特別企画 2

Paracolonial Literature: Japanese-language Literature in Brazil

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1. Introduction: Colonial/*Colonia*/*Shokumin*

On 14 April 1932, the winners of the first *shokumin bungei tanpen shôsetsu* (植民文芸短編小説) competition were announced in the pages of the *Burajiru jihô* (伯剌西爾時報, *Noticias do Brasil*) newspaper, which was published in São Paulo, Brazil. The notion of *shokumin bungei* (植民文芸) and the related notion of *shokuminchi bungei* (植民地文芸), both of which might be rendered as "colonial literature," were in use during the imperial period and are terms that have been productively re-examined in recent years. In those cases, however, the term *shokuminchi* (植民地) seems limited to places that "had become part of Japan under the rubric of cession, annexation, or mandate."[1] Obviously, Japan's empire never included the sovereign state of Brazil. What makes this Japanese-language literature from Brazil "colonial literature" then? At one level, the confusion

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1) This is the definition given by Kawamura Minato is his piece, "Shokuminchi bungaku to wa nani ka" in his book, *Nan'yô, Karafuto no Nihon bungaku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1994) 5.

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stems from a fundamental ambiguity present as far back as the Latin origin of the term *shokumin*; at another level, however, this usage can perhaps prompt us into an important reconception of the organizing principles of literature and the limitations of the national literature model.

The Latin term *colonia*, which is the root of the terms *colony* in English and *colonia* in Portuguese, and is the term for which the calque *shokumin* was developed in Japanese, has been linked to multiple Greek terms, including *apoikia*, *emporion*, and *klerouchia*, which in theory defined different forms of colonies with varying degrees of interconnectedness to their mother cities, but which were not always used with absolute precision.[2] In Latin, the term *colonia* was used for two distinct forms of colonies, one that acted as a formal extension of the Roman Empire and one that was an independent community of emigrants abroad. In English, the most important (though not first) source from which Japanese would have drawn the term, the use of the term "colony" has historically been broad, particularly since the late nineteenth century, when the term was borrowed into Japanese.[3] Prior to that time, a "colony" was seen as a place where individuals had emigrated and settled; moreover, that colony remained a dependency, thus differentiating this form of human transplantation from emigration.[4] Subsequently, however, the term came

2) William Smith, ed., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1870) 313-17; James Whitley, *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 124-26; and Ian Worthington, "Demosthenes, *Philippic* 2.20 and Potidaea the *Apoikia*," *Hermes* 128:2, 235-36. For more on this topic, see my article, "Ôtake Wasaburô's Dictionaries and the Japanese 'Colonization' of Brazil," *Dictionaries: The Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America* 31 (2010): 46-68, from which this section is drawn.

3) Originally, the Japanese term *shokumin* appears to have been used in 1801 to calque the Dutch term *Volkplanting*, which itself appeared in print as early as 1772 in Motoki Yoshinaga's *Oranda chikyû zusetsu*, in which the settlement of the New World by Europeans after the arrival of Columbus is given as the prime example. As early as 1867 *shokumin* was used as a translation for the English term "colony."

4) M.I. Finley, "Colonies: An Attempt at a Typology," *Transactions of the Royal*

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to be used for communities with a wide variety of relationships with the colonists' home of origin, making the distinction between emigration and colonization – or colonization as opposed to colonialism – less clear, at least in popular usage. Eventually the term even came to be used to refer to the structural relationship of one community to another, regardless of the presence or absence of a displaced population. Thus one sees such uses as the declaration in the British Parliament in 1846 that free trade made foreign nations "valuable colonies to us, without imposing on us the responsibility of governing them."[5)]

The linguistic ambiguity between the formal colonies and informal settlements reflected a political ambiguity: it is a matter of debate how the actual historical processes of emigration and formal colonization interrelated during Japan's imperial period. Peter Duus has argued that the distinction was seen in the last two decades of the Meiji period as follows:

> Emigration was thought of as a movement of the poor and the weak, primarily an economic act with little political meaning since the main beneficiary was not the state but the migrant, who might find a better livelihood. Colonization, by contrast, was invariably linked with national purpose, national power, and national interests. It implied the controlled movement of people, often under official auspices or with official protection and encouragement, from the home country to a less developed society where they would establish prosperous and independent communities.[6)]

Historical Society, 5th Series, Volume 26 (1976): 167–88.

5) As cited in Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism: Classical Political Economy, the Empire of Free Trade, and Imperialism, 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 197), 8.

6) As quoted in Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895 1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 295.

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Duus argues persuasively that a number of thinkers considered emigration to Hawaii, North America, and Australia to be unproductive from the perspective of the state, citing the scholar and politician Tôgô Minoru (1881-1959)'s comment from his *Nihon shokumin ron* (日本植民論), "The expansion of a nationality is not necessarily the same as the development of a state."[7)]

By contrast, Akira Iriye stresses the important continuum between the formal colonial projects of the Japanese state and its sponsorship of broad emigration, arguing that during the early years of Japanese expansion the distinction between emigration and formal colonization was often ambiguous. He writes, "'Peaceful expansionism (*heiwa teki bôchô*, 平和的膨張)' did not simply mean the passive emigration of individual Japanese, but could imply a government sponsored, active program of overseas settlement and positive activities to tie distant lands closer to Japan."[8)] Whether the expansion of a nationality is efficacious in the development of a state may be a matter of debate, but there is little doubt that some of the powers that be thought it could be, and the actual individuals involved often saw a relation between their conditions and those of their countrymen in the formal colonies.

The use of the term *shokuminchi* in Brazil is even more complicated; the Portuguese cognates of the Latin *colonia* had taken on even more particular denotations:

> In Brazil... the meanings given to the Portuguese equivalents of colonist, colony, and colonization are quite different; they vary considerably from one part of the immense country to another, and a number of other terms must be taken into account. For example, in the states of Rio Grande do

7) As translated in Duus (300); the original quote appears on page 382 of Tôgô's text.
8) Akira Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897 1911* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 131.

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> Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná... the *zona colonial* signifies the area given over to small farms and the colono is the owner-operator of a small farm. In the great industrial and agricultural state of São Paulo, which bounds Paraná on the north, however, the *colono* is an agricultural labor who is assigned the care of a specified number of coffee trees for the period of one year, and who is assigned the use of one of the dwellings in the workers' village, or *colonia*, near the mansion of the proprietor, the mill for processing the coffee cherries, and the grounds on which the coffee beans are spread to dry.[9]

Given this semantic diversity in English and Portuguese, it should come as no surprise that the term *shokuminchi* became the established translation of the term *colonia*, despite the distinct usage within the Brazilian context. The term became still more ambiguous when it was applied to the large, partially autonomous, semi governmental ethnic and linguistic enclaves in which the majority of Japanese immigrants lived, which were known as *núcleos coloniais* (colonial nuclei).

As we can see, the use of *shokumin* to translate the term *colonia* appeared amid complex histories in the source language (Portuguese), the target language (Japanese), and even the etymological origin languages (Latin and Greek); at the same time, much of the complexity has arisen as a result of translation itself, whether that "carrying across" has been from one language to another, or from one socioeconomic chronotope to another. The term *shokumin*, as it appears in the title of the award, is a term that emerged from translation but blurred not only the internal ambiguity of the term, but also the distinction between two cognates that had deviated significantly from their root. To simply claim that this prize was imprecisely named -

9) T. Lynn Smith, "Studies of Colonization and Settlement," *Latin American Research Review* 4: 1 (Spring, 1969), 95.

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that perhaps it should have been an *imin* (migrant, 移民) *bungei tanpen shôsetsu* – would be to miss an exceptional opportunity to think through the multiple valences of the term colonial as it relates to these texts. Emigration was the necessary precondition for the existence of this prize and the literature it celebrated, and that emigration occurred, not coincidentally, in a world that had been largely reconfigured through the forces of imperial expansion and domination.

2. Japanese Emigration in the Twentieth-Century

In exploring the various reasons in which the formal colonies and the migrant communities of Brazil could be seen as posing significant commonalities -- sufficient commonalities that the literature of those colonies might share the name *shokumin bungei* -- the preceding section touched upon the motivations of the Japanese government in supporting the two forms of emigration. There were other interest groups whose motivations must also be examined, however: the Brazilian government and the migrants themselves.

The Brazilian government, for its part, seems to have been primarily motivated by its need for labor for coffee production; in the absence of a European option, Brazil was forced to set aside the "bleaching" process (*branqueamento*) advocated by some elites and reconsider its racial hierarchy, finding Japan, which in 1905 had just defeated a "white" nation in war, as sufficiently "civilized" as to be considered an acceptable source of immigrant labor.[10] It is emblematic of the global

10) Japan defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. Nobuya Tsuchida, *The Japanese in Brazil, 1908-1941* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1978) 23.

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forces that encouraged this migration that the crop the Japanese were initially brought in to work was coffee – one is a series of cash crop monocultural formations around which the Brazilian economy had been constructed through its history as a formal colony of Portugal and an indirect, economic colony of England.[11] The community of Japanese in Brazil came into existence largely because of a global economy premised on asymmetry. This asymmetry cannot be reduced to a simple metropole colony relationship, whether formal or informal, in which a stronger country exploits a weaker one. Both Japan and Brazil found themselves in a middle position, negotiating a global economy in which neither power was hegemonic. For their part, the individual migrants, who were incentivized by both Japan and Brazil to migrate, were doubly exploited by these nations as they attempted to maximize economic efficiency and political control. The traditional image of migrants to Brazil accords with (and perhaps partially stems from) the image presented in *Sôbô* (蒼氓), of rural peasants with few remaining options, some dreaming of a successful return to Japan but many simply escaping what they consider to be unsustainable living conditions.[12] While this description was true of many, there were also

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11) E. Bradford Burns, *A History of Brazil*, third edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993) 61ff.

12) Translated into English as "The Emigrants," the story appeared in *The East* 21.4-6 (1985) and 22.1 (1986). No translator is credited. This is actually a translation of the first part only, which was the portion that received the first Akutagawa Prize ever awarded. A second part was published between April and July 1946, and a third in July 1946. *Sôbô* tells the story of a group of semiliterate Japanese peasants and their experiences of being processed at the Emigration Office in Kobe prior to their departure for Brazil. The narrative primarily focuses on a young woman, Onatsu, and her younger brother, Magoichi. Because individuals had to emigrate as families to receive government subsidies, Onatsu has abandoned the man she loves to travel to Brazil with her brother, who dreams of success there. The story focuses on Onatsu's and Magoichi's experiences, but not exclusively. Touching on large contemporary events of 1930, such as the London Naval Conference and bribery scandals involving

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significant numbers of sojourners, who either actively and positively pursued migration out of a desire to return to Japan "wearing a golden brocade" (錦を着て, *nishiki o kite*) after achieving wealth abroad, and émigrés, who went abroad looking to create utopian societies or achieve alternate, cosmopolitan identities. The fact that any homogenizing description of emigrants is insufficient should come as no surprise; what is perhaps more interesting is the possibility that this singular image of the hard struggling and self sacrificing peasant migrant might be a self romanticizing narrative embraced and developed by the emigrants themselves – perhaps in line with the way that Edward Said described exile poets as "lend[ing] dignity to a condition legislated to deny dignity."[13] Leaving that claim aside for the time being, it is clear that individual migrants were motivated by a diverse constellation of preconceptions, exigencies, and desires.

The migration began in 1908 and continued until 1941, only to be resumed again in the postwar. As is commonly known, after the legalization of emigration in 1884, the Japanese government began encouraging (and sometimes both supervising and subsidizing) emigration to Hawaii, Australia, Fiji, Guadeloupe, Canada, Mexico, Peru, New Zealand, and the United States, which soon became the primary destination for Japanese emigrants. In the early years of the twentieth century, however, the United States, Australia, and Canada all began to limit or forbid immigration from Japan; the infamous Gentlemen's Agreement, of 1907-08, had a dramatic impact. It is no coincidence that

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high ranking government officials, *Sôbô* also explores many other characters' experiences, effectively capturing the mass of people and their diverse situations.

13) Edward Said, "Reflections on Exile," *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003) 175. For a discussion on possible self-romanticization, see Stewart Lone, *The Japanese Community in Brazil, 1908-1940: Between Samurai and Carnival* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

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the first emigrants to Brazil, the 781 emigrants aboard the Kasato maru, arrived in 1908; the closing of the United States had been foreseeable, and for a number of years individuals had been considering Brazil as an alternative destination. When the United States terminated immigration from Japan in 1924, Brazil became the primary destination of emigration outside of the formal Japanese Empire. Migration to Brazil peaked in 1933-34, with roughly 23,000 individuals migrating each of those two years. Numbers declined steadily after that time, however, as Manchuria rose as the primary object of the Empire's emigration enterprises.

Although many emigrants to Brazil went to that country with the intention of returning to Japan, only around 10% actually did, largely because conditions in Brazil were often more challenging than they had been lead to believe, making it quite difficult to save enough for return passage.[14] The population of "Japanese" in Brazil – including children born there – grew to more than 200,000 by 1940.[15] The population in Brazil was also geographically concentrated, adding to the sense of community. The overwhelming majority of these lived in the state of São Paulo; in April 1940, for example, 94% of the Japanese population lived there.[16] Statistics from 1930, before a major surge in migration to Brazil that would nearly double the population in a decade, show that

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14) Imin Hachijû Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Burajiru Nihon imin 80 nenshi* (São Paulo: Burajiru Nihon Bunka Kyôkai, 1991) 113. Tsuchida (297) explores the reasons.

15) *80 nenshi* 113. Children born in Brazil, in accordance with the principle of *jus soli*, became Brazilian citizens; because of the large number of families and the youth of the migrants, many children were born. By 1920, roughly 6000 children had been born to the 28,000 migrants. Tsuchida 196. By the end of 1940, 3830 of 144,523 Japanese immigrants living in Brazil had naturalized; 104,355 children had been born of Japanese fathers and thus possessed the right to citizenship of either country. Tsuchida 298. Some population statistics (usually those compiled by Japan) include children born in Brazil; others (usually those compiled by Brazil) do not.

16) 193,364 of a population of 205,850; *80 nenshi* 113.

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the community there represented a significant portion of the total number of Japanese abroad. At that time, by way of rough comparison, Hawaii, the continental United States, and Brazil each had between 100 and 150,000 Japanese; Manchuria and Taiwan had roughly 230,000; and Korea had 500,000.[17] The populations in Brazil and the United States remain the largest outside of Japan today, with roughly 1.5 million persons of Japanese decent in Brazil and 1.2 million in the United States.

Initially contract migrants were sent to existing Brazilian *fazendas* (plantations). Between 1908-24, over 35,000 Japanese migrated to Brazil, where most worked as laborers on Brazilian-owned coffee plantations. There many of the migrants were allowed to remain together, often grouped by prefecture of origin.[18] Though conditions were difficult and much exploitation took place, the potential for social mobility did exist. Many migrants were able to become landowners within ten years.[19] By 1940, more than 70% of the Japanese agricultural labor force in Brazil were landowners.[20]

From the mid-1920s, the Japanese government had begun working to establish more independent communities for Japanese migrants. These projects took three forms: first, settlements formed by groups of

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17) Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 314-15.

18) A great deal was done at the prefectural level, including establishing of Emigration Cooperative Societies in each prefecture (Tsuchida 250); as a result, many Japanese in Brazil identify very strongly with their prefecture, more strongly in practice, perhaps than with Japan. Although I will not deal with this point here, it is clear that in certain situations prefectural identity is at least as powerful as national identity, partially as a result of these policies.

19) One worked as a *colono* until one had acquired enough capital to become either a sharecropper, a (usually four-year) contract farmer, or a lease farmer. Each of these arrangements required more capital than the previous, but was also more profitable. The differences are described in Tsuchida 181-84.

20) Tsuchida 300.

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individuals; second, a small number of communities established by private companies in the Amazon; and third, large blocks of state owned land that had been granted to semi governmental syndicates and were exempted from state taxes for a period of years.[21] Many Japanese migrants were drawn to this third type of settlement, where they could become independent farmers, live in a Japanese language environment, and have access to medical clinics and schools provided by the syndicate.[22] With good facilities and financial incentives provided by the syndicate, these settlements drew not only new migrants from Japan but also Japanese immigrants already in Brazil.[23] The result was large ethnic and linguistic enclaves, primarily in rural areas in the state of São Paulo.

3. Japanese-language Texts in Brazil

This, then, is an overview of the Japanese-speaking communities that existed in Brazil prior to World War II. Although it is essential not to presume that the migrants were all struggling peasants, the majority of the population was involved in agricultural production and lived outside

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21) Tsuchida 184-96. For the Brazilian government, this was seen as a way of opening and utilizing otherwise underutilized or undesirable land. In some cases, these colonies were financed by major *zaibatsu*, including Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda. Tsuchida 276. Legally, the semi-governmental syndicates that owned all of the land that made up these colonies were Brazilian corporations; individual deeds were corporation-issued and thus not recognized by the Brazilian government. Tsuchida 305. Legal ownership fully transferred in 1941, with the declaration of war.
22) Tsuchida 253-55 describes the facilities built in the Bastos colony, including roads, offices, a warehouse, dormitories for new arrivals, a hotel, a general store, a garage, a clinic, three schools, a sawmill, a cacoonery, a rice mill, two brickworks, and eventually (in 1934) a power plant and a business district in the center of the colony.
23) Tsuchida 254.

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of the urban center of São Paulo city, often at significant distances. The success of Japan's emigration efforts created an ever-expanding population that possessed a new set of needs, which could not all be met by existing businesses. From the earliest days of migration, enterprises were launched or adapted to address migrants' demands for goods not readily available in Brazil. The first of these businesses involved foodstuffs and other essential items: soy sauce, seeds, medicines, Japanese farm tools. Other, less essential goods were also in high demand, including print. Data suggests, perhaps counter-intuitively, that migrants possessed a reasonably high degree of literacy.[24] This may have been due to the fact that migration required a certain level of economic solvency, thereby excluding the lowest socio-economic stratum, which would have had the least access to education in Japan.[25] Records show, for example, that a majority of the first migrants had been property-owning farmers in Japan.[26] Whatever the reason, within a relatively short time we see businesses appearing to meet the demand for print. Despite the difficult conditions faced by nearly all migrants, many continued to consume newspapers, magazines, and books in Japanese.

Similarly to other early migrant communities in other contexts, the

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24) One source of literacy statistics on 33,000 newly-arrived immigrants' (fifteen years of age and older) level of education upon arrival (between the years 1908-1941) has 0.3% illiterate, 0.2% with basic literacy but no formal education, 74.2% with a primary school education, 22.5% with a secondary school education, and 2.8% with a higher school education. Suzuki Teijirô, ed., *Burajiru no Nihon imin: Shiryô-hen* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-bu, 1964), pp. 382-83. On the complexity of determining literacy, see Richard Rubinger, "Who Can't Read and Write? Illiteracy in Meiji Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 55:2 (2000), pp.163-98, and P.F. Kornicki, "Literacy Revisited: Some Reflections on Richard Rubinger's Findings," *Monumenta Nipponica* 56:3 (2001), pp. 381-95.

25) Tsuchida (137) notes that an immigrant's initial investment, at least at first, was the equivalent of the three-year income of a farm hand in Japan.

26) Tsuchida 179-80.

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very first readers obtained their books through one of four avenues: they brought them from Japan, they borrowed them from friends, they ordered them directly from the publishers, or they purchased them through general stores (商店 *shôten*, 雑貨屋 *zakkaya*).[27] Japan was not the only source for Japanese language texts. The first Japanese language newspapers produced in Brazil appeared before the first decade was out. The first began in 1915 but failed within a year.[28] Two newspapers followed soon after that became the major newspapers of the prewar period: in early 1916, the *Nippaku shinbun* (日伯新聞) appeared, followed soon after by the *Burajiru jihô* in August 1917.[29]

It was not until the second decade of Japanese migration that we find evidence of advertised book sales in these newspapers. One of the earliest ads was for a general store named Kidô (木藤), located in the

27) A 7 April 1922 *Burajiru jihô* advertisement for Noticias do Brasil, the publisher of the newspaper, gives us an idea of how book sales were undertaken during the first decade of migration. The directions for subscribing to magazines are as follows: prices, listed in Japanese yen, were to be converted at a rate of 80 reais per 1 sen of the fixed price (*teika*) for the magazine; thus a 50 sen magazine would be 4000 reais. One full year's subscription had to be paid in advance. For books, the conversion rate was the same: 8000 reais per one yen. Again, the price had to be paid in advance. Books and magazines were to be ordered from Noticias, which would then contact an agent in Japan. When Noticias received the book or magazine, it was then sent by registered mail (or other reliable method) to the purchaser. The distributor absorbed all postage, customs, and other charges. Apparently customers could also order directly from an agent (*tokuyaku shoten*) or the publisher directly, in which case the price was reduced by 20% but customs and other charges were to be borne by the customer. Customers were responsible for any unexpected problems arising within the postal system. Noticias also accepted orders for books and magazines not listed in their catalog as long as they were not "injurious to public morals."

28) The *Nanbei shûhô*, a simple mimeographed newspaper.

29) For more on the *Burajiru jihô* and the *Nippaku shinbun*, see Kon'no Toshihiko and Fujisaki Yasuo, eds., *Imin shi I: Nanbei-hen* (Tokyo: Shinsen-sha, 1994), 149-54, and Ebihara Hachirô, *Kaigai hôji shinbun zasshi-shi* [1936] (Tokyo: Meicho Fukyûkai, 1980), 224-28. As a point of comparison for prices, on 7 September 1917 the subscription price for the *Burajiru jihô* was listed as 10,000 reais for a year, 1000 reais for a month, and 300 reais for a week.

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city of São Paulo, which advertised in February 1918 that it handled books.[30] Needless to say, books were not Kidô's main business, which revolved around carpenter tools, medicines, used sacks, and soy sauce. Soon after, however, the precursor of one of the leading bookstores of the prewar period, Endô Shoten (遠藤書店, Livraria Yendo), appeared. The entrepreneur Endô Tsunehachirô (遠藤常八郎) was active in trading Japanese goods in São Paulo from at least as early as 1917.[31] Still operating as an individual, he opened a store in 1920.[32] At that time, he carried a variety of goods, including candy, medicine, and insecticide sprayers; he handled mail and other official documents; and he lent books. By 1923, he had named his company Endô Shôten (遠藤商店).[33] Though the company was advertising its other goods, such as seeds, in 1927, by 1928 it was representing itself as "specializing in books."[34] By 1932, Endô had changed the name of the company slightly but significantly from *shôten* (商店, general store) to *shoten* (書店, bookstore).[35] Although likely the largest single bookseller, Endô Shoten was far from alone in the marketplace.

Based on the advertisements that appear in contemporary newspapers, Japanese-language texts – particularly books and magazines – seem to have been highly sought after commodities in Brazil from very early on. One might imagine that migrants, who were surrounded by a world that was so foreign, turned to texts from Japan for that which was familiar,

30) *Burajiru jihô*. The advertisement from the previous issue, dated 25 January 1918, did not mention books, raising the possibility that the February 1 advertisement marked the beginning of a new service.
31) *Burajiru jihô*, 7 September 1917.
32) *Burajiru jihô*, 13 August 1920.
33) *Burajiru jihô*, 7 September 1923.
34) *Burajiru jihô*, 4 March 1927 and 30 August 1928.
35) *Burajiru jihô*, 19 May 1932. Endô seems to have wanted to obscure the shift; the first appearance I have found of the name change is part of an advertisement celebrating the business' tenth anniversary.

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even if fictive. We have some sense of the books available in Brazil during these first decades, thanks to advertisements by bookstores that listed newly arrived books.[36] Needless to say, this data must be considered only part of the story.[37] Nonetheless, the ads suggest dramatically increasing stocks, as these mini catalogs grow from lists of 15 titles in 1924 to lists of nearly 400 titles in 1935.[38]

The data suggests that when consumers in Brazil bought books, they turned to authors who also enjoyed great popularity in Japan.[39] One of the most popular was Sasaki Kuni (佐々木邦, 1883-1964), who had himself lived in the Japanese colonial city of Pusan, where he worked as a teacher and wrote his first work, *Itazura kozô nikki* (いたづら小僧日記, 1909). Between 1935 and 1940, at least twenty separate titles of Sasaki's appeared in bookstore advertisements.[40] Kôdansha (講談社), which

36) Booklending, older issues (*tsuki-okure*) of magazines, and traveling libraries are only a few of the alternative means to retail sales of new books and magazines that were available in Brazil. For more information on these alternatives, see Edward Mack, "Diasporic Markets: Japanese Print and Migration in São Paulo, 1908-1935," *Script & Print: Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand* 29 (2006): 163-77.

37) Advertisements would presumably not list titles that were special-ordered by customers (and were therefore not generally available.) These are presumably titles that the bookstore felt might have an audience or that customers decided not to purchase after having requested them. It seems unlikely that multiple copies of these texts were available, though it is impossible to say. Titles rarely repeat from one advertisement to the next, suggesting either reasonably brisk turnover or the presumed ineffectiveness of repeated advertising.

38) Endô Shôten (Shoten) from 13 June 1924 (*Burajiru jihô*) and 18 December 1935 (*Nippaku shinbun*). Half-or-full page advertisements become the norm between 1935-40.

39) These conclusions are drawn from an analysis of more than 1200 titles listed in 10 advertisements between 1924-40: 13 June 1924 (*Burajiru jihô*), 19 December 1924 (*Burajiru jihô*), 29 August 1934 (*Burajiru jihô*), 18 December 1935 (*Nippaku shinbun*), 21 August 1938 (*Burajiru jihô*), 12 August 1939 (*Burajiru jihô*), 19 August 1939 (*Burajiru jihô*), 16 December 1939 (*Burajiru jihô*), 1 February 1940 (*Burajiru jihô*), 9 July 1940 (*Burajiru jihô*).

40) Included: *Kushin no gakuyû (苦心の学友, March 1930, Kôdansha), which appeared*

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published many of Sasaki's works, was the source of many of the magazines and books in Brazil; the company, which regularly advertised its magazines in the Japanese-language papers, seems to have consciously cultivated the market. This fact might help explain why books by Noma Seiji (野間清治, 1878-1938), the founder of Kôdansha, appeared at least fifteen times during the same period.[41)]

After Sasaki, the most popular authors were Noma, Tsurumi Yûsuke (鶴見祐輔, 1885-1974), Kikuchi Kan (菊池寛, 1888 1948), and Naoki Sanjûgo (直木三十五, 1891-1934), all of whom appeared at least thirteen times. The works of Tsurumi, who was both a politician and novelist, were the most diverse, with novels (Haha『母』, Ko『子』, Chichi『父』), books on famous Westerners (Disraeli, Napoleon, Byron, Bismarck), and treatises on Japanese expansion (『膨張の日本』). Works by Kikuchi appeared over the longest span of time, from 1924 until 1940.[42)] By contrast, Naoki's works appeared in a clump soon after his death on 24 February 1934.[43)] That is not to say that more unusual books did not

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on 18 December 1935 (*Nippaku shinbun*) for 11.7 milles; *Gutei kenkei* (愚弟賢兄, March 1929, Kôdansha), which appeared on 1 February 1940 (*Burajiru jih*ô) for 13.5 milles; and *Chi ni tsume ato o nokosu mono* (地に爪跡を残すもの, February 1934, Kôdansha), which appeared on 18 December 1935 (*Nippaku shinbun*) for 16.2 milles. Sasaki is known as an author of comedic fiction for women and young people

41) Though his books appear fifteen times, only 9 titles are listed as available. The books were, with one exception, quite inexpensive (3-5 milles in most cases) and included *Seken zatsuwa* (世間雑話, November 1935, Kôdansha), which appeared three times: on 18 December 1935 (*Nippaku shinbun*) for 2 milles and on 9 July and 1 February 1940 (*Burajiru jih*ô) for 3 milles.

42) Between 1924-40 his works appears 13 times for 13 titles. The earliest appearance was of *Doku no hana* (毒の華, Shun'yôdô, 1921), which appeared on 19 December 1924 (*Burajiru jih*ô) for 15 milles, and *Keikichi monogatari* (啓吉物語, Genbunsha, 1924), which appeared in the same advertisement for 17 milles.

43) Between 1934-35 Naoki appears 13 times for 11 titles. One advertisement, from 18 December 1935 (*Nippaku shinbun*), lists 9 titles by the author. The books were were originally published by Kaizôsha (相馬大作, October 1934; 大阪物語, July 1934; 日本の戦慄, August 1934; 明暗三世相, September 1932; 源九郎義経, April October, 1933), Chûôkôronsha (光、罪と共に, January 1933; 楠木正成, November 1932; 青春行状記,

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appear as well. One example might be the work of the half Russian, half Japanese author Ôizumi Kokuseki (大泉黒石, 1894 1957), one of which appeared as early as 1924.[44)]

Many magazines from Japan were also available from at least 1919, when *Taiyô*, *Chûô kôron*, *Waseda bungaku*, *Shinshôsetsu*, *Bungei kurabu* and other titles were advertised.[45)] Despite the distance separating the two countries -the trip took roughly 50 days- magazines arrived in Brazil not long after their publication.[46)] Unlike books, we have a rough idea of the size and nature of this readership. In 1935, when the total number of migrants to Brazil had surpassed 170,000, a single newspaper article appeared that gives us a glimpse into the magnitude of the Japanese-language magazine market.[47)] According to that article, August 1935 marked the first month in which more than 10,000 Japanese-language magazines were imported into Brazil.[48)] The most commonly read was *Kingu* (the first Japanese magazine to have a circulation in excess of one million) with 3500 copies. The next was *Shufu no tomo*, one of the most popular women's magazines in Japan, with 1200 copies.[49)] By contrast, only 80 copies of Kaizô and 70 copies of *Chûô kôron* (perhaps the two most influential

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November 1931), and Senshinsha (荒木又右衛門, July 1930).

44) Ôizumi Kokusei's *Rôshi sôsaku* (老子：創作, Shinkôsha, June 1922) appeared in a 19 December 1924 *Burajiru jihô* advertisement for 18.5 milles.

45) *Burajiru jihô* 5 December 1919 advertisement for Segi Shôten. Prices for the magazines are *Taiyô*, 2500; *Chûô kôron*, 3500; *Waseda bungaku*, 3600; *Shinshôsetsu*, 2300; and *Bungei kurabu*, 2300.

46) Tsuchida 133.

47) *Nippaku shinbun* 18 September 1935.

48) The São Paulo central post office's foreign books division's survey of August 1935 showed that roughly 10,000 issues were imported, with a tax of 1000 reais per issue paid.

49) These were followed by popular magazines such as *Hinode*, *Fuji*, and *Kôdan kurabu*, with 450 copies each. The children's magazines *Shônen*, *Shôjo*, and *Yônen kurabu* had between 300-400 copies each. Quantities of some of the more intellectual journals, such as *Bungei shunjû* (100), *Kaizô* (80), and *Chûô kôron* (70), were less prominent.

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magazines in Japan) entered the country that month.

The last medium that must be considered is that of newspapers. Looking at a related marketplace, Hibi Yoshitaka has written about advertisements that reveal that a vast selection of newspapers from throughout the Japanese empire was available to consumers living in California as early as 1913.[50] Limiting itself to subscriptions, this advertisement suggests that the bookstore offering the newspapers was acting in concert with one of the large central distributors, such as Tôkyôdô. Similar arrangements were likely possible in Brazil; the advertisement from 1919 mentioned in conjunction with magazines, above, suggests as much.

For print capital based in Tokyo, these migrant communities presented a rich new market, an audience thought to have an insatiable desire for the cultural products of their home. Particularly from the 1930s, Tokyo based publishers and Brazil-based retailers began significant newspaper advertising campaigns directed at these consumers. Publishers and booksellers soon recognized that they could play to a litany of fears shared by many migrants – fears of falling out of touch, of being insufficiently patriotic, of somehow becoming less-than-fully Japanese – by selling their products as the solution to the alienation of a diasporic existence.[51] Before long the proportion of advertising space dedicated to publishing grew to mimic the situation in Japan itself, where pharmaceuticals and print were the two most advertised commodities.

While this information verifies that a plentiful supply of printed

50) Based on an advertisement from 12 November 1913 for Goshadô, which appeared in the *Nichibei shinbun*. The list included newspapers from Korea, Manchuria, and Taiwan. See Hibi Yoshitaka, “Nikkei Amerika imin issei no shinbun to bungaku,” *Nihon bungaku* 53:11 (November 2004), 23-34.

51) See Mack, “Diasporic Markets.” This article also discusses a number of other print related ventures that arose in Brazil, some of which were not commercial.

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matter from Tokyo was available, it still fails to illuminate the size of the audience. While limited, some data, in addition to the magazine data listed above, exists concerning reading habits. In 1939, an almanac produced by the publisher of the *Nippaku shinbun* included a survey of reading habits of the approximately 11,500 households located in the Bauru region, along the major train lines (Northwest and Paulista) in São Paulo. These households would have been almost exclusively rural and engaged in agriculture, as the region does not include the city of São Paulo. The survey found that of these households, 1078 purchased children's magazines, 1908 purchased women's magazines, 5967 purchased men's magazines, and 10,154 purchased newspapers.[52)] Nearly every household, that is, purchased a newspaper. The survey notes, however, that it was very unusual for families to read newspapers from Japan; the vast majority of newspapers were ones published in Brazil.

4. Serialized Fiction in Japanese Language Newspapers

As I mentioned a moment ago, two newspapers dominated the marketplace prior to World War II: the *Nippaku shinbun* and the *Burajiru jihô*. As with newspapers in Japan, serialized fiction was pivotal for Japanese-language newspapers in Brazil, particularly in cultivating a regular readership. These stories, in fact, seem to have

52) Wako, p.18. In terms of children's magazines, *Shôjo kurabu* and *Shônen kurabu* were the most commonly read, followed by Burajiru Jihô's *Kodomo no sono*. As for women's magazines, *Fujin kurabu* was first, followed by *Shufu no tomo*. As for men's magazines, *Kingu* accounted for the majority, followed by various other Kôdansha magazines. In terms of newspapers, *Nippaku* was first, followed by *Seishû shinpô*, *Burajiru jihô*, and *Nihon*.

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been pivotal in establishing the habit of regular print consumption and therefore in establishing a market for newspapers. All of the major newspapers in Brazil carried some form of literature; *Burajiru jih*ô, in particular, dedicated a significant amount of space to works of prose fiction.[53] Many issues contained two separate serialized stories, one set in the present and one set in the past.

The works set in the past were usually works of so-called "popular" historical fiction originally published in Japan. One early story was *Kume no heinai* (粂平内), which ended its run on 28 January 1921 after nearly 120 installments – that is, more than two years of continuous appearances. The story of a mythical warrior of the early Edo period, Kume no heinai tells of a rônin from Kyûshû who, after having killed many men, becomes a monk in Asakusa in order to pray for their repose and expiate his sins. The story had appeared as a film in Japan, produced by the "father of Japanese film" Makino Shôzô (1878-1929), in 1914. It is very likely that the newspaper version was based on the 1912 Tachikawa Bunko version by Nobana Sanjin (野花散人 or 野花山人), a book that is extremely rare now but would have been widely available at the time of its publication.[54]

This was followed by Nakarai Tôsui's (半井桃水, 1860-1926) Ô*ishi Kuranosuke* (大石内蔵之助), which started on 4 February 1921 and proceeded to run for at least the next four years; by 26 December 1924 it had reached installment #201. The story revolves around Ôishi, the leader of the forty-seven *rônin* in *Ch*û*shingura*. Nakarai's version was published in Tokyo in 1916 by Hakuaikan. It is interesting to note that

53) I am dealing here solely with prose, though poetry was also a significant a presence in the newspapers, and performed a somewhat different array of social functions.
54) It is apparently held at only one library in Japan: Baika Women's University in Osaka.

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Ô*ishi Kuranosuke* had also appeared as part of the立川文庫series (#23), in 1914; the author credited for that volume, however, had written under the penname of Sekka Sanjin (雪花散人). Although it is not clear which version were used as the source text, given the popularity of the Tachikawa Bunko editions, it will come as little surprise that these early mass produced texts could have reached halfway around the world. Much research remains to be done on these texts; what is obvious from these and other texts that were serialized, however, is that the newspaper was in many cases reproducing – perhaps legally, perhaps not – works from Japan.[55)]

The works set in the present were of three types. The first type was works originally published in Japan. The second type involved the Portuguese literary sphere. Translations from Portuguese were produced: Dorei no musume『奴隷の娘』, a translation/adaptation of Bernardo Guimarã es's *A Escrava Isaura* (1875) from the Portuguese by Sugiyama Hokage (杉山帆影), began serialization on 19 January 1922 and ran until at least November 1923. In addition to translations, there were multiple articles on the Brazilian (Lusophonic) literary world, including: a seven-part (at least) series in 1927, a three-part series in 1929, and a three-part series in 1937. Moreover, an 18 July 1929 article described the intentions of a professor in Portugal to translate six pieces of contemporary Japanese fiction into Portuguese. These included works by Tanizaki Jun'ichirô, Kikuchi Kan, Akutagawa Ryûnosuke, and Okamoto Kidô. While the boundary of the literary space occupied by the fiction in these newspapers was largely determined linguistically, rather than geographically, these

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55) I have found one possible exception to this. On 10 March 1934 a *kôdan* entitled *Kaizaka no kai (甲斐坂の怪) by Yanagi Somenosuke (柳染之介) began serialization. It is unlikely but tantalizing to speculate that a local author may have composed this kôdan* for the newspaper.

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translations and works of criticism suggest some attempt to reconcile the contiguous literary cultures despite linguistic barriers.

The most common works set in the present, however, were by ethnically Japanese writers in Brazil. At least as early as 1922, *Burajiru jihô* was actively soliciting short fiction "whose material is based on the lives of *dôhô* (同胞, brethren) in Brazil" from its readers.[56] Stories began to appear almost immediately. One of the first works of fiction that appeared in the newspaper's pages (and from the community as a whole) was "Kyôhakushaku" (狂伯爵, The Mad Count) by Sakaida Ningen (坂井田人間, also 南舟 Nanshû), which began serialization on 18 May 1923.[57] A number of other works, which have yet to be reproduced, appeared in the years that followed, both in newspapers and in local magazines, such as *Nôgyô no Burajiru* (農業のブラジル).[58]

5. The 1932 *Shokumin bungei kenshô tanpen shôsetsu* Competition

Interest in literature produced in Brazil grew, leading to Burajiru Jihôsha's creation, in 1932, of the shokumin bungei tanpen shôsetsu

56) The term *dôhô* clearly refers to fellow Japanese, and could be translated as such, but I have used a more literal translation (the term means "of the same womb") for reasons that will be made clear.

57) Burajiru Nihon Imin 70-nenshi Hensan Iinkai, eds., *Burajiru Nihon imin 70-nenshi* (São Paulo: Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Japonesa, 1980), 252, and Maeyama Takashi, "Kaisetsu: Imin bungaku kara mainoritii bungaku e" in ed. Koronia Bungakukai, *Koronia shôsetsu senshû*, vol. 1 (São Paulo: Koronia Bungakukai, 1975), 312-13, and San Pauro Jinmon Kagaku Kenkyûjo, ed., *Burajiru Nihon imin Nikkei shakai shi nenpyô* (São Paulo: Centro de Estudos Nipo Brasileiros, 1996) 51.

58) *70-nenshi* 252. *Nôgyô no Burajiru* was the name given in April 1926 to an existing magazine, *Nôgyô no tomo*, which began in 1924. *Nenpyô* 1996, 51.

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competition.[59] The company announced the competition in the pages of its newspaper as early as January of that year.[60] Three winners were announced in the pages of the 14 April 1932 edition: "Tobaku nô jidai (賭博農時代, The Age of Speculative Farming)," which was awarded first place; "Aru kaitakusha no shi (或る開拓者の死, The Death of a Settler)," which was awarded second; and "Mihatenu yume (見果てぬ夢, An Impossible Dream)," which was awarded third.[61]

The second- and third-place stories are stylistically conventional stories, written in a naturalist style. "Aru kaitakusha no shi", by Nishioka Kunio (西岡國雄; under the penname of Tanabe Shigeyuki 田辺重之), focuses on the character of Kaneko Daisuke, a small man who, through industry and economy, has been able to achieve the colonial dream and become a well-off landowner and a leader in his local Japanese community.[62] Having achieved his dreams of success, he now fantasizes about returning to his hometown "wearing a golden brocade."[63] Having decided that the time has come for his triumphant return to Japan, he makes preparations and sets off on the journey, only to be killed along the way. The story concludes with a new cross in the communal graveyard marked by Japanese script - highlighting the alterity of the language and the man, as well as the non-assimilation of the colony itself - with the words "Here rests Kaneko Daisuke, early pioneer of the K colony."[64] Despite representing, for the majority of the story, an idealized

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59) The award was given four times between 1932 and 1937.
60) *Burajiru jihô* 21 January 1932.
61) The first two works were reproduced in the Koronia Bungakukai, ed., *Koronia shôsetsu senshû* [*KSS*], vol. 1 (São Paulo: Koronia Bungakukai, 1975).
62) While it is clear that Daisuke reserves his highest scorn for Brazilians of African descent - upbraiding a Bahian who asks for food for his starving wife and child - he does not scruple to exploit young Japanese workers either.
63) *KSS* 1:23.
64) *KSS* 1:26.

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fulfillment of the common emigrant dream, this conclusion – which the title clearly foreshadows –exposes it for the fantasy it is.

"Mihatenu yume", by Asami Tetsunosuke (淺見哲之助), is a more focused piece, limited in time and space to the arrival of a young picture bride, Shizuko, to the port of Santos. The story focuses on the despair that she experiences when she leaves the young, handsome, and kind Kunio, whom she met aboard the ship, to meet the prematurely aged and unkempt Satoshi, whom she is to marry. The culture and refinement – the civilization –of Kunio, whom she leaves at the port, much as she symbolically leaves her home of Japan at the port, is starkly contrasted with the labor worn Satoshi, whose nicotine-stained, uneven teeth are just one physical manifestation of the hard life that has produced him and to which she has unwittingly committed herself.

The winning work, "Tobaku-nô jidai" by Sonobe Takeo (園部武夫), stands apart stylistically. The text is formally far more experimental than the other two works, resembling the roughly contemporary writings of the Shinkankaku-ha more than the conventional works described a moment ago. It is the story of a half-Japanese prostitute named Hanaoka Ruriko and a rich tomato farmer named Ômura. In the course of the story, Ruriko prepares to abandon a young immigrant, with whom she has an ambiguous relationship, for the comfort of life with Ômura. Ômura, for his part, builds his wealth through the exploitation of his workers –most or all of whom are Japanese – and the excessive use of chemical pesticides, which leave the tomatoes beautiful but (at least in the eyes of his workers) poisonous. In the end, Ômura's fortune is purposefully decimated by the trader Kurose, who holds a grudge against him; the concomitant damage to subsistence Japanese farmers barely warrants Kurose's attention.

Rather than thinking about the stories themselves, I would like to

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focus on what I will call their "textual identity," by which I mean the discourse in which a text is situated, and the textual interrelations that are consequently imputed to the texts. One such discourse would be that of "modern Japanese literature," which in turn would be distinct from a transhistorical "Japanese literature." These texts pose a direct challenge to what Komori Yôichi (inspired by Naoki Sakai) called the "holy quadrinity" (yonmi ittai, 四位一体) serving as the implicit justification for these discourses: the ambiguous (and self-reinforcing) amalgamation (ketsugô, 結合) of a state (Nihon), a nation (Nihonjin), a culture (Nihon bunka), and a language (Nihongo) that presumably form a self evident whole, established through a circular tautology linking each element.[65] The Japanese-language literature of Brazil deforms this quadrinity, as the ethnos, the language, and the putative culture all overflow the presumed boundaries of "Japan," disrupting the putatively self-contained amalgam. While I suspect the ways in which the boundaries of the state have been crossed are clear, the ways in which the boundaries of language are crossed may be less so.

Though this could be overstated, these stories challenge the seemingly stable boundaries of the Japanese language. The nine-page "Tobaku-nô jidai" contains no fewer than 26 Portuguese terms, not including a large number of place names and the very few terms that are given a Japanese gloss in the story. "Aru kaitakusha no shi" contains more than 40 unglossed Portuguese (or Spanish) words. "Mihatenu yume", by contrast, contains only one - banko (バンコ), or bench - and this was a term that had some circulation in Japan at the

65) Komori 1998, 5-18. The translation "holy quadrinity" comes from Christopher D. Scott, "Queer/Nation: From 'Nihon bungaku' to 'Nihongo bungaku,'" presented at the Association for Japanese Literary Studies 2007 annual meeting, Princeton University, November 2007.

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time.[66] It is possible that even this term had re-entered speech through the return of migrants who had absorbed key terms into their dialect. A specialized vocabulary of such terms developed over time in Brazil, and is known today as koronia-go (コロニア語).[67] Though the resulting linguistic incomprehensibility can be overstated, this was considered a sufficiently large problem that when the stories above were republished in a recent collection -a collection meant primarily for consumption within Brazil- an extended glossary was appended to the volume.[68] At what point does a text cease to be written "in Japanese"?[69] Loan words are not uncommon in Japanese, and their simple presence does not warrant such a challenge. In the sense of the general accessibility of these texts as literature, however, their frequency and relative obscurity

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66) It should be noted that *banco* is a term that had already entered Japanese as a loan word from Portuguese, although there is a question in my mind about whether it was an early-Edo borrowing or a post-migration borrowing. The term, meaning "bench," appears in the second-edition *Nikkoku* with a 1928-29 usage being its sole example (and therefore by the convention of the dictionary, the earliest known use): Hayashi Fumiko's *Hôrôki* (放浪記). Using other tools, however, I have discovered that at least two other authors used it around the same time: Kitahara Hakushû, who used it (in Roman letters) in 1911 (水郷柳河, *Suigô Yanagawa*) with the gloss *endai*; and Yumeno Kyûsaku, who used it in 1935 (ドグラ・マグラ, *Dogura magura*). It should be noted that the former story is set in Yanagawa (Fukuoka), and the latter story contains a comment that the term was from Kyûshû dialect, and was an old borrowing from Europe. This suggests that the term may have entered the Kyûshû dialect, only to be brought into standard Japanese through the reinforcement of migration -- not to Brazil, but of authors from Kyûshû to the literary center of Tokyo. This is merely speculation at this point, however.

67) A special vocabulary, known as *koronia-go*, or neologisms stemming from Portuguese, formed within the colonies. See Santô Isao, "Burajiru Nikkei shakai ni okeru konsei Nihongo 'Koronia go' no imi" *Ôsaka Jôshi Daigaku kiyô* 56 (2005) 71-81.

68) With 83 terms, mostly from Portuguese, defined so that readers could make sense of the 27 stories included in the collection, the *KSS*. The fact that the collection contained this glossary despite being published in São Paulo also speaks to the distance Japanese have moved from the world of agriculture in the postwar.

69) This results in sentences such as this one: 大助は去年そこで、イタリアーノのコロノがファッカを引き抜いて追いかけた時のことを想い出した。Or: 今度、帰ったら、コロノはバイアーノばかりにしてやろう。

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pose a significant challenge to comprehension. Without an extratextual gloss, the texts become linguistic commodities accessible to a dramatically reduced readership, unlike such multilingual texts as Mizumura Minae's *Shishôsetsu from Left* to *Right*, which (as Komori Yôichi points out) combines Japanese with a language (English) that many readers could be presumed to understand. As a result, it cannot be as readily assimilated into the literary center in Tokyo in a way that these texts, at least for the moment and in the absence of glosses, cannot.[70)]

Aside from the default identification of this situation with either "Japanese literature" or "modern Japanese literature," into what discourse were these texts explicitly absorbed? Much of their readership in Brazil prior to World War II likely possessed certain culturalist assumptions, overdetermined by the nation state but complicated by the presence of imperial holdings. One can imagine that many would have found the label "modern Japanese literature" natural for these texts. So what of the title of the competition, which called for *shokumin bungei tanpen shôsetsu*? In the explanation of the selection committee's choices, which accompanied the announcement of the winners, the newspaper reiterated that works involving life in the colony were given priority.[71)] The committee, according to the article, looked for works that reflected an awareness that the "circumstances of Japanese (*Nihonjin*) society in Brazil today are completely different from those in Japan" and which

70) Komori 1998, 295 and 308-10.

71) The most common theme of submissions was, apparently, young love; the selectors did not give those works serious consideration, noting how many of them were copies of *Konjiki yasha*'s basic narrative. Although love was deemed acceptable as a secondary theme, descriptions of the hardships of colonial life were preferred. These descriptions of hardship, however, could also be excessive, if not sufficiently crafted into a narrative. The committee also expressed a preference for dialog that accurately reflected life in the colonies, and was therefore not excessively polite or beautiful.

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were ones that could contribute to "the literature that must be created by the society of our countrymen (*hôjin*, 邦人) in Brazil": *a shokumin bungei*.[72]

6. The Metadiscourse on *Shokumin(chi) bungei*

There was precedent for thinking of these texts as *shokumin bungei*. The 1932 award was part of a larger discourse on *shokumin(chi) bungaku* (colonial literature or literature of the colonies), which took place in Brazil from the mid-1920s into the 1930s (and in Japan and its other colonies at roughly the same time.)[73] The focus of the award's selection committee aligned with that of essays written in Brazil and appearing in the pages of the newspaper from as early as 1929, which called for a literature suited to the new world being created by *shokuminsha* (植民者, colonials) and *iminsha* (移民者, migrants), a literature stemming from the feelings characteristic of this community.[74]

In 1931, the author Kita Nansei (北南青) implored his brethren (同胞,

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72) *Burajiru jihô* 14 April 1932.

73) Maeyama 1975, 314. Among the articles that made up this discourse are: "Shokumin bungaku e no dansô" (1929) by Harada (first name unknown); "Bungei ni tsuite no heibon naru kansô" (1931) and "Nômin bungaku no koto" (1931) by Kita Nansei; "Shokumin bungaku" (1932) by Shôken (小剣); "Shokuminchi bungaku no kakuritsu" (1934) by Sugi Takeo; "Shokumin bungaku no ideorogii" (1937) and "Bungei jihyô" (1937) by Ikeda Jûji. Maeyama mentions another piece, "Shokumin bungaku ni tsuite" (1930) by Imai Hakuô, which I have not seen. For more on this discourse in the United States, see Mack, "Seattle's Little Tokyo: *Bundan* Fiction and the Japanese Diaspora," forthcoming in Dennis Washburn and James Dorsey, eds., *Reading Material: The Production of Narratives, Genres, and Literary Identities* (West Lafayette, IN: Association for Japanese Literary Studies, 2006). For discussions of the concept within the Tokyo *bundan*, see Mack, "Accounting for Taste: The Creation of the Akutagawa and Naoki Prizes for Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 64:2 (December 2004), 318-23.

74) Harada, "Shokumin bungaku e no dansô," *Burajiru jihô* 25 July 1929.

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dôhô), who had made new lives in Brazil, not to be satisfied with imitating the homeland (故国, *kokoku*), but to develop a literature rooted in their lives in the colony (植民地, *shokuminchi*)[75] Soon after, 南青developed - over the course of three articles - an argument for yet another textual identity: peasant literature (農民文学, *nômin bungaku.*)[76] His conception of peasant literature resembled proletarian literature in its motivation, but differed in its focus. The literature must have, Kita argued, an intimate connection to the lives of those in the colony (*shokuminchi*), to the special existence of individuals who live under the rule of a sovereign country but remain foreigners. This fact - that they are an "inassimilable people" - makes them a unique society, and forces them to determine what sort of literature they must have. What that literature will be is unclear; for Nansei, however, it will not be (what he considers) the strange stories of corruption, indulgence, and self deception that dominate the Japanese *bundan* (文壇, literary establishment).

An article that appeared in the following year, 1932, both shows the flexibility of the terminology concerning the colony and the underlying sense that the ethnic community in Brazil is growing ever more distinct from the home country.[77] In that article, the author attempts to distinguish the community in Brazil from those in the formal colonies, consciously making the point that the society of his fellow countrymen in Brazil is "not, strictly speaking, a colony (*shokuminchi*)," and noting that its special circumstances are causing the society of Japanese in Brazil to grow more independent of the "motherland" year by year. It is the role of literature, this author contends, to lead this new society in

75) Kita Nansei, "Bungei ni tsuite no heibon naru kansô," *Burajiru jihô* 10 September 1931.
76) Kita Nansei, "Nômin bungaku no koto," *Burajiru jihô* 20 November, 24 November, and 27 November 1931.
77) Shôken, "Shokumin bungaku," *Burajiru jihô* 28 January 1932.

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the right direction.

Sugi Takeo (杉武夫), an active writer and critic, joined the debate in 1934.[78] In a series of articles entitled "Shokuminchi bungaku no kakuritsu (植民地文学の確立, The Establishment of a Literature of the Colonies)," Sugi calls for a literature firmly rooted in reality, the reality of the colony, not in the ideals of literature coming out of Japan.[79] To this society, literature from Japan – and the local works that mimic it –seem to be "the dreams of madmen."[80] He sees the demand for literature as sign of its importance to the community, but he laments the fact that everyone turns to works from Japan, to which they are drawn because of the works' corrupt nature. The desires of the colonists –the emotions that are born of the atmosphere of Brazil and the colony –have not yet been accessed by local literature. Praise of the moon and stars means nothing here, Sugi argues, where money dominates. A true *shokuminchi* must probe this, without sentimentality, he concludes. Identification with the formal colonies becomes clear when Sugi notes that such a literature has appeared in Korea, making it lamentable that the same cannot be said in Brazil.

In 1937, Ikeda Jûji (池田重二) wrote a number of articles on the topic. In "Shokumin bungaku no ideorogii (植民文学のイデオロギー, The Ideology of Colonial Literature)," 池田argues that a colonial literature must take up neither the class-conscious worldview of proletarian literature, nor the narrow worldview of bourgeois literature.[81] Human consciousness in the

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78) According to Maeyama, he continued his discussion in 1937 with "Ideorogii no mondai," which I have not yet found. Maeyama 1975, 314.

79) Sugi Takeo, "Shokuminchi bungaku no kakuritsu," *Burajiru jih*ô 10 January, 17 January, 24 January, and 31 January 1934.

80) *Burajiru jih*ô 10 January 1934. Sugi has no profound respect for the colony, a society made up of people "who would sell their daughters to blacks to make a profit."

81) Ikeda Jûji, "Shokumin bungaku no ideorogii," *Burajiru jih*ô 3 March and 10 March

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colonies, Ikeda argues, is not formed through class conflict, but through the desire to conquer nature. *Shokumin* literature, therefore, must be imbued with this ideology. He notes that peasant literature movements have appeared in a variety of countries, including Japan, but believes that they have, for various reasons, failed. *Shokumin* literature, written in "the language of the [home] country" (*hôbun*), must grasp the specific nature of this society. Two months later, Ikeda continued his discussion in a separate series of articles.[82] In that series he praises the organization of the literary world in the colony, writing, "it is thrilling to see this first step by the society of our countrymen [in Brazil], which focuses solely on economics, toward a society of spiritual living."[83]

A few preliminary observations can be made about this discourse as a whole, despite the fact that individual opinions differed. The first observation concerns the use of conventional deictic terms for identity, and the underlying logic of identification that those terms suggest. It is far more common to see references to *dôhô* (brethren) and *hôjin* (countrymen) than the proper noun *Nihonjin* when referring to the ethnically Japanese colonists.[84] The use of the deictic terms is not in itself noteworthy; it does, however, highlight the fact that the writers considered the referent absolutely clear. These were writers who premised their discussion on a shared identity with their readers. This identity, however, would appear to be based on something that precedes the state (presumably "race"), as identification with the contemporary polity seems to be consciously avoided. Given this, the use of the commonplace term *hôbun* might suggest a notion of the language as

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1937.

82) Ikeda Jûji, "Bungei jihyô," *Burajiru jihô* 12 May, 19 May, 26 May, and 2 June 1937.

83) *Burajiru jihô* 12 May 1937.

84) The use of these terms here must be compared with their usage in Japan and the formal colonies to determine if this is more than a matter of convention.

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detached from the polity. At minimum, it is clear that the critics presume a fundamental autonomy of the colony from the Japanese nation-state.

The assertion of autonomy (or difference) seems to bear a resemblance to the "reactive notion of authenticity in the form of cultural nationalism" that often marks a minor culture's reaction to a major culture; what differs, however, is the absence of an overt call to tradition or essence, which is often central to cultural nationalism.[85] This seems inevitable given the shallow history of the community; yet one might argue that an incipient tradition-building process is occurring, as the critics identify situational conditions that will inevitably lead to differentiation. A majority of the critics share scorn for (what they believe to be) the materialistic nature of their society in Brazil, yet see literature as offering a solution to this problem. Sympathy for the proletarian literature movement is common, but so is the belief that such literature would be inappropriate in the colony, if for no other reason than the centrality of agriculture (rather than industry) there. The writers take pride in their own grittiness, not just the robust vigor of people who survive through hard physical labor, but also the raw directness of their lifestyles. Even as there are calls for spiritual development, there are also gestures to embrace the visceral side of colonial life as part of what makes it unique.

Finally, the implicit foundation upon which all of these essays rest is a commitment to colonial society. Simply by writing these treatises, the authors present the colony as something lasting, as something that can develop, improve. They present colonial literature -even if just the ideal

85) Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, "Introduction: Thinking through the Minor, Transnationally," eds. Françoise Lionnet and Shu mei Shih, *Minor Transnationalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005) 9.

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of colonial literature – as something worthy of attention and effort. This simple fact reveals a shift, from sojourners who are merely biding their time before they can return to their homes, to settlers who have begun the process of re-identification.

With regard to textual identity, the discourse of textual interrelation known as "modern Japanese literature" seems primarily to be an object of tacit disavowal in these essays. This is despite the fact that, given the significant marketplace, these writers and critics' greatest literary influences would have likely been texts from Japan. They perceived their literature to be one that would be fundamentally different, arising from the particular conditions of their existence and responding to the particular needs of their lives. There was, however, a recognition of filiation – if not outright participation – in a textual identity that existed outside of Brazil: the colonial literature of the various quarters of the Japanese empire.

7. Subsequent Developments

Although Japanese immigrants to Brazil faced far less discrimination than their counterparts in the United States, resistance to these communities did exist. In addition to arguments about racial inferiority, the issue of the "assimilability" of these ethnic enclaves arose repeatedly.[86] The most conservative elements in the Brazilian government even argued that the immigration was a prelude to military invasion.[87] Such resistance contributed to Japan's shifting its focus to Manchuria, emigration to which began in earnest in 1937.[88] Around 1938, the

86) Tsuchida 294.
87) Tsuchida 287.

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Japanese government began to consider its direct involvement in the colony to be a liability, particularly in light of growing nationalist sentiment in Brazil.[89] The result was rapid divestment. For example, the colonization company behind the creation and management of the Bastos colony liquidated nearly all of its holdings by April 1939, handing over control of the colony to a cooperative made up of its residents.[90] With the declaration of war in December 1941, the semi-governmental companies behind the colonies in Brazil were forced to liquidate their remaining holdings. Deprived of all formal links with Japan, and thus the support and protection that helped them persist, these ethnic enclaves changed rapidly. Japanese-language schools were closed in December 1938 and Japanese-language newspapers were outlawed in August 194 1.[91] On 19 January 1942, the State of São Paulo banned the distribution of Japanese language texts and the use of Japanese in public.[92]

These developments, the isolation of the War itself, and the near-silence from Japan during its immediate postwar reconstruction dramatically accelerated the process of acculturation.[93] Although Japanese-language newspapers were legalized immediately after the war and emigration began again in 1953, the connection with Japan was never the same.[94] Today the migratory flow, in fact, has almost

88) Adult emigration to Manchuria in 1937 (an estimated 20095 adults) surpassed the total emigration between 1932-36 (an estimated 15,079 adults.) Young 395.

89) Tsuchida 264.

90) Bastos was only one of at least half a dozen such colonies.

91) Though the Burajiru jihô continued publishing for a time as an underground newspaper. *80-nenshi* 133.

92) *Nenpy*ô 96. As a side note, it was this banning of books and magazines in Japanese that contributed to the kachigumi-makegumi (カチ組 · マケ組) problems. Japanese-language publications were once again allowed with the promulgation of the new Brazilian constitution on 18 September 1946. The first newspaper, the *San Pauro shinbun*, appeared on October 12. *Nenpy*ô 103.

93) *80-nenshi* 138.

94) Between 1952-72, 50696 Japanese entered Brazil; immigration peaked in 1959 (7041)

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entirely reversed, with young Japanese-Brazilians moving to Japan for work. Japanese-language literature continues to be produced in Brazil and efforts, though limited, are ongoing to preserve the literary legacy of Japanese-language texts in the country. Nearly all of the individuals involved in that process, however, are aging first-generation immigrants who, for the most part, see themselves as custodians of a dying art, despite the fact that the ethnically Japanese population in Brazil now numbers 1.5 million, surpassing the population in the United States and remaining the largest outside of Japan.[95] Increased acculturation and the related drop in Japanese language use have proven to be significant challenges to this literature.[96]

Throughout the postwar, the Koronia Bungakukai [コロニア文学会, Gremio Literario 'Colonia', or 'Colonial' Literary Association] and its subsequent incarnation, the Burajiru Nikkei Bungakukai [ブラジル日系文学会, The Brazil Nikkei Literary Association], have been the key agents in preserving a Japanese-language tradition. The Koronia Bungakukai began with 26 members in October 1965 in order to support Japanese-language

but fell off percipitously after 1961. Since 1973, immigration has been negligible, with 2961 individuals entering in the period 1973-93. See Kinenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Burajiru Nihon imin sengo ijû no 50-nen* (São Paulo: Burajiru Nihon Ijûsha Kyôkai, 2004) 284.

95) It should also be noted that, like the other home of massive Nikkei populations outside of Japan, Brazil itself began as a colony. It is not an accident that the two countries with the largest Nikkei populations are Brazil (roughly 1.5 million) and the United States (roughly 1.2 million), nations that themselves began as colonies of imperial metropoles (Portugal and England, respectively), that see themselves as multi-ethnic nations, and that have the geographical magnitude to reduce the public visibility of large ethnic populations.

96) Recently the study of Japanese has been increasing again, as a result both of the reverse-migration and the popularity of *manga*. For more on the complex process of acculturation by these and other immigrants, and the resulting transformation of Brazilian national identity itself, see Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

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literary activities in Brazil; it began publishing its journal, *Koronia bungaku, in* May of the following year. That journal ran for thirty issues, until October 1976. *Koronia shibungaku* followed, running for sixty issues from September 1980 until October 1998. Today, the *Burajiru Nikkei Bungakukai* remains active, publishing its Burajiru Nikkei bungaku journal three times each year. That journal was launched in February 1999. The journal is published for the members of the Association, who pay annual dues of 100 reais (currently around $40), and is available at Japanese-language bookstores in São Paulo (one recent issue was selling for 35 reais.) In addition, small self-published coterie magazines exist, including *Kokkyô chitai* (国境地帯, Borderlands), which is produced through the efforts of Suganuma Tôyôji (菅沼東洋司; also known by his penname, Ina Hiroshi 伊那宏).

What marks these efforts to perpetuate this "minority literature" in (but not necessarily of) Brazil for the dwindling market of Japanese-language readers in the country, who are now vastly outnumbered by Portuguese-speaking Brazilians of Japanese descent, has been their local focus. The groups have made few efforts to reach the potential readership in Japan, focusing instead on the shrinking readership in Brazil. As a result these activities become a fascinating, but almost certainly doomed, experiment in the minimal size of a reading society necessary to maintain literary activities, particularly in prose. Certainly the aging activists at the center of these organizations are not sanguine about their prospects. Yet few efforts have been made to reach an audience in Japan that might allow these activities to survive. Perhaps this is a result of pessimism borne of experience; perhaps it is a result of a consciousness of the conditions under which such a connection would have to be made.

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8. Conclusions

For reasons that were reasonably clear even to the participants in the debates described earlier, this Japanese-language literature of Brazil prior to World War II seems to call for a nomenclature that differentiates these communities from the "formal" colonies of the Japanese empire. Shu-mei Shih has used "semicolonialism" to "foreground the multiple, layered, intensified, as well as incomplete and fragmentary nature of China's colonial structure," noting that it should not be taken to denote a "half," but rather the "fractured, informal, and indirect character" of the colonialism that existed in China at that time.[97] While this term could conceivably be adapted to describe the situation in Brazil, one might further distinguish it, at the risk of an awkward profusion of terms, as "paracolonial."[98] The goal of this term would be to stress homologies and simultaneity, while also bringing into relief the contemporary perceptions among its practitioners of a relation to literatures produced under formal imperialism; at the same time, the term would identify these activities in Brazil as being distinct from - literally, "alongside" - the formal colonies.

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97) Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 34.

98) I have since discovered that Stephanie Newell proposed this term in "'Paracolonial' Networks: Some Speculations on Local Readerships in Colonial West Africa," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 3:3 (2001), 336-54. Newell's objectives in using the term, however, differ somewhat from mine. She writes, "The shift to paracolonial allows us to discard the centre periphery model and instead to analyse in historical and sociological detail the local cultural productivity which undoubtedly took place over the generations, *alongside* and *beyond* the British presence in the region, as a consequence of the British presence but not as its direct product. The term is thus immensely useful if one wishes simultaneously to acknowledge the effects of colonialism and also to displace the Eurocentric and deterministic periodization of culture and history in the colonies as being 'pre'-colonial, colonial and 'post'-colonial" (350).

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There is a way, however, in which it might be more productive –as a result of being more provocative –to consider these works (and perhaps even the post-World War II production) a colonial literature, sans distinction, working from the insights gained through postcolonial and world systems theory.[99] Such an approach would stress the ways in which this Japanese-language literary production in Brazil remains within an asymmetrical power relation that is partially a result of its position in a history of imperial expansion and colonial subordination, but is also partially a result of a contemporary world system that continues to render peripheries (variously defined) subordinate to metropoles in far more fluid and complex relationships. This model of the global economy can be applied to literary production both as a metaphor for and as a concrete description of the marketplaces within which literary commodities circulate.[100]

Concretely: as the Japanese-speaking population of Brazil declines precipitously in the absence of continued immigration from Japan –a condition that results from continuing economic asymmetries between Japan and Brazil –the writers of Japanese-language literature no longer find themselves in the same position as the critics from the 1930s mentioned above concerning writing as a sociocultural institution. The

99) A broader use of this term – one that perhaps makes the term “paracolonial” unnecessary – was proposed by W.E.B. DuBois; see Reiland Rabaka, “Deliberately Using the Word ‘Colonial,’” *Jouvert* 7:2 (Winter/Spring 2003).

100) Early attempts at such a global study have been done by Pascale Casanova in her 1999 book, *La République mondiale des lettres*, which appeared in English translation as *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004), and Franco Moretti, in his "Conjectures on World Literature," *New Left Review* 1 (January-February 2000): 54-81; Alexander Beecroft has recently published an interesting critique of the ways in which these studies have the "unintended effect of re-inscribing a hegemonic cultural centre" in Europe; see "World Literature without a Hyphen," *New Left Review* 54 (November-December 2008): 87-100, citation appears on 88.

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attitude of development marking the 1930s, when the future for Japanese-language literature in Brazil looked bright and writers and critics actively debated the direction it should take, differs dramatically from the attitude of resignation during the postwar, when migration has all but stopped and a defensive posture has been struck, in which the few remaining writers struggle to preserve and perpetuate the social potential for their literary activities. All textual identities, by definition, imply an informing past; most (if not all) also imply an informable future that must extend beyond the individual writer. Literature is, after all, a social activity, even though its production and consumption is so often imagined to be solitary. This need for writing to be a social activity is doubly important for writers without independent means, who require a minimum audience/market in order to have their books printed, let alone to receive sufficient material gain to survive.

The introduction of these texts into the discourse of "modern Japanese literature" - a move metonymically related to Spivak's "strategic essentialism" - would bring the material benefits: it would invest a large number of readers in the literary products of this community in Brazil, allowing it to survive - in the absence of a sufficient local market - through a dependence on a "foreign" metropole, which possesses a market of Japanese language readers of sufficient size to sustain literary production. Here I diverge slightly from those who would see this process as simply one in which a text "becomes a commodity whose difference is contained and consumed by those with purchasing power."[101] Such an incorporation, even as it threatens to erase (through assimilation into a notion of ethnocultural homogeneity) or to exoticize (through an ambivalent application of "stranger [self] fetishism") the specificity of the texts' origins as well as the heterogeneity

101) Lionnet and Shih 10.

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of the texts' authors, would give them an audience that they do not yet enjoy, one which might enable their continued existence. Sometimes material realities are too readily dismissed in the drive for theoretically purity. Even as this new marketplace provides writers with readers – the essential social component of the art of literature – it also provides writers with consumers, an oft-dismissed necessity for any artist lacking the material means to support his or her avocation.

Such materialist and instrumental considerations may seem impossibly vulgar, missing the "true" value of literature. The motivation for focusing on this sort of strategic textual identification is twofold: on the one hand, it highlights the social and historical dimensions of literary production – dimensions that, in a capitalist economy, invariably involve commodification, whether the texts be "pure" or "popular"; on the other hand, it highlights the partial and artificial nature of any textual identity, be it national, linguistic, ethnocultural, or regional. Simultaneously, it reminds that the scholar is not a detached observer of this situation; simply by raising the issue in certain institutional forums, one draws these texts and their producers into a discourse that might have significant repercussions, some positive, some negative. This raises the following question: rather than asking what identity should be attributed to these texts – paracolonial literature, colonial literature, "modern Japanese literature," and/or some other option (identities need not be singular) – what are the ramifications of one identification over another, when multiple choices are potentially justifiable, but none can encapsulate every facet of even a single literary text?

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