Anthropologies of Enthusiasm:

Charlotte Salwey, Shinji Ishii, and Japanese Colonialism in Formosa circa 1913-1917 *

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This paper offers a brief case of anthropology in the service of a major colonial project. We argue that historians and cultural theorists have perhaps underestimated the manner in which the stipulated character of indigenous peoples on the edge of empire could be engineered to further the cause of such empire. In this case two observers, one Japanese the other British, both more or less in the guise of anthropologists, brought their foreign gaze to the interactive frontier of Han civilization and indigenous life in early 20th century Taiwan. In London, at the heart of the Western imperial enterprise, both used their observations to undermine any claims of the Chinese to legitimate rule over the indigenous east of Taiwan. Both, but in quite different ways, saw the treatment of aboriginal groups as a test case for Japanese colonialism—the one as an ameliorative process, the other as an example of Darwinian competition for resources among unequal ethnologies. By constructing a new, more clearly contested civilization frontier in Taiwan, Japanese colonialism provided measures of the successful pursuit of human progress.

Keywords: Colonialism, Orientalism, Taiwan, indigenous, Ainu.

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I. Introduction

There is probably no modern nation state that has not at some time used the history of its indigenous minorities for its own good or bad purposes. Much public history throughout the world is made up of claims and stories concerning indigenous peoples and how such history may be used to represent the length of time the presiding rule has been in place, or how aspects of indigenous culture substantiate claims of authorities to represent the nation as a whole, especially against the counter-claims of those who would oust those authorities. Thus there can be little doubt of the strategic place indigenous history holds in Taiwan's contemporary politics. Debate tends to arise around two issues. First, can the origins of Taiwanese indigenous groups be strictly labelled non-Chinese, a point which, if convincingly demonstrated, would provide powerful, emotive evidence of the separated-ness of Taiwan from mainland China (Stainton 1999: 27-44). Second, this argument gains even greater strength if it can be shown that the majority Chinese of present Taiwanese society are the heirs of Chinese who lived in some degree of harmony and cultural cognizance of their indigenous brethren, especially those who traditionally were located in the far eastern parts of the island (see below and Bosco 2004: 208-239; Tsu 1999: 197-228).

I propose here a slightly different tack. This paper takes up the origins of predominantly *foreign* attitudes to Taiwanese indigenes at a time of extreme tension and sensitivity, before the outbreak of World War I, when Japanese authorities were claiming a civilizing mission throughout East Asia. I compare the claims and judgments of two very different representatives of two very different foreign nations in the years 1913-1917, Englishwoman Charlotte Maria (Birch) Salwey and her Japanese friend, Shinji Ishii, a fellow of the Royal (UK) Anthropological Institute. Both made decisive judgments about Japanese colonialism stemming from their cultural claims concerning Taiwanese indigenous peoples, and both did so in London, the heart of the Western imperial project. How did a foreign gaze aid a major colonial project by creating a particular view of indigenous history and culture? Why should gazing at the indigenous peoples in colonial Taiwan necessarily conclude with condemnations of Chinese culture?

II. The Intellectual and Cultural Context

Salwey wore her anthropology lightly and paraded her enthusiasms most brightly. Here was an enthusiastic Britisher who could claim strong background and training in archaeology and anthropology, but who embedded herself in the Japanese colonial project without hesitation (Salwey 1912: 308-314; Salwey 1900: 154-167). Her view of Japan seems to have constrained her view of indigenous Taiwan, in contrast to Ishii, who took both a constructive and sceptical position on Japanese colonialism as it invaded the locations and the cultures of indigenous peoples.

Salwey and her energetic publishers emphasized her anthropological credentials as a member of the Asiatic Society of Japan; the Japan Society, London; and so on, and most of her 1913 book *The Island Dependencies of Japan* had been published as a series of articles in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Her Western views on Formosa were likely to have some impact in Europe and be seen as a product of "oriental" experience and expertise. There can be little doubt about Salwey's commitment to the civilizing functions of Japanese colonial culture, nor of her use of popular academic discourse to promote her enthusiasms. Thus her early work, *Fans of Japan* (Salwey 1894), focused on the folklore around fans in a popularizing manner, and was reviewed generously in Britain at the time as "an exhaustive study," "marked by adequate research," and "despite its importance as a monograph, it is not restricted to dry details" (Art Journal, 16 July 1895; Studio, 10 August 1895). Furthermore, Salwey's academic credentials were rooted in her family reputation, as when the *Observer* reviewer noted, "Mrs Salwey, as one would expect of the daughter of Dr. Samuel Birch, goes with great zeal into the archaeology of her subject" (Observer, 11 July, 1895). Samuel Birch (1813-1885), archaeologist, philologist and numismatist, was blessed, as *The Times* newspaper put it, with three boys "and a large family of daughters," one of whom was Charlotte (The Times 29 December 1885: 7). *Fans of Japan*, written from the comforts of 3 Berkeley Place, Wimbledon, in mid-1893, combined artistic and anthropological modes of presentation with clear devotion to Japanese culture and history. In this work she claimed that her father very much influenced the tastes and education of each of his children. Importantly, Dr Samuel Birch became a renowned sinologist, studying Chinese long before his turn toward Biblical archaeology and Egyptology (Birch 1886: 7-10). Like many of that era, Birch was an armchair archaeologist and anthropologist, who saw his privileged British Museum post as "the true and indispensable home of the proficient master." Not given to travelling or visiting key sites, Birch stood as the first president of

the Society of Biblical Archaeology in 1870, and organised and was president of the 1874 International Congress of Orientalists in London.[1]

Salwey came to her themes with claims of expertise that arose directly from this prestigious family background. At the International Congress of Orientalists organized and presided over by her father, Salwey became involved with a London literary society of some two hundred Japanese students that was loosely attached to the Congress. She describes what seems to be her initial awakening to the early Japanese culture of colonialism: "Subjects of interest were discussed, general and political. On the particular evening that I was able to attend, the subject of the exchange for the southern half of Saghalien was brought forward. The meeting was very animated. Everyone present seemed to find it necessary to make remarks. Some grew very grave over the exchange. It was soon evident the arrangement entered into between the adjacent countries was not giving universal satisfaction" (Salwey 1913: 117).[2]

By 1911 she was writing on the Ainu of Japan as an authority with a seemingly extensive experience, and in her book of 1913 she showed an extremely subjective and normative approach, with strong social Darwinist tendencies in her claims that the "Ainu from all former traditions has descended in the scale of humanity. He would prefer to be left alone with little of this world's goods, to dwindle out as a race forgotten, if fate had so decreed, by the rest of mankind" (Salwey 1913: 110; Salwey 1911: 315-331). Aboriginality was not meant to survive the inevitable modernity carried in by "enterprising invaders, who have won far more than the scanty possessions of the aborigines and their mean homes, by the flash of the sword and their destructive guns," since the only elements holding back that modernity were primitive "totems to ward off evil, the preservation and worship of the bear, and other beliefs concerning the power that lies hidden in Nature,

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1 Birch entered employment at the BM in 1834 where he became Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities. His work was close to that of Baron Ernest de Bunsen (1819–1903) of Prussia, and the writer of his obituary in the *Saturday Review* (2 January, 1886: 11) makes the point that it was he who edited and made much more reliable and precise the quite faulty works of Bunsen and Wilkinson (Sir John Gardner 1797–1875, explorer and Egyptologist) e.g., his standard *Mannners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians* 1837. According to the well-researched study of Budge and Douglas, Birch learnt both his Chinese and Egyptian languages privately in the period 1831–1834, after leaving Merchant Taylors' School; the *Dictionary of National Biography* entry has him learning Chinese earlier at the school. The former seems more likely, and this precocity suggests a tremendous verve and energy for a scholar commonly branded as dry as dust.

2 The southern part of Karafuto, or Saghalien Island, had belonged to Japan since ancient times, but in 1875 Japan ceded her part to Russia in exchange for the Kurile Islands (Chishima), retaking it after the 1905 Russo-Japanese war.

the only incentives to stimulate moral obligations" (Salwey 1913: 111). Never in Salwey do we find the interaction of Japanese and indigenous people as truly problematic: "A Japanese in their midst fills the Ainus with fear and trembling" and there was "not that glitter and intellectual light in the orb of the Ainu that is so very pronounced in the eyes of the Japanese" (Salwey 1913: 121). Note the anthropology of the body here—where the Japanese have eyes (as in "for your eyes only" or "look me in the eye"), the Ainu have merely orbs (objects shaped like balls). And that was how it should be. Again, collisions between the environment, indigenous folk, and the Japanese colonist were similarly anthropologically unproblematic. Thus on Karafuto, the subject of her earliest discussions in 1874, the superabundance of forestry "has made the tasks of thinning and clearing trees far too colossal an undertaking for the aborigines. The work will require the strength of the energetic Japanese, who will scarcely be able to carry out their ambitions without the aid of mechanical appliances, trolley-lines, and conveyances suitable for carting the huge monarchs of the earth to their ultimate destination—namely, to some far distant part of the Mother country" (Salwey 1913: 122). This lack of sentiment from an anthropologist who in her other guise as poet and muse had written so profoundly of forests in "purely mystical" terms and allegories that "leave on the mind a strange impression of vividness, and of extraordinary charm" (Manchester Courier 1906: 1076; Asiatic Quarterly Review 1907: 217-18). As an enthusiast of all things Japanese, Salwey could dismiss the plight of both indigenous people and their forests, as a poet she took up "the message of a mother, treading softly down the ways of the world, communing with the big, strong creatures of wealth, and storm, and warfare" (Salwey 1909). Against the requirements of Japanese colonialism any other sentiments could hardly be raised. Nature and its indigenous inhabitants would be righteously transgressed in Japan's civilising mission, for, as "comforts multiply and are included in commercial importations, warm wool clothing, sustaining nourishment, surgical appliances, a wider pharmacy, also better-built huts and houses, [all these] will go a great way to effect a civilization that has become absolutely necessary if Karafuto is to be useful to the Japanese" (Salwey 1913: 126).

III. Enthusiasms I: The Nature of Early Japanese Colonialism

But, of course, the larger context was Japan's colonialism in East Asia. The Meiji era industrialization after 1868 accelerated Japan's interest in colonies, and particularly the potentially rich pickings in Taiwan, which had so often been neglected by Chinese imperial authorities (Inkster 2001: 29-42, 116-128). With the clandestine encouragement

of American advisors, in 1874 the Japanese sent an expedition under Saigo Tsugumichi in response to an attack on shipwrecked sailors on the east coast of the island (Eskildsen 2005: 181-1850; Le Gendre 1874). Although the Japanese expedition eventually withdrew, Chinese authorities reacted by increasing their maritime defenses and encouraging greater Chinese settlement in the east coast mountain areas. After the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95, Formosa formally became a Japanese possession, with three departments and three prefectures (Papinot 1910: 627). From that point onwards a prime concern of Japan was to proclaim its civilizing mission in East Asia and to undermine the rule, the culture, and the character of former Chinese suzerainty. Thus by 1884 a leading Japanese newspaper claimed that no real coalition between China and Japan could ever be on balanced terms, for how could equality be assumed between two such different peoples, where "inactivity and procrastination are the fundamental principles of Chinese administration" (Hochi Shimbun, 26 July 1884). More specifically, an immediate goal of the Japanese administration in Formosa was to undermine the history of Chinese rule there; this was a central feature of a colonial project designed to denigrate and dismiss Chinese culture and to spread stories of Chinese arrogance, corruption, cruelty, backwardness and inefficiency.

An early and influential example of this was the work of Takekoshi Yosaburo (1865–1950), *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, written in 1905. Possibly due to the book's success as a marker of the new Japan, by 1906 Takekoshi, still only in his mid-thirties, had become a prominent public figure in Japan and remained so to 1915 when he lost his position in the general election of that year.[3] The historical sections of his 1905 book detail the struggles between Chinese and aboriginals on the island, arising principally because the Chinese authorities had "left the government of Formosa in the hands of irresponsible mandarins" who were even "more careless and irresponsible than on the mainland." Newcomer mainlanders "plundered the native tribes, stealing their lands, wasting their farms, and cheating them out of their crops" (Takekoshi 1907: v-vi, 74). Successive Chinese elites made little effort to control the plundering by new settlers, and no attempts were made to "civilize the savages, but, on the contrary, they were continually maltreated and oppressed, until at last they came to look upon all other members of the human race as their natural enemies, and to eye every one outside their own particular tribe with murderous intent." So here we have what we might call

3 Later Takekoshi was encouraged to repeat this success with a more general economic history of Japan. This project emerged from deliberations amongst members of the Kojunsha Club in Tokyo in June 1915 where those present included Baron Goto. The subsequent three-volume publication took five years to complete.

an emotive political anthropology that branded the every "savage" propensity of the indigenous people as having been exacerbated, and even created, by earlier Chinese cultural and political authority. In this Japanese version of Taiwanese history, Taiwanese relations with the world had been destroyed by Chinese disdain; with the circulation of stories of shipwrecked Westerners who were "at once captured, robbed of everything they had saved, and generally murdered by their captors," Taiwan had become notorious "all through the mercantile world" as a region of pitiless cruelty (Takekoshi 1907:75). The so-called "raw" savagery of the Formosan east was thus characterized as a carelessly constructed artefact of Chinese civilization.

It followed, then, that the reform attempts of the Japanese colonial system should address the eastern problem created by a Han population that resided on the island's west, and that the problems of the new regime could not be simply or directly laid at the door of indigenous Taiwan. In this vision the savages were in fact educable and amenable to civilized change, now that they had been rescued from the mean authority of the mainland. Thus early plans were laid for schooling, civil policing, forest development and commercialisation of the eastern side of the island (Takekoshi 1907: 210-214). In 1896 and 1900 the Japanese colonial administration issued orders designed to protect indigenous communities from the Chinese population, and in an effort to maintain peace, old borders (established formally by the Chinese from 1722 but existing informally from at least the time of the Dutch) were extended and made official. The mission of Eastern civilization then got underway: "The economic development of the island cannot be stopped for ever on account of a few thousand savages." Behind savage lines were the riches of timber, gold, iron, coal, sulphur, and kerosene, and the advance of Japanese civilization depended on their effective exploitation and the bringing in of "savages" from "outside the pale of civilization" (Takekoshi 1907: 212). By targeting the long-term negative effects of the Chinese, Japan's colonial project could define the indigenous population as naturally varied and complex, tractable for civilization under thoughtful Japanese tutorship. Nuances included differentiation among the eastern tribes, but also the clear distinctions between the eastern groups and the "cooked" or lowland Pepohoans who had long been in contact and interaction with the Chinese. But here again, the Chinese squandered the cultural potential of the indigenes, and these lowland groups "have gradually been driven away and exterminated, and the poor remnants are so advanced in civilization as to be hardly distinguishable from the Chinese." In summary, no matter what their designation, it could only be said that "since their contact with the Formosan Chinese [the indigenous Taiwanese] have undergone a lamentable mental and moral deterioration" (Takekoshi 1907: 226-228).

This significant aspect of the colonial project received enthusiastic support from Charlotte Maria Salwey, who believed fully in the Meiji as an era of enlightenment. In this new empire, the neighboring islands must be "the courtiers around Japan, owning her sovereignty, lying suppliant at her feet, guarding her ancient seaboard, waiting for her smile and her approval"; they should yield to the mother country "their gold and their silver, their precious oils and spices, their timber and priceless ores, for they are part of the plan of Creation, ordained for service as well as for the pride of the possessors" (Salwey 1913: 4, 9-10). Like Takekoshi, Salwey believed in the amiability and potential of the new empire's indigenous peoples under "able administration" and in particular under the power and example of Japanese "pathfinders" whose self-sacrifice had already "made the Era of Enlightenment the admiration of the world" (Salwey 1913: 4, 9-12). Colonialism would extend enlightenment to the aboriginal populations in Formosa, which project, if it is to be "thorough and sure, will require a great deal of supervision." The guard-line frontier, known to Japanese as the Aiyu-san, was defended as the most appropriate means of containing the tribes and protecting Japanese troops. The frontier of colonialism was not characterized as invasion, but as progressive "expansion." The frontier moved eastward "to acquire more valuable land and forestry. The exploration is accompanied with many risks … valuable lives are in constant jeopardy. Each foot of ground has to be contested" (Salwey 1913: 19). In God's World as defined by Salwey, value is determined by Japanese commerce, risks are those taken by Japanese bodies, lives are of concern only when Japanese, the contest with nature is fought by the Japanese alone.

IV. Formosa: Indigenous and Han Populations

Both observers considered here shared a deep antagonism towards the Chinese. Ishii deplored the Chinese, "whose racial energy as suckers of the soil is famous." They "denuded the mountain districts of their home land" and then proceeded to clear Formosan forests "and in the course of a few years not even a bush or shrub remained." Chinese agents acquired and ruined indigenous territories through agreements reached with headmen over land, through feasts and celebrations during which "innocent savages" signed worthless compacts. At times they used violence or threats, at others they resorted to marriage. The Chinese undertook marriages to a "number of savage wives from different tribes, with more than one object in view," for such marriages protected the Chinese male from direct retribution and gave him easy access to the interior. The property of each wife could be absorbed into his own, and "the woman savage as a tiller of the soil is more useful to him than her small-footed Chinese sisters" (Ishii 1913: 78).

This stood in stark contrast to the earlier period of Dutch colonization. The Dutch could not be in any way compared to the Chinese, for according to Ishii, "They adopted a wise and humane method; they did not in any case attempt to subjugate the natives by means of force, but first studied their character, and tried gradually to uplift their intelligence by means of education" (Ishii 1916: 5).

Ishii identified easy access to lowlands or valleys as the enemy of indigenous communities; the mountains, rivers, and forests were their true defenses. He noted that when topography was to the advantage of the savage, the results could be startling—thus the disastrous Chinese east coast expedition of 1889 "in which nearly 1,000 soldiers were killed by the counter attacks of the savages."[4] Even small tribes in high mountain districts could survive Chinese aggression.

More importantly, Ishii repeats without any skepticism the claims of Mackay (Mackay 1896: 276) and Davidson (Davidson 1903: 255) that in "the outbreak of 1891, savage flesh was brought in—in baskets—the same as pork, and sold in the open markets of Tokoham (Taikekan) before the eyes of all, foreigners included." He does so to reduce the moral status of the Chinese to a level well below that of any of the Taiwanese indigenous groups or tribes.[5] Ishii also used the story to exhibit the merely partial rationality of the Chinese, who "believed that the human flesh is a panacea for malarial and other endemic fevers, and that by drinking the soup of savage flesh they attained two ends—namely, revenge for their ancestors and nourishment for their bodies." Because stories of consuming aboriginal flesh were credited even to Amoy as well as "the small Chinese villages near the border," Ishii is able to use this account as an outright condemnation of Chinese culture and a counter-example to the ways of the indigenes: "The savages, bad as they may be, are not cannibals, and though the victim's head is severed from the body, it is carried as a certificate of the warrior's prowess, and the body remains untouched where it falls" (Ishii 1913: 81). Of course, Salwey repeats the Davidson story with relish and more generally contrasts the Chinese with the aboriginal, where the former "are certainly the more barbaric when their passions are un-curbed" (Salwey

4 It might be recalled that the word "savage" in English derives roughly from "woodlander."

5 It must be emphasised that this claim was made on several occasions, usually relating to the execution and subsequent eating of "rebels and hardened malefactors," a charge repeated into the 1920s by McGovern and Rutter (McGovern, 1922: 10 and Rutter, 1923: 224-5). This puts Salwey in the pro-colonial tradition of flogging sensational cultural/anthropological claims made by outsiders. It might be added that the early claim by Mackay is of some importance since he is considered one of the earliest missionary ethnologists, and one of the first to adapt the Latin alphabet to rendering Taiwanese language phonetically.

1913: 22-23). Her Taiwanese history is in complete accord with that of Takekoshi—it was an island sacrificed to Chinese tyranny, where those "entrusted with the work of civilising in the past in no way contributed to the credit of the undertaking" (Salwey 1913: 44).

In Ishii's assessment, the Taiwanese aboriginal peoples were in several respects admirable compared to the Chinese: "We found in them a formidable foe. They were not only a courageous people, but armed to the teeth with sharp-curved knives and excellent modern rifles' (Ishii 1913: 81). Although Ishii knew the Atayal people of the northeast to be inimical to Japanese colonialism, he also saw much in them that was by no means savage. His more reflective approach would be acknowledged later by such British anthropologists as Janet Montgomery McGovern and Robert R. Marett (McGovern 1922: 30, 100; Marett 1932: 77). He emphasized their forms of governance, common ownership of fields and hunting grounds, forms of succession, and moral order. For example, the "orders of chiefs and elders are regarded as sacred by the members of the community, which, together with a code of strict sexual morality, is the finest trait attributed to this tribe. It is also a duty of the chief and village elders to infuse the spirit of manliness and courage into the younger generation" (Ishii 1913: 89). Chiefs organize and end wars (including those against the Japanese) with solemnity and some nobility. Such a chief is "usually a good diplomat, and an eloquent speaker ... a series of interviews and negotiations is thus required before terms can be concluded." It seems clear, then, that the frontiers of Japanese colonialism were seen as problematic and potentially negotiable.

In contrast, Salwey describes the Atayal as "by far the most formidable of any of the inhabitants ... separated by their atrocious deeds from other tribes." Here there is little talk of nobility and governance but rather lengthy passages on tattooing as disfigurement, the removal of teeth, and the "blood-thirsty proclivities of the aborigines, who made the mountain retreats their natural fortresses." Some groups are seen as "improved," mostly in terms of their use of new imported "implements," but this is itself judged as providing "every hope of them becoming of great service to their present rulers" (Salwey 1913: 25). Where Ishii can appreciate the local context, Salwey sees only the inevitable unrolling of Japanese colonialism, the need to "gain access to the inner shrine of the casket, that will enable the adventuresome Japanese to reap the reward of his enterprise." Against the brave Japanese soldier she sees only the betel-nut chewing savage of "fierce and unpleasant appearance" (Salwey 1913: 27, 29).

The contrasting anthropology of Salwey and Ishii is no better shown than in their respective treatments of Tayal headhunting. For Salwey headhunting was merely "atrocious," "murderous," and "dastardly." She wrote, "Unless the suppression of such a custom is undertaken, thoroughly dealt with, and eradicated, it will be impossible to alter the existing barbaric state of Taiwan later, when the Beautiful Island becomes in other

respects an ocean colony of great promise" (Salwey 1913: 18). Headhunting was savagely irrational and a principal barrier on the creeping frontier of true civilization.

By contrast, in a 1916 lecture on Formosa delivered to the China Society at Caxton Hall, London, Ishii explained the social as well as the religious purposes of headhunting, showing the importance of village groups, the integrity of which required "the fighting strength of the whole community." He pointed out that headhunting was analogous to the historical *Japanese* practice of offering an enemy's head to a general on horseback (Ishii 1916: 13-17).[6] In a subsequent talk on the Tayal delivered to members of the Folklore Society of London in 1917, Ishii clearly explained that the cultural origins of headhunting were not merely ancient or attached to a simple popular myth or folk-tale, but were rather part of a developed religious conception of the relations between man, body, and spirit.[7] The movement of the spirit of the newly dead to the place of ancestral spirits depended on his earlier success as a headhunter. This was a cardinal notion that grew out of the complex relations between headhunting, ancestral spirits, natural calamities, and bodily functions during the earthly life of the body. Headhunting also served to conjoin the religious life with Tayal social regulations. For instance, in some villages, the ceremonial group, which was responsible for performing the rituals of sowing, harvest and ancestor worship, would require the heads of enemies on the first feast day of their sowing ceremony (Ishii 1917: 117-132).

Of Taiwan's indigenes more generally, Salway fails to recognize a scope for change towards civilization, and this is in clear distinction from Ishii's views. These "fierce men resent change of any kind; to them it is an impossible situation. They are conservative to the core, and to the hereditary code that has governed their lives for centuries ... and are possessed of that wonderful contempt for humanity which is almost uneradicable in the savage breast" (Salwey 1913: 28)

6 Interestingly, Ishii also drew a parallel between Taiwanese headhunters and the medieval Europeans, noting that in both cases sneezing was seen as a dangerous window for the entry of spirits.

7 At the time he was writing, the most current folktale explaining headhunting tied it to an ancient territorial and demographic myth that accentuated the dichotomy between the western and eastern tribes.

V. Enthusiasms II: The Character of Civilization

Ishii views the Taiwanese indigenous peoples as similar to those elsewhere and ultimately amenable to the persuasive powers of civilization's infrastructures. Thus he advocated the importance of establishing "good thoroughfares in the northern district inhabited by the headhunters." He argued that this would function "as an entering wedge, for civilizing the wild has already proved successful among hill tribes in the Philippines, and among jungle people in British India" (Ishii 1913: 85-6). But for the indigenous, the character of civilization was perhaps better epitomized in the guard-line (the Japanese Aiyu-sen), and Ishii saw that line as both a means of control and also of amelioration and persuasion and compromise. More than anyone else writing at that time, Ishii seems to have visualised the guard-line as a *precinct of both information processing and cultural negotiation*. He describes the 1,700 stations along the 300-mile line, electrically charged wiring, communication systems, machine guns and encampments.

But he goes beyond this to begin an ethnography of the large stations "to which the bartering-place of the savages is attached" and which "represent a sort of village fair when peace temporarily prevails." He describes the arrival of savage families with goods to trade—pith and China grasses, yams and taros, deer horns and skins—which they exchange for salt, matches, cotton stuffs and red woollen yarn. Having come some distance, such families will pass the night in huts near the station proper, where they "squat round a fire of smouldering branches, some cooking their own food, while others will dissipate in rice-wine which they have just got by exchange, merry talking being universal." Whilst both sides remain wary of each other's movements and intentions, in these areas more permanent arrangements also took shape. After surrendering their guns, indigenous groups were allowed to settle just inside the guard-line. In these "new settlements" even the ferocious Atayal could be "trained in the various arts of life ... schools are also established for their children, and many of the graduates are working at present as assistants in these schools, or have joined the police force." It is perhaps appropriate to offer a fuller example describing the interactions of colonialists and indigenous people across the boundaries of the guard-line:

> In many instances, immediately after their surrender, the wild people are brought down to Taihoku, the capital of the island, where they will spend several days in sightseeing, and studying many things that they behold for the first time in their lives. On several occasions a group of them, consisting of twenty to fifty people from different tribes, was sent to Japan on an ocean steamer, the voyage occupying

> five days. These trips are no doubt of great benefit in opening up the minds of the wild people. Besides, on their return to their respective homes in the hills, they may be able to spread among the villagers the knowledge they have acquired during their trip. (Ishii 1913: 87, 90-91)

Although Ishii hereby demonstrates his belief in the malleability of savage societies, that "opening up the minds" of the indigenes would lead to an extension of civilization rather than merely a reduction of indigenous qualities and numbers, Salwey was far less sympathetic in her analysis. She defined the guard-line entirely in terms of separation and control, confining the indigenes "in territorial spaces sufficient for their habitation," where they would remain an isolated and disintegrated species (Salwey 1913: 16-17). For Salwey there was little purpose to Ishii's "entering wedge"; her description of the advancing guard-line is entirely from its western side, from the Japanese location and perspective, where there are "many risks," all things must be "contested," and all "in the cause of civilization" (Salwey 1913: 19).

Finally, differences between the two authors are nowhere clearer than in their use of illustrations. Salwey confines herself to beautifully executed drawings that show the romance and the difficulty of the terrain. Although Salwey acknowledges that Ishii gave her "the use of valuable and local photographs and maps" she reproduces none of them. Instead she selects pencil drawings "by Jasper Salwey, Associate Royal Institute of British Artists, adapted from photographs by Mr. Shinji Ishii."[8] Although Salwey's pencil drawings include that of an Ami chief and his wife, the others depict a forest village and the guard-line. Ishii on the other hand is prepared to use the camera critically and constructively. In the 1916 presentation he made at the China Society in London, which was published in the *Transactions of the China Society*, he presents sixteen finely construed photographs of

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8 Jasper Salwey was a landscape painter and architect, who exhibited at the Walker Art Gallery and the New English Art Club in 1908 and 1909. He was far better known as a sketcher of the English countryside. He exhibited fairly cosy country sketches at the John Noott Galleries in the Cotswolds, and wrote *How to Draw in Pen and Ink*, which was reprinted as recently as 2007. He did sketchbooks of Cornwall, many examples of which are easily seen on web; see also his *Sketching in Lead Pencil for Architects and Others*, New York: Scribner's, 1926. We might surmise, then, that Charlotte drew on this close relation's artistic expertise to selectively reinterpret the material provided to her by the more anthropologically determined Ishii! It is, however, also the case that later editions of Bonham Ward Bax, *The Eastern Seas: being a narrative of the voyage of H.M.S. "Dwarf" in China, Japan, and Formosa*, Ganesha Publishing: Edition Synapse, 1870-79, 2nd ser., contain special maps, together with the pencil drawings by Jasper Salwey. These same drawings appear in the *Formosan Population Census* of 1905 (Special Population Census 1909).

indigenous life in the forests and mountains. Some of these are standard items, expected at that time of any Orientalist presentation in the West—tattooed Paiwanese and Tayal, weaving and household utensils, granaries and skull shelves—subjects that may be found in many sources today. But others portray a struggling humanity and suggest thoughtful nuances of such casually used terms as "savage" or "wild men." Compositions featuring groups of Bunun from Manuwan or Tayal from Urai illustrate facial and body expressions and contours of life that come closer to a more serious anthropology of community cultures. Others depict the ingenuity of the indigenous, a Bunun cantilever bridge, a Tayal suspension bridge spanning a wide river. In particular a wonderful composition of Bunun people grouped around a stream manages to evoke an atmosphere and an environment that is never attempted in the text or illustrations of Salwey. Here are guns, bows, and spears, but also the feeling of a highly developed and sensitive group life, at this point just tolerant of a single Japanese photographer as he trains his gaze upon them.

VI. Impacts: The Activists' Network and Audience

We have noted how Ishii's 1913 paper was presented before The Oriental Institute at Woking, the 1916 paper at a joint meeting of the China Society and the Japan Society at Caxton Hall, whilst that of January 1917 was delivered before the Folklore Society of London, of which he remained an active member until 1922. In that year the British-trained American anthropologist Janet Montgomery McGovern acknowledged the great importance of his work to her own interpretation of indigenous Taiwan (McGovern, 1922: 100). It is a matter of judgment as to whether these subjects—and this form of argument at these venues in the heart of global imperialism—represented a deliberate provocation or not. But it is noteworthy that the Japan Society had been formed at the 1891 meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists in London, of which Salwey was an active member. Also noteworthy is the fact that its nominal exclusion of matters of "current politics" did not prohibit the frequent avocation of Japanese colonialism in the years prior to 1939 (Cortazzi and Daniels 1991: 13-15). The London congress of 1939 was enormous, featuring the presence of the global press and some 600 specialists from thirty-two nations (Chaghati 2002: 210-222). This metropolitan network, linking Salwey and Ishii to a much wider world of colonialism and anthropology, deserves greater attention.

At the International Congress of Orientalists (henceforth ICO) meeting in September 1891, the Japan section resolved to form the Japan Society, the first meeting of which took place in late January 1892. Its first organizing council included Salwey

(Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society 1893: 133) and met three times at the Society of Arts, Adelphi. Of its forty-three members, Salwey was the only female. At the same time the ICO also spun off the Oriental University Institute, founded effectively by Dr Gotlieb William Leitner (1840-1899) in his capacity of secretary to the ICO. This was intended to function as the ICO's English publishing and teaching wing, and published the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* (Reports and Proceedings of ICO, 1891: v-xcvi). It seems clear that Salwey was instrumental in determining that Ishii's first London paper be delivered before this institute and published in its journal, and that his second paper went to the closely related Japan Society.

From the very first meetings of the Japan Society in London, from April to July of 1892, certain characteristics were in evidence. The meetings were popular, drawing average attendances of 170, which testified to "not only the influential character of the Society but also the interest felt by the people of London in Japanese matters." Participants and lecturers were drawn from both sexes almost equally, and their presentations tended to emphasize the quaintness, delicacy, and intelligence of Japanese traditions as embodied in ink studies of bamboo, sword-making, industrial artwork and naturalistic sculptural styles. To this forum Salwey delivered her first paper, "Japanese Fans" at the final meeting of the second session in July 1893 (Japan Weekly Mail 22 October 1892: 682-3). At the same time, the ICO met in both September and October 1893 in London and Lisbon, and boasted sessions on the Far East to which major Japanologists and members of the Japan Society such as B.H. Chamberlain, Walter Dening and C.J.W. Pfoundes contributed broadly. The Japan Society was formally made part of the Congresses, with members receiving special invitations and subscriptions. (Japan Weekly Mail 22 October 1892: 684). It seems clear enough that by the early 1890s Salwey was well placed to assist in the insertion of Japanese culture and colonialism into the developing global framework of Orientalism.

It is clear that Salwey's strident position in 1913 was a culmination of a series of claims made in the form of no less than sixteen articles that ran in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* of London, the principal academic organ of the Oriental University Institute of Woking, established in the late 1880s.[9] These articles appeared as a series under the general heading of *Japanese Monographs*, to which only Salwey contributed. In brief, Salwey appears to have assumed the role of chief promoter of

9 At times also called the Oriental Nobility Institute, whose principal contribution was its publications, including the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* 1893-1913. See G. W. Leitner, *Mahommadanism, An Extempore Address to South Place Chapel*, Finsbury, Woking, 1889.

Japanese industrialism and colonialism to a significant segment of the popular but informed culture of London in the early years of the twentieth century. It was before such an audience that she expounded upon the Ainu, who "are not of much account, their lethargic nature rendering them unable to grasp the trend of events in the East, so pregnant with activity and reform." Ainu degradation could be measured like that of the Atayal of Formosa, for "it is a known fact that centuries ago, they were addicted to the worst form of cannibalism, in that they sacrificed and mutilated their nearest relatives for the purpose of satisfying their brutal appetites." Similarly, the Ainu bear cult and sacrifices were given no anthropological interpretation, but merely characterized as "essentially cruel and savage, savouring of the worst and most ignorant form of worship and superstition" (Salwey 1911a: 317, 323, 327).[10] Just months later, in a paper on Formosa, Salwey drew the firm parallel for Japan, for in Formosa the natives "are of a decidedly savage origin, have to be dealt with by an iron hand, for savages they are, and were likely to remain, were not the most stringent methods adopted in dealing with them" (Salwey 1911b: 358).

What seems clear is that from 1905 Salwey was the only consistent advocate for Japan in this London forum, a decidedly minority presence amidst the great outpouring of work on the Middle East, India, and South Asia.[11] More significantly here, she seems to have been even more isolated in her references to indigenous Taiwan as a tool with which to lever support for Japanese civilization, in contradistinction to China (Dudbridge 2006: 55-70). It is also clear that she used her podium not only to press a social Darwinist approach to indigenous peoples, but also to emphasize time and again the contrasting and progressive character of Japanese culture. Thus in her paper of 1909, "Dancing as a Religious Manifestation," Salwey shows that even the ancient Japanese had achieved "a simplicity of life and a steadfast belief in some great dominant religious influence, which balanced the fiercer side of their nature." That is, she comes full circle—the Japanese were never really barbaric in the sense that contemporary Ainu or indigenous Taiwanese are;

10 The popular, sensationalist, and very adventurous *Illustrated London News* provided graphic illustrations of the Ainu bear sacrifice in their issue of 3 January 1903, page 8.

11 The Woking-based enterprise and publications of Leitner were almost entirely centered on Islamic and Indian studies and languages, so the fact that Ishii's first paper of 1913 was presented there is quite extraordinary and is explicable only in terms of the net surrounding Salwey (the ICO, Japan Society, and Oriental Institute) and her friendship with Ishii, who was almost certainly her principal information source on Formosan indigenous cultures. See Chaghatai (2002), Crosby (1982), *Strand Magazine* (vol. 7, January-June,1894: 17-21) and Diosy (1893).

they had evolved a superior and highly moral culture, appropriate to their increasingly aggressive global claims (Salwey 1909: 349).

Interestingly, in her Ainu paper of 1911 Salwey refers to the very highly publicized Japan-British exhibition in London during the previous year. This had long been planned as a major piece of cultural diplomacy, especially in Japan, with its eighteen great divisions, number seventeen of which represented "Colonisation." From a British perspective, perhaps looming largest was Japanese imports of British manufactures, worth some £24 million annually, and the chance to make the exhibition a vehicle of trade and technology (Times 1909: 12 July page 6; 9 0ctober: 8; 1 December: 20). By early 1910, cultural assumptions were already being made about the two featured groups of indigenous people, and these followed or were aligned closely with those of Salwey. Thus under its banner heading "The Arts, Products and Resources of the Allied Empires," the *Times* newspaper already referred to the many hundreds of artists and artisans, amongst whom were featured exhibitions of the Formosan Village "with its romantic population," and the "Aino" Village "with the primitive inhabitants of Japan" (Times 1910: 24 March, 10). So the *Times* went from emphasis on the "romantic" to emphasis on the "primitive" in one easy move.

Since the exhibits included extensive displays of persons and activities of both Ainu and Taiwanese indigenes, Salwey here was on her favorite comparative ground. She delighted in describing the summer visit of senior British royalty, King George V and Queen Mary, to the Ainu exhibition, where "it is rare to find a barbaric race of people left so long to themselves to pursue their religion, vocations, customs, and superstitions" (Salwey 1911: 316). Months later she modified her comparisons in a paper on Formosa, for at the exhibition of real peoples, the "Ainu contrasted widely with the furious 'head-hunters' who sojourned for the time being in the Formosa Sha at Shepherd's Bush, for their warlike weapons were always ready to hand, decorated with trophies of human hair depending therefrom. The very manner in which these men prepared and consumed their food was a sufficient guarantee of their savage descent. Nevertheless we were glad to have seen them, for we are enabled thereby the better to understand the difficulties their new rulers will have to encounter, and to congratulate the Japanese on their success, if success finally crowns their efforts." Again, assumptions about indigenous culture are wrapped around claims concerning Japan, with perhaps the Japanese problem over the Formosan indigenous resistance now being estimated of greater political importance than any further justification for the colonization of Hokkaido. After all, the latter had been accomplished, the former still had a goodly way to go (Salwey 1911b: 339-362).

It may now seem less than remarkable that the unknown Ishii's three papers were placed so strategically within the different strata of British anthropological and

ideological thinking. We might note that with Ishii's London papers, the Japan-Taiwan case was being inserted into a much more global ideological and anthropological world, centered, in London especially, on the Middle East, South Asia, and the Pacific islands rather than the so-called Far East.[12] But a salient further point is that Ishii was not seen as a major figure in Japanese anthropology of the period, and is now hardly even mentioned in major surveys of the field.[13] At that time the leading Japanese anthropologists were primarily concerned with conducting thorough fieldwork across north Asia from 1895 and addressed a strictly Japanese audience. They focused on classical areas of discourse such as physical traits, language, marriage customs, religion and culture, and ethnic classifications.[14] Ishii was altogether less technical and more political, he was fully concerned with the impact of Japanese advancement upon indigenous ecologies.[15] In greatest contrast—and of greater importance to the present study—Ishii presented his views upon a London stage, at the very heart of British and European colonial cultures. His three papers were presented there in important overlapping forums in the years 1913–1917, that is, in the course of the tragedies of a world war that had been to a large extent brought on by extensive colonial ambitions and antagonisms.

By 1917 Ishii was residing permanently at 33 Abington Mansions, Kensington, London W.8, an address from which he could readily attend most of the intellectual gatherings of the metropolis. He had clearly made something of a mark already, for around this time he had given his own extensive manuscripts to the famous social anthropologist James George Frazer, author of the *Golden Bough* (1890). Frazer was compiling an enormous comparative study of myths and religious folklore from around the world, the centerpiece of which was the famous 250-page chapter on the Flood.

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12 All such locational terms are of course Eurocentric: the Far East can only be so with reference to the central position of London or Europe. But these were the common terms for that time, so they have been retained.

13 M. Suenari, 'A Century of Japanese Anthropological Studies on Taiwan Aborigines,' in Chuen-rong Yeh ed., *History, Culture and Ethnicity, Selected Papers from the International Conference on the Formosan Indigenous Peoples*, Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, Taipei, 2006, 1-53; Jennifer Robertson ed., *A Companion to the Anthropology of Japan*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2005; Blundell, David ed., *Austronesian Taiwan. Linguistics, History, Ethnology, Prehistory*. Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines 2009, Taipei: 3-46.

14 Thus the 7-division classification and the grouping together of the southern groups of the Paiwanese, Tsarisen and Puyuma, were established during the years that Ishii was writing.

15 Ishii's seven tribes omitted the Tsarisen and Puyuma as separate groups, based on linguistic affinities and in accordance with other Japanese anthropologists, but deviated from them in admitting that "the Puyuma possess a peculiar social organization and should be treated as separate from the Paiwan."

Among the many stories of the flood that Frazer detailed and published in 1918 was a series directly taken from Ishii's manuscripts. Frazer describes Ishii as a gentleman "who resided in Formosa for the sake of studying the natives. He has very kindly placed his manuscript notes at my disposal for the purposes of this work" (Frazer 1918: 208-19, 225-233). Ishii had uncovered these detailed and vivid stories of the flood during lengthy investigations in Ami villages in the east (Kibi, Baran, Pokpok), as well as the Tsuwo village of Paichana and others of the Bunun people.[16] Frazer's approach was that of a cultural evolutionist and functionalist; he was directly influenced by E.B. Tyler (1832–1917), reader in anthropology at Oxford in 1884–1895, in particular his *Primitive Culture*, which was seen as a seminal study in British anthropology (Ackerman 1987; Leach 1985: 66-84).

On 20 December 1916 Ishii was elected a member of the Folk-lore Society of London at a meeting presided over by the Oxford anthropologist and evolutionary ethnologist R. R. Marett (1866–1943), himself a close student of Tyler and his successor at Oxford in 1910. Ishii's third London paper, presented to that society on 17 January 1917, appears to have been a principal aspect to of his bid for some renown as a member. Marett as president commented that although the stringencies of war had weakened their general publishing program, they had "recently had offered to them for publication a collection of folk-tales of Formosa, made by Mr Ishii, who has spent fifteen years in the island since its acquisition by Japan." Marett appears to have been quite determined that the Ishii tales should be issued sometime later as an additional volume to the Transactions of the society, and this seems to have sparked a friendship between the two men that lasted into the 1920s. (Folk-lore (28) 1917: 6, 115-133; McGovern 1922: 10). Marett's presidential address, "The Psychology of Culture-Contact," very much accorded with Ishii's qualitative approach and his concern with the well-being of indigenous peoples. (Folk-lore, 1917: 13-36).

Ishii's paper was profusely illustrated by lantern slides and led to a lively discussion in the society. Since Marett chaired this meeting, Ishii was in effect addressing the Oxford school in anthropology, and this notion is strengthened by the presence there also of a leading female member, Mrs Katheryn Scoresby Routledge, an Oxford student of Marett's during the 1890s, who was greatly inspired by his influence, particularly the way he emphasized in his own work the power of individuals in culture generally. Along with Janet McGovern, Scoresby Routledge was one of a small coterie of female students who took the first diploma in anthropology at Oxford (established in 1908). Her brilliant paper

16 See extensively chapter 4 (208-233) of Frazer's *Folklore in the Old Testament* of 1918.

to the same folklore group of 16 May 1917 featured extensive fieldwork on Easter Island, among a highly threatened indigenous people, to which Henry Balfour responded with extensive ethnographic supplements in his commentary "Some Ethnological Suggestions with Regard to Easter Island" (Folk-lore, 1917: 356-381). Her subsequent full publication, *The Mystery of Easter Island,* (London 1919) saw it as an outlier of Polynesian culture. The book was generally viewed as a noteworthy contribution, which managed to capture the ethnography of a fast-dying people. (Her informants did indeed die out between 1922 and 1936, the last one at around one hundred years of age.[17]) In it she strongly allied to Marett and others who held that Rapa Nui residents were descendents of ancient Polynesian statue makers, against a majority anthropological opinion that her evidence pointed to a Melanesian presence on Easter Island prior to the arrival of the ancestors of the present-day Rapa Nui. (Folk-lore, 1917: 82-6).

Ishii seems to have arrived at a position that agreed with British anthropology as represented by Marett and E.B. Tyler, which extended from popular folklore to professional, technical anthropology.[18] Marett's presidential lecture (above) had looked at the work of Tyler and Sir Lawrence Gomme, noting that folklore in the British tradition had evolved as a "branch of the science of culture," this very similar to the Tyler formulation that was especially concerned with "survivals"—the carrying forward of traits, customs and so on into a "new state of society." This constituted evidence of "an older condition of culture out of which a newer has been evolved."[19] Such survivals might

17 JoAnne van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants. The Life of Katherine Routledge and her Remarkable Expedition to Easter Island*, Scribner, NY, 2003 p. 232-3.

18 It will be recalled that Ishii was Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute by 1913, the academic and technical forum for British professional anthropology and ethnology: at that time its council included Marett, Longworth Dames, and Henry Balfour, all of whom were associated with Ishii in the Folk-lore Society, and E.B. Tyler, so influential on the work of Marett and many other anthropologists in the British tradition (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institution*, 42, 1912: 86-127). At the Japanese end of the network, Salwey was an active member in 1913–1914 of the Tokyo-based Asiatic Society of Japan, founded in 1872, which was composed of foreign and Japanese intellectuals, commercial agents, teachers and bureaucrats. Ishii was not a member of the Tokyo society during these years (Supplement to the 12th volume of the TASJ, Tokyo: Japan Times, 1914: 848).

19 R.R. Marett, *Tylor,* London, Chapman and Hall, 1936. Tylor was reader in anthropology at Oxford up to 1909. Amongst many other claims, he thought that matrilocalism basically preceded patrolocalism in most cultures. See E.B. Tylor, "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions Applied to Laws of Marriage and Descent," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 18 (1888), Pp. 241-56, which appealed to the systematic use of statistical data.

"burst out afresh" to light up the meaning of contemporary songs or dances. Savagery may lie dormant in civilized man; such survivals are folklore (Marett 1917: 13-35).

Almost until he left London in late 1921 or early 1922, Ishii was the sole East Asian member of the Folk-lore Society, which, however, claimed a large number of Indian and South Asian members (Folk-lore 1921: ii-vii). On 15 December 1920 Kunio Yanagita of Tokyo was also elected, through an association with Gordon and Gotch of St Bride Street, Ludgate Circus, London, news agent and publishers doing business in Australasia and East Asia. (Western Mail 21 August 1886: 1; British Medical Journal 4 July 1896: 28). This is an interesting sequence of memberships. Kunio Yanagita (1875–1962) has been called the father of Japanese ethnology and folklore studies. He became influential in Japan as both a diplomat and writer, and had in 1909 already written a basic key text in Japanese folklore studies based on Tohoku folk tales. In 1910 he published *The Legends of Tono*, (*Tōno Monogatari*), a record of folk legends gathered in Iwate prefecture. He later founded the groups that evolved into the Folklore Society of Japan. Often viewed as focusing exclusively on Japan's native traditions, Yanagita was in fact a student of Euro-ethnologists, and he was greatly influenced by the Western tradition in establishing the Japanese folklore community. He especially drew upon Charlotte Burne, an important participant in and one-time president of the Folk-lore Society of London from 1883 who had been present at Ishii's presentation of 1917 (Folk-lore, 1921: iii). But in contrast to the less professionally recognized Ishii, he did not address Western scholars or the international community in any direct fashion. Indeed in his subsequent development, he emerged principally as a nationalist anthropologist.[20] This contrast does not argue for a re-assessment of Ishii as a major figure, but rather points to the power of networking in London versus building national consciousness and allegiance in Japan. Ishii may not have been a leader of Japanese anthropology, but he seems to have had a real voice in the West at a crucial time for Japanese colonial expansion.

20 Shinji Yamashita et al eds., *The Making of Anthropology in East and South East Asia*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2004: 4, 47-53, 91-107; Takayanaga, Shun'ichi "In Search of Yanagita Kunio," *Monumenta Nipponica* 31: 165-78.

VII. Conclusions: The Dangers of Enthusiasm

In the anthropology of Ishii Shinji there was clearly some level of intellectual and emotional reserve about the Japanese colonial project, especially as it impacted upon indigenous peoples. By delivering his papers in London, at the heart of the Western colonial enterprise, he thereby performing at least two related roles. On one hand his work helped insert Japanese colonialism into a wider debate on Orientalism, and on the other he was part of a network that attached popular folklore to the Oxford anthropology of Tyler and Marett. Ironically, Salwey, a child of London cultural domination and now a minor "accomplice to empire" at the height of the Japan-British alliance, was also a blinkered proponent of a new far eastern colonial project. Her views of both Chinese and Japanese civilizations blinded her to the true nature of Ishii's "silent war" in Formosa. This disjuncture is of especial interest.

Four further points might be noted. However enthusiastic our anthropologists might be, the reality of early Japanese rule in Taiwan was one of violence, in which indigenous peoples were key victims. Many foreign visitors, such as Labadie-Lagrave, had at an early date taken opposing stances on the effectiveness of the Japanese (Labadie-Lagrave 1900: 334-335, 342-343). Despite the several expensive extensions of the guard-line from 1895 to 1909, from 79 miles to its maximum length of 357 miles in 1905, Japanese colonialism could not effectively curtail indigenous resistance by either cultural suasion or territorial restrictions. Their accelerated invasion of the forests in search of camphor and other products led precisely to the features of the frontier that the Japanese had branded as characteristically Chinese—Japanese traders and agents now plied the aboriginals with cheap wine, and the tribes secured guns and ammunition by barter and trade. Tensions along the frontier were seriously exacerbated by the activities of Chinese Formosan insurgents who hid out in villages and incited many aboriginal groups to further violence against the colonial power (Rimpei Otsu 1911: 4-5, 13). These realities contrasted most vividly with Salwey's highly filtered vision, whose crude social Darwinism postulated an unproblematic frontier of modernity. Her anthropological interest in Japan had, after all, been nurtured during 1874 in the heady early meetings of the Congress of Orientalists, just as the Japanese made their first aggressive moves against Taiwan.

Secondly, even this brief study should remind us that historical narratives on the "Orient" may include suspect and highly mediated indigenous histories in their accounts of the civilizing role of colonialism. If some form of social Darwinism was to be employed by colonial authorities to justify their military adventures on the *frontiers* of empire, then

this was best served by arguing the prior contamination of indigenes through long phases of mal-government and neglect. Thus both Salwey and Ishii arrive at a common position against the crudity and violence of the earlier Chinese rule. They thereby joined in and strengthened a Western view of Chinese culture that had developed from the early years of the nineteenth century. Where prior to this, Westerners had seen the Chinese as "great and mighty," they had begun to speak instead of the "inscrutable Orient," finally scorning and even ridiculing Chinese culture (Mungello 2005: 129-30). From their different anthropological perspectives Salwey and Ishii continued a global cultural project that followed almost inevitably from early Western successes in voyages, commerce, technology and colonialism.

Thirdly, we might postulate a gender element in the cultural anthropology of these years, one which Salwey's hard stand on indigenous peoples seemed to contradict, at least insofar as her views interfaced with Japanese expansionism. In London ethnographic and folklore studies were more open to female membership, activity, and even governance than could be said for any other form of scientific association or enquiry.[21] All the forums in which Salwey and Ishii were active were especially welcoming to female participation. Thus the world-renowned traveller Isabella Bishop Bird gave her paper on the Ainu at the London ICO of 1891 (TPJS, 1893: 145), and other female lecturers in that same year covered topics such as Japanese industrial workers or Chinese culture. The leadership at the Woking-based Oriental Institute where Ishii had so successful lectured included a woman, and the institute had many female members; it was also one of the "first attempts at the a systematic teaching of Oriental Languages and Ethnology, alike scientific and practical" (Report and Proceedings ICO 1891: xcv-xcviii).

It seems certain that female participation in London's cultural ethnology and anthropology circles, especially at the more public associational level, was significant. Women members were adventurous, energetic, and more prone to be sympathetic to the folklores and ways of the indigenous peoples in the face of industrial modernity. It is extremely noteworthy that Ishii, a Japanese man well informed about Japanese expansionism and its impacts in Formosa, should be influential in the popular anthropologies of Salwey and McGovern. Again, the active female membership of the London Folk-lore Society, especially represented in its vice-president, Charlotte Burne, (Folk-lore 1917: 465) exerted certain influence on Kunio Yanagita. We have also noted the

21 Except perhaps for pedagogy. For background, see L. Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1989; Margaret Forster, *Significant Sisters. The Grassroots of Active Feminism 1839–1939*, London: Secker and Warburg: 1984; Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History.*

importance in this respect of Katherine Scoresby Routledge, whose work on the Easter islands brought home to Ishii the potential role of female investigation and observation in softening the harder aspects of cultural evolutionism at the time. It might well have been the nuanced and gendered metropolitan context that influenced Ishii in his more ameliorative and liberal stand on the Formosan indigenous peoples and that sustained his more sceptical evaluation of Japanese expansionism.

Finally, and closely related, this discussion at least introduces the notion that the discourse of Orientalism had a strong East Asian counterpart in the Japanese colonialist project. If "Orientalism is better grasped as a set of constraints upon and limitations of thought than it is simply as a positive doctrine," we might argue that the Japanese task was to assert such constraints at a regional level. There is surely something in the suggestion that the Japanese were instrumental in creating specific constraining images of the "Far East" as part of their own pursuit of imperial ambitions in the early 20th century. If we are to also agree with Edward Said when he claims that the essence of Orientalism "is the ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority," then it becomes clear that the Japanese assumed a specific and immediate cultural mission in their own claimed territories (Said 1978: 42, 332). Indigenous history and culture thus became an important element in that mission, demonstrating the regressive outcomes of Chinese civilization and distinctions between "Oriental" Chinese culture and a modernizing, Westernizing Japanese culture. This civilizing mission depended on Japanese colonialism being seen in the West as at least on par with Western imperialism, a program that seemed more feasible when Chinese culture could be branded as thin, crude, and inefficient in the context of a second industrial revolution (Inkster 2009) that had moved beyond the confines of the Atlantic system.

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熱忱的人類學：Charlotte Salwey, Shinji Ishii（石井真二），與1913年左右日本在台灣的殖民統治

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本文以日本殖民統治台灣時期為例做文化人類學的探討。日本決心不只在台灣西部（靠中國側）藉國際貿易謀利，也欲擷取台灣東部的資源。東部主要居民為原住民，其與官府或地方上的漢人農民、生意人或墾戶長期以來關係緊張。

本文主張日本殖民事業仰賴「日本殖民不但優於先前的漢人統治，大體上也優於西方殖民主義」的信念。在這個脈絡下，台灣原住民的歷史文化特色變得很重要，是日本人決心要掌控的。文中我們檢視了兩位專業觀察者熱忱的人類學研究：一位是英國人、另一位則是日本人，他們以不同的方式將台灣原住民塞進為大殖民工程服務的行列。很有趣地，我們發現英國人類學家採取非常堅定、支持日本的立場，而她的日本朋友兼同事立場較懸而未定，對原住民文化的本質和要求也較為敏感。

更概括的來說，我們認為透過將帝國邊緣的原住民以某種方式再現可用以支持該帝國，歷史學者和文化理論家可能低估了這個面向。但此種操作若要有任何全球效應，則參與其中的人類學得在國際核心公開展演。我們檢視了Salwey和Ishii如何發展專業和大眾平台，將台灣原住民展演在西方帝國主義的心臟——倫敦——的歷史細節。他們透過書寫以及在倫敦的網絡活動，將台灣文化以及日本殖民主義的前線，帶入流行的進步以及「東方主義」的論述中。

因此，透過在台灣建構一個新的、更清楚的文明競逐的前線，日本殖民主義提供了成功追尋人類進化的文化量尺。當前線推進，進化也跟著達成。同時，本文中的人類學家提供了日本——相對於中國甚或西方——對文明進化更有效率的證據。Ishii的立場很明顯的十分微妙、複雜、難以堅持。在宣揚新日本時，他同時也文化人類學式的描繪了發生在台灣的「寧靜戰爭」；相反的，Salwey則擅長使用原住民的文化和物質問題，來支持為何日本需要在東台灣獲勝。

最後，Ishii的「戰爭」較確實的描寫日本在台灣前線擴張時的實際狀況——日人尋找樟腦和其他產品時加速侵入森林，導致日本重蹈他們之前認為是「中國特色」的情況——日本商人和代理人提供原住民廉價的酒，透過以物易物或買賣，供給「番人」槍枝和彈藥。在這個個案中，熱忱的人類學幫助創造了進步和文化變遷的圖像，但此圖像與實際上發生在台灣東—西部前線者不盡符節。

關鍵詞：殖民主義、東方主義、台灣、原住民、愛奴族