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Daydreaming about Rizal and Tetchō On Asianism as Network and Fantasy

This article views the historical phenomenon of “Asianism” through the critical lenses of network and fantasy. A chance encounter in the late 1880s between José Rizal and Suehiro Tetchō offers one snapshot of an early link in the “Asianist” network. The article explains how and why that link gave rise to fantasies about Asianist solidarity on the part of Suehiro as seen particularly in the comic travelogue *Oshi no ryokō* (1889), but not on the part of Rizal. It also looks at the historical trajectory taken by Asianism, and the different kinds of “social daydreaming” and projects encoded by subsequent scholarly and popular accounts of the Rizal-Suehiro meeting.

KEYWORDS: ASIANISM · NETWORK · FANTASY · RIZAL · JAPAN · POLITICAL NOVEL

In recent years, there has been a resurgence of scholarly interest in Asianism as discourse and historical phenomenon. Reflecting on the ongoing regional project of East Asia community building, some of these publications have raised questions about the ideationality (or, to be more precise, the lack thereof) of the current “East Asia Community” (*Higashi-Ajia kyōdōtai*) (Matsumoto and Nakajima 2008). Others have attempted to draw parallels between the current regional project and the prewar attempt on the part of Japan to create a regional bloc in the name of “East Asia Community” (*Tō-A kyōdōtai*) (Koyasu 2008, 251–52).¹ And still others have sought to draw lessons from the history of Asianism and explore their relevance and implications for present-day regionalism and regional studies (Saaler 2007, 1–2; Shin 2005; and Sun 2007).

Elsewhere we have addressed the question of Asianism’s relevance for current efforts at community building in the name of “East Asia” (Shiraishi and Hau 2009). In this article, we turn our attention to two major but critically overlooked features of that historical phenomenon known as “Asianism.” One is its network quality, and the other is the strong element of fantasy that informs and animates Asianist thinking and practice. We will discuss these two features by focusing on a chance encounter in the late 1880s between José Rizal (fig. 1) and Suehiro Tetchō (fig. 2). This encounter offers one snapshot of an early link in the network. We seek to account for how and why that link gave rise, at least on the part of Suehiro, to fantasies about Asianist solidarity but, interestingly, not on the part of Rizal. We will then explain how, in less than ten years’ time, at least one person in Rizal’s Filipino circle of friends, colleagues, and activists came to link up with a number of people in Suehiro’s Japanese circle and began working together in an effort to realize the collective fantasy of “Asian” solidarity. More than sixty years would pass before another type of Asianism emerged in the postwar period, one that would draw on historical memories of the Rizal-Suehiro meeting and Meiji Asianism in order to rework the Japan-as-leader rhetoric of the wartime era in support of an altogether different set of political fantasies about the “close friendship” between Filipinos and Japanese.

Understanding Asianism as Network

Asianism has two major ideational components: one consists of civilizational discourses on “Europe” and “Asia”; the other a critique of the double standards by which Europe claims the universality of the Enlightenment’s ideals

and values while in reality practicing Eurocentric racism and exclusions, and a call for solidarity of the peoples and countries of “Asia” in anticolonial and anti-imperialist endeavors against the Eurocentric and European-dominated international order (Aydin 2007; Hotta 2007).

The leading postwar Japanese literary critic Takeuchi Yoshimi famously declared that myriadness (*sensa-banbetsu*) is the defining characteristic of Japan’s Asianism (Takeuchi 1998, 293–94). Takeuchi makes two important points about Asianism. First, owing to its variegated nature, it should not be understood as a monolithic construct. Second, its understanding of Asia vis-à-vis Europe is best understood as a “mood” (*mūdo*) that pervades Japanese discourses of different “official” ideologies. Yet, despite his insights, the kinds of metaphors that historians of ideas routinely use to make sense of the plurality of voices and perspectives within Asianist thought and practice have not been particularly useful in helping us understand Asianism as an historical phenomenon. In English-language scholarship, words like “strands” (Beasley 2001, 211), “threads” (Hotta 2007, 7), “streams” (Dennehy 2007, 225), “seeds” (Szpilman 2007, 99), and “embryos” (Iwamoto 1968, 93) are common. In Japanese-language scholarship, metaphors such as “waves” (*nami*) (Gotō 2007, 73–74), “streams” (*nagare*) (*Ajia shugi sha tachi no koe*



Fig. 1. José Rizal (left), Marcelo H. del Pilar, and Mariano Ponce (seated), who worked together for *La Solidaridad*

Source: Library of Congress, Southeast Asian Collection, Asian Division



Fig. 2. Suehiro Tetchō

Source: National Diet Library 2004a

2008, 11), and “generations” (*sedai*) (*Ajia shugi sha tachi no koe* 2008, 12) have been used.

In the first group, single case studies of one particular person’s ideas have lent nuance and complexity to individual exponents of Asianism, but the metaphors they rely on to suggest connections between ideas arising from different eras serve only to confuse readers. These metaphors tell us nothing about the reinventions of these ideas, the active mutations of ideas that reshape not only the ideas themselves but also the contexts of speaking and doing through which people comprehend and use these ideas. Equally important, they overlook the role of fantasy—understood in both its senses as an imaginative stand-in for reality and as a symbolic mode of apprehending reality—in animating these ideas and structuring their reception across time.

As for the second group, there is great merit in the task of identifying different phases or variants in the development of pan-Asianist thought. Two recent studies have tracked the evolution of Japanese (pan-)Asianist discourse through the vicissitudes of domestic and international politics. Eri Hotta (2007) identifies three major “threads” of pan-Asianist thinking: the “Teaist” pan-Asianism exemplified by Okakura Tenshin’s “Asia is one” thesis; the “Sinic” pan-Asianism based on “same letters, same culture” (*dōbun dōshu*) solidarity with China but characterized by divergent positions, as Hashikawa (1980, 340–41) would argue; and the *meishuron* (“Japan as leader”) pan-Asianism, which provided the ideological cement for Japanese imperialist policy in the 1930s. Cemil Aydin’s (2007) comparative study of pan-Islamic and pan-Asianist thought identifies six moments in the changing power configuration and legitimacy of the Eurocentric international system and its attendant discourses and their contributions to the rise, fall, and revival of political pan-Asianism.

But while attempts at classifying Asianism into various categories and phases are useful (and are probably unavoidable for heuristic purposes), they tend to exclude thoughts and actions that do not fit neatly into the categories.² Among so-called pan-Asianists in Japan, for example, there were some like Okakura Tenshin who stressed the superiority of Asian cultural or spiritual values as a counterpoint to Western material superiority, but others such as Konoe Atsumaro were more interested in establishing a partnership between Japan and China for mutual self-defense. Some such as Toyama Mitsuru believed in Japanese leadership, but others like Umeya Shōkichi did not. Some thought Asia could be remade in Japan’s image, while others like Miyazaki Tōten thought that Japan itself would be radically transformed, if



Fig. 3. Miyazaki Tōten
Source: National Diet Library 2004b

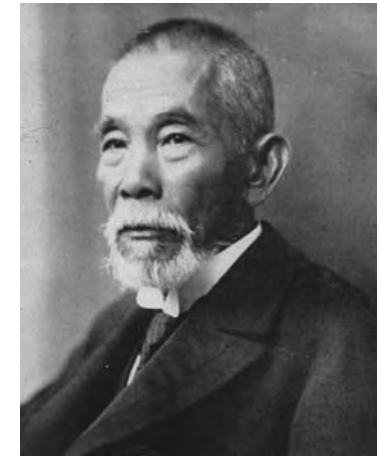


Fig. 4. Inukai Tsuyoshi
Source: National Diet Library 2004c

not revolutionized, by revolutions in Asia (Uemura 1987; 1996; 1999; 2001). For some Asianism was a way of thinking about how different but not inferior “Asia” is compared with Europe, but for others ideas were not what mattered but rather material aid (in the form of arms, training, money) and concerted action for their respective political projects.

Asianism can best be understood and studied as a network formed through intellectual, physical, emotional, virtual, institutional, and even sexual contacts, or some combination thereof.³ The network approach to the study of intellectual and political Asianism in fact allows us to circumvent some of the conceptual failings that beset history-of-ideas approaches to Asianism. As metaphor and method, network theory offers a corrective to the dangers of studying Asianism as if it were a Japan- or China-centered phenomenon, or simply a set of “ideas” articulated by a number of intellectuals or officials, or else an empty signifier that functioned to mask or rationalize Japanese imperialism. Asianism cannot be explained adequately if we look only at official policies and institutions because, while some Asianist ideas ended up being institutionalized as official policy, other (and far more) wildly divergent fantasies were not. Neither can Asianism be studied only in terms of either Japan-centered intellectual history or imperialist history, since it was a far more widespread and general phenomenon and involved not just Japanese intellectuals and bureaucrats, but also the thoughts and actions of numerous individuals living and moving across borders.



Fig. 5. Mariano Ponce (standing) and Sun Yat-sen in Yokohama, c. 1899
Source: Ponce 1965, photographic plate between pp. 2 and 3

There are other advantages to analyzing Asianism in terms of networks. Most of the historical works on Asianism are reconstructions and descriptions of network(ing): of people forming tightly-knit (alongside loosely-knit) groups and working together for specific goals under specific circumstances. For example, Japanese revolutionary *rōnin* Miyazaki Tōten (fig. 3) met Sun Yat-sen while Sun was staying with his good friend Chen Shaobai in Yokohama. Through Miyazaki, Sun got to know some of the Chinese students (*ryūgakusei*) based in the Kantō area (cf. Miyazaki 1993). Miyazaki also introduced Sun to Hirayama Shū and then to Inukai Tsuyoshi (fig. 4). Filipino nationalist Mariano Ponce met Sun at Inukai's party (fig. 5), and Ponce in turn introduced Sun to Korean reformists Pak Yonghyo (see note 40), Yu Kil-chun, An Kyong-su, and so on (Ponce 1965, 3, 40).

An "Asianist" network began to take shape from the late 1870s, a time of great political and intellectual ferment, when "new politics" and political movements had begun to emerge in Japan, Korea, China, the Philippines, and other areas in this part of the world. The hopes and dreams of a new social order and a new world that they articulated could not be completely contained or accommodated by the political and social frameworks established by their respective states. Moreover, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were an age in motion—people were moving about, not just from colony to metropole, from Asia to Europe, and vice versa, but within Asia as well. These movements brought people into contact with each other: a Filipino like Mariano Ponce, fresh from his sojourn in Europe, would move to Hong Kong and Japan and later visit Indochina, meeting and talking to Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Siamese, Vietnamese, and Cambodians.⁴ The cartographic term "Asia" provided one hanger upon which different kinds of political fantasies about transforming the political order in one's country with the help of one's fellow "Asians" could be laid out.

A network is dynamic because links (i.e., contact established between at least two human beings) can appear and disappear over time and space. Networks are governed by the two laws of growth and preferential attachment. Links can be cut or a network can become ever more complex as more and more links are added. At certain historical moments and under specific political, economic, and communicational circumstances, a certain node attracts many links and becomes a hub, which in turn tends to attract more links. Hubs are people at the right place at the right time—like Inukai Tsuyoshi, Sun Yat-sen, Mariano Ponce, and Phan Boi Chau—who end up

connecting communities of links (i.e., people of sometimes different political persuasions) across time and space, in ways that create the potential for people within the network (who may not necessarily know each other) to link up with each other. The death of a hub (for example, Ponce in 1918, Sun in 1925, and Inukai in 1932) and the emergence of new hubs can account for the rise to prominence of specific Asianist ideas and policies and the sidelining or eclipsing of others.

All that a network requires is a *minimum* motive—not necessarily ideational, but personal, professional, and even financial—for a link to be created. A network does not imply any uniformity of ideas nor consistency, let alone equal intensity, in the level of political (or even personal) commitment, nor a linear path or teleology in the development of ideas. An important feature of the Asianist network is that it flourished as an interface between state and society, linking people in ways that allowed many of these people (and their ideas and programs of action) to “travel” across and between “official” and “nonofficial” channels, territorial boundaries, and political and communicative spheres. More, the mixed language(s) used in

this network precludes any easy transfer or exchange of ideas, and entails instead a fair amount of imaginative/intellectual labor based on “freely translated” extrapolation and gap-filling guesswork, and complicated by elements of projective and introjective identification, wishful thinking, and fantasy making.

Furthermore, a network approach allows us to see the ideological fluidity of Asianism. For instance, in 1905 Phan Boi Chau (fig. 6) traveled to Japan from Vietnam, which was under French colonial rule. His aim was to promote the Đông-Du (Visit the East) movement, which



Fig. 6. Phan Boi Chau
Source: Trường Việt Ngữ Hồng Bàng 2006

aimed to encourage Vietnamese students to go to Japan. Through Chinese scholar-journalist Liang Qichao he met Inukai, who in turn introduced Phan Boi Chau to Sun Yat-sen, with whom he discussed (through “brush conversation” [*bitan*] in literary Chinese) the possibility of enlisting the help of Chinese revolutionaries to purchase arms and ammunition for his planned

uprising against the French (Phan Boi Chau 1999, 101–2). But Phan Boi Chau also worked with Inukai and Miyazaki to bring Vietnamese youth to Japan for training in 1905. Inukai introduced him to the Tōa Dōbun Shoin (East Asian Common Culture Academy), a Japanese school in Shanghai (see note 20). But the Đông-Du movement broke down after the conclusion of the Franco-Japanese Agreement of 1907, and Phan Boi Chau was forced to leave Japan. He moved to Siam, where he set up a farm and tried to find funding for activities against the French. In 1911, after the success of the Chinese Revolution and the establishment of the Republic of China, he went to China and established the Vietnam Restoration League in Canton (Guangdong). Some of his associates remained in Siam and set up a branch of the society there. After 1919 this branch brought promising youths from Vietnam to study in Siam, some of whom it sent to China for political training under Phan Boi Chau. By the 1920s the number of Vietnamese who had made their way to China via Siam reached the 100 mark, and five of the nine founding members of the Revolutionary Youth League that Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh) established in 1925 had been brought to China through this study program. Some of them would be sent by Nguyen Ai Quoc to study in the Soviet Union during the 1920s (for details see Furuta 1995, 80; on the link between Phan Boi Chau and Ho Chi Minh, see Phan Boi Chau 1999, “Introduction,” 19–20).

A network approach offers us a picture of how different, sometimes competing, ideas grow and evolve, expand and become institutionalized, or else are shunted aside or repressed, and how some ideas gain more purchase over others across time. A network shows the connections between people across territorial and ideological boundaries who have very different ideas (and often no elaborated theory) of Asianism, who end up working together even when they disagreed with each other, or with those who are not necessarily Asianists. A network, in other words, allows us to see Asianism in synchronic and diachronic terms of multiple agents, ideas, institutions, and practices without rigidly fitting them into categorical boxes.

A Chance Encounter

José Rizal met Suehiro Tetchō on board the S.S. *Belgic*, which left the port of Yokohama at 11:15 a.m. on 13 April 1888.

Rizal was then 27 years old. He had been abroad since he was 21 years old, and had traveled through Spain, France, Germany, Austria, Switzer-

land, and Italy. A little over a year earlier, he had published his first novel, *Noli me Tangere* (1887), in Berlin. He returned to Manila in August 1887, in time to witness the furor created by his novel. Rizal did not make any money from his writing, since the *Noli* was banned and most of the 2,000 copies printed were held up at customs. That same year, he became embroiled in the tenancy problems in his hometown of Calamba, and had found it expedient to leave the Philippines after only six months. From Hong Kong, he moved on in February 1888 to Japan, where he stayed for forty-six days before boarding the *Belgic*.

Twelve years older than Rizal, Suehiro Tetchō was a celebrated man of letters, in his time perhaps second only to Fukuzawa Yukichi in popularity and influence. He was a journalist for the *Chōya Shimbun* and a political activist in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (*Jiyū Minken Undō*). He had been twice imprisoned for writing articles critical of the government. The royalties from his two bestselling political novels, *Setchūbai* (Plum Blossoms in the Snow, 1886) and *Hanama no uguisu* (Nightingale among Flowers, 1887), were enough to finance his first trip abroad, a study tour of America and Europe, for which purpose he had booked himself a passage aboard the English steamer.

Upon reaching San Francisco, the two men traveled together by train to New York, and then sailed to Liverpool before parting in London. In London Rizal worked on his annotations (1961) of Spanish colonial official Antonio de Morga's early seventeenth-century book, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Events in the Philippine Islands, 1609/2007), at the British Museum. In the years ahead, he published one more novel, *El Filibusterismo* (1891), and faced exile and execution. Suehiro traveled to France and Italy, and then sailed back to Japan after passing through Aden (in present-day Yemen), Hong Kong, Colombo (Ceylon), and Shanghai. Ahead of him lay a seat in Parliament and an untimely death from cancer of the tongue in February 1896, a mere ten months before Rizal's execution in December.

The chance encounter between Rizal and Suehiro on board the *Belgic* has left a firsthand paper trail for future scholars and students of Rizal, Suehiro, and Philippines-Japan relations. What is remarkable about this paper trail is how little there is of it in the Rizaliana archives. In Rizal's writings there is only one extant reference to Suehiro, who is not mentioned by name. In a letter to Mariano Ponce dated 27 July 1888, Rizal wrote: "hice conocimiento con un japonés que venía á Europa, después de haber estado preso

por Radical y ser director de un periódico independiente. Como el japonés no hablaba más que japonés, le serví de intérprete, hasta nuestra llegada á Londres" [I made the acquaintance of a Japanese who was going to Europe, after being imprisoned as a Radical and director of an independent periodical. Since the Japanese spoke only Japanese, I served as his interpreter up to our arrival in London] (Rizal 1931, 34, cited in and translated by Anderson 2005, 216). In contrast, the Suehiro archives have yielded no less than five major references: a comic travelogue, *Oshi no ryokō* (Mute's Travels, 1889); a compilation of notes on his trip to France, *Kōsetsu-roku* (Stork Prints on Snow, 1889); two political novels (*seiji shōsetsu*), *Nanyō no daiharan* (Storm over the South Seas, 1891) and *Arashi no nagori* (Remains of the Storm, 1891); and an omnibus, *Ō Unabara* (The Big Ocean, 1894), containing the two aforementioned political novels.

How do we account for the disproportionality of textual references to that encounter by the parties involved?⁵ Put in another way, why should the chance meeting and subsequent joint odyssey of these two men figure so much in Suehiro's writings and so little (at least relatively speaking) in Rizal's?

In the following sections, we will analyze the textual accounts of their encounter by Rizal and Suehiro, as well as later interpretations by subsequent generations of scholars. Particular attention will be given to Suehiro's comic travelogue, *Oshi no ryokō*, which has been almost entirely overlooked by critical studies of Suehiro's writings. The importance of *Oshi no ryokō* lies in its illumination of the affective dimension of the relationship between Rizal and Suehiro, and its emphasis on personal chemistry and the growing emotional intimacy between two men thrown together by the vicissitudes of traveling to the "West."

Inasmuch as *Oshi* is the only one of Suehiro's works that provides an extended account of, and concrete details about, Suehiro's encounter and travels with Rizal, scholars have had to rely on the text for glimpses of the "human" side of both men, especially Rizal "the national hero." But the fictionalizing impulse of the comic travelogue as a literary genre raises, rather than resolves, the question of the book's mimetic relationship to reality. Commonsensical assumptions about *Oshi's* depiction of Suehiro and Rizal's joint travels must contend against the generic conventions of the *kokkeibon* (humorous works), with their propensity for comic exaggeration. *Oshi* is animated by the twin impulses to mimesis and fantasy typical of the better-known writings of Suehiro.

What is remarkable about this text, however, is how the twin impulses can produce insights into the two men's relationship that are at variance with the kind of political thinking that runs through (and colors critical studies of) Suehiro's later, better-known writings about the Philippines. The Suehiro-Rizal encounter not only reveals the nature of early Asianist links that would grow, in less than a decade, into a network; it also illuminates the emotional connections and fantasies that are an important but much-overlooked component of the Asianist network.

Subsequent scholarly and popular accounts of the Rizal-Suehiro connection also endow the Rizal-Suehiro meeting with meanings well beyond the horizon and contexts of the original encounter. What kinds of "social daydreaming" (to borrow a felicitous phrase from Stites 1989, 1) do these renditions of the Rizal-Suehiro relationship encode? What kinds of dreams and desires did they help shape and regulate, and what activities and projects did they enable (as well as discourage)?

Personal Affiliation and Textual Filiation in Suehiro's Political Novels

Some of the best studies of Suehiro's writings on Rizal and the Philippines have focused on the political novels, especially *Nanyō no daiharan*, as part of a broader argument about the development of *nanshin-ron* or discourses on Japan's southward advance (Yanagida 1942; Sanie 1998, 117–19; Ikehata 2003, 24–26; Shimizu 2007, 53–60). Both Setsuho Ikehata (2003, 24) and Hiromu Shimizu (2007, 49) rightly point out that Suehiro had never been to the Philippines. Shimizu (ibid.) goes one step farther in arguing that "With very limited knowledge about the Philippines, they [i.e., Suehiro as well as two others, Suganuma Teifu and Yamada Bimyo] freely expanded their own fantasy and imagination not only for the Philippines but also for Japan."

Ikehata (2003, 25) reads *Nanyō* as demonstrating the "clever incorporation of expansionist ideas," most notably in Suehiro's "description of one possible scenario wherein Japanese colonists seize the opportunity presented by the rising unrest among the Filipinos to wrest power from the Spaniards." She also argues that "Suehiro departs from other expansionists because his interest goes beyond promoting Japanese trade and colonialism, as springboard for propagating national independence in Asia. Moreover, Suehiro's messages are made inseparable, representing Japanese society's common interest in the Philippines at that time" (ibid., 26).

Shimizu's (2007) study identifies two conjoined but potentially contradictory strains of thinking in *Nanyō*, one that reveals "Rizal's hope to have independence for the Philippines" and the other "Tetcho's desire to have an expanded territory for Japan." This contradiction is resolved in Suehiro's fiction through recourse to the discourse—or rather, fiction—of "kinship ties." Shimizu (ibid., 60) argues that "Tetcho resorts to the idea that Takayama=Rizal is a direct descendant of a Japanese feudal lord. Thus the revolution, liberation and independence of the Philippines are imagined by Tetcho as the inevitable steps toward returning to the true mother country, Japan."⁶ Discourses on Japanese expansion to the South Seas, of which Suehiro's novel is studied as an example, draw on historical facts, such as Japanese migration to the Philippines and Japanese intermarriage with Filipinos, in order to "solve the contradictions between the Filipinos' and Japanese's interests" (ibid., 65).

Ikehata and Shimizu's readings of *Nanyō* highlight one of the most fundamental elements of Japanese thinking about territorial expansion to the South Seas: the "fantasies and dreams" (ibid.) that informed and animated these Japanese writings about the Philippines attest to the irreducibly imaginative nature of *nanshin-ron* and find their most exemplary articulation in the form of fiction writing. This emphasis on the imaginative dimension of *nanshin-ron* resonates in turn with the current scholarship on the Japanese empire in the first half of the twentieth century, scholarship that considers ideology—in particular, pan-Asianist thought—an essential component of empire building (see the classic works by Yamamuro 1993 and 2001; for a recent example, see Duara 2003, 14). The Japanese creation of Manchukuo has merited special attention as a case study in competing utopian visions, with Louise Young (1998, 17) arguing that "[t]o a large extent, Manchurian empire building took place in the realm of the imagination."⁷

Nanyō, according to Ikehata (2003, 24), is "devoid of any factual description of that country's [the Philippines's] natural setting or daily life; however, he [Suehiro] does give a fairly accurate picture of the problems that confronted Philippine society at the time, reflecting his understanding of the situation as presented by Rizal." For Ikehata, it is Suehiro's encounter with Rizal and their ensuing conversations that sparked Suehiro's interest in the Philippines, while serving as the main conduits for the transmission of Rizal's ideas about Spanish colonialism and Philippine independence that would appear eventually in *Nanyō* and its sequel. Ikehata (ibid.) cites *Kōsetsu-roku*

as containing Suehiro's description of "the intimate scene when Rizal saw him [Suehiro] off later, in December."

Like Ikehata, Shimizu (2007, 58) also notes that Suehiro was "unaware of the reality of the land and the people there, because he had little knowledge about the Philippines except for those provided by Rizal." But Shimizu's (ibid., 60) nuanced discussion points to multiple interpretations rather than a definitive reading of the novel: "[w]hile [*Nanyō* protagonist] Takayama in the novel is Rizal, he also represents a nationalist Tetchō in one way or another. In other words, Takayama is a double of Rizal and Tetchō or, say, a double of a liberalist Tetchō who shows sympathy and solidarity for Rizal and a nationalist Tetchō who insists on Japan's expansion to the South Sea[s, i.e., *Nanyō*]."

Assumptions about the one-way transfer of ideas from Rizal to Suehiro run through some of the scholarly and nonscholarly accounts of *Nanyō*. One of the recurrent concerns of these accounts is with identifying resemblances and parallels between Suehiro and Rizal's novels as well as *Nanyō*'s protagonist Takayama and Rizal. Caesar Lanuza and Gregorio Zaide (1961, 62), for example, claim that *Nanyō* "resembles" the *Noli me Tangere* in "plot and characterization," and that *Ō Unabara* is "similar to Rizal's *El Filibusterismo*." Lanuza and Zaide's assertions are obviously based on Jimbō Nobuhiko (1962, 190, 191), whose article "Rizal and Tetchō" makes the same claims. Jimbō (ibid., 190) writes that *Nanyō* "was apparently modeled after Rizal and his fiancée Leonor Rivera," and attributes this modeling to the fact that "Tetchō was deeply affected by Rizal's personality. It may easily be guessed that even though their acquaintance lasted for a short period, they were spurred by each other."

This mimetic impulse can be traced largely to a much-quoted passage from the Foreword of Suehiro's *Nanyō* (Suehiro 1891, 1–2):

I visited the West last year and came to know a gentleman from Manila . . . This gentleman secretly plotted to achieve the independence of this archipelago, but he was unsuccessful. About to be arrested and imprisoned, he fled abroad. He told me about how the Spanish government plundered the riches of the archipelago through its colonial policies and about the resistance of the people of the archipelago. He made me feel sorrow and indignation. One day, I visited the place where he was staying, and saw a picture of a woman. She was beauti-

ful, with bright eyes and white teeth, and graceful and touching. And yet, with her complexion, she looked Japanese. I asked about her. The gentleman sadly told me: ["]This lady is from Manila and my fiancée. I could not bring her with me when I fled the country.["] A few months later, I [the author] met the gentleman and asked after his sweetheart at home, and the gentleman told me that he had recently heard from her. ["]Because I [the Manila gentleman] stayed abroad and could not tell her when I would be able to go home, she left home and entered the temple [i.e., nunnery].["] The [Manila] gentleman looked very sad, as if unable to bear the sorrow. Hearing that, I also cried [*tamoto wo uruoshi*, lit. "wet (my) sleeves"] and secretly told myself that this gentleman and the lady are like characters in a novel written by an able man of sentiment. One day it occurred to me to write a political novel that develops [*fuen shi*] the facts pertaining to this gentleman and the lady, and give it the title *Nanyō no daiharan*.

Suehiro's conversations with Rizal are said to have "inspired" Suehiro to write *Nanyō*. This originary inspiration is the basis for subsequent scholarly claims about the "resemblances" and "similarities" between the two men's fictional creations. Textual filiation in this case is a matter of personal affiliation. While there is no doubt that Suehiro's conversations with Rizal moved him and provided him with ideas for his novel, imputing a one-on-one relationship between *Nanyō* and the *Noli* and between Takayama and Rizal nonetheless creates great difficulties for scholars because the process of literary inspiration and creation is not a simple case of transcribing reality (in this case, of real-life conversations). After all Suehiro was twelve years older than Rizal, and a seasoned political activist and bestselling novelist. His conversations with Rizal may have given him the kernel of ideas for his novel, but his own skills as a novelist meant drawing on his own knowledge and experience of writing political novels to construct his fictional world.

In fact, Suehiro's foreword to *Nanyō* shows that his conversations with Rizal did not permit the easy relay of ideas and intentions from Rizal to Suehiro. Discussing the foreword, Josefa Saniel (1968, 35) raises two pertinent questions:

Was it perhaps because Rizal was not a master of Japanese nor was Suehiro a master of any of the Western languages Rizal spoke, which

caused misconceptions or misunderstanding of facts resulting in Suehiro's combining in his introduction to *Nanyō no Daiharan* previously quoted, episodes from Rizal's biography with those from *Noli me Tangere*? . . . Or was this combination of episodes a product of Rizal's or Suehiro's imagination, for they were both fiction writers?

The difficulty of imputing a one-on-one relationship between texts and characters is evident in Saniei's (ibid.) own essay, "Jose Rizal and Suehiro Tetchō," the final section of which is devoted to an extended comparison between the *Noli* and *Nanyō*:

Rizal's Crisostomo Ibarra and Maria Clara as each an only child of affluent families, are reproduced in Suehiro's Takayama Takahashi and Seiko Takigawa, respectively. Maria Clara's supposed father Capitan Tiago—who is a wealthy merchant of Manila and who lives in a vulgarly furnished home in Binondo, are [sic] repeated in Seiko's father, Takigawa, whose home, perhaps more tastefully appointed, is in Bion Ward. However, a significant difference exists between Capitan Tiago and Takigawa. Where Capitan Tiago ingratiates himself with both civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the Spanish government in order to promote and/or protect his interest, Takigawa is planning to liberate his country from Spain.

Saniei (ibid., 35–36) discusses parallels in the love stories, the death of the principal characters' fathers, incidents of police raids, destruction by fire of houses, and the arrest, imprisonment, and escape of the protagonists. But even as she focuses on the "episodes and points" of *Nanyō* that "bear some resemblance" to the *Noli* (ibid., 35), she also points out the differences in plot and characterization, as evident in the absence of any references in *Nanyō* to friar abuses and the divergent (one happy and one tragic) endings of the novels. Saniei (ibid.) notes the similarities in Takayama and Ibarra's efforts to "work for the liberation of their country from colonial oppression," while also underscoring the differences (i.e., revolution on Takayama's part, reforms on Ibarra's) in the ways in which the two characters addressed this issue.

The fact that the novels' differences are as important as the similarities raises questions about the nature of textual filiation. For while there may

be "resemblances" and "parallels" between the *Noli* and *Nanyō*, the same argument could easily have been made about the *Noli* and, say, Spanish literary giant Benito Pérez Galdós' *Doña Perfecta* (1876). Moreover, these acts of *Noli-Nanyō* textual filiation may come up against different acts of textual filiation such as the one by the literary historian Iwamoto Yoshio (1968, 113), who locates Suehiro's Philippine novels within the context of Suehiro's entire body of works and comes to the conclusion that "actually, the protagonists who act as expositor for Tetchō in many of his novels are very much the same. Even in *Ōunabara* (The Mighty Ocean) (1894), the hero who is a Filipino striving for Philippine independence from the Spaniards is of the same mold."

Even Suehiro's ideas of southward movement cannot be understood in any simple way and apart from literary questions of audience and readership. Benedict Anderson (2005, 218), for example, offers a different take on Suehiro's novel. Whereas studies of nanshin-ron focus mainly on the producers of fantasies, Anderson highlights the point of view of the consumers. He reminds us that *Ō Unabara* was "written before the Sino-Japanese war that opened the era of Japanese imperialist expansion, and also before the insurrections of Martí and Bonifacio." Using his trademark comparative juxtaposition, Anderson (ibid.) offers the following interpretation:

Quite likely Rizal told Suehiro of his immediate personal plans, and of his compatriots' eagerness to throw off the Spanish yoke. The sympathies of the former political prisoner were visibly engaged. If he wishes to show his readers that Filipino patriots had blood connections to early Japanese victims of persecution, and that they thought about securing the disinterested help of Japanese volunteers and the protection of the Japanese state, he was trying to make his private sympathies broadly popular. It was just what Blumentritt was doing in Austro-Hungary, one might say.

Anderson reminds us that Suehiro's popularity as a writer is rooted in the ability of his novels and writings to speak of (and speak to) the collective fantasies of his Japanese readers. Endowing his Filipino protagonist with a Japanese name (as was the literary convention of the time) and Japanese ancestry was a literary strategy by which Suehiro sought to make his "private sympathies broadly popular" through the creation of a character with whom

readers, who knew even less about the Philippines than the author did, could identify and sympathize.

The vital presence of fantasies has important effects on the relationship between text and context, effects that go beyond our commonsensical ideas about the “work” or function of literature as expression, communication, persuasion (or manipulation), or dialogue with other authors or texts or literary traditions. Fantasies invite author and reader alike to review the conditions of possibility for their standards of meaning or else find (and even create) new frames of values. The impulse to fantasy is evident not only in the fictional devices employed by the novels, but most important in the ways in which the givens of “reality” are altered by the novels.

But the incitement to fantasy that scholars view as a defining characteristic of Suehiro’s fiction coexists alongside the countervailing impulse to mimesis, the preoccupation with the question of how Suehiro’s texts connected to the “reality” of his meeting and friendship with Rizal. Even as fantasy is central to Suehiro’s novels about the Philippines, its strong presence in the novels raises rather than resolves the question of the political novel’s mimetic relationship with “reality.” The mimetic impulse is palpably felt in the novels’ claim to verisimilitude in their descriptions of people, objects, events, and settings, thereby allowing readers to share in the experiences recounted by the novels. The mimetic impulse also directs readers and scholars to Suehiro’s “politics” in real life. While Suehiro freely fantasized about fictive kinship between Japanese and Filipinos and the “voluntary” request by Filipinos for Japan’s protection against European imperialist powers in his Philippine novels, his own political stance on issues pertaining to Asia was far more “realist” in its awareness of Japan’s limited capability as a “small-country” power. A close reading of his nonfictional writings (Manabe 2006, 231–39, 248–49, 309–13) shows that Suehiro’s stated positions on Asian affairs do not dovetail neatly with the territorial expansionism of *nanshin-ron*. Suehiro, who focused his attention on China, believed that the key to the revival of Asia lay in reforms modeled after those of the European powers and called for the alliance of Japan and China to defend Asia from European imperialist aggression. Suehiro also called for nonintervention in the Korean crisis in the 1880s and opposed the Sino-Japanese war in 1894.

To some extent, the political novel itself is constituted out of these twin impulses to fantasy and mimesis. Meiji political novels (*seiji shōsetsu*) are considered the “first literary products of a new Japan” (Iwamoto 1968, 84).⁸

Tracing their lineage to the political novels of Bulwer-Lytton, Disraeli, and Dumas *père* that were translated into Japanese, the *seiji shōsetsu* were nevertheless deeply rooted not only in Japanese literary tradition but also in the political situation of Meiji Japan (*ibid.*). The political novels’ status as “fiction” afforded their authors some degree of protection from libel suits and government persecution.⁹ At the same time, these novels allowed their authors to refer to and comment on the politics of the day while providing a convenient site for working through their ideas and promoting their respective advocacies.

The “Manila Gentleman” in *Oshi no ryokō* (Mute’s Travels)

Given that scholarly interpretations of Suehiro’s Philippine novels are grounded in a keen awareness of the importance of Suehiro’s chance meeting with Rizal and the role of their short friendship in shaping Suehiro’s fiction, one would have expected more attention to be paid to *Oshi no ryokō* (Mute’s Travels, 1889) (fig. 7). It is, after all, the first of Suehiro’s writings to refer to Rizal, although Rizal is not mentioned by name but is called the “Manila gentleman” (*Manira shinshi*) throughout the book. While a short vignette of Rizal appears in the first chapter of *Kōsetsu-roku* (which appeared in the same year as *Oshi* and is the first work of Suehiro’s to refer to Rizal by name) and in the foreword of *Nanyō*, *Oshi* is the only work in which Rizal appears as a “character” in 242 (roughly 60 percent, covering the first two volumes) out of the 394 pages that make up the three-volume book. Since neither Suehiro nor Rizal kept a diary of their travels together, only *Oshi* provides readers and scholars with a fictionalized “firsthand” account of that encounter and details of their travels together.

But other than a book by Caesar Lanuza and Gregorio Zaide (published in 1961) and two articles in English by Kimura Ki and Jimbō Nobuhiko (published in 1962), which drew on the details provided by *Oshi* to reconstruct the meeting between Suehiro and Rizal, there have been no other publications that have taken *Oshi* seriously as a text. What accounts for the fact that *Mute’s Travels* has not been accorded as much attention as Suehiro’s political novels about the Philippines?

There is evidence that Suehiro himself thought of the book as a “play” in the double senses of comic drama and activity for amusement. The word “play” (*gi*) has been added to the author’s byline on the frontpiece of the



Fig. 7. Title page, *Oshi no ryokō*, vol. 1
Source: Suehiro 1889

book, so that the byline reads “Suehiro Tetchō *sensei gicho*” (“play-written by Mister Suehiro Tetchō”) rather than the conventional “Suehiro Tetchō *sensei cho*” (“written by Mister Suehiro Tetchō”). Indeed, *Oshi*’s style, tone, mood, and theme differ considerably from those of Suehiro’s “serious” political novels. There is no discussion of politics in *Oshi*, no passages from which historians may glean “hard data” on Meiji-era facts and ideas about Japan’s foreign policy, territorial expansion, and imagined kinship with the Philippines/Asia.

Yanagida Izumi (1961, 52–53) states that *Oshi* is modeled after Jip-pensha Ikku’s (real name Shigeta Sadakazu, 1765–1831) great comic travelogue, *Tōkai dōchū hizakurige* (1960). This picaresque novel from the late Tokugawa period follows two commoners nicknamed Yaji and Kita as they embark on a pilgrimage to the west along the Eastern Sea Route from Edo (now Tokyo) to Ise (in present-day Mie, south of Osaka). The episodes in *Hizakurige* recount the comic figures’ madcap adventures, sightseeing, and indulgences in food, sake, and women.

Oshi no ryokō owes its episodic structure and comic style and tone to the *kokkeibon* (humorous book) tradition of which *Hizakurige* is a representative work. But it also marks a significant departure from that tradition because the foibles and adventures of its Japanese protagonist unfold not in the course of his westward journey along the eastern main road within Japan, but on a “pilgrimage to the west” that brings him from Japan to America and Europe along an “eastern seaboard” route that involved crossing the Pacific Ocean from Yokohama to San Francisco.

Another important difference between *Oshi* and *Hizakurige* lies in *Oshi*’s differential treatment of the Japanese main character and the “Manila gentleman.” Much of the slapstick humor of the book comes from the Japanese traveler’s inability—no doubt exaggerated for maximum effect—to understand the American and European languages as well as things American and European, and the ensuing foibles and faux pas that punctuate his trip abroad. The Japanese, for example, makes the mistake of ordering steak twice in one meal, confuses the bathtub with the urinal, and sloshes bath-water all over his clothes.

In *Hizakurige* the two principal characters are “Edo” scoundrels. To some extent, they think and act as a pair, their actions and thoughts echoing and amplifying each other. What makes *Oshi* different is that it does not cast the Manila gentleman in the same comic role and light as the Japanese. Rather than a friend (and fellow “Japanese”) whom the Japanese gentleman

has known all along, the Manila gentleman is someone altogether new and unexpected—a stranger, in other words—whom the Japanese happens to meet on board a ship. Here is the account of their first encounter:

The gentleman sits on his luggage, and looks around him. There must be a Japanese on this ship and I have to find him and ask him to serve as an interpreter for me. Such are his thoughts when a short, yellow-faced, black-haired and properly attired man walks past him. I'm glad to have found my countryman. And so he hurries after the man, takes off his hat, and greets him, asking: ["*Sensei* [Sir], are you also traveling abroad?["] This man, appearing puzzled, looks into the gentleman's face, and says something that the gentleman cannot understand. So this gentleman says, ["Sir, I don't understand English.["] Whereupon this man says in irregular Japanese: "I am Manila, not Japanese" [*watakushi Manira, Nihonjin arimasen*], and walks away. (Suehiro 1889, 1: 6–7)

The Manila gentleman (who, it should be noted, introduces himself as being from "Manila," not "Filipinas") is someone whom the Japanese gentleman takes for "Japanese" but who turns out to be someone "other" than Japanese.¹⁰ Moreover, the first meeting between them ends with the Manila gentleman walking away after saying he is "Manila, not Japanese." In other words, the initial encounter as narrated by *Oshi* does not presage any developing relationship between the two. It remains for the moment a singular event. The reader is held in suspension about the future not only of the Japanese gentleman but the Manila gentleman as well. What will happen to the Japanese gentleman if he cannot find someone who will interpret for him? And is there anything more to this encounter or does it remain just that: a chance encounter?

Oshi provides no other details about their interaction on board the *Belgic*. Then *Oshi* surprises the reader by stating that, by the time the steamer arrived in San Francisco, the Japanese "has come to know the Manila gentleman very well." That is to say, the Japanese gentleman has come to depend on the "gentleman from Manila," a dependence underscored by repeated references to the Japanese "following" (literally) the Manilan, whether for sightseeing or to the restaurant (e.g., Suehiro 1889, 2: 59, 109).

The Manila gentleman "speaks English well, and besides, having stayed in our country for some time, speaks Japanese, though irregularly" (Suehiro 1889, 1: 49). Suehiro was known to have studied English before embarking on his travel, and had even translated Thomas Babington Macaulay's essay on Lord Clive (1840) in 1885. Although Rizal's letter tells us that Suehiro spoke only Japanese, volume two of *Oshi* makes a reference to the two conversing in "half uncommunicable English and Japanese: *pu-pu-pa*" (*hanbun futsū no Eigo to Nihongo nite, pu pu pa*)—*pu-pu-pa* being Suehiro's (1889, 2: 6) comic onomatopoeic rendering of their conversation. Elsewhere the Japanese, armed with an English-Japanese dictionary (ibid., 8), is depicted as speaking "ungrammatical English" (*bunpo ni awanu Eigo*) (ibid., 2). Like the fictional Manila and Japanese gentlemen, it is likely that Rizal and Suehiro communicated in a mixture of "irregular Japanese" and "ungrammatical English," with one language kicking in when the other failed. It is also possible that there were paper exchanges of written English between the two, since the conversationally challenged Suehiro might have had a better reading knowledge of English.

Almost all of the episodes involving the two characters reinforce the Japanese protagonist's impression of the Manila gentleman as a "man of deep sincerity" (*itatte jitsui no aru otoko*) (ibid., 49). The well-traveled Manila gentleman acquaints the Japanese gentleman with the way things are done in America. In San Francisco, for example, the Manila gentleman informs his fellow traveler that he does not have to pay any customs duties. The Japanese gentleman asks whether the Manila gentleman had bribed the customs officers, and, upon being told by the latter that he had not, realized that because he himself had tried to bribe the customs officers they had come to him one after another and he had had to pay (Suehiro 1889, 1: 43–50).

Lunching separately, the Japanese pays his bill and hurries to catch the train. The hotel owner gives the change to the Manilan. The Manila gentleman then hands the change to the Japanese. When the Japanese asks how the Manilan figured out that the change belonged to him, the Manilan laughed and said that this was because they were the only two "yellow-faced" men on the train (Suehiro 1889, 2: 10–11).

The Japanese learns that the Manila gentleman needs to go to England as soon as possible. Since the Japanese protagonist, lacking English, does not want to travel alone, he decides to travel together with him. After staying in San Francisco for four to five days, they leave for New York via Denver and

Chicago on the continental train. The Manilan makes all the arrangements for the two of them. When the Japanese man's money is stolen, he tells the Manilan that he is unable to go with him to Denver, but the Manilan tells him not to worry (ibid., 27). On the train from Ogden to Denver, the Manilan asks the steward to bring the Japanese to the rear car so that they can both enjoy the passing scenery of Castlegate (ibid., 29–30). On the way from Denver to Chicago, the Japanese misses the train, but finds the Manilan waiting for him in Omaha. The Manilan has taken care of all their arrangements, and even treats the Japanese to dinner (ibid., 55–57).

Some of the episodes offer glimpses of the Manila gentleman's sense of humor. On the way from Chicago to Niagara, a Canadian steals the Manilan's luggage. The Japanese, who has made so many mistakes in his travels, finds it funny that the Manila gentleman should also suffer the same misfortune as he did. The Manilan invites the Japanese to enjoy the Niagara Falls, orders a big dinner for them both, and then tells the Japanese to pay. Since the Japanese does not have much money on him, he is in a panic. The Manilan then takes a five-dollar coin out of his pocket to settle the bill, explaining to the Japanese that he had kept only a small amount of money in his luggage (ibid., 65–69).

When the Japanese composes a poem, the Manilan "looks carefully at what the gentleman had written and asks, 'What is it?' 'This is a Chinese poem that I have just written. I think it sufficiently captures the scenery of the Falls, but it is unfortunate that you cannot read it,' he says proudly. The Manila gentleman thinks that if it is a poem written by the gentleman, he can more or less guess its value. Then the Manila gentleman says laughingly: 'If it is such an interesting poem, please translate it into English.' And the gentleman says, scratching his head, 'I can't do it. So now, we are equal, hahaha.'" (ibid., 72–73).

In another episode that illustrates the Japanese's unfamiliarity with social codes and linguistic conventions, the Japanese falls into conversation with two very friendly white women on the deck of the steamer bound for London. Then the Japanese notices that other passengers who hitherto had been friendly to him have stopped talking to him. He wonders why.

The Manilan, smiling, tells him, "You had fun, no?"

"What fun?"

"The two women with whom you sat at the same table: you talked and exercised with them, didn't you?"

"Indeed, for about thirty minutes I walked with them on the deck."

"Ah, now I understand what that priest meant."

"What did the priest say?"

"[The priest said:] 'Even though the Japanese gentleman does not speak English very well, I had thought that he was a decent person and was friendly with him. But I noticed his unseemly behavior [*futsu-go senban*], so I don't intend to talk to him any more.' Because I know you are not the kind of person who would do something immoral, I suspected that it [the priest's snubbing of the Japanese] was because of these women, and that's why I asked you about it."

He [the Japanese gentleman] laughs loudly and says, "That priest is a man who says stupid things. Just look, many gentlemen exercise with ladies on deck, as you see. So I also walked behind the women. It is not polite for this priest to accuse me of immorality. I haven't been friendly with any western [*seiyō*] women but that lady—"

The Manila gentleman interrupts: "You were thoughtless, you can't help it. But they are not ladies, but rather, poor women."

The gentleman hurriedly says, "If they are poor women, all the more reason to pay attention to them."

"That is not what 'poor women' means. These two women are prostitutes." (ibid., 117–19)

The two men go their separate ways upon arriving in London. The Japanese thanks the Manilan for all his help and tells him that he will give him his address as soon as he settles down. The Japanese gentleman often visits the Manila gentleman. On one visit, he sees the Manilan with a female

friend. In their final exchange, a repetition of an earlier incident, the Japanese tells the Manilan that he badly needs to urinate.

He [the Japanese] asks, "Where is gentleman?"

The Manila gentleman does not understand.

Then it occurs to him that the right word is "W.C.," and he screams:
"W.C.!"

The Manila gentleman lets out a big laugh and tells him where the water closet is located. (ibid., 159)

It is possible to view the Manila gentleman as a literary foil for the Japanese gentleman. Suehiro's liking for Rizal—evident in the foreword of *Nanyō* and the first chapter of *Kōsetsu-roku*—precluded any attempt to turn the Manila gentleman into a mere reflection of the Japanese protagonist, a comic figure whose words and actions may invite the wrong kind of laughter.¹¹ At the same time, the Japanese gentleman considers the Manilan a "gentleman" just like himself. There is personal chemistry between the two, but it is also important to note that they are often the only "yellow-faced" passengers traveling first-class on either ship or train. The chemistry between them is compounded by elements of class belonging and male bonding (as seen in the above exchange on "poor women") as well as racial solidarity. Similarities in Suehiro and Rizal's personal backgrounds (see Shimizu 2007, 55) would have made the feeling of sympathy and fellowship (at least on Suehiro's part) much easier to express in writing.

Oshi's self-mocking tone is reserved exclusively for the Japanese character, a kind of innocent abroad who elicits laughter (and empathy) from the (largely middle-class) Japanese reader as the reader imagines himself or herself in the position of the Japanese gentleman. In highlighting the eventfulness of the Japanese main character's travels with the Manila gentleman, *Oshi* turns the accidental meeting of these two characters into a socially lifesaving encounter for the Japanese protagonist. *Oshi's* matter-of-fact, almost reportorial stance on the Manila gentleman brings into sharp relief the highly dramatic and comically exaggerated situations, verging on the slapstick, in which the Japanese gentleman continually finds himself.

But the Manila gentleman's unexpected gift of warmth, solicitude, laughter, and tact also functions to shield the protagonist (and the narrative) from the "shock" of extreme comedy, when acute social or public embarrassment loses its amusement value and begins to discomfit the reader.

Moreover, the evolving relationship between the two does not fit neatly into the kind of *nanshin-ron* in which Japan is assumed to exercise leadership in "helping" Asia achieve independence while also, in the process, transforming itself. The Meiji gentleman comes across as a provincial, lacking the linguistic and social skills as well as travel experience to make his way to the so-called West. The Manila gentleman, by contrast, is a cosmopolitan who is at home in the world, who helps the Japanese gentleman navigate the social and linguistic codes and conventions of the "West."

Rizal's "Europe" and Suehiro's "Asia"

The fact that *Oshi* does not lend itself to being read as an example of *nanshin-ron* may account for its relative obscurity within the context of critical studies of Suehiro's oeuvres. But there may still be another way to explain why their real-life encounter—biographical traces of which can be discerned in the comic travelogue—fired Suehiro's imagination while meriting only one casual mention in Rizal's letters.

Rizal's fantasies were mainly focused on the Philippines and Europe, the twinned sites of his intellectual critique and political activism. His romance with Usui Seiko—who had served as his guide and interpreter—had led him to prolong his stay in Japan, but it had to be cut short owing to the "urgency" (alluded to in *Oshi*) of Rizal's need to move on to Europe. In the same letter to Ponce where he mentions Suehiro, he writes of visiting different parts of Japan "at various times with the interpreter." (O-sei-san, like Suehiro, is also not named.) The depth of his feelings for her is evident in a diary entry written on the day of his departure from Yokohama (two pages of which are reproduced in Lanuza and Zaide 1961, 66–69). That no such diary entry records his impressions of Suehiro—for whom he would in turn serve as guide and interpreter—does not mean that his encounter with Suehiro meant little to him (a point we will address in the final section of this article). It only meant that Rizal's encounter with Suehiro did not give birth to fantasies on Rizal's part about Japan, in the way that Suehiro's encounter with Rizal acted as midwife for multiple fantasies about Philippine independence and Japan's territorial expansion.

Rizal's trenchant criticism of the exclusionary policies and practices of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines hinged on his intellectual (and lin-

guistic) access and claim to the universalist, progressive, and inclusive ideals of enlightened “Europe.” In the dedication page (“A mi pátria”) of the *Noli*, Rizal does not indicate the different places (Madrid/Spain, Paris/France, and Germany) wherein he worked on the *Noli*. Instead he writes simply: “Europa, 1886.” “Europe” was the base of his activism, the place where he could read, write, and establish a network of friends, allies, and useful contacts that would help mobilize support for the Philippine cause.

As we mentioned at the outset, Asianism was based on an implicit acceptance of “Europe” as a civilizational entity. But rather than focusing on “Asia” and what it signified (or, more important, how it could be made to signify), Rizal set his sights on “Europe.” It was in “Europe,” not “Asia,” that Rizal sought knowledge of, and authority with which to speak of, his country’s past. Lacking access to the indigenous records in his own country, Rizal traveled to London. In the British Museum, the same place where Suehiro’s *Nanyō* protagonist would also discover his ancestral origins in and links to Japan, Rizal located, copied by hand, and annotated Antonio de Morga’s *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. In the dedication page, Rizal writes:

Like almost all of you [“Filipinos”], I was born and brought up in ignorance of our country’s past, and so without knowledge or authority to speak of what I neither saw nor have studied, I deem it necessary to quote the testimony of an illustrious Spaniard who in the beginning of the new era controlled the destinies of the Philippines and had personal knowledge of our ancient nationality in its last days.

As with the *Noli*, Rizal also puts “Europe 1889” below his byline in the preface to the Morga annotations. Europe was where he could do the preparatory work of “call[ing] before you [Filipinos]” the “shade of our ancestors’ civilization” as preparation for studying the “future.”

That his encounter with Suehiro did not generate a slew of “Asianist” fantasies is something that needs to be explained, since Rizal did have a notion of the region as a civilizational construct. An intellectual trace can be found in fact in a short article, “Two Eastern Fables,” that he wrote in English and published in *Trubner’s Record* in July 1889 while he was still in London, a little over a year after he met Suehiro. In this article, Rizal compared the Philippine and Japanese versions of the fable of the tortoise and the monkey, and argued that the Philippine version (which had “more philosophy, more

plainness of form”) was older than the Japanese (“more civilization and, so to speak, more diplomatic usage”) one, and that “the leading idea of both came either from the South, from Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Mindanao, or had its origin from the Philippine Islands, and afterwards migrated northwards with the people or the race which came from the South to inhabit the Japanese and the Riu-Kiu Islands” (Rizal 1964, 119). He also briefly mentioned the possible Malay origins of the Japanese, and drew the conclusion that there existed “an extinct civilization, common to all races that lived in that [“eastern”] region” (Rizal 1964, 121; see also Mojares’ fine analysis, 2002, 73). Notionally speaking, Rizal did have a view of the “Far East” as a civilizational whole. But rather than trace the origins of the *Nanyō* people to the Japanese as Suehiro would do with his protagonist’s ancestry, Rizal traced the origins of the Japanese to the Malays of the “South.” And though he posited a civilization “common to all races that lived in that region,” such a common civilization was already “extinct” in the present time.

Rizal’s priority was to recover his country’s past and to put the Philippines on the intellectual map, for which purpose he had even planned to establish an Association Internationale des Philippinistes that same year, with an international (European) board of officers and himself, a self-identified “Malayo-Tagalog,” as secretary (Mojares 2002, 58). Moreover, his familiarity with British historiographical and ethnographic accounts of the Malay archipelago (ibid., 61) had led him to a comparative study of Tagalog and Malay customs, material culture, and languages.¹² His attempts at recovering his “ancestors’ civilization,” which involved working through written sources in several languages, allowed him to envision a common ancient civilization in the “East”¹³ that included the Tagalog and the Japanese as well as other “races” in the “region,” while simultaneously deepening his self-identification as a “Malayo-Tagalog” whose living culture was, at least in terms of scholarship, sufficiently differentiated from those of neighboring Japan and China. Rizal’s self-identification as “Malayo-Tagalog” meant that his interest lay more in thinking through the historical specificity of the Philippines and the “Malayo-Tagalog” race and culture, a way of clearing a space for his small country in between the far more visible and relatively well-defined civilizations of China and Japan, on one side, and India on the other.

The fact that Rizal’s political fantasies were tied to Europe cannot be taken as clear-cut evidence of Eurocentric thinking on his part. Rizal’s “silence” about Asianist solidarity also stemmed from his understanding of

realpolitik in the region, and the geopolitical possibilities and constraints that militated against either easy identification or solidarity with the Philippines's neighbors. In a widely-cited essay, "Filipinas dentro de cien años" (The Philippines a century hence),¹⁴ Rizal (1889–1890) presented his own "political fantasy" of the region by sketching a possible future scenario in which a "federal republic" of the Philippines will be established without being swallowed up by the French, German, British, and Dutch colonial powers in the region.

The reason for such an optimistic view of the independence prospects of the Philippines is that the colonial powers are unlikely to find any compelling rationale for (over)extending themselves to the Philippines. The British had given the Philippines back to the Spaniards after occupying Manila for only two years in 1762–1764, and "what need has John Bull the merchant to kill himself over the Philippines, when this one [Manila] is no longer Mistress of the Orient, and over there are [i.e., he already has] Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, etc.?"¹⁵ Germany confines itself "to the easy conquest of territories that belong to no one." France "has much to do and sees more of a future in Tongking and China, and besides, the French spirit does not shine in eagerness for colonization." Holland "is sensible and will be satisfied with retaining the Moluccas and Java. Sumatra offers it more of a future than the Philippines, whose seas and coasts bode ill for the Dutch expeditions." Rizal imagines the possibility of America's entry into the imperialist scramble, but nevertheless dismisses the prospect as unlikely:

Perhaps the great American Republic, whose interests are in the Pacific and who has not participated in the despoliation of Africa, may think some day about overseas possessions. It is not impossible, because the example is contagious, greed and ambition are vices of the strong, and Harrison manifested something of this sense in the Samoan question. But neither is the Panama Canal open, nor do the territories of the States have a plethora of inhabitants, and in case it should openly make an attempt, it would not be allowed to do so freely by the European powers, which know fully well that the appetite is excited by the first mouthfuls. North America would be quite a troublesome rival once it joins the profession. Furthermore, this is contrary to its traditions. (ibid.)

Thus, Rizal imagines a situation in which the historical experience of the colonial powers in the region, coupled with the risk of overextension and the relative insignificance (at least vis-à-vis these powers' existing colonies and colonial policies) of the Philippines's contribution to the enrichment and glory of these colonial powers, militates against further colonial infringement on the newly federated republic. His optimistic view of Philippine prospects for independence (and misreading of American intentions) stands in stark contrast to his pessimistic view of China's and Japan's prospects:

La China se considerará bastante feliz si consigue mantenerse unida y no se desmembra, ó se la reparten las potencias europeas que colonizan en el Continente asiático.

Lo mismo le pasa al Japón. Tiene al Norte la Rusia, que lo codicia y espía; al Sur la Inglaterra, que se le entra hasta en el idioma oficial. Encuéntrase además bajo una diplomática presión europea tal, que no podrá pensar en el exterior hasta librarse de ella, y no lo consentirá fácilmente. Verdad es que tiene exceso de población, pero la Corea le atrae más que Filipinas, y es además más fácil de tomar.

China will consider itself happy if it is able to remain unified and is not dismembered or partitioned among the European powers that are colonizing on the Asian Continent.

The same goes for Japan. To the north, it has Russia, which covets and spies on it; to the south England, which has even brought in[to Japan] its official language. Moreover, she is under so much European diplomatic pressure that she will not be able to think about external affairs until she is rid of it, which will not be easy. It is true that it has an excess of population, but Korea attracts it more than the Philippines, and is in addition easier to take. (ibid.)

Rizal's political imagination does not see "Asia" (let alone Asian solidarity) as offering any alternative critique or power base from which to address or intervene in the current (and future) geopolitical configuration in the region. Rizal had long been aware of how little his country figured in the public imagination outside the Philippines, a generalized ignorance that led

to constant misrecognition of his nationality by people whose countries he had visited. Events in the region such as the Sepoy mutiny of 1857 in India, the Taiping rebellion of 1850–1864 in China, and the Meiji restoration in 1868 were part of the regional backdrop against which he had come of age, and in his travels across Europe he would have frequently seen for himself the visible signs of European appreciation of things Chinese, Indian, and Japanese, which had had artistic influences on the development of European visual and decorative arts, as well as European intellectual production. Ironically, for Rizal, the “invisibility” of the Philippines—which he had made it his own intellectual project to redress through his writings—would, in his own long-term view, turn out to be a political blessing in disguise because its geopolitical “smallness,” its relative obscurity and insignificance compared to the civilizations of China, India, and Japan, may precisely assure its survival as an independent country in a region dominated by competing colonial/imperial powers.

Suehiro Tetchō’s involvement in the people’s rights movement meant that he, too, like Rizal, saw the “West” as a place he could learn from—hence his decision in 1888 to embark on a study tour of its political institutions. Around the time that Suehiro began his study tour, the Meiji oligarchs who had visited Europe (for example, Itō Hirobumi had spent time in Germany) to study its constitutions and governments were in the process of drafting the Meiji Constitution. As a veteran activist who had been imprisoned for his vocal opposition to the government’s efforts in previous years to thwart the establishment of a constitutional government, Suehiro, in anticipation of the promulgation of the constitution in March 1889, had attempted to bring the motley crew of antioligarchy opposition forces together into a unified party, but his efforts had come to naught.¹⁶ Not content to rely on the Meiji oligarchs’ understanding of the political systems in the “West,” Suehiro was deeply interested in seeing for himself how the constitutional system of government worked in Europe and the United States.¹⁷ On his return to Japan in February 1889, he threw himself back into the politics of unifying the opposition, but was again unsuccessful. His celebrity status as a leading writer and the wide readership he commanded as a journalist and leader of the opposition were instrumental in getting him elected (representing Ehime Ward), along with sixty-one others from his network of people’s rights activists and without the benefit of much campaigning, in the first national parliamentary elections of 1 July 1890 (Iwamoto 1968, 89).

Because he did not speak any European languages fluently, Suehiro had to rely on a series of interpreters in his travels through America and Europe. *Oshi* tells us that, because Rizal was in a hurry to get to Europe, the Japanese gentleman also decided to rearrange his schedule so that he could accompany the Manila gentleman across America. His somewhat hurried tour of America, however, did leave him with the strong (and prescient) conviction that America would emerge, along with China, as Japan’s most important trading partner.¹⁸ In France he relied on a Japanese friend to act as interpreter as far as Marseilles, from where he sailed back to Yokohama.

Suehiro’s travel through British-colonized Asia (Ceylon, Singapore, and Hong Kong) as well as Shanghai on his way back from France to Japan was an eye-opening experience that served to deepen his concern with Japan’s vulnerability in a Eurocentric and European-dominated international order. In London Suehiro happened to have come across a British Navy report in which he learned, to his horror, that, in the event of war between Britain and Russia in the Far East, the British cavalierly planned to “lease” Yokohama as a naval base.¹⁹ Already well aware of the tensions between Japan and the European powers—especially Great Britain, France, and Russia—in the region, he became even more concerned about the real threat of European imperialist aggression against Japan and about Japan’s ability to retain its independence (Manabe 2006, 282).

Unfolding within such moments of high emotional and ideological tension on Suehiro’s part, his encounter with Rizal and his study tour resulted in a different site and form of political engagement, fueling fantasies not of speaking in or from, as well as in the name of, “Europe” but against “European imperialism” through solidarity in and with “Asia.”²⁰ This solidarity was founded on an alliance of “gentlemen” who were forced to communicate with each other in the labored pu-pu-pa of several (often “irregular”) second or third languages,²¹ supplemented with gestures and pointing, but who were united in their common dream of “Asia’s” liberation from European colonial and imperialist domination. By the time Suehiro met Rizal, he was already active in organizational efforts to promote cultural and commercial intercourse in Asia.²² Since the late 1870s, Suehiro had supported a number of “Asianist” associations, among which was Shin’asha (Society for Promoting Asia), which was critical of the aggressive policy of the West and the stagnant condition of Asia. Renamed Kōa Kai (Society for Asian Development) in 1880, the society had built an academy in Shanghai, which was put under

the supervision of Suehiro (Iwamoto 1968, 91).²³ The Society (which later changed its name to Ajia Kyōkai [Asia Association] in 1885) had envisioned setting up branches of the academy in different parts of Asia (e.g., Korea, Annam, India) in order to study the conditions, customs, and languages of each country, though the plans ultimately were not pushed through.

Like Rizal, Suehiro was a “realist” when it came to his understanding of Japan’s position in the region. Like Rizal’s, too, Suehiro’s political stance on Asia is revealing of his awareness of Japan’s limited capability as a “small country” power. Unlike Rizal, however, Suehiro sought an answer to Japan’s “small country” status in a dream of “Asian” solidarity. As early as 1881, he was already calling for a Sino-Japanese alliance as a geopolitical counterweight to Europe.²⁴ This alliance—which would not be based on the assumption of a Sinocentric (nor Japan-centric) Asian civilization—was expected to expand in the near future to include such countries as Korea, Annam, Siam, India, and Persia (Manabe 2006, 239). Upon his return to Japan in 1889, he became ever more convinced of the need for an alliance between Japan and Qing China (ibid., 282)—the only other independent state that mattered in that region—as a form of (self-)defense against (and eventually liberation from) European imperialist encroachment in the region. The groundwork for this would be prepared by the “revival” of Asia through institutional reforms modeled after those in Europe. Suehiro’s concern with forging a Japan-China alliance led him to assume a noninterventionist stance in the Korean crisis in the 1880s. Unlike his colleague Fukuzawa Yukichi, he opposed Japan’s going to war against Qing China in 1894.

Such political stances, which went against the grain of Japanese official policy, would relegate his memory and writings to the margins in decades to come. In 1942, not long after Japan occupied the Philippines, the scholar of Meiji cultural history Yanagida Izumi published his *Kaiyō bungaku to nanshin shisō* (Literature of the Seas and Ideas of Southward Expansion). This book drew on his pioneering research, published in the 1930s, on the Meiji political novels (see Yanagida 2005) to provide biographical details about Suehiro and discuss Suehiro’s connections with Rizal. Although his treatment of Suehiro’s novels on the Philippines is limited mainly to plot summary (see also the discussions in Yanagida 1961; 1967; 1968; 2005), Yanagida’s influential argument concerning ideas of southward expansion and a shift in Suehiro’s novels from preoccupation with domestic affairs to concern with external affairs would be taken up—as well as debated and crit-

icized—by subsequent studies of Suehiro (from Iwamoto 1968 to Manabe 2006). Yanagida’s study, however, did not spark a revival of interest in Suehiro’s political novels on the Philippines. We have not found evidence of the reprinting of Suehiro’s Philippine writings in the 1930s and 1940s.²⁵ It was not the relatively well-known Suehiro but his more obscure contemporaries Suganuma Teifu and Yamada Bimyo whose writings would be “rediscovered, reprinted and misused after more than fifty years in order to pave the way for and justify the Japanese policy of colonizing the Philippines” (Shimizu 2007, 66).²⁶

Politics of Friendship in America’s “Free Asia”

While Suehiro’s fictionalized account of his travels with Rizal occupies nearly two-thirds of his comic novel, *Oshi* itself has merited little serious discussion in studies of Suehiro’s writings. In the postwar period, we find only three texts that discuss *Oshi*. All three were written and published as contributions to the commemoration of the centenary of Rizal’s birth (1961) and, for the most part, all three draw on *Oshi* mainly to reconstruct details of Suehiro’s chance meeting with Rizal.

Caesar Lanuza and Gregorio Zaide’s (1961, 55–57) *Rizal in Japan* contains a three-page summary of some of the key episodes of *Oshi* along with more elaborate details on Rizal’s romance with O-Sei-san (Usui Seiko). In the concluding section of the epilogue, the authors wax poetic and indulge in a bit of extrapolation:

Now that the story of Rizal’s sojourn in Japan during the spring of 1888 has been told, the Filipino people certainly owe a debt of gratitude to at least two Japanese contemporaries of their national hero—the gifted man-of-letters, Tetchō Suehiro, and the lovely samurai’s daughter, O-Sei-san. Both of them, in their own way, gladdened the heart of Rizal at a time when he needed it most; their companionship no doubt gave him the courage and fortitude to carry on the heavy load he bore, and the kindness, understanding and love that they showed him was something that he must have treasured to his dying day. For certainly, in the quiet solitude of his prison cell in Fort Santiago a few days before he was executed, Rizal could not but have remembered his memorable days in Japan, and his happy moments with O-Sei-san. (ibid., 63)

Lanuza and Zaide's account turns the gift of friendship recounted in *Oshi* into debt of gratitude. Furthermore, it is not the Japanese gentleman who owes a debt of gratitude to the Manila gentleman for helping him throughout their travel together. Rather, it is the "Filipino people" who now "certainly owe a debt of gratitude" to Suehiro and Usui, whose "kindness, understanding and love" "gladdened" Rizal's heart, and gave him "the courage and fortitude" to carry on his political work. The authors even implant the "memorable days" and "happy moments" of Rizal's sojourn in Japan into Rizal's head a few days before Rizal's execution.

Lanuza and Zaide's effort to flesh out the details of Rizal's trip to Japan is but one contribution to the by-then already corpulent body of research and writing on Rizal. Typical of hagiographical writings on Rizal, Lanuza and Zaide's book lovingly depicts Rizal as a gifted polymath. "Owing to his God-given talent for understanding foreign languages, Rizal was able to learn enough rudiments of Japanese after only a few weeks of conscientious study. He was so adept at it that he was able to write a few ideas in Kanji characters" (ibid., 21–22). More, "[b]ecause of his innate talent and his previous training in European style painting, he was able to master the technique of Japanese brush painting" (ibid., 23).²⁷ Even though Lanuza and Zaide rely on *Oshi* for their narrative of Suehiro and Rizal's first meeting aboard the *Belgic*, in their zeal to proclaim Rizal's mastery of the Japanese language, they appear to have conveniently overlooked or disregarded the Manila gentleman's first quoted sentence in Nihongo, "I am Manila, not Japanese."

In their acknowledgments, Lanuza and Zaide (ibid., v–vi) state that the idea for a book on Rizal's visit to Japan was originally suggested by Philippine Ambassador to Japan Manuel A. Adeva and the Rizal Centennial Commission. Adeva had begun the research and then asked the authors, who were also at work on the topic, to complete the research and write the book.²⁸ The book is introduced on the flyleaf as a "contribution of The Philippine Reparations Mission (Tokyo, Japan) to The Rizal Centennial (1861)." The centenary of Rizal's birth conveniently provides an occasion for rebuilding the relations between the Philippines and Japan. These bilateral relations, destroyed by the war, can now be restored through war reparations, that is, monetary and other compensations paid by Japan to cover the damage and injury caused by its "occupation" of the Philippines. Lanuza and Zaide's book obliquely refers to Japan's obligatory debt while simultaneously softening the blunt talk of yen and pesos with the diplomatese of "debt of gratitude" of the

"Filipino people" to the "good" Japanese. In transforming Rizal's singular gift of friendship to Suehiro into bilateral "debt," the book imagines as well as initiates a serial chain of "reciprocal" acts on which the postwar relations between the Philippines and Japan can be based, and which allows other forms of capital flows such as official development assistance and foreign direct investment to follow or accompany war reparations.

By going back many decades to find an example of "good Japanese" like Suehiro and Usui who are relatively free of the contamination of wartime Asianism, the Lanuza and Zaide book blithely skips over more recent and fraught memories of "friendship" between Filipinos and Japanese: *Rizal in Japan* is deafeningly silent on the politically contentious issue of Filipino collaboration with the Japanese during the occupation.²⁹ Where Japan is at least obligated to compensate the Philippines for the damages it inflicted during its occupation, there is no talk of Filipino collaborators—especially those who flourished after the war—being made to pay for their crimes against "the Filipino people."

If a strong element of wishful fantasy is at work alongside a willful blindness in Lanuza and Zaide, it is equally if not even more evident in the essays of Kimura Ki and Jimbō Nobuhiko, who were among the Japanese whom Lanuza and Zaide thanked for their help with the research, and who published their own articles about Suehiro and Rizal a year later in 1962.

Kimura Ki's article on Rizal and Suehiro was first presented at the International Congress on Rizal in December 1961 and subsequently published in the *Mirror: The Saturday Magazine* on 27 January 1962. In it he writes: "That this period [Rizal's sojourn in Japan] is fondly remembered by the people of the Philippines is a matter of the deepest gratification to the Japanese" (Kimura 1962, 18). He goes on to say that "In Japan, Dr. Rizal found two true friends," and then quotes Lanuza and Zaide's sentence about the "Filipino people's debt of gratitude" as proof that "[t]hese two Japanese proved to be true and good" (ibid.).

Lanuza and Zaide's book on Rizal's Japan trip, impressions, friendship with Suehiro, and love affair with O-Sei-san is clearly meant as a contribution to the postwar mending of "bilateral" relations between the "peoples" of the Philippines and Japan. Kimura's article, which came out just seventeen years after the end of the Pacific war, is similarly concerned with stressing the fact that Rizal had "true and good" Japanese friends. There is no mention of the most recent war, and the meishuron ("Japan-as-leader") type of

pan-Asianist discourse that legitimized it. Instead, Kimura argues that “[t]his book [*Oshi*] shows that Dr. Rizal was always kind and considerate not only to his own countrymen but to all and especially to the people of the Orient” (ibid., 20). Mindful of the wartime association of pan-Asianism with the Japan-led anti-“West” Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, Kimura constructs a sentence that manages to suggest diplomatically that Rizal is nationalist, Asianist, and universalist, all at the same time, but “especially [kind and considerate] to the people of the Orient.”³¹ This convoluted logic is also repeated in the final sentence of the article, in which Kimura (ibid., 21) states that “[e]ventually, the Filipinos won absolute and complete independence for themselves granted by the American people.” The “granting” by the U.S. of Philippine independence assumes that independence is a gift from America, and negates the preceding clause “the Filipinos won absolute and complete independence for themselves,” which posits independence not as a gift to be bestowed but rather as a goal that had to be attained through struggle and sacrifice. Kimura’s historical excavation of preimperialist Japanese connections to Asia offers the Suehiro-Rizal encounter as an historical forerunner of the postwar bilateral “friendship” between Japan and the Philippines, but this postwar friendship is nested within the context of the Cold-War, American-led “Free Asia.”

Kimura’s fantasy of Asianist solidarity under America’s non-Communist (and capitalist) umbrella in “Free Asia” finds its most bald-faced articulation in Col. Jimbō Nobuhiko’s article “Rizal and Tetchō.” Where Kimura attempted to rein in his Asianist fantasies by resorting to the convoluted sentence constructions discussed above, Jimbō allows his imagination to run wild, to the extent of creating dialogues between Rizal and Suehiro that are not substantiated by any archival or textual sources. Because the article appeared in the *Historical Bulletin*, Jimbō in effect allows his fantasies to pass for “history.”

To some extent, the differences in Kimura’s and Jimbō’s fantasies about Rizal and Suehiro may be a function of their different career trajectories. An extremely prolific³¹ author, essayist, translator, publicist, literary critic, and scholar of Meiji cultural history, Kimura Ki was born in 1894, and studied English literature at Waseda University. He joined the Japanese Fabian Association as well as Japan’s Labor and Peasant Party, and even published a novel about Lenin. By his own account, Kimura (1961, 32) had volunteered for the army and served in the Philippines, but owing to poor health he saw action in

Bataan for only a few days. Instead, he appears to have spent most of the war not in the battlefields but in the Philippine National Library, reading biographies of Rizal and poring over references to Rizal’s relations with Japan.

By contrast, Jimbō was a man of action, a lieutenant colonel in the Japanese imperial army, whose main claim to fame was that he saved future-president Manuel Roxas’s life. In turn, Manuel Roxas would save Jimbō’s career: one of his first acts as the first president of the postwar Philippine Republic was to write a letter to Chiang Kai-shek to appeal for the release of Jimbō, then being held as prisoner-of-war in Taiwan on suspicion of war crimes. In his letter (quoted in Fajardo n.d.), Roxas writes that “[h]e [Jimbō] was, of my acquaintance, the most humane of the Japanese invaders.”³² Jimbō would parlay his “acts of compassion and benevolence” (to quote the certificate of recognition awarded posthumously to Jimbō by Pres. Fidel Ramos in 1995; text reproduced in Nagoshi 1999, 59) into a profitable career in the postwar era, when he returned to the Philippines as a businessman with the right political connections.

Unlike Kimura, Jimbō’s fantasies are not held in check by any fidelity to known facts and to textual verification.³³ In his article, he casts Suehiro and Rizal as pioneers of “freedom.” Jimbō (1962, 186, 182) reads Rizal’s relationships with Suehiro in homosocial (“Tetchō at once fell in love with Rizal”) and national allegorical terms (“It can be said a historical interest [sic] and a strange fate for the close relations of our nations that a certain Japanese and a certain Filipino associated with closet [sic] friendship and swore eventual cooperation to make each of their countries to be firmly independent”). This bilateral love affair is more accurately a ménage à trois involving a third party—America. In his “reconstruction” of an episode aboard the *Belgic*, he has Rizal sketching on the deck as the steamer approached San Francisco: “Yes, look at this active port.—’ said Rizal, pointing at the going and coming of boats or launches, he seemed to marvel at the national strength of America” (ibid., 186). But Jimbō’s view of America is not entirely one of unalloyed acknowledgment of its national strength; in an extended passage, Rizal and Suehiro catch glimpses of the American Indians, who “like the Filipinos . . . had the racial sufferings [sic]” (presumably inflicted by the Americans).

Suddenly Rizal said, “Everybody has his own nation. You must be happy to have your own country, and to which you can render service. But for me, I have not my country,” and continued with gloomy face; “in

the Philippines, there have been certain native culture before, but it was ruined by Spain like the Imperial Inca. The situation of the Philippines of those days was similar to those of Japan when she was once approached by the Portuguese. But, even that time while Japan was an independent state, but the Philippines was not. How slow and foolish! The people had a consciousness for family but no ideas for a nation of their own!"

"And Spain took advantage of the weak point of your people, but Japan also faced a risky situation," said Tetcho and told about those days.

"In the restoration age, France helped Tokugawa Shogunate and England was at the back of Emperor, both nations were aiming at wealth possibly gained in Japan. So, if Tokugawa Shogunate did not return power to Emperor, I can't say what happened. I feel a chill when I think of it." And then Tetcho referred to the first period of Meiji era. As he talked about the feudal clan administrations, his voice was high-pitched in excitement. Seeing him, Rizal could not help feeling envy as well as respect for Tetcho.

"I envy you and your country. Your country is absorbing only good things from European civilization and pile them on the stable, unique traditions. The train has already run in Japan and the military men are trained under very strict discipline."

"Yes, but Japanese government is very oppressive to the people. Actually, many of my friends were exiled from Tokyo. I have been fighting for liberty, against absolute government. I think you must have taken everything in Japan fine, for you saw my country when nationalism had just begun to rise." (ibid., 187)

The voice, "high-pitched with excitement," that shines through this exchange is not Suehiro's, but Jimbō's. Here, he freely shuttles from one era to another, and manages to turn Suehiro into a fervent supporter of the emperor system while alluding to America's decision (after intensive debate) to restore the emperor system after Japan's defeat. In almost the same breath, he criticizes the tyranny of Meiji government and advocates the absorption

of "only good things from European civilization and pile them on stable, unique traditions"! Later on he writes of "Japanese nationalities and her national prosperity and military power" making "a deep impression" on Rizal, and how "[t]he Japanese spirit must have struck the bottom of his heart" (ibid., 188). Then Rizal, presumably still brimming with envy and admiration for Japan, goes on to "worr[y] about the then state of his country," and advocates education to "awake the ignorant," to which Suehiro concurs, saying: "We must acquire much more knowledge, and lead them to know everything, I think it's our duty" (ibid.).³⁴

Having established that the mutual admiration society of the two men is based on their joint endorsement of Jimbō's reading of what is going on in Japan and the Philippines then and now, Jimbō goes on to imagine the following scene:

Two years after this tour [i.e., Suehiro's "inspection" of Korea, Siberia, and North China], Sino-Japanese War finally broke out. Rizal was informed of this news at Dapitan, Mindanao Island.

"How is Suehiro getting along? Japan did rise at last as he told me before." He looked back upon the happy days which he had spent with Tetcho, and concluded, "Japan will win against China." In fact, Japan defeated China and the international standing of Japan had rapidly risen. The unequal treaty was abolished, so that Japan could be regarded as a true independent nation. Japan was laying foundation for one of the world powers. (ibid., 190)

Jimbō's attempt to reconstruct the dialogues between Rizal and Suehiro in the language of *meishuron* Asianism results in an inversion of logic (recalling Roxas's characterization of Jimbō as the "most humane of the Japanese invaders") that allows Japan to claim credit for helping the Philippines attain independence: "Through the Second World War, the Philippines became independent, and Rizal came to be looked up as the national hero" (ibid., 192). With Japan to thank for Rizal's posthumous status as hero, Jimbō ends his article with a final fantasy: "If Tetcho were alive today, he would have been the happiest man in Japan for his respectable great foreign friend had become the national hero of the Republic of the Philippines" (ibid.). At the same time, in stressing Suehiro's and Rizal's credentials as "freedom"

fighters, Jimbō's account of the impact of "Western" ideals of freedom and civil rights on Meiji Japan and the Spanish Philippines fits nicely within the Cold-War framework of an alliance of "Free [i.e., nonsocialist/capitalist] Asia" countries based on America's gift of "granting" independence to both Japan and the Philippines.

It would be easy to dismiss Jimbō's fantasies as the wishful thinking and fevered imaginings of a former military man bent on mouthing slogans from Japan's bygone imperial era. But the rhetorical devices that underpin Jimbō's and to some degree Kimura's writings were also used in explanations and rationalizations of Japan's reentry into Southeast Asia in the late 1950s. Jimbō's return to the Philippines as a businessman after the war was enabled, even as it mimicked on an individual level the trajectory taken, by Japan's postwar attempts to restore bilateral relations with the Philippines within the context of the American-led "Free Asia."

In the postwar Asian regional order, Japan was no longer an aspiring (let alone *de facto*) hegemonic power, but was instead America's "junior" partner. In this sense Japan's position in postwar Asia was crucially different from that in prewar Asia. Before the war, Japan had attempted to build a new Asian order through its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, with Japan as "number one." The type of *meishuron* Asianism that it promoted explicitly denied Anglo-Saxon preeminence. But the postwar "Japan-as-leader" rhetoric was deployed within the context of a radically different political reality, one in which America was clearly the hegemon of the "Free Asia" regional order. This Asianist rhetoric in fact hinged on Japan's acceptance of its status as "number two" to America's "number one." As long as Japan did not (and could not) attempt to remove America's "light hold on the Japanese jugular" (Cumings 1987, 63), it is unlikely and indeed impossible for Japan to deny or oppose Anglo-Saxon "first-ism" and challenge American hegemony (see Shiraishi 2000).

But it is also a fact that America's "Asia" was built on a U.S.-led hubs-and-spokes regional security system and a triangular trade system involving the U.S., Japan, and Southeast Asia (see Shiraishi 1997). In this postwar regional system, Japan occupied a central role as a strategic base from which the U.S. could project its hegemonic power onto an "Asia" that excluded (or sought to contain) communist China. With China turning communist in 1949 and the U.S. subsequently imposing a trade embargo on China, Japan no longer had access to the mainland market. As a

result, Japan in the 1950s was utterly dependent on the U.S. not only for its security but also for its economic survival. Japan could make up for its dollar gap with the U.S. only through its special procurement, that is, the American purchase of Japanese goods and services in Japan for the U.S. military. Japan sought a way out of this confining role by concluding war reparations agreements and normalizing diplomatic relations with Southeast Asian countries in order to regain access to their markets and natural resources. Washington encouraged this because it would promote Japanese economic recovery, reducing Japan's dependence on the U.S. while making Japan "the workshop of Asia" (Shiraishi 1997, 176–77). By the mid-1980s, Japan would become the largest exporter to Southeast Asia as well as Southeast Asia's largest investor, largest foreign aid donor, largest buyer of raw materials (such as oil, natural gas, and timber), and largest source of tourism (*ibid.*, 169).

The postwar geopolitical reality of Japan as "number two," coupled with Japan's strategic centrality to "America's Asia" and Japan's dependence on the Southeast Asian markets, formed the conditions of possibility for the articulation of a *meishuron* or "Japan-as-leader" rhetoric that combined elements of a (largely politically defanged and declawed) Asianism with a largely tacit assumption of American hegemonic power. This simultaneously "Asianist" and "pro-American" rhetoric proved to be particularly effective in selling Japan's foreign policy to the Japanese public. This rhetoric did not exclude the U.S. from the postwar regional system; rather, it accepted U.S. power as a tacit given, a given that was clearly understood but could, in certain contexts, remain unspoken. Thus, Japanese leaders could simultaneously affirm U.S. hegemony while claiming Japan's leadership in Asia.

This reworking of *meishuron* rhetoric for domestic consumption is evident in Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke's explanation of his intention to visit Southeast Asian countries in 1956: "I have been thinking to visit the US in my capacity as prime minister. For this purpose, I am planning to first visit Southeast Asia, so that in negotiating with the US, I will not be representing only Japan by itself, but rather, Japan as representative of Asia" (quoted in Suehiro 1995, 240). Kishi's brand of postwar *meishuron* Asianism enables Japan to speak and act on the diplomatic front in the name of "Free Asia" without risking any collision with American first-ism, while simultaneously appealing to Japanese nationalist sentiments in an effort to make Japan's foreign policy more palatable for domestic consumption.

If the Japanese official fantasy of “equal partnership” with the U.S. is belied by Japan’s subordinate status vis-à-vis the U.S. in the postwar regional order, the Philippine official fantasy of bilateral reciprocity between the Philippines and Japan is belied by real imbalances between the two countries in areas as diverse as official development assistance (ODA), trade and investment, movements of people, and cultural and even sexual intercourse. In the Philippines historical memories of the war, recounted and passed down the generations through pedagogy, family lore, and popular culture (see Campoamor 2009), continue to appear in public discourse. Until the late 1960s, these memories still possessed the kind of immediacy that could easily spark anti-Japanese sentiments, leading to frequent verbal and sometimes even physical attacks against Japanese tourists and residents in the Philippines. But the complexity of the Philippines-Japan postwar relationship, in which economic opportunism and dependency have replaced military domination and resistance, has rendered the lines of demarcation between “good” Japanese (“friends”) and “bad” Japanese (“enemies”) far less clear-cut and, for that reason, less amenable to politicization.

This explains the paradox about the Philippines: war memories of Japan still linger in the Filipino public imagination but increasingly, for the majority of the population, at a temporal and experiential distance inevitable with generational change. Efforts to politicize these memories in order to turn the bilateral imbalances into a public issue and exert pressure on the Philippine government to push for official redress from Japan have not been particularly successful. Blame has been apportioned liberally to the lack of political will and organizational coordination, political indifference and apathy, and opportunism on the part of political elites on both sides. There remains, as Gonzalo Campoamor (2009, 84) reminds us, a “certain degree of unfinished business between the two nations,” but just what “unfinished business” means (and whose unfinished business it is) is clearly no longer unequivocal.

Conclusion

Rizal and Suehiro met by chance on board a steamship bound for San Francisco, and ended up traveling together for a little over a month through America and on to London. The two men developed a friendship that was close enough for Rizal to have taken the trouble to see Suehiro off in December 1888 as the latter prepared to sail home. This chance meeting did not give birth on Rizal’s part to political fantasies about Philippine relations

with Japan. By contrast, Suehiro produced five major works—in particular, one comic travelogue and two novels—out of that encounter. But, as we have argued, of these five works the comic travelogue *Oshi* does not readily fall within the discourses of southward expansion (nanshin-ron), which have been the principal theme—as well as the main concern of subsequent critical discussions—of Suehiro’s Philippine novels.

By 1896 both Suehiro and Rizal were dead within ten months of each other. But less than ten years after Suehiro’s and Rizal’s encounter aboard the *Belgic* (or some two years after the death of the two men), Rizal’s good friend Mariano Ponce, to whom Rizal had written the one letter that referred to Suehiro, arrived in Yokohama on 29 June 1898 on a mission to obtain Japanese support for the Philippine revolution and to purchase arms for use by the Philippine revolutionary army (for details see Camagay 1999, 105; see also Ikehata 1989; Hatano 1988). Between Rizal’s visit to Yokohama in 1888 and Ponce’s in 1898, two defining events intervened: the Sino-Japanese war in 1894–1895 and the Philippine revolution in 1896. The first event signaled Meiji Japan’s dramatic appearance on the international stage as a regional power.³⁵ The Qing government’s humiliating defeat would also radicalize a segment of the Chinese population, among them the Cantonese doctor and sometime Hawai’i migrant Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan/Sun Wen), who would go on to organize the first of a series of rebellions aimed at overthrowing the Qing state. The second event, the first of its kind in Asia, focused worldwide attention on the Philippines’s independence struggle against the Spaniards and, later, the Americans.

Japan’s growing regional presence had generated hopes (not to mention fantasies)³⁶ among Filipino revolutionaries of enlisting Japanese help in their struggle against the Spaniards. Less than three months before the revolution broke out in August 1896, the revolutionary secret society Katipunan had arranged a meeting with officers of the Japanese naval training ship, *Kongō*, which happened to visit Manila (Saniel 1998, 250). The Katipunan also turned to the Japanese in its attempt to obtain arms for its planned uprising (ibid.). Less than two years later, in 1898, the revolutionary government led by Emilio Aguinaldo would send Mariano Ponce, along with Jose Ramos Ishikawa, as its official representative to Japan to procure arms and ammunition in the war against the Spaniards and, in 1899, against the Americans.

Prior to Ponce’s arrival in Yokohama, Aguinaldo had already met the Japanese businessman (and future cinema impresario) Umeya Shōkichi



Fig. 8. Umeya Shōkichi with members of Aguinaldo's army, c. 1898
Source: Anon. 2002, 38

(fig. 8) in Hong Kong, where the Philippine revolutionary government had gone into exile following the Pact of Biak-na-Bato.³⁷ Once in Japan, Umeya introduced Ponce to Miyazaki Tōten, who then introduced Ponce to the journalist-turned-politician Inukai Tsuyoshi (who most certainly knew Suehiro).³⁸ Inukai then introduced Ponce to the Japanese army chief of staff Gen. Kawakami Sōroku and the businessman-cum-politician Nakamura Yaroku, who arranged the purchase of arms and ammunitions and their shipment aboard the *Nunobiki Maru* (fig. 9).³⁹ In Yokohama Ponce would also form a friendship with Sun Yat-sen (via Miyazaki and Inukai), on whom he relied, after the *Nunobiki Maru* debacle, to purchase arms and ammunition for the Philippine revolutionary government.⁴⁰ Had either Suehiro or Rizal been alive at this time, their earlier, informal link would have proved useful in enabling Filipinos like Ponce to establish contact with civilians and bureaucrats in Suehiro's wide circle of Japanese contacts. Something that might have happened if Rizal and Suehiro had been alive did in fact happen: for even with Rizal and Suehiro dead, some of their friends and colleagues would in time find each other and establish links in a network that would be enlisted for different kinds of "Asianist" projects and fantasies in years to come.

The fantasies that Asianism nurtures and promotes are not always and necessarily based on ideas of common origin, common culture, and common destiny. In Rizal's case, belief in a common origin did not engender belief in

a common destiny. Relations of proximity and intimacy could and did (and still can and do) engender distance and difference. In Suehiro's case, Asianist fantasies arose from the chance encounter and lived experience of traveling together with a fellow "Asian." Forged out of utility but deepened by sympathy, his friendship with Rizal provided the experiential basis for a series of thought-experiments on an "Asian" fraternal alliance, a brotherhood literalized through connections of blood, family, and historical migration in *Nanyō no daiharan*. To imagine this type of Asian solidarity assumes a logic of fraternization which, as Derrida (1997, 232, 259) argues, is by definition finite and particularistic, without any guarantees that such a friendship will be free of the risk of asymmetrical relations (i.e., one "loves" more than the other) and reversibility (i.e., a friend can become an enemy), no matter how close the friendship may be. Indeed, changing times and circumstances would spell out the limits of this brotherhood in a particularly bloody way.

But, within the limits of Suehiro's imagination, *Oshi* also gestures at something else: at friendship as an opening of one to another, friendship as gift rather than obligation or imperative, as interplay between proximity and intimacy, on the one hand, and distance and difference, on the other. The Suehiro-Rizal encounter as event forces us to attend to the role that "structures of feelings"—to use Raymond Williams's (1977, 132) term—play in promoting (or preventing) regional identification. Asianism cannot be understood solely as a set of ideas because in many cases anxiety, anger, humiliation, pride, love, liking, and passion constitute affective elements of the internalization of "Asia" as a cartographic marker. Circumscribed

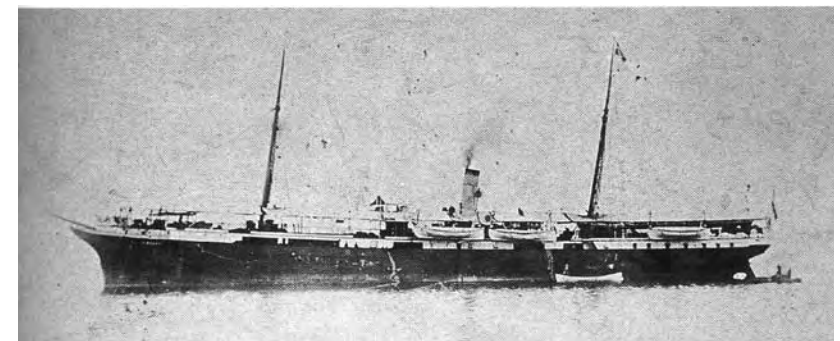


Fig. 9. *Nunobiki Maru*
Source: Kimura 1981, book cover page

by the vagaries and specificities of class, race, gender, sexuality, education, political inclinations, and personal chemistry, and colored by the emotional components of patriotism, friendship, intellectual debate, professional relationships, and charismatic leadership, the networks formed by everyday and personal interactions and relationships create social experiences that occupy the interstices between what is articulated and what is lived,⁴¹ experiences that encode judgments of (as well as subjective engagements with) the world and inform decision and action.

As our discussion of Suehiro and Rizal and subsequent accounts of their encounter shows, links and connections engender different kinds of social daydreaming and different political projects. That “Asianist” daydreams were particularly widespread and fervid in Japan may account for why Ponce and others were sent to Japan, and why “it was the Japanese,” as Dery (2005, 12) has argued, “who rendered the most substantial assistance to the Filipino struggle against American imperialism in the Philippines.”⁴² The emotions that underpinned these fantasies, and the personal interactions (some of which do involve, as Jimbō puts it, a kind of “falling in love”) that generated them or were created by them, were not always good or productive, nor were they sufficient in themselves to account for how individuals like Suehiro, Miyazaki, Sun, Ponce, and Phan Boi Chau thought and behaved in the ways they did. But some of these personal emotions and encounters did inspire and deepen the commitment that motivated some of these people at particular points in history to dream of, fight for, and work toward, a different and better “Asia” and a better world.

Attempts at pressing Meiji Asianism into the service of meishuron Asianism in the early and late Shōwa years (1926–1989) highlight the differences in the quality of the fantasies and networks that informed and animated the “myriad” Asianisms across the century. Whereas the political fantasies of Meiji Asianism derived their impetus from the birth of “new politics” and political movements across different parts of “Asia,” the meishuron fantasies of the war years were, by contrast, propelled by the destructive machinery of colonialism and military conquest. In reworking the wartime rhetoric of meishuron for postwar Japanese domestic consumption, the official Asianism of the late Shōwa period exposed itself as an Asianism bereft of bite and heart, whose knee-jerk and rebarbative invocation of Japan’s leadership can only ever constitute a liability and hindrance to current efforts at region making in the name of an “East Asia Community.”

Notes

We owe a big debt of gratitude to Benedict Anderson for his encouragement and support (especially by his help with some of the translations) throughout the writing process and over the years, and for gently prodding us to think about Rizal and Suehiro’s “silences” as well as our own. We also thank Murakami Saki and Morishita Akiko for their help in obtaining some of the historical materials for this article; Liu Hong for his comments and suggestions; Shimizu Hiromu for inspiring us to study Asianism in terms of fantasy-production; and Jun Aguilar for his friendship. All errors are our responsibility and all translations, unless otherwise indicated, are our own.

- 1 In the prewar era, “East Asia Community” was written in Japanese as 東亜細亞協同体 (pronounced “Higashi-Ajia kyōdōtai”) and abbreviated as 東亜協同体 (pronounced “Tō-A kyōdōtai”), while the current “East Asia Community” is written as 東アジア共同体 (“Higashi-Ajia kyōdōtai”). While the prewar and postwar terms are pronounced in the same way, it is telling that the word “Asia” is written in kanji (Chinese) characters in the prewar version and in katakana in the postwar version. The shift from kanji to katakana cannot be understood as a simple case of cosmetic change; rather, it indicates a referential shift based on substantive differences in the nature and evolution of the regional system that goes by the place-name of “East Asia” during the prewar and postwar periods.
- 2 On the limitations of analyzing Asianism solely from within the disciplinary confines of intellectual history, see Sun 2007.
- 3 For a succinct introduction to network science, see Barabási 2003.
- 4 Ponce died while on his way to visit his friend Sun Yat-sen in Canton (Guangdong) in 1918. It should be noted, however, that Ponce’s contacts with Chinese activists like Sun were established not in China proper but in Japan.
- 5 It was Ben Anderson (2005, 216) who first noted this “strange” paucity of references by Rizal to his meeting with Suehiro.
- 6 The feudal lord in question was the *Kirishitan* (Christian) *daimyō* Takayama Ukon (born Shigetomi Hikogorō in 1552 and baptized Iustus/Justo), who dominated the Takatsuki region in Osaka and was later expelled by Tokugawa Ieyasu from Japan. He went into exile in the Philippines, dying of illness forty days after he arrived in Manila on 21 Dec. 1614.
- 7 Young’s book, however, is marred by its failure to acknowledge its intellectual debt to *Kimera* (1993), the pathbreaking book on Manzhuguo by Yamamuro Shin’ichi, who served as Young’s adviser while she was doing research for her dissertation at Kyoto University’s Institute for Research in the Humanities. See Unno 2005 for an entertaining account of Asianist fantasies in Japan in the 1930s to the 1940s.
- 8 Iwamoto’s argument amplifies Yanagida Izumi’s (2005, 409) pioneering work, which argued that politics animated Meiji culture and political novels animated new literature in the Meiji period.
- 9 For a useful discussion of Suehiro Tetchō’s political novels, see Manabe 2006, 327–70, although as an historian of Japan Manabe has hardly anything to say about *Nanyō* and *ŌUnabara*.
- 10 This appears to have had a basis in reality, since, in a 4 Mar. 1888 letter to Ferdinand Blumentritt, Rizal (1938b, 234–35) wrote: “Here you have your friend Rizal, a wonder to all Japanese, because he looks like a Japanese, and yet does not understand Japanese . . . Perhaps some people imagine that I am a totally Europeanized Japanese, who is contemptuous of his mother-language and

is ashamed to be taken for a Japanese. This kind of thing occurs often in the Philippines among the Spanish mestizos; why does it not also show up here, where the National Character is being exterminated?" We thank Ben Anderson for translating the passage from the original German.

- 11 *Oshi's* portrait of a laughing, playful, and teasing "Manila gentleman" goes some way to correcting the impression of Rizal's humorlessness that we tend to get from reading his letters and essays, and reminds us that the "Manila gentleman" was modeled after the man who had, after all, written *Noli me Tangere*.
- 12 He would, in his later years, devote himself to the study of Malay and Philippine languages such as Mangyan. On the semantic richness of the term "Malay," see Reid 2004.
- 13 Rizal's use of regional terms varies: apart from "the Orient" (*el Oriente*) and its delimited variant "Far East" (*el extremo Oriente*), he and his fellow Propagandists also used the French-invented term "Oceania." References to "Asia" are mainly in the adjectival form, i.e., "Asiatic" as in *el Continente asiático*. Rizal uses the term Oceania to denote islands in the Pacific Ocean with specific reference to the Malay archipelago. The historical flexibility of the boundaries set by such terms can be compared to the Japanese term *Nanyō*, which, as Mark Peattie (1984, 172) has argued, is "at once an ambiguous and a precise term," denoting specifically Micronesia, and more generally the South Pacific, South China Sea, and Southeast Asia; and the Chinese term *Nanyang*, which historically refers to the territories traversing the South China Sea (i.e., the key coastal strips of mainland Southeast Asia, Indonesia, and the Philippines) that served as major sites of prewar Chinese immigration (see the discussion by Wang 1992, 11), and is now most frequently used in Singapore and Malaysia.
- 14 The essay was published in four installments in the 30 Sept. 1889, 31 Oct. 1889, 15 Dec. 1889, and 1 Feb. 1890 issues of the Propaganda Movement's Madrid-based newspaper *La Solidaridad*.
- 15 Ben Anderson has called our attention to Rizal's use of "reversed synecdoche" (a nationalist "slide") to refer to the Philippines as "Mistress of the Orient" when it is actually the city of Manila that—until the late-eighteenth century and until the British colonized Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaya, and Burma in the nineteenth century—had a historical claim to that title.
- 16 As early as Mar. 1882, Suehiro was already calling for a merger of the Liberal (Jiyū) Party and Reform (Kaishin) Party to work toward the establishment of a constitutional polity. But in June 1883, he left the Liberal Party after opposing the editorial policy of the party newspaper *Jiyū Shimbun*, and established the Independence (Dokuritsu) Party. In 1884 Suehiro took over the helm of the *Chōya Shimbun*. In 1885 Suehiro began writing political novels; that same year, some members of his Independence Party were arrested for purchasing bombs (although he himself was not implicated).
- 17 There is no record that can tell us why Suehiro did not visit Germany—which Rizal (1938a, 117) looked upon as his "scientific homeland" (the original wording is "*meiner wissenschaftlichen Heimath*" with *wissenschaftlichen* encompassing the narrow sense of "academic" and more general sense of "systematic learning")—when some of the Meiji oligarchs did. It may have been that he failed to find an interpreter to guide him through the country, or it may have been that the German system was too "absolutist" for his taste. We thank Ben Anderson for his help with translating Rizal's German letters.
- 18 Suehiro did write about his impressions of America and England. He had sent a letter from San Francisco that was published in three installments in the *Chōya Shimbun* in April 1888, and in

June he sent a second communication that appeared in two installments. From London he sent a total of nine letters that were eventually published as newspaper articles (see the bibliography in Manabe 2006, 42–45).

- 19 Rizal's assessment of Japan's difficulties resonates with Suehiro's (and many Japanese's) perception of the Russian threat to the north and English menace to the south. In their travels together, the two men must have spent time discussing the situations of their respective countries, and just as Suehiro formed a mental picture of the Philippines through his conversations with Rizal so must Rizal have arrived at a judgment of Japan's diplomatic dilemma in his conversations with Suehiro. Rizal's pessimistic view of Japan's prospects may have been deepened by Suehiro's worries about Japan's ability to retain its independence; these anxieties were exacerbated by the British archival materials that Suehiro himself had come across while in London. Rizal's March 1888 letter to Blumentritt (quoted in note 10) already shows his awareness of Japanese anxiety about the destruction of their "National Character," an issue about which Suehiro also felt strongly.
- 20 We thank Ben Anderson for underscoring the importance of looking at historical contexts of high ideological tension, which may account for the rise and decline of Asianist networks and fantasies.
- 21 We should also keep in mind the fact that, in Suehiro and Rizal's time, the project of creating a "national language" was still in its inception stage in Meiji Japan and late Spanish colonial Philippines, so that "pu-pu-pa" communication was a defining characteristic not only of intra-Asian encounters and exchanges but also of encounters and exchanges within Japan and the Philippines.
- 22 He had come to know a number of Chinese and Koreans during his stint at Kōa Kai/Ajia Kyōkai, and had known the Korean reformist Kim Okgyun (who was also close to Fukuzawa, see note 27) well enough to ask the latter to write the calligraphy for the title cover of his bestselling *Setchūbai*.
- 23 In her exhaustive study of Suehiro's career as a writer, Manabe (2006) does not mention Suehiro's involvement in Shin'asha. She reports instead that he joined the Toho Kyōkai (Association of Eastern Countries) and Tōyō Gakkan (Oriental Academy). The academy, which opened in Shanghai in 1884 and was headed by Suehiro, aimed to train students in the Chinese and/or English languages and to produce businessmen who were proficient in international commerce. Suehiro served for only two months before being called away to take care of the *Chōya Shimbun* and the academy, which was handed over to another Japanese, closed within a month of Suehiro's departure. Many of its students went on to join the Tōa Dōbun Shoin (East Asian Common Culture Academy). Manabe (2006, 242) says that she has been unable to substantiate the connection between Ajia Kyōkai and Tōyō Gakkan.
- 24 Suehiro's outlook on China was in part shaped by his educational background. Trained in the Confucian classics, Suehiro also taught the classics at a *han kou* (clan school) in his native Uwajima. He took his pen name Tetchō (lit., "iron guts"; his real first name was Shigeyasu) from the preface of the late Tang dynasty writer Pi Rixiu's descriptive prose-poem *Taohua fu* (Peach blossom *fu*), which talks about one of the four virtuous Tang prime ministers, Song Jing: "I have admired Song Guangping as a prime minister, a man of fortitude. I suspected that such a man, with his guts of iron and heart of stone, would not have been capable of writing in a mellifluous way. But reading his *Plum Blossom fu* . . ." (quoted in Yanagida 1968, 360).
- 25 *Nanyō* was reprinted in 1967 as part of the compilation of Meiji political novels edited by Yanagida Izumi (1967). Studies of Suehiro that were published during the late Taishō and early Shōwa period were mainly concerned with Suehiro's contributions to the development of Japanese journalism.

- 26 We have been unable to find any record of sales for Suehiro's *Nanyō* novels. The only thing we can say with certainty is that, while the *Nanyō* novels did not match the sales of the bestselling *Setchūbai*, Suehiro's public stature was such that publishers were willing to print anything he wrote, including what was essentially a compilation of his notes from his travel to France (*Kōsetsu-roku*). This in itself is an indication that there was (or at least his publishers believed there was) an audience for his writings, an audience that was most likely larger than the readership commanded by the one-hit-wonder (but subsequently commercially unsuccessful) Yamada and the relatively obscure Suganama's writings on the Philippines.
- 27 The reproductions of Rizal's sketches and diaries in Lanuza and Zaide's book provide ample evidence of Rizal's talents as an artist, but Lanuza and Zaide are clearly exaggerating when they speak of Rizal's "mastery" of *sumi-e* (Japanese brush painting). A trained calligrapher would have quickly recognized that Rizal's calligraphy of "Dai Nippon koku" in kanji characters (see insert between pp. 47 and 49 of Lanuza and Zaide 1961) is clearly the work of one who is untrained in even the rudiments of either Chinese or Japanese brush techniques (let alone a master!). Rizal's crudely written "Nippon" kanji leave us doubting that the kanji that appear on the "sumi painting" alleged to have been executed by Rizal of a scene from the *kabuki* play *Sendaihagi* (ibid., insert between pp. 22 and 23) were written by him. Moreover, the kanji on that "sumi painting" suggest that the "painting" may not be a painting at all, but some kind of woodblock-print playbill distributed or bought at the kabuki theater. A careful and rigorous examination of the "painting" by qualified authorities is needed to clear up questions about its provenance.
- 28 Noted historian Greogorio Zaide had been sent by the Centennial Congress to Japan to conduct research (see Kimura 1962, 19).
- 29 We thank Ben Anderson for identifying this silence.
- 30 This watered-down Asianism is not expounded in his Japanese-language article published a year before the English article; in its place is the more conventional biogenetic notion of kinship as a basis for Asian solidarity. Here, Kimura (1961, 20) dwells on Rizal's bloodline (Chinese on his father's side, and "Tagalog and Bisayan, plus Chinese, Spanish and Japanese" on his mother's side), and allows himself to speculate on the possibility that *Nanyō*'s Japanese-mestizo hero Takayama may have been modeled on Rizal "because Tetchō was told by Rizal that he [Rizal] had Japanese blood on his mother's side."
- 31 The *Wikipedia* (2009) article on Kimura Ki states that his publications were so numerous that it is unable to provide a definitive list of his complete works.
- 32 In a letter to the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* dated 13 Apr. 2007, Roxas's son Manuel M. Roxas Jr. wrote: "As fate would have it . . . the POW camp's commanding officer, Col. Nobuhiko Jimbō, came to know my father intimately. The Japanese officer was won over by my father's character and leadership qualities. Jimbō came to the conclusion that my father would be more valuable to the Japanese alive than dead. Jimbō then took it upon himself to assiduously persuade his superiors—all the way up the chain of command—to revoke the order of execution. To Jimbō's credit, he succeeded and my father's life was spared." Roxas himself, in his letter to Chiang, wrote that "He [Jimbō] was known in the Philippines as one of the few Japanese officers with a genuine sympathy for our plight, and as one of those who did what he could, within the limits of his official station, to alleviate the brutal savagery of his superiors and subordinates. On one occasion, he risked his life by disobeying an order issued for my execution, and made a successful appeal at a later time for the rescinding of the execution order. This action was not based especially on a personal esteem for me, although he had that too, but on repugnance for the senseless cruelty and murder madness which possessed his commanders and associates" (quoted in Fajardo n.d.).
- 33 Kimura and Jimbō knew each other well. They were part of the same "Philippine" network, since both were actively involved in the Japan Rizal Association, which was established in 1970 with Kimura as vice-president and Jimbō as chairman of the board. The president was then governor Azuma Ryūtarō.
- 34 This last quotation at least has some bearing on Suehiro's real-life ideas. Suehiro, whose writings mainly addressed the "middle class" and intelligentsia, was known to have opposed universal suffrage (Iwamoto 1968, 91). But it cannot be readily applied to Rizal, whose ideas about reform and revolution are more complex than that implied by the "awake the ignorant" exhortation.
- 35 The 31 July 1895 and 15 Aug. 1896 issues of *La Solidaridad* carried a front-page article by former Spanish Minister of Overseas Territories Segismundo Moret y Prendergast on "El Japón y las Islas Filipinas" (Japan and the Philippine Islands), which anticipates that "the shock" generated by Japan's victory over Qing China, "like an electric current, will cross the Pacific territories" (*la sacudida que á modo de corriente eléctrica va á cruzar los territorios del Pacífico*) (Moret 1996, 344). In looking at the ongoing transformation in the Far East (*el extremo Oriente*), Moret explores the implications of the victory's galvanization of the region's indigenous populations, whose common origins and experience of humiliation and dejection (*abatimiento*) by the white race (*la raza caucásica*) are likely to inspire them to work for the regeneration, strengthening, and upliftment of their respective countries. Moret's understanding of the common origins and experiences of racial abjection that link the Philippines and Japan, like Rizal's, coexists alongside his notion of a "Malay race" whose glory and power (*gloria y poderío*) is likely to emerge in some areas of the region. The Sino-Japanese war was given extensive coverage by *La Solidaridad* (see the articles in vols. 6 and 7).
- 36 Grant Goodman (1970, 102) calls this the "image and the legend" of "Japan as the inspiration and stimulus of Philippine independence." Goodman (ibid., 101) is rightly critical of the "redemptorist school" in the Philippines that "saw the Japanese as fellow Asians whose geographic proximity, ethnic origins and finally industrial and military achievements made them logical helpmates in the realization of Philippine nationhood." Goodman (ibid., 110) characterizes Japanese assistance to the Philippine independence movement as lacking official sanction, and as "the brief, insignificant and somewhat ridiculous attempt of a tiny group of Japanese activists." The concern with separating official from unofficial action, however, results in too narrow a focus on figures like Hirayama Shū and Nakamura Yaroku, and overlooks the larger network that linked these men to people such as Inukai Tsuyoshi (a leading member of the opposition party and future prime minister) and Kawakami Sōroku (army chief of staff), who were not exactly insignificant figures in Japanese politics at the time. The *Nunobiki* incident was serious enough to prompt the U.S. State Department to lodge a formal protest with the Japanese government.
- 37 Dissident Filipinos had long established a base in Hong Kong owing to its proximity to the Philippines and its system of laissez-faire government. On Hong Kong as a "haven," see Del Pilar 1894/1996, 274. In his autobiographical *Waga kage* (My shadow), Umeya (1916, 10) recalls that he was introduced to Aguinaldo at the bicycle shop in the Wanchai area where Aguinaldo was residing at the time. Aguinaldo appointed Umeya (who also knew Sun Yat-sen and, through Sun, Miyazaki Tōten) as a liaison officer for the Philippine revolutionary army. Umeya saw action in the last stages of the joint Filipino-American offensive against Spanish-occupied Manila, and, when

the Filipino-American war broke out, was involved in the *Nunobiki Maru* incident. For details on Umeya's career as an activist and cinema impresario, see High n.d.

- 38 Suehiro knew Inukai from their days as members of the opposition Liberal and Reform Parties respectively. In April 1885, as part of his effort to unite the two parties, he had invited Inukai Tsuyoshi to join his newspaper *Chōya Shimbun*. But after he returned from his study tour to Japan in 1889, he found that Inukai, along with novelist Ozaki Yukio (who was also in London when Suehiro was there), had taken over the newspaper and turned it into a Reform Party organ. Suehiro then quit the newspaper to join the *Tōkyō Kōron* (Manabe 2006, 41, 45).
- 39 For details of the *Nunobiki Maru* incident, see Kimura 1981. Nakamura was a member of the House of Representatives when he was asked by Inukai to help the Philippine independence army procure weapons and ammunitions for their impending showdown with the Americans. Nakamura met with Ponce in Tokyo to coordinate the logistics of shipping these arms. Through his connections with several top officials in the bureaucracy, Nakamura was able to obtain from the Japanese army Murata rifles, bullets for Mosel rifles, and some cannons and artillery belonging to the Qing army that had been seized by the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese war. General Kawakami was instrumental in overriding objections raised by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the authorization to release these weapons. After the *Nunobiki Maru* sank, a second attempt was made to send arms to the Philippines, but the attempt was again unsuccessful. Sun then obtained permission from the Philippine army to "borrow" the arms for his own planned uprising. Inukai later accused Nakamura of malfeasance and collusion in the sale of defective weaponry to the revolutionists.
- 40 In Japan in 1900, Ponce published a series of articles on the Philippine Revolution in *Keikora Nippo* (Kaika Nippo). These articles, translated into Japanese, would appear in book form in 1901 and were subsequently translated to Chinese in 1902. See Karl 2002, 83–115 for an account of the impact of the Philippine Revolution on Chinese intellectuals. For a Chinese-language account of Sun's involvement in the purchase of arms and ammunition for the Philippine revolutionary army, see Zhou 1993.
- 41 For example, analyses of Fukuzawa's (1960) famous essay "Datsu-A Ron" (Dissociating from Asia) read the essay as Fukuzawa's response to the failure of the Kapsin Coup in Korea. (The coup d'état was launched by Enlightenment Party reformists Kim Okgyun and Pak Yonghyo—whom Ponce would come to know in Yokohama—with Japanese support. Although the coup plotters were able to occupy the palace in December 1884, the coup attempt was foiled when the Qing state intervened on behalf of the Korean Queen Min.) This reading, while generally valid, overlooks the fact that Fukuzawa's support for Korean reform and modernization was not just a matter of principle, but entailed emotional involvement through his personal interactions and relationships with the Korean exponents and participants. Fukuzawa wrote the article immediately following the execution of Kim Okgyun, who was one of his students (and Suehiro Tetchō's friend as well, see note 22). The essay's rhetorical outbursts of pessimism about the prospects for solidarity among East Asian countries were fueled by Fukuzawa's grief and anger over the death of his Korean friend. In this sense, the essay needs to be understood not only in terms of the unfolding events of the time, but also the specific personal circumstances that impelled Fukuzawa to write with such a sense of urgency and disillusionment. On the checkered career of pan-Asianism in Korea, see Schmid 2002.
- 42 For an important reminder of the limits of "globalization" as evident in the absences and silences in Ponce's overseas contacts and correspondence, see Anderson 2005, 207–9.

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