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Geschäftsführung:
Marian Füssel, Sarah von Hagen, Seminar für Mittlere und Neuere Geschichte, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Heinrich-Düker-Weg 14, D-37 073 Göttingen, historischeanthropologie@boehlau-verlag.com

Verantwortlich für die Lektüren:
Margareth Lanzinger (Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Universität Wien, A-1010 Wien, margareth.lanzinger@univie.ac.at) und Joseph Morsel (UMR 8589 – LAMOP – Laboratoire de médiévistique occidentale de Paris, 1, rue Victor Cousin, F-75005 Paris, Joseph.Morsel@univ-paris1.fr)

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Inhalt

Editorial

Transplantation: Sugar and Imperial Practice in Japan's Pacific

By Martin Dusinberre and Mariko Iijima[1]

> *I have the honor to enclose a draft for the sum of $ 200 which I wish to invest in the purchase of Japanese orange plants. You will greatly oblige me if you will obtain some plants and forward them to this kingdom via San Francisco. I presume that small hardy plants are preferable to large ones, as they bear transplanting better.*[2]

Through its focus on *transplantation*, this special issue of *Historische Anthropologie* proposes a new analytical language for describing the history of the modern world, one that sharpens historians' understanding of global 'connections'.

Connectedness, indeed, has been a keystone of scholars' historiographical vocabulary for at least the past two decades. Often paired together with, and positively contrasted to, the methodology of comparative history, 'connected histories' have been recommended as one way to overcome the hitherto dominant epistemologies of both the nation-state and area studies.[3] In empirical terms, the world between 1870 and 1945—the period covered in our essays for this special issue—has been characterized as 'connecting'. This is because, even as new nation-states in Europe (e. g. Italy and Germany) or in Asia (e. g. Japan) came into being, it was 'the very connectedness of the age, not so oddly perhaps, that spread ideologies of national separateness.'[4]

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1 The authors gratefully acknowledge the editorial assistance of Gonzalo San Emeterio Cabañes, David Möller, Birgit Tremml-Werner, Helena Jaskov, Tamara Ann Tinner, Nadja Schorno and David Hänggi-Aragai. We thank two readers from *Historische Anthropologie*, and participants of the international symposium ('Practicing Power in the Global Asia-Pacific: Environments, Migrants, and Womanhood') in Sophia University, Japan, for their comments on earlier drafts (December 2018). We also thank friends and colleagues with whom we have discussed these ideas over the last four years, including David Ambaras, Shinzō Araragi, Eiichiro Azuma, Kensuke Hirai, Pieter Judson, Yoshiyuki Kido, Lon Kurashige, Njoroge Njoroge, Jonathan Okamura, Lucy Riall, Jordan Sand, Naoko Shimazu, Sujit Sivasundaram, Takako Ueda, Roland Wenzlhuemer and Andrew Zimmerman. We acknowledge the support of JSPS Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) 16K03003 and the Swiss National Science Foundation ('Lives in Transit: Steamship Passages in the Late-19th and Early-20th Century World', 2017–2020).

2 Letter from the Hawaiian Minister of the Interior (nominally Henry Alpheus Pierce Carter, but signed by W. N. Armstrong), to Robert W. Irwin, Hawaiian Consul General to Japan, 10 February 1882. Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, Irwin Letters VI 3–1.

3 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Modern Asian Studies* 31, 3, 1997, pp. 735–762; C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914,* Oxford, 2004.

4 Emily S. Rosenberg, 'Introduction', in *A World Connecting, 1870–1945*, ed. Emily S. Rosen-

Yet although some scholars insist that 'our conceptual understanding of transregional connections as the fundamental components of global exchange and interaction remains rudimentary',[5] others have already tired of the theme. 'This Is What Happens When Historians Overuse the Idea of the Network' was the caustic headline to David A. Bell's review of Emily S. Rosenberg's 1,160-page edited volume, *A World Connecting, 1870–1945*.[6] While Bell's critique has, along with others, generated the headline debates, other scholars have been quietly addressing the need for historians to consider *dis*connections in their work.[7]

Part of the problem is that the language of 'connections', while undoubtedly useful in enabling historians to bring different historiographies into dialogue, tells us little new about the socioeconomic or political phenomena—the empirical context—which inspired the dialogue in the first place. To take one example: migration is clearly a connection. But what were the power dynamics which lay behind a person's decision to migrate (if, indeed, they were free to make such a decision)? What possibilities were opened and foreclosed by that act of migration? Who gained land through migration, and who was dispossessed? Whose voice speaks loudest in the surviving archives, and why? Some of these questions, along with many others, are addressed by Dirk Hoerder in his 150-page contribution on 'Migrations and Belongings' to Rosenberg's volume; but it is difficult to read his essay and feel that the book's overall framework of 'connecting' does justice to the immensely complex systems which Hoerder sketches.[8] The same critique might be made of some of the other analytical terms sometimes used to frame migration, including 'mobilities' and 'entanglements': they run the risk of flattening power hierarchies, overlooking the victims of migration and reinforcing archival silences.[9]

There would be much more to say about the problems arising from such terms, but in the spirit of exploring a new conceptual language, we prefer to focus for the remainder

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berg, Cambridge MA, 2012, p. 11. For a similar dynamic in the writing of national histories in the nineteenth century, see Christopher Hill, *National History and the World of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United States*, Durham, 2008.

5 Roland Wenzlhuemer, 'The Ship, the Media, and the World: Conceptualizing Connections in Global History', *Journal of Global History* 11, 2, 2016, p. 164.

6 David A. Bell, 'This is What Happens When Historians Overuse the Idea of the Network', *The New Republic,* 26 October 2013. https://newrepublic.com/article/114 709/world-connecting-reviewed-historians-overuse-network-metaphor, last accessed 18 March 2019.

7 On the debates, see Richard Drayton and David Motadel, 'Discussion: the futures of global history', *Journal of Global History* 13, 1, 2018, pp. 1–21; on disconnections, Sujit Sivasundaram, 'Towards a Critical History of Connection: The Port of Colombo, the Geographical "Circuit," and the Visual Politics of New Imperialism, ca. 1880–1914', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 59, 2, 2017, pp. 346–384, which builds on the conclusion to Sujit Sivasundaram, *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka and the Bounds of an Indian Ocean Colony*, Chicago, 2013. See also the discussion in Roland Wenzlhuemer, 'Connections in Global History', *Comparativ*, forthcoming 2019.

8 Dirk Hoerder, 'Migrations and Belongings', in *A World Connecting, 1870–1945*, ed. Emily S. Rosenberg, Cambridge MA, 2012, pp. 435–589. According to Hoerder (p. 439), '[a] migration system, on the level of empirical observation and geographical space, is a cluster of moves between a region of origin and a receiving region that continues over a long period of time.'

9 On entanglement, see Michael Werner, Bénédicte Zimmerman, 'Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity', *History and Theory* 45, 1, 2006, pp. 30–50. On archival silences, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Boston, 2015 [1995].

of this editorial on why we have arrived at the analytical vocabulary of 'transplantation' and what we believe can be gained from using it in our work. In the essays that follow, we focus on the global production of the key commodity of sugar in the period from the 1880s to the 1930s, a history which we address through the case study of Japan. To some readers, modern Japan might be an unusual starting point for a history of sugar production. The greater part of its archipelago did not belong to the so-called Plantation Belt, a colonial zone whose formation and subsequent transformation had such a profound effect on global migrations in the mid-late nineteenth century. To take one example, Hoerder points out that the abolition of slavery in the British colonies in the 1830s led to sugar production shifting from Jamaica to Cuba, where the slave trade remained legal until 1867. Changes in technology—in particular, steam-powered mills—further turned Cuba's sugar plantations into advanced industrial zones. As a consequence, mid-late nineteenth century Cuba became the sixth-highest receiver of European immigrants and the largest receiver of Canton-origin labourers.[10] This is in many ways a history distant from Japan; and yet, as we show, the first state-sanctioned mass migration programme of Meiji Japan (1868–1912) was designed with sugar plantation labour in mind. Indeed, overseas Japanese migration in the decades of the 1880s-1930s was in many ways defined by labour opportunities in the cane fields of the western and central Pacific region.[11]

It is because the relatively unknown intertwining of Japanese migration and sugar production histories needs—in our opinion—to be considered part of the global history of the Plantation Belt that we turn to Cuba as the conceptual starting point for our understanding of 'transplantation'. In his 1940 classic, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, Fernando Ortiz memorably argued that 'sugar represents Spanish absolutism; tobacco, the native liberators. Tobacco was more strongly on the side of national independence. Sugar has always stood for foreign intervention.' But it was in the discursive space *between* the 'native' and the 'foreign' that Cuban culture truly emerged in all its variation:

> I have chosen the word *transculturation* to express the highly varied phenomena that have come about in Cuba as a result of the extremely complex transmutations of culture that have taken place here, and without a knowledge of which it is impossible to understand the evolution of the Cuban folk, either in the economic or in the institutional, legal, ethical, religious, artistic, linguistic, psychological, sexual, or other aspects of its life.[12]

Ortiz's innovation was to reject the simple equation of 'folk' with a singular, static 'culture' in favour of emphasizing the centrality of *trans*culturation to all aspects of

10 Hoerder, 'Migrations and Belongings', pp. 448 and 492. See also Kathleen M. López, *Chinese Cubans: A Transnational History,* Chapel Hill, 2013, pp. 15–53.

11 Martin Dusinberre, 'Overseas Migration, 1868–1945', in *Routledge Handbook of Modern Japanese History*, eds. Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, Abingdon, 2018, pp. 103–117.

12 Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, Durham, 1995 [1940], pp. 71, 98. Emphasis in original.

Cuban life and historical evolution. 'Culturation' implied a process, not a fixed state; and central to that process were 'extremely complex transmutations'.

This remains an immensely useful way to think about the hoary notion of 'culture' in global history, one which has inspired some scholars to propose a new subfield of Transcultural Studies.[13] And yet, one might object that the commodities which lay behind this cultural counterpoint did not just 'transmute': they were planted, supplanted and replanted.[14] They were, as shown in our epigraph, subject to the vagaries of capital investment and to being transported along particular geopolitical routes (Yokohama to Honolulu via San Francisco because of the lack of a regular steamship line between Japan and the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1882). If such vagaries applied to the commodities, they affected even more the people, who did not just 'transmute' but who were uprooted and/or transplanted (to use two of the most famous and hotly debated terms in US immigration historiography).[15] It is precisely to draw attention to the historical dynamics which lay behind these passive tenses that our special issue proposes the framework of 'transplantation'. In studying connections, mobility, and entanglements, we have reframed our enquiries to ask: who, and what, was *being transplanted*? And then: *by whom, for what end,* and *with what success*?

These are big questions which we cannot answer fully in a single volume. Consequently, three thematic interests have driven our particular focus on transplantation in the context of diasporic Japanese sugar production history. First, our thinking has been influenced by the wider literature on the sites and routes of knowledge production.[16] One inspiration here is Fa-ti Fan's *British Naturalists in Qing China*, in which Fan traces the real and representational journeys of Chinese plants to Great Britain in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. As he shows, those plants considered hardy enough to survive in the ships changed in the course of their migrations—and, in the worst cases, died. It was partly to reduce the risk and costs involved in such transplantation that British botanists and traders commissioned a new form of painting from Cantonese artists trained in European styles, namely botanic painting. Through these paintings, which were themselves subsequently transported to Europe, academic and commercial audiences in the metropole gained new knowledge about Chinese nature.[17] To speak of transplantation, then, is not simply to consider physical movement but rather what Fan subsequently called 'a package of data and practical knowledge about

13 See, for example, the journal *Transcultural Studies*, launched in 2010: https://heiup.uni-heidelberg.de/journals/index.php/transcultural/index.

14 Ortiz himself wrote about 'loss or uprooting' in terms of culture: how processes of transculturation require not only the acquisition of other cultures (acculturation) but also their loss or uprooting (deculturation) and also the 'creation of new cultural phenomena' (neoculturation) (Ortiz 1995 [1940], pp. 102–103). But as can be seen, the context is 'culture', not the people and commodities to which we wish to draw attention with the term 'transplantation'.

15 Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that made the American People*, Philadelphia, 2002 [1951]; John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*, Bloomington, 1987. See also the roundtable discussion on Bodnar's work in *Social Science History* 23, 3, 1988, pp. 217–268.

16 David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge*, Chicago, 2003.

17 Fa-ti Fan, *British Naturalists in Qing China: Science, Empire, and Cultural Encounter*, Cambridge, MA, 2004, especially pp. 36–38.

the plant.'[18] Our essays define this 'package' broadly, considering the plants but more particularly the planters, including the challenges that arose in terms of social and labour relations, land ownership and colonial politics when it came to cane cultivation.

This focus on the planters speaks to our second thematic interest, in labour. Because of an archival imbalance which privileges the records of the employers over the employees, each of our essays discusses how sugar labour was imagined and idealized by government officials and private entrepreneurs. But our greater concern, where possible, is in tracing the history of the labourers themselves. To some extent, this is a question of resistance to official regimes of work—resistance which took the form of desertions or strikes, and which thereby undermined elite idealizations of a Japanese labour force smoothly transplanted from A to B. But resistance is not the only framework by which to consider the complex dynamics of sugar-related migration. Inspired by Judith Carney's *Black Rice*, which 'draws attention to the knowledge system underlying the cultivation of rice in the Americas and West Africa', we examine—where the sources allow—the knowledge carried by the labourers, and the ways this affected the planting of sugar. Sometimes, such knowledge was technical; at other times, the knowledge grew out of an awareness of social or racial marginalization, either between Japanese and non-Japanese populations or between different groups within the Japanese archipelago itself (including especially people from Okinawa—see Map 1, p. 332). By focusing on particular sites of knowledge, be they the plantation or the individual farm, we join Carney in assuming that the work of labourers—in her case enslaved, in our case contract—was central to how historians should understand questions of transfer, diffusion, innovation and power relations, and indeed also social structures and knowledge systems in global history. Thus, lying behind our focus on the worker is a plea for labour history to be considered as completely integral to the future agendas of global or transnational history, rather than simply as a vibrant subfield.[19]

For the most part, it is extremely difficult to trace the relationship between individual labourers and plant knowledge: examples are usually mentioned in passing due to the paucity of sources.[20] By necessity, our essays therefore often return to the intellectuals, the businessmen and the government officials, and to how they imagined transplanted labour to be a pillar of commercial and state expansion.[21] This then brings us to our

18 Fa-ti Fan, 'Science in Cultural Borderlands: Methodological Reflections on the Study of Science, European Imperialism, and Cultural Encounter', *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 1, 2, 2007, p. 219.

19 The subfield of 'global labour history' is indeed vibrant. For one introduction to its debates, see the special issue on 'Defining Global Labor History' in *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 82, Fall 2012; see also the Global Labour History Network, https://socialhistoryportal.org/glhn (last accessed 7 August 2019). Our concern is that labour history is still inadequately integrated into global intellectual histories or the historiography of global empires.

20 '[O]fficials of Okayama and Wakayama prefectures noted that some returnees [from Hawai'i] were even pondering the possibility of growing sugar cane and starting sugar-refining businesses in their home districts': see Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America*, New York, 2005, pp. 28–29. But the source that provides the basis for Azuma's intriguing comment is so short as to preclude further investigation: Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Nihon Jinmin Hawaikoku e dekasegi ikken: Dekaseginin kaiyaku kikoku no bu', 3.8.2.5–5.

21 See, for example, Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South*, Princeton, 2010.

third overarching theme, namely imperialism. For empire was both a means and an end to state expansion in the period 1870–1945. Whether it be German officials planning cotton expansion into Africa or British colonists planning rubber consolidation in Malaya, or (in our case) the Japanese state and big business planning sugar colonies in Taiwan and later Saipan, planting was central to imperial planning.[22] In drawing attention to these processes of planning and planting, and to the movements of capital, labour, policy, technology, species and expertise that they embodied, our essays on 'transplantation' each speak to the wider historiography of empire in global history.[23] But because of our training as scholars of the Japanese empire, our particular engagement is with one of the most problematic epistemological divides in Japanese historiography, namely between scholars who work on Japanese colonialism and those who study Japan's transpacific diaspora. This is comparable to the previously 'unbridgeable gap' in Dutch history that Peter Boomgaard described almost forty years ago, 'between scholars interested in the East Indies and those who study West Indian history.'[24]

Greatly simplified, the divide in Japanese historiography emerged from an overly rigid interpretation of geopolitical boundaries. If you were a scholar of the Japanese empire, your interests were directed to one or more of Japan's formal colonies. Exactly what constituted a 'colony' was open to some debate—until recently, both the northern island of Hokkaido (annexed in 1869) and the southern archipelago of Okinawa (ditto 1879) were considered to be part of 'nation-state' rather than 'colonial' history. But in general terms, the colonies referred to *Taiwan* (acquired after Japan's victory in the first Sino-Japanese War, 1894–95), *Karafuto* (or southern Sakhalin, similarly a spoil of the Russo-Japanese war, 1904–05), *Korea* (annexed in 1910), *Micronesia* (acquired as a League of Nations mandate after the Treaty of Versailles) and *Manchuria* (invaded in 1931 and proclaimed as the nominally independent state of Manchukuo in 1932).[25] As a consequence, the history of migration to and diasporic communities in Taiwan, Karafuto, Korea, Micronesia or Manchuria was traditionally considered to be one focused on Japanese 'colonists'. By contrast, the history of migration to and diasporic communities in other parts of the world—especially Hawai'i, Canada, the mainland USA, Latin America or Australia—was traditionally considered to be one focused on Japanese 'emigrants'. Destination defined all: if the labourer ended up in a polity outside the formal Japanese empire, he[26] would be considered an 'emigrant'—and, moreover, often studied within the subfield of Asian-American history rather than as an integral part of Japanese nation-state history. Like migration routes themselves, which must be established and learned,[27] the historiographical pathways towards studying

22 Zimmerman 2010; Lynn H. Lees, *Planting Empire, Cultivating Subjects: British Malaya, 1786–1941*, Cambridge, 2017.

23 The standard text here is Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference,* Princeton, 2010.

24 Peter Boomgaard, 'Surinam Plantations in Dutch Archives', *Itinerario* 6, 1, 1982, p. 121.

25 Southeast Asia was also a focus of such 'empire' research, partly because scholars projected back from Japan's invasions in the early 1940s a longer colonial interest in the region.

26 And for many years, Japanese emigration scholars did predominantly study men. The work of Bill Mihalopoulos has been a game-changer in this sense: *Sex in Japan's Globalization, 1870–1930: Prostitutes, Emigration, and Nation-Building*, London, 2011.

27 Hoerder, 'Migrations and Belongings', p. 495.

Japanese 'colonists' and 'emigrants' became institutionalized in scholarly associations and departmental nomenclature—and can only be unlearned with great difficulty.[28]

Yet there is now a swathe of recent research, mainly published in Japanese, which aims to bridge this divide, including work by Araragi Shinzō, Mariko Iijima, Ishihara Shun, Shiode Hiroyuki, and Okabe Makio.[29] In English, new work has begun to push against the hitherto unquestioned borders of the Japanese empire, and to think not only of the land but also of the sea as a key site of imperial expansion.[30] This therefore forces scholars to reconsider the boxing of Japanese colonialism into a map which centres on northeast Asia but excludes the Pacific Ocean.[31] Our special issue, which also presents new Japanese-language research in translation, contributes to these recent impulses by highlighting commonalities and even connections—that word again—across the colonist/emigrant divide. This is one significance of what might otherwise seem to be our subtitle's rather vague formulation, 'Japan's Pacific', which aims to bring migrant histories in Hawai'i, Taiwan and Micronesia into dialogue with each other. Indeed, in combining the Chinese characters for both emigrant (移民, *imin*) and colonist (植民, *shokumin*), the Japanese word for 'transplantation' (移植, *ishoku*) embodies our approach.

In short, we reject both the idea that a migrant's world view was defined by their destination, and that our scholarly frameworks should be similarly defined. Building on the idea that islands offer new ways to facilitate the framing of Japanese imperialism and the history of modern empires more generally,[32] we focus on archipelagos—Hawai'i, Taiwan, Micronesia, Okinawa and, mediating them all, the Japan mainland (see Map 1). As our essays show, Japanese 'emigrants' to Hawai'i in the 1880s became—and in some cases considered themselves to be—the forefathers of later Japanese 'colonists' in Taiwan (Martin Dusinberre). If Taiwan was a 'protégé' of Hawai'i,

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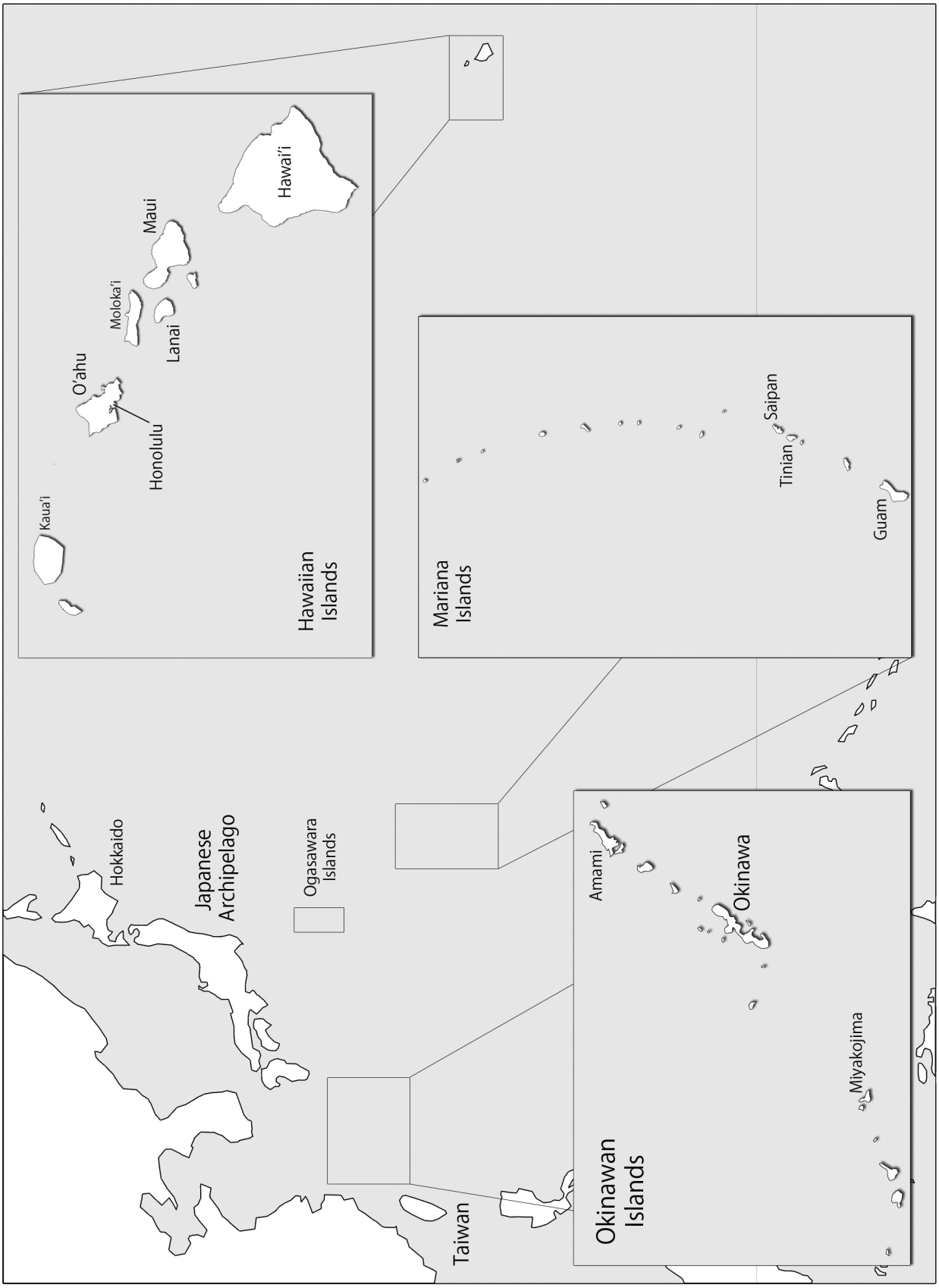
28 For the scale of the challenge, see Eiichiro Azuma, '"Pioneers of Overseas Japanese Development": Japanese American History and the Making of Expansionist Orthodoxy in Imperial Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 67, 4, 2008, pp. 1187–1226.

29 Japanese authors who publish in Japanese are listed with their surname first (e. g. Araragi). For Japanese authors publishing in English, their surname is listed second (e. g. Iijima). Araragi Shinzō, *Teikoku Igo no Hito no Idō: Posto Koroniarizumu to Gulobalizumu no Kōsaten* [Human Migration after the Japanese Empire: The Intersection of Post-Colonialism and Globalism], Tokyo, 2013; Ishihara Shun, *Kindai Nihon to Ogasawara Shotō: Idō-min no Shimajima to Teikoku* [Modern Japan and the Ogasawara Islands: Islands of Migrants and the Empire], Tokyo, 2007; Shiode Hiroyuki, *Ekkyōsha tachi no Seiji-shi: Ajia Taiheiyō ni okeru Nihonjin no Imin to Shokumin* [The Political History of Trans-migrants: Japanese Migrants and Colonists in the Asia-Pacific], Nagoya, 2015; Mariko Iijima, 'Coffee Production in the Asia-Pacific Region: The Establishment of a Japanese Diasporic Network in the Early 20th Century', *Journal of International Economic Studies* (Hosei University), 32, 2018, pp. 75–88; Okabe Makio, *Umi o Watatta Nihonjin* [Japanese Who Crossed the Ocean], Tokyo, 2002.

30 William M. Tsutsui, 'The Pelagic Empire: Reconsidering Japanese Expansion,' in *Japan at Nature's Edge: The Environmental Context of a Global Power*, eds. Ian Jared Miller, Julia Adeney Thomas, Brett L. Walker, Honolulu, 2013, pp. 21–38.

31 See, for example, Eiichiro Azuma, *In Search of Our Frontier: Japanese America and Settler Colonialism in the Construction of Japan's Borderless Empire,* Berkeley, 2019; Sidney Xu Lu, *The Making of Japanese Settler Colonialism: Malthusianism and Trans-Pacific Migration, 1868–1961* Cambridge, 2019. For one example of such a map, see Hoerder, 'Migrations and Belongings', p. 570.

32 E. g. Alexis Dudden, *The Opening and Closing of Japan, 1850–2000* (forthcoming); Sivasundaram, *Islanded*; and Sujit Sivasundaram, *Waves across the South* (forthcoming).



Map 1: East Asia and the Northwestern Pacific region. Map created by Gonzalo San Emeterio Cabañes.

less in terms of direct people movement than in terms of capital, technology and sugar-cultivating knowledge (Mariko Iijima), then Saipan in turn became a protégé of colonial Taiwan (Akiko Mori). This was especially true of the labour networks between Okinawa, Taiwan and Saipan, which themselves grew out of labour infrastructures established with some difficulty between Taiwan and the Japanese metropole (Miki Tsubota-Nakanishi). The geographical complexity of these stories is partly the point: some of the imperial practices implemented in Taiwan and Micronesia were learned from the knowledge gained by Japanese migrants in Hawai'i.

Though seemingly modest in empirical terms, this 'transplanted' insight has three significant implications for the future study of Japanese imperialism. First, it forces scholars to bring the Pacific world into their considerations of Japanese colonialism in Northeast Asia—as first suggested in John Stephan's pioneering work on Hawai'i- and US-based Japanese who moved to Manchuria in the 1930s.[33] Second, it implies that the archival collections in Hawai'i relating to Japanese immigration—and by implication in places such as Queensland, too—could and should be read as part of Japan's colonial archive. In so doing, it acknowledges that the sites of Japan's colonial archive, like Japanese colonialism, changed across the period 1870–1945, and that our ways of reading imperial 'practice' must thus be sensitive to the fact that Japanese imperialism was no monolithic phenomenon. And third, our focus on what empire *did* rather than what it *was* allows us to bring into dialogue indigenous people's perceptions of the Japanese settlers in territories not under formal colonial control (Hawai'i) with those in territories that were (Taiwan and Saipan).[34] Although our essays make only a first step in this direction, they do nevertheless break new ground in attempting to understand Native Hawaiian, indigenous Taiwanese and Chamorro responses to the arrival of the Japanese on the Pacific islands—a perspective that has been sorely missing in Japanese migration histories to date.

In sketching for the first time these complex histories across Japan's Pacific, we have focused on sugar plantation histories in Hawai'i, Taiwan, and Micronesia. This is because the plantation constitutes both an empirically manageable site and a rich metaphor for our interest in migrations of people, knowledge, capital and technology. For example, the plantation facilitated a significant relationship between the sugar industries of Hawai'i and Taiwan in the early 1900s that scholars have hitherto overlooked. Although colonial politics—of the United States and of Japan respectively—was obviously one context for this relationship, the main connection (as Iijima shows) was between individual entrepreneurs, engineers and agricultural experts. This is therefore a story which only becomes visible, and whose analysis is only enhanced, through the framework of 'trans-plantation' as opposed to, say, the application of a 'transnational' or 'transregional' lens. ('Trans-national' would be particularly problematic considering the fluid and contested colonial politics of Hawai'i, Taiwan and

33 John J. Stephan, 'Hijacked by Utopia: American Nikkei in Manchuria', *Amerasia Journal* 23, 3, 1997, pp. 1–42.

34 On the did/was distinction, see Paul A. Kramer, 'Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World', *The American Historical Review* 116, 5, 2011, pp. 1348–1391.

the Northern Mariana Islands during exactly the period we study.)[35] Similarly, the logic of our interest in bridging the emigrant/colonist divide in Japanese historiography demands that we focus on particular sites—sugar plantations, both real and imagined—which offer a point of comparison or contact. Plantation or farm work in itself facilitated articulations of what it meant to be 'Japanese' (or Taiwanese, Chamorro or Hawaiian), which is another reason we eschew the analytical language of the 'transnational' as being too normative (see the essays by Dusinberre, Tsubota-Nakanishi and Mori). And if it was the Pacific sugar plantation which offered labour opportunities to poor Japanese (or Okinawans), and which therefore constituted the single most important factor in spurring an act of migration, then we see some value in keeping the actorly term at the centre of our analytical vocabulary. To scholars who have previously used the verb 'transplant' in passing,[36] we therefore hope to offer the beginnings of a more rigorous way of bringing together the scholarly literature on work, migration, knowledge, and commodity cultivation in the modern Pacific world through the framework of 'transplantation'.

But this is only a beginning. We do not offer 'transplantation' as a term to trump all others, or as an analytical endpoint in itself. Rather, we encourage others to ask what the concept might enable in their own work, especially when it comes to exploring the gap between the idealized imaginations of colonial labour and the reality on the ground. And while our essays focus particularly on labour and migration, touching on land only to the extent that plantation work was also a story of indigenous dispossession, we think that the environmental aspects of transplantation could be developed more fully in future research.[37] We are further convinced that the dynamics of failed transplantation, as discussed partly by Tsubota-Nakanishi, are worthy of greater study: what happened when migrant communities—or knowledge, or species—did *not* take root, or grew in a modified and unintended form? How might these problems help us understand global disconnections with greater analytical clarity? And although we write about sugar plantations, we of course acknowledge that not all labour was plantation labour, nor indeed sugar plantation labour. Thus, extending the transplantation framework beyond the empirical confines of plantations and sugar remains a future challenge.

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35 For the framework of 'transnationalism' to study Japanese immigration to the US, see Azuma, *Between Two Empires*.

36 E. g. Sebastian Conrad and Dominic Sachsenmaier, 'Introduction', in *Competing Visions of World Order, Global Moments and Movements, 1880s-1930s*, ed. Sebastian Conrad and Dominic Sachsenmaier, New York, 2007, p. 4: 'The idea that fascism as well as Japanese expansionism radicalized the imperialist logic and—in the European case—transplanted colonial warfare onto new territories, is now shared by a growing number of historians.' Surprisingly, the term is only used descriptively in Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Paradise Transplanted: Migration and the Making of California Gardens*, Berkeley, 2014. It should by now be evident that our usage of 'transplantation' differs from the way that the verb/noun is occasionally used in George Basalla, 'The Spread of Western Science', *Science* 156, 1967, pp. 611-622.

37 For an exploration of the relationship between labour history and environmental history in a sugar plantation context, see Thomas D. Rogers, *The Deepest Wounds: A Labor and Environmental History of Sugar in Northeast Brazil*, Chapel Hill, 2010. On the insights to be gained by applying environmental history to Japan, see Ian Jared Miller, Julia Adeney Thomas, Brett L. Walker (eds.), *Japan at Nature's Edge: The Environmental Context of a Global Power*, Honolulu, 2013.

Which brings us to a final point about the key commodity whose granules run throughout our essays. We do not believe that our work adds up (yet) to a new global history of sugar. For reasons of space, we have deliberately eschewed the important story of consumption in our analyses, as too the story of sugarbeet production (for example as a Japanese colonial practice in the northern islands of Hokkaido or Karafuto.)[38] That said, we hope our essays contribute to a historiography of sugar production which brings Asia and the Pacific world much more to the fore than the standard classics—than works, for example, which claim to examine 'the place of sugar in modern history' but do so exclusively within the framework of the Atlantic world.[39] We think of the colonial sugar industry in Queensland, developed in the 1860s with initial impulses from both Barbados and from Chinese sugar masters.[40] Queensland, in turn, became a potential model for Japanese colonialism in Taiwan, as Miki Tsubota-Nakanishi's essay shows: here is just one story rich in potential for further 'transplantation' analysis. But our essays' particular privileging of Pacific over Atlantic history need not be an either/or choice. For if transplantation in its first seedings contributes something to our understanding of Japan's Pacific, then perhaps in future cultivations it might help scholars working on the worlds of the Indian or Atlantic Oceans, too.

38 On Japanese agricultural migration to the sugarbeet industry in Karafuto (southern Sakhalin, a Japanese colony acquired in 1905), see Takeno Manabu, 'Senji-ki Karafuto ni okeru Seitō-gyō no Tenkai: Nihon Seitō-gyō to "Chiikiteki Hatten" to Nogyō imin no Kanren ni tsuite [The Development of the Sugarbeet Industry in Karafuto During the War],' *Rekishi to Keizai* 40–41, Oct. 2005, pp. 1–17. By 1850, 14% of world sugar production came from beet; by 1900, this had risen to 65%: see Ulbe Bosma, *The Sugar Plantation in India and Indonesia: Industrial Production, 1770–2010*, Cambridge, 2013, pp. 19, 7.

39 Sydney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, New York, 1985. For a groundbreaking challenge to Mintz's analytical framework in Japanese, see Hirai Kensuke, *Satō no Teikoku: Nihon Shokuminchi to Ajia Shijō* [Empire of Sugar: External Forces of Change in the Economy of the Japanese Colonies], Tokyo, 2017. Hirai, however, focuses particularly on the circulation of the commodity and the technology, paying little attention to labour migration or the relationship between migrants and indigenous peoples. For an overview of new work which brings Asia to the fore in the history of sugar production, see Kris Manjapra, 'Asian Plantation Histories at the Frontiers of Nation and Globalization', *Modern Asian Studies* 52, 6, 2018, pp. 2137-2158. See also Ulbe Bosma, 'The Global Detour of Cane Sugar from Plantation Island to Sugarlandia', in *Colonialism, Institutional Change and Shifts in Global Labour Relations*, eds. Karin Hofmeester, Pim de Zwart, Amsterdam, 2018, pp. 109-134.

40 Peter D. Griggs, *Global Industry, Local Innovation: The History of Cane Sugar Production in Australia, 1820–1995*, Bern, 2011, pp. 23–50.