

Transpacific Fakelore of the Asiatic:
Relocating Ethnicity in Nikkei Literature and
Native North American Literature

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Abstract

Fakelore of the Asiatic is the subject of this dissertation. It refers to a literary appropriation of a popular theory of human migration from Asia via the Beringia Land Bridge to Americas. The theory is now proving not so solid scientifically; however, it is also true that there have been some literary works which appropriate this Asiatic migration theory. They conjure up a shared ancestry and transform the chance resemblance between Nikkei and Native Americans into the tangible similitude of natural kinship. The fabricated kinship provides writers, especially Nikkei and Native North American writers, with a narrative motive which relocates Nikkei and Native North American into broader history of immigration across the Pacific. Based on the recent reconsideration of ethnicity in terms of multinational and multicultural interaction, this thesis describes a mechanism of Nikkei and Native North American literary self-portrayal by way of the Asiatic fake kinship.

Part 1 concerns a Scottish-Chinook explorer Ranald MacDonald (1824-94) and his narrative as the earliest manifestation of the fakelore of the Asiatic in the late nineteenth century. A literary history of Ranald MacDonald is first provided. Having stemmed from the multinational context of the U.S., British Canada, Chinook, Ainu, and Japan, MacDonald and his narrative has undergone a transition from the nationalization phase in which such writers as Eva Emery Dye (1855-1947), Miura Ayako (1922-99), and Yoshimura Akira (1927-2006) situate MacDonald in their national narratives, to the

internationalization phase in which writers like Peter Oliva (1964-) and Gerald Vizenor (1934-) recast MacDonald into the transpacific cultural interactions. In each phase, the fakelore of the Asiatic works as the pivotal shaft around which various writers convert MacDonald into their own narrative.

Within this literary background, Chapter 1 explores how MacDonald's narrative builds its literary mobility upon fakelore of the Asiatic. The repeated editing made the final text of "Japan Story of Adventures" into a combination of pioneer narrative and captivity narrative. In this blended narrative, MacDonald's self-portrait changes through triangle comparison and contrast between Native North Americans, Ainu people, and Japanese.

The next chapter analyzes Vizenor's *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* (2002) as the postindian faking of the Asiatic fakelore. The novel partly recovers the Ainu presence, which has been long lost in the series of adaptations, in the form of the protagonist's lost mother. *Hiroshima Bugi* blurs MacDonald's self-distinction from both Native North Americans and Ainu people and recasts MacDonald's narrative into an origin myth of immigrants.

Part 2 examines novels by Cynthia Kadohata (1956-) and Hiromi Goto (1966-) as the postwar Nikkei revisions of the fakelore of the Asiatic. This part first introduces a cultural history of barbed-wire fence as an interface between pioneer narrative and internment narrative, as a backdrop to reconsider Nikkei use of the Asiatic fakelore within longer history of immigration and settlement. Nikkei cases are often predicated

upon an analogy between Native North American removal throughout nineteenth and twentieth centuries and Nikkei internment during the Pacific war, and imply the Asiatic victimhood. A cultural history of barbed-wire fence shows that the Nikkei self-portrait as victim is rather single-sided.

Within this context, Chapters 3 and 4 read pairwise Kadohata's *Weedflower* (2006) and Goto's *The Kappa Child* (2001) as mixed narratives of pioneering and internment which complicate the Nikkei self-portrayal compared with Native American victimhood. Relocating itself from the limited history of Nikkei internment, the pair explores another way to represent Nikkei in relation to Native North American. *Weedflower*, an internment narrative lined with pioneer narrative, reconstructs a life in Poston Relocation Center built on Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation. The novel represents Nikkei internees as part pioneers and part victims. Likewise, *The Kappa Child*, a pioneer narrative of the postwar Issei haunted by internment narrative, adapts *Little House on the Prairie* (1935) by Laura Ingalls Wilder (1867-1957) and offers a shifting portrait of post-WWII Nikkei pioneer wannabes.

Errata

PAGE/LINE	READS	SHOULD READ
Introduction		
4/8	if noteworthy	is noteworthy
6/2	he came found	he found
7/6	them developed . . . liaison.	them.
Part 1		
42/4	what MacDonald's	MacDonald's
Chapter 1		
48/15	MacDonald seemed	MacDonald seems
Part 2		
78/2	a tragedy of that	a tragedy that

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Chronology

Ranald MacDonald, Removal, and Relocation

the U. S.		Canada
1700s		
Pontiac leads Native American tribes against British forces	63	British wins control of Canada; Royal Proclamation of 1763
Boston Tea Party	73	
	78	Captain Cook explores the British Columbia coasts
Naturalization Act	90	
Naturalization Act	98	
1800s		
Louisiana Purchase	03	
Lewis & Clark Expedition (-06)	04	
Tecumseh establishes a union of Native Americans	09	
First American settlement in Pacific Northwest (Astoria, Oregon); Battle of Tippecanoe	11	Archibald McDonald settles in Red River on behalf of the Scottish Lord Selkirk
	13	
War of 1812	12	War of 1812
First Seminole War (-19)	16	Métis Nation established
Treaty with Cherokee	17	The Selkirk Treaty
Treaty with Delaware; Treaty	18	

with Miami		
Treaty of Doak's Stand (Choctaw)	20	John West establishes a school at Red River
Treaty of Indian Spring (Creek)	21	Archibald is employed by Hudson Bay Company & goes to Fort George in
Treaty of Moultrie Creek (Florida Indians)	23	
Quapaw lands are ceded	24	[Feb. 3] Ranald MacDonald is born to Archibald & Koale'xoá
Treaty of Indian Springs	25	
Treaty with Creek; Cherokee Constitution	27	
Andrew Jackson is elected as President; Western Cherokee removal to Indian Territory	28	
[May 28] Indian Removal Act;	30	
Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek		
Little Rock Office of Removal and Subsistence is established;	31	
Choctaw removal; <i>Cherokee Nation v. Georgia</i> ; Treaty of Lewistown (Seneca/ Shawnee); Treaty with Ottawa; Treaty with Seneca		
<i>Worcester v. Georgia</i> ; Treaty of Payne's Landing (Seminole); Treaty of Pontotoc	32	

(Chickasaw); Black Hawk's War; Jackson is reelected as President; Cholera epidemic in the West; Indian Vaccination Act; Treaty with Sauk and Fox; Treaty with Appalachicola Band; Treaty of with Potawatomi; Treaty with Shawne and Delaware; Treaty with Kaskaskia and Peoria; Treaty with Piankeshaw and Wea

32

Treaty with Quapaw; Treaty with Western Cherokee; Treaty with Creek; Treaty with Ottawa; Treaty with Seminole; Treaty with Apalachicola; Treaty of Chicago (the United Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi)

33

MacDonald attends a school for Métis children at Fort Vancouver

Department of Indian Affairs is established; Appalachicola removal; Indian Intercourse Acts designates territories

34

The McDonalds moves to Red River

beyond Louisiana, Arkansas,
and Missouri as "Indian
country"; Sale of Creek lands;
Creek voluntary removal;
Treaties with Miami; Treaties
with Potawatomi

Treaty with the Caddo; Treaty
of New Echota; Second

Seminole War (-42)

Martin Van Buren elected as
president; Seminole removal;
Forced Creek removal; Treaty of
the Cedars (Menominee:
Wisconsin reservation); Treaty
of Washington (Michigan
Ottawas & Chippewa); Ottawa
and Chippewa of Mashigo,
Grand River, Michilimackinac,
Sault Ste Marie, L'Arbre Croche,
and Grand Traverse sign
cession and removal treaties;
Treaty with Chippewa;
Treaties with Potawatomi;
Treaty of Turkey Creek Prairie;

35

36

Archibald re-marries to
Jane & moves to Fort
Colville; Ranald and his
brothers stay in Red River &
attend Red River Academy

Treaties with Sauk and Fox		
Cherokee forced removal (Trail of Tears); Fort Coffee is abandoned in Indian Territory;	38	
Potawatomi forced removal (Trail of Death); Treaty of Buffalo Creek (New York tribes); Treaty with Chippewa;		MacDonald is employed by a bank in St. Thomas
Treaty with Oneida; Treaty with Miami		MacDonald runs away to London, British Canada to become a mariner; spends several years onboard U.S. whalers
Treaty with Stockbridge and Munsee; Removal of Kickapoo	39	
Treaty with Miami	40	
Treaty with Wyandot; Treaty with Seneca; Treaty of LaPointe (Chippewa)	42	[Dec. 2] MacDonald is onboard the <i>Plymouth</i> from Sag Harbor
Removal of the Wyandotte	43	
Removal of the Apaches	45	
Oregon Treaty	46	Oregon Treaty
[Nov.] <i>Plymouth</i> calls at Hawai'i & leaves to the Pacific	47	

	48	[June 27] MacDonald leaves the <i>Plymouth</i>
[Apr. 17] U.S. <i>Preble</i> comes to Nagasaki to take over mariners in Nagasaki		[July 2] MacDonald in the intended shipwreck is rescued & aided in Notsuka village, Rishiri Island
[Apr. 27] MacDonald leaves Nagasaki with <i>Lagoda</i> whalers		[July 12- Oct. 1] is moved to Nagasaki
[unrecorded] leaves the <i>Preble</i> at a port in China; explores Calcutta, Madras, Pompeii and European cities; joins in a gold rush in Australia	49	[Oct. 11] arrives at Nagasaki; confined to Daihian of Sofukuji Temple
California gold rush		[Dec. 1] <i>The Seaman's Friend</i> , "A Sailor's Attempt to Penetrate Japan"
		British Colony is established on Vancouver Island
	50	The Robinson Superior Treaty; The Robinson Huron Treaty
Indian Appropriations Act; Removal of Potawatomi	51	MacDonald goes to British Columbia; starts writing his narrative
	53	
	54	Treaty with Saugeen First
3rd Seminole War (-58)	55	

	58	Fraser River Gold rush
Seminole removal	59	
American Civil War	61	
Homestead Act	62	The Manitoulin Island Treaty;
		Small pox epidemics in British
		Columbia
MacDonald joins in Vancouver Island expedition	64	
	67	British North American Act: Canada is established;
First transcontinental railroad is completed	69	Red River Rebellion (-70)
Naturalization Act; Fifteenth Amendment	70	
	71	Treaty #1 (Chippewa; Swampy Cree); Treaty #2 (Chippewa)
	73	Treaty #3 (Saulteaux; Ojibway)
	74	Treaty #4 (Cree; Saulteaux)
	75	Treaty #5 (Cree; Saulteaux)
	76	Indian Act; Treaty #6 (Wood Cree; Plains Indians)
	77	Treaty #7 (Blackfoot; Blood; Stony); First Japanese, Nagano Manzo, arrives on Vancouver
	80	Department of India Affairs is established; Church-run Indian

Chinese Exclusion Act; Immigration Act	82	Residential Schools (-1996)
	84	Potlatch is prohibited
Alien Contract Labor Law	85	First transcontinental railroad is completed; Northwest Rebellion is led by Louis Riel
[July 18] Elizabeth Bacon Custer, "An Out of the Way 'Outing'"	91	
[Aug. 5? 24?] R. passes away at niece's house	93	Duncan Campbell Scott becomes Deputy Superintendent General of the DIA
	94	
	95	Franchise is denied to Asian Canadians in British Columbia
	98	Treaty #8 (Cree; Beaver; Chippewyan)

1900s

Eva Emery Dye, <i>McDonald of Oregon</i>	02	Homma Incident
	05	Treaty #9 (Ojibway; Cree)
Naturalization Act; Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization is established	06	Treaty #10 (Cree; Chippewyan); Immigration Act
Expatriation Act; "Gentlemen's Agreement"	07	Anti-Asian riot in Vancouver
	08	"Gentlemen's Agreement"

Alien Land Law (California & others)	13	
World War I (U. S. entry in 1917)	14	War Measures Act
Immigration Act: Asiatic Barred Zone	15	Allied Tribes of British Columbia is formed
Immigration Act: Asiatic Barred Zone	17	Wartime Election Act
Emergency Quota Act	19	League of Indians of Canada established; Immigration Act
Cable Act	21	Treaty #11 (the Slave; the Dogrib; the Loucheux; the Hare); Asiatic Exclusion League is formed
“Japan Story of Adventure” in <i>Ronald MacDonald</i>	22	
Immigration Act: Southern & Eastern Europe; Oriental Exclusion Act	23	Williams Treaties (Chippewa; Mississauga)
	24	Amendment to “Gentlemen’s Agreement”
	28	Amendment to “Gentlemen’s Agreement”
	30	Natural Resources Transfer Act
	36	Japanese Canadian Citizens League is created
	39	WWII: more than 3,000 First

		Nation people participates as soldiers & nurses
Alien Registration Act	40	Relocation of the Mi'kmaq
	41	[Jan. 7] Special Committee of the Cabinet War Committee decides residential restriction on Japanese Canadians;
[July 25] Presidential Order freezes Japanese assets		[Mar.-Aug.] Compulsory registration of Japanese Canadians over 16
[Nov.] F. B. I. raids on Isseis start		
[Dec. 7] Pearl Harbor is attacked		[Dec. 7] Order in Council P.C. 1922: Japanese nationals are required to register with the Register of Enemy Aliens
	42	[Jan. 16] Order in Council P.C. 365: the west coast region is designated as a "protected area"
[Feb. 19] Executive Order 9066		[Feb. 23] Minister of Justice issues relocation order
[Mar. 18] War Relocation Authority established		[Mar. 4] B.C. Security Commission is established
[May 8] First Japanese internees arrive at Poston		[Mar.-Oct.] 22,000 Japanese Canadians are relocated

<i>Korematsu v. U.S.</i>	44	[Aug. 4] Repatriation policy starts
[Mar. 20] Tule Lake closed	46	National Emergency Transitional Powers Act
	47	National Association of Japanese Canadians is formed
[July 2] Japanese Evacuation Claims Act: economic compensation for the Japanese relocations	48	
	49	Immigration restrictions are lifted
	50	Order in Council P.C. 4364 lifts prohibition of immigration of enemy aliens
	51	Amendment to Indian Act
	53	Relocation of the Inuit
	60	Registered Indians are permitted to vote in federal elections
	61	National Indian Council is created
Public Law 89-236 to Immigration and Nationality Act: Asians gain the equal state	65	
	66	Hawthorn Reports (-67)
	69	White Paper proposes abolishing

		Status Indian
	73	<i>Calder v. Attorney-General of British Columbia</i> : aboriginal title is decided as a legal right
Ayako Miura (1922-99), <i>Kairei</i> [Undersea Ridge]; film adaptation of <i>Kairei</i>	82	Patriation of the Canadian Constitution (Section 35: aboriginal rights)
Akira Yoshimura, <i>Umi no Sairei</i> [Festival of the Sea]	83	
	86	
House of Representative passes Civil liberties Act of 1987: individual payments of \$20,000 to each surviving internee and a \$ 1.25 billion education fund	87	National Coalition for Japanese Canadian Redress is formed
	88	Redress Settlement: individual payment of \$21,000, an establishment of a \$12million community fund, and a donation of \$24million to Canadian Race Relations Foundation
	89	The Premier's Council on Native Affairs is established
	90	Oka Crisis: Mohawk standoff against the land policy of Oka
Yoshimura, <i>Kurofunne</i> [The Black Ship]	91	Royal Commission on Aboriginal

<p>Peter Oliva, <i>The City of Yes:</i> <i>A Novel</i></p>	<p>99</p>	<p>Peoples is established Nunavut is established</p>
<p>2000s</p>		
<p>Gerald Vizenor, <i>Hiroshima</i> <i>Bugi: Atomu 57</i></p>	<p>00 03 05 08 10</p>	<p>Nisaga'a Treaty Kelowna Accord Canadian Government offers an apology over residential schools Canadian Government signs the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples</p>

I realized that if the city had drifted from MacDonald's hands into my own, it could just as quickly drift away, elsewhere. For myself, it has become a place where stories come and go, unfettered by date or proper names. It is a city that I've seen everywhere and nowhere: a place in MacDonald's imagination that I may or may not have glimpsed in my travel. –Peter Oliva

I realized that I might be a lonely Indian boy, but I was not alone in my loneliness. There were millions of other Americans who had left their birthplaces in search of a dream.

I realized that, sure, I was a Spokane Indian. I belonged to that tribe. But I belonged to the tribe of American immigrants. –Sherman Alexie

Introduction

Asiatic Appropriation of North American Pioneer Narrative

How Native North Americans and Nikkei came to paint literary self-portraits that imagine a kinship of the Asiatic with each other—in short, how they came to engage in a narrative self-fashioning through the fakelore of the Asiatic—is the subject of my dissertation.¹ Among scholars who have examined the cultural history of this fabricated kinship between Native North Americans and Nikkei, literary critic Gretchen Murphy offers perhaps one of the most succinct and significant accounts (*Shadowing the White Man's Burden* 214-15). As early as sixteenth century, Murphy explains, the biblical idea of monogenesis had provided a background that assumed both a single origin for human beings and their gradual migration and settlement across the globe. This idea further developed into a migration theory,

¹ Fakelore is a coinage by folklore scholar Richard Dorson, which signifies invented or modified folklore: “Fakelore falsifies the raw data of folklore by invention, selection, fabrication, and similar refining process” (*American Folklore* 4). His examples include legends of cowboy Pecos Bill which Edward O'Reilly actually created in his 1917 short story and elaborated in his 1923 collection and the tales of Paul Bunyan which were first written about by James McGillivray in a 1910 newspaper article (*American Folklore* 214-16). For the detailed discussion on fakelore, see Dorson; and Fox. Although Dorson uses the term in a negative sense to dispute unauthentic and untraditional folklore, this dissertation borrows the term to examine the literary effects of the faked and imagined kinship that was created between Native North Americans and Asians.

The term, the Asiatic, was used mainly in the nineteenth century and gradually acquired a derogatory and racist overtone. Bearing its historical background in mind, in the following discussion on an analogy between Native North Americans and Asians, I use this term as an umbrella word that includes two distinct ethnic groups.

which argues that Native North Americans were originally came from Eurasia and therefore share biological features with some Asians, through the field of anthropology and other areas of study in the late nineteenth century and thereafter.² Although this migration theory gained momentum in the middle of the twentieth century with the emergence of the Beringia theory, no hard evidence has been found enough to support the Beringia theory and is now “proving to be wrong in many aspects” (Madsen 2).³ The common biological features among Native North Americans and Asians are turning out to be scientifically untrue. In addition, such Native American spokespersons as Vine Deloria Jr. have offered critical counterarguments to the migration theory, pointing out its racist basis, which degrades the long presence of Native American people on the American continents.⁴

This thesis, therefore, places emphasis more on reconsideration of the literary appropriation of the Asiatic theory than on a scientific examination of its veracity. Even if it is now highly dubious, it is true that the migration theory and the ancient kinship have provided Native North Americans and Nikkei with a narrative motive that connects them across the Pacific and translates their ethnic yoke into a

² Keevak’s detailed account of how Asian people became yellow offers another important fact. Well before the racial coloring was divided into the four, which are white, black, red, and yellow, Native American people were designated yellow in sixteenth century (45).

³ For other scientific studies of dispersal of Asian, see Akazawa & Emöke; and Schurr.

⁴ The most outward example is V. Deloria in *Red Earth, White Lies*.

culture medium from which to grow a kind of literary mobility. The migration theory conjures up the false common ancestry of Native North Americans and Nikkei, and makes a chance resemblance between them into a natural, tangible similitude. The ostensibly solid similarity offers a broader, transpacific context in which writers of the two ethnic groups explore another way to tell a story of themselves via their remote kindred. This fabricated kinship has prepared the transpacific imagination among Nikkei and Native North American writers since the earlier stages of U.S.-Canada-Japan cultural interactions, driven by what literary critic Yunte Huang delineates as “the writer’s desire to appropriate, capture, mimic, parody, or revise the Other’s signifying practices in an effort to describe the Other.”⁵ The fakelore of the Asiatic, as a literary practice, has demonstrated a similar but a slightly different mechanism of appropriating the Other’s signs, both physical and cultural, in an effort to describe oneself. In the fakelore of the Asiatic, the Other shares something in common with oneself and looks like oneself, which makes a strange loop of turning self-portrait into the Other’s and the Other’s turning into self-portrait.

Based on the recent reconsideration of ethnicity in terms of multinational and multicultural interaction, my main argument is that Native North American and Nikkei appropriation of the ostensibly tangible similitude broadens their literary background and reconsiders

⁵ Huang, *Transpacific Displacement* 3. For literary studies on historical background of transpacific cultural political communication, see Benfy; Dimock; Huang; and Murphy, *Hemispheric*.

ethnic self-portraits by way of the fabricated kinship. The reconsideration of the ethnic portrait via the ancient physiognomical similarity is done sometimes intentionally and other times unintentionally in Nikkei and Native North American literature, which can be examined in the recent literary and cultural theory of “ethnic transvestism.”⁶ Since the ethnic transvestism of Nikkei and Native North American remains largely unexamined, the fact that the following discussion sheds light on new cases of such transvestism is noteworthy. Moreover, through its detailed examination of the fakelore of the Asiatic, this dissertation offers an analysis of not only a deliberate and careful performances of transvestism, but also unguarded and contradictory ones, and in so doing reveals a strange circuit of self-portrait and other’s portrait that cannot be contained within any single-sided context of literary culture.

A cluster of stories using the fabricated similitude between Nikkei and Native North American that, intentionally or not, relocates ethnicity is what I refer to as the fakelore of the Asiatic in this dissertation. Often authored by Nikkei or Native North Americans, the

⁶ *Beyond Ethnicity* 133; 252. For cultural studies on racial passing and creation of ethnic identity in North America, see Belluscio; Bennett; Browder; Brown; Chu; Cobb; Cockrell; Ginsberg; Guber; Kerkering; Kim C. J.; Kondo; Kroeger; Lott; Malcomson; Marchetti; Moon; Omi; Pfeiffer; Rody; Roediger; Rogin; Shih; Shoemaker; Shuffleton; Sollors; Steen; Surhone; Varzally; Wald; and Waters.

For literary and cultural studies specifically on the cultural representation of Native Americans and the North American tradition of playing Indian, see Antelyes; Bellin; Berkhofer; Deloria P., *Playing Indian*; Brown; Goldie; Huhndorf; Monkman; Owens; Pulitano; Renee; Rollins; Scheckel; Slotkin; Stedman; Sugars; Wernitznig; and Ying-wen.

fakelore of the Asiatic found its earliest literary expression around 1853. A Chinook Scottish Canadian, Ranald MacDonald, started writing about his adventures in Tokugawa Shogunate Japan from 1848 to 1849.⁷ He was the first Native North American explorer to Japan, who was said to risk his life in the transpacific journey, believing Japan to be the “land of his ancestors” (Lewis & Murakami 39). He is also remembered as the first Native North American to teach English to Japanese people. His story of pioneering in what was then a secluded Japan has inspired writers in the U.S., Canada and Japan and formed a transpacific literary vein, as Chapter 1 of this dissertation will examine. The literary history of Ranald MacDonald can be divided into two phases: the first phase is the one in which MacDonald is nationalized and the second phase is the one in which MacDonald becomes internationalized. In both phases, writers tacitly use or misuse the faked kinship of the Asiatic and relocate MacDonald’s ethnicity.

After a rather long interval, another fakelore of the Asiatic was created by Laguna Pueblo writer Leslie Marmon Silko (1948-) in her 1977 novel *Ceremony*. Her fakelore of the Asiatic is closely enmeshed within the Native experiences of World War II. The protagonist in the novel, Tayo, has been suffering from wartime hallucinations. When he

⁷ The dates when Ranald MacDonald began writing his memoirs have not yet been determined with precision, but historians have agreed on the year 1853 based on MacDonald’s settlement in St. Andrews East, which is in today’s Quebec, Canada, after his migrating pioneer life. For a historical account of MacDonald’s life around 1853, see Lewis & Murakami 44-46; and Schodt 325-28.

was in combat on an island of the Pacific, he was ordered to kill Japanese soldiers. He tried but could not because he came found one of them quite similar to his old Laguna uncle Josiah. Seeing his colleagues shooting soldiers, he cried in confusion. Beyond any kind of logic and reasoning that would lead him to a conclusion that this soldier could not be his Uncle, Tayo felt “a swelling in his belly, a great swollen grief” (*Ceremony* 8). This confused grief continues to haunt him even after the war, but a tribal medicine man heals him by explaining his vision as a revelation of the remote kinship:

“The Japanese,” the medicine man went on, as though he were trying to remember something. “It isn’t surprising you saw him with them. You saw who they were. Thirty thousand years ago they were not strangers. . . .”

(*Ceremony* 114-15).

Although it cannot be determined that the medicine man exactly refers to the migration theory here, the ancient link between the Pueblo and the Japanese is conjured up and eases Tayo’s frightening memory of the war. Different from the case of MacDonald, in which the fakelore of the remote kinship between the Native and the Japanese mobilizes MacDonald, in Tayo’s case, a fake kinship stabilizes his journey of mental difficulties.

Almost simultaneously with Silko’s fakelore of the Asiatic, some illustrative Nikkei versions emerged. During the Asia-Pacific War Nikkei North Americans experienced the internment procedures, which they found correlated to the Native North American removal

and reservation policies.⁸ Nikkei were forced to move from their place, like Native people were. Especially in the 1970s redress movement in the U.S. and Canada, Nikkei activists often defined the wartime internment as closely related to other forms of institutionalized racism such as slavery and removal. In this view, they developed transethnic liaison and struggled to fight against them developed transethnic

⁸ For a general study of the U.S. case of Native removal, see Clifton; Deloria; Deloria & Lytle; Foreman; Haas; Heidler 73-95; Jahoda; Maddox; Mintz & McNeil; Remini; Satz; Stannard; Thornton; Trexler; Tylor; Ulrich; Warrior; and Williams. The Bureau of Indian Affairs of the United States Department of the Interior was set up in 1824 under the Presidency of James Monroe and took responsibility for governing Indian nations and supervising the assets of each tribal nation. When Andrew Jackson, who had fought Indian wars and carried out treaties to exchange land with the Native tribes, became the first U.S. President who had fought Indian wars, the government turned harder on the Native tribes and in 1830 issued The Indian Removal Act. That act implemented a series of forced relocations of the Native tribes who had been inhabiting land east of the Mississippi River, moving them into the new Indian Territory in today's Oklahoma and Kansas. Tribes subject to the Act were the five civilized tribes: Choctaw, Cherokee, Seminole, Muscogee or Creek, and Chickasaw. For a cultural study on assimilation, especially Carlisle boarding school, see Pfister.

As for Canadian cases, see Boldt; Kato 57-200; INAC, *Resolving Aboriginal Claims*, 1-7; and Reed. Since the Royal Proclamation of 1763 had prohibited none but the British Crown to own land, land negotiations have been a public issue throughout Canadian history. In exchange for their land, the First Nation people were guaranteed by the Numbered Treaties from 1871 to 1921 the right to live on the reserve lands as Status Indian and provided educational, industrial, and social services by the Government of Canada. In 1876, the Indian Act was first enacted; it defined the meaning of Indian Status and did not grant Status Indians the full rights of Canadian citizens. The Canadian Government became guardians over Status Indians on the reserves and promoted assimilations of the Status Indians. From the 1940s to the 1950s, mainly because of economic reasons, the Canadian government demanded the removal of First Nation people from their traditional lands: Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia were moved onto two reserves in the 1940s; the Inuit people of Inukjuak in northern Quebec were moved to the High Arctic in the 1950s. "Our Native Land: Making the Canadian Indian," a CBC Radio program offers an introductory overview of history of the First Nations.

liaison.⁹ The fellow victimhood of Nikkei and Native North Americans is not completely fictional, given that the removal and the internment fall along the same line as ethnic mass management.¹⁰ The discursive similarity made the physical conditions of the internment quite close to those of the reservations; some of internment camps and labor fields were located within or near reservations of Native people. Chance encounters between Nikkei internees and Native people sometimes developed into interethnic negotiation. One of the Nikkei internee workers in Canada, Genshichi Takahashi, remembers his friendship with a First Nation person who lived on the reserve near the

⁹ For instance, in the 1976 article “Exploring the Past” on *Pacific Citizens*, an activist Dale Minami writes that “the camp were not an isolated event but a part of pattern and practice of racism directed against Native Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, and Filipinos.” Also Evelyn Yoshimura locates the internment within the “history of Third World people in America,” which includes “the theft of land and genocide of Native American Indians,” “the kidnapping of Africans,” “the illegal annexation of Mexican people and their land” and so on (109).

¹⁰ For comparative studies of the removal of Native Americans and the internment of Nikkei, see Churchill; Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps*; Hayashi; Hurt; and Okimoto. Drinnon underlines the fact that Dillon S. Myer worked as the directors of WRA and of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Myer himself offers a retrospective account of the officer who worked for both the Japanese internment camps and Native American reservations. Hayashi, in his Nikkei history in the West, mentions the Minidoka Relocation Center and points out that the government found “the obvious parallels” between Nikkei and Native American mass management (105). Okimoto, a former internee of Poston, sheds light on the relationship between the internees and the Mohave people on the reservation while elucidating the institutionalized racism that shaped such mass management policies. Not comparative in the strict sense, but Dickerson also offers a wider perspective on the U.S. internment ranging from the removals of Native Americans and the wartime relocation of Nikkei, to today’s cases of the detention of ethnic group.

internment camp in Alberta (198-201). The fellow victimhood of Nikkei and Native people, a fruit of the discursive and physical proximity, finds its expression in the postwar Nikkei literature; the obvious ones are Lonny Kaneko's "The Shoyu Kid" (1976), Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* (1981) and its sequel *Itsuka* (1992; reissued as *Emily Kato* in 2005), Lawson Fusao Inada's *Legends from Camp* (1993), Wakako Yamauchi's play "12-1-A" (1993), Perry Miyake's *21st Century Manzanar* (2002), to name a few. Their elaboration upon fellow victimhood often involves physiognomical similitude, which could be interpreted as appropriation of the Asiatic migration theory. Through the fakelore of the Asiatic, their self-comparisons with Native North Americans retain a mythic tangibility.

Nikkei Canadian writer Joy Kogawa perhaps offers the prime example of the fakelore of the Asiatic. In December 1988, about three months after the redress agreement, Kogawa had an interview with anthropologist Shinichi Tsuji (a.k.a. Keibo Oiwa). In the interview she stated that it was "the great challenge for the Japanese Canadians to identify themselves with the aboriginals" ("Odoroki" 59; translation mine). She equated the Nikkei evacuation with the problems First Nations had been facing and subsequently proposed that Nikkei Canadians could act for the Rubicons in Alberta fighting against the deforestation in which the Japanese lumbering business had been participating ("Odoroki" 59). In a very strategic manner, Kogawa drew an analogy between Nikkei and the Native people, suggesting their transethnic collaboration; as a pioneering Nikkei writer and

spokesperson in Canada, she made a significant contribution to the redress movement.

While making this politically intended identification with Native people, Kogawa in her novels makes a physical comparison of Nikkei and Native people. Her first novel, *Obasan*, starts with the coulee scene at night, a place where the history of conquest is echoing. There the narration of Naomi Nakane shifts from the remains of Native people to the memory of the Nikkei evacuation, via an analogy of the aged redskin between Sitting Bull and Isamu, the Issei uncle of Naomi, and an analogy of the reticent shyness between Native children and Nikkei children:

Everything in front of us is virgin land. From the beginning of time, the grass along this stretch of prairie has not been cut. About a mile east is a spot which was once an Indian buffalo jump, a high steep cliff where the buffalo were stampeded and fell to their deaths. All the bones are still there, some sticking right out of the side of a fresh landslide.

Uncle could be Chief Sitting Bull squatting here. He has the same prairie-baked skin, the deep brown furrows like dry riverbeds creasing his cheeks. All he needs is a feather headdress, and he would be perfect for a picture postcard—"Indian Chief from Canadian Prairie"—souvenir of Alberta, made in Japan.

Some of the Native children I've had in my classes over

the years could almost pass for Japanese, and vice versa. There's something in the animal-like shyness I recognize in the dark eyes. A quickness to look away. I remember, when I was a child in Slocan, seeing the same swift flick-of-a-cat's-tail look in the eyes of my friends. (*Obasan* 2-3)

In this passage, Sitting Bull or the Native children are the representations of the victim, as literary critics Arnold E. Davidson and David Palumbo-Liu have defined it.¹¹ By way of a parallelism with the representative victim, the narrator tells of Nikkei victimhood.

Still, a question might remain: why this parallelism involves comparisons regarding skin or eyes? The narrator can tell Nikkei victimhood via Native victimhood in other places of the novel without any comparisons regarding skin or eyes. She tells that one of internment buildings is a former "auto show building, where the Indian exhibits were" (*Obasan* 116). Or, meeting the familiar statements from the white Canadians, the narrator points out their blindness: "Ah, here we go again. 'Our Indians.' 'Our Japanese.' 'A terrible business.' . . . The comments are so incessant and always so well-intentioned. 'How long have you been in this country? Do you like our country? . . . Have you ever been back to Japan?' Back? . . . These

¹¹ Davidson, *Writing against Silence* 59-60; Palumbo-Liu 134. Also Sollors points out the American literary tradition of Indian melancholy, which mourns the Native people as the lost victim. By way of mourning, mourners place themselves as the legitimate heir of Native people (*Beyond Ethnicity* 119).

are icebreaker questions that create an awareness of ice” (*Obasan* 270-71). In the series of juxtaposition, *Obasan* offers the distinct picture of fellow victimhood. Given this kind of juxtaposition, it is clear that the parallelism does not always need physical similitude. However, in that particular scene quoted above, the narrator offers a picture of Isamu in the similitude of Sitting Bull, and a picture of the Native children in reminiscence of the Nikkei children. This is again what I would call the fakelore of the Asiatic. Even though it lacks the scientific reliability, the fabricated Asiatic kinship surges into the space of the Nikkei literary imagination and builds an ancient, tangible background to tell a story of the Nikkei North American in the shadow of the Native presence.

The faked Asiatic similitude enables Nikkei writers to cross the literary border between the U.S. and Canada, as is revealed by asking why, for instance, *Obasan* employs Sitting Bull as the representative victim, instead of Louis Riel who seems more appropriate figure in Canadian literary imagination.¹² One reason might well be that the figure of Sitting Bull is famous enough to relocate a Nikkei Canadian story into the North American literary context. As cultural critic Daniel Francis observes, Sitting Bull is “as important a figure in Canadian history as he is in American” (69). In addition to the ancient,

¹² Louis Riel (1844-85) is a Métis leader in the Resistance at Red River (1869-70), which sought to reclaim the traditional Métis rights regarding the Rupert Land, and in the Rebellion of 1885, which attempted to declare independence from British Canada. For an historical study on Riel Rebellions, see Ree 40-42; and Stanley.

tangible and therefore authentic victimhood, Sitting Bull provides *Obasan* with the North American history of immigration, settlement, and removal. After the famous battle of Little Bighorn in 1876, Sitting Bull, a Hunkpapa Lakota warrior (1830-90), spent some five years until the 1880 surrender in hiding in the today's Saskatchewan area.¹³ Afterward, as is well-known, he participated in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Shows, which also had created a craze in Canada (Francis 89-96) and he became one of the most popular figures of the Native American.¹⁴ Through literary appropriation of Sitting Bull, who lived across the U.S. and British Canada along with other places, *Obasan* appealed to a broader context within the North American cultural imagination, as is partly attested to by its favorable reception not only in Canada but also in the U.S. literary scenes. The figure of Sitting Bull thus places *Obasan* into the North American literary context.

In addition to the figure of Sitting Bull, which served to broaden literary context of the novel, another Native figure locates *Obasan* within a longer time frame, a longer history of immigration and settlement in North Americas. In the opening scene set in the prairie, the narrator remembers Slocan, where she spent her childhood. There she heard an anecdote about the place-name; Slocan was from an

¹³ For a study on the cultural popularity of Sitting Bull or Tatanka Iyotake, see Deloria P., *Indians in Unexpected Places* 23-24; Flint 232; and Hine & Faragher 251-56.

¹⁴ For the best cultural studies on Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, see Deloria P., *Indians in Unexpected Places* 57-68; and Flint, 226-55.

English phrase “Slow can go.” The phrase originated in an episode in which a “long time ago,” “an Indian brave” and his tribal people repeated the phrase during their long travels to the place filled with “lots of good food—deer, fish, berries” (172-73).¹⁵ After the settlement of the tribe, came a band of pioneers and miners. Two generations later, that tribe as well as the pioneers disappeared and then the Nikkei internees were relocated to that place. When viewed over a longer perspective, this Slocan episode shows that history is layered and consists of a serial process of immigration, settlement, and pioneering. The Nikkei internees can be also located within this procession of immigrant-settlers or pioneers. If Nikkei can be one of immigrant-settlers, in what way can they share victimhood with the Native people, the victim of immigrant-settlers? Or, to borrow historian Patricia Limerick’s words in a more general context, the question is “What place did Asian immigrants occupy in the broadest picture of the conquest of both nature and natives in North America?” within a wider context of immigration (*Something in the Soil* 198).

Before moving onto further analysis of the fakelore of the Asiatic, it might be necessary to underline the fact that the fakelore is often accompanied by the pioneer narrative. This dissertation takes the pioneer narrative that designates stories of explorers or immigrants

¹⁵ That the legendary phrase is not in their tribal language suggests that this folklore, which seemingly honors the First Nation people, is already a product of cultural translation, as Davidson observes (*Writing against Silence* 59-60).

devoting themselves in meeting unfamiliar lands and encountering native inhabitants as the background to its examination of the fakelore of the Asiatic. The term, frontier narrative, is more popular in the U.S. literary scene, and one could say the two terms are almost interchangeable with each other.¹⁶ However, in the following discussion, I would like to use the term, pioneer narrative, because firstly it takes into account a wider context of immigration that is not limited to the U.S. but instead refers to migration across the world, and secondly it puts an emphasis on the subject who risks his or her life in an unknown place rather than putting that emphasis on the vacant landscape. Namely, it can be a literary variation of historian Patricia Limerick's definition of frontier history as "the broadest picture of the conquest of both nature and natives in North America" (*Something in the Soil* 198). This pioneer narrative would include the colonial reports by European explorers, missionaries, and merchants during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which shaped the expansionist imagination in the nineteenth century and developed into a strong undercurrent of North American culture to this day. Japanese people also have adapted it in forming the modern nation state. Importantly, the basic logic of the pioneer narrative is that acquisition of property is legitimated by "[p]rior appropriation, the principle of 'first in time,

¹⁶ For general studies on the U.S. frontier narrative, see Slotkin; Smith C.; Smith H. N.; Faragher; Hallock; and Hannaford. For Canadian case of pioneer settler's narrative, see Clair; and Davidson, *Coyote Country*. For the U.S.-Canadian comparative studies in feminist criticism, see Fairbanks; and Jameson & Armitage.

first in right'” (Limerick, *Legacy* 66). The pioneer narrative is, in other words, a story about the first person or the first enterprise, either self-acclaimed or not, in an alien environment. It is in this context of the pioneer narrative that some of the literary self-portraits of Nikkei and Native North Americans via the fakelore of the Asiatic emerged.

Obasan finds its place in the literary vein of the pioneer narrative, but it is not a triumphant story of conquering and taming of new alien land, as the opening scene of the novel suggests: “Everything in front of us is virgin land. From the beginning of time, the grass along this stretch of prairie has not been cut” (*Obasan* 2). There is still no trace of pioneering enterprise on the prairie; instead, the sense of disappearance prevails. A more explicit portrait of Nikkei as disappearing pioneers can be found:

We were those pioneers who cleared the bush and the forest with our hands, the gardeners tending and attending the soil with our tenderness, the fisherman who are flung from the sea to flounder in the dust of the prairies.

We are the Issei and the Nisei and the Sansei, the Japanese Canadians. We disappear into the future undemanding as dew. (*Obasan* 132)

Telling a story of the failed, disappearing pioneer, *Obasan* thus evades self-contradiction. Nikkei are pioneers; however, as they are “[s]prouting upside down on the prairies, [their] hair wild as spiders’ legs [their] feet rooted nowhere,” they are not the successful heroes, who have settle down in North America (*Obasan* 271).

However, the longer history of Nikkei immigration and settlement actually indicates that the emphasis on victimhood is perhaps amnesiac in two contrastive senses. On the one hand, the emphasized victimhood dismisses cases of Nikkei collaboration with Native people in pioneering. For instance, in Yakima Valley, Washington, Nikkei leased land on the Yakima Indian reservation and “worked the land, transforming desert and sagebrush into fertile fields,” as historian Gail M. Nomura reveals (496-97). Nikkei and Native people were fellow pioneers as well. On the other hand, an over emphasis on fellowship hides Nikkei antagonism for Native people. During and after World War I, for example, in their struggle to achieve full citizenship, Nikkei in Canada found Native people to be a negative example with which they should not identify. Yasushi Yamazaki, an opinion leader of the rudiment Nikkei community in Canada, once blatantly expressed his fear about “becoming like Indians and being treated as such by the white Canadians” (translation mine; Yamazaki qtd. in Takeda 377).¹⁷ Through conjuring up the fakelore of the Asiatic in order to legitimize the self-portrait as victim of the relocation policies within the broader history of North American immigration and settlement, the novel contradicts its intention.

My reading of *Obasan* as a prime example the Nikkei

¹⁷ Likewise in the U.S., before WWI, the Japanese immigrant community attempted to distinguish itself from the Native North Americans so as to take root in the country and acquire American citizenship (Takamura, *Hokubei Mainoriti to Shiminken* 60-62).

appropriation of the pioneer narrative follows the work of literary critic Arnold E. Davidson. He points out the “use of the Native as a figure for loss and the merging of the ethnic novel and the Western novel” in *Obasan (Coyote Country 32)*; still, in his analysis, how the Native figure and the genre blending interwork with each other is left unexamined. As is shown above, *Obasan* employs Native people as the representative victims, who have been relocated for the sake of settler immigrants, and the novel does this in order to build a broader background of immigration and settlement for a story of Nikkei victimhood during the wartime internment. However, that background also questions the novel’s portrait of Nikkei as pure victims of the relocation policies, which can be compared with Native people. It reveals that Nikkei were once pioneer settlers, those who victimized Native people, either directly or indirectly. Further still, the broader background of immigration and settlement involves a reinterpretation of Native victimhood as well. Although history tells that the severe difficulties that have befallen to Native people, they are not the pure victim either. They were once immigrant settlers, as the anecdote of Slocan indicates and were participants in pioneering enterprises, as the episode of Yakima Valley shows.

In Part 1, a literary history of Ranald MacDonald will be firstly provided to show that folklore of the transpacific castaway survives through faking the fakelore of the Asiatic. Within this context, the next two chapters will revisit MacDonald’s own narrative and the latest literary follower, *Hiroshima Bugi* by Gerald Vizenor, with a

special emphasis on the literary mobility built upon the fakelore of the Asiatic.

Chapter 1 reconsiders MacDonald's "Japan Story of Adventure" and analyzes the correlation between narrative switching and ethnic switching. Setting out for the frontier beyond the Pacific on the track of European expansion, MacDonald encounters two types of native people on the Japanese islands: Japanese and Ainu people. In retrospect of this adventure, he writes "Japan Story of Adventure," which shows an interesting blend of pioneer ambition and homesickness for his remote ancestors. His story starts as a pioneer narrative of a Scottish-Chinook wanderer and turns into a Japanese captivity narrative, which reflects a change in his narrating positions after encountering the native Japanese.

The next chapter on Vizenor's appropriation of MacDonald, *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* (2003), looks into the postindian faking of the fakelore of the Asiatic. The novel recovers the long-lost presence of Ainu people in MacDonald's adventure and troubles MacDonald's ethnic switching in "Japan Story of Adventure." In doing so, *Hiroshima Bugi* recasts MacDonald's narrative of adventures and ethnic switching into a heterogeneous origin story of a native immigrant, in which every kind of lineage becomes fakeloric and the term, the Asiatic, no longer works as an ethnic marker.

The main concern of Part 2 is how Nikkei immigrants as belated pioneers encounter North America and its native inhabitants. As a possible answer to Limerick's question on Asian immigrants' place

“in the broadest picture of the conquest of both nature and natives in North America,” in Part 2, a cultural history of the barbed-wire fence as an interface between pioneer narrative and internment narrative is first provided. Then the following two chapters offer a reading of two Nikkei novels that entwine pioneer narrative and internment narrative and explore a new way of telling Nikkei stories in North America in relation with the Native North American people who have been their remote kindred. In doing so, those chapters attempt to answer the question: What happens when if Nikkei internee-pioneer encounters Native North Americans across barbed-wire fence?

Chapter 3 analyzes *Weedflower* (2006) by Sansei American writer Cynthia Kadohata. *Weedflower*, an internment narrative lined with pioneer narrative, fictionally reconstructs a life of a Nikkei girl in the Poston Relocation Center, the camp built on the Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation where the Mohave, the Chemehuevi and other tribal people have been relocated. In Poston Relocation Center, Nikkei internees witness the kinship between their relocation and the removal of Native Americans on the one hand, and participate in pioneering enterprise, on the other hand.

Chapter 4 reads *The Kappa Child* (2001) of postwar Issei Canadian writer Hiromi Goto and analyzes its portrait of a post-WWII Nikkei pioneer wannabe: while pursuing the pioneering dream a protagonist girl finds herself haunted by the legacy of the wartime internment, and while being a victim she discovers herself complicit in the victimization of Native people. Along with sliding portraits, the

novel describes a troubled friendship between Nikkei and Native people across a barbed-wire fence.

Part 1

Native Japanese on the Frontier

Self-Made Castaway

In the summer of 1848, offshore Rishiri Island near Hokkaido, the Ainu people found a young stranger in plight of shipwreck. He, Ranald MacDonald (1824-94), had seemingly lost his way, along with most of his belongings, after leaving the U.S. whaling ship, the *Plymouth*. The Ainu people saved and aided him, and subsequently brought him to the local officers in Matsumae.¹ However, according to MacDonald's memoir, this was all his practical joke, designed to challenge the locked doors of Japan under the seclusion policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate:

Before going further on my voyage, I landed my cargo, and then, intentionally capsized my boat, to ascertain whether I could right her again. My design in this was to present myself in distress; for with all their reputed cruelty to foreigners, I assumed, or half believed, that even Japanese would have some compassion on such of their fellowmen as storm or uncontrollable circumstances should cast upon their shores. Misfortune, if not a passport in all cases, is certainly so in some; with it, or its counterfeit, I determined to try the brazen

¹ MacDonald spells Matsumae as "Matsmai" ("Japan Story of Adventure" 165). For a detailed analysis on the spelling, see Tatsumi, "Total Apocalypse, Total Survivance." The identical spelling in *Moby-Dick* attests that perhaps Melville had read about MacDonald's adventure, says Tatsumi (202).

gates of Japan. (“Japan Story of Adventure” 155)

The intentional shipwreck was one of his efforts to conceal his real intention. He had prepared for his adventure to Japan very carefully in order to evade any kind of suspicion: the “main difficulty . . . would be to effectively disguise [his] motive . . . to learn of them, and, if possible, to be their teacher as to things external to them” and so he “limited the collection of books . . . to [his] simple English Bible, prayer book (Church of England), a dictionary, grammar, History (English) and geography &c—all in compact form” because “such freight—so strange for a mere castaway from a whaling ship—would naturally excite suspicion” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 132). MacDonald feigned himself as a castaway to enter the secluded Japan.

His trickeries worked well to some extent; his “counterfeited” “misfortune” saved him from the “reputed cruelty” of Japanese people. After a brief interview by the local officers, he was transported under guard from Hokkaido to Nagasaki. There, he succeeded in surviving a series of investigation by the officials and found himself not imprisoned with other castaways or mariners but instead solely confined to Daihian of Sofuku temple, for approximately half a year. It was a rather exceptional procedure, under the Tokugawa Shogunate that had the reputation for its hardcore hostility against foreigners. Its reputed xenophobic cruelty caused public protests in North America.²

² One of the reasons why MacDonald and *Lagoda* mariners were treated differently is their behavior, according to Japanese documents (Tomita 267; Shigehisa 270). For more detailed examination of a

The self-made castaway was said to teach English to samurai translators, which made him an indirect but key participant in the opening of Japan. In his cage at Daihian, MacDonald gave English lessons to Dutch-Japanese translators with main focuses on pronunciation, grammar, and syntax (“Japan Story of Adventure” 225-27).⁵ On grammar and syntax, he said to have explained in Japanese, which he had acquired during the journey from Hokkaido and was improving through occasional conversations with the students. Among those students was Einosuke Moriyama, who would later participate in the governmental negotiation with the U.S. that followed Commodore Matthew Perry’s visit in 1853. In his role as the first English teacher in Japan, MacDonald became a key backstage figure in the opening of Japan. He in a way prepared the Tokugawa Shogunate for a negotiation with the U.S. government.

In April of 1849, the U.S. *Preble* came to Nagasaki in order to take over the mariners who were incarcerated in Nagasaki. MacDonald was handed over as well; but he soon got off the *Preble* at Macao, China, and ventured forth on another wandering across Asia, Australia, and Europe.

confinement of *Lagoda* mariners, see Schodt 297-306. During almost the same period with MacDonald’s confinement, fifteen captivated mariners of the U.S. whaler *Lagoda* stayed in Nagasaki. Their stay was a more difficult one than MacDonald’s. An illustrative example of that difference is that MacDonald had the daily contact with translators but the *Lagoda* mariners did not (Schodt, *Native American* 302).

⁵ For historical studies on MacDonald as the first English teacher in Japan, see Hasegawa; Kawamoto, “Makudonarudo to Nihon no Deai” and “Nichiei Goishu”; Kawasumi; Murayama; Nagai; Nakagawa; and Niki. Schodt in *America and Four Japans* also introduces MacDonald as the first American who friendly teaches English in Japan (19-20).

On his way around the world, he probably participated in a gold rush and an exploration of new territories (Lewis & Murakami 44; Schodt 323-28). The majority of MacDonald's journey after leaving Japan remains unidentified because few documents exist. It was 1853, the year of Perry's expedition, when he finally made his way home to North America. After a brief stay at St. Andrews, Canada, MacDonald went to British Columbia, where he had a ranch with his brother (Lewis & Murakami 45). Later in 1861, as a restless pioneer, he joined a survey trip on the Fraser River and then spent two years pioneering and mining in the Bonaparte and Horsefly district, British Columbia (Lewis & Murakami 46-48). The aged MacDonald moved to an abandoned trading post which the Hudson Bay Company, one of prosperous fur trading companies, had once owned.⁴ This is MacDonald's life of pioneering across the globe, starting from a secluded Japan, getting involved in the U.S. excursion in the Pacific, and ending at a Canadian ranch.

During his pioneer enterprises in North America, he continued to write, on and off, the memoirs of his adventures in Japan in collaboration with his Métis friend Malcom McLeod.⁵ Making use of fragments of MacDonald's journal and his glossary of Japanese words and phrases,

⁴ For historical studies on fur trading in British North America, see Hinderaker & Mancall, 32-40. For general history of fur trading in North America, see Hine & Faragher, 133-158; Podruchny & Peers; Saum; and Wishart.

⁵ McLeod took a significant role in writing and editing MacDonald's narrative of adventure. For historical studies on MacDonald and McLeod collaboration, see Schodt 328-49; and Sonoda, "W. S. Lewis and N. Murakami, eds., Ranald MacDonald ni tsuite."

they composed a story of his adventures in Japan whose “brazen gates” were opening by the hand of the U.S. at that time. Though efforts of MacDonald and McLeod to publish the adventure story did not pay off during their lifetime, part of MacDonald’s transpacific story was published on several occasions: a 1849 report in *The Seaman’s Friend*; Elizabeth Bacon Custer’s 1891 article in *Harper’s Weekly*, “An Out of the Way ‘Outing’”; a 1893 publication of first chapters in the local newspaper, *Kettle Falls Pioneer*; Eva Emery Dye’s 1906 historical romance about pioneers in Oregon, *McDonald of Oregon*. Posthumously in 1923, his story was fully published as *Ranald MacDonald* with annotations and introduction by Oregon historians William S. Lewis and Naojiro Murakami. Thus, MacDonald’s narrative of pioneering adventure to the then closed Japan is fully delivered belatedly, some seventy years later.

Relocation in the National Myths

The authors themselves, MacDonald and McLeod, and other writers have relocated his adventure in Japan into different kinds of national myths. MacDonald and his coauthor MacLeod in their struggle to publish their manuscripts modified their narrative voice several times; at first they wrote for British Canada and then adjusted to the U.S. audience. Other writers, both in their contemporary and in the later years, relocated MacDonald’s story into their national narratives and claimed him as their national star. Custer and Dye embedded his story into the U.S. pioneer narrative, while such Japanese modern novelists as Miura Miura Ayako (1922-99), and Yoshimura Akira (1927-2006) included this

tale in their narrative of the opening of Japan.

Because of the heavy editing needed for publication, “Japan Story of Adventure” is a multifaceted and multi-tongued narrative, especially in terms of nationality. The first manuscript was completed around 1857, with the intention of publishing it in British Canada; however, they could not find any publisher willing to have it fully published, partly because the U.S. opening of Japan had caused a rush of new writings on Japan and MacDonald’s work was competing with those publications (Schodt 331-2). MacDonald and McLeod then adjusted the text so as to fit in with the U.S. atmosphere regarding Japan at that time, leaving out the British vein of imperialism.

Their editing efforts, as literary critic Gretchen Murphy in *Shadowing the White Man’s Burden* analyzes, can be contextualized in the territorial rivalry between the Britain and the United States over the Pacific during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (190-205). In order to publish the narrative and “to position himself as an agent . . . of imperial narratives” of both British Canada and the U.S., MacDonald was “writing from the U.S.-Canadian borderlands” (Murphy 190). As a result, when he tried to publish his work in British Canada, he tuned the text to fit in with British imperialism, while in the United States he adjusted it to reflect attitudes regarding the U.S. expansionism and its contribution to the opening of Japan.

Firstly in an attempt to publish the story in British Canada, MacDonald connected the Japan adventures to the pioneering enterprises of British Canada (Murphy, *Shadowing* 191-92). The

construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in which MacLeod was involved as a promoter,⁶ became the background for MacDonald's adventure: "my Japan of 1848-1849 [was linked] with the C.P.R. of 1885. We, McLeod and I . . . were the first to solve that problem of a 'North-west Passage'" ("Japan Story of Adventure" 101-02). At first, he viewed his adventure as an extension of the trans-continental railway; and then he even said that his extended route to Japan was a solution to the long-sought North West Passage, a trading route to Asia which had been explored by several European expeditions since the eighteenth century in order to shorten trading time and lessen trading costs.⁷ MacDonald's journey to Japan was positioned within British Canadian transcontinental and transpacific expansion, which originates from the transatlantic European exploration.

Then, MacDonald turned to the U.S. and tried to fit himself into American culture (Murphy, *Shadowing* 196-97). Along with his mention of Washington Irving's *Astoria* for the purpose of claiming his Americanism, MacDonald contextualized himself within the U.S. opening of Japan. He provided the expected readers with information regarding the Japanese seclusion policies such as the Decree of Exclusion issued in 1636 and the Edict of 1843 ("Japan Story of adventure" 127-30).⁸

⁶ For an historical account of the C.P.R. construction and Macleod's promotion of it, see Roe, 205-15.

⁷ For detailed information on the explorations of the Northwest Passage, see Glyndwr.

⁸ The former forbids the Portuguese to have contact with the

Thereupon he devised plans to evade the law and to enter Japan successfully. Taking advantage of the vast network of whaling across the world, which also served as the world-wide network of mailing, traveling, trading, exploring, and piracy during the nineteenth century (Morita 78-79), he traveled across the Pacific.

The finally published text in 1923, therefore, bears contradictory traces of their editing and modification like “a palimpsest of previous drafts and intentions” (Murphy, *Shadowing* 193). This chimeric text written from the U.S.-Canadian borderlands was conveniently integrated into stories of nation-building in the U.S. and into the literary scene in Japan. His contemporary U.S. writers such as Elizabeth Bacon Custer and Eva Emery Dye showcased him within the U.S. expansionist imagination, as Murphy analyzes (188); especially Dye nationalizes MacDonald as an Oregonian pioneer.⁹ In addition to MacDonald’s contemporary writers, the twentieth century Japanese writers appropriated his narrative into their historical romances and honored him as the first English teacher in Japan contributing to the nation’s modernization. The writers have imagined a considerable linkage between MacDonald and their own national community, and incorporated the story of his adventures into

Japanese, sentences the Japanese castaways to capital punishment, and banishes Christian missionaries out of the country, while the latter inhibits the return of the Japanese castaways except by Dutch or Chinese ships and prohibits any kind of exploration and examination of the Japanese territory by any person.

⁹ For another study on Custer and MacDonald, see Sonoda, “Kasuta-fujin to Makudonarudo.”

their familiar narratives.

McDonald of Oregon, a historical romance of Oregonian pioneers by Dye, merges MacDonald's adventure into a story of Oregon development, dismissing the traces of British Canadian expansionism. Dye makes use of the unpublished earlier draft describing MacDonald's adventure within the British expansion (Murphy, *Shadowing* 211). Declaring the Americanization of MacDonald's narrative in her introduction, she writes:

. . . I have endeavored to picture the American movement, with actual names of families Contemporaneously with the conquest of the Northwest, Ranald McDonald crossed to Japan, to be quickly followed by Commodore Perry, whose interpreters were McDonald's. (Dye vi)

Dye portrays MacDonald as a predecessor of Commodore Perry and incorporates him into the U.S. expedition in the Asia Pacific. Furthermore, while portraying him as one of American pioneers, Dye defines MacDonald as belonging to "Asiatic America," or Native America. Her gradual shift in narrative focus implies the process through which Native Americans are presented as giving way to the American pioneers:

As a hero of the vanguard, Ranald McDonald ranks along with Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark, and Commodore Perry. Beyond, more than any of these, he belonged to that Asiatic America so swiftly succumbing to the Anglo-Saxon. (Dye vi)

As she intends, the novel that starts with the birth of Ranald MacDonald gradually moves on to stories of pioneering in Oregon, as if indicating an “Asiatic America so swiftly succumbing to the Anglo-Saxon.” The latter half of *McDonald of Oregon* describes in detail pioneers of Oregon: Henry Sagar who is “a typical American” (Dye 112), Captain William Shaw who “want[s] to crown [his] old age by saving Oregon to the United States” (Dye 113), Joe Watt who would “rather go to Oregon and hold it to Uncle Sam” (Dye 113), among others. MacDonald’s story is absorbed into the American narrative of pioneering in Oregon.

While Dye’s novel intertwines MacDonald’s adventure with Oregon pioneering, the twentieth century Japanese novelists work instead to adopt MacDonald into popular stories of the opening of Japan by characterizing him as a goodwill visitor who resembles Japanese people. For instance, *Kairei* [Undersea Ridge] (1983) by Ayako Muira relates the story of “three kichis,” three castaways who drifted across the Pacific for fourteen months around 1832.¹⁰ The novel introduces a fictional episode depicting an encounter between the three kichis and MacDonald. In the novel, the meeting aroused MacDonald’s interest in Japan: “the incident inspired Ranald to carry out a journey to Japan. Plus, people say he was motivated to smuggle himself into Japan also based on his belief that

¹⁰ The three kichis of Chita Peninsula includes Otokichi, Kyukichi, and Iwamatsu who was later renamed Iwakichi. For the detailed research on them, see Haruna. For the cultural circulation of their story, see also Schodt’s *Native American* 54-57.

Japan was the homeland of his biological mother, the Indian . . .” (Miura vol.2 144; translation mine). In fact, MacDonald did not meet the three kichis but just heard of them; nevertheless, Miura cannot “resist the temptation of showing the three Japanese meeting Ranald” (Schodt 54) and explains MacDonald’s adventure as a search for his maternal origin in Japan. In Miura’s novel, a witness of the three kichis kindles a passion for Japan in MacDonald and references to Japan as his maternal homeland underlines or even naturalizes his fascination with Japan.

Umi no Sairei [Festival of the Sea] (1989) by Akira Yoshimura offers another example of the Japanization of MacDonald.¹¹ This historical novel depicts friendly interactions between MacDonald and a Dutch-Japanese translator Einosuke Moriyama, in Nagasaki at the critical time of the opening of Japan. In the similar manner with other literature of MacDonald, it portrays MacDonald’s adventure as a nostalgic search for his ancestral land, through introducing the anecdote of the three kichis. The narrator describes MacDonald’s impression of three kichis:

Soon, those who witnessed Iwakichi and the other two
castaways shared the news of them in the town of Red River.
Their eyes were mystically limpid; their skin surprisingly
smooth; and the color of their hair, skin, and eyes was similar

¹¹ Ishihara examines Yoshimura’s fictional part created by the author without any historical basis (“Yoshimura Akira *Umi no Sairei* wo Yomu”). For Yoshimura’s note on creation of the novel, see Yoshimura, “Shosetsu wo Kakiageru made ni.”

to that of an Indian. (Yoshimura, *Umi no Sairei* 69; translation mine).

The story of the three castaways from Japan gives to MacDonald a kind of “mystic inspiration” and in it he even discovers the ancient kinship between them and himself:

He once heard about an Indian legend that ancestors had come from Asia via Alaska to America. The long and arduous journey took them across the Beringia to Americas. However, the glacier moved and sank the land bridge, dividing Eurasia and the Americas.

It took an unbelievably long time for the three men to arrive in the Americas from across the Ocean. They were from the land of his mother, and that fact generated great enthusiasm for Japan in MacDonald. (Yoshimura, *Umi no Sairei* 69; translation mine)

Whatever the real reason is, this anecdote renders innocent or even gratifying his otherwise illegal entry into the closed Japan. Placing an emphasis on the ancient kinship, Yoshimura as well as Miura, retrieve the casted-away stranger into their narrative of Edo Japan at the verge of opening and modernization. In their novels, MacDonald is a familial and familiar visitor rather than a foreign intruder because his ancestors have a shared origin with Japanese people.

A Transpacific Pioneer Encounters the Native Japanese

This phase of nationalization of MacDonald is followed by an

internationalizing phase in which MacDonald becomes a nodal figure of transpacific cultural interactions. At the turn of twenty first century, two literary reinterpretations of MacDonald appear: *The City of Yes: A Novel* (1999) by Peter Oliva (1964-) and *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* (2001) by Gerald Vizenor (1934-). They recast MacDonald within the cultural transactions between Japan and either Canada or the U.S. as a lost pioneer in the transpacific adventure. Instead of anchoring MacDonald in the national community, the two let him loose in time and space, reincarnating him into a prototype of the drifting pioneer. Their protagonists follow MacDonald's footsteps across the Pacific and encounter Japanese people, the natives of these foreign islands.

The City of Yes: A Novel by Peter Oliva, a U.S.-born Italian Canadian writer, has MacDonald as the central figure in a "prison odyssey" (Oliva 183). His work reinterprets him as a pioneer of captivated English teacher.¹² The novel is based on Oliva's personal experiences as a participant in Japan Exchange Teaching Programme¹³ and sketches a Canadian JET participant's sojourn in Japan from 1993

¹² Its title is an adaptation of "The City of Yes and the City of No," a poem by Russian writer Yevgeny Yevtushenko (1932-). The word "Yes" also connotes Yeso or the ancient name for today's Hokkaido. Main book reviews of the novel are: Derbyshire; Sherman.

¹³ In order to promote grassroots international exchange, the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR) has managed the program since 1986 in cooperation with Japanese local government organizations, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. For the details, see the websites for the JET Programme <<http://www.jetprogramme.org/>> and CLAIR <<http://www.clair.or.jp/>>. For the best cultural study on the JET programme, see McConnell.

to 1994. MacDonald had left a job at the bank with an intention to visit Japan in order “to learn of them, and, if possible, to be their teacher as to things external them” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 132). Likewise, a thirty-year-old Peter Oliva quits his job at a local gym and decides to join in the JET Programme, which encourages participants both to learn Japanese cultures and languages and to teach their own cultures and languages. In November 1993, he comes to a private school in Saitama and meets a fellow English teacher, Hideo Endo, who is fascinated with MacDonald’s “drifting story,” having followed in his late father’s interests in MacDonald’s glossary (Oliva 93). Learning from Endo the details of MacDonald’s adventures in Japan, Oliva tells of his romantic and mystic interests in Japan aside from his “logical” business interests: “The traveller desires, above all else, the chance to see and hoard Japan for himself, as if he could wrap the Orient up inside a *bento* lunch box and bring it home to eat in small, exotic portions” (Oliva 11, 15; italics original). The JET participant’s desire follows MacDonald’s enthusiasm for Japan which is like a “[w]onder in an ocean of wonders” and “an object of intense curiosity” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 131). On summer vacation, Oliva traces in reverse MacDonald’s adventure across Japan with Endo and thinks of a possible encounter with MacDonald on the route: “From Nagasaki to Hiroshima, from Kyoto to Sado Island, we’d followed MacDonald’s rough path to Hokkaido. He had descended Japan while Enzo [Endo; his nickname] and I walked up, as if we had all nodded to each other on a flight of stairs” (Oliva 296). In the end, Oliva on his way back to

Canada imagines his traveling route corresponding to MacDonald's. On a plane across the Pacific, Oliva is "finally following MacDonald toward the end of his travels" (Oliva 309). He even travels to Vancouver Island, which MacDonald explored with colleagues in 1864, as if to trace the obliterated adventures by MacDonald.¹⁴ Oliva still further follows the steps of MacDonald and writes his own memoir of his days in Japan, which becomes *The City of Yes*.

What is particularly notable about *The City of Yes* is that it not only traces the path of MacDonald's adventures but also reinterprets his memoir, "Japan Story of Adventure," as captivity narrative. While enjoying his orientalist search for "the real Japan," which he can take back home in small portions, Oliva becomes tired of the occidentalist stereotypes, which he regards as a kind of emotional imprisonment by Japanese people. Oliva is caught in cage of stereotypes, while MacDonald was caught in real cage. On one occasion, his impatience at being placed in the position of the essential Western character prompts him to feel that he has been put in something "like a trap (even a prison) in the guise of a beautiful label" (Oliva 113). During one of his busiest days of teaching English classes, he finds himself caged: "Within my overworked foreigner's delirium, I was beginning to think of Japan as an affectionate prison. Well liked and well fed, I still couldn't shake the idea that I was a parrot who simply paraded

¹⁴ A journal of Vancouver Island expedition, which Oliva argues MacDonald's but is not yet identified as so, is included in the Robert Brown Collection in the British Columbia Archive, Victoria.

language, bobbing my head, waving a peanut from one end of my cage to crack it in another” (Oliva 287). Oliva thus fictionally reconstructs MacDonald’s days of teaching English to the native Japanese, in cage. A drab side of teaching English in virtual captivity partly demystifies both MacDonald’s heroic narrative and the Japanese celebration of MacDonald as the first English teacher; however, Oliva’s *The City of Yes* casts a new light on MacDonald’s folklore.

While *The City of Yes* remakes MacDonald as the lost adventurer in captivity, another novel featuring MacDonald, *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* by postindian writer Gerald Vizenor, finds in MacDonald a prototype of the transpacific trickster, Anishinaabe-Ainu, Ronin Ainoko Browne. *Hiroshima Bugi* recovers the long-lost presence of Ainu people in renditions of MacDonald’s adventure. Through reclaiming the Ainu presence, *Hiroshima Bugi* even recreates a mixed origin myth and repaints MacDonald’s portrait as a national mascot as the past novels described.

Undiscovering the Asiatic Kinship

MacDonald and his literary followers tacitly use or misuse the faked kinship of the Asiatic in their narratives. In both phases, these narratives of the Scottish-Chinook pioneer from the U.S.-Canada borderlands are apparently in agreement about MacDonald’s motivation to travel to Japan beyond the Pacific. It is against the backdrop of the long-running European expansion towards the west that MacDonald tells a story of his adventure in Japan. He explains his intention to readers: “it

has struck me that it might be of some passing interest to the now fast increasing crowd of travel by this new western way to the 'East,' to hear my humble story of pioneer development of it" ("Japan Story of Adventure" 73). His adventure is told on the track of the "western way to the 'East'" across the Pacific. Literary followers also retell his adventure within this orbit of European expansion.

At the very same time, his story of transpacific pioneering within the wide arc of European expansion depends on the fakelore of the Asiatic that assumes a remote kinship between Native North Americans and Asians. MacDonald in "Japan Story of Adventure" makes a triangle of comparison and contrast between Native North Americans, Japanese, and Ainu people, which presupposes the kinship. He curves out his status as a pioneer in the secluded Japan, through this trinomial comparison and contrast. His fakelore of the Asiatic has caught attention of literary followers and invited different, or even contradictory, appropriations.

Dye's *McDonald of Oregon* draws a physiognomical analogy between Native North American and Asian, especially Japanese people, which naturalizes the gradual narrative shift: "little Ranald grew round and handsome, and his bright black eyes illumined a face olive and oval as the son of a mikado" (21). On the one hand, *McDonald of Oregon* compares MacDonald with Oregonian pioneers in a manner that makes his surrender to European pioneers a destined outcome. On the other hand, the historical romance likens him with Japanese people, presupposing the Asiatic category. As Murphy analyzes, in this

comparison of Native Americans and Japanese people, the historical romance attempts to validate the U.S. expansion into the Pacific and into the Asia through the comparison of Native Americans and Asians (*Shadowing* 210-21). Using the same line of reasoning, Asians are none other than Native Americans conquered by the U.S. If so, the U.S. exploration of Asia would also be predetermined as well.

The novels of Miura and Yoshimura amplify the implied ancient kinship and transform MacDonald from a foreigner to a familial member in their historical romances. The two works place an extra emphasis on the anecdote that MacDonald regarded Japan as “the land of his [maternal] ancestors” (Lewis & Murakami 39). This phrase is actually cited from MacDonald’s letter to Malcolm McLeod dated June 4, 1891. Namely, the editors added an underline to that vision of the ancestral Japan. In the narrative, MacDonald does not overtly describe Japan as his ancestral land; rather he implies the Asiatic kinship in episodes about his physiognomical resemblance with the Japanese and his innate aptitude for the Japanese language. Miura’s *Kairei*, as is cited above, mentions the belief that Japan is his maternal homeland and underlines that kinship. Likewise but more explicitly, Yoshimura’s *Umi no Sairei* represents MacDonald as a familial therefore familiar contributor to the opening of Japan. Mirroring the scene in which MacDonald’s enthusiasm for Japan is fired up by the three kichis who look like Indians, Yoshimura’s work provides an episode in which the Japanese people cordially welcome MacDonald noticing that he looks like themselves:

MacDonald does not look like any of the whalers from North America or Oahu, who are imprisoned in Nagasaki. He has black hair and eyes, but does not have a sharp nose. Every keeper of the prison says that MacDonald is not necessarily a typical foreigner but rather similar to the Japanese. That enables them to be in close companionship with him. (Yoshimura, *Umi no Sairei* 180; translation mine).

“Whalers from North America or Oahu” are the fifteen mariners of the U.S. whaling ship, *Lagoda*. As if the physiognomical differences between MacDonald and the *Lagoda* mariners explain the differences in their treatments, the description of his physical features develops into the description of Japanese prison keepers’ friendly feeling toward him. Repealing MacDonald’s pioneering ambition and constructing a kinship between MacDonald and the Japanese people that is mutually confirmed, *Umi no Sairei* reshapes MacDonald as a remote relative whose goodwill intention of knocking on the door of the secluded Japan contributes to the opening of the nation.

The familiarization of MacDonald reoccurs at the moment of mourning, which even implies a farewell to MacDonald whose contribution of teaching English is becoming a relic of the past in *Umi no Sairei*. After MacDonald left Nagasaki on board the U.S. *Preble* in April of 1849, Moriyama, one of MacDonald’s students, becomes one of the main translators taking part in the governmental negotiations with European countries. Three years later, Moriyama receives the news of

the death of Sakushichiro Uemura, his senior Dutch-Japanese translator. On the evening of 18th of February, Moriyama visits the Uemura: “After he offered incense, he took off the white cloth and contemplated the uncovered Uemura’s face. He saw MacDonald’s dark suntanned face superimposed upon the pale white death mask of Uemura” (Yoshimura, *Umi no Sairei* 318; translation mine). In this moment of mourning for the respected interpreter, Moriyama remembers his good old friend MacDonald. Besides Moriyama’s sense of nostalgia, the vision of MacDonald’s face laid over Uemura’s also indicates that both MacDonald’s contribution of teaching English and Uemura’s efforts as an pioneering interpreter have now become part of the past both for Moriyama and for the rapidly modernizing country. The novel at first constructs the Asiatic kinship upon the physiognomic similarity. However, in this particular scene, the contrastive features, namely MacDonald’s suntanned darkness in contrast to Uemura’s deceased whiteness, conjure up the similarity. The nostalgic vision of this overlap is immediately followed by a narrative shift: “Spring has passed, and the damp rainy season has ended” (Yoshimura, *Umi no Sairei* 318; translation mine). This sudden transition in time indicates that Moriyama has left both the late Uemura and his young friend MacDonald and moved on forward.

Thus in the phase of nationalization, MacDonald’s own comparison and contrast between Native North Americans, Japanese, and Ainu people are changed into a binomial comparison between Native North American and Japanese people. In the internationalization phase,

MacDonald's trinomial comparison and contrast are completely disused by *The City of Yes* and reused by *Hiroshima Bugi*. *The City of Yes* dismisses the Asiatic kinship that MacDonald and other followers highlight and, instead, recasts the narrative of adventures in search of the ancestor into a captivity narrative, as is discussed above.

Each of the literary followers relocates MacDonald's fakelore of the Asiatic for the author's own narrative purpose, and what MacDonald's trinomial comparison and contrast in "Japan Story of Adventure" is overused, abused, or misused in its literary adaptations. The Asiatic kinship between the maternal Chinooks and the native Japanese, as MacDonald imagined, has been virtually lost but appropriated in various manners throughout the literary history of MacDonald. Generally, the theory of Asiatic migration via the Beringia only is now scientifically doubtful. However, it is also true that folklore of this transpacific castaway survives through a series of literary faking of the fakelore of the Asiatic. Outside the scientific veracity, the fakelore of the Asiatic has the marginal but not negligible effects in literary culture. Within this context, the next two chapters will revisit MacDonald's own narrative and the latest literary follower of MacDonald's narrative, *Hiroshima Bugi* by Gerald Vizenor, focusing on examination how the literary mobility is built upon the fakelore of the Asiatic.

Chapter 1

Mixed-Blood Pioneer in Japanese Captivity:

Ranald MacDonald's "Japan Story of Adventure"

Reconsidered

Scottish-Chinook Pioneer across the Pacific

Ranald MacDonald ascribes his bold decision to try and enter a secluded Japan at the cost of all his "civilized life" to his hereditary enthusiasm for wandering, which makes his adventure a story of a frontiersman seeking his familial origin across the Pacific. In accounting for what motivated his journey across the globe, he says that he felt "ever, and uncontrollably in [his] blood, the wild strain for wandering freedom; *im primis* of my Highland father of Glencoe; secondly, and possibly more so (though unconsciously) of my Indian mother of the Pacific Seas, in boundless Dominion" ("Japan Story of Adventure" 118; italics original). His father, Archibald McDonald, was a prominent Scottish fur trader serving as a senior Hudson Bay Company officer in the Columbia district.¹ As the company policy sought the smooth and beneficial acquisition of lands, fur traders often married Native North American women; Archibald was no exception and he

¹ For the earlier history of Scottish colonists, see Axtell. For Archibald McDonald's biography, see Cole, *Exile in the Wilderness*. Cole collected and edited his letters from fur trading posts in British Canada from 1822 to 1844 in *This Blessed Wilderness*. Roe also provide a concise story of Archibald McDonald's days in Fort Vancouver before Ranald was born (5-14).

married Koale'xoa or Princess Raven of the Chinook. She was a daughter of the legendary chief Comcomly (1754?-1830).² Though Koale'xoa passed away soon after giving birth to Ranald, he was raised as a royal heir of "native 'blue' blood of Ind[ian] in America" ("Japan Story of Adventure" 84). This royal boy later became famous as the first Native American and first English teacher in the closed Japan.

Revealing his double motivation for exploration to Japan, he places himself at least two different contexts. With the paternal side of his "wild strain for wandering freedom," MacDonald cultivated himself into an agent of the white European exploration of the overseas frontiers. MacDonald's journey is an extension of his father's transatlantic and transcontinental journey as a fur trader. With the maternal side of his "wild strain for wandering freedom," which motivates him "secondly, and possibly more so (though unconsciously)" MacDonald becomes a Chinook explorer in search of his tribal origin beyond the Pacific.

This statement regarding MacDonald's youthful aspiration for global wandering offers one of the most illustrative examples of his writing from the U.S.-Canada borderlands, according to Murphy (*Shadowing* 201-05). The explanation that he was motivated by his maternal ancestral bonds, for journey to Japan has captured much

² Washington Irving's *Astoria* makes mentions of Comcomly as the hospitable, wealthy, one-eyed Chinook king (52-53). For a general account of the Chinook in the today's Scarboro Hill, see Ruby & Brown. For a brief account of the Chinook marriage, see Roe 1-4.

attention; however, it is not so simply stated in “Japan Story of Adventure.” In addition to the “racial motivations,” Murphy argues that MacDonald’s journey existed within “the imperial context of competition for Pacific empire” (*Shadowing* 204-5). His display of Chinook royal heritage is the medium through which he incorporates himself into the U.S. mainstream, creating the binary that places an expanding white America in opposition to a surrendering, disappearing Indian nations, with little consideration of British Canada. Yet, in his statement, he originally presupposes that the Northwest area is developing under British aegis rather than the U.S. expansionism on the one hand and that the Chinooks in the fur trading era comprised “a sovereign nation engaged in legitimate diplomatic arts with HBC” on the other hand (*Shadowing* 205). Thus, the medium to participate in a pioneering story of the U.S. suggests multinational contexts of MacDonald’s narrative of adventure. The Chinook lineage conjures up a fictional kinship between Native Americans and Asians which supports the binary view of the U.S. expansion against the decline of Native nations; at the same time, it implicitly places MacDonald against that binary.

In an attempt to add a supplement to Murphy’s interpretation, this chapter reconsiders MacDonald’s references to his maternal lineage and to the faked Asiatic kinship in “Japan Story of Adventure.” In this narrative, the Asiatic kinship works in a bit more complicated way; MacDonald forms a fake kinship between Chinook and Japanese through vague, varying descriptions of Native North Americans, Japanese, and Ainu people. Sometime MacDonald compares himself with Japanese who

can be compared with white Americans, while differentiating himself from Native North Americans through drawing an analogy between Native North Americans and Ainu people. The rather incoherent comparison and contrast fashions MacDonald as the Scottish wanderer under British aegis, the U.S. explorer, the first teacher of English in Japan, or an ex-captive Native North American. MacDonald in “Japan Story of Adventure” thus deploys the fakelore of the Asiatic to position himself within transpacific interactions, intentionally or not.

An Indian in Captivity

After the triumphant entry by feigning a castaway, MacDonald’s adventures turns out to be an itinerancy of prisons across the Japanese islands. While under confinement, his pioneer narrative of the wanderer transmutes itself into a captivity narrative of an English teacher perhaps because he prefers to present his story as a captivity narrative rather than a failed pioneer narrative. Before starting his journey, he explains his intention to survey and civilize the native Japanese:

[M]y motive, viz: to learn of them, and, if, possible, to be their teacher as to things external to them, against which they had encased themselves, and as to which, especially the English, and all of that nationality, they had been studiedly prejudiced by the Dutch and Chinese, for their own ends. (“Japan Story of Adventure” 132)

Even after he is captivated, he tries to fulfill his purpose of learning from and teaching the Japanese people. Caught by Japanese people,

MacDonald survives his prison life by re-fashioning himself as an English teacher instead of the ambitious but captivated pioneer.

In “Japan Story of Adventure,” MacDonald sets out telling his pioneering journey to Japan; however, on the pages about his Japan days, his narrative voice changes into that of a captive by “barbarian hosts,” or Japanese people (“Japan Story of Adventure” 203). On the day he was rescued from the faked shipwreck, MacDonald “took a short walk out of doors—the only freedom [he] had in Japan” and ever afterwards spent some ten months in prisons (“Japan Story of Adventure” 162). In Hontomari, MacDonald was kept in “the room or cage” for thirty days (“Japan Story of Adventure” 174) and in Soya, he tried to tell officers that “a prison was not good for” him (“Japan Story of Adventure” 178). While on board from Soya to Matsumae, he was kept “in [his] cabin, cribbed and thought-weary, in the solitude of [his] prison on the ever-rocking sea,” and because he learned that it was useless to ask Japanese officers the reasons for his imprisonment from his earlier experiences in Hokkaido, he “left it, hanging like Mahomet’s coffin, between sea and sky” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 185). One day he even said that he “enjoy[ed] a lubberly voyage from one prison to another” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 188). He stayed in Matsumae “with every comfort under the circumstances, but always a strict prisoner” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 200). Then on the voyage from Matsumae to Nagasaki he “was put into a small cabin, grated: was in fact, caged” and “remonstrated against such close confinement” to get the grating removed (“Japan Story of Adventure” 203). Finally in Nagasaki he was put in Daihian of Sofuku

temple, which was his “house” or “prison” and “was partitioned off with bars about four inches thick and the same distance apart” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 221). For the remaining seven months, he was kept “immured” there and “never once stepped outside [his] prison” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 242). In this manner, MacDonald’s journey across Japan was nothing more than a serial trip from one prison to another.

Writing about days in Japanese prisons, MacDonald perhaps appropriated Japanese captivity narrative such as *Narrative of My Captivity in Japan During the Years 1811, 1812, and 1813 with Observations on the Country and People* (1816; English translation 1818) by a Russian militant Vasilii Mikhailovich Golovnin (1776-1831), which was popular enough to assume that MacDonald might have read it (Schodt, *Native American* 229-30).⁵ Besides the genre’s popularity, given the fact that any foreign castaway in Japan at that time could not evade imprisonment, his narrative regarding his entry into Japan invariably became a captivity narrative. MacDonald seemed to be familiar with Japanese foreign policies, as he provides Japanese edicts and explains his effort to cover his real motive in “Japan Story of Adventure.”

Yet, more than simply satisfying the historical necessity, this captivity narrative was needed in reconstructing MacDonald’s half-failed

⁵ Blomberg offers a general picture of the history of European writings on Japan in her introduction to the collection, *The West’s Encounter with Japanese Civilization 1800-1940*; there she explains that European narrative about Japan have undergone a series of changes depending on Japanese foreign policies since the mid-sixteenth century (1).

attempt at pioneering in Japan. Captivity narrative allows him to translate his journey of imprisonment into research journey of Japanese people and customs. Historian Linda Colley in *Captives* points out a possible link of captivity narratives with ethnographic works: as “a mode of writing,” captivity narratives “commonly describe how a single individual or a group was seized, how the victim/s coped (or not) with the challenges and sufferings that ensued, and how they contrived in the end to escape or were ransomed or released” and “form the closest approximation . . . to the kind of analyses supplied by anthropologists and ethnographers immersed in alien societies today” (13). Colley’s definition of captivity narrative, which asserts that it functions partly as ethnographical observation, is based upon Mary Louise Pratt’s discussion on methodologies of ethnography. It is important to note, however, that Pratt carefully distinguishes between captives and ethnographers in terms of “their material relation to the indigenous group” (38), and therefore an easy translation of captivity narrative into ethnographical study is inappropriate. In some cases, not in every case, a captive would turn into an ethnographer.⁴

In “Japan Story of Adventure,” MacDonald as a pioneer-turned-to-captive observes Japanese people and customs and

⁴ For cultural studies of captivity, see Franklin; and Haslam & Wright, “Introduction.” These studies scrutinize the social and ideological function of the prison system and its variant in the formation of nation states, national integrity, and citizenship. For Indian captivity narrative in colonial North America, see Brezina; Ebersole; Namias; and VanDerBeets.

gathers pieces of information on Japan from his various cages. In doing so, he relocates himself from the position of an observed captive to that of an observer in custody. While staying in Daihian of Nagasaki, he writes:

My place of residence though really a prison—for I had no liberty beyond the bars of my cage—was a resort of quite a variety of people. Men of all sorts—students, officers, priests, and people in general of the respectable classes, except women, came to stare at me, as a natural curiosity. (“Japan Story of Adventure” 230)

MacDonald as “curiosity” whom the Japanese natives observe also observes them and offers ethnographic observations on the natives of the Japanese islands. His ethnographic observation ranges from religion, to the appearances of the people and their customs. He also takes a note on their linguistic tendencies. In the limited environment, MacDonald in custody carries out his purpose of learning about the Japanese people.

Examined within the literary history of MacDonald, his religious statements are often dismissed. However, if due emphasis were placed on those statements, this captivity narrative of a mixed-blooded Indian would turn into a deviant form of an Indian captivity narrative. As literary Americanist Takayuki Tatsumi in “Total Apocalypse, Total Survivance” indicates, MacDonald’s narrative can be viewed as a Japanese captivity narrative in which Japanese natives captivate an Indian who plays a role of captivator in the U.S. Indian captivity narratives (203). MacDonald in “Japan Story of Adventure” declares to

his readers his faith in Christianity and his intention to share that Christianity with the Native Japanese, and includes the Bible and prayer book in his few belongings. However, unlike European captives in Indian captivity narratives, MacDonald does not face any explicit peril of his faith. When he is interviewed by the officers in Nagasaki, as “Japan Story of Adventure” describes, he is able to get through the religious inquiries with the assistance of the interpreter Moriyama, who does not translate into Japanese all of MacDonald’s confession regarding religion and interrupts him when he mentioned Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary after conceiting the Apostles’ Creed (“Japan Story of Adventure” 220-21). Thanks to Moriyama’s deliberate mistranslation and interruption, the officer does not identify him as a foreign Catholic or as a potential missionary and confined him to Daihian, where he teaches English to the translators and keeps notes about what he observes and learns from them.

Faking the Asiatic Kinship

In interpreting his captivity into a sort of ethnographic field work, the fakelore of the Asiatic helps him from falling into the worst situations. At a meeting with a chief officer of Matsumae, MacDonald notes: “His first exclamation was ‘*Nipongin* [a Japanese]!’—whatever that was” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 191; italics original). His physical similitude lessens the anxiety of Japanese and loosens his treatment compared with other foreign castaways. It was not only his intentional disguise as a castaway but also his physiognomical features that saved

him from the reputed barbarity in the Japanese foreign policy.

Besides, MacDonald himself mentions his Asiatic kinship with Japanese when he authenticates his linguistic agility in acquiring Japanese, which in turn positions him to observe the native Japanese from a certain distance and to teach them English. He explains how he taught the samurai translators semantics and usages of English words:

The discussion as to signification and different applications of words were, at times, a little laborious, but, on the whole, satisfactory, by aid of the dictionaries, and my own natural aptitude in that way—of which I had no idea till developed by the effort. Without boast, I may say, that I picked up their language easily, many of their words sounding familiar to me—possible through my maternal ancestry. (“Japan Story of Adventure” 227)

He suggests that his linguistic ability to learn Japanese easily even without any assistance is from his “maternal ancestry,” which means he takes it for granted the kinship between Japanese people and the Chinook people. In his self-fashioning as a good English teacher who knows better “things external them [Japanese]” as he states, he makes use of fakelore of the Asiatic to assume his un-alienness to Japanese (“Japan Story of Adventure” 132).

Yet, in order to compare himself with the native Japanese without degrading his narrating authority, the native Japanese is necessarily more like white people: MacDonald’s partial self-qualification as a “white” adventurer is completed through his estimating Moriyama as an

exceptionally excellent “white” fellow in the published “Japan Story of Adventure.” MacDonald observes and evaluates Japanese people whom he has met during his journey, keenly aware of what extent they are physically similar to white people. On Moriyama, in particular, MacDonald comments as follows:

The next—the dearest to me in every regard, and most esteemed, and ever loved—was the brilliant Murayama Yeanosuke [Moriyama Einosuke], of medium height among his people, say five feet six inches; of delicate and finely cut features; with signs of great intelligence; eyes intensely black, brilliant, and penetrating, yet with an expression mild and loving—truly magnetic: of very light complexion—like the white of the Southern States of America, lighter much than the average Japanese. (“Japan Story of Adventure” 263)

He describes Moriyama as “the dearest,” “most esteemed” and “ever loved” among his Japanese translators and friends, and then compares him with “the white of the Southern State of America,” as if to say Moriyama’s “very light complexion” which is more like the white than the “average Japanese” explains his “brilliant” character and linguistic enthusiasm. While estimating Moriyama as an honorary, quasi white, MacDonald secures himself the white position from which he can judge and evaluate Moriyama and be a reliable narrator. In this way, he whitens himself through whitening his Japanese best friend. The original fakelore of the Asiatic that motivated MacDonald to Japan as his

ancestral land is changed into the fakelore of the white Asiatic. By faking the Asiatic ancestry, MacDonald redraws self-portrait; he refashions himself from the failed pioneer captivated by the native Japanese into the “white” observer in custody.

Natives on the Frontier

Ainu people play mediatory role in MacDonald’s adventure and in his narrative. MacDonald was saved first by two presumably Ainu people and entered Tokugawan Japan (“Japan Story of Adventure” 157-59).⁵ He is handed over to Japanese officers and kept under watch. Next day officers examine MacDonald’s belongings and after that MacDonald spends “the afternoon in writing Ino words on [his] slate; an occupation which seems to amuse the on-lookers” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 163). In the similar manner of observing the observers in Nagasaki, MacDonald starts describing people around him in custody: “The people I was now among were not Japanese proper, but Inoes pronounced (Eye-nose) who are tributary to the former” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 163). While observing the people, he sees the colonial hierarchy between Japanese officers and Ainu fishers⁶ and moves on an ethnographic study

⁵ Although his lifesavers are not identified as Ainu people explicitly, the subsequent explanation suggests that they are Ainu fishers. For instance, when MacDonald arrives at an officer’s house, he uses “a Japanese” for the first time to describe an officer, which means he does not assume a group of people accompanying him from the shore to the house as Japanese (“Japan Story of Adventure” 159).

⁶ Editors Lewis and Murakami put an ethnographic note regarding Ainu people, based on studies by Francis L. Hawks, P. F. von Siebold, and

that differentiates the two groups of the native Japanese.

The differentiation between the Japanese and the Ainu serves as the backdrop of his quasi ethnographic observation and of his self-fashioning as the first teacher of English. He offers a detailed description on the Ainu customs such as salutations, their origin, and physical features that are distinct from the Japanese but instead similar to some of Native North American people. The white Asiatic kinship, which MacDonald deploys in his self-portrayal, plays a central role in his observation on Ainu people as well. That is to say, MacDonald draws a triangle of comparison and contrast between Ainu, Japanese, and Native North American people, and in doing so paints his ethnic and narrative self-portrait.

MacDonald describes the hierarchized difference between them, but at the same time expresses his regards towards them. Remembering his first imprisoned days, he notes as the following:

We were now at or rather beyond the extreme North of Japan proper. Yesso—the homeland of the Inoes—being (as before said or intimated) merely tributary to Japan, with a certainly distinctive people in physique—and mental and moral

G. H. von Langsdorff (“Japan Story of Adventure” 163-64). For the Japanese colonialism in Hokkaido in Edo period, see Kojima. A website of The Ainu Association of Hokkaido provides a succinct account of the colonial history and the today’s Ainu culture: <<http://www.ainu-assn.or.jp/english/eabout01.html>>. For the ethnographic studies on Ainu, see Mitsuoka. On the today’s Ainu culture, visit websites: The Ainu Museum <<http://www.ainu-museum.or.jp/>>; and Hokkaido University Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies <<http://www.cais.hokudai.ac.jp/english/>>.

characteristics—stronger in body on the whole; heavily bearded and very hairy generally—which the Japanese are not, in general—but morally inferior, in the sense of being a subject race; but in that way only, so far as I know, for I had no opportunity of judging of their domestic life. To me they seemed a simple kindly people; and I shall ever gratefully remember their Samaritan kindness to me. (“Japan Story of Adventure” 167-68)

At first depicting physiognomical contrasts between Ainu people and Japanese people, he confesses his hesitated moral judgment on the Ainu, who are assumed to be inferior to the Japanese colonizers. The difference between the two groups of natives on the Japanese island would work in accord with the white Asiatic kinship, which MacDonald utilizes in his ethnic whitening. Namely, the problem is whether the Asiatic kinship includes Ainu people as well or not. The inclusion is not impossible, because MacDonald infers that “these Inoes . . . came from the mainland of Asia, by way of the peninsula Sagalhien—the Tartar country” (“Japan Story of Adventure” 169). If so, his status of the “white” observer, which is constructed by way of estimating his excellent Japanese friend as the honorary white Japanese, would be troubled. The difference, or more precisely the colonial stratum between the two, is necessary for him to stay “white” while sharing the Asiatic ancestor with Japanese people.

The ambivalence in his triangulated comparison and contrast becomes intensified when he makes comparison and contrast between west coast native people such as Hydra and Bella Coola, and Ainu people.

In a more detailed manner, he explains as follows:

I am specially familiar with the inhabitants—natives and other—of the west and northwest coasts of North America from San Francisco to Sitka. Amongst these, especially the *Hydras* and *Bella Coola* coast Indians of British Columbia, I remark a striking similarity of physical type with my sturdy friends of Yesso; but in disposition they differ much: The North West Coast Indians being all more or less warlike, and on an independence of spirit which neither force nor kindness can subdue. Not that they are unsusceptible of kindness or amity from the Whites, but they will bend to no man, and are exceedingly lordly, in their own, to all comers. (“Japan Story of Adventure” 168-69; italics original)

Here again, he points out the physiognomical similarity and the moral difference. Then, remembering his first encounter with Ainu people, he continues to distinguish them from Japanese people:

When I got amongst them first my feeling was that I had got into a nest of pirates of Tartars, with their heavy beards, uncombed long hair, and unwashed faces; they looked uncouth and wild, both in person and dress, comparing very unfavorably in this respects, with the clean, refined, and cultivated Japanese. (“Japan Story of Adventure” 169)

Thus in “Japan Story of Adventure,” MacDonald creates the ambivalent triangle of comparison and contrast between Ainu, Japanese, and Native North Americans. He re-models himself from a Scottish-Chinook young

wanderer whose ambition is thwarted under the Japanese captivity into the first teacher of English who makes unintended but considerable contribution to the opening of Japan even from within custody. Through modification of self-portrayal, MacDonald's fakelore turns into the fakelore of the white Asiatic, in which he manages his position within the transpacific adventure story but at the same time carefully, if not consistently, observes the internal differences among the Asiatic, the constructed, fake category of ethnicity.

Chapter 2

Native Immigrant's Itinerary:

Gerald Vizenor's *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57*

Postindian Replay of MacDonald's Adventure

In October 1946, Ronin was born to Okichi, the Ainu who was working as a boogie dancer, and Orion Browne or Nightbreaker, the Anishinaabe who had developed a great interest in Ranald MacDonald and haiku, and who had come to Japan as an interpreter for the occupation army. As one of the “*ainoko*, or *hafu* [half-blood] children” born to Japanese women and G.I.s after the Pacific war, Ronin Browne's status paralleled that of MacDonald, who was one of the Métis children born to First nation women and European fur traders during the fur trading era (*Hiroshima Bugi* 22). In July 1948, one hundred years after MacDonald was saved perhaps by Ainu fishermen, Okichi left her one-year-and-nine-month-old boy at the Elizabeth Saunders Home, an orphanage for the postwar mixed-blooded children in the city of Oiso, Kanagawa (*Hiroshima Bugi* 15-16; 141). This Ronin Browne becomes the latest and perhaps most deviant follower of Ranald MacDonald, as he excessively plays out MacDonald's “unrealized adventures” and ultimately restructures MacDonald's original narrative (*Hiroshima Bugi* 138).

In MacDonald's footsteps via his father, Ronin embarks on his adventures, escaping from all kinds of cages. After breaking free from the Elizabeth Saunders Home at the age of fifteen, Ronin flies to the White

Earth Reservation, Minnesota, and there gets adopted by the tribal government (*Hiroshima Bugi* 24).¹ He returns to Japan, however, later in July of 1998, or “Atomu 53” according to Ronin’s calendar, which starts in 1945, the year that saw the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the surrender of Japan. In the MacDonald-like fashion, Ronin capsizes his boat offshore Hokkaido and makes his way southward from Hokkaido to Nagasaki with his backpack, which contains *Narrow Road to the Far North* by Matsuo Basho, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* by Lafcadio Hearn, and “Japan Story of Adventure” by Ranald MacDonald. MacDonald’s vision of adventures across Japan vicariously materializes on Ronin’s route: “MacDonald was in custody most of the time he was in the country, so my rove was on the paths he and my father might have taken . . .” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 122). Carrying out attacks against the “simulated peace” on his route across Japan,² Ronin finally squats in the Hearn residence at the Lafcadio Hearn Museum in Matsue, Shimane, by fabricating a fake Native American connection to Hearn and convincing a manager at the Hearn Museum that he is one of Hearn’s Native North

¹ For a detailed account of the White Earth Reservation of the Anishinaabe people, visit the website of the tribal government: <<http://www.whiteearth.com>>.

² Ronin criticizes “the fake, sentimental, passive peace of museums and monuments” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 49). For instance, at the Peace Memorial Museum in Hiroshima, Ronin “pour[s] gasoline on the Pond of Peace” and sets it afire, but after being interviewed in the police station the police identify him as a harmless “police maniac” and then release him (*Hiroshima Bugi* 45). After that, the police overlook and even entertain themselves with Ronin, who “pitch[es] the corrosive chemical on the sides of the column [of peace letters]” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 81-83) and “deck[s] the main entrance to the [Peace Memorial] museum with the name of the movie [*Hiroshima Mon Amour*]” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 119).

American descendants, which could be viewed as another act of fakelore. There, he and his friends sort out memos and sketches that Ronin has jotted down on his journey in order to create his narrative of adventures, like MacDonald did with his friend McLeod. Later, Miko, a Japanese painter and Ronin's lover, sends those memos, which amount to three boxes, to his father's friends at the Hotel Manidoo in Nogales, Arizona, a residence established for the Native war veterans. There, Nightbreaker's old friends, the Manidoo Envoys as they self-nominate, proudly rearrange Ronin's random notes into a narrative: "Night after night the native veterans unraveled with great respect and humor the scraps of stories by the incredible son of Nightbreaker" (*Hiroshima Bugi* 118). Each of Ronin's adventures stands for one chapter, which is followed by the Manidoo envoys' detailed and sometimes nostalgic commentary. Those chapters are organized and published as this novel *Hiroshima Bugi*.

Within the literary history of Ranald MacDonald, this chapter examines *Hiroshima Bugi*, focusing on its remix of the fakelore of the Asiatic and the manner in which it relocates Native people into a transpacific migratory journey. Vizenor's *Hiroshima Bugi* compares its Anishinaabe-Ainu protagonist with the Japanese actor Toshiro Mifune, as one of Manidoo envoys says: "Ronin, at first sight, could have been mistaken for Toshiro Mifune" (*Hiroshima Bugi* 7). The physical similitude of the Asiatic seems to be underlined again, as it was in "Japan Story of Adventure" and its literary followers. However, the visual comparison does not develop into the same kind of fakelore that "Japan Story of Adventure" created in order to explain the origin of the

mixed-blooded wanderer, MacDonald, and to endow him with the authentic voice of the pioneer teacher of English in Japan. Instead, the novel fakes the fakelore; it revises the fakelore of the Asiatic and therein rendering the meaning of the Asiatic. Through its occasional improvisations of ancestry, *Hiroshima Bugi* creates transpacific heterogeneous origin stories of a mixed-blooded traveler and redefines the Asiatic as native immigrants.

Reclaiming the Ainu Presence

As is shown in Chapter 1, the Ainu presence plays a significant role in constructing the adventure narrative of MacDonald as the first teacher of English. MacDonald switches his ethnicity from Native to Anglo North American, by comparing himself with Japanese people who are civilized enough to be compared with the white Americans and by differentiating Japanese people from Ainu people who show the physical similitude with some tribes of the West Coast. Although their presence has been mostly ignored in the literary history of MacDonald, *Hiroshima Bugi* reclaims the Ainu presence in a manner that blurs the mixed-blooded MacDonald's self-distinction from both Native North Americans and Ainu people. The Ainu presence is partly recovered in the form of the protagonist's lost mother and in an analogy between Anishinaabe and Ainu cultures.

As one member of the Manidoo envoys reveals, Ronin's mother, Okichi, is never identified as Ainu in Ronin's narrative; it is just an "elusive notice" without any kinds of concrete evidence. However elusive

that reference is, Okichi's imagined Ainu origin is crucial to Ronin's adventures in the footsteps of his father, who was following MacDonald. In a manner similar to MacDonald who once set out for adventures in Japan inspired by the pioneering vision of his father and the imagined ancestry of his mother, Ronin starts his travel across Japan:

Ronin actually carried out the vision of his father and traveled the same course as Ranald MacDonald. The Ainu would unwittingly engender a presence of his [Ronin's] father. Ronin, by his father's unrealized journey, created a union of perfect memories with a native teacher and the Ainu.

(Hiroshima Bugi 52)

Rather than arguing for the veracity of Ronin's maternal root in the Ainu, the novel instead articulates and foregrounds the long-obscured presence of the Ainu as the generator of Ronin's adventure, which realizes the unfulfilled dreams of his father and MacDonald.

Ronin's adventures start from Hokkaido, where he encounters Ainu people through the eyes of MacDonald. When he visits a community to have an Ainu invisible tattoo put on himself, he finds people as MacDonald depicts them in "Japan Story of Adventure": "They raised their arms in praise and stroked their great wavy beards. MacDonald described their kindly salutations in exactly the same way" (*Hiroshima Bugi 124*). Approximately a hundred and fifty years after MacDonald was welcomed by Ainu people, Ronin encounters the identical gestures that convey their warm greeting. His emphasis on Ainu people welcoming him in "exactly the same way" perhaps simply suggests that they have

kept the same manner that MacDonald described in the late Edo period. At the same time, it suggests much more in this postindian narrative of adventure; this act in which Ainu people greet him in “exactly the same way” of the Ainu salute transcends a hundred and fifty years and links Ronin directly to MacDonald as a visitor to an Ainu community.

The lineage of MacDonald conjured by the Ainu presence revives his father. After his friend Seikichi introduces Ronin to Ainu people, with a trick of interpretation,⁵ they spend a night together. In their communal conversation around an open fire, Ronin senses his father accompanying him: “My father was with me, his face wavered in the shadows on the other side of fire that night. My heart was at peace in his presence. This would have been his great journey” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 124). Thus his journey replays his father’s in the footsteps of MacDonald.

While tracing his father’s route after MacDonald’s, Ronin draws an analogy between the Anishinaabe and the Ainu, which retrospectively expects a liaison between Ronin’s Anishinaabe father and Ainu mother. He offers a brief ethnographic memo on their similar world view: “the Anishinaabe and the Ainu share a sense of natural reason and similar

⁵ Seikichi does not literally translate Ronin’s adventure inspired by MacDonald but seems add some details, as Ronin infers that “Seikichi must have elaborated on my stories in translation because the elders were amused and wanted to explore the actual journey of MacDonald” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 124). As is mentioned in Chapter 1, in “Japan Story of Adventure,” MacDonald is also saved from receiving severe treatment at the hands of his captors by his friend and translator Einosuke Moriyama (“Japan Story of Adventure” 220-21). Likewise, Seikichi’s episode in *Hiroshima Bugi* demonstrates a case of benevolent mistranslation, one of the many Ronin encounters in his journey.

stories of animal creation and presence. Bears are honored in both cultures” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 122). This Anishinaabe-Ainu similitude dissolves the comparison and contrast that MacDonald makes in “Japan Story of Adventure” between Ainu people, Native North Americans, and Japanese people. While MacDonald builds his narrative upon the contrastive distance from Ainu people and Native North Americans of the West Coast, Ronin’s narration stands independently from that kind of comparison and contrast, and thus comically ironizes his “*hafu*” self-fashioning. Given the analogy between the Anishinaabe and the Ainu, the tag “*hafu*” or “*ainoko*” sounds comically ironic; as a chance similarity between the paternal Anishinaabe and the maternal Ainu constructs the fakeloric kinship, he is not exactly a mixed-blooded son. Rather, he wears the empty tag of “*hafu*” or “*ainoko*” and exposes the sociopolitical and cultural limitation against “the untouchables of war and peace” (22). Thus *Hiroshima Bugi* renews the fakelore of the Asiatic kinship, throughout Ronin’s adventure stories.

Fakelore of the Origin

On his journey, he recurrently creates ancestral stories and abuses the fakelore of the Asiatic. His practice culminates in an instant fabrication of an ancestral story at the Lafcadio Hearn Museum in Matsue, Shimane. Ronin persuades a curator, Fumiko, to let him and his friends stay at the Lafcadio Hearn residence. He blatantly says, “Lafcadio is my ancestor” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 182). At Fumiko’s hesitance, Ronin immediately “create[s] a four generation descent story” and tells her that

his “ancestor Lafcadio Hearn had been honored by Amerika [American] Indian on the White Earth Reservation” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 185-86).

Fumiko, convinced by Ronin’s fakelore that he is one of the Native American descendants of Hearn, allows them to move in the residence and stay for a while to create his story.

Even though his mash-up of ancestries contradicts the historical fact as Ronin himself sees, his claim to the Hearn lineage is made possible via his memory and imagination. A genealogical chart of Hearn indicates that “there was not much chance that [Hearn] encountered [Ronin’s] anishinaabe relatives or any Amerika Indian” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 184). However, Ronin repeatedly proposes his kinship with Hearn and declares his ancestral right to stay at the Hearn residence. He writes over and over that the residence is his: “The Hearn house was mine by right of hafu association and memory”; “The samurai house was mine”; “This is my house by virtue of imagination and association with the stories of Lafcadio Hearn” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 184, 185, 187). In Ronin’s comic performance, what is otherwise an illegal act of squatting, is legitimated by the “hafu association and memory” and “imagination and association with the stories of Lafcadio Hearn.” This fabrication of the hereditary right to occupy the Hearn house playfully questions what defines kinship and thus revises the fakelore of the Asiatic to include other “hafu,” Scottish-Greek, Lafcadio Hearn.

Ronin’s fakelore of the ancestry relocates each “hafu” person, Irish-Greek Hearn and Anishinaabe-Ainu Ronin, from the context of the ethnically marked mixed-bloodedness into the context of migration

across the Pacific. As a Manidoo Envoy elucidates, the fake familial kinship is built upon Ronin's chance discovery of Hearn in his journey, or in other words, a chance meeting of these two transpacific travelers:

"Ronin's pose and notion of ancestry, however, is plausible, at least based on the chance encounters of travel" (*Hiroshima Bugi* 195). They are "hafu" travelers who cross the Pacific and explore Japan to the extent that their mixed ethnicity becomes a matter of chance. While MacDonald in "Japan Story of Adventure" deploys the fakelore of the Asiatic as the medium to switch his ethnicity, Ronin in *Hiroshima Bugi* misuses that fakelore to moves beyond his ethnicity.

Journey of Native Immigrants

Ronin's instantly fabricated ancestry of Hearn is not permanent but transitive. One of Ronin's memos compares his tricky squatting to Hearn's living, in the fact that both stay there for the sake of "stories":

Lafcadio Hearn wrote about glimpses of the exotic, the elusive manners, ghosts, and unusual spirits, but surely he never imagined that such strange characters as the roamers might actually occupy his old samurai residence. Hearn was here for the stories, and so were we, but no one ever stayed very long.
(*Hiroshima Bugi* 188)

Here Ronin portrays himself as one of "strange characters as the roamers," implying their unexpected and odd occupation of the Hearn residence. Yet, his improvised linkage with Hearn proves "plausible," according to Manidoo Envoys' commentary, because it is "at least based

on the chance encounters of travel,” which means that their out-of-place presence is translated into a coincidental analogy as travelers. In addition to this analogy as traveler, Ronin makes another one in which the two odd travelers and their fellows at the temporal residence are engaged in “stories.” Given that Ronin uses the plural, “stories,” and no specific verbs, then Ronin and Hearn could be writing, telling, hearing, collecting, recording, or else. They are all traveler, migrating across the Pacific and stories.

With this self-portrait as a traveler, Ronin abandons his ancestor’s house. He not just improvises the heredity but also leaves it behind. After presenting a kabuki stage about his adventures across the Japanese islands and observing his fellows asleep, Ronin says, “There is nothing more for me to tease in this old samurai house. My time has come to vanish. Lafcadio Hearn forever moves away” (*Hiroshima Bugi* 202). His abandonment, or renunciation, of the improvised hereditary right might well be read as his abandonment of any single, anchored line of ancestry. Hearn and his lineage is a chance ancestry, rather than a bloodline. In his reverie after the stage, Ronin also imagines that Hearn “might have turned to metaphors, or singular words of sight and sound” in his reverie after the stage (*Hiroshima Bugi* 202). Ronin’s fake ancestor, Hearn, is no longer the famous Irish-Greek individual but instead comes to work as “metaphors” that designates no particular object but works as a medium for heterogeneous meanings. Ronin’s fabrication and subsequent renunciation of the Hearn lineage suggests that Hearn happened to be one of travelers of stories who might have been his ancestor.

His abandonment of the ancestor might well provide a mirror image of Okichi's abandonment of her son, her descendant. The mother orphaned her son, while the orphaned son abandons his ancestral lineage. These twin images of abandonment speak of another way of building the lineage through fabrication and adaptation. Ronin's version of the Asiatic fakelore plays with the physiognomical similitude and demonstrates the kinship based upon "imagination and association," which, instead of anchoring oneself in the single bloodline, mobilizes him. His fakelore thus redefines the Asiatic as travelers who share experiences of migration.

Part 2

The Indian across the Barbed-Wire Fence

Barbed-Wire Fence as an Interface

In the mid-nineteenth century, the same period that saw the removal of Native Americans from their homelands, barbed-wire fence first appeared in the U.S. west. One of the major concerns for pioneer settlers in the west was fencing or building “some sort of barrier around the property to establish boundaries, restrain livestock, and protect crops” (Liu 27). The first recorded use of barbed-wire fence occurred in 1857; John Grinninger, a Texas iron founder, used twisted metal fence in order to barricade his garden (Liu 34). In Grinninger’s case, people found it cruel, but he was not the only person to apply sharp-cut material on fence. From the late 1850s, pioneer settlers in the West tried to create an easy, effective, economic, long-standing fence and in 1874 Joseph F. Glidden, an Illinois farmer, obtained a patent for his barbed-wire fence “The Winner” (Liu 35-40). Though this caused controversies and conflicts, the fence became popular among pioneer farmers in the West already in the 1880s and worked as the “sign of white settlement on the lands that once has been open” (Liu 93).

Yet the expression “white settlement” does not accurately capture the nature of this group seeking to establish settlements since Nikkei immigrants were also among those who risked their lives and fortunes in pioneering around the late nineteenth century. As historian Eiichiro Azuma reveals, from the onset of Japanese immigration, Nikkei adopted

the American pioneer vision and they too imagined the American West as the Japanese frontier (Azuma 22-25).¹ Barbed-wire fence was thus created and developed in pioneering enterprises by not simply “white settlers,” but by immigrants on what was viewed as the “open” land of the West.

During the Pacific War, the internment policy attributed still another layer of meaning to barbed-wire fence. After Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the U.S. federal government designated the Pacific Coast a military charged area, presumed Nikkei residents to be a source of potential trouble, and launched the internment policy that was to remove Nikkei into ten internment camps. Executive Order 9066 was signed by F. D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, which made more than 120,000 Nikkei subject to the internment policy.² The U.S. relocation policy was soon followed by the Government of Canada. The “Order in Council Amending Defense of Canada Regulations Protected Areas” (P.C. 1486 on February 24, 1942) and “Order in Council Establishing Regulations Respecting the British Columbia Security Commission” (P.C. 1665 on March 11, 1942) were

¹ For a pioneering study on the prewar Nikkei community in the U.S., see Ichioka. Elaborating Ichioka’s broader scope of Nikkei history, Azuma analyzes the discursive interaction between the Japanese immigrants and the U.S. popular vision of pioneering. Also Hayashi, in his analysis of the West with special focus on ethnic minorities, offers a portrait of Nikkei as pioneers in Idaho (9-66).

² For the general historical studies of the U.S. internment policy, see Burton; Daniels; Robinson, *By Order of the President*. For memoirs by the internees, see Huston.

issued in a row and the British Columbia Security Commission took responsibility for the evacuation of more than 20,000 Nikkei from British Columbia to six camps, eight labor camps, and three farming areas in the inland states.⁵ These internment camps “twisted both the use and meaning of barbed wire” (Limerick, *Something in the Soil* 203). What was a “means to demarcate the boundaries of individual land holdings and to contain livestock . . . herded people whose every action was controlled by a vast institution that manifested itself in soldiers and barbed wire” (Hayashi 99). For Nikkei culture, the fact that barbed-wire fence was encircling them, instead of property or livestock, came to represent the interment itself, as even a quick glance at the titles of the historical studies on the internment policy or those of Nikkei internment narratives tells: “Life behind Barbed Wire” in Roger Daniels’ *Prisoners without Trial*, “Americanism behind Barbed Wire” by Eric L. Muller, and *Within Barbed Wire Fence* by Takeo Ujo Nakano & Leatrice Nakano, to name a few.

Yet, this newly acquired meaning does not cancel out the origin story of barbed-wire fence. An internment camp circumscribed by

⁵ Takamura, “Dainiji SekaiTaisen” 258-59; Iino 119. Also Caccia offers a broader account of citizenship and alien resident in wartime Canada. For general historical studies of the evacuation of Japanese Canadians and the redress movement, see Adachi; Awmack; Broadfoot; Iino; Ito; Miki; Omatsu; Roy; and Sunahara. For the documented personal voices of the evacuees, see Broadfoot; Oiwa; and Nakano. For a comparative study of the U.S. internment policy and Canadian evacuation policy, see Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*. Robinson offers a wider landscape of the North American incarceration to “expand the contours of discussion on Japanese American confinement beyond the overly narrow framework of time and space” (4) and gives a concise account of the evacuation (171-79); but focus is laid more on the U.S. policy.

barbed-wire fence was understood in a specific way as a “pioneer community,” given the fact that in the course of the internment administration, the U.S. federal government promoted “the vision of an agrarian democratic West” and “appropriated the language of this mythology [of the West] when describing these concentration camps” (Hayashi 7; 82). The 1943 propaganda produced by the U.S. Office of War Information (OWI) provided a typical example. Milton S. Eisenhower, who was appointed as the first director of the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and then served as the associate director of the OWI from 1942 to 1943, explained why and how the relocation was necessary as a safeguard. Carefully avoiding any explanation of the physical reality of camps and other related facilities under administration, he defined the relocation policy as construction of new “pioneer community.” He then continued, explaining that “[m]any loyals among them [the internees] felt this was the sacrifice they could make on behalf of America’s war effort” and in so doing re-incorporated internees into the broader national narrative of taming the desert land.⁴ According to one of Eisenhower’s reports to Congress, dated April 20, 1942, the relocation was a public program planned “on the need for an orderly evacuation of all Japanese aliens and American-citizen Japanese to large reception centers on public land where public and other types of work could be undertaken” (2). By “public work” he meant “land subjugation, flood control, and development of natural resources” and the “improvement at public

⁴ “Japanese Relocation” 4:53-5:05.

expense will become public, not private, assets” (2-3). Thus in the language of pioneer narrative, in which the individual pioneer was working on the land in accordance with the U.S. national territorial expansion and improvement, Eisenhower legitimized the internment camps as part of the “pioneer community” on “public land” and, based on this justification, moved Nikkei to the desert land.

In Canada, a less explicit but concrete illustration is found in the aftermath of evacuation. There the wartime-forced relocation resulted in the forming of new Nikkei communities. Alberta, for instance, held the largest farming area during the evacuation, which brought about a marked increase in the Nikkei population from 652 in 1931 to 3,336 in 1951 (Fujiwara 24). Since the Government of Canada removed the ban on immigration from Canada in 1967, the Albertan Nikkei community has been growing: 4,460 in 1971, 8,745 in 1991, and 15,650 in 2011 (*Census of Canada 2011*). Thus the forced evacuation ultimately resulted in the formation of a new community.

Not only the governments but also some internees participated in narrating this internment-turned-to-pioneering narrative. Some of Nikkei internees fashion themselves as pioneers. In the U.S. case, Nikkei internees became the agents of cultivating the desert into the national asset and could even be viewed as heroes of pioneer narrative, who survived and tamed the hostile nature. In other words, even though such a narrative sugarcoated institutionalized racism against Nikkei community, the appropriated pioneer narrative was a story they lived by in a sense, as is shown in some of Nikkei internment narratives that

picture their “pioneer life” on the unfamiliar land.⁵

Likewise in Canada, in 1942 before the evacuation, there was a view that mass evacuation might promote the assimilation of Nikkei into the white Canada if the government would carry out the procedures carefully. Especially for Nisei people, evacuation was expected to offer a new road to independence (Iino 118-19). Of course, mass relocation broke the already existing Nikkei North American community, deprived Nikkei of their property, violated Nikkei rights, and left Nikkei people feeling betrayed and defeated. However, those same internment experiences can be revisited within a wider context of the immigration and settlement in North America, where internees did not remain pure victims.

Nikkei Americans Encounter Native Americans across Fence

Thus far, the barbed-wire fence has been an interface between internment narrative and pioneer narrative. If so, the portrait of the Nikkei internee becomes a more complicated construct, especially in relation to the fakelore of the Asiatic. As explained in the Introduction, during and after the internment, Nikkei have historically drawn an

⁵ Miné Okubo provides an illustrative example; as historian Greg Robinson examines, her rather quick assimilation into the mainstream literary and art scene was perhaps supported by the government and she worked under that liberating and limited condition (*After Camp* 69-84). One of signs of this collaboration is her reference to the pioneer vision in her internment narrative in cooperation with the government. In the acclaimed artwork, *Citizen 13660*, her narrator remembers the preparation instruction: “Be prepared for the Relocation Centers. Bring work clothes suited to pioneer life” (15). Or, in an interview on a library bulletin, *People through Book*, Okubo compared the life of the internee to that of “the early Western pioneers” (5).

analogy between the Native North American removal and their relocation. This analogy positions the Nikkei internee as a victim of ethnic mass management, like that experienced by Native people on the reservations. Here the barbed-wire fence becomes a linking device through which the Nikkei build a sense of fellow victimhood with Native people. At the same time, however, the fence associated with the pioneering enterprises reveals a quite different Nikkei portrait, one in which the Nikkei can be seen as a participant in the taming and appropriating of the “open” land of North America. Here, a Nikkei internee pioneer encounters Native people as the original inhabitants, or victims of immigrant settlement. If these analogies hold, then there would need to be a reevaluation of both the long-standing Nikkei self-portrait as victim like Native people and the Nikkei-Native transethnic relationship itself. This leads to an essential question: in what way have the Nikkei portrayed themselves via Native people, who share victimhood with the Nikkei on the one hand, but whom the Nikkei have victimized, directly or indirectly, through immigration and settlement on the other hand?

Literary replies to this question can be found in some Nikkei writings in the 2000s. The following two chapters examine two works: Sansei American writer Cynthia Kadohata’s juvenile novel *Weedflower* (2006) and postwar Issei Canadian writer Hiromi Goto’s sci-fi *The Kappa Child* (2001). Beyond their apparent differences in generation, genre, nation, et al., the two works can meaningfully function as companion pieces for each other and work together to relocate the

dominant portrayal of Nikkei as pure victim. The novels both entwine pioneer narrative and internment narrative. *Weedflower* is about a pioneering enterprise of an internee girl, whereas the retrospective part of *The Kappa Child* is a story about a pioneer girl who is strangely haunted by internment narrative. A reading of the two mixed narratives by girls adds new color to Nikkei self-portraits and offers a compelling reconsideration of the shared victimhood.

Weedflower, an internment narrative lined with pioneer narrative, reconstructs a life in the Poston Relocation Center built on the Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation where the Mohave, the Chemehuevi and other tribal people have been relocated. Poston became a real, physical place where Nikkei internees saw the kinship between their relocation and the removal of Native Americans. The novel revisits Poston and imagines encounters between the Nikkei internees and the Mohave people across a barbed-wire fence.

Likewise, *The Kappa Child* adapts *Little House on the Prairie*, a U.S. classic pioneer narrative by Laura Ingalls Wilder and can be interpreted as a pioneer narrative of a postwar Issei girl haunted by the internment narrative. It offers a slippery portraiture of a post-WWII Nikkei pioneer wannabe: while pursuing the pioneering dream the girl finds herself haunted by the legacy of wartime internment, and while being a victim she discovers herself complicit in the victimization of Native people. Along with sliding portraits, the novel describes a troubled friendship between Nikkei and Native people across a barbed-wire fence.

These two novels viewed as a pair shed light on another way of

telling Nikkei history. Though the wartime internment was undoubtedly a tragedy of that violated the Nikkei community in devastating ways, it is not the only incident in Nikkei history. Nikkei people have been living in North America before and after the internment. Referring to this broader, more expansive background, these two mixed narratives relocate the synecdochic Nikkei narrative as well.

Chapter 3

A Pioneer Narrative of an Internee Girl:

Cynthia Kadohata's *Weedflower* (2006)

Poston "Pioneer Community"

The Poston Relocation Center, named after an Arizona frontiersman Charles Debrille Poston (1825-1902), was established in 1942 as a "pioneer community" where Japanese internees were presented as reclaiming the desert land. Its beginnings, however, are to be found some eight decades earlier, when in 1864, Poston began working on his plan to cultivate the Parker Valley. The next year, as the delegate of Arizona, he explained at the House of Representatives the necessity of "colonizing friendly Indians in Arizona on a reservation on the Colorado River and supplying them with implements of husbandry and seeds to enable them to become self-sustaining" (*Speech* 3). In 1869, four years after establishing the Colorado River Indian Tribes (CRIT) Reservation,¹ the government set out to construct a dam on the Colorado River to transform the desert into irrigated farmland; however, this did not pay off in the short term.

¹ Charles D. Poston was appointed superintendent of Indian Affairs in March of 1863 and in July of 1864 elected the Arizona delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives. On March 2, 1865, he made a plea at the House of Representatives to avoid any unneeded conflicts between the Native Americans and the future settlers and requested a \$150,000 quota on the reservation. The CRIT Reservation was founded on March 3, 1865 in western Arizona for the Mohaves and the Chemehuevis. The reservation has been under the BIA.

Approximately eight decades later, the United States declared the Pacific War, and the area was chosen to accommodate about 17,000 Japanese Americans and Japanese immigrants. The War Relocation Authority (WRA) leased the land from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) that had taken charge of the reservation, and the WRA and the BIA implemented joint administration of the Poston internment camp.² The internees worked at irrigating, cultivating, and farming the desert of Poston: “In 1943, 368 acres were cultivated; in 1944, over 1,400 acres of vegetables and 800 acres of field crops were under cultivation” (Burton et al. n.p.).³ Their labor, in a sense, realized Poston’s pioneering dream that “waste land would be converted into a national asset,” as Alexander H. Leighton, a psychiatrist appointed in anthropological and social research on Poston, remarked (55).

² During World War II, the BIA participated in the administration of two of the ten Japanese American internment camps, Poston and Gila River Relocation Centers, both on the reservation. As for Poston, even though the tribal government of the Colorado River Indians objected to the construction of the camp on the reservation, the government started building in late March 1942. The joint administration of the WRA and the BIA lasted until December 3, 1943. For the governmental documents on Poston relocation center, see Drinnon and Myer. For the problems caused by the double-headed administration and the riots in Poston, see Nishimoto. Another historical fact of importance is that Poston was chosen as research field of Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study, a project of University of California, and a Nisei fieldworker Tamie Tsuchiyama, “an intellectual pioneer in her own right” was working (Hirabayashi 1). When the internment was over, the camp facilities were used to accommodate the newly moved people of the Hopi and the Navajo. On the contemporary tribal governance of Colorado River Indians, visit their official website at <<http://www.crit-nsn.gov/index.shtml>> and the Inter Tribal Council of Arizona, Inc. at <<http://itcaonline.com/>>.

³ http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/anthropology74/ce10d.htm

Internees, alias Pioneers

Set in Poston, Cynthia Kadohata's *Weedflower* reconstructs the internees' efforts as pioneers' efforts: they cultivate the "waste land" of the Arizona desert and shape their new homes there, in the similar manner of the pioneers in the nineteenth century. However, the novel also shows that the adaptation of the pioneer vision is a sort of euphemistic cover. The ambivalent moments of the adapted pioneer vision are provided by scenes in which a protagonist witnesses workers at a camp farm.

The narrator tells about the wartime experiences of a twelve-year-old girl, Sumiko. She and her younger brother, Takao, are living with their uncle's family in California, after losing their parents in a traffic accident. The family lives by flower farming, but the Pacific War drastically changes their lives. Their grandfather and their uncle are taken by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to a detention camp in North Dakota, because they are Issei or Japanese immigrants who are suspected of being potential spies for Japan. Soon afterward, the remainder of the family is forced to give up farming life and is interned at the Poston Relocation Center. They will stay there until they relocate into inland areas with official leave clearance. The family members in one way or another adapt themselves to a new life in a desert camp. While Sumiko starts growing flowers and making friends with several people in the hostile environment, her elder cousins Ichiro and Bull work as a driver of the in-camp shuttle bus and as an expert farmer in the camp fields, respectively. One day, Sumiko takes an in-camp bus and sees

the vista of the fields located on the edge of the camp, in which Bull and other internee farmers are working. Sumiko is “impressed and proud of how beautiful it ha[s] become” (238). This “mirage” of green fields in the desert is a recurrent motif in the novel (104). After obtaining clearance, she leaves the camp for Chicago with her aunt and Takao. In the spring of 1944, looking far back from the bus, she finds the farms appearing as “a lot of bright green, growing in the middle of the desert” (257). Then, the novel itself concludes with the End Note that says, “Today the Poston area is rich farmland” and acknowledges the internees’ efforts in the cultivation of the desert (260).⁴ Reviewed from the present perspective, these expanding green fields attest that the internee farmers carried out a part of the U.S. agrarian dream of reclaiming the desert.

This concluding view of the green fields may risk sugarcoating the low-wage labor of the alienated Japanese American citizens in Poston in the same way the governmental appropriation of pioneer narrative did. The ending vision of the green fields in the desert calls to mind what Milton S. Eisenhower showed us in a propaganda film by the U.S. Office of War Information (OWI). The film portrayed the internees as pioneers and conveniently incorporated their labor into the national narrative, a myth of the Wild West being conquered and tamed. In the last few minutes of the video clip, Eisenhower commented on the national project of irrigating the “fertile desert land” of Parker Valley by the internees. He

⁴ Actually in the area where the camp farm was located, the sewage treatment plant remains and “[a]ll else are now farm fields under irrigation,” as is shown in Figure 10.46 (Burton et al. n.p.).

wound up the publicity by saying the following, as if it were a hopeful beginning of another pioneering narrative:

Now, this brief picture is actually the prologue to the stories yet to be told. The full story will begin to unfold when all the lands of the desert turn green and when all adult hands are on productive work on public lands or in private employment. It will be fully told only when the circumstances permit the loyal American citizens once again to enjoy the freedom we in this country cherish and when the disloyal we hope have left this country for good.⁵

By reviving this Eisenhowerian portrayal of internees as honorary pioneers and collaborating the simulated pioneer narrative, *Weedflower* finds its place to retell internment within the U.S. literary imagination.

For all the collaborative promotion of the pioneer vision in Poston, the internees were not exactly the “genuine pioneers.” As Leighton observes, the internee workers tended to get nervous in the severe environment because they were not “genuine pioneers, roughing it as a result of their own choosing with confidence in the leadership and in the outcome” (118). This remark seems inconsistent with the Eisenhowerian comparison of the internees with U.S. pioneer; however, such inconsistency itself reveals the inherent contradictions and difficulties in adaptation of the pioneer vision for internment life. When customized to include the internment, the pioneer vision makes it easier to view

⁵ “Japanese Relocation” 8:10; 8:27-8:59.

internees as low-wage public workers cultivating the desert. However, promoting that vision further and further requires acknowledging their contribution to the formation of a national asset imagined to be an Anglo-Saxon enterprise. Denying that vision, by contrast, implies that the government forced them to move inland and work against “their own choosing” under poor conditions.⁶ Therefore, in the end, if this narrative is to be effectively used, internees have to be viewed as voluntary, not forced, workers on the national asset, but at the same time, should not violate the authenticity of the “genuine pioneers.”

Weedflower basically follows this appropriation of the pioneer narrative, but at the same time contains a number of small contradictory incidents to suggest that the internees are not so much “genuine pioneers” as imitated pioneers. While offering the pioneer vision, the novel portrays internees as “slave labor” under the control of administrative officers (160). On arrival day, Sumiko happens to see “men . . . leveling the ground” and wonders if they are “a chain gang” like those she has once seen in a film (103). The men in charge of “a chain gang” are white officers, as Sumiko witnesses at Camp Three Farm. At the Farm, Sumiko hears two officers from the WRA and the BIA talking

⁶ In Poston, one of the major problems the internees faced was low wages, which fell below the minimum Army wages. In June 1942, the administrator announced that monthly wages would be “\$12 . . . for common labor, \$16 . . . for clerical work, and \$19 . . . for professional activities or the work equivalent to each of these levels.” In addition, the payment was sometimes delayed by two months and the job classification caused “a storm of protests” from the internees who felt it unjust (Leighton 105-6).

about the efficiency of using the internees and Native Americans to cultivate the land: when a BIA officer says that “We’ve found it’s easier to get our Indians to work than your Japs,” a WRA officer replies, “Your Indians are getting paid a lot more” (120). To borrow Okimoto’s words, the officers sound as if they are moving round “pawns on the Poston game board” and enjoy rivalry over land improvement (23). Their language betrays that the best “genuine” player of the adapted pioneer narrative is the government and what the OWI propaganda calls a “pioneer community” is an intern camp where, in Eisenhower’s words, public workers are engaged in “land subjugation, flood control, and development of natural resources” and where the “improvement at public expense will become public, not private, assets” (2-3).

Sumiko soon understands this double-tongued appropriation of pioneer narrative in the internment procedures: she tells her friend, a Mohave boy Frank, that the internees are “practically in jail” and “[s]upposedly, the people of Poston [are]n’t in jail; they [are] doing their patriotic duty, supporting the war by staying in this camp” (143, 153). The novel in this way shows the episodic portrait of internees as small-waged public laborers engaged in national land improvement.

Still, if the novel ends with a wide, “bright green” vista, the portrayal of internee as “slave labor” is well included in the adopted pioneer narrative. Even though the adaptation was part of the governmental propaganda that justified the internment, the heroism of the internee workers in these “pioneering” efforts are not negligible. The internees-pioneers succeeded in taming the desert land, as is crystalized

in End Note expression, “Today Poston area is rich farmland.” Here the internee farmers are described as the participants in the heroic conquering of nature, with their ethnic differences erased and with the violation of citizenship disregarded. Against the background of this governmental appropriation of pioneer narrative into the internment procedure—a cover for the racialized mass management of Nikkei people—*Weedflower*, create a narrative that, as a whole, replicates the adaptation.

Girlish Remix of the Simulated Pioneer Narrative

What would distinguish the novel to some extent if not fully from the governmental adaptation of pioneer narrative is its focus on how a girl Sumiko, not one of “adult hands” whom the government intends to turn into a pioneer, cultivates the desolate land. Sumiko’s tale of pioneering would trouble the heroism of pioneer narrative; she tames the desert as the internee farmers do, but creates a small useless garden, a deviant accomplishment of pioneering. Because, of course, she can never be unconditionally free from the discursive as well as the physical space of the camp, Sumiko also tunes in the collaborative adaptation of the pioneer narrative. Poston Relocation Center has three areas, and the family is assigned to a barrack in Camp Three, which is located at the south end of the Center and still under construction.⁷ On the first day, at

⁷ For a specific account of the construction of Poston Relocation Center, see Burton et al., especially Chapter 10.

the sight of the desert spreading beyond the “far end of the camp” (107), Sumiko understands with dismay that escape is likely to endanger her literally: “There was no fence, but, Sumiko realized, there was nowhere to go, either. She’d seen a guard gate when they drove by the first camp, but she didn’t see one here. She knew what would happen if someone tried to escape into the desert. They would die of thirst” (110-11). In order to survive the life in the desert, Sumiko needs to live within the invisible fence of the alienated internment camp; thus she attunes herself to the discursive space of the adapted pioneer narrative.

A girlish version makes minor demur from within the collaborative faking of the pioneer narrative in the internment. Sumiko is not a “public worker” on the Camp Three Farm; instead she helps Mr. Moto, a neighbor who is “one of the minority of *Nikkei* who [are] not farmers” and who draws upon her knowledge and experience in farming to create a garden in front of his barrack (126; italics original). There she has a small section growing special gillyflower, “Sumiko Strain,” which her uncle created to bloom in rainbow colors (126). Her effort at cultivating the desert land does not deviate from the cooperative adaptation of the pioneer narrative, and the land she nourishes can be incorporated into the national assets in the end. Yet, her flower garden varies from the camp fields, where the internee pioneers work “to make the whole camp self-sustaining” and fulfill “their patriotic duty, supporting the war by staying in this camp” (152-53). It is rather an unnecessary space or

extravagance in maintaining camp life in the desert.⁸ Growing flowers is one of the least expected efforts, as is hinted in Mr. Moto's surprised reply to Sumiko's suggestion of planting flowers: "I was thinking of only vegetables" (127). Flowers, definitely dispensable for their survival, are a dissent from the essentials, i.e., vegetables grown in amounts that are not "enough to feed themselves" (231). When the miniature garden finally becomes a riot of rainbow colors, the unnecessary uselessness stages a flowery rebellion against Camp Three Farm, the space for the necessary "public work." Sumiko's garden is the antithesis of "public work," but all the same remains incorporable to the space of the camp administration and "adult hands." Even though Sumiko plans "to cultivate up and down the entire length of the barrack," the relocation to Chicago ends any chances of that expansion (*Weedflower* 248). All in all, this girlish chapter is well accommodated within the collaborative simulation of pioneer narrative.

However, in revisiting and retelling the Poston story, Kadohata perhaps needs the juvenile story as a formula not only for communicating the history of the wartime internment to children readers but also for casting a critical light on how the Nikkei internees participated in the hegemonic narrative of pioneering. A story about a girl growing flowers on the desert among the internees places the Nikkei

⁸ Extravagance, which originates in Sau-ling Cynthia Wong's *Reading Asian American Literature*, signifies one of the modes of "existence and operation . . . attracted to freedom, excess, emotional expressiveness, and autotelism" that drives Japanese American writing (13).

internees in the long history of immigration and settlement. Yet, at the same time, it represents the immature possibility of shaping a complete alternative to the national myths of pioneering and therein transcending the national frame of the U.S.

Just after witnessing “a lot of bright green, growing in the middle of the desert,” Sumiko for the first time compares herself to a pioneer, which is the contradictory and therefore critical moment in her remix of the simulated pioneer narrative (257). On a bus during a sandstorm, Sumiko explains her anxiety with a hint of hope about a new life in Chicago. She lists her mixed feelings as objectively and plainly as possible, as is often the case with her when she is negotiating something unfamiliar:

This is what it felt like to be leaving camp:

1. Like you didn't know if people would let you into their grocery store.
2. Like you were a pioneer in the country you were born in.
3. Like you didn't know if you would ever see your cousins again.
4. Like you had lost a friend.
5. Like maybe you might own a flower shop . . . someday.

(257)

The second item on the list, self-comparison with a pioneer, seems misapplied and ill-timed at this moment of leaving; however, the off-timed misapplication itself challenges the adapted narrative of pioneering. The OWI film, abusing the word “pioneer,” once

triumphantly announced that it was “the prologue to the stories that are yet to be told” and moved the Nikkei people out from the prewar pioneering communities into a new “pioneer community”; here Sumiko abuses the misused idea of “pioneer” and renews the internment as a “prologue” to her subsequent “full story,” which remains untold and uninterpreted.

Still, leaving the protagonist’s “full story” blank, this juvenile novel suspends any decisive grown-up conclusion to the girl’s attempt at a pioneering narrative outside the “pioneer community” and instead offers the End Note, which remembers the internee pioneers’ efforts. Additionally, by the phrase “in the country you were born in,” the second list item implies that her post-internment story will be more or less a U.S. story. Sumiko reservedly declares that she is a U.S. born Nisei citizen even if she is one who has been unjustly treated under the internment policy. In the procedure of resettlement, the government provided Nikkei people with two options: going back to Japan or staying in the United States. Sumiko chooses the latter and remains in “the country” she was “born in.” Her misapplication of the pioneer narrative, which turns her internment into a “prologue,” does not go beyond the national circumscription. That, in her sketch of the Nikkei internment, Kadohata withholds a full-fledged conclusion beyond the barbed-wire fence indicates her renunciation of a dashing, perhaps uplifting, alternative to the hegemonic narrative.

Simultaneously, this juvenile story of pioneering with a blank ending involves still another question: how did the Nikkei relate to the

Native Americans in terms of the U.S. history of immigration and settlement? At this moment of leaving the camp on the reservation, she needs that second item to reply to a question Frank, a Mohave boy living on the reservation, posed at their first encounter; “Why don’t you people go back where you came from and leave our reservation alone?” asked Frank but Sumiko “felt too scared to answer” (124). His straightforward question foregrounds the fact that all the simulation of pioneer narrative is set on the CRIT Reservation which is the living legacy of the “genuine” pioneers like Charles D. Poston. To rephrase Frank’s question, how does a Nikkei pioneer relate to a Native American in the internment camp on the reservation? Or, turning instead again to Limerick’s words, where does a Nikkei pioneer stand in relation to the conquest of native people in North America? The Nisei girl finds an answer to this question through her attempt at pioneering and her friendship with Frank: the U.S. is nothing but her native country, where she is both a belated pioneer and a second-hand victim.

What the Fence Divides

In the autumn of 1942, some five months after Sumiko moved to the camp, the administration is planning to build a barbed-wire fence around Camp Three. The fence is now necessary because, according to the administration, the livestock of Native Americans strays into the camp. This official explanation sounds implausible to the internees: “Since nobody had ever seen one of these cattle wandering into camp, that reasoning wasn’t going over very well, especially with people like

Ichiro and his friends” (181). Nevertheless the fence is built at the end of December by some Native Americans. The administrators mean to secure cattle for the Mohave people by constructing the fence, following the language of “an agrarian democratic West.” However, the internees are those penned up like cattle or property of the government, despite the fact that they are already isolated and there is no place to escape or to “wander into” on the desert. The fence embodies the reality of internment and, as Sumiko observes, “depress[es] everybody” and “ruin[s] everything” in the camp. She herself finds it annoying and “fe[els] angry seeing the barbed wire stretching past her home,” that is the barrack (185). The otherwise expanding home community of the quasi pioneers is circumscribed and spoiled by the fence, which represents the internment life itself. In this belated construction of the fence in Poston, the idiom of the West is again adapted. The government border degrading the quasi self-reliant pioneers is being converted into a self-policed demarcation between the internees and the Native Americans. The reinterpreted fence re-fashions the internees as pioneers engaged in “patriotic duty, supporting the war by staying in this camp” or in the “self-sustaining” pioneer community.

The barbed-wire fence is ornamental in that it prevents no livestock of the Mohaves from wandering into the camp, redundant in that it duplicates the pervasive alienation on the desert land, and, above all, internal in that it divides the fellow “pawns on the Poston game board.” The U.S. government formulates both the Native American reservation policy and the Japanese American internment policy as the

same kind of ethnic mass management. Having referred to Okimoto among other scholars on Poston and the CRIT Reservation (vii), Kadohata weaves the continuity of the reservation and the internment into *Weedflower* and fictionally shows how the internees developed relationships with their confreres on the other side of the fence. Some internees choose to make this internal division more rigid by distorting the livestock and intern pen. This steers them away from their pioneer status into that of a vigilante patrolling the fence. If the fence ornaments the faked pioneer community to forge a border between inside and outside, the pawns inside the fence should be differentiated from those pawns outside the fence. To put it the other way around, by virtue of keeping the fence border secure, staying inside, and excluding the Native Americans from the camp, the Nikkei pawns can be pioneers again.

The quasi border makes the Native Americans into antagonists existing beyond the inner border. Even though the fence was the administrative decision, the internees blame the Native Americans for railing them in: there comes “quiet talk against the Indians, complains like, ‘Why must we be fenced in instead of their cows?’” in the camp (185). The discontent at being caged is redirected to the Mohaves with whom the internees have developed a self-censored relationship. Several months before the fence construction, a self-policing atmosphere prevails during in a basketball game. The Camp newspaper announces the coming match between the Camp Three team and the Native American high school team, including a notice that “the Indians ha[ve] been told to ‘stay away from the Camp Three girls’” (170). This implies

an already existing phobia about the Native Americans, especially in terms of the interethnic friendship among the youth. After the game, the internees and the Native Americans keep a distance from each other but finally have a skirmish regarding a proviso matter: when a Japanese girl talks to a Native American player, an internee boy “step[s] between them and sa[ys] warningly, ‘You stay away from our girls.’” Another Native American player answers back, “He’s not interested in *your* girls” (171-72; italics original). Fortunately, Bull, Sumiko’s cousin, settles the clash on the spot, but afterward internee boys tease the girl by calling her “Indian lover” (172). On this occasion, “seeing the boys taunt the girl shook Sumiko up” because she now “almost like[s]” Frank, her Mohave boyfriend whom she has met a few times so far at Camp Three Farm (172). Sumiko occasionally sees Frank when he visits the camp with his uncle to deliver supplies. After the scuffle occurs, she becomes more careful and makes “extra sure that nobody s[ees] her when she [goes] to the fields” to see Frank (174).

As Sumiko worries, she encounters trouble after the fence is built. Some boys find her showing Frank her flower garden, breaking the camp visiting rule:

From somewhere outside the warmth, a boy called out, “An Indian! His father built the barbed-wire fence!”

The warmth turned to a chill. Sumiko saw a swarm of boys running toward Frank

The boys caught Frank just outside the fence and surrounded him, pummeling him with their fists. (200)

Like at the basketball game, the internee boys fly upon Frank. Of significance, the teenaged boys' rivalry is paired with the fence politics. The internee boys instantly associate Frank with the barbed-wire fence in spite of the fact that Frank has lost his father and therefore he and "[h]is father" have nothing to do with the fence construction. Moreover, Frank himself is one of the Mohaves who found no need to build the fence (196). The Japanese boys harbor displaced enmity against the Native Americans, and Frank happens to be their fair game. As is epitomized by the internee boys' sanctions against Frank "just outside the fence," their policing of the interethnic relationship takes solid shape around the fence. It is that the barbed-wire fence materializes self-censorship, not that the fence creates such an antagonism out of nothing. At least in the Poston Relocation Center as *Weedflower* describes, the fence divides the internees from the Native Americans, another interned ethnic group on the adjoining reservation.

At this particular moment of internal vigilantism, Sumiko tries to secure the friendship with Frank that represents interethnic "collaboration and sympathies" (Hihara 17; translation mine). Trying to stop their tussle, Sumiko hits one of the boys with a mesquite branch and slightly injures his head. Astonished, the boys "crawl through the wire and [run] back into the camp" (201). The girl's unexpected violence checks the boys' censorship and abolishes her self-restraint as well. After promising to see him again, Sumiko stands outside the fence, on the reservation side, to see Frank off. She has "a funny feeling, then, one that [doesn't] make any sense: Because she ha[s] protected Frank, she fe[els]

like he [is] now officially and definitely her friend" (202). With her girlish attachment and glow of pride in protecting Frank entwined, her violation of the fence border secures the interethnic "collaboration and sympathies," including their personal friendship and developing cooperation in cultivating the reservation land. They set up their next meeting with the intention of introducing Bull to Joseph, Frank's elder brother. Although the Mohaves in this area have traditionally engaged in dry farming, Joseph, having learned about the camp farm from Frank, becomes interested in irrigation. The friendship between Sumiko and Frank brings about the possibility of cooperation in land-developing, which is also a pioneering enterprise on the CRIT Reservation. In a different way than the internal vigilantism practiced by the internees to differentiate themselves from "the pawns" or "the Indians" and to protect their pioneer status, Sumiko and Frank start their own pioneering.

However, in this novel, just as Sumiko's flower garden is a small temporal possibility in the camp, Frank and Sumiko's attempt at pioneering remains immature on "the Poston game board" in which government officers are the best "genuine" players. While Bull and Joseph are discussing the irrigation and examining the river on the reservation, Frank tells Sumiko of his hopeful anticipation. He says in a somewhat "delighted, childlike" manner that when his brothers, Joseph and Henry, "come back [from the war], they're going to help make sure the whole reservation gets irrigated" (215). Yet, his anticipation is accompanied by wartime anxiety and sorrow, as his brothers serve in the war and unfortunately Henry is killed in combat in the Pacific (247). The

possibility of their cooperation is thus framed within the Pacific War, and again a juvenile vulnerability is suggested in their dissenting attempt at pioneering.

In addition, even one of the most sympathetic moments of their interethnic friendship hints at a shared but different victimhood. One day on the farm, talking about the reservation and the internment camp, Frank in a matter-of-fact manner explains the continuity of the two policies: “We were here first. Then came the Chemehuevi. Now the government wants to bring Hopi and Navajo onto the reservation. In fact, they’re going to take over your barracks when the war ends” (*Weedflower* 160). The Mohave was the first tribe in the CRIT Reservation, followed by the Chemehuevi, and the Nikkei internees were one of the latecomers. Since he knows this continuity, he does not show his sympathy at first toward Sumiko’s sadness to have left her home:

“ . . . A lot of people lost everything they had during the evacuation.” she hugged her knees to her chest.

He shrugged. “You’re not the first people to lose things.”

Sumiko stared at him, then shocked herself by bursting into tears. Frank sat up, looking really surprised. (160-61)

At Frank’s words, “not the first people to lose things,” Sumiko suddenly remembers what she has lost and cries over them: her horse, her family, and her flower farm. After a while, Frank touches her arm and tells her to stop crying “with such concern, it was as if he were a different boy” (161). At this moment of tears and concern, they do share the history of losing and feel empathy with each other. Even so, Frank’s use of the word “first”

sounds rather double-edged; that is, while he sympathizes with Sumiko about her forced relocation and her loss which are similar to his tribal difficulties, he distinguishes himself as the “first” from Sumiko, a latecomer or “not the first people.” This might be viewed as yet another moment in which Kadohata refrains from assuming that the Nikkei share a similar victimhood with the Native people.

Resettlement of a Native Pioneer

In the camp on the reservation, through developing friendship with Frank, the internee girl Sumiko finds herself doubly situated within the history of immigration and settlement. On the one hand, Sumiko is a belated fake pioneer. She tunes into the adapted narrative of pioneering since she cannot survive in the desert without its protection. At the same time, however, she makes dissenting small noises from within by creating the unnecessary flower garden and trying another pioneering enterprise with the Mohaves outside the barbed-wire fence. On the other hand, Sumiko is a second-hand victim. She shares with Frank, as with other Native Americans, the experience of forced removal and losing. Yet, her victimhood paradoxically reveals the place “Asian immigrants occupy in the broadest picture of the conquest of . . . natives in North America.” The irony of the thin line between victimhood and conqueror or pioneer manifests itself in this pioneer narrative of the internee girl, Sumiko.

If the principal of “first in time, first in right” in the U.S. history of immigration and settlement is true (Limerick, *Legacy* 66), does it mean that Sumiko, neither the first pioneer nor the first victim, cannot find her

home in her native country? As the novel ends without any indication of Sumiko's grown-up "full story" as "a pioneer" in her native country, no decisive answers are left to readers. Still, her ill-timed departure as "a pioneer" in her homeland might well be read as the critique of that principle.

Chapter 4

Internment Narrative of a Pioneer Girl:

Hiromi Goto's *The Kappa Child* (2001)

Kappa Meets Naapi on the Albertan Prairie

Postwar Nikkei Canadian writer Hiromi Goto (1966-) has somehow become addicted to kappa, Japanese water sprites. She wrote several stories full of allusions to kappa folklores: *The Kappa Child* (2001), a sci-fi that received the James Tiptree Jr. Award, in which a postwar Issei protagonist has a kappa baby in a rather unusual manner; *The Water of Possibility* (2001), a juvenile novel whose protagonist girl has adventures in a parallel world where mythical creatures such as kappa, raccoons, foxes among others, live; and several short stories collected in *Hopeful Monsters: Stories* (2004). As one of the most popular hobgoblins, kappa have invited academic attention as well and there are several theories on kappa genealogy. One theory suggests that in ancient time kappa originated in inland China and because of a drought and famine traveled along the Yangtze and the Yellow River to Kumamoto in southern Japan between the years 313 and 399. The clans of kappa gradually move northward and settle in watery places such as river, waterfall, pond, and lake throughout Japanese islands.¹ More recently, Goto, whose paternal

¹ For more detailed information on kappa in comparative perspective, see Foster and Ishida. Foster provides a cultural analysis on kappa, while Ishida pursues a comparative studies on kappa and water sprite across the Eurasia and doubts the plausibility of anchoring kappa folklores only in Japan (*Kappa Komahiki Ko* 21). As for the more popular reception of kappa,

grandparents lived in Kumamoto, imagines that a kappa went across the Pacific to Canada and came to inhabit the prairie nearby the Blackfoot country in the southeast Lethbridge, Alberta in the 1960s. There, a kappa found a native dweller or the Blackfoot trickster, Naapi.² In *The Kappa Child*, this kappa's encounter with Naapi on the prairie provides a background story about immigrant-settler's encounter with the prairie and the First Nations.

When a kappa comes into the life of an anonymous protagonist narrator, kappa's long history of immigration gives her a framework from which to narrate her struggling life and to find a home in her adapted country of Canada. While the novel has enjoyed great acclaim for its strategic gender-bending and its kappa character has been interpreted as a symbolic hermaphrodite,³ what is equally important is that the novel also offers a retrospective narrative on pioneering in the Alberta prairie and the kappa works as a guide to the past. On the night of the last eclipse of the twentieth century, the narrator meets a kappa

legends of kappa migration are collected in the *Encyclopedia of Kappa Legend* (Wada 605). Inspired by the migration episode, a modern novelist Ashihei Hino authored a story of a kappa immigrant in his short story collection, *Kappa Mandala* (261).

² Naapi or Old Man is the Blackfoot trickster who governs the world, death, and marriage in Blackfoot tribal philosophy. For the audio records of individual tales, visit the website *Blackfoot Digital Library*: "The Beginnings of Naapi," "The Origin of Death," and "The Origin of Marriage." *The Kappa Child* is set near the Blackfoot country. Based on this fact, Kim points out the possibility of cohabitation of Kappa and Naapi and interprets it transethnic bond between Japanese Canadian and the First Nations (295-97).

³ See Iwama; Iwamoto; and Pearson.

stranger wearing a black beret that covers thin long hair, a black leather jacket, and a red silk dress that contrasts exquisitely with its olive green skin. The kappa entices the narrator into a midnight sumo match. After wrestling, the narrator feels a kappa baby existing in herself even though there is no medical evidence of pregnancy. The narrator and her imaginary kappa baby start living together and such pregnancy or cohabitation leads the narrator to revisit her childhood spent on a farm in the Albertan prairie. She takes a close look at her childhood, though she had hoped to leave it at that, like “[a] book that could be put away on a shelf. Even boxed and locked into storage should the need arise” (*The Kappa Child* 215). The kappa stranger and the kappa baby dragging with them the history of immigration and settlement attend the narrator, who revisits her childhood days.

Her retrospection on “a book” offers a miscarried pioneer narrative about her father, whom she has blamed for ruining her childhood, and at the same time her own aborted pioneer narrative in which her innocent fondness for the classic pioneer narrative, *Little House on the Prairie*, has turns into a distorted attachment. The narrator remembers her farm life in the 1960s and 70s, and explains that her father, Hideo, risked his life and family on a pioneering attempt at rice-farming. He purchased an old desolate farm that turned out to be located in the arid section of the prairie. At first the child narrator affectionately believes in the classic pioneer story, *Little House on the Prairie* (1930) by Laura Ingalls Wilder, and literally she keeps a copy on her person. For the narrator, the classic novel is the dream standard which she wants to meet in carrying out her

own farm life; she recalls every episode in the novel and compares each with her actual experiences. However, almost always she feels disillusioned. Even though her father tried hard to grow Japanese rice on the dry prairie, he cannot be a successful pioneer like Charles Ingalls, the good self-reliant father figure in *Little House on the Prairie*. The narrator finds that she herself cannot be a sweet pioneer girl like Laura. As it turns out, *Little House on the Prairie* is not a suitable framework for her pioneering life on the Alberta prairie. The postwar Issei cannot play the role of the self-reliant pioneer.

In the failed replay of the classic pioneer narrative, this Nikkei pioneer wannabe girl encounters a Blood Nikkei boy across the barbed-wire fence that encircles her family farm. Their encounter, dragging a long, even mythic history of immigrant settlers in North America, reconsiders the synecdochic view of Nikkei Canadian history that positions Nikkei as victim.

Can Hideo Be a Hero?

The first recorded immigration from Japan to Canada was in 1877. Since then, though interrupted by a twenty-seven-year ban that ran from 1940 to 1967, Japanese people have immigrated to Canada. Immigrants after 1967 are often called postwar Issei in order to differentiate them from the prewar immigrants. The narrator and her family of *The Kappa Child* are these postwar Issei. They left Osaka for British Columbia and then moved eastward to Alberta. The narrator's father, Hideo, believes that the land he has purchased on the Alberta prairie is "a land for

pioneers" (*The Kappa Child* 133). On the way to a new place, sharing the father's dream of pioneering, the narrator reads out loud to her three sisters two chapters from *Little House on the Prairie*. The girl compares her family to the Ingalls, the most famous pioneer family in the U.S. almost one hundred years ago: "The Ingalls family were from the east so they went west. We're from British Columbia, so we were in the west, but we move east to get to the same place, funny, huh?" I beamed" (*The Kappa Child* 42). In the classic, on the one hand, the protagonist Laura Ingalls and her family moved westward from Wisconsin to Kansas on a wagon. On the other hand, the family in *The Kappa Child* drives a station wagon eastward, that is, in a reverse direction to that of the Ingalls in order to arrive at "the same place," which is "a land for pioneers."

The reversed route foreshadows their unsuccessful life of pioneering. After a long drive, they arrive at an old farm which has been long abandoned since the former owner passed away. Unfortunately the farm soil is desolate, stony, and dehydrated, despite the fact that a neighboring farm is prospering. The farm is not irrigated and the household waterworks is broken down. Although the dry soil does not stop Hideo's dream to be a pioneer of Japanese rice farming on the prairie, his adventure hardly pays off. Laura's father, Charles builds the necessary pieces of furniture and a log house, and digs a well near their house in order to provide his family with safe water. Likewise, Hideo tries well-digging but makes only "a small indent, the size of our washbasin," because beneath the prairie dusty soil is the concreted earth that is not "going to give up any water" (*The Kappa Child* 162). Hideo's pioneering

on the part-concreted farm turns out to be an outmoded, out-of-place, fake enterprise.

Why is he bound to be unsuccessful? Why cannot he be a pioneer of Japanese rice farming? The child narrator finds the answer to this question in the familiar comparison to *Little House on the Prairie*: “We were on the prairies. Everyone knew that the prairies meant undulating fields of golden wheat, the color of Mary Ingalls’ hair” (*The Kappa Child* 113). According to a literary critic and writer, Larissa Lai, the child narrator’s remark betrays her disappointed insight on the racialization of the Alberta prairie that disallows the Japanese Canadian to develop roots in there (*The Kappa Child* 168-69). The somewhat childish over-simplification that equates the golden wheat with Mary’s hair explains the embarrassing hardship her father brings to the family. Japanese rice cannot grow on the prairie that welcomes the golden wheat. Likewise, a Japanese pioneer wannabe cannot but fail in his attempt on the prairie. Her favorite classic, which should be a frame of reference in pursuing her dream on the prairie, tells her that she and her family are unsuitable for undertaking the Ingalls’ adventures because they are Nikkei.

Besides, their eastward route, from British Columbia to the Albertan “land of pioneers,” is identical with one of the evacuation routes that Nikkei took during the Pacific War. Part of Nikkei in British Columbia were moved to camp fields in Alberta; in 1942, some 2,600 Nikkei Canadians, 10 % of the evacuees, worked in sugar beets fields in Alberta (Iino 119). Given this suggestive coincidence, the pioneering life

of the family could also be referring to the wartime internment, which was a representative incident of the institutionalized racism against Nikkei. The family's attempt to participate in a pioneer narrative is shadowed by the history of the Nikkei evacuation.⁴

The child narrator finds out that she cannot take part in her long-cherished pioneer narrative because she is Nikkei, and then chooses to put it away. She tears up pages of her copy that is already "soft from numerous reading, damp from the heat of my [the narrator's] body" and also "taped to the spine and the corners [are] peeling backward, adhesive black and stiff" (*The Kappa Child* 42, 216). While pulling pages to pieces, unexpectedly the ghostly Laura appears and holds the narrator's right shoulder. The "gaunt" girl pleads with the narrator to stop ripping pages, but the narrator turns down Laura, whose fingers "cracked, nails chipped, wrinkled with malnutrition" (*The Kappa Child* 217). The haunting Laura explains that *Little House on the Prairie* is a gentrified tale and breaks down the heroic pioneer dream into bitter pieces of reality (*The Kappa Child* 217). Since the narrator's dream has been to participate in the sugarcoated story of pioneering, she turns away from this newly revealed story of pioneering, which is far bleak, as well as her racialized alienation from pioneer narrative.

⁴ As an illustrative example of Goto's implicit reference to the wartime evacuation is her short story, "With Dispersal as with (Be)Longing," written for the 2001 art exhibit, *Miyoshi: A Taste that Lingers Unfinished in the Mouth*, at the Southern Alberta Art Gallery in Lethbridge (December 2, 2000-January 14, 2001). In this poem portrait of a family living on the prairie, Goto refers to the evacuation and provides a note on the confiscation of fishing boats from the Nikkei in British Columbia (4).

The negated affection for *Little House on the Prairie* is brought back to her by a kappa girl when the narrator is grown up. One day, the adult narrator half-dreamingly has a vision and finds herself surrounded by “the dryness of a dead prairie” (*The Kappa Child* 264). There she encounters a kappa girl unbecomingly dolled up in a pinafore dress and a bonnet like Laura. That girl suffers from terrible thirst:

She has no nose. Her face triangulates into an amphibian point, her skin a mottled green. Overlarge eyes bulge, all pupils. She unclasps her hands from behind her back and extends one, trembling, toward me. Her hand. Her green skin is like a mummy’s, drained of all moisture. How can she be alive? (*The Kappa Child* 264)

Like the “gaunt” Laura who had asked the narrator for help once in the past, the dehydrated kappa girl calls upon the narrator for help, tremblingly stretching out her withered hand.

The relaunched frustration of pioneer girls reinterprets their hardship as a piece of the longer history of pioneering rather than a Nikkei racial problem. Though at first the narrator feels perplexed, she then embraces the kappa girl and astonishedly meets her soulful eyes: “I start at their depths, the age and sadness of a thousand years” (*The Kappa Child* 265). The otherwise strange, facetious scene suddenly turns into a revelation to the narrator. When she witnesses “the age and sadness of a thousand years” of this kappa girl in a pioneer garment in the alien space, her own experiences as the unfit Nikkei pioneer wannabe also becomes a part of a thousand-year history of pioneering. She asks to

herself: “How many must die? So unfair. Why must we live to come to only this?” She cries “tears of frustration,” tears sympathetic towards the plural “we” (*The Kappa Child* 265). Her unhappy experiences are the fruit of the racialization of the pioneer narrative when it is interpreted within the partial history of Nikkei North Americans. Yet, now relaunched by the kappa girl, those experiences can also be re-contextualized within the more general, longer history of immigration and settlement. The broader history represents the narrator, the kappa girl, and even Laura perhaps as all struggling for life as immigrant-settler girls. Still, to stay specific to North American pioneer narrative, in what sense exactly can they be fellow immigrant-settlers?

Little Squatters on the Prairie

When the family arrives at the farm, the child narrator at first finds her father similar to Charles:

The wind was picking up. I watched in wonder as a huge tumbleweed bounced over the station wagon and rolled across the land that was supposed to be ours. . . . Strange how their Pa just parked their wagon anywhere he felt like and called that place his. Maybe Dad did the same thing. Maybe everyone did. (*The Kappa Child* 45)

The narrator finds it strange that Charles stops his wagon wherever he likes and declares his right on that place. A historical fact tells that the Ingalls family in *Little House on the Prairie* was one of millions of illegal settlers on the Osage Diminished Reserve, Kansas, from 1867 to 1870

(Fellman 16-17).⁵ This is why Laura asks her parents several times if the family is intruding upon the Indian Territory: “This is Indian country, isn’t it?” or “I thought this was Indian Territory. Won’t it make the Indians mad to have—” (*Little House* 47, 237). Charles commits illegal settlement in the Indian Territory, but Hideo is not a squatter like Charles in that he has purchased the farm and has the property rights to it. Nevertheless, as if rehearsing Laura’s anxiety of legitimacy over the family settlement, the narrator imagines that her father, Hideo, among “everyone” behaves in the same manner with Charles.

The narrator girl again compares Hideo with Charles when her father takes a “blue port-a-potty” from a nearby campground: “Maybe Dad was just like Pa parking his wagon wherever he wanted. Maybe it was like Pa chopping down trees by the river. He didn’t ask for anyone’s permission. It wasn’t stealing. No one called it that. I hoped” (*The Kappa Child* 129). In his stealing of the portable toilet, the narrator finds Hideo comparable with Charles who cuts down and uses trees for his sake in the Osage Reserve. Though it might be a childish whimsical fancy to see both of them committing theft, a question remains: what does this repeated comparison between the twentieth-century Nikkei antihero and the nineteenth-century U.S. self-reliant hero signify?

The moral doubt over the “sense of entitlement of living on First Nations’ land” provides the backdrop of the child narrator’s reverie in

⁵ The time period slightly varies. Another theory sets *Little House on the Prairie* between 1869 and 71, based on Laura’s age (Kaye 125).

The Kappa Child. In “Cross-Cultural Creature,” an interview after publishing *The Kappa Child*, Goto points out what is hiding behind the persistent rhetorical question against immigrants such as “Why stay?” is not merely white racism against the recent immigrants from Asia, but also colonial doubt on “the entitlement of living on First Nations’ land” (n.p.). She further argues that immigrants all have to ask themselves, “How are we complicit in the ongoing oppression of the people of the First Nations?” Her use of plural “we all” or “we” includes immigrants or non-First Nation squatters and puts less emphasis on the alienation of Nikkei but more on the immigrants’ appropriation of First Nations’ land. Given this, the child narrator’s reverie, compressing the some-hundred-year gap and crossing the modern national border, her imaginary comparison suggests that the antiheroic wannabe becomes a pioneer when he commits theft on the Native America.

Furthermore, by sharing the guilty sense of squatters,⁶ the child narrator might simulate Laura as the immigrant-settler. Although *Little House on the Prairie* has been criticized for its racialist representation of the Native American, a more careful observation shows its ambivalence towards the Native Americas: three major characters represent different

⁶ For a discussion on squatter’s guilt, see Bergland. Defining the U.S. as a nation haunted by its “original sin against Native people”, Bergland argues: “The history of European relations with Native Americans is a history of murders, looted graves, illegal land transfers, and disruptions of sovereignty. Among these, land ownership may be the source of the nation’s deepest guilt” (8).

stances (Heldrich 100).⁷ Charles changes his racist attitude into a friendly and respectful one, whereas Caroline, the mother, consistently fears them. In between the parents' opposite manners, Laura stands for "the consciences of Ma and Pa" (Heldrich 105). Adopting not the role of Laura as a fair pioneer girl, the narrator instead plays Laura as a squatter who has the sense of guilt for land appropriation. Thus the retrospective narrative on pioneering life records the difference between the U.S. heroic pioneer and the hundred-year-belated Nikkei pioneer wannabe. The difference, however, changes into a similarity when they are contrasted to the Native people, the first, original inhabitants on the North American continent.

This is the most significant reason why *The Kappa Child* would seek to portray the Nikkei immigrants on the Alberta prairie in the 1960s and 70s within a reference frame of *Little House on the Prairie*, which presents the U.S. Anglo-Saxon pioneer narrative set in the 1860s Kansas. Situated within the long history of immigration and settlement in the North America, the postwar Japanese immigrant becomes re-fashioned as a belated accomplice in appropriating the Native America.

Halfway Redskin

Given that *The Kappa Child* documents the moral doubt over the "sense of entitlement of living on First Nations' land," a scene where the

⁷ For discussion on the representation of Native Americans in *Little House on the Prairie*, see Campbell; Kaye 124-26; and Wolf 83-84.

child narrator suddenly imagines that her father can “pass for an Indian” appears inappropriate (*The Kappa Child* 44). Yet, this improper moment is important in reexamination of the Nikkei positioning within the longer history of immigration and settlement on the Native America. In this sunset scene on the prairie in which the narrator compares her father to Charles and herself to Laura, she also thinks of possibility that Hideo plays Indian:

Dad sat on the hood of the car. The sun was starting to set and the orange lit his face.

He could pass for an Indian, I thought.

“What are you staring at?” he asked, not turning to face me.

I gulped.

“Answer me.”

“I like it here,” I managed.

He turned his enormous head and looked into my face. . . .

He smiled, revealing his gapped teeth, and I wondered at how smiling could change his face. (*The Kappa Child* 44)

Her thought in the evening light is soon disturbed by Hideo’s question. She does not tell her imaginings; instead, she replies that she likes the prairie. Hideo’s big smile shows his satisfaction with the narrator’s answer and wipes out the possibility of passing for an Indian.

The halfway possibility of passing for an Indian would respond to a Nikkei version of playing Indian in the redress movement during the 1960s-80s. As is mentioned in Introduction of this thesis, Joy Kogawa’s

Obasan and *Emily Kato* are the illustrative literary examples of the Nikkei playing Indian: in the first prairie scene, Kogawa's narrator compares her uncle to Sitting Bull in their aged red skin as well as in their reticent victimhood (*Obasan* 2-3). Similarly, Goto's child narrator finds that her father bears a likeness to an Indian because of his red, orange-sunlit prairie skin; however, she refrained from articulating the comparison. The halfway redskin may indicate the post-redress reexamination of Nikkei Indian-play. Drawing an analogy between the Nikkei evacuation and the Native American removal proved to be a powerful strategy for bringing public attention to the redress movement and motivating the movement in tandem with the civil rights movement. At the very same time, there is only a thin line between that comparison and the appropriation of Native American history, such as the history of land appropriation, for the sake of the Nikkei redress. The post-redress Nikkei finds it difficult to define exactly the difference between the transethnic cooperation with the First Nations and the appropriation, while that persistent sense of guilt itself denotes the fact that such problems as land appropriation, cultural theft among others, remain unresolved.

Within this context, the halfway redskin can be a literary attempt to trespass the thin borderline, or more generally, to cope with "challenging relationship" between Asian Canadians and the First Nations in Canadian writer and critic Rita Wong's words. As Wong points out, in contemporary Asian Canadian writing, the relationships between Asian characters and First Nation characters "raise questions

regarding immigrant complicity in the colonization of land as well as the possibility of making alliances toward decolonization” (158-59). The Nikkei version of playing Indian is one of examples of the slippery, double-edged relationships that are loaded with a sense of guilt over colonization and the minority’s goodwill strategy for decolonization. Against this backdrop, in *The Kappa Child*, the not-articulated comparison half participates in and half escapes from the past Nikkei Indian-play, while reserving the Nikkei affinity with First Nations as a chance resemblance.

Blood Nikkei Boy across the Barbed-Wire Fence

The Kappa Child tells that the postwar Nikkei wannabe can be a pioneer if a pioneer means a squatter on the Native America. As latecomers treading in the footsteps of the early European colonists, the postwar Nikkei are complicit “in the ongoing oppression of the people of the First Nations” in the long history of immigration and settlement. This ethical sense undoes any Nikkei assertion of the pure victimhood in parallel with the Native American victimhood, which has been fabricated through the redress movement.

This ethical sense in the long history of immigration and settlement finds its expression in the narrator’s ambivalent friendship with a Blood Nikkei boy, Gerald Nakamura Coming Singer, who is living in a neighboring chicken farm. Their juvenile, awkward friendship can be read as a reply to the problem of the “challenging relationships” between Nikkei and Native Americans. Examining the Asian Canadian literary

representation of the First Nations, literary critic Marie Lo points out that an “interracial romance between Native and Asian Canadian characters” constitutes “a hybridized Native Asian family” that legitimates the presence of the Asian Canadian people in Canada (97). In the Asian Canadian literary imagination the First Nation people can be an intermediate of the legitimacy and the interracial romance embodies the legitimacy in the form of the familial bond. However, the friendship of Gerald and the narrator in *The Kappa Child* does not develop into romance; their friendship without romance would cast an ethical doubt on the representation of the First Nations as a furnisher of “the sense of entitlement of living on First Nations’ land.”

Their friendship across the barbed-wire fence that surrounds the family farm perhaps corresponds to the friendship between Sumiko and Frank in *Weedflower*. Goto’s narrator becomes best friends with Gerald and says: “As my new friend, Gerald crawled through the barbed wire between his property and ours. I couldn’t see the house from where I stood, but felt good knowing it was there” (*The Kappa Child* 177). She spent all of her free hours with Gerald: “The too-few hours I had away from the blistering non-rice fields of my father’s obsession, I spent with Gerald. . . . We played in the dry sun, under the seamless sky, the wind blasting our faces” (*The Kappa Child* 189). It may well remind us of the relations between Sumiko and Frank in *Weedflower* and invite a reading in the context of the wartime internment. If, in the long shadow of the internment, the narrator is reliving camp life on the postwar prairie, Gerald would revive the figure of the Indian coming to the farm or camp

“through the barbed wire” and their friendship would suggest the interethnic collaboration as well.

Yet, their friendship is suddenly ended by swearwords and blow that the narrator directs at Gerald, as if the novel were trying to refrain from portraying the narrator as a victim by comparing her life on the prairie with the internment lives. Instead, the novel now compares the narrator with a pioneer. When the narrator helps her father steal water from the neighboring Snyders’ farm in the middle of night, Gerald turns up unexpectedly. It is his acknowledgment of her pioneer-like toughness that makes her perplexed:

I leaned on my shovel like I’d seen done on TV and flexed prematurely well-developed forearms. Wanting, for some strange reason, to impress my quiet friend. Gerald reached with a slim-boned hand and patted my muscles encouragingly. “You’re strong.”

Salt seeped to my eyes, I never cried, never, and he was going to make me. Blinked and blinked and the tear pooled inside my throat, the back of my throat. (*The Kappa Child* 200)

Trying to keep back tears, she bits her lips so hard to bleed. Gerald hugs her, but the narrator pays him with a blow for his tenderness: “Chin pushed out, my head thrust forward, I drew my hands back then shoved with all my farmer strength. Gerald smashing into the ground” (*The Kappa Child* 200). The narrator immediately feels the severe sting of remorse, but she cannot stop swearing at him. Gerald, then, with tears in

his eyes, “turn[s] his back and walk[s] away” (*The Kappa Child* 200). The girl knows that she has lost her only friend due to her own roughness and “howled, howled to the indifferent sky” (*The Kappa Child* 201). She maintains a feeling of guilt for spoiling the friendship with Gerald, which turns into “something unpleasant from the past” until she grows up and apologizes to him on the phone (*The Kappa Child* 240). The sudden end of her friendship indicates that the narrator is neither a pure victim nor a future lover of Gerald. Their awkward friendship, which does not develop into an “interracial romance,” also casts a doubt on the signification of literary romance between Nikkei and First Nation people for the sake of Nikkei legitimacy on North America.

In the end, is there no room for the post Nikkei pioneer to live in North America together with the First Nation people? *The Kappa Child* offers a modest possibility. When the child narrator is taking a walk on the prairie with Gerald, she finds herself reflected in Gerald’s eyes: “His honey-yellow eyes were sad and old. I could see myself inside them” (*The Kappa Child* 169). If Gerald’s eyes parallel with the kappa pioneer girl’s eyes that hold “depths, the age and sadness of a thousand years” (*The Kappa Child* 265), the narrator is here witnessing the long history of immigrants, in which the European precedence shrinks and even the First Nations can be one of immigrants as well. Her self-portrait in Gerald’s eyes, which embody an aged sadness, suggests her place in the procession of immigrants in North America. Thus in the narrator’s retrospection of pioneering, the kappa as an immigrant relocates their personal friendship into the series of encounters that have been

experienced by immigrants.

This vision has no practical use in the face of the real difficulties that First Nation people have suffered; it is just a girl's reverie. It also bears the significant risk of minimizing the historical crime on the First Nations and comes quite close to a faked kinship, which Goto tries to evade throughout the novel. Yet, within the North American history of pioneering, *The Kappa Child* offers the possibility of a cohabitation of immigrants including Native people, which has not yet been born but certainly exists, much like a kappa baby.

Conclusion

A Tribe of Immigrants, Stories of Turtle Island

Thus far this dissertation has delineated several cases of the fakelore of the Asiatic and in doing so has pointed out that once a chance resemblance between Native North Americans and Nikkei is translated into an ancient and familial similitude, and that the similitude becomes a foundation from which the writers not only explore their own identities but also craft new ethnic portraits. In concrete terms, this fabricated but somehow convincingly tangible kinship works to introduce a broader context of immigration and settlement, which undoes the one-sidedly fixed representations of Native North American and Nikkei people.

The process through which this fabricated kinship lays the foundation for creating new ethnic self-portraits involves both a relocation of ethnic identities and a reexamination of victimhood. As Part 1 of this paper has shown, the fabricated kinship was used to relocate Native North Americans from the status of a deprived victim into that of a transpacific explorer or pioneer. Conversely, Part 2, which has examined Nikkei literary portraits, has revealed that the fake kinship is used to validate Nikkei victimhood under the forced relocation policies in parallel with the Native relocations.

Yet, as both Parts 1 and 2 have also attempted to elucidate, those self-portraits via a fakeloric kinship invite further examination; there, both the pure nativity and the pure victimhood are questioned. Native North Americans are the first inhabitants in North Americas, or more

precisely, the first immigrant settlers. This revision of the Native North American status has the capacity to undermine their sovereignty, as Vine Deloria Jr. has pointed out in *Red Earth, White Lies*. However, it also calls into question the dominant images of Native North Americans as the oppressed victim and prepares a broader context for the creation of their self-portraits, as the two narratives demonstrate. For example, Ranald MacDonald in "Japan Story of Adventure" fashions himself as a pioneer explorer in the secluded Japan through comparison and contrast to the native Japanese, and therein gains literary mobility. Likewise, Ronin Browne in Gerald Vizenor's *Hiroshima Bugi* revisits MacDonald's narrative and creates a series of origin stories in which he fabricates his heterogeneous ancestry. Both MacDonald and Ronin cannot break themselves completely free from the historical context of ethnic victimization. However, from within that historical context, they are able to explore yet another picture of their Native presence.

The pure victimhood is also questioned in the Nikkei narratives examined in this dissertation. After the Pacific War, Nikkei portraits were predominantly constructed so as to present Nikkei as victims. However, in the post-redress movement era, some writers started to engage in a reconsideration of Nikkei history within the broader perspective of immigration and settlement. Through that process, they began to pose new questions regarding those portraits of Nikkei as pure victims, a status similar to that of the Native North American people. For such writers, the argument became more nuanced: Nikkei are victims, but at the same time, they are victimizers who have been complicit in the

perpetrating of colonial practices against the Native North Americans. These kinds of portraits in turn have made it rather difficult for Nikkei writers to refer to the fakeloric kinship as the basis for their analogical victimhood, as the two novels discussed in Part 2 demonstrate. Sumiko in Cynthia Kadohata's *Weedflower* and the anonymous girl in Hiromi Goto's *The Kappa Child* create contradictory self-portraits and develop ambivalent friendships with the Native North American boys. Yet, the girls find that these new friends are not living simply as resigned victims, but they are, much like them, trying to start their own lives in their countries.

If the Asiatic can be redefined as a group comprised of immigrants, in what directions then might the fakelore be moving? Moreover, what kinds of effects might such a fakelore have in Nikkei and Native North American literary cultures hereafter?

One of the latest manifestations of the fakelore of the Asiatic, "Turtle Island" by Nikkei writer Karen Tei Yamashita (1951-), offers an interesting illustration. "Turtle Island" is the fifth novella in her 2010 novel, *I Hotel*, and tells of a series of chance encounters between three Nikkei persons and one Modoc person, who call themselves "pilgrims," over a period of some seven years ("Turtle Island" 415). They first meet in 1973 and illegally enter Alcatraz Island, which is still occupied by those remaining from Indians of All Tribes in this novella. In the scene in which they first meet, Yamashita's narrator notes the following:

A group self-identified by their Asian features gathered at Pier Thirty-nine under a full November moon, dancing

through the usual lace of San Francisco Bay fog. Of course, depending, they could have been mistaken for Indian. It wouldn't be the first time someone recognized the features that claim the same genes that crossed the Bering Strait or canoed across the Pacific. Different tribes is all. ("Turtle Island" 374)

Referring to the migration theory, the narrator indicates that the three Nikkei characters have some physiognomical features in common with the Native North American, and that Nikkei Americans can be viewed as one of Native North American tribes. Additionally, one of them is taken for an Indian by a night guard at the pier ("Turtle Island" 376). Then joins them a Modoc man, who is "a red man but yellow enough" ("Turtle Island" 377) and the four Asiatic persons secretly cross the bay and enter Alcatraz Island.

Seven years later, they reunite at Tule Lake, where the Modoc tribes and others have been living and where one of the internment camps was once located. There they undergo a visionary ceremony and each of them relives what they have been missing. The Modoc man has a vision of his Modoc uncle, who had met a legendary creature, Sasquatch, but could never prove. In search of Sasquatch, his uncle was strolling on the desert of Tule Lake, but found instead the internment camp:

. . . one day, he tracks it to a barbed-wire fence, and when he looks up, there is a tower rising into the sky with a soldier posted up on its lookout, pointing a gun in his direction. "Hey, get away from that fence," the soldier warns.

He backs away. "What's this place?"

"U. S. Government property."

Uncle Al takes a better look at the property and sees people, in fact an entire tribe of them—men, women, and children—coming and going from tarpaper barracks. . . .

"What reservation is this?" he asks.

"Hey," the soldier barks. "You aren't a Jap are you?"

("Turtle Island" 416)

As illustrated here, the Modoc man witnesses his uncle's experiences around 1942. His uncle accidentally comes upon to the internment camp, or what appears to be something like a reservation for a Nikkei tribe. There, as the soldier's last question implies, Uncle Al is mistaken for one of the Nikkei internees.

In this way, the novella compares Nikkei characters to Native Americans at the representative site of red power resistance, while it likens the Modoc character to Nikkei at the place of the Nikkei internment. What is distinct about this symmetrical comparison is its playfully explicit and matter-of-fact manner, which sets up a site for numerous versions of the "Turtle Island story."

The deliberate symmetry in this novella signifies the interchangeability of the two episodes of ethnic misrecognition. The mirror-imaged, reversed structure, in which, for instance, a Nikkei man on entering Alcatraz Island is mistaken for an Indian by the guard, while a Modoc man on approaching the camp is mistaken for a Jap by the guard, implies that the experiences of Native North American and those

of Nikkei are similar enough to be interchanged with each other, rather than simply highlighting their similitude itself. Perhaps, in describing the Modoc character as “a red man but yellow enough,” Yamashita’s narrator might well be expected to describe Nikkei characters as yellow but red enough. With this emphasis on their interchangeability, “Turtle Island” shows their faked kinship in quite an explicit manner, unlike *Weedflower* and *The Kappa Child* whose narrators seem to hesitate to do so because it might be an appropriation of the Native history and experiences. Or, unlike Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Ceremony* which attributes a certain kind of ceremonial and soothing effect to the fakeloric kinship, the novella does not explicate the participant’s spiritual responses in his visionary ceremony and leaves those kinds of effects unexplained.

Instead of assigning a single meaning to the fakeloric imagination, “Turtle Island” suggests a series of interchanges, or exchanges, of Nikkei and Native North American experiences and offers a space of storytelling. At the beginning, on Alcatraz Island, the four latecomers witness a continuing storytelling around a bonfire. There, occupants from the Indians of All Tribes share with each other their stories about Turtle Island, which is “a creation story” and also “a story about sacrifice and quest” (“Turtle Island” 381). This bonfire storytelling serves as the frame of the novella itself and, in the last chapter on the visionary ceremony, the life stories of the three Nikkei persons constitute “the Japanese American version of the Turtle Island story.” It goes as follows:

In the Japanese American version of the Turtle Island story, you got a crane and loon and muskrat that go searching for a

plug of earth in a lake that turns out to be a dried-up, desiccated lake called Tule Lake. You didn't imagine that enemy non-aliens, or for that matter anyone native to that land, would be exiled to any real lake, not Walden Pond, not an orchard of apples, not a jewel in the desert, not a mountain with a heart. Still, you know that it is the people who occupy the space, whether a reservation or a concentration camp, who draw the water, plant the apples, build from the raw jewel, cause the heart to beat. ("Turtle Island" 414)

As is clear in this Japanese American version, regardless of whether that space is a reservation or a concentration camp, or whatever, it is the place cultivated and enlivened by people. Through their lives, according to the narrator, "[e]veryone's got a version of the same story, or maybe there's no such thing as the same story; it's a different story every time" ("Turtle Island" 414). The land's occupants are participating in storytelling, in which every act of telling communicates with each other and stories are piled up.

The fakelore of the Asiatic, which begins by falsely imagining a remote kinship between Native North Americans and Nikkei, ultimately motivates writers to move beyond a limited definition of their ethnicity and create their own literary self-portraits. Through that process, the umbrella term, the Asiatic, has almost lost its ethnic specificity and has instead started to point toward another meaning that has its roots in the immigrant experience. The term, fakelore too beckons to be redefined in a way that shakes off its sense of "false story" and embraces instead its

essence as a literary practice, through which immigrants keep telling and retelling stories of their lives, both for themselves and others.

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