

A Trial of the History of Anthropology in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation: Focusing on Inou Kanori, Utsurikawa Nenzo, and Kanaseki Takeo

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Abstract

Let me quickly epitomize the content of this paper as a concluding remark. Inou Kanori is to be recorded as the first fieldworker in the East Asian anthropology and the first anthropologist seriously concerning the field methodology ever since the world history of anthropology. Utsurikawa Nenzo was the first Ph. D. in anthropology at Harvard University and established and managed the first department of anthropology in Japan as well as in Taiwan. Kanaseki Takeo tried to keeping academism under the military rule during the wartime by means of popularization and the hidden transcript and demonstrated full strength of professionalism to donate his family skeletons for the future research. We have enough evidences to reinvent the East Asian anthropology within the context of this area.

What we have more importantly learned one thing from our discussion of the legacy of colonialism and militarism is for the contemporary situation as we live with. I believe that there does not exist a clear cut demarcation between 'pure' and 'applied' in science and academism. Obsessive attitude of being 'pure' in academism which is unnecessary has widely been disseminated around the circle of academicians. It is certainly not helpful to understand the facts which should be the final cause in doing science. It functions sometimes a kind of obstacle to uncover the facts especially related with sensitive issues like war and working for government.

Key words: Anthropology, Inou Kanori, Kanaseki Takeo, Taiwan, Utsurikawa Nenzo

Introduction

Modernization issue in Taiwan has almost been understood in terms of paralleling to the research of the modern history of Taiwan since 1895 and anthropological researches can also be evaluated within the process of the Taiwanese modern history which started with the Japanese colonial occupation after the war between China (Qing) and Japan. This paper aims at discussing and understanding the history of

anthropological research in Taiwan since the landing of the Japanese colonialism. In other words, we can also learn about the very meaning of the perspective of anthropology and colonialism through this case within the framework of the Japanese colonialism for 50 years (May 10, 1895 - October 25, 1945).

When the WWII was over, Prof. Passin at Harvard University who worked for GHQ in Tokyo for a couple of years mentioned selectively five Japanese anthropologists and their contribution to anthropology at Taiwan (PASSIN 1947). Those are Utsurikawa Nenozo (1884-1947), Furuno Kiyoto (1899-1979), Miyamoto Nobuto (1901-1988), Okada Yuzuru (1906-1969), and Mabuchi Toichi (1909-1988). His comments were not based on his own balanced academic research but the information seemed to be personally provided by Okada Yuzuru with personal bias. It seems to be negative for me to give any credit on Passin's evaluation in terms of the history of anthropology in Taiwan because Furuno did not stay in Taiwan for a relatively long time as others did and Okada could not be recognized as an anthropologist in comparison with other persons listed.

There is an epoch making time recently for examining the history of anthropology at Taiwan since Sung Wen-shun's Japanese article on Torii Ryuzo was eventually translated into Chinese language and published at Taiwan in 1994. Since that time the old aged series of the *Reports of the Indigenous Customs in Taiwan* published by the Government-General of Taiwan in the early colonial rule were consecutively translated into Chinese language (HUANG 1999). This activity can be regarded as a timely event to reconsider the history of anthropology in Taiwan.

Huang describes the package of the accumulated data and divided them into two traditions during the Japanese colonial times. First of all, government anthropologists like Inou Kanori and Torii Ryuzo took the initiatives to collect ethnographic and historical data and published articles in the *Tokyo Journal of Anthropology* before 20th century. Secondly, the government side (especially police bureau) almost solely worked more detailed arrangement based on the former stage of accomplishment. There were certainly sometimes conflicts between scholars and government. Thirdly, the research on the indigenous people continued by scholars at Taihoku Imperial University (TIU in the following) (HUANG 1999). Huang's analysis of the division between the government-initiated and the university-initiated seems to be necessary for the next step.

It must be interested in looking carefully into the relationship between both sides in terms of scholarship as well as colonial management. Also another interesting point to me covers the wartime situation of which a cleavage between the military as the dominator and the academician as the oppressed affects the scholarship as well as the policy. This step should be my own homework in the future. One diagram and two indexes (HUANG 1999) by Huang are suitable for anyone to be discovering the best way to study the history of anthropology in Taiwan during the colonial era.

The exactly half century of the Japanese colonial occupation can be divided into briefly three stages in terms of doing anthropology: 1) Government-General of Taiwan

invited Inou Kanori as a government anthropologist so to speak and Torii Ryuzo was dispatched by Tokyo Imperial University and Tokyo Anthropological Society in order to conduct field research. Both did field research in Taiwan at first time in 1896. 2) Institute of Ethnology was established at TIU in 1928 and Prof. Utsurikawa Nenozo educated in anthropology department of Harvard University became the head of it and opened officially 'ethnography and ethnology' courses in the university. A professional journal of *Nanpo Dozoku* (南方土俗) was published under the authority of Prof. Utsurikawa beside the university context including different field specialists around Taiwan. It is important to mention it not only because the journal provided for an academic atmosphere for the intellectual communication among the colonial intelligentsia including the colonized in a broad sense but because it expanded their regional perspectives to the South East Asia and the Pacific connected obviously to the imperial expansionism. More importantly, he initiated an intensive field research to the indigenous peoples at Taiwan and published the result of it in 1935. At last, 3) Dr. Kanaseki Takeo became professor of anatomy at the faculty of medicine in TIU and worked as a physical anthropologist together with other archaeologists and ethnographers in Taiwan and did the main role of publishing a journal named *Minzoku Taiwan* (民俗台湾) to popularize ethnography and ethnology through Taiwan till the end of war.

The above mentioned three figures can be credited as representatives from each stage. In other words, I would like to deal with those three scholars (Inou Kanori, Utsurikawa Nenozo, and Kanaseki Takeo) and their contribution to the history of anthropology in Taiwan in this paper.

Three consecutive stages can well be connected and somehow overlapped in terms of facilities, personnels, and research results. This situation seems to be very important to review the history of anthropology in Taiwan because those personnels worked for doing anthropology in Taiwan at that time realized seemingly a kind of academic system to be developed in Taiwan. They knew what they were doing as well as what they had to do in a sense of scholarly way.

INOUE Kanori (1867. 5. 9 - 1925. 9. 30): First Stage

It seems to be important to acknowledge the situation of the academic field of anthropology in Japan at that time of beginning. Tokyo Anthropological Society was eventually established in 1884 and the main figure of the establishment was Tsuboi Shogoro (1863-1913) who studied under Edward Tylor in London approximately for three years. He got only interested in the term of race in the Japanese prehistory before the oversea experience and started to learn a new concept of ethnography to deal with the living people at London. Since return to Japan he did hardly experiment the concept of ethnography in practice. However, he taught about it as he realized the meaning and importance in doing anthropology for his students and lecturing to the

public and writing articles in journals and obviously used the concept of ethnography for archaeological settings to explain the Japanese prehistory including the question of origin of Japanese people. As a matter of fact, anthropology as an academic discipline was a kind of beginning stage at the end of 19th century even in Tokyo, Japan.

There were two figures under Tsuboi Shogoro. Torii Ryuzo (1870-1953) became a student of Tsuboi's laboratory before Tsuboi went to London and Inou Kanori (1867-1925) became Tsuboi's student right after Tsuboi came back to Japan from London. Both worked together for supporting their mentor and learning anthropology for themselves. More importantly, both did practice ethnographical works at Taiwan at the end of 19th century which covers the beginning stage of the Japanese anthropology by means of fieldwork. I would consider those fieldworks done by Inou Kanori (starts May, 1896) and Torii Ryuzo (starts August, 1896) even in expedition levels as a monumental epoch in the history of anthropology in both Japan and Taiwan in comparison with the western hemisphere. Both could practice doing ethnography in 1896 at Taiwan. However, there seems to be a big difference between them in terms of academic buildings. The former had heavily been influenced by Tsuboi's archaeological research in the beginning and furthermore moved around East Asia in general beyond Taiwan while the latter had rather solely Tsuboi's ethnographical interest with only focusing on Taiwan as a matter of fact.

The first ethnographer with the true meaning in Japan as well as in Taiwan was promulgated in Taiwan at 1896. His name is Inou Kanori. He did deeply think of the necessary method for doing ethnography.

Tashiro Yasusada (田代安定), a government officer and botanist trained in Russia in 1884-1885, waited for Inou Kanori's arrival to organize the Anthropological Society of Taiwan in 1895. There was another organization (Society of Native Customs in Taiwan) to concern the native peoples in Taiwan organized by the colonizers in 1898. Inou actively involved into both organizations. Prof. Hu compares two organization in terms of their purpose and research items and methods on the basis of an analytic table. The latter did more focus on education, registration, legal issues and so forth (HU 1998).

The voluminous *Reports of the Indigenous Customs in Taiwan* (Fig. 1) published by the Government-General of Taiwan "focused on anthropological research" and the preface of it stressed on the result as "anthropological". Society of Native Customs in Taiwan was organized with seven members of the publishing committee (Inou was one of them) and the organization pursued to conduct surveys and researches on the native customs in

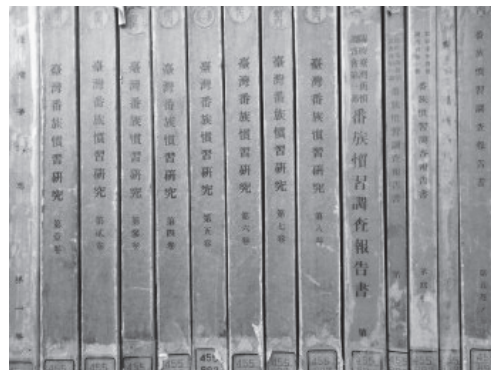


Fig. 1. Reports of the Indigenous Customs in Taiwan.

Taiwan in their regulatory charter under the law office of the Government-General of Taiwan. It was a kind of research group by means of managing the tribal groups in the mountain areas. And furthermore the first volume of *Records of the Taiwanese Customs* was printed on the 25th of January, 1901 (ANONYM 1901). I like to keep my eye on the “words of publication” employing words of “folk custom” (民俗慣習) as well as “folklore” (民俗) including a phrase of “colonial policy was successful because government asked a great scholar for conducting field research on the native customs”. And in the next stage, the Police department under the colonial government took the role of conducting researches and publishing *Documents on the Control of the Savages* (理蕃誌稿) since 1911.

Three principles for the field work was clearly formulated by Inou Kanori in this field of doing anthropology, as a matter of fact, for the first time in the world to my knowledge. They are: 1) the fieldworker must without any condition write down what he observed everyday, 2) the keen observation with sensitivity in order to accomplish the research objectivity is necessary. If it is not sufficient, the fieldworker should be accused of criminality for it. 3) the result of the keen observation should be transferred to the detailed description as a report (SAKAZAWA 1928, YE 1998, EDA 2001). Inou Kanori did also propose the five precepts for the field researchers: 1) healthy condition for the body, 2) strong patience in any condition, 3) decisive confirmation, 4) competence of the skilled language with variety, and finally 5) fully equipped with the scientific knowledges beside the three principles. Based on the three principle and five precepts, he developed a fieldwork method in terms of scientific way. They are: “1) particular objects or events in a certain situation should not be regarded as generalized ones, 2) a custom uncovered at the same time in the different three villages can be recognized as the fact that three areas have been somehow related. 3) researchers should not be easily absorbed into potential possibility for the way of thinking, 4) curious customs are to be considered as the secondary ones in ethnographical research. 5) the research result should be described in the way of induction” (INOUE 1894).

Inou seemed to read the 2nd edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology: For the use of travellers and residents in uncivilized lands* (BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE 1892). It's role was highly evaluated for developing the field methods in British Anthropology (URRY 1972). The first edition of it was published in 1874 and Edward Tylor put a great deal of his effort to make the 2nd edition as we know and a copy of this 2nd edition is at present stored in an annex of a library managed by the department of biology of Tokyo University. It was probably brought by Tsuboi Shogoro when he came back home from London in 1892.

Inou here clearly clarifies the method of ethnography including basic contents and important items to be recorded based on those two steps of principle and precept and methodology. First of all, he divided two main columns for the research direction: 1) activities and mores related with the people and 2) activities and customs related with materials (INOUE 1901). The first column includes various types of social organization, human relations including ethics and law, and finally rituals and belief systems. The

second one contains customs of clothing, food and housing as well as tools with disease and language. If we examine the whole contents of which Inou suggests to describe for ethnography, it seems to be very much similar to the contemporary idea of culture in general. He was certainly very much interested in developing the scientific methodology for doing ethnography. Inou was seriously concerning about the issue of ethnography based on his own field experiences in Japan and Taiwan far before Malinowski working at Trobriand islands while no one thought about the ethnographer's code of conduct in the world at that time. This is the reason why we have to recognize Inou Kanori's contribution to anthropology.

Inou's analysis of the indigenous knowledge on fire making explains ethnographic details covering almost all over the Taiwan as well as people's attitude against acculturation. Inou's eye could not fail to point out belief system and rituals of ancestral mythology related with the resistance against acculturation. For example, we can learn the fact that the indigenous ritual has a tendency to keep a deep connection with the indigenous method of fire making (INOUE 1906).

"Inou did the role of double standards of anthropologist as well as colonial officer for his 10 years stay in Taiwan" (HU 1998). I would partially agree with Hu's comment and like to revise her comment as Inou was employed as a colonial officer because he was well equipped with anthropological knowledges. If we remind of Evans-Pritchard's role of the colonial officer at the Nuer, it seemed be almost natural for the colonial government to hire an anthropologist for effectively governing the people at that time.

Dispatching the government anthropologists to the colonies could be an issue to be concerned here. It is no doubt that USA started to hire several anthropologists for the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the late 19th century. British government also sent anthropologists to the Southern Nigeria in 1908 and Rattray was sent to Gold Coast while Australian government sent anthropologists to Papua New Guinea in 1920 (KUPER 1983). In comparison with the above cases, Taiwan case of hiring Inou Kanori as a government anthropologist was not so late. Expansion of the Imperial territories required appropriate administration to govern and control the colonies. Anthropologists were ready to be hired for this new situation of imperialism. This is a sort of big stepping stone from the stage of Tsuboi Shogoro to that of Inou Kanori and Torii Ryuzo in the history of the Japanese anthropology.

However the empire-wide institution in Japan could not follow as the British imperialism founded International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in 1926 to share opportunity of participating missionaries, anthropologists, linguists, and colonial officers from the various countries in Europe (KUPER 1983). In Japan, the similar case was finally established in 1942 as the name of Institute of Ethnic Research (民族研究所) during the wartime. It is not difficult for us to realize the fact that it was too late to function well for the Empire's request in terms of war management.

UTSURIKAWA Nenzo (1884 - 1947. 2. 9): Second Stage

In Taiwan, Dr. Utsurikawa Nenzo (移川子之藏) was asked for establishing an institute of ethnology in TIU since 1928 and he was also dispatched to Europe as a visiting scholar for nearly 2 years before the institute started. He was previously educated in University of Chicago and earned his doctorate as an area specialist in Indonesia and Southeast Asia from anthropology department of Harvard University in 1918 and published an article related with his dissertation in *American Anthropologist* in 1921. In Taiwan, he inaugurated an academic association and actively ran seminars and published its journal called *The Ethnographical Journal of the South-East Asia, Ocenia and Taiwan (Nanpo Dozoku)*. Dr. Utsurikawa recruited Mr. Miyamoto Nobuto (宮本延人) as an assistant professor for the institute and received Mr. Mabuchi Toichi (馬淵東一) as the first student entering into the institute in 1928. The institute had passionately conducted an intensive field research funded by a former Governor-General on the native Formosan since 1931 and published one of the most promising monographs “*The Formosan Native Tribes*” (1935) ever since in Taiwan as well as in Japan.

Let me start with his doctoral dissertation to review his academic contribution. The essence of it provides us the next chart to be (I made it from reading his dissertation) (Utsurikawa 1918). He collected 865 artifacts of the decorative arts from various regions in Southeast Asia and Oceania. Those artifacts were made of textiles, embroideries, metal works, pottery, and bamboo tubes (Table 1, UTSURIKAWA 1918).

Utsurikawa seemed to like the word of "ethnography" as he used it in his doctoral dissertation at 1918 covering 245 pages including 733 plates (UTSURIKAWA 1918) with 6 maps. His research covered areas from Formosa to the South Pacific even though the title of the dissertation designated “Indonesia”. He dealt with superposition of human and animal forms in the decorative arts, mythological figure as Visnu riding on Garuda-Hindu, plastic representation of human figures as “magico-religious” (UTSURIKAWA 1918) meaning as well as “symbolic significance” of the animal figures (UTSURIKAWA 1918). Speaking for the representation and symbolism based on the decorative arts, Utsurikawa can probably be credited as the pioneer in the field of aesthetic anthropology, if you like, with symbolic approach in the whole history of world

Table 1. Analysis of the Decorative Arts*

	Realistic	Conventional	Rectilinear	Curvilinear	Combination	Total
Philippines	45	62	145	40	12	304
Celebes	9	35	67	32	10	153
Borneo	19	150	34	34	22	259
Sumatra	27	63	28	7	24	149
Total	100	310	274	113	68	865

*modified from Utsurikawa 1918.

anthropology as we have simply neglected as George Stocking does in his cumulative serial works of the history of anthropology. It is also important to notify for us the fact that Utsurikawa quoted “Prof. S. Tsuboi” (UTSURIKAWA 1918) for acknowledging the Paiwan effigy in Taiwan for his research. If Stocking did eventually read Utsurikawa’s dissertation, his eye could not escape from the name of Tsuboi Shogoro and the anthropology in Japan as well as East Asia at least in the early 20th century.

Would it be possible for me to say that Utsurikawa thought about the abstract account of time based on the ethnography of the Taiwanese indigenous people (UTSURIKAWA 1936) as Johannes Fabian has raised the same question in the period of antipositivism in doing anthropology in a sense? If yes, Utsurikawa has to be recognized as a pioneer of this flow of antipositivism in anthropological circle. We have been neglecting the fact that Utsurikawa raised the similar question based on the Taiwanese ethnography almost 50 years before Fabian’s question (FABIAN 1983). We have completely lost our super-star ancestor in anthropology in this area of East Asia as George Stocking did completely and probably without intention it in his voluminous serial works of the history of anthropology. He didn’t even mention a single word like “Japanese anthropology” or “Taiwanese anthropology” in his seminal works. This is the very crucial reason why we have systematically to review the Taiwanese anthropology now and in the future.

He tried to disseminate the idea of ethnography and ethnology as one package for the newly and at first time established academic discipline in the whole of the Imperial Japan and he furthermore employed in the next time the exactly same word of the name of the department in his article for the public (UTSURIKAWA 1930).

Let me quote four famous contemporary anthropologists in both Taiwan and Japan for making sure the fact that the Institute of Ethnology was the foundation of anthropological research in Taiwan in terms of the contemporary university system. “The course of the Institute of Ethnology must be claimed as the dawn of ethnology class in Taiwan and its laboratory and library were the foundation of rebirth of anthropology after the war” (RUEY 1972). Li Yi-yuan stressed in some degree the role of the institute of ethnology in TIU for restoring and reorganizing the new department of archaeology and anthropology at National Taiwan University after the war (LI 1993). “The former figure of the department of anthropology (NTU) was the institute of ethnology (TIU) starting with one professor and one assistant professor and it must be recognized as the supreme status in the context of anthropological research in Taiwan ever since” (SUNG 1998). “The Institute of Ethnology was founded as the first course of cultural anthropology in Japan ever since” (SUENARI 2001). There must be no objection about those four comments.

We know the fact that Utsurikawa paid a great deal of effort to conduct series of fieldworks and ethnographic collections in the following recognition by his assistant, Mr. Miyamoto. “My first mission after opening the institute was arrangement of the books and ethnographical collections by Inou Kanori. The first fieldwork with Prof. Utsurikawa started at July 15 of 1928 and went to Hwaren port (花蓮港) by the ship

named ‘Beppu Maru’ by way of Taichung (臺中) and Sou (蘇澳) and next we went to Tatsukiri (Taroko valley at present) by a car provided by the local government office. I could at first time meet a native woman with tatoos around her mouth and she greeted us with ‘good afternoon’ in Japanese” (MIYAMOTO 1983). If we remember the opening time of the institute in May 1928, the first field trip of July 1928 was considered as even too early. He was ready to go out for fieldwork as soon as he arrived at Taiwan.

“We went to Botel Tobago islands at April 1929 for a month in order to collect ethnographical materials and rent rooms at the police station to stay there for a month because of the liner’s schedule for dropping by the island once a month. Members were Prof. Utsurikawa with me as ethnographers, Mr. Okonoki (小此木) as a botanist, Mr. Kano Tadao (鹿野忠雄) as a zoologist to catch birds for producing blaffs. We exchanged the native objects with the silver coins because the Yami were very much fond of making various decorative materials with silver” (MIYAMOTO 1983). Botel Tobago is surely located right up from the Philippine archipelagoes as he utilized artifacts for his doctoral dissertation ten years before. He seemed to be well prepared for his ethnographic fieldwork based on his previous academic research and designed his theoretical framework for doing anthropology.

I am sure that the laboratory and library become the meaningful references for the future scholars’ education in National Taiwan University (Fig. 2). In this sense, Utsurikawa’s contribution to the development of anthropology in Taiwan must be claimed as much as great. I would consider that the initial foundation from his writing experience on decorative materials could be later extended to the museum stuffs of which he visited Inou Kanori’s family and received his collections for his institute and its research in the future. I like to spot another aspect of his academic contribution in terms of international cooperation as he acted as a board member of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences from July 30th to August 4th, 1934 at London.

Readership of anthropology, for example, in London School of Economics was established 1923 for specially appointing at Malinowski who started lectures 1921. And the chair for anthropology was made 1927 and Malinowski again became the professor of the position (STOCKING 1991). In comparison with this situation in British universities, the professorship in anthropology at TIU set up in 1928 means something special because Imperial University system in Japan had the similar way of management as Europe did. The



Fig. 2. Prof. Utsurikawa Nenozo with faculties at TIU campus (2nd from the left at the frontline. Courtesy by Prof. Nakao Katsumi). Faculty member wore their uniforms.

professorship in anthropology was the first one in the whole of the Imperial Japan at that time. Utsurikawa became the second professor of anthropology in the history of anthropology in Japan since Tsuboi Shogoro, the first anthropology professor at Tokyo Imperial University, died in 1913 at St. Petersburg, Russia. The difference between both is this: Tsuboi was a professor for an anthropology course while Utsurikawa held the professorship based on the department of anthropology. As a matter of fact, the Faculty meeting of the Faculty of Science decided to establish Department of Anthropology at Tokyo Imperial University at April 1927 and asked for it to the government without success for the financial shortage (IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY NEWSPAPER 1928). At the same time and roughly speaking, there was one more professor of anthropology in Asia. Dr. Sergei Mihailovich Shirokogoroff, a Russian anthropologist, became the one at Sun Yat-sen University in China in 1927.

Prof. Kokubu Naoichi (國分直一) epitomized the essence of *The Formosan Native Tribes* as “the genealogy 1) is able to explain the ancestral lines as well as kinship networks, 2) proves relations between kinship and land ownership, 3) finds the chief’s decent line and his status with social system, 4) speaks about the effective meaning of the religions like ancestor worship and shamanism, and finally 5) represents the generation to designate the oral tradition for the tribal assets intermingled history, literary, philosophy, science and religion in the nonliterate society” (KOKUBU 1988a). It is surely the paramount contribution to develop the anthropology as well as its methodology not only in Taiwan but in the world even though we compare with other works done in Europe and USA at the same time. There is recently an interesting comment on it too. “*The Formosan Native Tribes* done by the Institute of Ethnology, TIU is the top level of the academic contribution in the framework of the historical ethnology in Japan” (Fig. 3, OBAYASHI AND YAMADA 1966). I would agree with the evaluation in terms of “the top level”. However, I am not sure the work can be included “in the framework of the historical ethnology” which refers historically to the Kulturkreis Schule based at Vienna but it is certainly a product of the flow of the culture history school in USA at that time.

The research was successfully done because the Kamiyama Foundation supported for fund and therefore Mabuchi could spend for 425 days, Miyamoto for 129 days, and Utsurikawa for 88 days in the field (Utsurikawa 1935). There was an excellent atmosphere to study the native people in Taiwan because TIU was equipped with various scholars very much closely related to those anthropologists like Ogawa Naoyoshi (小川尚義, 1869-1947) and Asai Erin (浅井恵倫, 1895-1969) in the department of linguistics and Masuda Fukutaro (増田福太郎, 1903-1982) in the customary law. The linguistics department also produced a seminal work of the native languages in Taiwan as shown in the above photo.

It seems to be very natural for the contemporary anthropologist in the present Taiwan to acknowledge Utsurikawa’s academic contribution like the following commentaries. “Prof. Utsurikawa Nenozo’s unforgettable accomplishment are recorded as 1) his effort to give the best education for Mabuchi Toichi as an excellent



Fig. 3. “The Formosan Native Tribes” (two volumes) created by Utsurikawa with his associates and “The Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes” by Ogawa and Asai (the far right side volume of the right photo). Both works were funded by the Kamiyama Foundation.

social anthropologist, 2) the publication of *The Formosan Native Tribes* (1935) under the auspice of Kamiyama Foundation, 3) his leadership to organize an academic circle around the university as well as the intellectuals and to publish *The Ethnographical Journal of the South-East Asia, Ocenia and Taiwan (Nanpo Dozoku)*” (SUNG 1998).

Let me quickly sketch the museum side in Taiwan during the early colonial era. The oldest museum in Taiwan can be recorded as Tainan Education Museum founded in 1902. The Government-General’s museum was established May 24, 1908 funded by the former two Generals and organized six departments (history, ethnography, zoology, botany, geology, and mines). Ethnography department had 3 sections (Chinese, Native, and Southern) in its administrative structure. Native section included several tribal groups like Tayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsuo, Paiwan, Ami, Yami, and Mountain tribe (MUSEUM SOCIETY OF THE GOVERNMENT-GENERAL OF TAIWAN 1934). Utsurikawa had a part-time position for the managing committee of the museum and Miyamoto, his former student, worked also for the museum as an assistant for a longer time.

KANASEKI Takeo (1897-1983): Third Stage

I like to ask you to remind of the time when Kanaseki Takeo entered into Taiwan in order to catch the general atmosphere in Taiwan in terms of political situation. He returned from his 2 years stay in Europe and arrived at Taiwan in 1936 which was just before the war between China and Japan. However, the Japanese army had already moved down to southward from Manchuria and put a lot of pressure against

Kuomintang government led by Chiang Kai-shek. Both colonial governments in Korea and Taiwan were ready to support the coming war mobilized by the Japanese Kwantung army in Manchuria against both of the Nationalist and Communist China.

Taihoku Imperial University started to open the faculty of medicine in 1936 and Kanaseki was asked to be there for taking in charge of the professorship of anatomy laboratory. He himself identified as “an ethnologist” (KANASEKI 1942a) without doubt and would clearly proclaim that “ethnology is a scientific research of a local group of the peoples in terms of the natural science and biology concerned. The clear biological characters are the basis of classifying the local group with the human being. In short, the race is a biological group. ... *Kominka* (皇民化) (*I use this word even though I am not fond of it*) policy of the indigenous people in Taiwan might take the best way of the mixed blood between the native Taiwanese and Japanese and its research at present seems to be vague by means of principle and furthermore the conclusion is certainly far beyond” (KANASEKI 1941). Kanaseki had a deep agony and unpleasant attitude about the *Kominka* policy equivalent to assimilating the indigenous people into the Japanese as a matter of fact. However he seems to “be favorable of the mixed blood policy as well as eugenics” (KANASEKI 1941) which was somehow influenced by the Nazi administration in Germany at that time.

It is difficult for us to trace the evidence of one’s resisting behavior and attitude against the colonial government policy especially under the wartime in Imperial Japan. There were so many different instruments working on in order to inspect the suspicious publications and journals for censorship. If one would show his contention against the governmental policy, he had to use very special way to escape from the sensitive networks of intelligence and secret police. Kanaseki dared to practice several different tactics to handle surveillance policy and seemed to be somehow successful to have cunningly done it. Otherwise, he could have been arrested by the police and the journal should have been shut down earlier. He used several different tactics to employ to show his resistance as ‘weapons of the weak’. The evident cases that I could designate are not many.

He mobilized the column of the editorial note at the last page of each journal in order to try and elucidate his own opinion about the governmental policy. Kanaseki used the initial of his name as “T.K”, “T.K.I”, “?”, and “editor” for the author of the column. One should remind of his critical comment on the word of *Kominka* as he opened publicly he did not like it. What could you as a thoughtful and even critical intellectual do under the suppressive political situation? On the one hand, you are not supposed to break through the liminal stage indirectly by demonstrating subversive action of writing something. On the other hand, you are trying to indulge into the critical opposition against the political pressure. I would think this is contextually another way of showing the hidden transcript against the government authority. This is a way of indirect demonstration of “I am doing something against you”.

First of all, he used a tactic to quote the former high officials’ (the government-general) outdated address to become as a shield to protect the indigenous Taiwanese

customs (T.K 1942). Using the strength of the colonial government to protect himself and the journal should be recognized as his tactic to mobilize the hidden transcript. Secondly, he did overtly stress that his journal would do their best to keep the legal code of the 'Newspaper Regulation' (? 1942). This tactic might be a sort of exaggeration of showing pro-governmental attitude in terms of propaganda to cover up his original attitude against the governmental policy. It helped extend the life of the journal's publication. Thirdly, he tried to employ a method of persuasion. For example, because the idea of political domination could be accomplished from learning the native customs by way of folklore research (T.K.I 1942b), publication of <Folklore Taiwan> can be necessary even during the wartime. Furthermore, understanding Taiwanese culture must provide knowledge to rule over the oversea Chinese living in the Southeast Asia in terms of extension of Taiwan Chinese. This perspective to look more into the indigenous Taiwanese culture as well as those of Chinese people in Southeast Asia should cooperate with the Japanese expansion into Southeast Asia (T.K.I 1942a). Taiwan as a part of the Imperial Japan should not be ignored by means of understanding peoples under the occupied areas by the Japanese military (EDITOR 1943).

At least, three different tactics of the hidden transcripts can be recognized from Kanaseki's written documents in the journal. These tactics should be obviously inherited from his open critics against the word of *Kominka* which was the very most important colonial policy. A colonial intellectual with the critical viewpoint against the colonial government had to face with the domination policy and fought against the suppressive surveillance. The discourse to show the demonstrating words should not be overtly even though the colonial authority could smell the resisting movement because there was heavily functioning censorship against publications. The covert way of the hidden transcripts could even function as a role of saving face for the hegemonic power. A kind of the betwixt communication was going to be thrilled on the surface between the upperdog and the underdog in terms of political power game.

I like to compare two folklore-related journals between Taiwan and Korea within the same colonial context under the Imperial Japan. *Korean Folklore* (朝鮮民俗) initiated by Song Suk-ha (宋錫夏, a Korean) was started in 1933 and the second volume in 1934 and the third one led by Prof. Akiba Takashi (秋葉隆, a Japanese professor at Keijo Imperial University) was published in 1940 finally with termination mainly because of the shortage of materials for publication as well as political pressures under the wartime atmosphere (CHUN 1999). As we look at the wartime situation, the journal publication in the colony was neither easy nor comfortable for the leaders of the journal because both government and military had so much regulations as well as censorship against publication to control political ideology and hegemony even in the mainland Japan. One may pay attention to the fact that *Folklore Taiwan* (民俗臺灣) started July 1941 and end up with January 1945 while *Korean Folklore* closed eventually 1940 before the former even started. I like to point out Kanaseki's effort to publish *Folklore Taiwan* even under the harshest time of war and military mobilization

of the whole society.

He was asked for collecting the Ryukyuan skeletons by Prof. Adachi Buntaro (足立文太郎) to study the physical anthropology on the Ryukyu islands when he was working for his doctoral course at Kyoto Imperial University and this works became finally his doctoral dissertation published in 1930 (Fig. 4). There is an interesting comment on Kanaseki's career in the following. One student at Kyoto Imperial University wanted to take a seat in Kanaseki's class of the introduction to anthropology provided for the faculty of literature at the university without success because Kanaseki had already moved to TIU at 1936. One can notice the fact that Kanaseki was interested in the general anthropology beyond solely the physical anthropology and this trend can obviously be related with his attempt to take a leadership of organizing the Anthropological Society of Taiwan and of publishing the journal of *Folklore Taiwan* since 1941 with the Taiwanese intellectuals including the Han Chinese in various directions (KOKUBU 1988b) while another comment explains a little bit different way like this. "The journal publication of *Folklore Taiwan* starting July 1941 was initiated by Ikeda Toshio (池田敏雄) and rather focused on the Han Chinese in terms of its contents" (MIYAMOTO 1983).

It seems to be easier for us to designate the fact that Kanaseki has moved from osteology through anatomy to archaeology and finally anthropology in general including folklore as we look carefully over Kanaseki's academic careers with his publication lists. As I have suggested before, the time when Kanaseki worked for the university was not so easy because of the war. He took a leadership for publishing a journal under the troublesome atmosphere by means of material as well as political unrest and was also asked for cooperation with the military government after the

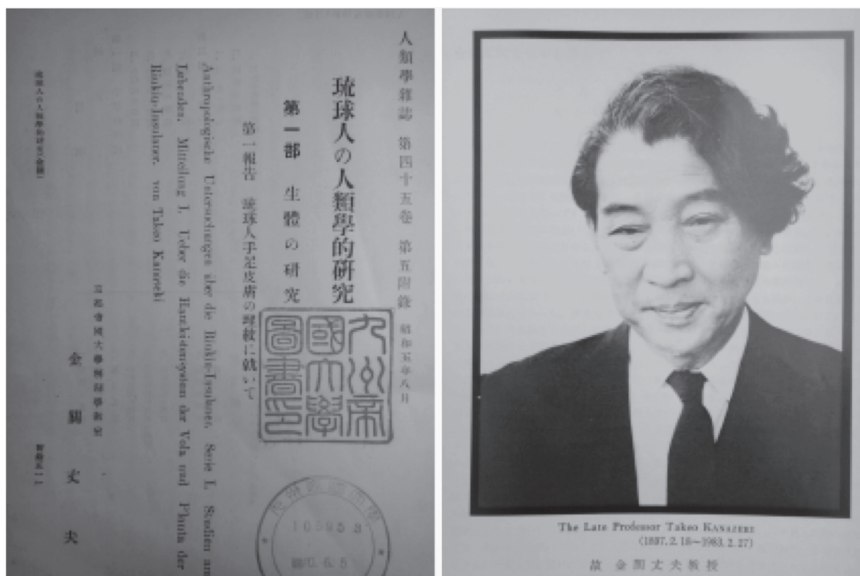


Fig. 4. Kanaseki's doctoral dissertation of physical anthropological research on the Ryukyu people (published in 1930, left) and Kanaseki Takeo.

occupation in Hainan island (海南島). One should recognize his full devotion to the academic accomplishment through publishing another journal named *Kairan Zasshi* (回覽雜誌, Circulating Journal) among colleagues in Taipei even under the collapse and chaos of the Japanese defeat of the war.

I would here like to introduce the metric and non-metric data of those skeleton samples examined by Dr. Doi Naomi at the University of the Ryukyu (Doi 1991). The reason why I quote Dr. Doi's article and repeat the story related with the Kanasekis' skeletons is to understand Kanaseki family's professionalism of devotion to academism as so far (Fig. 5).

Kanaseki Takeo's father was a technician for a construction company and his father followed Takeo to Taiwan when Takeo moved to teach at TIU in 1936. When his father was to be dead at the age of 80, he asked for his son to make himself as a research sample for son's collection. And, then, Takeo prepared for it as a research sample and finally Takeo himself did it again for the genetic study in the future when he died. And finally he wrote a short announcement in the Journal of Anatomy in Japan calling for cooperation to let his son, a physician and anatomist, to be the third research sample within the same family line in the future (KOKUBU 2006). I had luckily enough a chance to take a look into and to greet to those two sets of skeletons of the Kanasekis in the spring of 2011 at Kyushu University (Fukuoka, Japan) guided by Prof. Suenaga Seijo in the university museum.

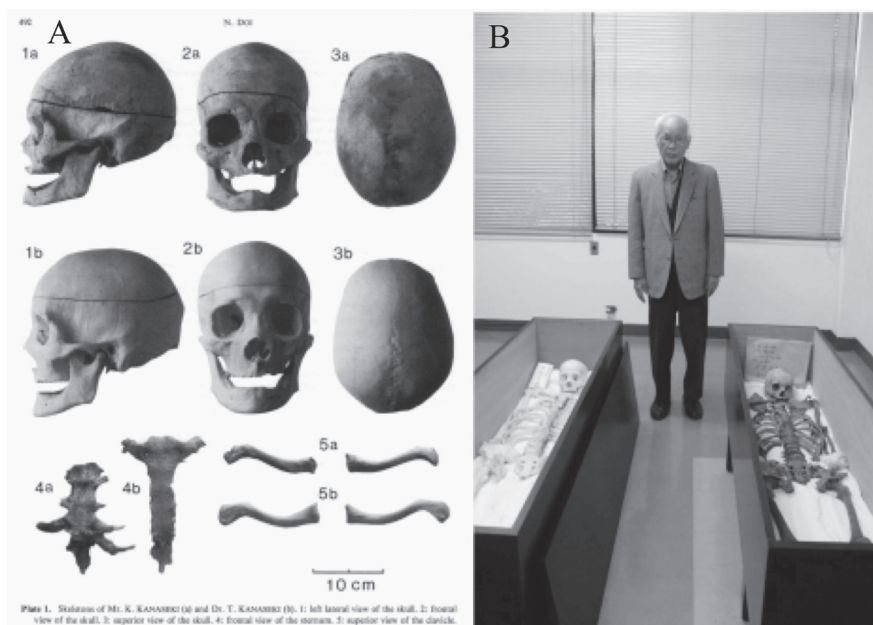


Fig. 5. (A) Kanaseki family's skeleton samples: a is father's and b is son's X. Dr. (B) Tsai Hsi-kue (Laboratory of Physical Anthropology, College of Medicine, National Taiwan University) standing between two skeletons (right: a, left: b) of the Kanasekis (photo taken at 2007 at Kyushu University Museum, Fukuoka, Japan).

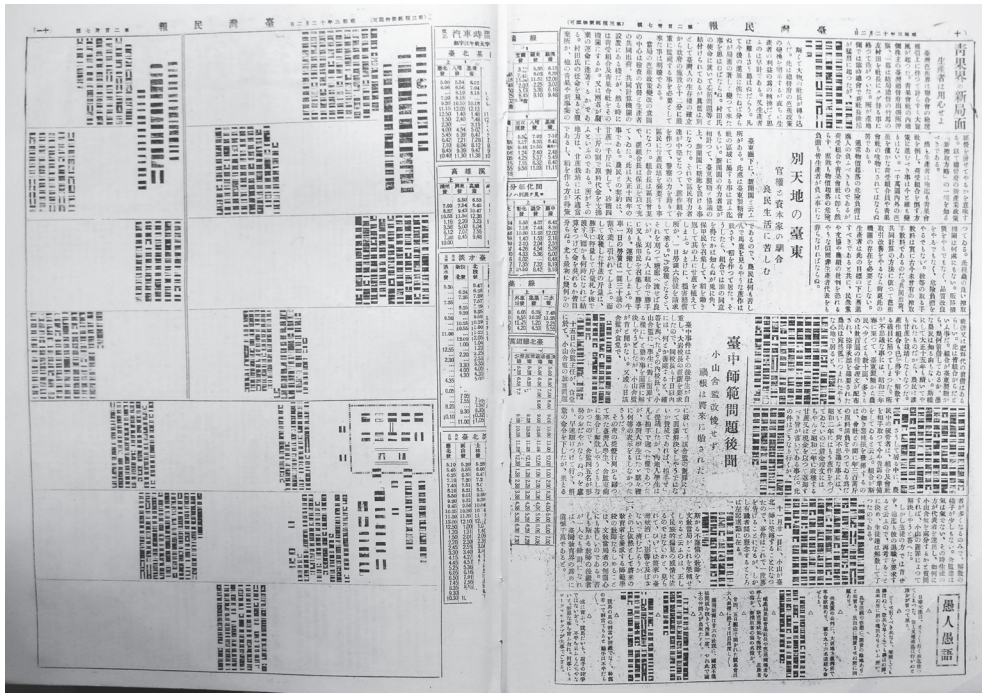


Fig. 6. A Case of the So-called 'Brick-type' Newspaper for Censorship: Taiwan People's Paper no.237 (Dec. 2, 1928).

Legacy of Colonialism and Militarism: "Hidden Transcript"

In this chapter, I like to focus on the academician's position in the middle of the total war mobilization by the Imperial Japan. They had to live among the extreme military pressure along with shortage of materials for publication and the full-swing of censorship. It seems to be not so unreasonable for us to believe that "Utsurikawa has nothing to do with the idea of nationalism at all" (KOKUBU 1988b). However it doesn't look like that because of the political arena of the time but of the person himself. I would believe that a scholar can be independent from the political atmosphere. The total war mobilized by the Japanese military would not permit the individual freedom at all. "Utsurikawa held an office at advisory position for the intelligence committee of the Government-General of Taiwan in January 1942" (KONAN NEWSPAPER COMPANY 1943). This was one aspect of the real situation at that time. Anyone under the total war situation could not escape from the sensitive and suppressive request by the government whether he behaved at his own will or not.

There was an interesting rebuttal by Prof. Kokubu Naichi to Kawamura Minato's negative comments on Kanaseki Takeo's potentially related with the Japanese imperialism represented as the Great East Asian Folklore (GEAF in the following) apparently initiated by Yanagita Kunio during the wartime (KAWAMURA 1996). Kokubu

defended for Kanaseki's attitude during the wartime not for the military but for the academism (KOKUBU 1997) as I have earlier in this paper expressed the fact that Kanaseki did not even like the word of "*Kominka*". There seems to be two different dimensions to see Kawamura's comments with Kokubu's rebuttal. One is the etic-emic issue and the other is a kind of thick description of the deeper ethnographic account of being academicians as underdogs against the military during the wartime.

Kawamura pointed at three scholars in the realm of the GEAF following Yanagita Kunio: Akiba Takashi at Keijo Imperial University (Korea), Kanaseki Takeo at Taihoku Imperial University (Taiwan), and Omachi Tokuzo (大間知篤三) at Kenkoku University (Manchuria). Kawamura put them in one bucket of imperialism for the same token and had a very schematic format of GEAF to review them in terms of the imperial university system (Kenkoku University seemed to be more serious in terms of academic freedom) controlled by the colonial government as well as the military. I put Kawamura's position as etic one against Kokubu's emic one. Kokubu shared the same experience with harsh lives during the wartime with Kanaseki. Kokubu knew the difference between Kanaseki and the other two (Akiba and Omachi) in terms of relationship with the dominator. There is certainly a big difference between both sides to my knowledge. Kokubu could defend Kanaseki with his own experience while no one could do it for the other two. Kawamura did simply set up a framework of "GAEF" and selected each one of representatives for three different colonial areas (Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan) under the Imperial Japan. He did not pay attention to look into those sensitive atmosphere around the wartime politics.

I like to start with James C. Scott's idea of the hidden transcript for discussing the second issue of which Kawamura seemed to be completely neglecting on his comments on the three scholars supposedly involved with the Japanese imperialism (SCOTT 1990). At this point, I pay more attention to Kanaseki and his works during the wartime. Kanaseki entered into Taiwan 1936 and at the exactly same time the Government-General of Taiwan proclaimed to support the 'Moving Southward' (南進) polity of the Imperial Japan which means the time to start another war. In other words, Kanaseki's life in Taiwan started with the war of invasion to China and Southeast Asia. The very nature of the imperial universities in the colonies of Korea and Taiwan should be understood for managing and controlling those colonies. TIU officially announced on July 3, 1936 their cooperation with the new policy of the Government-General of Taiwan as "Moving Southward" without surprise rhetorically meaning of invasion of the South China and the Southeast Asia. General atmosphere related with the total war in Japan started with the National Mobilization Law promulgated in 1938 and at the same time Patto Tripartito (Dreimachtepakt) among Germany, Italy, and Japan was initiated September 27, 1940. In short, the military becomes the dominator while the rest of them including academicians be the oppressed.

It seems to be possible for us to use the above framework into Scott's public transcript versus hidden transcript for our further discussion. The term public transcript describes the open, public interactions between dominators and oppressed and the term

hidden transcript for the critique of power that goes on offstage, which power holders do not see or hear. Different systems of domination, including political, economic, cultural, or religious, have aspects that are not heard that go along with their public dimensions. In order to study the systems of domination, careful attention is paid to what lies beneath the surface of evident, public behavior. In public, those that are oppressed accept their domination, but they always question their domination offstage. On the event of a publication of this “hidden transcript”, oppressed classes openly assume their speech, and become conscious of its common status.

“Institute of the Southern Humanities (Utsurikawa was the director) published an encyclopedic report titled *Food and Food Behaviors of the Peoples in the Southwestern Pacific* (1944. 11) compiling the cooperative research results among the members from faculty of literature and politics with the faculty of natural science and agriculture under the severe situation of wartime almost to the end” (KOKUBU 1988). Since the Great East Asian War (Pacific War) broke out, the Japanese military fighting against the US soldiers in the Pacific islands ordered every combat groups to keep self-support system in terms of mobilizing rations with paramilitary personnels within the battle areas. Utsurikawa’s research on compiling food resources in the Pacific was undoubtedly for a part of the military strategies for the effective combat in the battle field. Military groups had to find out appropriate food resources and food preparation method utilizing the native behavior in the concerned areas. Utsurikawa could not escape from the framework of the total mobilization by the military and his action for the research should be as a matter of fact counted as the war-related cooperation. I have, frankly speaking, no answer for this with his intention or not.

There is clearly an ambivalent evaluation to Kanaseki Takeo and his activities during the wartime. Kawamura Minato accused of his behavior as a kind of cooperation for the Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Circle (KAWAMURA 1996) while Lin Changsheng views his action for publishing *Folklore Taiwan* to be non-cooperative for the *Kominka* policy (LIN 1995). This seems to be very provocative not only because of the historical facts but because of ideological perspectives to review the historical facts. I would like to consider the issue involved here in conjunction with war cooperation.

Why do we deal with this problem of wartime and anthropology? We are not judges or prosecutors but anthropologists concerning people even in the very exceptional times like war. There is responsibility of this discipline to the people who suffered directly and/or indirectly by the military during the wartime. “Directly” means sufferings related with the victims at the front line and “indirectly” does with the home front. Scholars like Utsurikawa and Kanaseki were certainly the home front victims suffered not only for the material side of hard life but for the spiritual side. Wartime led and dictated by the military group sacrificed everyday life including academism. Academicians could not even express what they thought and had in their mind. Later on, misunderstanding based on misleading ideas has happened to the case of Kanaseki continues by the following generation like Kawamura.

At this point, cases of the active cooperations are beyond our discussion here

because it is so obvious in terms of war cooperation. For example, as Miyamoto Nobuto in Taipei at that time stressed on “the Japanese cultural traits to take a leadership in East Asia and furthermore believed in the Japanese spiritual powers to overcome the foreign stresses” (MIYAMOTO 1941). Mr. Miyamoto became an intelligence officer for Government-General (1941) and later involved into the Army Intelligence & Administration High Officer (1943. 11. 陸軍司政官) in Java. I like at this moment to analyze the general historical situation under the wartime before finalizing his activities cooperating with the military. Miyamoto could in a sense be a victim of the epoch too.

There should be three serial conditions including wartime to examine the results of the academic and academically related works done by anthropologists during the wartime. First of all, the first step looks back to the political condition behind the discipline and scholars. Otherwise, we are probably going to victimize the victims who were victimized by the military and politicians at those times. Then we can be equipped appropriate base to analyze those academic works on the basis of academic perspective. At this point, another danger could be not the standard of those days but one of present viewpoint. Then we can view their works done in those days by adapting today’s analytical perspective.

It is important to notify the fact that *Folklore Taiwan* started under the pressure of *Kominka* policy since 1939 in Taiwan. Within this context it seems to be very sensitive even to raise the question of culture and tradition speaking for Taiwan potentially realized as against *Kominka*. Government would not give permission to publish the journal in trial. Therefore the leaders including Kanaseki tried to persuade to let government accept the publication plan paralleling to the governmental policy of the ‘Moving Southward’ by using the specific phrase of “Research and Guidance of the Southern Customs” beside the title of the journal, *Folklore Taiwan*.

Utsurikawa was dispatched to Amoi University (廈門大學) located at an island named Koulang (鼓浪嶼, at present 鷺島) in the South China with Prof. Kanda Kiichiro and Mr. Miyamoto Nobuto for inspecting old books between July 24 and August 4 (OSAKA ASAHI NEWSPAPER-TAIWAN EDITION 1938, ADMINISTRATION OFFICE OF AMOI UNIVERSITY 2000) after invasion of the island by Japanese military and intentionally brought important books to the Taihoku Imperial University and those books are still kept in National Taiwan University so far.

“Anthropological study of the finger prints can be applied to figure out different races and it was done between December 1940 and January 1941 and finally four different groups of Yi (黎族), Han Chinese (漢族), Tan peoples (蠻民) and the Muslims (三亞街回教徒) are differentiated” (KANASEKI 1942c). In this report, Kanaseki used the very old concept of the scientific racism which was employed in the early stage of the Japanese anthropology. Classification as a method used to be applied to manage and govern the people at the first stage in the colony. As a matter of fact, he could do it without applying the finger prints. Why did he use such an old concept for classification? He was recruited for the field research as a package from the university

by the Navy and he had to do something with it. There are not many choices for him to conduct field research within such a short time provided by the Navy intelligence group. The complicated situation in the area for field research did almost offer the only choice of finger print survey.

Kanaseki's another report on Hainan Islands can be reviewed for a moment. Because he was recruited by the Navy, he could not help utilizing the navy's naming of the area without consideration of the indigenous one (KANASEKI 1942b). In his another report at May 1942, he made the third report titled as 'A research report of the Han Chinese and Yi people on the basis of the physical power'. What does it mean by the 'physical power' of the people? Exactly same thing was planned to conduct a field research in comparison with the Koreans and the Manchurians as the context of 'human resources (人的資源)' and 'wartime science (戦時科学)' by Prof. Imamura Yutaka (Kanaseki's friend) at Keijo Imperial University at the last moment of the wartime. Human resources were ready to be used for war involvement as a matter of fact if we look at the general atmosphere at that time.

It can be possible to set two poles against each other in the opposite direction in order to figure out the general picture of the relation between academism and war cooperation. One is the person-initiated attitude and behavior and the other is the system-initiated ones. System here means government and the military. There is a setting of continuum between two to think of the issue involved in the war cooperation by academicians including anthropologists. Oka Masao (岡 正雄) who actively worked as a leading figure at the Institute of Ethnic Relations for the military can be classified to the end of the person-initiated case and Miyamoto Nobuto praised for the military invasion within the context of the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Circle be located closely to the end of it (OKA 1943). In comparison with the above two, Kanaseki's behavior can be situated to the side of the system-initiated one because his attitude was very much reluctant to act for the *Kominka* policy run by the Government-General and Imperial Japan. By the way, I would have some reservation to determine his position because of his work on the physical power test in Hainan Islands probably related with potentiality for the military mobilization against the people. Kanaseki as an individual kept the position of the weak in front of the political power and his attitude could not be overtly as a strategy of the hidden transcript.

Can we then accuse Kanaseki of war cooperation as Kawamura Minato has aggressively done? I doubt it and, furthermore, it isn't that simple. It must be very sensitive and careful one because so much things have never been realized in detail to search for evidence related with the war and war cooperation. I like to know those detailed facts to the end. That is the final that we can do in terms of doing ethnography. Let facts speak for themselves.

Concluding Remarks: Reinventing East Asian Anthropology

It is obvious for us to say that anthropology of Taiwan was resided at the very beginning of the Japanese anthropology under the framework of colonial expansion and furthermore to recognize the fact that anthropology of Taiwan should also be considered as a beginning part of the Japanese anthropology.

Let me quickly epitomize the content of this paper as a concluding remark. Inou Kanori is to be recorded as the first fieldworker in the East Asian anthropology and the first anthropologist seriously concerning the field methodology ever since the world history of anthropology. Utsurikawa Nenozo was the first Ph.D. in anthropology ever since in East Asia and established and managed the first department of anthropology in Japan as well as in Taiwan. Kanaseki Takeo tried to keep academism even under the military rule during the wartime by means of popularization of the Taiwanese customs and the hidden transcript against censorship of the intelligence and demonstrated full strength of professionalism to donate his family skeletons for the future research. We have enough evidences to reinvent the East Asian anthropology within the context of this area.

Of course, there is a critical comment against those ethnographies under the colonial era. A descendant of the indigenous people with memories from the family line criticized Torii Ryuzo's description as a simple level of classification (SUN 1994). Fieldwork involves engagement between ethnographer and subject. This critical comment of reflexivity issue should deep-heartedly be received and repeatedly considered even in the contemporary situation in writing cultures and doing ethnography at present. How could those former ethnographies be read and accepted to the indigenous people whom ethnographers studied and wrote down before? Reflexivity by the people themselves! This step can be a key issue for promoting anthropology in terms of future development in this discipline.

What we have more importantly learned one thing from our discussion of the legacy of colonialism and militarism is for the contemporary situation as we live with. I believe that there does not exist a clear cut demarcation between 'pure' and 'applied' in science and academism. Obsessive attitude of being 'pure' in academism which is unnecessary has widely been disseminated around the circle of academicians. It is certainly not helpful to understand the facts which should be the final cause in doing science. It functions sometimes a kind of obstacle to uncover the facts especially related with sensitive issues like war and working for government as Miyamoto Nobuto did. We need government anthropologists as well as military anthropologists because we need to know those social phenomena as well. Someone has actively to work for and with government as well as military which have important roles of our society. Ethical issues related with those are different stories beyond this paper.

Researchers who are interested in the history of anthropology and especially in the framework of wartime controlled by the military should be carefully paying attention to

the different systems of the domination. How the oppressed used the public transcript in order to keep and manage their hidden transcript under political pressure with censorship? Otherwise, it could possibly victimize the victims who were the oppressed.

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