"Short Defends Handling of Montserrat." *BBC News*. 1997. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/politics97/news/08/0822/short.shtml>.

Skelton, Tracey. "Political Uncertainties and Natural Disasters: Montserratian Identity and Colonial Status." *Interventions* 2.1 (2000): 103–17.

Skinner, Jonathan. "Disaster Creation in the Caribbean and Planning, Policy and Participation Reconsidered." *Environmental Planning in the Caribbean*. Eds. Jonathan Pugh and Janet Henshall Momsen. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 53 –72.

"United Kingdom – Montserrat" *The Commonwealth*. 2009. <http://www.thecommonwealth.org/YearbookInternal/140416/140427/montserrat/>.

Weekes, Yvonne. *Volcano: A Memoir*. Leeds: Peepal Tree, 2006.

Wilson, E.O. *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.

Japanese Colonial Representations of the "South Island": Textual Hybridity, Transracial Love Plots, and Postcolonial Consciousness

For the Japanese, the "south island" has been a place to project their colonial anxiety and desires, a space secluded from political strife, civilisation, and history. The comic story "Boken Dankichi" ("Dankichi the Adventurous") is a case in point of such representations. In the best-selling 1930s work, the author Shimada Keizo depicts an imaginary "south island" whose tropical forest is home to numerous wild animals and fierce black cannibals. Yano Toru describes the work's effect as "Boken Dankichi syndrome": most Japanese people shared and still share the set of Boken-Dankichi-like images of the Pacific or Nanyo (South Sea) Islands (195). Like the heroic boy Dankichi on a "south island" in the comic, the Nanyo-cho (South Seas Government of Japan, set up in Koror in 1922) "modernized" and "Japanized" Micronesia, establishing schools, hospitals, railways, post offices and so on. Japanese policemen, having wide powers, reigned over the villages as "kings," like Dankichi. Micronesian constables supported Japanese policemen, much like Dankichi's "black" guardsmen. The traditional power of tribal chiefs was co-opted into the machinery of colonial government. At *kogakko* (public schools for native children) Micronesian children were educated uniformly, indoctrinated into the Japanese language and morals (Peattie 91-95). Reflecting, simplifying, and miniaturising the most important and most sensitive issue in Japan's overseas empire, Dankichi's Island is depicted as an aesthetically and politically ideal colony to "remould" Islanders into "loyal, law-abiding subjects who could become almost, but not quite, Japanese" (Peattie 104). Moreover, the "south island" has the function of "healing" for colonisers, which Murai Osamu points out enabled the powerful folklorist Yanagita Kunio to dedicate himself to working on the "south islands" in order to dismiss his guilty feelings about his involvement with Japan's colonial policy in Korea (25-26). The "south island" is not only an ideal and convenient setting to represent colonial projects, but to escape from continental larger-scale anxiety and to conceal such desires.

These idealised images of the "south island" were set up through Japan's involvement in Micronesia and Western concepts of colonial islands. Micronesians, as Mark Peattie points out, "because they were

outside the cultural as well as the geographic limits of East Asia, were always viewed by Japanese colonial administrators as lesser peoples in an empire that, ethnically, was sharply hierarchical" (111). No Micronesian could acquire the status of an imperial subject other than by naturalisation or marriage, and it was difficult to do so by either means (Peattie 112). In Japanese perceptions, Micronesia was at the margins of Empire, and its abject status stemmed from "the superior attitudes generally typical of a technologically advanced society toward a (non)industrial one, as well as from the particular ethnocentrism of East Asia" (Peattie 113). Moreover, Japanese disregard for Micronesians had a particular background. Peattie argues: "what made Japanese attitudes toward Micronesians different from those Western perceptions of most other colonial peoples, was that they were formed against the background of a growing movement of emigrants from the mandatory power into the mandated territory" (114).

In Western colonial discourses, representing the wide-spreading colonies as merely an island creates the concept of a "laboratory" which is ideal for the male colonisers' adventure and performance of management and civilising mission (Loxley 117). The island, as Joseph Bristow asserts, can represent colonialist dreams and fears in miniature: "Civilization, it would seem, has not had enough room to grow in such a constricted space. It follows then, that white children are superior in strength of body and mind to grown-up islanders" (94). In addition to this manageability, islands are slippery. The island is, Chris Bongie points out, "the site of a double-identity—closed and open—and this doubleness perfectly conveys the ambivalences of creole identity" (18). As a "laboratory" to represent the desirable manageability and fearful intangibility of colonised/creole subjects, the island importantly performs metonymic functions in colonial discourse. Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith argue about Western colonial recognition of islands:

> [W]ithin theories of colonial discourse whose continental bias declares itself in a focus on nation-states and border politics, islands are regarded merely as metonyms of imperialism, rather than as specific locations generating their own potentially self-reflective colonial metaphors. (6)

As Elizabeth DeLoughrey outlines, colonial island narratives generally have the following tropes: accidental arrival, lack of inhabitants, domestication, empirical observation, fear of the arrival of cannibal islanders, fear of regression, display of force, uncomplicated assimilation of the islander, the hero's abandoning of island servants, mistress, or wife, and his return to the metropolis (13-14).

Since Japanese troops occupied German-controlled Micronesia during the First World War and Japan acquired the region as a mandated territory, the concept of the "south island" has been a space of literary production for Japanese writers, both non-visitors and visitors to the colonised Nanyo. Early twentieth-century Japanese colonial island narratives draw on such a metonymic function of the island along with the above-mentioned narrative patterns of William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and its subsequent Robinsonades (*Robinson Crusoe* was the first Western novel to be translated into Japanese in the mid-nineteenth century). This contained space of adventure and experiment, presumably not as formidable as the Asian Continent, is a fiction that was constitutive of Japanese colonial activity in the Pacific Islands. In the early 1920s, rewriting a well-known ancient tale of a "south island" of a noble man who goes into exile and dies on the island, Kikuchi Kan depicts a Japanese settler who cultivates the island (a contained space or "prison") in cooperation with his islander wife, and Akutagawa Ryunosuke describes the island as a place where Japanese colonisers and the islanders are compatible. Both of these Japanese "island narratives" have transracial love plots, which Mary Louise Pratt explains as imaginings in which colonisers' supremacy is "guaranteed by affective and social bonding"; "romantic love rather than filial servitude or force guarantees the willful submission of the colonized" (97). Transracial love plots are appropriated in the texts differently—in Kikuchi, to replace a dismal penal colony (colonial anxiety) with a hopeful settler colony (colonial desire), and in Akutagawa, to shake the colonial desire, "the willful submission" of "good natives."

From the late 1920s to early 1930s, transracial love on the "south island" was familiarised through a popular song, which along with its music invoked a strong image of the "brown maiden" on the "south island." The erotic and comical image of this song is embodied by its coalescing into a "tropical island" version of an influential US cartoon, *Betty Boop*, which has a transracial love plot, and this US animation influenced the comic "Dankichi." In the early 1930s, when, under the pressure of national and international crises, Japan's effort to assimilate the islanders of its mandate toward Japanese values and institutions drew attention and became "a rigid orthodoxy" (Peattie 104), hegemonic views of the "south island" were formed by absorbing US colonial representations. Following the

typical "island narrative," the empire boy Dankichi arrives by accident, domesticates the Island, assimilates the Islanders, and returns home in the end. The comic has the Japanese colonial desire to civilise indigenous peoples and maintain them as inferiors, and simultaneously to lay stress on his difference from the white coloniser and on his cooperation with the colonised. The double desire results in obscuring the border between the coloniser and the colonised. In the comic, island tropes from the West are mingled with Japanese colonial discourse to form the Japanese concept of the "south island."

If the island oscillates between manageablity and lack of interpretablity, it can be regarded not only as a metonym of imperialism but also of postcolonial consciousness. One can see such "postcolonial" aspects in Japanese writing, aspects which intervene in or mitigate the colonial space of the "south island." By drawing on the concept of the "south island" as a fragment resisting interpretation, Akutagawa and Nakajima Atsushi attempt to rework conventional representations of the "south island" as a colonial space. As David Spurr suggests, any writing is always in some sense "colonizing the landscape" (27). At least, however, Nakajima's literary text on Palau attempts to resist this cognitive colonisation by questioning the colonial hybridisation of the island and his own self. Edmond and Smith insist:

> If the island has often been simplified and mythologised by continental cultures nostalgic for some aboriginal condition, the island itself refuses to satisfy this continental need or desire. This refusal of islands to perform as required suggests ways in which they can be turned back against continents, reminding them of their own creolisation and offering a model of how to live complexly rather than through the simplifications and essentialisms that have characteristically been projected on to islands. (12)

Nakajima's wartime works draw on Micronesian indigenous as well as Western representations of the Pacific Islands and depict contesting and creolising Japanese, Western, and Micronesian subjects. This way of textual hybridisation to depict islands as metonyms of both imperialism and resistance makes his works "decolonising," in the sense that the hybrid texts attempt to reveal the islands' refusal of complete "assimilation" or "Japanisation."

I.

To think about early textual hybridisation of Japanese colonial island discourses, three literary texts, all entitled "Shunkan" and written by Kurata Hyakuzo, Kan, and Akutagawa, are important. The works, published in succession, in 1920, 1921, and 1922 respectively, all rework a famous traditional tale of Shunkan, a twelfth-century Buddhist monk of noble blood, who was exiled to a tropical "south island," or an island penal colony, for high treason and died there. There have been many revisions of this story such as *Noh* plays, *ningyo-joruri* (puppet plays), *kabuki*, and so on. However, his involuntary arrival and forced settlement have not been changed in the revisions. These conditions are what the setting of island makes possible and render Shunkan's story a representative colonial trope. Shunkan's story first appears in a thirteenth-century historical tale, *The Tale of the Heike*. In the tale, Shunkan's island has been imagined as a marginal place, a place characterised by dismal nature with a smoking volcano, perpetual thunderstorms, and racialised islanders, as well as by his doom. According to the tale, in 1177 Shunkan and two of his accomplices are exiled from the capital Kyoto to Kikaigashima Island, south of Kyushu. Although his two fellows receive amnesty in about a year, he is forced to spend two more years alone on the island and starves to death. His valet Ario comes to the island to meet him just before his master's death and inform him about his wife's death. Although the island is represented as a distant land, it is also notable for having been on the trade route of ships to the "south" (Southeast Asia), and for being the location where Kyushu traders would call for sulfur. Early in the twentieth century, the same double image held good for the South Sea Islands (Micronesia), of a marginal, uncivilised space in Japan's territory on the one hand, and of the route for Japan's imperial expansion toward Southeast Asia on the other. Importantly, when Japan began to colonise the Pacific Islands with the opening of the South Sea shipping lanes, Kurata wrote his drama "Shunkan," published in part in 1918 and completely in 1920.

The three early-1920s works set in the "south island," therefore, can be said to show how Japanese people would and/or should behave in the island colonies newly incorporated into the Japanese Empire. In these modern colonial texts, Shunkan is an antihero, contrary to feudal times' heroic and warmhearted Shunkan in Chikamatsu Monzaemon's book for *ningyo-joruri* and *kabuki* (first performed in 1719 and 1720 respectively). Chikamatsu rewrites his previous texts "Shunkan": in his book, Shunkan,

though given amnesty, decides to remain alone on the island so that his fellow's wife (Chikamatsu's original character, a woman from Kyushu) can board the small herald ship with her husband in place of Shunkan. Reworking Chikamatsu's book, Kurata's drama "Shunkan" almost follows the historical tale in plot, but emphasises Shunkan's weakness and loneliness, nostalgia for the urban life and his family, especially by creating a tragic ending of Shunkan's and Ario's cruel suicides. In Kurata's version, the "south island" is associated with resentment against the "north mainland" authority.

On the other hand, Kikuchi's and Akutagawa's versions succeed to Chikamatsu's narrative and absorb Western colonial island narratives. Both Kikuchi and Akutagawa, just like Chikamatsu, depict Shunkans who are not in agony on the island. As in the historical tales, these Shunkans are not given amnesty and are forced to remain alone on the island. However, Kikuchi's Shunkan attempts to overcome nostalgia through his struggles for survival and his marriage to a "native" girl. This Shunkan echoes white island figures represented by Prospero and Robinson Crusoe, prototypical images of Western colonialism, who enslave native islanders, Caliban and Friday respectively. In Kikuchi's text, an infernal island that is, as in classical and Kurata's versions, associated with agony, fear, envy and hatred, changes into a snug island .Kikuchi mixes Western colonial island narratives with the Japanese traditional setting to change the latter's images. He rewrites Shunkan's desolate penal colony as, as it were, a hopeful Japanese settlement to be opened up by Japanese immigrants with the assistance of "good natives." Having his faithful island wife and children as "good natives," the hopeless exile Shunkan becomes a diligent settler. In Akutagawa's work, Shunkan has little nostalgia even after his two pardoned fellows have left, because of his dislike for the urban life and people (including his wife) in Kyoto, and the unexpectedly comfortable rural life on the island and pleasant Islanders. Akutagawa mentions Tahiti in his comments on his own "Shunkan" ("Chokodo zakki" 99) and invokes Paul Gauguin who lived in Tahiti in the 1890s. Akutagawa's Shunkan has a sober relativist view of political and cultural hegemony, questioning the overdetermined view of the "south island" and its people.

Kikuchi employs the influential colonial discourse of "good/bad natives" and the civilising mission, and on the "south island" the mission is easily accomplished: in Kikuchi's text, an island girl falls in love with Shunkan, marries him, and learns handwriting and the language of Kyoto

from him just as Friday learns the English language and handwriting from Crusoe. Like the colonial myths of Pocahontas and John Smith, and Inkle and Yarico, the girl protects Shunkan from an attack by the chief (her father) and his men. The distinctively "good" native among the "bad" ones gives the coloniser a convenient excuse to perform his civilising mission. As Pratt explains, dominant transracial romance usually ends with the breakdown of love: "the lovers are separated, the European is reabsorbed by Europe, and the non-European dies an early death" (97). However, Kikuchi avoids choosing such a tragic ending of interracial romance, "offering a critique of European behavior" (Hulme 254). His Shunkan decides to live with his faithful island wife on the island, declining the offer of his valet in Kyoto, Ario, who has come to the island, to go home together. In terms of the coloniser who remains on the island with his encouraging island wife, Western literary discourse also has such white inhabitants in the Pacific Islands, such as Wiltshire in Robert Louis Stevenson's "The Beach of Falesá" (1892) and Edward Barnard in Somerset Maugham's "The Fall of Edward Barnard" (1921), who marry Polynesian women and do not return home. Like these Western texts, Kikuchi's text conjures up the colonisers' desire and fear, or the ambivalent colonial mimicry of both facile "civilisation" of the colonised and "indigenisation" of colonisers, as some critics argues regarding Western literary texts (Bhabha 86; Weaver-Hightower xxvi-xxvii).

Influenced by Paul Gauguin's representations of Tahiti, Akutagawa depicts Shunkan's "south island" as neither a dystopia nor a place for the protagonist to cultivate, as Kurata and Kikuchi did respectively. Akutagawa's "Shunkan" is a de-romanticised island narrative. In the de-romanticisation, Akutagawa accentuates and reworks the prevailing island discourse of "transracial love." In the text, when all the exiles except Shunkan are allowed to return to Kyoto, Shunkan, though always self-possessed, vents his anger only when his fellow exile is leaving his own island wife in her grief. Renowned non-white heroines such as Loti's Rarahu (Tahitian) and Puccini's Madame Butterfly (Japanese) end up husbandless and die an early death. The text shuns falling into such a sentimental melodrama as *Le Mariage de Loti* and *Madame Butterfly*: after they leave, Shunkan feels deeply for her in her distress and reaches out to her, but to his embarrassment, the island woman gives him a slap on the cheek. As soon as the ship is out of sight, she walks away as if nothing had happened. In colonial discourse, as Spurr argues, the sympathetic

humanitarian attitude is no less produced from colonialist views than the authoritative attitude (20). Akutagawa's island narrative demystifies the sympathetic humanitarian attitude and mocks the allegory of romantic love which "mystifies exploitation out of the picture" (Pratt 97).

Such intervening attitudes of the text toward colonial discourses can be seen as an intellectual mode of postcolonial criticism. Akutagawa's Shunkan is immune to anxiety in part because he does not adhere to anything, and in part because his island is originally so comfortable that its domestication is unnecessary. Moreover, the islander is incomprehensible to him and behaves as if she mocked colonial romance, but Shunkan is not disappointed in her as Loti's French protagonist is at his unromantic Japanese mistress in *Madame Chrysantheme*. However, the text's decolonising aspects fall short of undercutting the basic colonialist premise: the text puts aside the fact that the protagonist settles down without the indigenous people's approval—as with Crusoe's case, for example, Shunkan's advent and presence on the island is against his own will. The text typically shows the island's metonymic function of both colonial space and postcolonial fragment.

II.

When Japan held a mandate in the Nanyo Islands, the "south island" was to be described as a colonial living place in which the Japanese could take root, with Western and Japanese island discourses blended. In terms of reflecting and popularising the "south island" discourse, a 1926 popular song "Shucho no musume" ("The Chief's Daughter") and a 1930s comic "Dankichi the Adventurous" (mentioned earlier) were the most powerful texts (Peattie 216). In such Japanese colonial discourse, the "south island" also became a gendered space, connected to a "brown maiden." The allegorisation of colonised places as the female figure, in both bodily and rhetorical terms, has been a cliché of colonial discourse (Spurr 171). The "brown maiden" on the "south island" connotes a conflict between colonialist desire and fear. She symbolises an ideal colonised subject showing cheerful obedience to the male coloniser. Popular images of the "South Sea maiden" frequently provide "an idealized antidote to Western women's self-assertion" (Sturma 8). Otherwise she is symbolic of irreclaimable "indigenousness" or "nature," a menace to the colonial assimilation. According to Michael Sturma, the equation could mirror Western insecurities: "the association between women and nature, even at a symbolic level, made women a powerful force" (7). This ambivalent image of the "brown maiden" is inscribed in the text "The Chief's Daughter." The popularity in the 1930s of this song and the comic "Dankichi," which depicts a schoolboy's fear of cannibalism and his assimilation and "Japanisation" of many grown-up islanders, reflects Japan's national and international crises, the increase of Japanese immigration into Micronesia, and its encompassing assimilation policy toward Micronesians at the time.

In "The Chief's Daughter" (words and music by Ishida Ichimatsu, recorded on Polydor records in 1930), "my raba-san" ("sweetheart"; "raba" derived from "lover") is a Nanyo beauty, the daughter of a village chief of the headhunting tribe in the Marshall Islands; she amuses herself with dancing and drinking, pushing "me" (a Japanese man) to dance as a condition of their marriage. It is said that Ishida wrote it in 1926 and later arranged it for the popular song, but it seems that he adapted "Daku daku odori (dance)" written by Yoden Tsuruhiko for a song of Kochi High School. Ishida makes Yoden's song comical and familiarises the images of Nanyo's erotic girls, by adding the word "my raba-san," which became a vogue word at the time. Ishida's eroticised version builds up the stereotype of the exotic Nanyo dancer, and the music conjures up the sensual Nanyo as a place for interracial love and romance. The "south island" represents both sexual promise (marriage) and sexual danger (indigenisation), not only "seductive" but "destructive" as well (Spurr 177).

The discourse of the brown maiden in the Japanese song was associated with a popular US animation. A 1932 Betty Boop cartoon set in a Pacific Island, *Betty Boop's Bamboo Isle*, with the protean "flapper" as its heroine, was soon screened in Japan, given the Japanese title *Shucho no musume* (The chief's daughter), the same title as the popular song. Betty Boop in this cartoon is a dark-skinned islander, who wears only a grass skirt and a lei that barely covers her breasts, and performs the dancing of Miri, rotoscoped over the figure of the Samoan dancer of the "Royal Samoans" (Cabarga 77). The association of the Japanese song with the US cartoon shows the fusion of gendered/eroticised tropes of Japan's Marshall Islands (Nanyo or Micronesia) and the US's Samoa (Polynesia). As Teresa Teaiwa suggests, the "Polynesian" body is not only gendered but also "given the privilege of representing the Pacific as a whole" (254), and by coalescing into the "Polynesian" body, the song's images of the Micronesian girl could consolidate the privilege of representing Nanyo in Japanese "south island" discourse. The works also have in common the

colonial discourse of transracial love: in the cartoon, Betty and Bimbo (a white male dog who speaks English), who has come to Bamboo Isle as a tourist by a small motorboat, run away from the indigenous men together in the motorboat, and it ends with them kissing behind an umbrella. With this happy ending, the colonial interracial romance avoids criticism levelled at the male traveller who often abandons his island wife. The plots of loving and leaving, Pratt explains, "respond to late eighteenth-century crises in European imperialism" found on both new and old fronts (97). The fear/friendship fantasy of the US animation corresponds to what Paul Lyons calls "American Pacificism," in which "[t]he US body politic breathes out acts of imperial violence and inhales professions of an idealism about a non-aggressive, care-based, non-colonial, fraternity-seeking relation to Islanders" (39) and which coalesces into Japanese "south island" discourse.

Betty Boop influenced the famous Japanese cartoon character Dankichi. Shimada Keizo's comic story "Dankichi the Adventurous" had a "box office" status in a popular boys' magazine of those days, *Shonen Kurabu* [Boys' Club], serialised for six years from 1933 to 1939, and Dankichi was a representative Nanyo settler who could be regarded as a popular and juvenile version of Shunkan. Dankichi's south island models itself after Boop's Pacific Island in *Betty Boop's Bamboo Isle* and the jungle of Africa from another 1932 Betty Boop cartoon *I'll be Glad When You're Dead, You Rascal, You*. In *Betty Boop's Bamboo Isle*, terrified by the "natives," Bimbo daubs mud on his white cheeks to disguise himself. They entertain him, but when a sudden squall washes the dirt off his face, they are angry to find that he is a "white dog." In *I'll be Glad*, Africans attack and kidnap a dark-skinned Betty Boop whom Bimbo and Koko have been carrying on a stretcher through the jungle. She is tied to a tree, surrounded by dancing cannibals. An African with a spear chases Bimbo and Koko and floats up into the sky, rotoscoped into live footage of the famous jazz musician Louis Armstrong's head. The same scenes as those of the cartoons are seen in "Dankichi the adventurous" in its early stages where the Japanese schoolboy Dankichi comes across "black cannibals" on a "south island." He disguises himself in vain just as Bimbo does in *Betty Boop's Bamboo Isle*, and like Bimbo and Koko and Betty Boop in *I'll be Glad*, he is chased by a native man with a spear, and hung by a rope from a tree encompassed by dancing islanders. In "Dankichi," Africa and the Pacific Island are mixed up with each other as having the same "primitive," "savage," and "tropical" images. African animals such as elephants and giraffes live on Dankichi's Island. Thus US conceptions of Pacific Islands are intermingled with the Japanese "south island" representation: in the US imagination, as Lyons points out, Pacific Islanders—"unfamiliar natives"—are "compared for a variety of purposes to African and Native Americans" (24). The Islanders are associated with Native Americans such as Pocahontas, as I suggested above, in Kikuchi's "Shunkan," and with Africans, in "Dankichi."

Lyons' definition of "American Pacificism" involves "the double logic that the islands are imagined at once as places to be civilized and as escapes from civilization" (27) and is incorporated into Japanese conceptions of the Pacific Islands or the "south island." The seductive and destructive Pacific brown maidens ("my raba-san" and Betty Boop) are translated into the seductive and destructive island space (Dankichi's Island). Sexual adventures in the popular Japanese song and US animations are transformed into political adventures in the boys' comic. "Dankichi the Adventurous," the author Shimada writes in 1967, depicts his fanciful childhood dream, set in a fantastic imaginary south island filled with all sorts of things evocative of the idea of the "tropics," on which Dankichi becomes a "king" and makes thrilling expeditions, followed by a number of native people and wild animals (Shimada, "Preface"). On the other hand, this quest story represents the colonial trepidation and anxiety of indigenisation (which could include cannibalisation). On British writing, Patrick Brantlinger suggests at every turn in his work, *Rule of Darkness*, that the writing from the late Victorian and Edwardian periods contains anxieties about the setback into savagery. British writing sways between the idealised self and debased others. This adventure story about a valiant and tender-hearted boy's attempt to assimilate the other turns out to be a horror story of his resistance to being assimilated by them. Robert Dixon asserts that in the adventure novel the emphases "involved in narrating the national and imperial identity are reflected in the increasingly fragmented form of the adventure novel itself" (201). This argument is applicable to the text of "Dankichi" that attempts to overcome the precariousness of the Japanese colonial project by repeating and emphasising his "being Japanese" (see Loxley).

Misgivings about Japanese "indigenisation" in Micronesia can be seen deep in travel writings of that time. For example, Nonaka Fumio writes in his 1935 travel writing, in anger and with grief, of Okinawan migrants living below the floor of a native house, despised as "Japanese

Kanakas" by Kanakas, whom the colonisers regarded as an "inferior race" to Chamorros (18). "I hope them [Okinawans]," he deplores, "keep up self-respect and appearances as Japanese" (59). He also reports that the tropical climate made Japanese people "as empty-headed as Kanakas" and that some Japanese had become entirely indigenised, "looking no better than the dead in terms of human value" (97).

The text of "Dankichi" attempts to hold Dankichi's indigenisation in check: although as naked as the islanders, he is the only "civilised" person on the Island, having the white skin (the narrator dubs him "shironbo," white boy), a wristwatch on his left hand, shoes, and a crown. These signs are, however, all ambivalent: the white skin suggests vulnerability; the watch is superfluous on an island unregulated by Western time; the shoes indicate his fragility; the crown is a native crown (in Western style). And these signs are all associated with Western values. His outward differences, acquired by likening him to a white person and through partial, advantageous Westernisation and indigenisation, prove to be borrowed plumes and helpless to perpetuate the difference between him and his colonised servants, which is the major premise in Japanese colonial discourse. Unlike Kikuchi's and Akutagawa's Shunkans who go into exile and make a permanent home in the south island, the empire boy Dankichi has to return to his homeland. "Dankichi" has an abrupt ending in which the boy goes home entrusting the Island government to his native followers, who admire him sincerely.

Thus, Dankichi plays the role of the white coloniser in colonial love stories, who is enthusiastic in civilising the non-white lover at the risk of being indigenised. The colonial desire and fear of interracial love affairs represented in the popular Japanese song and the US animation are de-eroticised in the form of the boys' cartoon story. In terms of the coloniser's loving and leaving his domesticated island/ers, this story has much the same structure as the colonial interracial marriage narratives, "a romantic transformation of a particular form of colonial sexual exploitation" (Pratt 95). Like Betty Boop cartoons, "Dankichi" avoids a critique of colonialist behaviour. The protagonist arrives on the island by accident, lives in harmony with the island servants, and is reabsorbed by Japan without making the harmony break down as the colonial love stories always do, which Pratt argues reflects an eighteenth-century crises of European imperialism (97). Although differing from US non-territorial economic-military imperialism, Japanese imperialism conflates US conceptions of

the island—"coterminous, contradictory, synergetic"—which creates such a happy ending to this best-selling island story (Lyons 24). As Peattie asserts, "it is hard to escape the conclusion that Japanese policy in the islands [i.e. Micronesia], in nearly every instance, was framed to suit the interests of its own nationals" (117), but "Dankichi" reiterates a colonial cliché: Dankichi works in favour of the islanders. While reflecting and justifying Japan's large-scale assimilation policy or civilising mission, the comic dismisses the limitless emigration of its citizens to Micronesia that the Japanese government encouraged, which is impossible to justify in terms of the author's "childhood fanciful dream," of a "fantastic south island." The most influential Japanese representation of the "south island" consists of a partial reflection of US imperial discourse of the Pacific Islands and Japanese colonial activity in Micronesia.

Fig.1. Dankichi crowned king of a "south island," from Shimada Keizo's cartoon story, "Dankichi the adventurous," 1933.

III.

Although in the 1930s, "assimilation under force became the guideline for all Japanese colonial policy, an attempt to inculcate aggressive Japanese patriotism" (Peattie 104), most, though not many, Japanese writers who visited Micronesia in the 1930s and early 1940s—such as Nakagawa Yoichi, Ando Sakae, Wada Den, Maruyama Yoshiji, Kubo Takashi, Ishikawa Tatsuzo, and Nakajima—complain of or problematise

its "Japanisation" proceeding through education and immigration. In its postcolonial mode of rewriting "south island" representations, Nakajima's wartime literary text, "Fufu" ("A Married Couple" [1942]), is exceptional, in that it does not approve of siding with national policy and raising Japanese morale as many other colonial works do at the time, as the sense of national crisis deepens. The text of Nakajima simultaneously re-imagines indigenous cultures independent of imperial hegemony and intervenes in this hegemony's influences over islanders. Decolonising consciousness should be regarded as a resistance to the serialising formulas of colonial discourse which "reflect a loss of subjective freedom—a freedom that the colonizer, by virtue of his position as colonizer, has given up" (Spurr 176). "A Married Couple," written after his eight-month stay in Palau in 1941-1942 and return to Tokyo, and based on a picture story carved on the *bai* (Palauan meeting hall), avoids valorising colonialist discourses. Nakajima—a diasporic writer who lived and travelled, since his childhood, in Japan's inner and overseas colonies such as Korea, Ogasawara, Dairen, Manchuria, and Micronesia, and was well-informed about Chinese classics (the "canon" of intellectuals before Japan's Westernisation or self-colonisation) and interested in Western diasporic writers such as Pierre Loti, Robert Louis Stevenson and Lafcadio Hearn—has sensitivity to deal with Japan's colonialism, making an effective use of island viewpoints, in order to rework the dominant Western and Japanese colonial representations of the "south island."

After his return from Micronesia, Nakajima's focal point in his literary texts changed from "indigenisation" to "civilisation." Nakajima's works written before his visit to Micronesia pay attention to "marginal beings" that transgress from the civilised to the uncivilised, from reason to insanity, from literacy to illiteracy, and from the learned to the spiritual (set in the ancient Orient, ancient China, Stevenson's Samoa, etc.). For example, "Hikari to kaze to yume" ("Light, Wind, and Dream"), Nakajima's other work on the south island, is based on Stevenson's letters from Samoa where the Scottish writer settled and died. These are Shunkan-type texts, in which the protagonists, the intellectuals, die in the "uncivilised" spheres, never coming back to their civilised "motherland." Like the white woman in colonial interracial romance, the protagonists symbolise the colonial fears of miscegenation, "going native," or "cannibalism." By visiting Japanese colonised Micronesia, Nakajima made himself such a "marginal being" going from the "civilised" to the "uncivilised."

However, Nakajima's texts, which were written after he lived as a Nanyo-cho civil servant in Koror, Palau, and toured other main Nanyo Islands, focus on "marginal beings" that cross the border in the opposite direction, from "uncivilised" to "civilised" spheres. In Micronesia, Nakajima saw with his own eyes such "marginal beings" under Japan's most encompassing, self-serving colonial education system. By depicting the protagonists being "civilised," Nakajima's wartime texts (under strict censorship) criticise colonial desires indirectly or allegorically, by appropriating the perspective of the colonized. Among such texts, "A Married Couple" uses as its foundation a Palauan picture story. Kanai Shinkichi's research article about picture stories on the *bai* (1940) explains the fable briefly as follows: a man goes across the sea by canoe to a *bai* girl (a sort of prostitute) to marry her, leaving his wife who is longing for his return (29-30). Hijikata Hisakatsu, a sculptor and folklorist, who stayed in Micronesia as an art teacher in 1929-1942, also mentioned this picture story carved on the *bai* meeting house, in his 1942 book on Palauan mythology. Going into a little more detail than Kanai's article, Hijikata wrote of how the man attempts to coax his wife out of her jealousy and how he decides to marry the girl (Hijikata 232-233; on this pictograph of "Ngirchosisang," see Telmetang 28-29). Nakajima, who had good contacts with Hijikata on Koror, and probably read the book in manuscript, humorously embroidered the fable (or Hijikata's account relying on a Palauan interpreter). In "A Married Couple," the wife is both jealous and unfaithful, with so fierce a temper as to provoke a fight with the beautiful *bai* girl over the man; the powerful woman loses, but she soon remarries the second richest old man in the village. The epilogue explains that such violence still frequently erupts between women over a man although the German administration (the former coloniser) had stopped the *bai* girl practice, and that among the audience at the women's fight some young men could be found playing the harmonica with the "modern appearance" of blue shirts and pomaded hair. Nakajima's hybridised island, although looking all the easier to grasp because of its "limited" and "uncivilised" space, neither objects to colonial desires—stereotypes are used such as the beautiful, erotic brown maiden and the witless couple—nor plays as expected—conventional island tropes are avoided; the "prostitute" defeats the powerful wife in both chasteness and violence.

By closing and juxtaposing the traditional island fable with the description of his contemporary colonised conditions of the Island,

Nakajima's version insinuates its anti-colonial attitude just as contemporary Palauans adopt the *bai*'s pictographs as a medium to express something dangerous to say directly (Nero 259). It argues that although influenced by colonial administration, Palauan traditional practices are not extirpated. In addition, Nakajima avoided depicting the colonisers in harmony with the colonised, which can serve to romanticise colonial exploitation in hegemonic island discourses. The text insists that Palauans could gain happiness without being placed under the aegis of colonial powers. This enables the reader to focus on a central colonial issue, which these love stories avoid addressing. In another colonial context Peter Hulme explains that "[r]eception of visitors was friendly, hospitality was ample, trade was welcomed; but a line was drawn when it became apparent that the visitors were here to stay" (164). Nakajima's text shows that, although Japanese colonisers stayed in Palau in order to modernise the islanders' life style or to escape from civilisation—the double logic of American Pacificism which Lyons points out, and which is adopted in "Dankichi"—the modernisation and escapism are impossible to carry out completely. Nakajima's island is a space of islanders rather than outsiders, which is creolised and enigmatic to the latter.

Conclusion

The "south island" has been in Japanese literary and cultural texts an experimental theatre on which colonial/male desires and fears in the north mainland are imposed. The influential "south island" discourse of a marooned high priest, Shunkan, is reworked against the backdrop of Japan's colonisation of Micronesia. The "south island" as a prison which produced tragic or heroic Shunkan tales is transformed into a tropical settler colony which remains for the antiheroic man to cultivate (Kikuchi) and inhabit peacefully (Akutagawa), through Western island tropes including transracial love plots. The most powerful "south island" representations, a popular song (sexual adventure) and a boys' comic (political adventure), are linked to US conceptions of the Pacific Islands, appropriating the structure of the transracial love plot to romanticise Japan's large-scale assimilation policy. On the south island, limitless colonial desires and fears, sexual or political, are offset by its (seeming) limitedness and the Japanese views of Micronesia as being culturally and geographically marginal.

The "south island" is not only the miniature and simplified imagining of colonial systems, which seems easy for colonial administration to absorb. Because of such an imagining, it also proves to be all the more complex, a starting point of postcolonial discourses which resist, even in part, colonial representations of nature, primitivism, and sexuality. Such postcolonial consciousness is seen in Nakajima's south island text, which draws on island viewpoints to rework the powerful colonial discourse of interracial love and romance, and dismantle the self-deceiving colonial discourse of assimilation and escape.

Ritsumeikan University

Works Cited

Akutagawa, Ryunosuke. "Shunkan." *Akutagawa Ryunosuke zenshu* [The Collected Works of Akutagawa Ryunosuke]. Vol. 8. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996. 128-156.

---. "Chokodo zakki [Miscellany]." *Akutagawa Ryunosuke zenshu*. Vol. 9. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996. 90-99.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

Bongie, Chris. *Islands and Exiles: The Creole Identities of Post/Colonial Literature*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998.

Brantlinger, Patrick. *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*. Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1988.

Bristow, Joseph. *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World*. London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991.

Cabarga, Leslie. *The Fleischer Story*. New York: DaCapo P, 1988.

DeLoughrey, Elizabeth M. *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2007.

Dixon, Robert. *Writing the Colonial Adventure: Race, Gender and Nation in Anglo-Australian Popular Fiction, 1875-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.

Edmond, Rod, and Vanessa Smith. "Editors' Introduction." *Islands in History and Representation*. Ed. Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith. London and New York: Routledge, 2003. 1-18.

Hijikata, Hisakatsu. *Hijikata Hisakatsu chosaku shu* [The Writings of Hijikata Hisakatsu]. Vol. 3. Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1993.

Hulme, Peter. *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797*. London and New York: Methuen, 1986.

Kanai, Shinkichi. "Abai e monogatari [Picture Stories on the Bai]." *Sangyo no nihon* 3.7 (1940): 26-30.

Kikuchi, Kan. "Shunkan." *Kikuchi Kan zenshu* [The Collected Works of Kikuchi Kan]. Vol. 3. Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1994. 103-18.

Kurata, Hyakuzo. "Shunkan." *Kurata Hyakuzo zenshu* [The Collected Works of Kurata Hyakuzo]. Vol. 9. Tokyo: Nihon Library Centre, 1994. 203-83.

Loxley, Diana. *Problematic Shores: The Literature of Islands*. New York: St. Martin's P, 1990.

Lyons, Paul. *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Murai, Osamu. *Nanto ideorogi no hassei: Yanagita Kunio to shokuminchi shugi* [The Birth of South Island Ideology: Yanagita Kunio and Colonialism]. Rev. ed. Tokyo: Ota Shuppan, 1995.

Nakajima, Atsushi. "Fufu [A Married Couple]." *Nakajima Atsushi zenshu* [The Collected Works of Nakajima Atsushi]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 2001. 229-39.

Nero, Karen L. "The Breadfruit Tree Story: Mythological Transformations in Palauan Politics." *Pacific Studies* 15.4 (1992): 235-60.

Nonaka, Fumio. *Sekido o se ni shite* [With the Equator at My Back]. Tokyo: Nanyo Gunto Kyokai, 1990.

Peattie, Mark R. *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1988.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

Shimada, Keizo. *Boken Dankichi manga zenshu* [The Collected Comics Dankichi the Adventurous]. Tokyo: Kodan Sha, 1967.

Spurr, David. *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*. Durham and London: Duke UP, 1993.

Sturma Michael. *South Sea Maidens: Western Fantasy and Sexual Politics in the South Pacific*. Westport: Greenwood P, 2002.

Teaiwa, Teresia. "Reading Paul Gauguin's *Nəa Noa* with Epeli Hau'ofa's *Kisses in the Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism, and the "Polynesian" Body." *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*. Ed. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999. 249-63.

Telmetang, Marciana. *Bai*. Koror, Palau: Belau National Museum, 1993.

Weaver-Hightower, Rebecca. *Empire Islands: Castaway, Cannibals, and Fantasies of Conquest*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2007.

Yano, Toru. *"Nanshin" no keifu* [The Genealogy of "Southward Advance"]. Tokyo: Chuo Koron Sha, 1975.