper will look at literary and visual representations of the journey taken by the Japanese to Taiwan and assess how the image of Taiwan was appropriated to suit the larger ideological landscape of the empire.

As one of the Asian colonial powers during the period from the late 19th century until the end of the World War II, Japan could not avoid casting its own oriental gaze toward its colonial subjects and landscapes. Fujimori Kiyoshi's study of tourism and its impact on the formation of a modern identity for Japanese intellectuals around the turn of the nineteenth century illustrates two fundamental shifts in Japanese perceptions of their own environment.<sup>7</sup> The nascent practice of tourism (a privilege reserved for high-level bureaucrats and the elite), which mirrored the British »grand tour« tradition of (re-)discovering Greece and Italy, was a nostalgic awakening for the Japanese, leading them to look at their own geographical and cultural landscape anew from the point of view of a foreigner, much like the very successful »Discover Japan« campaign of the 1970s, which mobilized the mass consumption of the leisure time that was being afforded to the middle class for the first time in Japan's history. Fujimori's discussion focuses primarily on domestic travel, but he does mention frequent organized group tours to the colonies (Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan) and their implications for the formation of a modern national consciousness. Fujimori effectively demonstrates, through literary works by Tayama Katai 田山花袋 (1871–1930) and Nagai Kafū 永井荷風 (1879–1959), how tourism at the turn of the century fostered various cultural dichotomies, such as urban/rural, nature/human, and most of all, center/periphery.<sup>8</sup>

In the following sections, I will use an array of print and visual texts to trace Japan's construction and transformation of conceptualizations of Taiwan from early modern times, through the colonial period to the postwar period. The late Tokugawa investigative actual account of people lost at sea called *hyōryūki* 漂流記, which recorded seafarers who inadvertently traveled outside of Japan during the period of the Shogunate's isolationist policy (*sakoku* 鎖國), was revived in Meiji boys' literature to inspire and accommodate an expanding Imperial ambition. Depictions of Taiwan in popular media such as newspapers and magazines around the Sino-Japanese war tend to emphasize Japan's civilizing mission. Works during the colonial period diverged, with Nishikawa Mitsuru's 西川満

7 Fujimori Kiyoshi 藤森清, »Meiji sanjūgonen tsuurizumu no sōzōryoku 明治三十五年・ツーリズムの想像力« [1902: The Imaginative Power of Tourism], in *Media hyōshō ideorogii* メディア・表象・イデオロギー [Media, Representation, Ideology], ed. by Komori Yōichi 小森陽一 & al. (Tōkyō: Ozawa shoten, 1998), 53–68.

8 Ibid.

(1908–1999) romantic topographical read of Taiwan (*Kareitō shōka* 華麗島頌歌) and his constructions of historical space (*Sairiuki* 採硫記, *Taiwan sōkan tetsudō* 臺灣縱貫鐵路) differing drastically from the works of writers such as Kitahara Hakushū 北原白秋 (1885–1942), Sata Ineko 佐多稲子 (1904–1998) or Nogami Yaeko 野上弥生子 (1885–1985) who visited as official guests of the Governor-General. The narratives of the native writer Lü Heruo 呂赫若 (1914–1951), who depicted a Japanese sojourner in the short story *Gardenia* (「Yulanhua」 玉蘭花, 1943),<sup>9</sup> and Hikage Jōkichi 日影丈吉 (1908–1991), a popular postwar mystery writer who drew on his experiences as a soldier stationed in Taiwan, blending a dreamy yet vivid local landscape into his gothic tales, provide a non-imperial (if not anti-imperial) perspective. Records of actual trips, such as Japanese student's homage to battlefields and shrines across the colonies, or the Showa Emperor's royal visit to Taiwan will be used to compare and contrast the presentational and representational gap in this genre. Using David Spurr's exploration of the formation of colonial discourse through the examination of journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration, this article looks at the Japanese construction of Taiwan from the pre-colonial conceptualization through the high colonial period to postcolonial writings. In *The Rhetoric of Empire*,<sup>10</sup> Spurr identifies eleven basic rhetorical features of colonial discourse and studies how they were deployed. Though he draws his examples primarily from British, French, and American writing of the 19th and 20th centuries, the implications of his study can be applied to different colonial situations. His list ranges from scientifically neutral-sounding classification, naturalization, and appropriation, to demeaning terms such as debasement, negation, and surveillance, to more positive aesthetic interventions like idealization, aestheticization, eroticization, and affirmation. Many of the travel accounts of the colonial period can fit into one or more of Spurr's rhetorical devices. By contrasting the pre-colonial value-neutral depiction with discourses infused with a civilizing mission in the early stages of colonial conquest, to the ideologically-bound high colonial period, and finally to the postcolonial enigmatic deciphering of the colonial past, this paper attempts to give a fuller picture of the development of the Japanese discourse on Taiwan.

9 First published in *Taiwan bungaku* 台湾文学 4,1 (Dec 1943), 119–131. Text quoted from reprint in *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakubimshū* 日本統治期台湾文学：日本人作家作品集 [Taiwan literature under Japanese occupation: Anthology of Japanese authors], 4 vols., ed. by Nakajima Toshio 中島利郎 and Kawahara Isao 河原功 (Tōkyō: Ryokuin shobō, 1998), 2: 263–275.

10 David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1993).

### 3 Popular Imaginations and Meiji Modernity

Taiwan, as an island located distinctively to the South of Japan, occupied a major place in Japan's articulation of a Southern vision. In my previous work on the colonial cultural milieu in Taiwan and the South Pacific during the Japanese occupation (1895–1945), I examined the literary construction of the South and its colonial vision.<sup>11</sup> Largely based on Yano Tooru's 矢野暢 studies on the South Pacific (*Nanyō* 南洋, *Nanpō* 南方), the discourse of the south differs from the later colonial discourse of the North (which mainly centered on Manchuria and Mongolia). The political, economic, and military variations in the nature of the colonial administration are also manifested in literary and cultural representations of the two colonies. The longing for the south (*nanpō dōkei* 南方憧憬) and the later, northbound imagination (*hoppō gensō* 北方幻想) pervaded Japan's colonial imagination. The two imaginations complimented each other and can serve as a contrast to help us understand how differently the empire was conceptualized in each place.

Japan's popular imagination of the South had its genesis in the popular genre of the seafarer epic, which fascinated male readers at the turn of the century. Adventure epics (*kaiyō shōsetsu* 海洋小説, *bōken shōsetsu* 冒險小説) such as the popular series of heroic tales created by Oshikawa Shunrō 押川春浪 (1876–1914), including works like *Ocean Island Adventurous Tales: The Underwater Fleet Ship* (*Kaidō bōken kidan kaitei gunkan* 海島冒險奇譚：海底軍艦, 1900) or *Heroic Tales: New Japan Island* (*Eiyū shōsetsu shin Nipponjima* 英雄小説：新日本島, 1906), with its anti-Western nationalistic bent, were hugely popular among male teenage readers.<sup>12</sup> Together with the political novel (*seiji shōsetsu* 政治小説),

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

12 Based on an actual incident in which a battleship commissioned by the Japanese government and built by the French disappeared in the Taiwan Strait in 1886, Oshikawa spun a whole series of fantasy tales similar to Western tales such as *Treasure Island* and *The Count of Monte Cristo* or the Chinese heroic romance of *Water Margin* (*Shuibuzhuan* 水滸傳). Oshikawa's narratives of international intrigue, though highly nationalistic in his outlook, were still a far cry from the advocacy of militarism and hero worship that characterized literature during the Russo-Japanese war and the during the lead-up to the Pacific War. Rather, they emphasized the alliance between the weaker nations who were under the sway of Western imperial powers such as the United States and Britain. See Kitagami Jirō 北上次郎, *Bōken shōsetsu ron kindai hīrō zō* 100

another genre that was also popular among the male readership of the time, these writings were important in fostering in the populace an outlook that was global yet nationalistic. In a sense this literature of geography, in the form of narratives about explorers, surveyors, and geographers as well as other more fantastic storytelling, transported them, in their imagination, beyond the confining boundaries of the nation state. For example, Yamada Bimyō 山田美妙 (1868–1910), who is credited with leading the vernacular movement (*genbun'itchi undō* 言文一致運動) that defined the characteristics of modern Japanese prose, was also preoccupied with the independence movement in the Philippines. His portrayal of the Filipino hero Emilio Aguinaldo (1869–1964) in the novel *The War Tales of Philippine Independence: Aquinaldo* (*Firippin dokuritsu senwa Aginarudo* 比律賓獨立戰話：あぎなるど, 1902) is a passionate plea for the independence of that island nation, which had suffered under the Spanish and American colonial powers.<sup>13</sup> This increasing expansive engagement with the outside world, coupled with the onslaught of a disorientingly fast-paced modern life prompted the preeminent Japanese ethnologist Yanagita Kunio to comment:

The ocean landscape has begun to change dramatically since the beginning of Meiji. There are changes in appearance in the deep mountains with the opening up of railroad and mining or with the flourishing of forestry, but the ocean became even more lively than those. On the whole, things that are active are increasing, and the things that are inactive are on the wane.<sup>14</sup>

Since the late 19th century, these oceanic epics have anchored the southbound imagination of the Japanese public in the infinite vastness and potential of the open seas, a gateway to unknown lands full of treasure, where pirates roam and British and American battleships dominate the horizon as far as the eyes can see. There the burgeoning Japanese navy thought it might be able to join the Powers. These imaginations of colonial landscapes reflected a fantasy that was deeply rooted in Japan's modernization process, a response to the humiliating, emascu-

*nen no bensen* 冒険小説 近代ヒーロー像 一〇〇年の変遷 [Adventure Novels: A Century of Change in the Modern Heroic Image] (Tōkyō: Hayakawa shobō, 1993), 335–341.

- 13 The director Kinugasa Teinosuke 衣笠貞之助 and the script writer Okuni Hideo 小国英雄 planned to make a film on the anti-colonial heroes Aguinaldo and Jose Risal in 1942. In the script, Risal's mother, who was of Chinese descent, was identified as Japanese to emphasize the connection with Japan and their common fight against the US. See Peter B. High, *Teikoku no gimaku* 帝国の銀幕 [The Empire's Silver Screen] (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 1995), 398.
- 14 Yanagita Kunio 柳田国男, *Meiji Taishō shi: Sesōhen* 明治大正史：世相篇 [Meiji and Taishō History: Social Conditions] (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1967), 107.



lating encounter with the West, the subsequent forced opening of Japan, and the unequal treaties that the West had (first the US, later Russia and France) imposed on Japan since the mid-1800s. In the face of this daunting legacy, Japan's newly acquired industrial prowess and its victories against two older empires—China in 1895 and Russia in 1904—prompted a new enthusiasm not only on the part of the government but also the general public to proceed with the colonial expansion.

It is common to point to newly adopted political institutions, growing military might, entrepreneur capitalism, and a program of mass education as indicators of Meiji modernity, but Japan's relationship to the outside world is another area where there is a clear break with pre-modern feudal society. After two and a half centuries of the Shogunate's isolationist policy, the Meiji government was aware of Japan's geopolitical importance in East Asia and was eager to present the image of a modern state that was part, if not yet fully an equal member, of the civilized world. A global outlook fit into this political agenda and the popular media help foster this new world view. The rapid Westernization process not only had universal official support, its influence extended to the everyday life of the populace, from food and fashion to personal imagination and pleasure. Children, particularly teenage boys, were encouraged to allow their ambitions to transcend the boundaries of their native birthplace and even the nation-state by popular slogans such as 'stand up and make something of your life' (*rissbin shusse* 立身出世) or 'go abroad with great ambition' (*tairiku yūbi* 大陸雄飛), or, as the American missionary/teacher Dr. Clark's put it in his popular proclamation to Japanese youth, »Boys, be ambitious!« One theme urged the Japanese to move to the then frontier Hokkaidō to create a new world for themselves.<sup>15</sup> Many popular novels were published with the young male audience in mind, inviting them to boldly seek adventure, if only in their imagination. Titles such as *Success Stories for Young Boys* (*Shōnen rissbiden* 少年立志伝), *Illuminating Models for Young Boys* (*Ichidoku funki shōnen kikan* 一読奮起少年龜鑑), *One*

15 Dr. William Smith Clark (1826–1886) established the Sapporo Agricultural School in 1876 (today's Hokkaidō University) as the first modern university in Japan and a center for modern, scientific, American-style agriculture. His statue, with his finger pointed to the West, which still stands on the high hills overlooking the city, has become one of the most famous tourist sites for visitors who visit Hokkaidō. The colonial nature and the frontier spirit of Hokkaidō as a colonial site in the early Meiji period is attested to by the statue that also graces the university campus, that of the famous colonial scholar Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稻造 (1862–1922) who was a graduate of the Agricultural College.

Hundred Biographies of Boys in China and Japan (*Wakan hyakudōden* 和漢百童伝) made the bestseller lists and magazines catering to young boys were popular.

Being modern means being independent and mobile. Modern human right movements such as the Civil Rights Movement (*Minken undō* 民権運動) of the 1870s and 1880s created a modern subjectivity, an individual who asserts his or her will separate from the feudal family system and is not bound to a birthplace. A fortune was to be obtained and a famous name to be made by leaving one's hometown (*furusato* 故郷) and following where destiny led you. This liberation from the feudal past, coupled with newly improved technologies for mobility (i.e. railroad, steamboat, etc.), and perpetuated by the nationalist, expansionist Imperial discourse as its meta-narrative, drove the ambitious to move around, not only within Japan proper, but also to new worlds outside Japan.

#### 4 *Accidental Travels: Early Meiji Seafarer Accounts and the Discovery of Taiwan*

It is within this socio/cultural context that we will examine one of these Meiji seafarer accounts, *Nihon Hyōryūtan* 日本漂流譚 (1892). Edited and written by Ishii Minji 石井民司 (1865–1943) the editor of the popular teenage boy magazine Little Citizens (*Shōkokumin* 小国民), and published by Gakureisha 学齡社 ('School Age Publisher'), the series states its purpose clearly in its preface. In the Self-Preface (自序), Ishii recalls that he once saw a blue-eyed boy operating a boat with great skill and ease. He asked how he could be so skillful in manipulating the boat. The little boy told him that he was from England, and since that country has long been a seafaring country (*kaikoku* 海国), they »search out their national interest in the most unusual locations, ten thousand miles away, and dispatch their soldiers to foreign countries where they are not expected.« That, he concludes, is why the nation is wealthy and strong. Contrasting this with the condition in Japan, Ishii laments that Japanese adults get dizzy when setting foot onto a boat and their faces turn ashen; they are no match for a British child. Ishii remarks that in the past relying on single-mast sailing vessels, students had gone to China, and his ancestors had conquered Korea and the Chingus (Makkatsu 靺鞨十葛) in the North. He blames the Tokugawa government's strict laws against going abroad for frustrating the natural drive of Japan's citizens to explore abroad, and it is this frustration that prompts him to edit this series of books on the subject. The book collected Tokugawa-period oral narratives of seafarers as part of the Meiji educational goal of teaching contemporary children about the sea (*kaiji* 海事).

Included in the first book of the series is one of the earliest accounts of Japan's encounter with Taiwan, titled »Sailors from Shima drifted to Taiwan and returned to home by Qing ship.«<sup>16</sup> The account documented the adventure of six seamen from Fuse village of Shima country (志摩国布施村) in 1757, the 7th year of the Hōreki 宝曆 (1751–64) reign period. They loaded up their boat with merchandise from Ōsaka heading toward Ōzaki port in Shima when a gust of westerly wind blew them adrift. For several months (156 days to be precise) they floated aimlessly in the ocean, enduring countless hardships, watching two of their companions perish from thirst, until finally one day they came ashore in a foreign land whose landscape somewhat resembles Japan. When the four sailors first came ashore, they were met by eight men in strange attire (異様な扮装) who were armed with spears (鎗), bows and arrows (弓矢), and rifles (鉄砲). These eight men stripped them of their clothes, forcing them to put on furs, seized all their belongings, disassembled their boat, and took away all the metal nails, and locked them in a small salt-making hut. It turned out that these eight men were bandits. They were subsequently arrested by the village elders who came with two hundred peasants to rescue the Japanese fishermen.

From this point on, the narrative changes; the dark and suffering tone shifts to a more jovial atmosphere with observations of the local hospitality, nature, landscape, customs and their many comical interactions with the natives.

In the presence of the village head, they tried to ask the four seamen some questions. However, they could not understand their language at all. The Japanese wrote in a cursive style [草体], but they could not read them at all, even after adding more *kana* [仮名], they still could not figure it out. Non-cursive style [楷書] were then used, but they still could not read it. Finally, we all gave up and laughed together wholeheartedly.<sup>17</sup>

The four were carried about on boards (similar to the sort of palanquin that was used in a Japanese village *matsuri* festival) and toured many villages. Wherever they went, they were treated with rice wine and dumplings made with millet (粟), and the villagers lined up along the road to see them. The Japanese complained that the strong wine tasted sweet with a slight sour flavor, but the food smelled so awful that they could not stand to eat it.

16 »Shima no hito, Taiwantō ni hyōryūshi, Shinkokusen ni yorite kokyō ni kaeru« 「志摩の人、台湾島に漂流し、清国船に因りて故郷に帰る」 [Sailors from Shima Drifted to Taiwan and Returned Home on a Qing Boat]; see Ishii Minji 石井民司, *Nihon hyōryūtan* 日本漂流譚 [Japanese Tales of Castaways] (Tōkyō: Gakureikan, 1892), 67–93.

17 Ishii Minji, *Nihon hyōryūtan*, 72.

The food had such a strong stench that we could not bear to put it in our mouths at all. But if we did not eat something, it would be a violation of proper etiquette. Four of us shared one bread [饅頭] together, not touching rest of the food, and our hosts laughed heartily.<sup>18</sup>

Later, they were brought to meet with three high officials in the capital of Zheng Chenggong's 鄭成功 (1624–1662) beautiful golden court. There they witnessed humbling (i.e. having the prisoners pass through their crutches) and harsh treatment, leading to executions. They were put up in a nobleman's house and stayed in the capital for about forty days:

We were put in a room decorated on all four sides with brocade curtains [金襴] and the daybeds covered with fur and carpet. We were treated to a feast every day. The meals were like in Japan, either one soup with five dishes or two soups with seven dishes. They suited our taste. We were given the best rice wine similar to the *morobaku*<sup>19</sup> wine in Japan three times a day. Other than that we were provided with money and one *koku* [石] and six *to* [斗] of rice daily. The coins look like the currency of the Kan'ei period [寬永通寶]. We were provided with hot water three times a day. We stayed for forty days, wanting for nothing. Every day, visitors in different attire came wanting to see us. Princes and noble ladies came one after another and we made them laugh. Some women brought their children; they approached us and threw sweets and such at us as if the four of us were monkeys or parrots kept for entertainment. Though we felt bad about it, being drifters from another land, we were at the mercy of others. There was nothing we could do but endure the humiliation and pass the days and months.<sup>20</sup>

This is a rare passage in the mostly superficial descriptive narrative that reveals a more reflective side, as the travelers meditate on their own position *vis-à-vis* their captors. One of the companions fell ill, and despite thirty natives nursing him day and night, he succumbed to the disease and passed away. An elaborate funeral was mounted on his behalf with one hundred and fifty monks chanting sutras and thousands of common folks joining the funeral procession. After the funeral, they were escorted out of Taiwan and arrived at Fuzhou. From there, accompanied by an escort of eighty and three physicians, they embarked on their journey to the city Nanjing. Their journey in mainland China was another cultural shock; the cities were busier and the castles grander, and they were treated even better than in Taiwan, receiving many luxurious gifts and silver.

18 Ishii Minji, *Nihon byōryūtan*, 74–75.

19 *Morobaku* 諸白 is a wine made during the Tokugawa period with the best quality white rice in addition to *Kakemai* 掛米 and *kōji* 麴. It is also used to refer to the top quality wine.

20 Ishii Minji, *Nihon byōryūtan*, 78–79.

Feasting on the best seafood (though the traveler notes that in China they eat mostly river fish such as carp and crucian 鮒 and little sea fish), they all gain weight and long for the simpler fare such as noodle and wheat rice that they usually ate at home. After many days of farewell parties that extended on into the wee hours, the travelers finally set out on their journey home, with loads of precious gifts and many people shedding parting tears. Upon their return, they are interrogated by the local government and, though strictly forbidden to ever set sail again, they are united with their families and live happily ever after.

Compared with later travel writing produced during the colonial period, *Nihon byōryūdan* is surprisingly devoid of any colonial agenda and nationalistic sentiment. There is no evidence of either a civilizing mission or territorial ambition, and the result is a fairly value-neutral depiction of a foreign land. The Taiwan presented by the *Nihon byōryūdan* revealed first to mid-18th century Japanese, and later to the 19th century readers, a genuine human encounter characterized, despite language barriers and different customs, by good-will and an accommodating host. The narrator(s) are full of curiosity, at times awed by the hospitality and kindness of the local people, appreciative of the swift justice dealt to their transgressors, and at the same time, homesick. It is an account of incidental sojourners who wandered into a realm without preconception or previous knowledge. They encounter three different levels of civilizations: first, the more primitive indigenous tribe, later, with the exilic provincial regime of Zheng Chenggong, and finally, with a wealthy and prosperous Qing society. There are times the travelers were disgusted or in awe by the people and the society they encountered, there were enjoyment, homesickness, sadness, and good will. The foreign countries were depicted mostly as is without much critical assessment. This will soon change as the mutually equal stance soon was to be reframed into a relationship between colonial overlord and its subject.

##### 5 *The Strategic and Popular Conceptualization of Taiwan in late 19th Century Japan*

The first formal contact between Taiwan and Japan occurred in November, 1874, in the so called Mudanshe Incident (*Mudanshe shjijian* 牡丹社事件) when 66 fishermen from Okinawa were shipwrecked and landed in Taiwan; 55 of them were captured and beheaded by the aborigines. The newly established Meiji government saw this as a prime opportunity to make a firm claim on Okinawa, an independent island state that occupied an ambiguous place between China and Japan historically. It also saw the incident as an opening for an expansion of Japanese influence to Taiwan. One year after the incident, a student studying in

China, Mizuno Jun 水野遵 (1885–1900) and Kabayama Motonori 樺山資紀 (1837–1922), who later became the first Governor-General of Taiwan, were sent on a secret mission to Taiwan to scout out the situation.

Japan appointed Soejima Taneomi 副島種臣 (1828–1905) as special ambassador to negotiate with the Qing Court over the Mudanshe Incident. Seizing upon the Qing state's refusal to take responsibility with the justification that the inhabitants of Taiwan were 'citizens beyond the reach of civilization' (化外之民), Japan invaded Taiwan in May of 1874, proclaiming its action a 'righteous act of self-preservation' (自力救済の義挙). Japanese soldiers remained in Taiwan for about six months, forcing the Qing Court to come to the negotiation table.<sup>21</sup>

A decade after the Mudanshe Incident, the Qing became involved in a war with France over their conflicting interests in Vietnam. When the French blockaded Taiwanese ports and attacked Qing troops on the island, the Qing was forced to re-evaluate the strategic importance of the island and belatedly adopted a policy of engagement and development. Before the incident, the Qing consensus was that the burdens of governing Taiwan outweighed the benefits to be gained from colonizing the island.<sup>22</sup> It is during this period that historical figures like Liu Mingchuan 劉銘傳 (1836–1896) made their mark on Taiwan. Serving as the Governor for Fujian and Taiwan, Liu was the first to propose that Taiwan be separated from Fujian to become an independent province, and served as its first governor. He is also credited with setting up the administrative system for the island, much of which was adopted by the Japanese during the colonial period and, later, by the Nationalist Government.<sup>23</sup>

Together with the emergence of Taiwan as a strategic site in the East Asian geopolitical realm as part of Japan's colonial ambition, discourse on Taiwan also began to appear in popular media. Fukuzawa Yukichi's *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization* (*Bunmeiron no gairyaku* 文明論之概略, 1875) in which he proposed a relativist schema of comparative civilization that brings historical time and circumstances into consideration. For example, China, Turkey, and Japan were considered relatively civilized in comparison to some of the African and Australian colonies, and European nations (and Japan) were the most civilized of

21 Both countries signed the peace treaty on Oct 31st, 1874, in which Qing paid the Japanese government 100,000 pieces of gold for condolence money. In the treaty, though Japanese army's occupation of Taiwan was denied, Okinawa was tacitly handed over to the rule of Japan.

22 Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 81.

23 Liu Mingchuan instituted under the Provincial Government 3 prefectures (*fu* 府), 11 counties (*xian* 縣), 3 subprefectures (*ting* 廳), and one directly administered independent department (*zhili zhou* 直隸州).

all, at the time. This graduated system of ‘primitiveness’ (*yaban* 野蠻), ‘semi-civilized’ (*bankai* 半開) and ‘civilized’ (*bunmei* 文明) set in stone the modern outlook of Japan and Fukuzawa’s later Discourse on Leaving Asia (*Datsua ron* 脱亜論, 1885) was only a further methodological elaboration on the same subject. Often referred to as an early supporter of imperialism for his apology of the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) Fukuzawa ultimately believed modernization in Asia could best be achieved by the military prowess.

Although most Western media of the day still considered Japan an ‘underdeveloped country’, the Meiji elite willingly accepted the mission of civilizing their fellow Asians as part of their destiny.<sup>24</sup> One way to assert one’s civilized status was to create a marginalized ‘primitiveness’. Japanese colonialism is founded upon a Japanese brand of Orientalism that turns against its Asian neighbours the superiority of a Western modernity that it had only recently acquired for itself. This dualistic discursive strategy, incorporating both assimilation and exclusion, was present throughout Japanese colonialism. The emergence of the individualistic, modern subjectivity was quickly folded into the national (and imperial) projects of ‘enriching the nation and strengthening the military’ (*fukoku kyōhei* 富国強兵) and ‘escaping Asia to enter Europe’ (*datsua nyūō* 脱亜入欧).<sup>25</sup>

24 Komori Yōichi, *Posutokoroniaru = Postcolonial* ポストコロニアル = Postcolonial (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 2001), 15.

25 There is an immense literature on modernity and the formation of the subject in Japan. The discourse on modernity has been pursued from various academic disciplines and has focused on features ranging from social and political history to literary and cultural domains such as the fantastic (Susan Napier, *The Fantastic in Modern Japanese Literature: The Subversion of Modernity* [London: Routledge, 1996]), ethnography (Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995]), folk belief (Kawamura Kunimitsu 川村邦光, *Minzoku no chi no keifu: kindai Nihon no minzoku bunka* 〈民俗の知〉の系譜：近代日本の民俗文化 [Kyōto: Shōwadō, 2000]), and madness (Matsuyama Iwao 松山巖, *Uwasa no enkinbō* うわさの遠近法 [Tōkyō: Seidosha, 1993]). While a schema of East/West, modern/pre-modern dichotomies prevails in these critical engagements, the more recent trend is to avoid the binary construction of the two elements and probe the complexity and complicity of the two sides. This more synthesized and integrated view can be seen, for example, in Kawamura’s take on the folksy fantastic as crucial to the ideological and institutional construction of ‘modern Japan’, or in Gerald Figal’s *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), in which he asserts that a discourse on the ‘fantastic’ (*fushigi* 不思議) was at the heart of the historical configuration of Japanese modernity.

The idea that Taiwan was a semi-civilized (if not totally primitive) place that needed to be tamed took root at this time.<sup>26</sup> The popular media's reports (both textual and visual) of the 1874 Taiwan invasion (*Taiwan shuppei* 台湾出兵, a.k.a. Mudanshe Incident) brought into the foreground the aboriginal tribes, which were referred to as the 'barbaric people of Taiwan' (*Taiwan no hanmin* 台湾の蕃民) who were at the mercy of the Imperial soldiers (*wagaguntai no jinkei* 我軍隊の仁恵). After Japan acquired the island as its first colony, Taiwan's image as a no man's land lurking at the edge of the empire was further reinforced. In Meiji melodramatic pulp fiction such as *My Guilt* (*Onoga tsumi* 己が罪, 1899) by Kikuchi Yūhō 菊池幽芳 (1870–1947), which was serialized in the *Osaka Daily News* (*Ōsaka mainichi shimbun* 大阪毎日新聞) from 1899 to 1900 were immensely popular bestsellers. After getting pregnant by her boy friend and giving birth to an illegitimate child out of wedlock, the female protagonist Minō Tamaki decides to become a nurse in a Taipei hospital to redeem her sin.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Shimazaki Tōson's 島崎藤村 (1871–1943) *New Life* (*Shinsei* 新生, 1918) depicts in a Naturalist mode the author Tōson's affair and impregnation of the younger sister of his deceased wife. The young woman Setsuko was subsequently sent to Taiwan to avoid scandalizing the author. Taiwan as an abstract conceptualization of a remote land to which the unfortunate and the downtrodden escape underwent some changes in the 1920s, and particularly after the Sino-Japanese war erupted in 1937 and the Imperial Subject Movement (*kōminka undō* 皇民化運動) of compulsory assimilation was implemented. Taiwan was reconfigured as the strategic forefront of the Greater East Asian War, the island took on the image of a modern military fortress which serves as the gateway to Japan's southern front.

26 For further discussion of Japan's civilizing mission in Taiwan see Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming »Japanese«: Colonial Taiwan and the politics of identity formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 158–60.

27 See Nakane Takayuki 中根隆行, »Tabisuru koroniaru disukōsu« 旅するコロニアル・ディスコース ——明治日本の知的言説と朝鮮表象 [Traveling Colonial Discourse: Meiji Japan's Intellectual Discourse and the Representation of Chōsen ], in *Meiji kara Taishō e media to bungaku* 明治から大正へメディアと文学 [From Meiji to Taishō Media and Literature], ed. by Amano Tomoyuki 天野知幸 & al. (Tsukuba: Tsukubadaigaku kindai nihonbungaku kenkyūkai, 2001), 134–152.



## 6 *Imperial Tours and Casual Travelers during the High Colonial Period*

Japanese tourists visiting Taiwan during the high colonial period perceived a jarring juxtaposition of uncouth, primeval indigenous peoples and a traditional agrarian society characterized by garish, exotic temples existing side by side with a highly developed railway system, robust print media, popular entertainment, and a modern cityscape with wide roads and bustling city life like that of Taipei. Nevertheless, the symbol of Taiwan modernity was its railway system. Similar to the European railway system that brought about a dramatic increase in mass human movement and gave birth to European modern tourism, the railway system in Taiwan was the prime achievement and the pride of Japanese colonial rule. Building upon the two modest segments (Taipei–Jilong, Taipei–Xinzhu) built by Liu Mingchuan in 1891 and 1893, the Japanese finished the cross island railway (*sōkan tetsudō* 縱貫鐵道) in 1908,<sup>28</sup> and in 1912 they established the first tourist bureau to promote tourism in Taiwan.

The expatriate writer Nishikawa Mitsuru is known primarily for his earlier Romantic and ethnographic poetic delineations of Taiwan through poetry collections brimming with local color such as *The Mazu Festival* (*Masosai* 媽祖祭, 1935), *Opium* (*Aben* 罉片, 1938), *Biographies of Immortals* (*Ressenden* 列仙伝, 1939), *A Record of Taiwan Customs and Lands* (*Taiwan fudoki* 台灣風土記, 1940), *A Paean to the Beautiful Isle* (*Kareitō shōka* 華麗島頌歌, 1940), *Folktales of the Beautiful Isle* (*Kareitō minwashū* 華麗島民話集, 1942), *A Record of Prominent Customs of the Beautiful Isle* (*Kareitō kenpūroku* 華麗島顯風錄, 1935–36/1981) and *Taiwan Pictorial* (*Taiwan ehon* 台灣繪本, 1943). Nishikawa Mitsuru's Romantic topographical read of Taiwan is mirrored in a series of historical narratives on Taiwan. Some of his historical narratives replicated and fictionalized an existent historiography like his adaptation of Yu Yonghe's 郁永河 account of mining sulfur for the Qing court, *Bihai jiyōu* 裨海記游, into *Sairyūki* 採硫記.<sup>29</sup> Others,

28 The completion of the trans-island railway was viewed by the colonial government as the most important accomplishment in the first 13 years of colonial rule in Taiwan. For activities related to this event and its consequence on other aspects (trade, exhibitions, agriculture etc.) of domestic life, see Lü Shaoli 呂紹理, *Zhanshi Taiwan* 展示臺灣 [Exhibiting Taiwan] (Taipei: Maitian chubanshe, 2005), 202–204.

29 See *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakubinsbū* 日本統治期台湾文学日本人作家作品種 [Taiwan Literature from the Period of Japanese Rule: Works by Japanese Writers], 4 vols., ed. by Nakajima Toshio 中島利郎 and Kawahara Isao 河原功 (Tōkyō: Ryokuin shobō, 1998), vol. 1: Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満.

like Tale of the Red Fort (*Sekikanki* 赤坎記, 1940), sought to appropriate the historical legitimacy of the Zheng Chengong era to justify Japan's Southern advance 南進 ambition on the eve of the Pacific War. The narrative mode employed by Nishigawa in his historical tales often mined pre-colonial historical relics and reframed them under contemporary colonial ideologies. In his epic novel The Taiwan Cross Island Railway (*Taiwan sōkan tetsudō* 台湾縦貫鉄道, 1942), Nishigawa retraces the history of the railway system, creating an outline of the temporal and spatial development of Taiwan epitomized by the linking up of strips of railway built by the previous regime and their completion under the colonial regime. In Nishikawa's discursive reinvention of Taiwan's past, its modernity was embodied in this potent symbol of technological advancement.

Rail and other transportation systems are the hardware that provides the infrastructure for the movements of humans, resources, knowledge, and information; the newly acquired mobility of mass ridership made possible the rise of several auxiliary industries. The popularity of tourist destinations such as the Eight Scenic Spots of Taiwan (*Taiwan ba jing* 臺灣八景)<sup>30</sup> was solidified through popular polls; the selection criteria emphasized locales with a similarity to a famous site in Japan (i.e., Sun Moon Lake 日月潭 and Biwako 琵琶湖), a tie to colonial politics (i.e. the Shinto shrine Taiwan Jinja 台湾神社 which enshrined the conquering hero of Taiwan, the Crown Prince Kitashirakawa no miya Yoshihisa Shinnō 北白川宮能久親王, 1847-1895), or industrial significance (i.e. sugar plantations), to accommodate both local and metropole travelers.

In her study of Japanese emigration to Manchuria, Tessa Morris-Suzuki points to Shinto shrines and the Manchurian railway as manifestations of two contrasting mythological constructions; the former represents the myth of colonialism, and the latter a myth for the modern nation-state.<sup>31</sup> A railway system and shrines can be seen throughout all Japanese colonies, combining the Eastern myth of the (supposedly) stable and impervious tradition, the imperial reign that can be traced back thousands of years, and the accelerating technology of modernity represented by the railway.

The best showcase for this intersection of imperial myth, modernity, and consolidation of territorial legitimacy was the trip the Shōwa Emperor (at the

30 Lü Shaoli, *Zhanshi Taiwan*, 375-385.

31 Tessa Morris-Suzuki テッサ・モーリス＝スズキ, »Shokuminchi shisō to imin: Toyohara no chōbō kara« 「植民地思想と移民——豊原の眺望から——」 [Colonial Thought and Immigration: The View from Toyohara], in *Kakudaisuru Modaniti* 1920-1930 『拡大するモダニティー 1920-30年代』 [Expanding Modernity, 1920-1930], ed. by Yoshimi Shunya 吉見俊哉 & al. (Tōkyō: Iwanami, 2002), 185-213.

time Crown Prince 東宮) took on 1923 to survey the island colony for the first time.<sup>32</sup> The Imperial trip, known as *gyōkō* 行幸 or *gyōkei* 行啓,<sup>33</sup> was not an innocent pleasure tour. It combined the ancient practice of a ruler surveying his domain (*kunimi* 国見), with an assertion of imperial reign over the emperor's new island that was founded upon modern technology and military prowess, thus extending the Meiji national polity or *kokutai* 国体 onto Taiwan. Various naming acts, such as designating the diverse aboriginal tribes as Takasagozoku 高砂族, an auspicious name with classical referents, or renaming local natural sites, edifices, and mountains with names that recall the metropole (i.e. New High Mountain 新高山), or designating Taiwan's first national parks, are all evidence of the deliberate transformation of the native landscape into the imperial geobody. Taiwan, implicated in this Name-of-the-Father signification loop, thus was incorporated into the symbolic order of the empire.

7 *The Enigma of an Inner Journey:*  
*Fauna, Riddle and the Literary Topoi of Lü Heruo and Hikage Jōkichi*

There are many reasons why people traveled from the metropole to the colonies. Unintentional seafarers; colonial administrators, bureaucrats, and soldiers; imperial outings; and the newly mobilized pleasure seeking middle class are all part of the human flow that shuttled between the metropole and the colonies. They came with official obligations, or with a certain political agenda, for economic reasons or just pure enjoyment. Whether they were aware of it or not, most, if not all of them, seem to have undergone some sort of transformation over the course of the journey.

This last section of the article veers away from the typical sort of travel writing and recasts the fundamental question of colonial travel—the relationship between power and space—in a slightly different frame. In both Lü Heruo's short story *Gardenia* and Hikage Jōkichi's murder mystery novel *Internal Truth* (*Naibu no shinjitsu* 内部の真実, 1959), Taiwan, and in particular the illusive

32 For more discussion on the visual presentation and representation of this trip, see Kleeman, »Cong baodao lai de mingxinpian,«, cited above (n. 4).

33 In Japan, *gyōkō* 行幸 referred to outings of the Emperor, while *gyōkei* 行啓 indicated an outing by the emperor's mother, the empress, the crown prince, or his wife. The crown prince Hirohito at that time had not yet succeeded to his father, Emperor Taishō's throne but was already taking care of the day to day imperial affairs due to the poor state of the Emperor's health. This trip was referred to in popular media using both terms interchangeably.

fragrance of the flower *yulan*, become the trope for the Japanese protagonists. Lü Heruo's touching tale depicts an intimate friendship formed between a Japanese visitor to the colony and a native boy. The serene and warmhearted story is also unique in that it portrays an intensely personal interaction between Japanese and the native that is in fact quite rare in the whole body of colonial literature. Hikage Jōkichi, a popular postwar suspense writer who is known for his detached style and cogent plots, spent four years (1943–46) as a soldier stationed in Taiwan. Based on this experience, he wrote two novels and many short stories using Taiwan as the stage for his dark and enigmatic tales of a love triangle between two Japanese soldiers and a Taiwanese woman.<sup>34</sup>

To avoid the direct political implications of colonialism, Lü Heruo sets the point of view of the story low, letting us see the whole situation through the eyes of a seven-year-old boy who was barely able to leave his mother and grandmother's side. The boy's eyes serve as an innocent observer of the Japanese, with no judgments and no preconceptions.

The story begins with the adult narrator looking at some old faded photographs of his childhood.

To this day, I still have some twenty photographs that I took of my family when I was a young boy. Every one of them has turned brown and began to fade; there are some where the contours have blurred and the images are disappearing. But just a glance at them can bring back the ambiance of my home when I was little. Most of the pictures were of my grandmother, aunts and mother; all of them have since passed on. They were dressed in skirts and tops that were trimmed in chunky five-colored cords, and with the deck chairs and potted plants in the yard as the background, they looked stiff. In most of those photos, the childish me would either be standing by my grandmother or clinging to my mother's side. Though my grandmother and mother were holding my hands, they were staring stiffly and nervously into the camera as if there were not a moment to spare to pay attention to me.<sup>35</sup>

The gentle clash of modern technology and the native taboo is revealed. The pictures were taken by a Japanese houseguest and a photographer, one Suzuki

34 Hikage Jōkichi's writings on Taiwan, which are referred to by the critics as *Taiwan mono* 台湾もの (Tales of Taiwan), include another novel, *The Family of Ō* (*Ō ie no jinjin* 応家の人々) and short stories like »Mianchuangui« 眠床鬼 [The Nightmare Demon], »Tensenkyū no shinpanjitsu« 天宮の審判日 [Judgment Day in the Palace of the Heavenly Immortals], »Kieta ie« 消えた家 [The Family that Disappeared], and »Sawakgu shitai« 騒ぐ屍体 [The Noisy Corpse].

35 *Nibon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku*, 2: 263.

Zenbei, who was staying with the family. Despite his first reticence, the boy quickly befriends Suzuki and the two spend their long sunny days roaming the tranquil countryside. When Suzuki is struck down by illness, no Western medical doctor can save him but a female shaman who performs a native magical ritual for 'retrieving a lost soul' (*zhaobun* 招魂) is able to nurse him back to health.

Suzuki Zenbei, a longhaired wanderer who escapes from the metropolis to pursue his personal artistic fulfillment in the colonies. There he glories in the temporary respite from social obligations and expectations, pampered by his attentive hosts. His pastoral utopia is nevertheless a temporary one. He leaves Taiwan with a sense of loss and a tinge of reluctance, while the children watch him through the lush leaves and the intoxicating perfume of the magnolia, just as they had the day when he arrived. This encounter, though endearing, is evanescent and fated to end. Suzuki may capture the island, its scenery and its people through the mechanical eyes of the camera he brought from Japan, but his soul was caught and captivated by the indigenous landscape.

The trope of the magnolia flower also plays a major role in Hikage Jōkichi's mystery novel. As the narrator Otaka tells of a bewildering murder case about a Japanese soldier's mysterious death, the initially balanced and dispassionate tone gradually gives way to a more frantic, confused voice. The murder occurred on a moonless night, with only the heady scent of the magnolia to guide the investigators to the crime scene. With chapter titles like *The Conditions for Darkness and Time* (ch. 2), *A Mathematical Deliberation on the Pistol* (ch. 3), and *An Observation on Calculation of a Live Bullet* (ch. 4), the author clearly wants to impart an aura of scientific impartiality to the entire investigation. Nevertheless, as the narrative progresses, instead of solving the puzzle, more and more characters become suspects and at the same time the suspicion grows that the dead soldier may have just committed suicide. All involved in the murder are somehow connected to the native women who remind the narrator of the fragrant flower. The case remains unsolved to the end of the book, which is interrupted by the death of the narrator, Private Otaka, in an American air raid. Obviously, the usual rules of deduction do not work in this case. The more reasoning one applies to the case, the more fractured it becomes; rational deduction gives birth to more pieces of puzzle. Written either at the end of or right after the demise of the Japanese empire, these tales serve as counter-narrative to the high-spirited Meiji discourse of modern rationalism.

In several essays Hikage Jōkichi discusses his travail in trying to figure out what is the exact equivalent of *yulan* in Japanese, English, and Latin. A self-proclaimed horticulture buff, he searched through many encyclopedias of plants and flowers and failed to identify the kind that he remember he saw in Taiwan.

The untranslatability of the native flora and fauna, which is rooted deeply in the soil of the indigenous landscape, comes to symbolize the epistemological and geographical gaps between the native and the colonizer, between the local and the metropole. Despite the dizzily disorienting vision and the seduction of the languorous tropics, the island remains a *terra incognita* for these men. Though the two narratives anchored themselves in the materiality of their loci, the unique native fauna, the magnolia is an enigmatic gesture to the haunting ghost of colonialism. Taiwan is merely a discursive space through which these sojourners can roam, whether nursing one's frustrations (like Suzuki) or atoning for collective sin (like Otaka).

## 8 Conclusion

In *Imperial Eyes*, Mary Louise Pratt's landmark study of travel writing and empire, we learn that travel books by Europeans created the domestic subject of European imperialism. She treats the »relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and "travelees", not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power.«<sup>36</sup> Through an examination of travel accounts from the 18th century to Paul Theroux (1941), Pratt demonstrates that the metropolitan reading public was engaged in the expansionist enterprise and profited not only through material benefits but also through the possibility of imagining (or actually experiencing) the outside world. In other words, travel writing produced »the rest of the world« for the metropolitan readership.

Unquestionably, colonial and exploration discourses played a significant role in the ideological apparatus of Empire, but for better or worse, these are examples of how Taiwan was represented through Japanese eyes. By reading between the naively celebratory and the haughtily dismissive accounts and balancing the hyperbolic against the authentic, there is a Taiwan to be found. It is my sincere hope that this study will contribute to the transcultural, translingual study of Taiwanese literature.

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36 Mary L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (London: Routledge, 1992), 1-14.