

UC Santa Barbara

UC Santa Barbara Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Women Writing War Memories: Hayashi Fumiko, Nieh Hualing, and Zhang Ling

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8tj6x394>

Author

Jiang, Linshan

Publication Date

2022

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

Women Writing War Memories:

Hayashi Fumiko, Nieh Hualing, and Zhang Ling

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in East Asian Languages and Cultural Studies

by

Linshan Jiang

Committee in charge:

Professor Yunte Huang, Co-Chair

Professor Kuo-ch'ing Tu, Co-Chair

Professor Sabine Frühstück

Professor Catherine Nesci

June 2022

The dissertation of Linshan Jiang is approved.

Sabine Frühstück

Catherine Nesci

Kuo-ch'ing Tu, Committee Co-Chair

Yunte Huang, Committee Co-Chair

June 2022

Women Writing War Memories:
Hayashi Fumiko, Nieh Hualing, and Zhang Ling

Copyright © 2022

by

Linshan Jiang

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee co-chairs and members, Professor Huang Yunte, Professor Tu Kuo-ch'ing, Professor Sabine Frühstück, and Professor Catherine Nesci. Without their generous help and support, I would not be able to accomplish this arduous work of obtaining a doctoral degree. Professor Huang was always so supportive and encouraged me with critical and constructive comments for my research. Professor Tu offered me an academic home and guided me into Taiwan literature, which broadened my understanding about literary geography. Professor Frühstück pointed me to gender and sexuality studies, which completely changed my way of thinking about my life and research. Professor Nesci led me to trauma and memory studies, which built up the foundation of my research.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to all the faculty members, lecturers, staffs, and cohorts in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultural Studies, as well as the financial support from the Center for Taiwan Studies and the Confucius Institute. My gratitude also goes to faculty members and cohorts in the Comparative Literature Program where I took many courses and collaborated through the Memory Studies Group and the Graduate Center for Literary Research. I also thank Professor Michael Rothberg and Professor Michael Berry at the University of California, Los Angeles, as well as Professor Lee Haiyan at Stanford University, for allowing me to audit their courses. Special thanks go to Professor Cathy Caruth and my cohorts in the "Rethinking Trauma Theory" seminar during the School of Criticism and Theory in Cornell University.

Finally, I am indebted to my mother and father for everything. Mom, you are always my closest one in this world, and I love you. Dad, you must be very proud of me to be the first doctor in the family, right? I know you will even though I cannot see you anymore.

VITA OF LINSHAN JIANG
May 2022

EDUCATION

Bachelor of Arts in English, Beijing Sport University, People's Republic of China, July 2013

Master of Arts in Foreign Languages and Literatures, Tsinghua University, People's Republic of China, July 2016

Doctor of Philosophy in East Asian Languages and Cultural Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, United States, June 2022 (expected)

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

2016-2017: Research Assistant, Department of East Asian Languages and Cultural Studies and Center for Taiwan Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara

2017-2022: Teaching Associate and/or Assistant, Department of East Asian Languages and Cultural Studies and Center for Taiwan Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara

PUBLICATIONS

Articles

“Queer Vocals and Stardom on Chinese TV: Case Studies of Wu Tsing-Fong and Zhou Shen.” *Queer TV China: Televisual and Fannish Imaginaries of Gender, Sexuality, and Chineseness*, edited by Jamie J. Zhao. Hong Kong UP. (forthcoming)

“Transforming Emotional Regime: Pai Hsien-yung’s *Crystal Boys*.” *Queer Cats Journal of LGBTQ Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2019, pp. 87-105.

Book Reviews

“Fanyi yu jiyi de kuaxueke yanjiu 翻译与记忆的跨学科研究 [The Interdisciplinary Studies of Translation and Memory].” Review of *Mapping Memory in Translation*, by Siobhan Brownlie. *Yatai kuaxueke fanyi yanjiu 亚太跨学科翻译研究 [Asia Pacific Translation and Interdisciplinary Studies]*, vol. 3, 2016, pp.117-24.

“Book Review: *Can These Bones Live?: Translation, Survival, and Cultural Memory* by Bella Brodzki.” *Asia Pacific Translation and Intercultural Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2015, pp. 74-77.

Translations

Chinese translation of *What Was the Great Chicago Fire?*, by Janet B. Pascal. Hunan Science & Technology Press, 2020.

English Translation of “From Modern Literature to Bamboo Hat,” by Kuo-ch’ing Tu. *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series*, no. 44, 2019, pp. 13-24.

English Translation of “The Historical Background to the Founding of *Modern Literature* and Its Spiritual Orientation—Foreword for the Reissue of *Modern Literature*,” by Hsien-yung Pai. *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series*, no. 40, 2017, pp. 131-42.

Chinese Translation of “Introduction” of *Can These Bones Live?: Translation, Survival, and Cultural Memory*, by Bella Brodzki. *Asia Pacific Interdisciplinary Translation Studies*, no.3, 2015, pp. 57-70.

AWARDS

China Studies Ph.D. Student Awards, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2021

Mainstreaming Taiwan Studies Research Grant, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2021

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Grant, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2020-21

Mellon Engaging Humanities Graduate Fellows, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2019-20

Center for Taiwan Studies Fellowship, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2016-2017

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Modern Chinese Literature and Culture with Professor Yunte Huang and Professor Kuo-ch’ing Tu

Japanese Cultural Studies & Gender and Sexuality Studies with Professor Sabine Frühstück

Comparative Literature & Trauma and Memory Studies with Professor Catherine Nesci

ABSTRACT

Women Writing War Memories:

Hayashi Fumiko, Nieh Hualing, and Zhang Ling

by

Linshan Jiang

In my dissertation, I examine how three female writers, namely, the Japanese writer Hayashi Fumiko and two immigrant writers from China to North America, Nieh Hualing and Zhang Ling, remember and reconstruct memories of war experiences in their works about the Second Sino-Japanese War through the intersection of gendered, transnational, and intergenerational memories.

For most of the twentieth century, when women became audible in historical narratives of the war, they usually appear mourning the deaths of their loved ones and are rendered as a trope not of their own suffering but that of the nation's; they are thus simultaneously silenced and elevated. At the same time, women are also at the core of metaphors that feminize the nation. While narratives of war have been dominated by nationalist, militarist, and masculine discourses, my research transcends this conventional remembrance of war and demonstrates the existence of female subjectivity in transnational spaces through their embodied memories of war, intimacy, sexual violence, and pleasure. By grouping these three writers together, I approach war memories through gendered, transnational, and

intergenerational lenses to challenge state-controlled, official narratives of the war and debunk ethnocentric and patriarchal nationalism. My research shows writers' perpetual entanglement with the legacy of war and their conflicting inclination toward imperialist nostalgia and humanistic cosmopolitanism in various transhistorical and translocal contexts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
A. Naming War.....	8
B. Three Writers	12
C. Women in War	16
D. Trauma and Memory	18
1. Site and Travel.....	19
2. Trauma and Shame	24
3. Critical Remembering.....	26
4. Trauma and Memory Studies in Mainland China and Taiwan.....	27
5. Trauma and Memory Studies in Japan	30
E. Gendered Trauma and Memory	35
F. Organization	40
Chapter One: Conflicts of Identity	43
A. Bordering Gendered Space	51
B. Moving and Unsettling between <i>Naichi</i> and <i>Shina</i>	61
C. Othering Chinese.....	66
Chapter Two: Nostalgic Disillusionment	76
A. Facing the Misery of War	77
B. Modernist and Imperialist Nostalgia.....	87

C. Gendering Interracial Relationships.....	91
Chapter Three: Gendering Displacement	101
A. Experience and Representation of Refugee Students	104
B. Nieh Hualing’s Representation of Refugee Students.....	109
1. Lingzi and Her Mother in <i>The Lost Golden Bell</i>	111
2. Lotus and Her Mother Liu Fenglian in <i>Far Away, A River</i>	118
3. Sexuality of Refugee Students in <i>Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China</i>	126
Chapter Four: Mobilizing Shame	145
A. Cultural Representations of Sexual Violence	146
B. Sexual Trauma and Shame in <i>A Single Swallow</i>	154
C. Sexual Trauma and Shame across the War in <i>Far Away, A River</i>	162
Coda.....	167
Bibliography	171
A. Primary Sources	171
B. Secondary Sources	180

NOTE ON ROMANIZATION AND NAMES

Names of people, books, and places in Chinese language are romanized based on the Hanyu Pinyin system, which is the standard practice in mainland China. Some names in Taiwan follow the Wade-Giles system based on the preferences of specific figures and the conventions in certain places. Names of people, books, and places in Japanese language are romanized based on the Hepburn system.

Names of people from East Asia follow the order of surname first and given name second as it is the convention in these cultures. For the names in Chinese language, I mainly use simplified characters, unless traditional characters are used in the sources. All quotes in Chinese and Japanese languages follow the sources.

Introduction

The life of a flower is short/Only bitter things are many¹

花のいのちはみじかくて 苦しきことのみ多かりき²

— Hayashi Fumiko

林芙美子

I am a tree/With roots in the Mainland/The trunk in Taiwan/And leaves in

Iowa

我是一棵树。根在大陆。干在台湾。枝叶在爱荷华。³

¹ The translations in this dissertation are all mine, unless specified and quoted otherwise.

² This is a short poem (tanka 短歌) Hayashi wrote in the shikishi (色紙) board (Imagawa 88; Hayashi, *Hayashi Fumiko Shishū* 1). See Imagawa, Hideko 今川英子. *Seitan 110 nen hayashi fumikoten—kaze mo fukunari kumo mo hikarunari—* 生誕 110 年 林芙美子展—風も吹くなり 雲も光るなり— [110th Birth Anniversary Hayashi Fumiko Exhibition—The Wind Blows and the Clouds Shine—]. Kitakyūshū Shiritsu Bungakukan 北九州市立文学館, 2013; Hayashi, Fumiko 林芙美子. *Hayashi Fumiko shishū “hana no inochi wa mijikakute”* 林芙美子詩集「花のいのちはみじかくて」 [Poem Collection of Hayashi Fumiko “The Life of a Flower is Short”]. 栄光 Eikou Books, 2013.

³ This is a poem in the preface of *Image of Three Lives (Sansheng yingxiang 三生影像)* (Nieh, *Sansheng yingxiang* 1). See Nieh, Hualing. *Sansheng yingxiang (zengding ben)* 三生影像(增订本) [*Three Lives (Updated Edition)*]. Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian 生活·读书·新知三联书店, 2012.

— Nieh Hualing⁴

聂华苓

Time is a miraculous thing. It can wear down the thorns of emotion, gradually eroding them to dust, and from this dust, a new sprout grows. That sprout is the power of life. (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 64)⁵

时间是一件多么神奇的事，它把情绪的荆棘磨烂了，慢慢沤成了土，而在这片土里，长出了一片芽叶。这片芽叶，就是生命的力量。(Zhang, *Laoyan* 76)⁶

— Zhang Ling

张翎

⁴ Since Nieh Hualing married Paul Engle in the United States, Nieh's legal name is Hualing Nieh Engle. However, I choose to use the original name of Nieh Hualing as she is better known in the Chinese-speaking world by this name.

⁵ Zhang, Ling. *A Single Swallow*. Translated by Shelly Bryant, Amazon Crossing, 2020.

⁶ Zhang, Ling 张翎. *Laoyan* 劳燕 [A Single Swallow]. Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文学出版社, 2017.

In 1938, during the Battle of Wuhan (June 11–October 25) of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), the Chinese American writer Nieh Hualing (b. 1925), a teenager back then, escaped the war-torn Wuhan with her family in August, while the Japanese writer Hayashi Fumiko (1903–1951) followed the Japanese army and entered Wuhan that October.

Since Japan was invading Wuhan and China was defending Wuhan, it might be taken for granted how much Nieh was in panic when she escaped with her family and how excited Hayashi was when she arrived with the Japanese army. In Nieh's autobiography, *Images of Three Lives* (*Sansheng yingxiang* 三生影像), she recalls leaving Wuhan as a journey toward independence and freedom because she and her mother could escape the patriarchal oppression of her father's family in Wuhan (Nieh, *Sansheng yingxiang* 74).

Hayashi did not live long enough to write her autobiography or reflected on her war experience, or she may simply have wanted to forget what she wrote during the war since her wartime works seemed so reactionary in the postwar ideology. I could only find her feelings through her wartime writing, *Front* (*Sensen* 戦線), first published in 1938. She was indeed excited about entering Wuhan with the Japanese army and she encouraged women in Wuhan to embrace the Japanese (Hayashi, *Sensen* 123); at the same time, she also felt relieved and lucky to survive the marching and the battles (Hayashi, *Sensen* 157).⁷

These individual memories and mixed feelings show the complexities of the war and how it influenced every individual differently. Looking back, everyone was involved in the war, and we are still living in and dealing with this legacy. Complex and diverse networks of memorialization have developed in the postwar period, but particularly after the 1980s and

⁷ Hayashi, Fumiko 林芙美子. *Sensen* 戦線 [Front]. Yumani Shobō ゆまに書房, 2000.

later with the increasing role of social media. However, literature and literary studies have also contributed to what Carol Gluck calls the “vernacular realm,” which encompasses the production and consumption of the war narratives in film and popular culture and in more personal representations found in oral history and literary works (Gluck 57).⁸ For example, when the individual war experience and memory gave way to and followed the collective and national remembrance of the war, the Chinese Canadian writer Zhang Ling (张翎) (b. 1957) inquired into the grand narrative of History and recovered the war memories of a rural girl and her interaction with a special group of people around the Sino-American Cooperative Organization in her novel, *A Single Swallow* (*Laoyan* 劳燕) (2017).

In my dissertation, I examine how these three female writers, namely, the Japanese writer Hayashi Fumiko and two immigrant writers from China to North America, Nieh Hualing and Zhang Ling, remember and reconstruct memories of war experiences in their works about the Second Sino-Japanese War through the intersection of gendered, transnational, and intergenerational memories.

For most of the twentieth century, when women became audible in historical narratives of the war, they usually appeared mourning the deaths of their loved ones (Hauser 298).⁹ More often, they are rendered as a trope not of their own suffering but that of the nation’s,

⁸ Gluck, Carol. “Operations of Memory: ‘Comfort Women’ and the World.” *Ruptured Histories: War, Memory, and the Post-Cold War in Asia*, edited by Sheila Miyoshi Jager and Rana Mitter, Harvard UP, 2007, pp. 47-77.

⁹ Hauser, William B. “Women and War: The Japanese Film Image.” *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein, University of California Press, 1991, pp. 296-314.

and thus are simultaneously silenced and elevated (Hauser 301; Molasky 12).¹⁰ Yet, women are also at the core of metaphors that feminize the nation, particularly when being colonized, defeated, or conquered (D. Wang 117; Dower 138).¹¹ Numerous works of fiction and film represent women through the eyes of men as virginal or maternal embodiments of the nation (Gerow 196-197)¹² or as eroticized prostitutes in *Story of a Prostitute* (*Shunpuden* 春婦伝) (1965) and nurses in *Massacre in Nanjing* (*Tucheng xuezheng* 屠城血证) (1987) and *Red Angel* (*Akai tenshi* 赤い天使) (1966). More recent historical scholarship, by contrast, has begun to examine women's experiences during wartime and its aftermath, as well as war trauma and memory, especially sexual violence (Frühstück, "Sexuality and Sexual Violence" 422).¹³ Writers and filmmakers have followed suit and depicted some of the horrific effects of war, including hunger and madness, revealing an even more complex range of women's war experiences (D. Wang 119). Further complicating the picture, both male and female writers have described World War II in terms of the tension between those

¹⁰ Molasky, Michael S. *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory*. Routledge, 1999.

¹¹ Wang, David Dewei. *The Monster That Is History: History, Violence, and Fictional Writing in Twentieth-Century China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. Dower, John W. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2000.

¹² Gerow, Aaron. "War and Nationalism in Recent Japanese Cinema: Yamato, Kamikaze, Trauma, and Forgetting the Postwar." *Divided Lenses: Screen Memories of War in East Asia*, edited by Michael Berry and Chiho Sawada, University of Hawai'i Press, 2016, pp. 196-219.

¹³ Frühstück, Sabine. "Sexuality and Sexual Violence." *The Cambridge History of the Second World War: Volume 3, Total War: Economy, Society and Culture*, edited by Michael Geyer and Adam Tooze, Cambridge UP, 2015, pp. 422-46.

who suffered traumatic experiences and at least some individuals' freedoms and joys that were not crushed but, rather, heightened during wartime (Feigel 4).¹⁴

In this dissertation, I follow this inquiry into women's war memories. Is female subjectivity possible in the overwhelmingly masculinist, nationalist, militarist narrative of war? How does the transnational experience of the writers reveal the different ways they are trying to remember the war? Are these female writers able to transcend the masculinist narration of national trauma and memory and articulate their own female experiences? How might the female individual come into existence in the moment of disaster? These are some of the questions I will be addressing so as not to essentialize women's experience but as an effort to explore the relationship between gender and memory.

By analyzing the works of these female authors, I argue that in war remembrance, female subjectivity is often lost, yet central to the embodied memories of war, intimacy, sexual violence, and pleasure; this transcends the conventional remembrance of war that are dominated by nationalist, militarist, and masculine discourses. War memories can be gendered, transnational, and intergenerational.

Methodologically, I focus on the fictional and nonfictional writings of the three writers, including novels, short stories, and autobiographies. I embed close readings of literary works within the historical trajectory and spatial dimension of their production and reading to show how the interpretation and reception of these works in the transhistorical and translocal context were changing with the shifting environments across time and space. Given the kind of transnational mobility across Asia and the Pacific shared by both writers themselves and

¹⁴ Feigel, Lara. *The Love-Charms of Bombs: Restless Lives in the Second World War*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2013.

the characters they create, I explore the symbiosis between the authors and their female characters in order to complicate the relationship between historical and personal experiences and literary imaginations. Second, the three writers have worked in different historical periods, namely the first half of the twentieth century (Hayashi), the second half of the twentieth century (Nieh), and the last three decades (Zhang) respectively. Seeing them and their works through an intergenerational perspective allows me to explore how war memories have been remembered and re-remembered across different generations, which are often mediated by gender. By grouping these three writers together and putting them in a transnational community, I approach war memories through gendered, transnational, and intergenerational lenses to challenge state-controlled, official narratives of the war and debunk ethnocentric and patriarchal nationalism.

Through this analysis, I reconstruct the muffled individual voices in the gendered, male-dominated histories. My approach follows Takashi Fujitani and other historians by connecting China and Japan together concerning the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Asia-Pacific War (Fujitani et al. 3).¹⁵ However, these studies are usually done through the exploration of Japanese colonialism during the war and its legacy. By contrast, I offer equal weights to China and Japan by uncovering individual voices, especially those of women and their war memories. Besides, I foreground the role of gender and sexuality in memory studies. I follow scholars of Holocaust Studies and Comparative Literature Marianne Hirsch's emphasis on redressing the forgotten women's histories as "countermemories"

¹⁵ Fujitani, T., Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama. "Introduction." *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(S)*, edited by T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama, Duke UP, 2001, pp. 1-29.

(Hirsch and Smith 4),¹⁶ and historian Gail Hershatter's proposal that Chinese women's memories are gendered (*The Gender of Memory* 25).¹⁷ In this sense, focusing on female writers enables me to investigate closely their personal feelings as well as their reflections on the historical situation. By introducing gender and sexuality into memory studies, I will explore gendered experiences of emotions, intimacy, sexual violence, and pleasure, as well as the connections between men and women as well as women and women.

A. Naming War

The war that I am discussing in the dissertation is named and understood differently in various times, locales, and scholarship. In *The Search for Modern China*, Jonathan Spence historicizes modern China and adopts the broadest name, World War II, to describe the acts of the war mainly between China and Japan; from his use of World War II, he indicates that the United States was a major participant in the war as well in his historiography (397).¹⁸ Scholars who focus on the history of war from the perspective of China usually employ the name that is commonly used in the Chinese context: the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression or Anti-Japanese War (*Kangri zhanzheng* 抗日战争). For example, Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon, as the most prestigious scholars of war history from the Chinese

¹⁶ Hirsch, Marianne, and Valerie Smith. "Feminism and Cultural Memory: An Introduction." *Signs*, vol. 28, no. 1, The University of Chicago Press, 2002, pp. 1–19.

¹⁷ Hershatter, Gail. *The Gender of Memory: Rural Women and China's Collective Past*. University of California Press, 2011.

¹⁸ Spence, Jonathan D. *The Search for Modern China*. 3rd ed., W. W. Norton & Company, 2013.

perspective, adopt the name, Anti-Japanese War, by saying “it is the term most commonly used by the Chinese people and the one that most accurately described the war” (Lary and MacKinnon xi).¹⁹ In their later works, they continue using this particular name or a similar one, Resistance War (MacKinnon 1; Lary xiii).²⁰ As Japan invaded China and China resisted Japanese aggression, the term “resistance” is what is emphasized and remembered.

In the Japanese context, John Dower in his most famous work *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* adopts the broadest term World War II in the name of his book. He then narrates key events during the war and traces changes of the naming as the war was first called the Shina Incident (*Shina jihen* 支那事変) in 1937 and then the Greater East Asia War (*Daitōa sensō* 大東亜戦争) in 1941 in accordance with the imperialist ideology called “Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere” (Dower 21-22). Similarly, World War II is also used in Andrew Gordon’s *A Modern History of Japan* (xi) and Peter Duus’ *The Cambridge History of Japan* (2).²¹ Both Gordon and Duus refer to the war between China and Japan vaguely as “China wars” and “China conflict,” while the “Pacific War” is clearly used as the subtitle that emphasizes the confrontation between Japan and the U.S. after Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941 (Gordon 214; Duus 3). In the postwar period, it is usually

¹⁹ Lary, Diana, and Stephen MacKinnon. *The Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China*. University of British Columbia Press, 2001.

²⁰ Lary, Diana. *The Chinese People at War: Human Suffering and Social Transformation, 1937–1945*. Illustrated ed., Cambridge UP, 2010. MacKinnon, Stephen R. *Wuhan, 1938: War, Refugees, and the Making of Modern China*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2008.

²¹ Gordon, Andrew. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. 4th ed, Oxford UP, 2020. Duus, Peter. “Chapter 1 Introduction.” *The Cambridge History of Japan*, edited by Peter Duus, vol. 6, Cambridge UP, 1989, pp. 1-52.

called Japan-China War (*Nitchū sensō* 日中戦争) in Japan. However, one can still find the name of the Greater East Asia War in the right-wing publications in Japan. For example, in 2019, a right-wing publisher published *Greater East Asia War that Hayashi Fumiko Saw* (*Hayashi Fumiko ga mita daitōa sensō* 林芙美子が見た大東亜戦争), offering an interpretation of Hayashi's war efforts from a right-wing perspective.²² Hayashi's wartime works are used in cases like this to deny the existence of Nanjing Massacre (1937).

In addition to different nomenclature, the time span of the war also remains contested from different perspectives. While it is usually agreed among scholars that the full-fledged war between China and Japan started with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937 and ended in August and September 1945 with Japan's surrender, this war might also be called the "Fifteen Year War" since the Mukden Incident on September 18, 1931 to "highlight the cumulative effect of Japan's imperialist aggression in Asia lasting until 1945" and to critique "the problematic narrow focus on the 'Pacific War' in older scholarship on wartime Japan" (Uchiyama 6).²³ Similarly, when exploring Japanese women's war responsibility, scholars also draw on the framework of the "Fifteen Year War" in order to fully recognize women's participation in the war (Okano et al., "Hajimeni").²⁴

²² Miyata, Toshiyuki 宮田俊行. *Hayashi Fumiko ga mita daitōa sensō* 林芙美子が見た大東亜戦争 [The Greater East Asia War that Hayashi Fumiko Saw]. Hāto Shuppan ハート出版, 2019.

²³ Uchiyama, Benjamin. *Japan's Carnival War: Mass Culture on the Home Front, 1937–1945*. Cambridge UP, 2019.

²⁴ Okano, Yukie 岡野幸江, Kitada Sachie 北田幸恵, Hasegawa Kei 長谷川啓, Watanabe Sumiko 渡邊澄子. "Hajimeni はじめに [Introduction]." *Onnatachi no sensō sekinin* 女たちの戦争責任, edited by Okano Yukie, Kitada Sachie, Hasegawa Kei, Watanabe Sumiko. *Tōkyōdō Shuppan* 東京堂出版, 2004.

While some battles are important demarcations for the actions of the writers and their characters, the contested naming and periodization is not imperative to my discussion as I focus more on individuals' lives and feelings in the daily lives of the extreme. I recognize the centrality of the war and its aftermath, which clearly influence the writers' works. However, what I focus on is not the military history of the war itself. My dissertation is seen through the perspective of memory, which means how people live through and remember this period that extends to prewar, wartime, and postwar periods, starting from the 1930s until now.

In this dissertation, I use the name, the Second Sino-Japanese War, because this is the name that is commonly used in the English-language scholarship when scholars intend to address the war from different perspectives (Henshaw et al. 10).²⁵ This is, however, a name that is not commonly used in either China or Japan. Yet, since I am discussing the war experience and memory from both sides of China and Japan, this is the vocabulary by which I can keep a neutral stance as a scholar. I may sometimes switch to the name, Asia-Pacific War, because Hayashi's wartime activities were not limited to China, and she went to Southeast Asia in the early 1940s. I will touch upon this experience in her postwar writings. This said, it is important to emphasize the basic understanding of this war that Japan was the invader; although various terms of Japanese governments and government officials have fully acknowledged Japan's war crimes and its imperialism more generally, some government officials and right-wing groups have repeatedly questioned or flat out denied

²⁵ Henshaw, Jonathan, et al. "Introduction: Discarding Binaries and Embracing Heteroglossia." *Translating the Occupation: The Japanese Invasion of China, 1931–45*, edited by Jonathan Henshaw et al., 1st ed., University of British Columbia Press, 2021, pp. 3–11.

Japan's role and/or certain wartime crimes and events, as mentioned earlier. What I am doing in this dissertation is to call into question the nationalist, militarist, and masculinist understandings of the war and form a transnational framework to interpret the war by recovering and retelling the complex intricacies of the war through the marginalized perspectives of women.

B. Three Writers

In my dissertation, I mainly focus on three writers, namely, Hayashi Fumiko, Nieh Hualing, and Zhang Ling. I situate them in their literary, historical, and social contexts and compare them with other writers and their works. While it is easier to position Hayashi as a Japanese writer or Japanese female writer, Nieh and Zhang are harder to pin down. Because of their transnational mobility and bilingual ability in Chinese and English, Nieh and Zhang can be positioned as Chinese writers and overseas writers. Nieh can also be categorized as a Taiwanese writer and Asian American writer. Zhang can also be called Chinese Canadian writer. To understand these multilayered identities, it is important to recall their life stories and each of their particular sociohistorical contexts.

Hayashi's writing career reveals modern Japanese history in the first half of the twentieth century. Hayashi was a controversial figure through her life. Her childhood was unstable because her mother was married three times. Her own love experience was also chaotic until she married Tezuka Ryokubin (手塚緑敏) (1902–1989).²⁶ *Diary of A*

²⁶ In 2010, the contemporary Japanese female writer Kirino Natsuo (桐野夏生) (1951-) wrote *There Is Something* (*Nanika aru ナニカアル*) to explore one of her favorite writers, Hayashi Fumiko, and to reveal the untold stories of Hayashi during wartime. It also uncovers Hayashi's controversial familial relationship. *There Is Something* follows Kirino's

Vagabond (*Hōrōki* 放浪記) (1930) is based on her own experience as a child and teenager and brought her immediate fame. This novel shows her independent spirit as a modern girl, which has been widely discussed in the scholarship as a showcase of her female agency in a conventional Japanese society. During the war, she went to the battlefield as a member of the pen corps (*penbutai* ペン部隊) working for the Japanese military government in China. She wrote two works, *Front and North Shore Corps* (*Hokugan butai* 北岸部隊) (1939), promoting Japanese war efforts in China. Although these works are usually read as propaganda, there can be more nuanced implications. From 1942 to 1943, along with other female writers, she went to Southeast Asia as part of the Japanese colonial effort. After going back to Japan, she left Tokyo with her husband to evacuate to the countryside; she then reflected negatively on her support of militarism. She published more works in the immediate postwar period when Japan was under the U.S. Occupation (1945–1952). Her most well-known postwar novel is entitled *Floating Clouds* (*Ukigumo*, 浮雲) (1951), in which she switched her tone to the nihilism of postwar Japan. The Post-War School (*sengoha* 戦後派) was in full swing even though Hayashi was not regarded as one as a female writer. Her postwar works shows the miserable lives and mentalities of common people. Her writing was different from the left-wing female writers, such as Miyamoto Yukiko (宮本百合子) (1899–1951), who belonged to the Proletarian school (Ericson 5).²⁷

writing style of suspense and reconstructs Hayashi's wartime life based on her diaries and correspondence. This work is between fiction and non-fiction, novel and memoir, which is mixed with Kirino's recreation and Hayashi's life experience. See Kirino, Natsuo 桐野夏生. *Nanika aru* ナニカアル [There Is Something]. Shinchōsha 新潮社, 2010.

²⁷ Ericson, Joan E. *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.

While literary scholars are still arguing for her position in the Japanese literary history (Ericson 92; Fessler xi),²⁸ a recent volume in the Japanese scholarship about war literature juxtaposes Hayashi with other prominent male writers reflecting on war, including Ooka Shohei (大岡昇平) (1909–1988), Ibuse Masuji (井伏鱒二) (1898–1993), Oe Kenzaburo (大江健三郎) (1935–), and Hino Ashihei (火野葦平) (1907–1960), which may indicate the shifting position of female writers (Kawamura et al. 149).²⁹ In addition, Hayashi’s transnational experience is also colored with imperialism and colonialism, such as the relationship between colonizers and colonized in *Floating Clouds* and her other works (Kawamura et al. 153).

Nieh Hualing was born later than Hayashi, but also experienced the war in her teenage years. Nieh defined her life experience in mobility as “three lives,” as the title of her autobiography shows. She was born in Hankou,³⁰ China, in 1925, relocated to Taiwan when the Nationalist Party was defeated in the Chinese Civil War (1945–1949), and finally emigrated to Iowa, U.S. in 1964. Among her experiences of continuous displacement, Nieh emphasizes her experience in displacement within China during the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression (aka the Second Sino-Japanese War). Her own internal displacement was initially caused by the Battle of Wuhan. In fact, because of the war, there

²⁸ For a thorough discussion of Hayashi’s position in the Japanese literary history, see Ericson, “6 A Place in Literary History” in *Be a Woman*; Fessler, Susanna. *Wandering Heart: The Work and Method of Hayashi Fumiko*. SUNY Press, 1998.

²⁹ Kawamura Minato 川村湊, et al. *Sensō bungaku wo yomu* 戦争文学を読む [Reading War Literature]. Asahi shinbun shuppan 朝日新聞出版, 2008.

³⁰ Hankou was one of three towns which merged to become the city known today as Wuhan. The other two are Wuchang and Hanyang.

were waves of refugee crisis before and after the Battle of Wuhan, which was considered as “the greatest forced migration in Chinese history” (MacKinnon 46-49). Among the refugees, there were people of different ages and occupations, including students. Refugee student (*liuwang xuesheng* 流亡学生) turned into a special group of people during the war, and numerous writers recall their war memories as refugee students in their autobiographies and memoirs, Nieh being one of them. Throughout Nieh’s writing career, she continues narrating her displacement and the figure of the refugee student appears in all of her three novels—*The Lost Golden Bell* (*Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金铃子) (1961), *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China* (*Sangqing yu taohong* 桑青与桃红) (1976), and *Far Away, A River* (*Qianshanwai, shuichangliu* 千山外，水长流) (1984)—her autobiography, *Images of Three Lives*, and the documentary made about her, *One Tree, Three Lives* (*Sansheng sanshi nie hualing* 三生三世聂华苓) (2012), among other novellas, short stories, and essays. In her works, she expresses her feeling as an infinite outsider, which frees her from any national boundaries, and makes her reflect on the tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

In comparison with Hayashi and Nieh, Zhang’s writing is a recent accomplishment as China and the rest of the world embraces globalization and nationalism. Zhang was born in Wenzhou, China and migrated to Canada. She has written about the experience of immigrants in *Gold Mountain Blues* (*Jinshan* 金山) (2009) and traumatic events in *Tangshan Earthquake* (*Tashan da dizhen* 唐山大地震) (2013). Her inspiration to write about the war comes from working as a senior audiologist and listening to various stories from the elders in Canada. This work made her curious about how people live with trauma after disasters. *Contractions* (*Zhentong* 阵痛) (2014) narrates the story of three generations

of women who give birth to a baby girl and raise her against the background of the Second Sino-Japanese War, Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), as well as Reform and Opening-Up in China. Her latest novel that I focus on in the dissertation, *A Single Swallow*, also reflects her consistent interests in women during the tumultuous twentieth century of China as she focuses the plot of the novel on a training camp of the Sino-American Cooperative Organization in a small Chinese village during the Second Sino-Japanese War. Unlike *Contractions*, which is told through the perspective of three women, *A Single Swallow* is written as the narrative of three men who are now three ghosts—an American missionary, an American soldier, and a Chinese soldier—and recall their interactions with the female protagonist.

C. Women in War

Historically to legitimize the war, there are invariably “explicit appeals to manhood (to the need to defend otherwise vulnerable women and children)” and “implicit reliance on belief in the duty of sons to serve their leaders or their (father the) king, and of associations between masculinity and national strength” (Scott 1073).³¹ War has usually been related exclusively to men since they are inevitably the major military force, and they appear so conspicuously on both the battlefields and the home front of war-related institutions. In comparison, women are mostly required to stay at home and fulfil their task as a wife and mother or work as a helper in those institutions. After the war, soldiers came back and took

³¹ Scott, Joan W. “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis.” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 5, 1986, pp. 1053-75.

the lead in the social life again. Women are somehow silenced in this narrative of History despite their direct and indirect involvement.

During the war, the ways of life for women changed and they were mobilized to support the nationalist efforts in Japan and China. In Japan, women joined the Greater Japan National Defense Women's Association (*Dai nihon Kokubō fujinkai* 大日本国防婦人会) for the war efforts (Kanō 40).³² Japanese women were assigned the reproductive (mothers) or productive (workers) roles during the war to serve the Japanese empire (Miyake 269).³³ Hayashi's war effort was special because she was one of the two female reporters to go to the Chinese battlefield and write about the battles. Although her war efforts align her with the Japanese militarism and her complicity with the Japanese army, it would be interesting to dig into the details of her wartime writings, analyze the nuances between lines, and explore her sense of Japanese-ness during the war. This analysis does not deny or excuse her wrong deeds, but elaborates on what is possible for a woman to do during wartime, including the participation in and support of acts of war.

In comparison, Chinese people were mobilized to fight against the Japanese aggression. At the same time, the Japanese aggression also triggered the forced migration of most of the Chinese people, which turned them into refugees. As a refugee student, Nieh has strong nationalist sentiment as a young adult. This nationalist sentiment develops into the

³² Kanō, Mikiyo 加納実紀代. *Onnatachi no "jūgo" zōho shinpan* 女たちの〈銃後〉増補新版. 1987. Inpakuto shuppankai インパクト出版会, 1995.

³³ Miyake, Yoshiko. "12. Doubling Expectations: Motherhood and Women's Factory Work Under State Management in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s." *Recreating Japanese women, 1600–1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein. University of California Press, 1991, pp. 267-95.

“obsession with China,” as C. T. Hsia puts it, in her later writing career (Hsia 533).³⁴ Nieh also pays consistent attention toward the female characters in her novels, describing how women have been oppressed and how they fight against the oppression. Sometimes, Nieh writes in a way that is non-heteronormative and does not fulfil the sexual norms of Chinese culture.

This focus on woman is also true in Zhang Ling’s writing even though she herself has not been through war. She was attracted by the war experience because she has read about it in the books and heard about previous generations’ experiences. This intergenerational perspective is significant within each of the writer’s works as well as the overall framework of my dissertation. Within the literary works, the writers are asking why we still remember the war experience after all these years. Outside the literary works, when we have a look at the current world, we realize that we are still living in the legacy of the World War II with the Second Sino-Japanese War as part of it. That is why it is still worthwhile to have a retrospective view and see the war from the perspective of trauma and memory.

D. Trauma and Memory

As my focus is on the remembrance of the war, trauma and memory studies serve as the foundation of my analysis. When it comes to trauma and memory, there are several key questions to keep in mind: Why and how do we remember and forget? What is the relationship between history and memory? What is the connection between individual memory and collective memory? What is the relationship between trauma and memory?

³⁴ Hsia, Chih-tsing. *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*. 3rd ed, Indiana UP, 1999.

What is the importance of representation in relation to trauma and memory? To answer these questions, I will start with the three sets of concepts: site and travel of memory, trauma and shame, and critical remembering.

1. Site and Travel

The overarching concept is travelling memory, which is proposed by the German scholar, Astrid Erll, to explain the new trend of cultural memory studies. She emphasizes the transcultural element of the cultural memory and the transmission of memory through various media in which each individual is the carrier of the memory (Erll, “Travelling” 12).³⁵ To expand this concept, travelling memory does not only exist in the transmission, but also the production of it, namely, the choice and the process of remembering and forgetting.

Erll also points out the transition from *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) proposed by the French historian Pierre Nora to *les voyages or les mouvements de mémoire* (travels of memory). Nora proposes the concept of *lieux de mémoire* in an effort to deconstruct the monumental history of France and a new engagement with its national past, or in his own word, its “rememoration” (Nora “Preface” xxiv).³⁶ Although his focus was on the memory of the French republic, the French nation, and Frenchness, his theoretical framework of *lieux de mémoire* has been transplanted to other “national contexts” (Nora “Preface” xviii) and even to transnational ones (Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory* 12).³⁷

³⁵ Erll, Astrid. “Travelling Memory.” *Parallax*, vol. 17, no. 4, Nov. 2011, pp. 4-18.

³⁶ Nora, Pierre. “Preface to the English Language Edition.” *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past, Vol. 1 - Conflicts and Divisions*, 1st ed., Columbia UP, 1996, pp. xv-xxiv.

³⁷ Rothberg, Michael. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*. Stanford UP, 2009.

In the preface to *Realms of Memory* (1996), Nora defines *lieu de mémoire* as “any significant entity, whether material or nonmaterial in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community” (Nora “Preface” xvii). Nora emphasizes the symbolic feature of the site, which echoes an earlier seminal article, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*” (1989). Any entity has the potential to become a site of memory. The other characteristics of a *lieu de mémoire* are that human agency has to be involved and that sites of memory are subject to change due to the intervention of time, which may accelerate or delay the process of forgetting, thus opening all possible interpretations. One typical form of unlimited interpretations is “mise en abîme,” which means inserting story into a story (Nora “Between” 20).³⁸ This suggests that a site of memory does not have a fixed existence, and that there are more layers of memories.

Nora’s conception limited itself to a certain community or a national context, mainly “nineteenth-century France,” which can still be felt in the everyday life today (Schwarz 54).³⁹ However, by focusing on the French nation, Nora also excluded, according to Astrid Erll, “the history of cultural exchange within Europe, cultural transactions with the French colonies, and the significance of migrants’ memories” (“Traumatic” 4).⁴⁰ Despite such

³⁸ Nora, Pierre. “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*.” *Representations*, no. 26, 1989, pp. 7-24.

³⁹ Schwarz, Bill. “Memory, Temporality, Modernity: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*.” *Memory*, edited by Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, Fordham University, 2010, pp. 41-58.

⁴⁰ Erll, Astrid. “Traumatic Past: Literary Afterlives and Transcultural Memory New Directions of Literary and Media Memory Studies.” *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*, 2011: 1-5.

limitation, Michael Rothberg has proposed, *lieux de mémoire* can be used as “a model for the consideration of diverse memory cultures” (3). Indeed, Erll, among other scholars, has developed new approaches crossing national borders. Erll proposes to consider the “travels’ of memory, *les voyages or les mouvements de mémoire*” (“Travelling” 11). This change emphasizes the movement of memory and encompasses transcultural and transnational features. In this sense, my dissertation takes this concept out of the European context and puts it into the East Asian context, which shows that memories can travel through form and content and that Nora’s original concept does not have to be limited to only one particular type of memory or location.

Another major criticism of Nora’s conception has been the polarization of history and memory, which Nora implemented in his conceptualization of the memory site (A. Assmann 61; Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory* 4).⁴¹ Nora clearly distinguishes history from memory, given that we have lost *milieux de mémoire* (the real environment of memory) (Nora “Between” 8). Memory refers to the lively immediacy of the past in the consciousness of the reminiscing subject. *Lieux de mémoire* emerge out of the struggle between history and memory. Nora famously uses a metaphoric expression to describe this struggle, “moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded” (“Between” 12). Both history and memory have been transformed into an intermediate form that shapes the site of memory. *Lieux de mémoire* also indicate the reconstruction of historical events because “memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attaches itself to events” (Nora,

⁴¹ Assmann, Aleida. “Transformations between History and Memory.” *Social Research*, vol. 75, no. 1, 2008, pp. 49-72.

“Between” 22). Nora further explains his effort as writing the history of memory in the age of historical discontinuity and epistemology (Nora “Preface” xxii, xxiii). He brings in a fourth version of national history, which is

less interested in actions remembered or even commemorated than in the traces left by those actions and in the interaction of those commemorations; less interested in events themselves than in the construction of events over time, in the disappearance and reemergence of their significations; less interested in ‘what actually happened’ than in its perpetual reuse and misuse, its influence on successive presents. (“Between” xxiv)

This is what he calls the “rememoration” of the past. His version of history is not going back to the historical moment and remembering the events that happened at that moment, but to trace the interaction and the connection from that event on. In his conception of *lieux de mémoire*, history and memory are thus not merely the polar opposites, but come together to recreate something in between. However, his clear distinction of history and memory contrasts with the trend to discuss the interaction between history and memory in the 1980s and 1990s (A. Assmann 61). Nora emphasizes the self-referentiality of *lieux de mémoire*, which is an embodiment itself, although also open to other significations. The site is the necessity in the discussion. Aleida Assmann points out the self-reflexivity between history and memory: “memory has a history and that history is itself a form of memory” (62). That particular site is no longer the center, but the movement between history and memory. Erll’s travelling memory, in this sense, is one key concept to explain this interaction.

Both Nora's site of memory and Erll's travel of memory consider the dimension of human agency as they point to the subjectivity of human beings who remember and recall as necessary for both mechanisms to work. Can individual memory be separated from collective memory? Initially crafted by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, collective memory has become one of the most important frameworks to discuss memory. According to Halbwachs, the relationship between personal memory and collective memory is dialectic: "the individual remembers by placing himself in the perspective of the group ... the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories" (40).⁴² Recently, scholars have developed the relevance of collective memory, among whom Jan Assmann with his conception of communicative and cultural memory: communicative memory "lives in everyday interaction and communication . . . [with] the affective ties that bind together families, groups, and generations" (111).⁴³ Such memory collects and accrues directly from communication between people. Cultural memory has a longer time frame to be established a collaborative cultural identity (J. Assmann 110). It is "consciously established, media-based, and ceremonialized" (Erll "Locating" 311). In the case of fiction, the communication among the characters with their own personal memories generates communicative memory. Literature registers communicative memories and turns them into cultural memories that last a longer period and communicate to the reader and audience.

⁴² Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Translated by Lewis A. Coser, 1st ed., University of Chicago Press, 1992.

⁴³ Assmann, Jan. "Communicative and Cultural Memory." *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, Walter de Gruyter, 2008, pp. 109-18.

As I am inquiring into the relationship between individual memory and collective memory, I would like to highlight individual and cultural memories because they are especially precious when facing a historical event that is as sea changing as war. This is a similar attempt as the scholars did in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*: instead of building a “global history of World War II” with “military planners and policymakers,” they chose to focus “on the politically and culturally constituted memories that enable us to open up consideration of the multiplicity of experiences and remembrances that have often been systematically silenced by global, national, and masculinist narratives of the major warring powers” (Fujitani et al. 3). The voice of individual memory can be so trivial that it is usually neglected. As a literary scholar, my task is to listen to these voices and offer them a stage that is not complementary to the historical scholarship, but rather stands at the center. I also want to pay attention to emotions when remembrances are traumatic, tragic, or mixed. In this sense, trauma studies, which rose from the psychoanalytic perspective, offers insight on the importance of the individual, while not forgetting the collective at the same time. In other words, individual memories accumulate to form an alternative set of generational and cultural memories, which destabilize the current official or national narratives of the war.

2. Trauma and Shame

Trauma, as one kind of lived memory, pertained to the damage of the mind due to various kinds of traumatic events, such as war. Cathy Caruth points out that the traumatic experience belongs exclusively to the survivor at that moment of shock and any attempt to extract the memory of the trauma after the traumatic experience is doomed to fail. However, the core of this paradox refers to the “inaccessibility” of the trauma, and yet the attempt to

approach it (Caruth 18).⁴⁴ Caruth uses a metaphor to describe this dilemma: a traumatized person is in an unescapable cage trying to walk out of this cage. Similar to this paradox, the American psychiatrist Judith Lewis Herman in *Trauma and Recovery* points out that the “central dialectic of psychological trauma” is the “conflict between the will to deny horrible events and the will to proclaim them aloud” (1).⁴⁵ Herman focuses on the trauma after rape and that victims usually experience “insomnia, nausea, startle responses, and nightmares, as well as dissociative or numbing symptoms,” (31) in addition to “shame and doubt” (53). Shame and doubt are more relational compared to the first group of symptoms because sexual violence drags victims out of the normative society and victims “doubt both others and themselves” (Herman 53). This echoes Sara Ahmed’s discussion on shame even though the shame that Ahmed discusses is located within a totally different setting in Australia. However, Ahmed’s idea in which she links “queer feelings” with shame can be a useful framework to understand and transcend the guilty feelings of rape survivors, which I will illustrate in Chapter Four (Herman 54; Ahmed 107).⁴⁶

To think further about the paradox or the dialectic of trauma, it becomes clear that there is the need to express the inaccessibility of that trauma, which can allow survivors to somehow overcome the trauma and to help the next generation to remember the past. One of the ways to bridge the gap between the necessity to narrate and the impossibility to narrate is through narration. Reviewing the work of Jean-François Lyotard and Paul Ricoeur, Roger

⁴⁴ Caruth, Cathy. *Unclaimed Experience. Trauma, Narrative, and History*. 1999. Johns Hopkins UP, 2016.

⁴⁵ Herman, Judith Lewis. *Trauma and Recovery*. 1992. Basic Books, 2015.

⁴⁶ Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2014.

Luckhurst summarizes two opposing approaches to dealing with trauma in narration. The first one is through anachronism, which rejects narration in a chronological order since it naturalizes the disruptive trauma. This approach is widely used in the literature with avant-garde aesthetics. The second one is to emphasize the necessity of concordance and historical consciousness in narrating trauma because these two ideas will restore the order to a trauma-inflicted mind and have the power to heal the trauma through narrating it (Luckhurst 84).⁴⁷ These two approaches open the question concerning the function of narrating or representing trauma through literature. Does it help to overcome or heal the trauma? Does it simplify or block the witnessing of the traumatic event? In my dissertation, I will ask whether it is possible to transcend trauma but keep remembering.

3. Critical Remembering

Various scholars researching the relations of history and memory emphasize the importance of remembering. American historian Jay Winter proposes the conception of “remembering” over the so-called vague notion of memory, because remembering gives “agency” credit to memory and emphasizes “who remembers, when, where and how.” (Winter 3).⁴⁸ When the event and the experience of it are in the past, society calls for “historical remembrance,” which, as an interpretation of the past, draws on both “documented narratives about the past and on the statements of those who lived through them” (Winter 9). A rememberer, equipped with a certain kind of agency, is necessary to

⁴⁷ Luckhurst, Roger. *The Trauma Question*. Routledge, 2008.

⁴⁸ Winter, Jay. *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. Yale UP, 2006.

record and narrate the specific memory. Takashi Fujitani, in comparison, proposes the concept of “critical remembering” with two underlying meanings. One is to “re-member” or challenge the fixed or official memories and add more complexities into them. The other one is to recover or restore the silenced or nearly-extinct memories. Sylvia Lin, drawing on Dominick LaCapra’s discussion of the inaccurate nature of memory, emphasizes that critical remembering means that agents ought not to be manipulated by the uncertain, once hidden memories, given the imperfect nature of memory itself (S. Lin 7).⁴⁹ In my reflection, critical remembering will open the door for alternate, gender-inflicted memories and is a reminder to be cautious when analyzing them.

4. Trauma and Memory Studies in Mainland China and Taiwan

The study of trauma and memory in modern and contemporary literature about mainland China and Taiwan usually traces the historical line from the late nineteenth century till now. This historical line is also important for my inquiry because war memory is not only about the historical moment during the war, but also the conditions before it happens and the aftermath. Both David De-wei Wang in *The Monster That Is History: History, Violence, and Fictional Writing in Twentieth-Century China* (2004) and Michael Berry in *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature and Film* (2008), even trace a long-lasting historical thread of writing about trauma and memory in Chinese literary tradition that goes back to premodern Chinese literature and ancient mythology. At the same time, these two works, along with Yomi Braester’s *Witness Against History: Literature, Film, and Public*

⁴⁹ Lin, Sylvia Li-chun. *Representing Atrocity in Taiwan: The 2/28 Incident and White Terror in Fiction and Film*. First Edition, Columbia UP, 2007.

Discourse in Twentieth-Century China (2003) and Ban Wang's *Illuminations from the Past: Trauma, Memory, and History in Modern China* (2004), focus on the literatures and films of the long twentieth century, particularly those produced since the May Fourth movement. Lingchei Letty Chen in *The Great Leap Backward: Forgetting and Representing the Mao Years* (2020) surveys the global contemporary cultural remembrance of the Mao years. In comparison, Xiaobin Yang in *The Chinese Postmodern: Trauma and Irony in Chinese Avant-Garde Fiction* (2002) focuses on avant-garde fiction after the Cultural Revolution in mainland China rather than all kinds of traumas in the twentieth century. Sylvia Li-chun Lin in *Representing Atrocity in Taiwan: The 2/28 Incident and White Terror in Fiction and Film* (2007) analyzes literatures and films about the two major traumatic sites of memories in Taiwan, namely the February 28 Incident in 1947 and the White Terror (1949–1987). In contrast, David Wang, Berry, and Ban Wang connect mainland China and Taiwan together. While Ban Wang analyzes the cultural scene in Hong Kong in the atmosphere of nostalgia before globalization, Berry proposes “anticipatory trauma” when Hong Kong was returned from the U.K. back to China in 1997.

Berry broadens his spatial scope in a co-edited volume entitled *Divided Lenses: Screen Memories of War in East Asia* (2016), which focuses on the wars experienced by East Asia from 1931 to 1953, including the Second Sino-Japanese War, the Pacific War (1941–1945), the Chinese Civil War, and the Korean War (1950–1953). This volume invites scholars researching films and games about war to consider the perspectives of mainland China, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and the U.S. and to establish a dialogue through the varied ways of looking at the cultural production about the wars and resulting trauma and memory. This approach inspired me to transcend national boundaries to consider texts from mainland

China, Taiwan, and Japan together. The most compelling shared historical event for these three regions is the war from 1931 to 1945 and its aftermath.

The relationship between history and memory is one of the most important issues in these works. Lu Xun (鲁迅) (1881–1936),⁵⁰ arguably the “father of modern Chinese literature,” is the most exemplary writer of trauma and memory in modern Chinese literary history. Ban Wang, when discussing the tragic sense in Lu Xun’s works, emphasizes the hope in Lu Xun’s tragic descriptions (57).⁵¹ He puts memory in parallel with tradition and compares memory with history in a teleological sense, in which memory is the past and history is moving forward, or the future (B. Wang 37). His major argument is to keep the historical consciousness in the tide of the twentieth century (B. Wang 43). X. Yang, however, takes a different approach and traces back to Lu Xun’s *Diary of Madman* (*Kuangren Riji* 狂人日记) (1918) as the prelude to the prevalence of schizophrenia among Chinese people who have been through various historical traumas in the twentieth century (34-35).⁵² Similarly, Braester also holds the idea that Lu Xun’s writing works as the interrogation of historical consciousness (19). After a lengthy discussion on previous scholarship on Lu Xun and his works, Braester regards Lu Xun as a witness against history. Borrowing from David Wang’s discussion on Lu Xun’s witnessing beheading through moving pictures, Braester confirms David Wang’s argument that Lu Xun’s traumatic

⁵⁰ This is his pen name. His real name is Zhou Shuren (周树人).

⁵¹ Wang, Ban. *Illuminations from the Past: Trauma, Memory, and History in Modern China*. 1st ed., Stanford UP, 2004.

⁵² Yang, Xiaobin. *The Chinese Postmodern: Trauma and Irony in Chinese Avant-Garde Fiction*. University of Michigan Press, 2002.

encounter epitomizes the writing of modern Chinese literature. He further explains Lu Xun's inability to create an enlightened narration. Berry also echoes David Wang's argument and further explains it as the legacy of facing violence (32).⁵³ There is a clear distinction between Ban Wang and the other four scholars because the former emphasizes the necessity to keep the historical consciousness in order to move forward, while the other four scholars are building up their counterargument against a linear progression of history or teleology. Ban Wang's concept is important because it not only describes what has happened in the past, but also points to a possible solution. However, the counterarguments of the other four scholars are reminders of the alternative ways of reading into the past. What I hope to build is a new mode of reading, which would be different from the historical consciousness that Ban Wang argues for, but also be a more nuanced way to tackle the relationship between history and memory.

5. Trauma and Memory Studies in Japan

If we focus on the historical analysis of the Japanese imperialist efforts in the 1930s and 1940s, the twentieth-century history of Japan can be divided into pre-World War II, World War II, and the postwar period. Japan's wartime and postwar culture include various participants, including the American occupation during the postwar period and the control and intervention of the U.S. afterward, as well as Japanese tensions and cooperation with mainland China, Taiwan, and Korea.

⁵³ Berry, Michael. *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature and Film*. Reprint ed., Columbia UP, 2011.

Two major issues in Japan's postwar period are "war memory and postwar responsibility," as pointed out by Franziska Seraphim in *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945–2005* (4).⁵⁴ Postwar responsibility is often used similarly as "war responsibility" (Harootunian 107; Orr 2; Gerow 214),⁵⁵ which means the responsibility of waging the war of aggression. However, Yukiko Koga differentiates the two terms with a generational concern: while war responsibility is related to the "imperial amnesia after the demise of the Japanese Empire", "postwar responsibility" is shouldered by the postwar generation who recognizes the "after-empire inaction" (Koga 110).⁵⁶ In her book *Inheritance of Loss: China, Japan, and the Political Economy of Redemption after Empire*, Koga adopts temporal (wartime and postwar), spatial (China and Japan), and generational doublings to create a topography of remembering Manchuria through various perspectives. Adding to the complexity of the "war responsibility," Jessica Nakamura, in *Transgenerational Remembrance: Performance and the Asia-Pacific War in Contemporary Japan* (2020), borrows Takahashi Tetsuya's (高橋哲哉) (b. 1956) concept of "postwar 'response-ability'," (*ōtō kanōsei* 応答可能性), which is a neologism to illustrate Japan's

⁵⁴ Seraphim, Franziska. *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945–2005*. Harvard University Asia Center, 2008.

⁵⁵ Harootunian, Harry. "Japan's Long Postwar: The Trick of Memory and the Ruse of History." *Japan After Japan: Social and Cultural Life from the Recessionary 1990s to the Present*, edited by Tomiko Yoda and Harry Harootunian, Duke UP Books, 2006, pp. 98–121. Orr, James J. *The Victim as Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan*. 1st ed., University of Hawaii Press, 2001.

⁵⁶ Koga, Yukiko. *Inheritance of Loss: China, Japan, and the Political Economy of Redemption after Empire*. 1st ed., University of Chicago Press, 2016.

possibility of responding to the war responsibility (Nakamura xvi).⁵⁷ Nakamura showcases various examples in Japanese performance in response to the war responsibility.

War memories are usually intertwined with war responsibility. Japan is often criticized for its cultural, imperial amnesia and overlooking war responsibility (Harootunian 99; Orr 173; Koga 74; Seraphim 4). The victim consciousness or the discourse of victimology has been prevalent in Japanese society. However, it is important to discover the complicity behind this simple criticism. The major sites of war memories in Japan include the atomic bombing in Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Nagasaki is usually overshadowed by Hiroshima), the debate over the Nanjing Massacre and “comfort women,” the colonial memories in Manchuria, Taiwan, and Korea, etc. According to Desser’s analysis of Japanese films, there are four icons, i.e. “comfort women,” the Nanjing Massacre, the Yasukuni shrine, and the atom bomb, by which Japanese have developed a victim consciousness and even the denial of being perpetrators of violence and atrocity during the war. The choice of synecdoche is important for showing the audience such a dramatic experience as World War II. The first three icons are not popular subjects in Japanese war films. There is obvious confrontation between Chinese and Korean directors and Japanese revisionists. However, the atomic bomb, illustrated from the perspective of the survivors of the bombings, has helped to strengthen the victim consciousness of Japan. This collective memory of atomic bombing is also facing the destiny of forgetting for future generations, seen from the poor performance of little actors and also the didactic tone in Kurosawa Akira’s (黒澤明) (1910–1998) film,

⁵⁷ Nakamura, Jessica. *Transgenerational Remembrance: Performance and the Asia-Pacific War in Contemporary Japan*. Northwestern UP, 2020. Takahashi, Tetsuya 高橋哲哉. *Sengo sekinin ron 戦後責任論* [Discussion on Postwar Responsibility]. Kōdansha 講談社, 1999.

Rhapsody in August (Hachigatsu no kyōshikyoku 八月の狂詩曲) (1991). Lisa Yoneyama in *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (1999) focuses on the war memories of atomic bombing in Hiroshima, which were adopted as a major trope to construct the nationalized memory of the war and the binary between victimizer and victim. John Wittier Treat, in *Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb* (1995), addresses post-Hiroshima representation and discusses literary works about Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the atomic bombings. Treat regards atomic bomb literature as a kind of “final literature,” linking it to the event of atomic bombing as the end of the history. There was a clear disruption in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which was not simply the end of the war, but also the end of the history. James Orr, in *The Victim as Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan*, also discusses “atomic victim exceptionalism,” a discourse about “victims of atomic bombs” (*hibakusha* 被爆者) as the most exceptional victims in the war, which was replicated by both the American and Japanese officials in the immediate postwar period (Orr 7). Through discussing various popular discourse, Orr argues that victims were shaped into a kind of hero who has gone through all kinds of inhumane situations during wartime and kept their humanity after the war. Although this mythology of victimology existed in postwar Japan, it also encountered opposition. Orr, in his Chapter 5, proposes “sentimental humanism,” which means romanticizing the war, by analyzing popular novels and films about shaping victim-hero in war memories (129). Sabine Frühstück, in *Uneasy Warriors: Gender, Memory, and Popular Culture in the Japanese Army* (2007), also points out the manifestation of sentimental

humanism through the exhibition of the military base museums in Japan, which was the key in making local population support the military (162-163).⁵⁸

Similar to the scholarship mentioned in the part about mainland China and Taiwan, the scholarship of war memory about Japan has adopted the transnational approach in recent decades, which invites scholars studying different areas in East Asia to write about the memories of the Asia Pacific War. A pioneering work is *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, edited by Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey White, and Lisa Yoneyama (2001). Fujitani calls for “critical re-membering,” which entails remembering and reconstructing the past critically from different perspectives. The volume includes war memories from not just Japan and the U.S., but also mainland China, Taiwan, Korea, Okinawa, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Islands. He calls these war memories “perilous memories” because they are either endangered or precarious (Fujitani et al. 3) and emphasizes that memories are mediated through different media, such as literature or film. Only through remediation, either localization or media, can these memories be preserved in the age of globalization (Fujitani et al. 3). King-fai Tam et al’s *The Second World War in Postwar Chinese and Japanese Film* (2014) and Berry and Sawada’s *Divided Lenses* also utilize the transnational approach to discuss various cultural productions in different regions about war memory in the hope of building a more all-round view about the Asia-Pacific War.

⁵⁸ Frühstück, Sabine. *Uneasy Warriors: Gender, Memory, and Popular Culture in the Japanese Army*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2007.

E. Gendered Trauma and Memory

While each individual's voice is worthwhile, I pay special attention to female voices for two reasons: first, my own positionality as a woman and my curiosity to know how women in such an intense moment live; second, women's voices in the war are usually the ones that are buried, and I seek to uncover them. In this sense, I am particularly interested in digging into the intersection of memory and gender and see how they interact with each other. Since Joan Scott emphasized gender "as a category of analysis" in historical scholarship in the 1980s (1054), there has been an increasing awareness of the importance of gender in memory studies. In the seminal article "Feminism and Cultural Memory," Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith point out the lack of gender analysis in previous scholarship in memory studies and ask scholars to think about the gender of memory. They recall that the first attempts were a conference in 1986 in the University of Michigan and a special issue of the *Michigan Quarterly Review* on "Women and Memory" in 1987 (Hirsch and Smith 4). For them, gendered memory can be seen as "countermemory" and it is crucial to redress "the official 'forgetting' of women's histories" (Hirsch and Smith 4). Hirsch further explains the feminist approach of analyzing traumatic histories to understand "different roles that gender plays to mediate which stories are remembered and which are forgotten, how stories are told, which tropes make traumatic histories bearable for the next generation" ("An Interview with Marianne Hirsch").⁵⁹ In the field of China Studies, one of the most prominent figures to study the gender of memory is the American historian Gail Hershatter who focused on the

⁵⁹ Hirsch, Marianne. "Interview with Marianne Hirsch." Columbia UP, <https://cup.columbia.edu/author-interviews/hirsch-generation-postmemory>. Accessed 7 November 2021.

gender of memory when researching rural women in 1950s China (“The Gender of Memory” 43).⁶⁰ By interviewing the marginalized group of rural women and their experiences and memories in the collective movement of China, Hershtatter demonstrates vividly that memory is indeed gender-based and women have a “gendered past” (*The Gender of Memory* 25). Hershtatter’s research can be seen as a significant effort to retrieve women’s history from the buried past.

In the literary and cultural fields of scholarship, the scholars that I mentioned above also have an acute awareness of the intersection between gender and memory. Sylvia Lin argues that women are usually victimized twice in a national trauma, such as the February 28 Incident: they not only have lost their husbands, but also are used as a trope of national suffering or are forced to fight because of the loss of their husband (180). Through this victimization, women are deprived of their own subjectivity. Ban Wang echoes this idea when discussing the film *Street Angel* (*Malu tianshi* 马路天使) (1937). He argues that the suffering of the female protagonist is similar to the invasion of Mother China by Japan in 1937 (B. Wang 83). This is a typical allegorical reading of women in relation to the nation-state. David Wang proposes the common motif of women’s hunger to depict women’s trauma and memory. He starts with Lu Xun’s *New Year’s Sacrifice* (*Zhufu* 祝福) (1924), in which the female protagonist starves to death due to the cannibalism of the Chinese patriarchal tradition. This bodily and spiritual suffering symbolizes women’s victimhood in natural and man-made disasters since ancient times. Another female figure in Chinese tradition, discussed by Braester, is Pan Jinlian (潘金莲), who is laden with notoriety in the

⁶⁰ Hershtatter, Gail. “The Gender of Memory: Rural Chinese Women and the 1950s.” *Signs*, vol. 28, no. 1, The University of Chicago Press, 2002, pp. 43–70.

Chinese literary tradition and is typically shaped by male writers from a misogynist perspective. Pan was accused of adultery and killing of her husband. The rewriting by the Chinese playwright Ouyang Yuqian (欧阳予倩) (1889–1962) in modern time idealizes her with her pursuit for free love but ends in failure to rescue her from criminal charges because she did kill her husband. The effort to rebuild a traditional female figure ends up in failure and it seems that the tragic life of Pan may continue. However, in X. Yang’s discussion, the discourse of victimized female figure is turned over by avant-garde female writer Can Xue (残雪) (b. 1953)⁶¹ to show the “oppressive power of the phallic mother” (X. Yang 83). In contemporary Taiwan, scholars, such as Liu Liangya (2006) and Sylvia Lin, discuss Li Ang’s⁶² (李昂) (b. 1952) *Mysterious Garden* (*Miyuan* 迷园) (1991) and *Beigang Incense Burner of Lust: The Devil with a Chastity Belt Series* (*Beigang xianglu renren cha: dai zhencaodai de mogui xilie* 北港香炉人人插：戴贞操带的魔鬼系列) (1997), which challenge the various grand narratives by playing with gender and sexuality.⁶³ Apart from Can Xue and Li Ang, Zhang Ailing (aka Eileen Chang)⁶⁴ (张爱玲) (1920–1995) is the most often discussed female writer in Chinese literary history. Ban Wang argues that Chang retreats to personal and private space by writing in the form of prose and does not care about the historical narrative. He regards Chang’s work as the production of consumerism and

⁶¹ This is her pen name. Her real name is Deng Xiaohua (邓小华).

⁶² This is her pen name. Her real name is Shih Shu-tuan (施淑端).

⁶³ Liu, Liangya 劉亮雅. *Hou xiandai yu hou zhimin: jieyan yilai Taiwan xiaoshuo zhuanlun* 後現代與後殖民：解嚴以來台灣小說專論 [Postmodernism and Postcolonialism: Taiwanese Fiction since 1987]. Maitian 麥田, 2006.

⁶⁴ I use the name Eileen Chang so that it is easier to differentiate her from Zhang Ling since they share the same surname.

globalization. Chang's work in general is a kind of prose that focuses on the daily chores and caters to the self-recognition of the urbanites (B. Wang 168). As such, it is detached from the historical consciousness that Ban Wang emphasizes in his book. David Wang, however, illustrates Chang's *The Rice-Sprout Song* (*Yangge* 秧歌) (1955), which was written as an anti-communist novel, and regards it as transcending political antagonism between the Communist and the Nationalist and pointing to the nihilism of history. Leo Ou-fan Lee, by discussing *Love in A Fallen City* (*Qingcheng zhi lian* 倾城之恋) (1943), argues that Chang's wartime writing focuses on love relationship and the mundane details of daily life as if the war does not exist and then points out a gendered distinction between the feminine sorrowful desolation and the masculine power and glory of war and revolution (Lee 284).⁶⁵ War becomes a catalyst for marriage as shown in the novel *Love in A Fallen City*. Nicole Huang, author of *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s* (2005), emphasizes Chang's effort to blur the boundaries between the private and the public. Chang's work creates a public space about domesticity so as to participate in the political debate and fight against amnesia in an unstable wartime period. Therefore, it is important to both go back to the period when Chang was writing and also evaluate her works from a diachronic point of view. It is typical to reduce female writers to private writing without social care. On the one hand, female writers, such as Can Xue, combine lived experience with lived history which is related to the family tradition or is against the national discourse. On the other hand, lived experience in the past is also worth retrieving to reconstruct a more complete picture of the past. Memory and history should be

⁶⁵ Lee, Leo Ou-fan. *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945*. 1st ed., Harvard UP, 1999.

seen as complementary to each other. As Nicole Huang argues, female memories in the novels and the authors' life experiences should not be downgraded to the historically insignificant or ignored altogether, but should add to the war memories of our society.

From Chang's writings and the scholarly discussion on her works, it is clear that war history should not just be about battles and military from the nationalist and masculinist perspectives, and it is important to uncover different voices and memories of the war. This side of the war memory is not just battles, but also about emotion, intimacy, and human relationship. Pioneering feminist scholars, such as Betty Reardon and Cynthia Enloe, advocate for the "need to understand the role of femininities and masculinities in processes of militarization and war-making" since the 1980s (Altınay and Pető 6).⁶⁶ An earlier literary effort to discuss the relationship between gender, memory, and war is made by American feminist author and literary critic Lynne Hanley, especially in her book *Writing War: Fiction, Gender, and Memory*, in which her goal is to "demilitarize our memories of war" (9).⁶⁷ She emphasizes that "women, children, noncombatants, and the enemy have an experience of war as much worth telling and remembering as is the story of any soldier" (Hanley 9). She also challenges the binary distinction "between the war zone and the home front and between the soldier and the civilian" and reimagines how these two combinations may be related to each other (Hanley 33). If we focus on the World War II, the Second Sino-

⁶⁶ Altınay, Ayşe Gül, and Andrea Pető. "Introduction: Uncomfortable Connections: Gender, Memory, War." *Gendered Wars, Gendered Memories: Feminist Conversations on War, Genocide and Political Violence*, edited by Ayşe Gül Altınay and Andrea Pető, Routledge, 2016, pp. 1-20.

⁶⁷ Hanley, Lynne. *Writing War: Fiction, Gender, and Memory*. University of Massachusetts Press, 1991.

Japanese War, or the Asia-Pacific War, there is a rich scholarship on the “comfort women” issue, which clearly shows the intersection of gender, memory, and war. In her “Operations of Memory: ‘Comfort Women’ and the World,” Carol Gluck proposes the “operations of memory” and four terrains of memory, including meta-memory, official memory, vernacular memory, and personal memory (48). The four terrains of memory operate together to “create the larger, changing topos of public memory of the war” (Gluck 58). At the same time, it is invariably significant to keep in mind the personal memory since “the lessons of individual actions had yet fully to be learned” (Gluck 77). Although my research is not directly related to “comfort women,” I will discuss issues of sexual violence during the war. In a sense, Gluck’s framework emphasizes once again the intercorrelations of individual memory and collective memory.

While the war is invariably related to atrocity and cruelty and people involved in the war are required to bear witness to the historical atrocities, there can also be fleeting moments of pleasure in the war narrative. What is the significance of writing about such fleeting pleasures? They may work as a way to challenge the conventional narratives of the war in which everyone is overwhelmed by the atrocious war machine, and they may destabilize the morally justifiable self, acting in the historical violence. In all of the writers’ works that I am discussing, the pleasure and struggle experienced through bodies and intimate relationships transcend, even if just temporarily, the extreme condition of the war.

F. Organization

Women Writing War Memories is divided into four chapters, with the first two chapters focusing on Hayashi’s involvement of war efforts and postwar disillusionment and the last

two chapters focusing on Nieh's representations of displacement and Zhang's and Nieh's contemporary reflection on sexual trauma and shame imposed by wartime sexual violence.

Chapter One analyzes Hayashi Fumiko's war reportage on the Chinese battlefield, *Front and Northern Shore Corps*, in comparison with her earlier autobiographical novel, *The Diary of a Vagabond*. Hayashi's support of Japanese militarism shows the complexities of her literary career, fraught with tensions between her reconstituting imperial boundaries and shattering gender boundaries. Even though she facilitates the militarist discourse as war propaganda, she disrupts the seemingly masculine space by virtue of her presence on the battlefield, staging her female subjectivity as the central figure in her writings. In the wartime writings, Hayashi also embraces the identity as a Japanese national and treats Chinese as the enemy and the other, showing empathy to a certain extent, yet withdrawing from truly understanding Chinese.

In the second chapter, I move to the transitioning period in Hayashi's career, the approaching end of the war in 1944 and the immediate postwar period during the U.S. Occupation of Japan. Hayashi's works from this period, including "Snowstorm" (*fubuki* 吹雪), *The Diary of a Writer* (*Sakka no techō* 作家の手帳), and her highly acclaimed novel, *Floating Clouds*, suggest a complicated conversion from supporting the war efforts to an anti-war stance, imbued with a strong sense of disillusionment. Celebrating the freedom from Japanese militarism, Hayashi's works nonetheless invoke a sense of imperialist nostalgia and amnesia.

In the third chapter, I switch to the Chinese diasporic perspective by analyzing Nieh's recurrent representation of her memory as a refugee student during the war in her novels and autobiography, including *The Lost Golden Bell*, *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*,

and *Far Away, A River*. Although Japan and China are two opposing sides of the war, the figures of refugee students also embody a sense of political agency offered by Chinese nationalism. Nieh departs radically from the realist and nationalist accounts by creating a “madwoman” figure in *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*. This figure subverts the discourses of patriarchy and nationalism through an internal and geographical displacement across mainland China, Taiwan, and the U.S. The novel destabilizes a monolithic account of Chineseness and embraces an agency without any boundaries.

Chapter Four analyzes more contemporary works concerning wartime sexual violence, including Zhang’s *A Single Swallow* and Nieh’s *Far Away, A River*, in comparison with more canonical works written during the war, such as Xiao Hong’s⁶⁸ (萧红) (1911–1942) *The Field of Life and Death* (*Shengsi chang* 生死场) (1935) and Ding Ling’s⁶⁹ (丁玲) (1904–1986) *When I Was in Xia Village* (*Wo zai xiacun de shihou* 我在霞村的时候) (1940). These literary works are part of the global cultural productions of representing the wartime sexual violence in East Asia. By comparing different ways of women of mobilizing shame, I demonstrate the inherent and perpetual tension between nationalism and feminism facing (trans)national calamities. While it is hard to reach a reconciliation and an agreement concerning the war between China and Japan, I argue that these works show women’s agency while facing sexual violence and suggest the possibility to uncover silenced and controversial voices so as to embrace a kind of humanistic cosmopolitanism in the contemporary remembrance of the war.

⁶⁸ This is her pen name. Her real name is Zhang Naiying (张迺莹).

⁶⁹ This is her pen name. Her real name is Jiang Bingzhi (蒋冰之).

Chapter One: Conflicts of Identity

Hayashi Fumiko is usually remembered in the modern Japanese literary history as a woman author who wrote about women's experience in an ever-changing society under the influence of modernism in the first half of the twentieth century.⁷⁰ Her most well-known works to date, *Diary of a Vagabond* and *Floating Clouds*, focus on ordinary women's lives and concerns. These two novels, along with other short stories and novellas, have been reprinted and translated around the world, unlike the ones written as contributions to the war efforts. Her controversial wartime deeds—writing to support Japanese militarism—are (un)consciously neglected by the contemporary audience in Japan. For example, *Front*, an epistolary work on her experience of marching with the Japanese army invading China, was not included in the sixteen-volume complete collection (*zenshū* 全集) of her works in 1977 and it was not till 2000 that it got reprinted in Japan.⁷¹ In this sense, Hayashi was purified of her wartime involvement so as to be remembered as a female writer fighting for her literary status in a predominantly male literary culture and caring for the underprivileged people in Japan during her time. However, taking out her wartime writings simplifies this writer's

⁷⁰ In modern Japanese literary history, Yosano Akiko (与謝野晶子) (1878–1942), Hiratsuka Raichō (平塚らいちろう) (1886–1971), Yoshiya Nobuko (吉屋信子) (1896–1973) are also prominent and progressive female writers who are remembered based on their prewar and postwar writings primarily and other political activities rather than pro-imperialist views during the war.

⁷¹ The 2000 version was published by Yumani Shobō (ゆまに書房). In 2006, Chūōkōron Shinsha (中央公論新社) published a new version. In 2014, there was a revised version published by Chūōkōron Shinsha. See Hayashi, Fumiko. *Sensen* 戦線 [Front]. Chūōkōron shinsha 中央公論新社, 2006; Hayashi, Fumiko. *Sensen* 戦線 [Front]. Kaihan 改版, Chūōkōron shinsha 中央公論新社, 2014.

itinerary and overlooks a continuity of themes and engagement in her writing career. The Second Sino-Japanese War or the Asia-Pacific War is a defining moment that shapes her literary career and complicates the relationship between her role as a woman, her writing, and the nation.⁷² Wartime saw her go through two conversions (*tenkō* 転向): she turned from a disinterest in politics to reporting on Japan's invasion of China and colonization of Southeast Asia in the late 1930s and the early 1940s; toward the end of the war,⁷³ she adopted an antiwar stance and addressed the painful legacy of war in the aftermath of Japan's defeat.

⁷² For more discussion of wartime as a defining moment, see the introduction of Benjamin Uchiyama's *Japan's Carnival War: Mass Culture on the Home Front, 1937–1945*.

⁷³ The date of her change of stance is not as clear as her conversion toward pro-war. However, it may be anticipated that the publication of her first short story, *Snowstorm* (*fubuki* 吹雪), in January 1946 is a signal of her change of stance. There are different times about when she started writing this piece. According to Imagawa Hideko who compiled the complete version of Hayashi Fumiko's writings in 1977, Hayashi started writing *Snowstorm* in 1944 (Imagawa, "Nenpu" 303). Hayashi also mentioned it in an epilogue of her writing collection that she started writing *Snowstorm* in February 1944 (Hayashi, "Bangiku" 259). However, according to Ogata Akiko, there might be a miscount by Hayashi and there is a possibility that Hayashi started writing *Snowstorm* in February 1945 (Ogata 99). See Imagawa, Hideko 今川英子. "Nenpu 年譜 [Yearbook]." *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集 [Complete Collection of Hayashi Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 16, Bunsendō 文泉堂, 1977, pp. 283-310; Hayashi, Fumiko. "Bangiku Hayashi Fumiko bunko atogaki 「晩菊 林芙美子文庫」 あとがき [Postscript of Late Chrysanthemums in Hayashi Fumiko Collection]." 林芙美子全集 *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* [Complete Collection of Hayashi Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 16, 文泉堂 Bunsendō, 1977, pp. 259-261; Ogata, Akiko 尾形明子. "Hayashi Fumiko ron no kokoromi ensen kara heiwa e no ishi — 'ame' 'Fubuki' 'kawa haze' 林芙美子論の試み 厭戦から平和への意志—「雨」「吹雪」「河沙魚」 [Discussion on Hayashi Fumiko from Anti-War to Peace—*Rain, Snowstorm, and Kawahaze Fish*]." *Sensō no kioku to onnatachi no hansen hyōgen* 戦争の記憶と女たちの反戦表現 [Memory of War and Women's Anti-War Expression], edited by Hasegawa Kei 長谷川啓 and Okano Yukie 岡野幸江, 2015, pp. 97-122.

In this chapter, I focus on two of Hayashi's wartime writings, *Front* and *Northern Shore Corps*, and explore the ambiguities in the seemingly clearly defined genre of war reportage and propaganda. *Front* and *Northern Shore Corps* are war reportages of the Second Sino-Japanese War, focusing on the Battle of Wuhan. Hayashi recorded her experience as she marched with the Japanese army invading Hankou, China, in 1938. She went there as a member of the pen corps together with male writers from September to October and reported on the success of the Japanese army. This was not her first time visiting China with the Japanese army. She was also the first female journalist to enter Nanjing and report on the success of the Japanese troops after the Nanjing Massacre in 1937. Referring to her presence in Nanjing, she was described as the "first woman to ride in" (*ichiban nori* 一番乗り) in *Mainichi Shimbun* (毎日新聞) (Kōra, "Kaisetsu" 225).⁷⁴ It is worth noting that Hayashi was both a journalist and a well-known writer before coming to the battlefield. Therefore, she is different from those who work as journalists on the front. The reports written by the pen corps are more "controlled," "on-message," and "tamed" because they are sponsored by the military (Uchiyama 63). They were supervised more closely by the military, and they did not need to be very concerned about the readership. The Cabinet Intelligence Department (*Naikaku jōhō bu* 内閣情報部) issued the proposal of establishing pen corps and requested the Japan Writers' Association (*Nihon bungeika kyōkai* 日本文芸家協会) to choose writers (Kobayashi 152).⁷⁵ In August 1938, the pen corps was formed with twenty-two writers, of

⁷⁴ Kōra, Rumiko 高良留美子. "Kaisetsu 解説 [Commentary]." *Sensen* 戦線 [Front]. Yumani Shobō ゆまに書房, 2000, pp. 225-28.

⁷⁵ Kobayashi, Mieko 小林美恵子. "Pen butai ペン部隊 [Pen Corps]." *Onnatachi no sensō sekinin* 女たちの戦争責任 [Women's War Responsibility], edited by Okano Yukie

which two were women, including Hayashi in the army and Yoshiya Nobuko (吉屋信子) (1896–1973) in the navy.⁷⁶ When she received the invitation from the Japan Writers’ Association, Hayashi expressed her strong interest by saying, “I would love to go, even at my own expense” (Kōra, “Sakka” 154).⁷⁷ On this journey, the writers were sent to write reportage literature (*hōkoku bungaku* 報告文学) in order to record their war experience under the military plan as well as to publicize and beautify the military efforts. These literary works were officially called patriotic literature (*hōkoku bungaku* 報国文学).⁷⁸ These

岡野幸江, Kitada Sachie 北田幸恵, Hasegawa Kei 長谷川啓, Watanabe Sumiko 渡邊澄子, 2004, p. 152.

⁷⁶ In *Northern Shore Corps*, Hayashi briefly mentioned her encounter with Yoshiya along with other male writers in Jiujiang before marching (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 236). Hayashi also mentioned Sugiyama Heisuke (杉山平助) (1895–1946) (*Northern Shore Corps* 213), Fukada Kyūya (深田久弥) (1903–1971) (*Northern Shore Corps* 215), Ishikawa Tatsuzō (石川達三) (1905–1985) (*Northern Shore Corps* 217), Satō Haruo (佐藤春夫) (1892–1964) (*Northern Shore Corps* 236), among other writers.

⁷⁷ Kōra, Rumiko 高良留美子. “Sakka teki yabō no hate—Hayashi Fumiko no ‘hōrō’ no jiku no ue de 作家的野望の果て — 林芙美子の〈放浪〉の軸の上で [The Limit of Writer’s Ambition—Beyond Hayashi Fumiko as ‘Vagabond’].” *Onnatachi no sensō sekinin* 女たちの戦争責任 [Women’s War Responsibility], edited by Okano Yukie 岡野幸江, Kitada Sachie 北田幸恵, Hasegawa Kei 長谷川啓, Watanabe Sumiko 渡邊澄子, 2004, pp. 153-63.

⁷⁸ *Hōkoku* in reportage literature (*hōkoku bungaku*) literally means report and telling, while *hōkoku* in patriotic literature (*hōkoku bungaku*) literally means repaying the nation. For a thorough discussion of the tension between propaganda literature and reportage literature concerning the pen corps’ writing, see Gomibuchi, Noritsugu 五味渕典嗣. “Bungaku, media, shisōsen: ‘jūgun pen butai’ no rekishi teki igi 文学・メディア・思想戦：〈従軍ペン部隊〉の歴史的意義 [Literature, Media, and Ideology War: Historical Significance of ‘Military Pen Corps’].” *Otsuma Kokubun* 大妻国文, vol. 45, 2014, pp. 93-116. Gomibuchi discusses the anxiety of the writers to balance the two sides and express their real feelings. In Gomibuchi’s opinion, he considers it as the division between pure literature and mass literature.

writers fulfilled both a propagandistic mission to write patriotic literature as well as the literary mission to write reportage literature and to reveal the real conditions of the battlefield (Gomibuchi 110). Hayashi kept a diary entitled *Diary of Marching to Hankou* and also wrote newspaper articles for mainland Japan (*naichi* 内地) on the journey. After going back to the mainland, she wrote *Front* and *Northern Shore Corps* based on her diary and published them, which attracted a huge number of readers and became best-sellers (Imagawa, *Seitan* 53). These popular works definitely “influenced the way Japanese at home thought about the war” (Keene 910).⁷⁹ In this sense, these two novels were epitomes of domestic propaganda (*tainai senden* 対内宣伝) with the mission to encourage the Japanese nationals with the long-term determination to fight (Gomibuchi 96). Hayashi’s war reportages can be defined as patriotic literature to publicize the war efforts of Japanese soldiers and the patriotism of Japanese nationals, as well as to legitimize the subjugation and colonization of other countries (Īda 235).⁸⁰

By exploring her war reportage, I will add to the critique of the victimization stance in Japanese discourse, which usually uncovers the war experience of vulnerable women and children to criticize the cruelty of the war without questioning the war responsibility of the Japanese. Nevertheless, women can also be identified as perpetrators during wartime (Kanō 378).⁸¹ Through her writing, especially her reportage, Hayashi can be regarded as an

⁷⁹ Keene, Donald. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era; Poetry, Drama, Criticism*. 1st ed., Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1984.

⁸⁰ Īda, Yūko 飯田祐子. *Kanojo tachi no bungaku* 彼女たちの文学 [Women’s Literature]. Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai 名古屋大学出版会, 2016.

⁸¹ For a thorough discussion of women as both victims and perpetrators in the home front, see Kanō, Mikiyo. *Onnatachi no “jūgo”*; Ueno, Chizuko 上野千鶴子.

accomplice of Japanese militarism, if not a perpetrator. In Michael Rothberg's conception, she is an "implicated subject," who was "aligned with power and privilege without being themselves direct agents of harm" and was contributing and benefiting "from regimes of domination but do not originate or control such regimes" (Rothberg, *Implicated Subject* 1).⁸² Based on the postwar morality among left-wing Japanese and other countries in general, especially the ones that have been invaded or colonized by Japan, Hayashi's wartime actions and writings can be easily condemned politically and ethically. At her funeral, Kawabata Yasunari (川端康成) (1899–1972) criticized Hayashi by saying that "she has done terrible things," which may refer to her war efforts or the enmity between her and other female writers (qtd in Ericson 98; Pulvers, "Fumiko Hayashi").⁸³ In Chinese-speaking communities, none of her wartime works have been translated into Chinese, and these two works are categorized as "literatures of the invasion of China" because of her depiction of the Japanese army's cruelty toward Chinese soldiers (Wang 95-97).⁸⁴ In the preface of the

Nashonarizumu to jendā ナショナリズムとジャンダー [Engendering Nationalism]. 1998. Seidosha 青土社, 2009.

⁸² Rothberg, Michael. *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators*. 1st ed., Stanford UP, 2019.

⁸³ Pulvers, Roger. "Fumiko Hayashi: Haunted to the Grave by Her Wartime 'Flute and Drums.'" *The Japan Times*, 24 June 2012. www.japantimes.co.jp, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2012/06/24/commentary/fumiko-hayashi-haunted-to-the-grave-by-her-wartime-flute-and-drums/>. Accessed 13 October 2021.

⁸⁴ Wang, Xiangyuan 王向远. "*Bi budui*" *he qinhua zhanzheng: dui riben qinhua wenxue de yanjiu yu pipan* "笔部队"和侵华战争：对日本侵华文学对研究与批判 ["Pen Corps" and War of Aggression: Research and Criticism about Japanese Literature of Invading China]. Beijing Shifan Daxue Chubanshe 北京师范大学出版社, 1999.

translations of her works, her wartime deeds are usually neglected.⁸⁵ In English-speaking communities, more of Hayashi's works have been translated into English, including short stories, novels, and poems, yet the wartime works are not. The scholarship in English tends to be more neutral or even sympathetic toward her wartime works. For example, *Front* is categorized as "war literature" (Keene 910).⁸⁶ Hayashi's writing of wartime works and their nationalist content is viewed with the mindset that she had no alternative choice as to what her writing could be due to Japanese military censorship (Fessler 133).⁸⁷ Compared to her

⁸⁵ This is the case for the recent translations, including the three-volume translations by Fudan UP in mainland China in 2011 and a collection of Hayashi's short stories by Hongtongtong Culture Press (紅通通文化出版社) in Taiwan in 2017. See Lin, Fumeizi. *Fanglang ji* 放浪记 [Diary of a Vagabond]. Translated by Wei Dahai 魏大海, Fudan daxue chubanshe 复旦大学出版社, 2011; Lin, Fumeizi. *Fuyun* 浮云 [Floating Clouds]. Translated by Wu Fei 吴菲, Fudan daxue chubanshe 复旦大学出版社, 2011; Lin, Fumeizi. *Wanju* 晚菊 [Late Chrysanthemums]. Translated by Liu Xiaojun 刘小俊, Fudan daxue chubanshe 复旦大学出版社, 2011; Lin, Fumeizi. *Lin Fumeizi de aiqing poumian* 林芙美子的愛情剖面 [Facets of Love for Hayashi Fumiko]. Hongtongtong wenhua chubanshe 紅通通文化出版社, 2017.

⁸⁶ In contrast to "war literature," there is also "home front literature," which is supposed to be written by women at the home front compared to the war literature, which is usually written by men at the front (Copeland 166). In this sense, Hayashi's wartime writings also disrupt this division. For a discussion about how home front literature can also be subversive to the gender norms during wartime, see Copeland, Rebecca L. "Sincerely Yours: Uno Chiyo's *A Wife's Letters* as Wartime Subversion." *Representing the Other in Modern Japanese Literature: A Critical Approach*, edited by Mark Williams and Rachael Hutchinson, Routledge, 2006, pp. 165-182.

⁸⁷ The issue of censorship is important for war propaganda. However, unlike Hino Ashihei (火野葦平) (1907–1960), who lived longer than Hayashi and changed his wartime writings in the postwar period so that it is easier to identify and compare due to the influence of censorship, Hayashi did not change her wartime writings in the postwar period. For a discussion of censorship of Hino Ashihei's wartime works, see Abel, Jonathan E. *Redacted: The Archives of Censorship in Transwar Japan*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2012; Rosenfeld, David M. *Unhappy Soldier: Hino Ashihei and Japanese World War II Literature*. Lexington Books, 2002.

controversial wartime deeds, gender is usually at the center of discussion concerning her works that are not written during the war (Ericson x). In fact, her wartime works also center on gender and racial issues in the context of the nation-state and the empire. Compared to the individualistic tone in her *Diary of a Vagabond*, which showcases the female subjectivity by transgressing the nation, her wartime works are much more paradoxical because they reconstitute the imperial border while breaking the gender border (Keaveney 113; Gardner 211; Horiguchi 50).⁸⁸ Moreover, the dualities between man and woman, superiority and inferiority, Japanese and Chinese, as well as participant and non-participant, are ambivalent and even on the move (Lee 167).⁸⁹

While it must be admitted that Hayashi's wartime deeds and writings are part of the propaganda machine, what I am interested in exploring here are the nuances and ambiguities of Hayashi's wartime writings through the perspectives of gender, bordering, and othering, as well as the tension between the fictional and the non-fictional in the reportage literature. This chapter examines the ways in which gender issues are played out in the omnipotent existence of nationalism. On the one hand, Hayashi, as a female journalist and writer, is constantly in a process of bordering her cultural and social spaces along her journey in

⁸⁸ Keaveney, Christopher T. *Beyond Brushtalk: Sino-Japanese Literary Exchange in the Interwar Period*. 1st ed., Hong Kong UP, 2008. Gardner, William O. *Advertising Tower: Japanese Modernism and Modernity in the 1920s*. Harvard University Asia Center, 2006. Horiguchi, Noriko J. *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body*. University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

⁸⁹ Lee, Sanghyuk 李相赫. "Senjō no yokubō wo meguru jendā kōzō to nijūsei: Hayashi Fumiko no *Sensen*, *Hokugan Butai* 戦場の欲望をめぐるジェンダ——構造と二重性 —— 林芙美子の「戦線」「北岸部隊」 [A Desire for Gender Structure and Ambivalence on War: Hayashi Fumiko's *Front* and *Northern Shore Corps*]." *Kokyō: nihongo bungaku kenkyū* 跨境: 日本語文学研究 [Border Crossings: The Journal of Japanese-Language Literature Studies], vol. 8, 2019, pp. 151-72.

China. She recognizes gendered borders and succeeds in redefining them. Even though she facilitates the militarist discourse as war propaganda, Hayashi disrupts the seemingly masculine space of the battlefield by her presence there, as well as by her writing that stages her as the central figure. On the other hand, while treating the Chinese as the enemy and the other, she also creates an intimate space to interact with and incorporate some of them as a collective. She shows empathy to a certain extent, but withdraws from truly understanding the Chinese. Besides, the fictional components, the occasional evasion, the abrupt transition, and the “blank spaces” (*yohaku* 余白) between lines also blur the boundary between reportage literature, which is supposed to be non-fiction, and literary works, which can be fictional.

A. Bordering Gendered Space

Although I am a non-combatant and woman, I, as a woman of Japan, want to watch the Japanese soldiers' combat with my eyes and keep this impression throughout my life.

非戦闘員で、しかも女の身だけれど、私は日本の女として、日本の兵隊の戦闘ぶりを、しっかりと自分の生涯の眼に焼き付けておきたいとおもふ。(Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 234)⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Imagawa, Hideko. “Hokugan butai 北岸部隊 [Northern Shore Corps].” *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集, edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 12, Bunsendō, 1977, pp. 172-334.

As I am walking on the street (of Hankou), I feel so proud of myself participating in this journey, as if I were representing all women of Japan.

私は街を歩きながら、私一人が日本の女を代表してきたやうな、そんなにうづうづした誇りを感じた。(Hayashi, *Sensen* 193)

The two quotes above were written in different times and spaces. The first one, in *Northern Shore Corps*, is before she was allowed to go on marches in the occupied areas, while the second, in *Front*, is after she reached the destination of the march, Hankou. While *Front* focuses only on the marching experience, *Northern Shore Corps* also records her experience of those visits before marching. *Front* was published in December 1938 by Asahi Shimbun Company (*Asahi Shimbun Sha* 朝日新聞社) in the form of twenty-three letters with illustrations drawn by Hayashi, photos of her and other people as well as a supplement.⁹¹ *Northern Shore Corps* was serialized in January 1939 in the magazine *Central Review* (*Chūōkōron* 中央公論) from September 19 to October 28 (Imagawa, “Chosho” 320).⁹² There are overlaps between the two works and repetitions of the same sentences; sometimes, they are put in different contexts. Overall, *Northern Shore Corps* can be

⁹¹ In the version published in 2000, there are five correspondences about the Hankou Battle that she wrote on the front, an essay written after she went back to the home front, and another epilogue written on December 12.

⁹² Imagawa, Hideko 今川英子. “Chosho mokuroku 著書目録 [List of Publications].” *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集 [Complete Collection of Hayashi Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 16, Bunsendō 文泉堂, 1977, pp. 311-60.

regarded as an extension of *Front* with more illustrations of her war experience. These two works should thus be read side by side.

As a non-combatant and female writer, Hayashi occupies social and cultural spaces that are preconditioned by the gender boundary. At the same time, her presence in China with the Japanese army crosses the national boundary, which echoes Arif Dirlik's discussion on social and cultural spaces that go beyond the national framework. Dirlik borrows Mary Louise Pratt's conception of "contact zone," which refers to the social spaces in which different cultures "meet, clash, and grapple with each other," uneven power relations occurred in this zone (Pratt 7; Dirlik 159).⁹³ By emphasizing the transnational framework, Dirlik directs our attention to the supranational, the subnational/intranational, and the translocal (Dirlik 31). The social spaces include those of ethnicity, gender, and class, which can be subnational or supranational (Dirlik 160). Within these social spaces, individual encounters both reproduce and disrupt the continuities of colonial modernity. I also connect Dirlik's argument with Naoki Sakai's discussion on bordering, which recognizes the presence of borders as "inscribed, erased, redrawn or reproduced" (Sakai 262; 268).⁹⁴ In Hayashi's case, her interaction with the Japanese soldiers (re)draws the boundaries of gender and nationalism.

Hayashi's mission at the outset of the journey was to condole with the wounded Japanese soldiers in the field hospital behind the frontline (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 214). In

⁹³ Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 1992. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2007. Dirlik, Arif. *Culture and History in Postrevolutionary China: The Perspective of Global Modernity*. The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2012.

⁹⁴ Sakai, Naoki. "The Regime of Separation and the Performativity of Area." *Positions: Asia Critique*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2019, pp. 241-79.

contrast, her male colleagues were allowed to go to the front of the battlefield. She complained about this gendered division of tasks and expressed time and again her desire to go to the front to witness the Japanese combat with her own eyes. When she was finally able to go marching with the army to Hankou, the border between men on the battlefield and women behind the frontline was disrupted by her participating in the march. After entering the masculine space along the march, she invariably encountered surprise from the Japanese soldiers as the only woman on the battlefield, and she enjoyed mentioning it throughout the two works to showcase the rare existence of women on the battlefield. This can be seen as the self-pride she was holding onto. When she arrived in Hankou after the Japanese army defeated the Chinese army, she again expressed her self-pride (*hokori* 誇り), conscious of her special positionality as the only female writer on the battlefield representing Japanese women (Hayashi, *Sensen* 193).

While the gendering of space was disrupted by her presence in marching, her space on the battlefield was peculiar and showed a position of in-betweenness. As a non-combatant and woman, she never joined the real combat, but she heard the gunfire; she never killed the enemies, but she witnessed the killing and the aftermath of the battlefield, full of corpses of Japanese soldiers, as well as Chinese soldiers and civilians.⁹⁵ The border was redrawn between male soldiers and Hayashi due to the division of labor by gender. Seen from the perspective of battles, she was only a quasi-participant (*jun tōjisha* 準当事者) rather than a

⁹⁵ Although most of the women did not participate in the combat, the female students in Okinawa, who were referred to as Himeyuri (姫百合) or Maiden Lily Student Nurse Corps attended the battle (Frühstück, “The Spirit to Take up a Gun” 175). See Frühstück, Sabine. “The Spirit to Take up a Gun’: Militarising Gender in the Imperial Army.” *Gender, Nation and State in Modern Japan*, edited by Andrea Germer et al., Routledge, 2014, pp. 163-79.

participant (or party, *tōjisha* 当事者) as a soldier (Suge 27).⁹⁶ At the same time, she was on the frontline and working for the military in a different capacity.

Hayashi further recreated the national space on the battlefield by speaking highly of the Japanese soldiers. This was the major thread of the two works and also the prime goal of the war propaganda. Along this journey, she spared no effort to praise the bravery of the Japanese soldiers and to appreciate them taking care of her during the marches. In the first letter of *Front*, she discussed the transformation of Japanese men from individuals to a collective corps (*heитай* 兵隊).

Each and every sacred individual, who took off and threw away his plain clothes and was dressed in the military uniform, is in the figure of “corps.” They have hometowns that they cherish as well as relatives and friends. Everyone has his own life, but for the sake of the homeland, they hold guns, wear military uniforms, and turn into a large group. No matter how dangerous the circumstance they go into, they expose their own lives to it at ease. I cannot help feeling something mysterious and precious to the greatness of the “man.”

平服をぬぎすてて一律に軍服を着た「兵隊」の姿の神神しさ一人一人、なつかしい故郷や、肉親や、友人を持ってゐる兵隊。この箇々の生活

⁹⁶ Suge, Satoku 菅聡子. “Hayashi Fumiko *Sensen*, *Hokugan Butai* wo yomu—senjō no jendā, haisen no jendā 林芙美子「戦線」「北岸部隊」を読む—戦場のジェンダー、敗戦のジェンダー [Gender in the Battlefield: Reading Fumiko Hayashi’s *Sensen* and *Hokuganbutai*].” *Hyōgen Kenkyū* 表現研究, no. 92, 2010, pp. 25-32.

に置かれてゐた一人々々の人間が、祖国の為に銃をになひ、軍服に身をかためて、一大集団となり、どんな危険な場所へも、悠々と命を晒してゆける「男」の偉さに、私は何か神秘的な尊いものを感じずにはゐられません。

(Hayashi, *Sensen* 9-11)

In Hayashi's eyes, Japanese soldiers were "sacred" (*kōgōshisa* 神々しさ) and godlike, dressed in military uniforms. Even though they missed their homes back in mainland Japan, they were fighting in China for their homeland. Hayashi even added that the greatness of man in Japan was mysterious and precious. By saying this, she elevated the status of the Japanese soldiers and fixed them into the nationalist, militarist, and masculinist frame of how a soldier was expected to be on the battlefield. The ideal model of militarized masculinity in the war was achieved "by emphasizing the physical prowess of military men enhanced by machines, and by distilling national identity into the abrupt contrast between winning and losing" (Frühstück, *Uneasy Warriors* 12). Soldiers were supposed to be "fierce and proud combatants" and "thoughtful young men" who are the "protectors of (Japanese as well as colonised) women and children" and "dependent on women's care when injured" (Frühstück, "The Spirit to Take up a Gun" 167; Frühstück, *Playing War* 127).⁹⁷ The disordered side and the possible weakness and hesitance of the soldiers are deliberately neglected by the writer. By so doing, she violates the principles of reportage, which is supposed to show the real conditions, and enters the realm of fiction.

⁹⁷ Frühstück, Sabine. *Playing War: Children and the Paradoxes of Modern Militarism in Japan*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2017.

To enhance the effect of building up the ideal model of Japanese soldiers, she constantly contrasted herself to the soldiers and felt overshadowed by their bravery and determination. At the beginning of marching, she felt her weakness as a woman, being anxious about her life and fearful of death (Hayashi, *Sensen* 7). In the first letter of *Front*, she expresses that she felt the impact of the gunfire as if causing an earthquake and her small shelter was as dark as the graveyard (Hayashi, *Sensen* 3). In the last letter, she emphasizes again her fear of death and her despair during the march; however, the trustworthiness of the soldiers makes her feel reassured and a sense of imperishableness supports her because of the loveable soldiers (Hayashi, *Sensen* 164). She ends her twenty-three letters in *Front* with another strong expression of affection toward soldiers in the form of a poem. However, her inner struggle between life and death persists throughout the letters. She imagines her death in various ways, and she refuses to die with her body being dirty, being ill, or being left in the “dirty” land of China (Hayashi, *Sensen* 76; 101; 103). She even has some nightmares about her death. However, she clearly states this was only her struggle and that the soldiers would never think this way (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 278). In this sense, she reconstructs herself as someone who occupies an inferior position, was not killing the enemies, and was easily shattered by the fear of death. At the same time, however, she unconsciously parallels the two extremes of herself: courageous yet scared, weak yet forceful. The seemingly propagandistic images are contrasted by her hesitance, which reconfigures her back as an ordinary person and a real human being rather than a killing machine or an ideal model.

The battlefield is usually seen as a masculine space where bodies are directed toward combat, and the everyday necessities as a human being—eating, bathing, excretion, etc.—are suppressed and marginalized. However, writers at the time were paying attention to

recreate everydayness on the battlefield, such as Hino Ashihei's *Wheat and Soldiers* (*Mugi to heitai* 麦と兵隊) (1938) (Gomibuchi 103). Hayashi also carefully created a quotidian, humane, and intimate space through depicting a world other than the combat. She was with Japanese soldiers, journalists, and even Chinese people working for the Japanese army, while being conscious of her female identity. One Japanese soldier offered Hayashi a caramel candy and this action was envied by her fellow male journalists (Hayashi, *Sensen* 51); she thought "the taste of the caramel candy is unforgettable on the battlefield" (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 281) and she felt as if "flying on the sky with a white feather" (Hayashi, *Sensen* 51). Another Japanese soldier offered her cups of coffee and she felt "wonderful to drink coffee on the battlefield" (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 291). When they slept outdoors during the marches, a troop gave her a blanket to keep warm (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 276). At the same time, she also depicted the difficulties of daily life on the battlefield, especially the increasing difficulty of having daily meals: "it is nearly impossible to keep the daily eating routine of breakfast, lunch, and dinner; sometimes, it is even impossible to drink any water for a whole day" (Hayashi, *Sensen* 54). When she was able to have some chicken, she sucked the juice of the chicken with "overflowing joy" (Hayashi, *Sensen* 71). There is also a photo in *Front* showing the happy faces of the Japanese soldiers cooking ducks (Hayashi, *Sensen* 83). She also drew pictures of soldiers' food and drink equipment (Hayashi, *Sensen* 141). Through her writing, she acted as a medium to showcase the everydayness of the soldiers. When she described the difficulties of keeping daily routines on the battlefield, she invariably drew on the "I" perspective. However, when she described the daily lives of the soldiers or the interaction between them, they were more neutral or even positive. She still kept in mind the political mission of her writing.

While she spent her daily life with the male soldiers on the battlefield, as a woman, she also needed to avoid being seen by men when she was bathing or excreting. This is also the case before marching. When she was taking a shower, she was worried whether the Japanese officer would feel surprised seeing “a big shadow of a woman” (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 227). At other times, she described her difficulty in going to the toilet on the battlefield. She always needed to find a toilet so that she could hide herself from the male soldiers (Hayashi, *Sensen* 5). She explained in the epilogue that it was to emphasize her existence as a human being (as there is always the need for excretion) and also to emphasize her female identity in the march; she points out that it is a good thing to include such subtle details (Hayashi, *Sensen* 167). Although she mentioned fellow Japanese women before the march and after it as well as military nurses (Hayashi, *Sensen* 205), she did not mention any female colleagues during the marches in order to build herself as the “only woman” (*ona hitori* 女一人) on the battlefield (Kōra, “Kaisetsu” 226). Her depiction as if she was the only female expelled her from the male circle. While she had to hide her physical body on the battlefield, the literary description revealed her body to the audience.

Hayashi also faced difficult conditions in which she needed help from male soldiers. When she had to climb down a steep mountain, she was not able to accomplish it by herself and was carried by a Japanese soldier. In the middle of this interaction,

... the moment when we went down the cliff, I was holding my breath when the soldier held tight to me. It was only a short moment, but without saying anything, I felt a moment of tightness in my chest. The soldiers blushed.

...崖の下へ降りつくその一瞬、私は息がとまりさうに固くその兵隊にかかへられてゐました。ほんの短い一瞬でしたが、何と云ふこともなく、私は胸苦しいものを感じた。兵隊は赧くなってゐました。(Hayashi, *Sensen* 112)

While the soldier blushed, Hayashi did not mention her own feelings on this occasion. This interaction ended with the soldier silently marching on after helping her. However, this evasion of her own emotions and the blank space of their further interaction is significant. On the one hand, the feeling of tightness may only be the result of the physical tightness, and there is nothing emotional involved. On the other hand, the feeling of tightness may also suggest awe, attraction, and compassion. The soldier's action might be accidental or deliberate. Since he blushed afterward, he might have felt a sense of sensual pleasure and affection. At the same time, as Hayashi expressed numerous times her affection toward soldiers, she might also be attracted to this soldier, however fugitive this moment was for both the soldier and her. She may also feel compassionate toward this soldier because he could not embrace his loved ones back home. In this situation, although she was physically weaker than the male soldier and she occupied an inferior position in this masculine space, the body contact between them and the emotions involved created a special space that was sensual and intimate on the battlefield. It somehow reemphasizes her female identity as the center to make this intimate moment happen and also to create this intimate space.

Throughout this journey in China, Hayashi was traveling through and across various borders. On the one hand, she was bordering between herself and the male soldiers by deliberately raising the image of the soldiers spiritually and physically, and by concealing

herself among the soldiers. On the other hand, she was also redefining the borders by entering the masculine space and by involving the soldiers in an intimate space that she created at intervals in the combat. While she was differentiating herself from the male soldiers by repeatedly identifying herself as the only woman on the battlefield, she was also blurring the gender boundary by stepping into male circles. Although it was crystal-clear that the major purpose of the two writings was to support the war propaganda and the militarist effort, there were “blank spaces” between lines or in the scene she created through writing (Gomibuchi 113). She consciously and unconsciously turned this collective mission into a more personal and intimate one. The individual encounters on the battlefield were the social and cultural spaces that transgress the preconditioned frames, even just momentarily. Therefore, her writings stand at the interface of patriotic literature and reportage literature while showing her own literary creation.

B. Moving and Unsettling between *Naichi* and *Shina*

In my life, I never dreamed I could come to such inland areas of *Shina*.

私は私の生涯のうちに、こんな、支那の奥地へ来ようとは夢にも考へてゐなかつた。(Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 288)

As I come this far (to Hankou), I feel like the reality of *naichi* is getting closer and closer, and it makes me feel especially anxious that I need to deal with the painful life and painful society again. When I walked on the battlefield, I didn't have even a bit of anxiety.

ここまで来てみれば、私は段々内地の現実が近くなったような気持ちになり、再び苦しい生活と、苦しい世間のつきあひが、私を妙な不安におと
して来る。戦場を歩いてゐる時は、そんな不安か微塵もなかった。

(Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 320)

In her two war writings, Hayashi clearly distinguished mainland Japan (*naichi*, or literally rendered as inner territories) from *Shina* (支那) (a loaded term referring to China, which will be further explained in the next section) (McDonald 3).⁹⁸ Before her visits to Nanjing and the march to Hankou during the war, she made several trips outside of *naichi*, including Taiwan, Harbin, Changchun, Fengtian, Fushun, Jinzhou, Dalian, Qingdao, Shanghai, Nanjing, Hangzhou, and Suzhou in 1930 (Imagawa, “Nenpu” 292) as well as a meeting with Lu Xun in Shanghai in 1932 (Imagawa, “Nenpu” 294; Keaveney 99). Although the notion of *naichi* changes from a historical perspective, in Hayashi’s two wartime works, *naichi* is both a geographical location, and more importantly, a changing mindset.⁹⁹ *Naichi* referred to the inner metropole that was the nation she was supposed to belong to; she was anxious about *naichi* because of her marginality within this space. *Shina* was a territory that was to be conquered by the Japanese troops as she followed their steps

⁹⁸ McDonald, Kate. *Placing Empire: Travel and the Social Imagination in Imperial Japan*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2017.

⁹⁹ According to Kate McDonald, *naichi* emerged in the 1850s (3). *Naichi* is “a territory, a relative location on a universal trajectory of development, and an essentialized sensibility” (4). Tessa Morris-Suzuki translates *naichi* as “Japan proper” (372). See Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. “Debating Racial Science in Wartime Japan.” *Osiris*, vol. 13, 1998, pp. 354–75.

during the march; the mobility inserted in this traveling experience is dreamlike and transitory. For her, she was constantly searching for a sense of belonging and a space called home, and the nation seems not to be the one.

Within mainland Japan, Hayashi, as a woman from a remote area, Shimonoseki (下関),¹⁰⁰ had to struggle with her livelihood and complicated human relations in the capital city, Tokyo. In the semi-autobiographical novel *Diary of a Vagabond*, she recreated her personal experience of traveling from the remote area to the capital city, her life and work experience in Tokyo, and her encounters and intimate relationships with men and women. Written in the form of a diary, she identified herself as a wanderer and vagabond who was born without a fixed identity and was destined to wander (Keene 1139; Horton 46).¹⁰¹ She also described herself as “crossbreed” and “mongrel,” which indicated the hybridity and her sense of regional belonging rather than of the nation-state (Gardner 128). She merely occupied a marginal space as someone who followed her parents and later stepfather and mother to move around the country, without a fixed location called home. In the *Diary of a Vagabond*, the space she occupied in Tokyo was also liminal: she worked with very low pay while persisting with her writing; she also experienced mass culture in the modern metropolis. It was liminal because it was a transitional time and space for her (Thomassen

¹⁰⁰ It should be noted that Shimonoseki is only remote from the perspective of Tokyo. From the perspective of the empire, it is the center—as it is a key railway link between Japan and Korea/Manchuria (Tokyo-Shimonoseki Express, links to Shimonoseki-Pusan Ferry, links to CGR expresses headed to Keijō/Seoul and Hōten/Mukden).

¹⁰¹ Horton, William Bradley. “Tales of a Wartime Vagabond: Hayashi Fumiko and the Travels of Japanese Writers in Early Wartime Southeast Asia.” *Under Fire: Women and World War II: Yearbook of Women’s History*, edited by Eveline Buchheim and Ralf Futselaar, Uitgeverij Verloren, 2014, pp. 37–49.

4).¹⁰² With the commercial success of *Diary of a Vagabond* in book format, Hayashi was able to step out of mainland Japan and travel further away, first in East Asia and then to Europe. Although she rejected the identity of a Japanese national in the *Diary of a Vagabond*, she turned to embrace it in her wartime writings. Hayashi is empowered in *Shina* as the representative of women of Japan and through the collaboration with the Japanese empire (Horiguchi 143). In some way, her mobility disrupts the national discourse of the war as a masculine space. However, her anxiety of returning to *naichi* symbolizes her inescapable struggle within the nation, which will be analyzed further in Chapter Two. She is unable to transcend the Japanese empire even though she has the mobility.

She felt “spiritually purer” as she approached the frontline “without any other concern,” although she was physically exhausted from the march (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 281). In comparison, life in the mainland was “spiritually exhaustive” (Hayashi, *Sensen* 32). During marching, all the “distracting thoughts” disappeared along with the “so-called self,” and she felt she was as “innocent” as a child, recalling sour apples, white cabbages, and the dream of camping (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 288-289). For her, this marching experience was as if in a dream and a once-in-a-lifetime experience. Sometimes, this great feeling of being on the battlefield was disturbed by homesickness. However, she usually denies herself by adding that she did not want to go back to *naichi*. Although the living conditions on the battlefield were much worse than those in the mainland, she enjoyed the openness of sleeping outdoors,

¹⁰² Marginality and liminality are two different concepts because the latter directs to the in-betweenness (Thomassen 7-8). For a genealogy of liminality that streamlines the key figures of liminality, including Arnold van Gennep, Emile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, Gabriel Trade, Victor Turner, etc., see Thomassen, Bjørn. *Liminality and the Modern: Living Through the In-Between*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014.

watching stars in the sky, and hearing the buzzing of insects around her; in comparison, she had to sleep in a confined room in *naichi* (Hayashi, *Sensen* 47). She enjoys a clear sense of freedom on the battlefield by embracing and romanticizing militarism compared to all kinds of practical personal burdens in mainland Japan.¹⁰³

In her visits to China before the war, she admired Chinese culture and literature (Keaveney 102). Comparatively, during this special travel to China, she was thinking along with the Japanese army. The imagination of past Chinese culture achieved through reading and the contemporary tumultuous China facing antagonism with Japan were both influencing her during this particular journey (Romagnoli 143).¹⁰⁴ When she arrived at Mount Lu, she recalled the poem “Viewing the Waterfall at Mount Lu” written by one of the most famous Chinese poets in the Tang Dynasty, Li Bai, by quoting one line “flying waters descending straight three thousand feet.” However, this natural scenery was mixed with military training, such as cannon fire (Hayashi, *Sensen* 178). This is the only place where she quoted a complete line of Chinese poetry. It showed her connection with an imagined Chinese culture, but the beautiful natural scenery was soon overwhelmed by the military atmosphere. She also militarizes the currents of the Long River (or Yangtze River) as hostility or enmity (*tekii* 敵意) (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 220). Long River has nothing to do with the war, but in the eyes of Hayashi, it can be war-like and militant. At other times, she is tired of the Long River and misses the Japanese scenery (Hayashi, *Sensen* 15). She

¹⁰³ This is also true on the European battlefield. See Lara Feigel’s *The Love-Charm of Bombs: Restless Lives in the Second World War*.

¹⁰⁴ Romagnoli, Stefano. “Gendering the War: The Colonial Gaze in Hino Ashihei’s *Hana to Heitai*.” *Rivista degli studi orientali*, edited by Fabrizio Serra, 2016, pp. 141-62.

vacillates between the Chinese sceneries in front of her and the Japanese sceneries to which she felt more attached and familiar.

Hayashi was both empowered and fearful on the battlefield as it became Japanese territory. As for *naichi*, she was missing it, but unwilling to go back to it. The hesitancy between moving in and out of *naichi* as well as the self-contradiction of the feelings toward *Shina* and *naichi* imply her perpetual desire to find a space called home and her destined wandering.

C. Othering Chinese

Hayashi casts an imperial and colonial gaze on the Chinese land and the Chinese soldiers by using the words, *Shina* and *Shina* soldier (*shina hei* 支那兵), in these two writings. The imperial gaze is to show the “good-natured soldiers and the ‘good’ Chinese people” who collaborated with the Japanese army during the war (Romagnoli 160).¹⁰⁵ Although she usually used *Shina soldiers* to refer to Chinese soldiers, there were also times when she switched to *Chūgoku* (中国) soldiers (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 304, 306, 318).¹⁰⁶ These Chinese soldiers belong to the Republic of China Armed Forces under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek (蒋介石) (1887–1975), which Hayashi criticized in the two writings. *Shina* was “the Japanese appellation for China most commonly used during the first half of the

¹⁰⁵ By researching Hino Ashihei, one of the most well-known writers of war literature, Romagnoli identifies Hino’s imperial gaze when he is writing about war.

¹⁰⁶ In the text, Hayashi uses *katakana* to suggest the Chinese pronunciation of the word, *tsunko pen*, which is still different from the Chinese pronunciation, *zhongguo bing* (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 304).

twentieth century,” as opposed to *Chūgoku*, which is the common appellation after World War II and before the Meiji Restoration (1868) (Tanaka 4).¹⁰⁷ *Shina* is a loaded term, but one of the meanings is to signify the rise of modern Japan compared to China as “a troubled place mired in its past” (Tanaka 5). The relationship between *Shina* and Japan is hierarchical, with Japan being superior and advanced. The idea of Japanese as a national identity is formed by essentializing the self (as Japanese) and the other (as Chinese) (Williams and Hutchinson 3).¹⁰⁸ It is based on this relational feature that the identity of Japanese is meaningful (Sakaki 2).¹⁰⁹ In *Shina*, Hayashi was positioned as superior, as a conqueror and a colonizer through her identification with the Japanese army and as a Japanese national. At the same time, anyone called “Chinese” is usually seen as the enemy, the racial and ethnic other, the colonized, and the inferior. Her “empowerment” comes from her colonialist position, which puts her, albeit as a woman, above the colonized men.

Hayashi usually paralleled courageous, respectful Japanese soldiers and weak, dead Chinese soldiers, and expressed opposite emotions for each. On the battlefield that Hayashi depicts, there is no mentioning of Korean soldiers even though Korean “imperial subjects” were allowed to be “volunteers” according to the Army Special Volunteer System Law that “went into effect on 3 April 1938” (Fujitani 44).¹¹⁰ One possible explanation for this is that

¹⁰⁷ Tanaka, Stefan. *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*. University of California Press, 1995.

¹⁰⁸ Williams, Mark, and Rachael Hutchinson, editors. *Representing the Other in Modern Japanese Literature: A Critical Approach*. 1st ed., Routledge, 2006.

¹⁰⁹ Sakaki, Atsuko. *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature*. University of Hawaii Press, 2006.

¹¹⁰ Fujitani, Takashi. *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2013.

she sticks to the ethnic sense of Japanese. In this sense, the real opponent is only the Chinese who are still fighting against the Japanese troops. She set up this basic tone in her writings by describing two Japanese soldiers discussing how to kill a Chinese captive: one thought of burning him because his Japanese comrades were killed by Chinese soldiers, the other thought of killing him with one cut because it was more manly. While the former denotes the hatred of the Japanese soldiers toward the enemies—the Chinese soldiers—the latter showcases the ideal model of militarist masculinity. Hayashi described this killing scene as “so beautiful that it is saddening” (*setsunai hodo utsukushii* 切ないほど美しい) (*Sensen* 91-92). Although she understood that killing was a depressing and dreadful moment, it turned into beauty because of the Japanese soldiers’ correct choice based on Japanese nationalism and the intense emotions involved in this situation. She did not address any ethical issue about the retaliation of the Japanese, who had no respect for the rights of prisoners. This demonstrates how militarist-saturated Hayashi Fumiko acted and thought during wartime. She also expressed her contempt for the Chinese captive, and she was confident that Japanese soldiers would fight until the last drop of their blood for the country rather than surrender (*Sensen* 143).

Hayashi also felt sentimental and respectful seeing the corpses of the Japanese soldiers, while feeling indifferent toward the corpses of Chinese soldiers as if they were only objects.

I merely see the corpse of this *Shina* soldier as an object. While I felt the sentiment and reverence when facing our soldiers who had just been placed on a stretcher, I feel ruthless and unfriendly to the corpse of this *Shina* soldier. The

feelings toward the corpse of the *Shina* soldier are completely empty. I also wondered if the apathy of not knowing the real life of a *Shina* person could lower the treatment of a human being's corpse down to a mere "object." Moreover, with my *minzoku* consciousness, this is such hostility that it seems (the two nations) couldn't blend together since the previous generations.

この支那兵の死体一つの物体にしか見えず、さっき、担架の上へのせられて行った我が兵隊に対しては、沁み入るやうな感傷や崇敬の念を持ちながら、この、支那兵の死体に、私は冷酷なよそよそしさを感じる。その支那兵の死体に対する気持は全く空漠たるものなのだ。私は、本当の支那人の生活を知らない冷酷さが、こんなに、一人間の死体を「物体」にまで引きさげ得てゐるのではないかと考へてみた。しかも民族意識としては、これはもう、前世から混合する事もどうも出来ない敵対なのだ。

(Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 283)

In the quote above, she confirmed the difference as a result of different bloodlines (*ketuzoku* 血族), ethnic/national (*minzoku* 民族) consciousness, and the hostility between enemies (Horiguchi 249). Hayashi usually used the word *minzoku*, a term referring from "ethnic group" to "nation" (Morris-Suzuki 358). In comparison, she only mentioned race (*jinshu* 人種) once in the two writings (Hayashi, *Sensen* 63). However, the two different approaches to racial theory were both adopted by Hayashi: one is racial purity, the other is human progress (Morris-Suzuki 375). By mentioning "bloodlines," Hayashi imagined the

Japanese as sharing the same ancestry and ethnicity within the imagined community called Japan.

By reiterating the standpoint as a Japanese national (*kokumin* 国民), she felt empowered by the national discourse. When she saw wounded Japanese soldiers, she felt the importance of the war as part of history (Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 237). Comparatively, when describing the relics of one Chinese officer as if this was a very solemn moment, she concluded by blaming Chiang Kai-shek as the military leader who abandoned his soldiers and sacrificed them (*Sensen* 86; *Hokugan Butai* 290, 294). This blame at the solemn moment is based on colonial imagination since she seldom interacted with living Chinese soldiers (Īda 246; Pulvers, “Fumiko Hayashi”). The blame also echoes the purpose of the invasion as a mission to rescue Chinese civilians from Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese Nationalist Party, and Chinese warlords (Romagnoli 144). All the paradoxical feelings she expresses on the battlefield when she is facing the enemies are momentary and are easily overwhelmed by the descriptions of the bravery of Japanese soldiers.

However, Hayashi pointed out that it was sometimes difficult to distinguish the enemies in the Japanese troops because some of them are Chinese civilians or captives working for the Japanese army (*Sensen* 58). She thus narrowed down the range of enemies to Chinese soldiers only. Once the soldiers were caught and turned into captives, her feelings toward them changed to disgust. She also expressed disgust toward Chinese servicemen, but on another occasion, she shared food with them (*Sensen* 154). It is questionable as to whether these servicemen were voluntary or involuntary. There was also a blurred line between the civilian and the captive, and her feelings toward them change depending on the circumstances. Such a volatile mood indicates that she tried to adapt herself to the military

propaganda, but may have been distracted or unable to sometimes. She also portrays the Chinese soldiers in a humanistic way when they were captured by the Japanese army. When she visited a Chinese officer in the war prison, she adopts an affirmative tone to describe his handsome appearance and his manner (*Hokugan Butai* 216). Describing his beautiful and clear eyes, Hayashi empowers herself as a female by throwing an imperial gaze on a Chinese man. This female gaze was guaranteed by her positionality as a superior member of the Japanese empire. While she always emphasized the unhappy feeling of seeing Chinese captives, she also recorded their various expressions and affects: anxious, surprised, laughing, frustrated, crying, and absent-minded (*Hokugan Butai* 306). In some cases, she depicts them as young, with eyes as gentle as women (*Hokugan Butai* 307), which feminizes the young Chinese soldiers, again uplifting the status of herself and the empire behind her.

However, the binary structure and her superiority is at times disrupted by individual encounters and by her sensibility and vulnerability. For example,

There is a *Shina* soldier. Without saying anything, I am shivering as if I feel cold. It is a face that looks like somebody. I cannot recall it.

支那兵が一だった。何と云ふこともなく寒く身震ひがして来る。誰かに似てゐる顔だった。思ひ出せない。(Hayashi, *Hokugan Butai* 271)

She noticed the face of a dead Chinese soldier who looked like someone she was familiar with, and she had to run away quickly to avoid that face. She felt fearful one time, recalling the powerless eyes of a wounded Chinese soldier (*Hokugan Butai* 272). Such

examples show that she contradicts herself by sharing a sense of fear, maybe out of empathy.

Hayashi also feels empathetic toward Chinese women and children, and even describes interactions with them. She reveals a tenderer tone toward Chinese women and children. Although she was still conscious of her national identity, she felt closer to them. For example,

In a small village out of Haka, I witnessed an old woman wandering around her house without leaving it. This *Shina* old woman, who holds such a deep-rooted attachment toward home and soil, brings me intense emotions. Although women are weak, they are also strong.

巴河を出た或る小部落で、自分の家を去りかねて家のまほりをうろろしてゐた一人の老婆を見かけましたけれど、家や土に根強い執着を持った、この支那一農婦で、私は激しく感情をそそられるものを感じました。女は弱いけれどもまた強いのです。(Hayashi, *Sensen* 77-78)

This parallel of weak appearance and strong mind was her impression when she saw an old woman sitting alone by a house, attached to her land and roots, whereas her family probably escaped. It is a moment when Hayashi showed strong emotions toward Chinese women.

While in Nanjing, the newly conquered land of the Japanese empire, she showed appreciation to her maid and even played with her maid's child (*Hokugan Butai* 244). The

child taught her some Chinese words, like hand, eye, eyebrow, flower, and mooncake.

Hayashi was also thinking about what the world would be like for the child in the future and what the child would become. When she was ill at Mount Lu, a young Chinese woman took care of her. She felt appreciative toward her and described her beautiful and tall appearance with light brown skin and dark eyebrows (*Hokugan Butai* 238). Although she is empathetic toward the sufferings of Chinese women and children, the empathy is recognized through her preconditioned knowledge and her national identity. This echoes Sara Ahmed's criticism of empathy with others' pains. The subject who feels empathetic does not really feel from the standpoint of others; instead, the subject projects oneself onto others (Ahmed 30). For Hayashi, she is aware of the difference between the Japanese and the Chinese, thus the empathy is overwhelmed by the otherness of Chinese people. In these two works, she never thinks from what she cannot know. Therefore, the empathy toward Chinese women is unstable and transitory.

On the battlefield, she described an absent-minded Chinese child beside her deceased mother and that the child must have cried too much and felt tired (*Hokugan Butai* 285). On the one hand, she blamed stray bullets of Chinese troops for killing the mother. On the other hand, she described two Japanese soldiers feeling sympathetic toward the child, and one of them offered the child a caramel candy. In a way, this is a deliberate act to ensure humanism on the battlefield so as to justify the war efforts, because the Japanese soldiers offered caramel candies to both her and the Chinese children (Īda 243). This act also echoes the propagandistic mission of the Japanese troops. After she reached Hankou with the Japanese army, she felt she was the "woman of the enemy state" when seeing many Chinese women (*Front* 124).

During the march, the only women she could see were old Chinese women and she reported that she did not see any beautiful women leaving Shanghai (Hayashi, *Sensen* 124). This is a peculiar description because Hayashi seems to have a sense of competition with the Chinese women in terms of beauty. At the same time, it is questionable that she did not see other young Chinese women on the battlefield because there were “comfort women.” In addition to this description, she also encouraged women in Hankou to embrace the Japanese army and compared the coming of the Japanese army to the coming of spring for the women in Hankou by saying, “women in Hankou/Spring is coming soon” (*Sensen* 123). Because of her impoverished background and her father’s ill-treatment, she always looked at the world through the eyes of the poor and those who did not have much social capital, and also cared about women, especially the less privileged ones. However, this concern was twisted during wartime when she encouraged women in Wuhan to embrace the Japanese. Her care toward women was affected by her national bond.

This chapter shows the complexities of Hayashi Fumiko’s war reportages, which are more than merely war propaganda. Hayashi’s wartime writings sit between propaganda and reportage because of their literary dimension, self-contradictory descriptions, and her inconsistent empathy toward the other. The war reportages indicate the continuity of her concerns for women in the *Diary of the Vagabond* and consolidate her conversion from one who was rejecting the national identity to someone embracing it. There is the back-and-forth movement between her reconstituting imperial boundaries while shattering gender boundaries. She was constantly crossing the lines of the gendered space as a female writer on the battlefield. While she was successful in building an intimate space with Japanese

soldiers, her empathy toward Chinese women and children was easily dismissed by nationalist concerns. Her individual mobility between *naichi* and *gaichi* shows her own liminality and guarantees her transition to the status of an imperial and empowered writer in public; she was still struggling as a female writer when she went back to *naichi* and continued her writing career in later years.

Chapter Two: Nostalgic Disillusionment

In 1944, the intensifying air raids forced Hayashi Fumiko to evacuate from Tokyo to rural Nagano with her husband and adopted son (Hayashi, “Bangiku” 259). During the evacuation, she started to reflect on the negative side of the war by writing the short story, “Snowstorm.” At the same time, she also wrote children’s literature for the children in the countryside (Imagawa, “Nenpu” 303). At the end of 1945, Hayashi finally returned to Tokyo (Imagawa, “Nenpu” 303). In January 1946, the literary magazine *Ningen* (人間) published “Snowstorm,” Hayashi’s first postwar publication after Japan’s recovery of journalism. In July 1946, she started the serialization of a novella, entitled *The Diary of a Writer* (*Sakka no techō* 作家の手帳),¹¹¹ which ran until November in the literary magazine *Konjō* (紺青) (Imagawa, “Nenpu” 304). These two pieces of writings, along with other stories and essays, symbolize her new conversion from supporting the war efforts to the anti-war stance amid a strong sense of disillusionment.

Celebrating the new freedom from Japanese militarism and now condemning the war, Hayashi’s works nonetheless invoke a sense of imperialist nostalgia. After the Asia-Pacific War, Japan was changing rapidly under the occupation by the Allied Forces. This situation marked another round of imperialism and colonialism. Within this context, she finished her most celebrated novel, *Floating Clouds*, in March 1951, right before her unexpected death

¹¹¹ There is a Chinese translation of *The Diary of a Writer* published by Fudan UP in 2011. See Lin, Fumeizi. “Zuojia shouji 作家手记 [The Diary of a Writer].” *Wanju* 晚菊 [Late Chrysanthemum]. Translated by Liu Xiaojun 刘小俊, udan daxue chubanshe 复旦大学出版社, 2011, pp. 169-230.

of heart disease in June 1951. This novel offers complicated depictions of the disillusioned Japanese society and focuses on the characters' individualized emotions.

In this chapter, I will begin with Hayashi's reflections on the war by analyzing "Snowstorm" and *The Diary of a Writer*. While examining Japan's war responsibility, Hayashi pays more attention to individuals who have been through the war, as well as her own experience and memories of the war. In depicting wartime memories, Hayashi's description embraces what Renato Rosaldo calls "imperialist nostalgia" (108).¹¹² Yet, the criticism of imperialist nostalgia gets muddy in Hayashi's last novel, *Floating Clouds*. First, I will tease out the imperialist and colonial reckoning in the novel based on wartime memories and the characters' postwar experiences. Second, I will analyze the entangled love and sexual relationships among characters and shed light on the emotional and embodied complexities behind this imperialist and postcolonial critique.

A. Facing the Misery of War

Hayashi showed a strong sense of disillusionment toward the end of the war, compared to her enthusiasm in *Front and Northern Shore Corps*. Her first publication during the postwar period, "Snowstorm," sets the basic tone by having the villagers complain about the never-ending war at the beginning of the story.

¹¹² Rosaldo, Renato. "Imperialist Nostalgia." *Representations*, no. 26, University of California Press, 1989, pp. 107-22.

The war was long. Even in such a small village in a valley, everyone was already tired of this long war. When it was heard that the war would go on for the next 100 years, there was a depressing and sad thought hanging over everyone's heart.

戦争はながくつゞいた。こんな谷間のなかの小さい村のなかでも、もう、みんな、このながい戦争には飽き飽きしてゐた。これからまだ百年もこの戦争はつゞくのだときいて誰の胸のなかにもうったうしい哀しい思ひがたれこめてゐた。(Hayashi, "Fubuki" 431)¹¹³

The fatigue and exhaustion caused by the prolonged war appeared contagious among the villagers. Unfortunately, they cannot do anything but to complain about it. The female protagonist of the story, Kane, has never seen the battlefield and cannot even imagine what the battlefield is like in her mind. However, when she dreams about her husband, Manpei, who has been on the battlefield, both of them express dislike for the war in Kane's dream: Manpei does not want to be a soldier and Kane does not like the war (Hayashi, "Fubuki" 432).

Similarly, in the semi-autobiographical novella, *The Diary of a Writer*, Hayashi continues to express her frustration about the lengthy war and further reflects on the tragic influences it brings to the common people. The story is written from a first-person

¹¹³ Hayashi, Fumiko 林芙美子. "Fubuki 吹雪 [Snowstorm]." *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集 [Complete Collection of Hayashi Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 5, Bunsendō 文泉堂, 1977, pp. 431-43.

perspective, with a writer as main protagonist. This writer-protagonist is evacuated to Nagano, and it is assumed to be Hayashi herself. The novella focuses on the time around the end of the war both during the evacuation and after the writer-protagonist goes back to Tokyo. During the evacuation, the narrator depicts a group of teachers and children who evacuated from Tokyo. After she goes back to Tokyo, she focuses on reestablishing her literary career.

The beginning of the novella contrasts the rich and the poor in the postwar Japan by juxtaposing five female legislators wearing a kimono embellished with design on the skirt (*susomoyō* 裾模様) on the photo of the newspaper and four veterans with worn-out clothes at the Shinagawa station. The protagonist is surprised at the well-dressed legislators, and she feels that the majority of women in the current defeated Japan would disapprove of this scene. She considers herself to be the opposite of those legislators and she stands side by side with the women who have suffered from the tragedy of the war.

For the women who share the same thoughts as I do, I want to write about the dark times created by the greatest tragedy for Japan, during which various humane lives were crushed. The dull war with neither freedom nor hope! Just thinking about it, I am utterly fed up with wars. It must not be possible to conveniently and quickly forget this long war, during which hope and expectation were forsaken, just because it is over.

私と同じやうに想ひを共にしてゐる女性の人たちに、日本にとって最大の悲劇であつたこの戦争のかもしてゐた、様々な人間生活の弑せられて

るた暗黒な時代を書いてみたいと思ってるのです。自由や希望もない灰色な戦争!考へただけでも、もう戦争は澤山です。希望や憧憬を見すてて
るた長い戦争を、戦争が終わったからといって、すぐけろりと忘れてしまふ
といふことはあり得てはならないのです。(Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 1)¹¹⁴

Indeed, to think from the perspective of ordinary women is invariably the starting point of Hayashi’s writing since she has also been through a similar path as most of the other women in Japan, as I showed in Chapter One. Since the publication of the *Diary of a Vagabond*, Hayashi had a good reputation among ordinary Japanese women as she gave public speeches and exchanged correspondence with them. In this novella, the narrator exchanges several letters with a woman in Osaka whose father is dead and who lives with her mother and sick sister, while waiting for her loved one to come back from Manchuria (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 47). The three women, including Osaka, her mother, and her sick sister, can hardly make ends meet with trivial jobs, but what the author can do is also trivial: she can only send her a small amount of money and encourages them to live (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 47). This exchange of correspondence reminds Hayashi of the life she has also been through, which was recorded in the *Diary of a Vagabond*. Hayashi reflects on her own experience and feels a sense of powerlessness facing the experience and the intense emotions of this woman. She says,

¹¹⁴ Hayashi, Fumiko 林芙美子. “Sakka no techō 作家の手帳 [The Diary of a Writer].” *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集 [Complete Collection of Hayashi Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 8, Bunsendō 文泉堂, 1977, pp. 1-59.

... in the end, I had to believe in myself and live by my own thoughts. No one was able to be relied on, and I lived with the conviction that I was wrong in thinking of relying on others. I feel they are so relevant to me, and I cannot but to think deeply about the lives of the wandering women. I regret to say that I am helpless about the daily emotional intensity of a young woman who lives only with the thought of the person who will come back.

...結局は自分を信じ、自分だけの考へで生きてゆかなければならなかったものです。誰も頼りにはならなかったし、頼らうと考へることも間違っているたのを肝に銘じて生きて來ました。人ごとではない氣持ちで、さまよふ女の生活を深く考へてみないではゐられません。只、戻って來る人への思慕のみを力にして生きてゐるであらう、若い女の日々の激しさに就いて、どうしやうもない無力さを口惜しく考へるのです。(Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 48)

In this paragraph, the narrator encourages women to be self-dependent. But at the same time, she also wants to establish the solidarity with these women by helping them and supporting them. When it comes to the emotions of missing the loved ones, she feels powerless to do anything. But she continues to call for more mutual help among all the people in society (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 48).

In this story, Hayashi also quotes a whole letter from a woman called Yoshiko, whom she first meets during the evacuation. Yoshiko has to endure frequent changes of jobs due to the economic recession in postwar Japan. In her current job, Yoshiko encounters a rich

couple who has no sympathy for the poor or their efforts to fight against poverty; instead, the couple ridicules them as “cowardly” (*ikuji ga nai* 意気地が無い) (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 54). Because of the employer’s bad attitude, Yoshiko is thinking about changing her job even though it is hard to find a new one. She is not distressed by her poverty; instead, she believes that “going forward by enduring poverty” is her way of life (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 55). Hayashi is moved to tears after reading Yoshiko’s letter because once again she has gone through similar difficulties and she feels so happy to have such an honest woman who is fully aware of herself and has faith in herself (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 55). In contrast to the previous exchange of letters with Osaka, Hayashi feels empowered reading this one, and once again, she emphasizes the importance of being independent women and supporting women. In this sense, Hayashi moves women’s roles as solitary widows or wives waiting for their husbands to women in solidarity. Instead of struggling with the past and clinging to the men, she encourages women to face the current situation and future together with other women.

In addition to her focus on ordinary women, this novella also emphasizes the stark contrast between the policymakers and the common people in general. Hayashi denounces the politicians who carry out the war as those who never think about “our country” (*watashi tachi no kuni* 私たちの国) or the sufferings of “common people” (*shomin* 庶民), but “try to freely paint over the world map and make the common people feel fearful by speaking complacently” (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 11-12). This is a clear criticism of Japanese imperial goals. When she mentions “our country,” she seems to exclude self-centered politicians. She intends to create this bond with the common people, whom she thinks she belongs to. She further points out that Japanese politicians know nothing about the “real

civilization” (*hontō no bunmei* 本当の文明) (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 12). In contrast, Hayashi feels “a sense of civilization” when she witnesses the American soldiers driving nimble multi-purpose vehicles and wearing neat uniforms on the streets of postwar Japan (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 37). She also calls the policymakers from the Netherlands as the epitome of civilization because they built canals and roads before their people migrate to Java in comparison to Japanese policymakers who ask Japanese immigrants to build the infrastructures on their own in Manchuria (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 44). Both references to “civilization” are problematic from the perspective of colonialism, which I will discuss in the next section, but what Hayashi focuses on here is the criticism of the Japanese government and politicians.

Compared to the harshness toward policymakers, Hayashi continues to hold an empathetic attitude to other groups of common people, including soldiers and children. Even though she still feels close to Japanese soldiers as she expresses in *Front and Northern Shore Corps*, Hayashi trivializes soldiers’ ability to kill and showcases the misery of the soldiers in this novella. Recalling her marching experience, she points out that the troop she was following was a telecommunications force of roughly twenty people who did not join the battles and wanted the battle to be over soon so that they could go back home earlier (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 29). The atmosphere Hayashi is building here is almost the opposite of what she records in *Front and Northern Shore Corps*, which are full of patriotism and passion for the war, as well as fierce battles. Clearly, she avoids mentioning the exciting and crazy side of the war she once depicted in the wartime works since the general discourse in Japan has turned to anti-war. She also recalls interactions with Chinese people, including an old woman whom she gives some crystal sugar and several young

soldiers suffering from cholera, to emphasize the misery brought by the war (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 29). In depicting this piece of memory, Hayashi does not look down upon Chinese people anymore, especially Chinese soldiers; instead, she links the Chinese people with the Japanese people to show that they have both suffered from the tragic result of the war. This is certainly a problematic analogy without pondering Japan’s war responsibility and points to her selective remembrance of the war. What to remember and what to forget are at odds here. She frames her wish to connect Chinese people and Japanese people in the postwar context as a return to humanism. Humanism becomes a convenient designation of her anti-war stance. By emphasizing the connection of Chinese soldiers and Japanese soldiers in terms of their sufferings in the postwar, Hayashi implies a sense of imperialist amnesia.

Apart from the people in the battlefield, Hayashi also shows empathy to the people during the evacuation, including children and teachers. There is certainly a deployment of “emotional capital” among the narrator-protagonist, the teachers, and the children in this novella: children are depicted as “politically innocent, morally pure, and endowed with authentic feelings” and adults are expected to “respond to the sight of children with a specific, predictable set of emotions” (Frühstück, *Playing War* 114). Hayashi repeatedly uses words, such as *tenshin* (天真) and *mujaki* (無邪氣), to describe the innocence of children (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 19). However, the writer-protagonist encounters two situations when she is uncertain how to react to the children. One is when she hears that a group of children are gambling at night. She criticizes the child and even describes him as having the facial expression of a “rogue” (*buraikan* 無頼感) (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 10). However, she ends this conversation by saying that the child is looking at her

innocently as if to say that she, as an adult, is wrong to see gambling as a bad thing (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 11). The disagreement on gambling signals a break on the flow of emotional capital between the adult and the child. The second is when a girl called Namiko is found stealing food from the hotel kitchen. When her teacher, Mr. Yamane, criticizes her deeds, she argues,

“Oh, but Ms. Aida said, ‘one hundred million people, one heart’, and that everyone should have the same spirit to win the war. I thought it was fine to eat the leftovers.”

“‘One hundred million people, one heart’ is different from stealing and eating people’s things.”

“Oh, in that case, even if someone is starving to death, people will not help, right?”

Yamane was silent. This is because Namiko’s words are true in the current society. In the current society, even if around 99% of the 100 million people sacrifice their lives in the war, there is no problem at all.

「あら、でも相田先生は一億一心って、みんな同じこゝろでたすけあって戦争に勝たなければならぬて云ふんですもの、のこってゐるごはん位たべたっていゝと思ったんです」

「一億一心と、人のものを盗んで食べるのとは違ふよ」

「あら、それぢやア、おなかがすいて死にさうになっても人は助けてはくれないのね」

山根は黙ってました。ナミ子の云ふことは、現在の社会では眞理だからです。いまの社会では一億のうちの九割九分までがこの戦争の犠牲になることぐらゐは平氣だったからです。(Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 15)

“One hundred million people, one heart” (*ichi’oku isshin* 一億一心) was a wartime slogan to encourage everyone in Japan to support the war efforts. Namiko has learnt this slogan from her teacher, and even though it is morally wrong to steal others’ food, she uses this slogan (which is supposed to be morally correct) as an excuse to justify her wrong deeds. Mr. Yamane cannot answer her question because he is fully aware of the propagandistic purpose behind this slogan. Namiko’s question touches upon the truth that the war is only a game for politicians and common people are left to suffer, while performing a sense of hypocrisy. This is indeed the major idea that the author wants to convey. Mr. Yamane is also upset about himself because he has to lie to his students in order to keep the “emotional capital” moving and keep the students innocent. However, there are also times that he is investigated by the police because he dares to discuss the possible defeat of Japan during the war (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 18). In this sense, while the deployment of “emotional capital” is supposed to keep the wartime mainstream moving, there are also twists in personal interactions. Yet it also should be noted that stories including these kinds of conversations could only be published after the war.

B. Modernist and Imperialist Nostalgia

In this novella, Hayashi also expresses a sense of nostalgia for an environment of Japan that is forever gone. When she was finally able to come back to Tokyo after the war, what she witnessed was “burnt field” (*yakenohara* 焼け野原) with no trace of the past (*omokage* 面影) (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 31). Seeing this scene makes her reminiscent of Tokyo life before the war, which was full of modernist influence and a cosmopolitan atmosphere with “French white wine, Italian Vermouth, and American cigarette, as well as people from the West and the East sitting together with smiles in the hotel” (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 31). Now facing the ruins, Hayashi considers the past life as a dream, but she also feels an urge to move on (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 32). She even feels a sense of refreshment (*sōkaisa* 爽快さ) as if Tokyo as a city just went through a surgery (Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 38).

Besides the nostalgia for the prewar Japan, she was also nostalgic about her trip to Southeast Asia. From 1942 to 1943, along with other female writers, she went to Southeast Asia with the Japanese army. She visited local schools, met local women, and experienced local life firsthand there. In this novella, she recalls her life in Indonesia:

I thought that the gorgeous nature and people’s lives in the tropics were just like fairy tales of this world. The primeval forest lasting for thousands of years is well-drained with water and is growing in dark color. The various ethnic groups living in it were as simple as butterflies and flowers reproduce themselves. I thought the Holy Bible and the tropical paradise were great civilizations in the

south. A cool breeze blows around the equator like autumn wind, chickens squeal at the farmhouse, and the ears of paddy are ripe in the rice fields.

熱帯の絢爛とした自然と人のいとなみは、さながら現世の童話だと思ひました。千古の原始林はたつぷりと水をたたへて、黒々と繁殖してあるし、その中に生きてゐる數種類の民族は、蝶や花と同じやうな生殖のしかたで素朴であつたし、聖經と赤道の樂園は、南方での偉大な文明だと思ひました。赤道標のあたりに秋風のやうな涼しい風が吹き、農家では鶏が鳴き、田圃の稲はしたゝるばかりの房をつけてゐます。(Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 45)

In this paragraph, while putting a lot of attention to depict a fairy world that is primitive, Hayashi suddenly inserts a sentence about the Holy Bible and the civilization it creates. It is because right before this paragraph, there is the discussion about how civilized Dutch people developed this land. Although her major purpose here is to criticize the policies of how the Japanese empire is constructing and developing Manchuria, this description is typical of a colonialist who visits a “new” land, romanticizes it as primeval, and then feels nostalgic about the land after leaving. This is what Renato Rosaldo calls “imperialist nostalgia” which is “often found under imperialism, where people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed” (Rosaldo 108; Horiguchi 173). At the same time, Hayashi’s attitudes toward the so-called “development” are also typical of settler colonialism. Hayashi’s hierarchical triangulation of the West, Japan, and Southeast Asia is similar to what Eiichiro Azuma calls the “enigma” of the *ishokumin* (移殖民; migrating and colonizing people of

Japan) about “their identities and subject positions” (Azuma 5, 11).¹¹⁵ Hayashi as a Japanese is in-between the so-called Western civilization and the primitive Southeast Asia. By speaking highly of the two extremes, her aim is to criticize the Japanese society. However, this (un)conscious juxtaposition and hierarchization show her peculiar positionality based on the “race-based discrimination” (Azuma 11). People in Indonesia are silenced and can only be observed by Hayashi, which is similar to Rosaldo’s imperialist nostalgia in which the white men establish the “innocence” of the “savaged” people (Rosaldo 108). For example, when Hayashi describes a local dancer in Bali, she once again emphasizes her “simplicity” (*soboku* 素朴).

There was a female dancer named Chawan in the biggest city of Bali, Denpasar. When she was not dancing, she had this simplicity that she would work in the field.

バリ島第一の都會である、デンパッサルの踊り子、チャワンと云ふ娘は踊って見ない時は、野良で畑仕事をしてあると云ふ素朴さでした。
(Hayashi, “Sakka no techō” 55)

¹¹⁵ Azuma, Eiichiro. *In Search of Our Frontier: Japanese America and Settler Colonialism in the Construction of Japan’s Borderless Empire*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2019.

Hayashi's imagination of a Balinese person's life is invariably embedded with a sense of purity and simplicity. She is so attracted to this kind of life that she thought about naturalization (*kika* 帰化) to Balinese.

Everything is simple, simple life and simple law. Seeing the paradise of Bali where people were so joyful and natural playing and living with each other, I wanted to try to live there if I can naturalize as a Balinese person.

すべてがシンプルな生活、そしてシンプルな法則。バリ一人達は、愉しく、自然にたはむれて暮してゐると云った極楽境を見ては、私は、バリ一人に帰化出来るものなら、そこへ住んでみたいと思ひました。(Hayashi, "Sakka no techō" 55)

Her wish of naturalization is followed by her criticism on the "moral disorder" (*dōgi no midare* 道義の乱れ) of Japan due to the war. Hayashi wants to return to a more primitive way of life compared to Japanese society where the basic idea is to distinguish good from evil (Hayashi, "Sakka no techō" 56). This idea of objectifying and romanticizing Southeast Asia continues in her novel *Floating Clouds*, which Hayashi shows a more complicated picture through depicting the conversational and psychological details of each character, which, I argue, destabilize the imperialist and colonial order through depicting interracial relationships.

C. Gendering Interracial Relationships

Interracial relationships have been used as a trope for a long time in modern Japanese literature and they usually denote a strong sense of othering. While the major plot of *Floating Clouds* focuses on the entangled relationship between two Japanese people, Koda Yukiko and Tomioka Kengo,¹¹⁶ the novel's major settings in wartime Southeast Asia and postwar Japan during the U.S. occupation bring in the elements of interracial encounters.

The novel centers on the female protagonist Yukiko and her life experience with different men before, during, and after the war. Her life can be read in different ways. While some scholars read her as a woman who is sacrificing herself among men (Mizuta 334),¹¹⁷ I argue that the life of Yukiko can be seen as a repudiation of gender roles and a pursuit of the ultimate freedom for love. The chaos of the war situation certainly offers her the condition to live a life that is free from the preconditioned moral boundaries in the patriarchal society of Japan. At the same time, Yukiko's wartime experience in Southeast Asia situates her as a colonizer who is nostalgic about these experiences after Japan's defeat; her postwar sexual encounter with a male westerner complicates her positionality of various racial identities. In this sense, as the author uncovers her past and present in an anachronistic manner, there is a multilayered intersection of gender and race between her and other characters in the novel.

¹¹⁶ Following the appellations in the novel, I use Yukiko (given name) for Koda Yukiko and Tomioka (surname) for Tomioka Kengo.

¹¹⁷ Mizuta, Noriko. "In Search of a Lost Paradise: the Wandering Woman in Hayashi Fumiko's *Drifting Clouds*." *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing*, edited by Paul Gordon Schalow, and Janet A. Walker. Stanford UP, 1996, pp. 329-51.

The novel mainly describes the entangled relationship between Yukiko and Tomioka during and after the wartime. Unlike novels that narrate the wartime experience as a struggle for survival, the wartime experience for Yukiko and Tomioka is like travelling on a special vacation in Vietnam, which is referred to as Annam or Indochina in the novel. When they come back to Japan one after another in the postwar period, what they witness is a ruined place. Although Yukiko tries to survive on her own and looks for new relationships, she cannot help going back to Tomioka because the only thing she can rely on is her pleasant wartime memories with Tomioka. The description of her wartime memories comes when she is in need of reassurance and emotional support. She overcomes all kinds of difficulties and follows Tomioka to a remote island in Japan where she dies of disease while Tomioka is not there.

Before the war, Yukiko is sexually oppressed by her relatives in Japan. Therefore, she summons up her courage to set herself free from the confinement by escaping from that family and working as a typist in Vietnam to feed herself during the war. In Vietnam, she is part of a love triangle. She is chased by two Japanese officials, including Tomioka, who work for the Japanese government to investigate the forest to see if the wood can be used for the troops. Flirting with both of them, she finally decides to be with Tomioka, although he has a wife at the home front and has a sexual relationship with his Vietnamese maid Niu.

Wartime Vietnam can be seen as a lawless space for Japanese colonizers, including Tomioka and Yukiko. In this space, although Tomioka feels morally wrong to have two extramarital relationships and a wife at home, he is enjoying the excessive freedom. His interracial relationship with Niu is not exactly oppressive according to Hayashi's depiction because Niu shows mutual interest in Tomioka. However, the author never goes into the

psychological world of Niu, who is portrayed as a racial and female other to whom the narrator cannot give an inner world. The narrator expresses an inability to write from the perspective of Niu by going into Tomioka's mind: "it's strange (*fushigi* 不思議) for Tomioka to think about Niu's mind" (Hayahi, "Ukigumo" 198).¹¹⁸ In his mind, Tomioka considers it as "having a romance that is not a romance" (*koi dewanai mono wo koi shite iru* 恋でわ無いものを恋している) (Hayahi, "Ukigumo" 198). He also describes the sexual intercourse with Niu as "transient" and justifies himself by thinking that he has never had any "heartfelt love" (*kokoro no renjō* 心の恋情) besides his wife (Hayahi, "Ukigumo" 205). It is clear from these descriptions that Tomioka does not cherish this relationship in any sense because Niu is of a different race and a lower class, and he does not need to take any responsibility as a Japanese man. Niu is pregnant because of him, but he simply gives her some money without doing anything else. However, when he is back in Japan in the postwar period, Tomioka keeps recalling Niu and feels regretful about her. In his mind, Niu is the symbol of sexuality. When he recalls their interactions, Tomioka remembers that she talks about the function of cinnamon, which can rejuvenate man's sexual ability (Hayahi, "Ukigumo" 282). For Tomioka, Niu represents liveliness, which he does not possess anymore in the postwar Japan. Tomioka also thinks about their baby and the possibility of facing discrimination as a biracial child without a father. However, all these thoughts are transitory. Needless to say, he does not take any action to help Niu. Tomioka is depicted as a weak, dispirited Japanese man facing Japan's defeat.

¹¹⁸ Hayashi, Fumiko 林芙美子. "Ukigumo 浮雲 [Floating Clouds]." *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集 [Complete Collection of Hayashi Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 6, Bunsendō 文泉堂, 1977, pp. 169-420.

Comparatively, Hayashi depicts another interracial relationship between Yukiko and a “foreigner” (*gaikoku jin* 外国人), Joe, in postwar Japan. Based on the description of his appearance, it must be a westerner. Yukiko meets Joe when Tomioka wants to get rid of her in postwar Japan.

... it might be a good starting point of her life from that little room. As Yukiko was thinking about it, she had walked as far as the Isetan Department Store when a tall foreigner called out to her. He asked where she was going, and on the spur of the moment she smiled and stopped. The foreigner walked out with Yukiko. The foreigner began walking alongside her. Yukiko became bold and adventurous. The foreigner had begun speaking rapidly. Yukiko silently drew near him. She had the sense now that her fate was advancing toward somewhere, little by little. Mutual acts on impulse brought a kind of liveliness into the hearts of the two passersby.

(Hayashi, *Floating Clouds* 87)¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ There are two English translations of *Floating Clouds*: one is published by Hara publishing (*Hara shobō* 原書房) in 1965 with both English and Japanese side by side with each other, the other is published by Columbia UP in 2006. Both of them are abridged versions. There are three Chinese translations published by Fudan UP (*Fudan daxue chubanshe* 复旦大学出版社) in 2011 and Central Compilation and Translation Press (*Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe* 中央编译出版社) in 2012 in mainland China, and by Rye Field Publishing (*Maitian* 麥田) in Taiwan in 2021. When I quote, I take reference from both English translations and made changes based on both the Japanese original and the Chinese translations. See Hayashi, Fumiko. *Floating Clouds*. Translated by Koitabashi Yoshiyuki 小坂橋義之 and Martin C. Collcutt, Hara Shobō 原書房, 1965; Hayashi, Fumiko. *Floating Clouds*. Translated by Lane Dunlop, Columbia UP, 2006; Lin, Fumeizi. *Fuyun* 浮云 [Floating Clouds]. Translated by Wu Fei 吴菲, Fudan daxue chubanshe 复旦大学出版社, 2011; Lin, Fumeizi. *Fuyun* 浮云 [Floating Clouds]. Translated by Jin Shan 金山, Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe 中央编译出版社, 2012; Lin, Fumeizi. *Fuyun* 浮雲 [Floating Clouds]. Translated by Li Yanhua 李彦樺, Maitian 麥田, 2021.

... あの小舎から、自分の人生が始まってゆくのもいゝのではないかと、ゆき子はそんな事を考へて、伊勢丹のところまで歩いて来ると、脊の高い外国人に呼びとめられた。何處へ行くのかと聞かれたが、とっさの事だったので、ゆき子は笑って立ち停つてゐた。外国人はゆき子と並んで歩き出した。ゆき子は大膽になつてゐた。外国人は早口で喋りかけて来たが、ゆき子は黙つて、外国人に軀を寄せて歩くきりだった。運命が、少しづつ何處かへ向けて進行していつてゐるやうな気がした。お互いの衝動が、このゆきずりの二人の心のなかに一種の生氣をもたらし来る。

(Hayahi, "Ukigumo" 239)

The author describes the moment as if it were a Baudelairean moment of two *flâneurs* encountering each other in the modern architecture of a department store. However, unlike Baudelaire's "To a Woman Passing by" (188-189),¹²⁰ both Yukiko and Joe are eager to talk and even touch each other. For Yukiko, this is a "bold and adventurous" attempt so as to walk out of the dead end with Tomioka. Although this action is out of impulse without dwelling on it, the author describes this encounter as bringing "liveliness" (*seiki* 生氣) to both Yukiko and Joe. Because of Joe, Yukiko can take the tram that is solely for foreigners. Joe also brings a big pillow, a box of candies, and a radio to Yukiko. These material goods are refreshing for Yukiko, and the pillow is especially precious because it is such an intimate

¹²⁰ Baudelaire, Charles. *The Flowers of Evil*. Translated by James McGowan, Oxford University Press, 1998.

thing and makes Yukiko feel encouraged to begin a new life (Hayahi, “Ukigumo” 240). Yukiko also feels that the sensual and sexual relationship with Joe makes her confident again.

True, they did not speak one another’s languages well, but there was a sense of common humanity, an ease of spirit in which they understood one another in the flesh. Yukiko felt as if she had gained the self-confidence to set forth in life, afraid of nothing. (Hayashi, *Floating Clouds* 89)

言葉は充分ではなかったが、お互いの人間らしさは、肉體で了解しあ
ってゐる氣安さで、ゆき子は、何事にも恐れのない生活に踏み出して行け
る自信がついたやうな氣がした。(Hayahi, “Ukigumo” 240)

Yukiko feels her interracial relationship with Joe is the same as the relationship between Tomioka and Niu since these two relationships are mostly predicated on sexual intercourse combined with a language barrier. I argue, however, Yukiko and Tomioka are different in how they treat their interracial relationships. In a quarrel between Yukiko and Tomioka, Yukiko criticizes Tomioka for playing with Niu’s emotions (Hayahi, “Ukigumo” 226). While Tomioka is basically taking advantage of Niu for his own sexual comfort, Yukiko is empowered through her relationship and does not owe anything to Joe. Tomioka represents the Japanese men who are destroyed by the defeat of Japan and do not want to shoulder any responsibility either in a relationship or a larger group. He is a man who feels powerless

after the war due to the loss of the Japanese empire (Kawamura et al. 149).¹²¹ In contrast, Yukiko is a woman who is consistently in pursuit of her own erotic and emotional fulfillment. Tomioka also notices the difference with Yukiko and explains it is the nature of woman.

As if stabbed by a pin, Tomioka fell silent and looked at Yukiko's face. Illuminated by the light of the candle, her features resembled Niu's. In her face he could see the innate strength that all women seem to possess, as sturdy as the roots of a tree. He felt a mixture of envy and jealousy as he stared at Yukiko and took in her new way of living as woman who seemed to be influenced by no one. Looking at women's natural ability of living, Tomioka felt frustrated inwardly about his petty and low condition. It had to be admitted that women, holding the definitely dual freedom, could choose such a way of living. Far from thinking of Yukiko as an encumbrance, a timid feeling that had disappeared seeing her, he was starting to feel a renewed hunger for her. (Hayashi, *Floating Clouds* 87)¹²²

富岡は釘をさしこまれた気がして黙って、ゆき子の顔を見た。ローソクの灯に照らされてるゆき子の顔が、ニウのおもぎしに似てゐる。女自身の個性の強さが、ぐっと大きく根を張ってゐるやうに見えた。何ものに

¹²¹ Kawamura Minato 川村湊, et al. *Sensō bungaku wo yomu* 戦争文学を読む [Reading War Literature]. Asahi shinbun shuppan 朝日新聞出版, 2008.

¹²² Translation modified.

も影響されない、獨得な女の生き方に、富岡は羨望と嫉妬に似た感情で、ゆき子の變貌した姿をみつめた。女といふものに、天然にそなはり附與されてゐる生活力をみるにつけ、現在の貧弱な自分の位置に就いて、富岡は心細いものをひそかに感じてゐた。絶対に二元性を持つてゐる自由な女の生き方に、こんな道もあったのかと思はないわけにはゆかない。そのくせ、この間まで、女を荷厄介に考へてゐた、あの卑怯な感情はもうすっかり消えてしまつて、富岡はむしろ逃げてゆく魚に対してのすさまじい食欲すら感じてゐるのだった。(Hayahi, “Ukigumo” 242)

In this stream of consciousness, the author depicts Tomioka's changing attitudes toward Yukiko. As I mentioned earlier, before the encounter between Yukiko and Joe, Tomioka was thinking about abandoning Yukiko as she is an outcast in his marriage. However, after seeing Yukiko's renewed energy, he feels envious and tries to attract her again. Tomioka also finds similarities between Yukiko and Niu since they are both lively women. Although it seems to be problematic to attribute this life force as part of a woman's nature, Tomioka is clearly the opposite of it, as he is usually depicted as hesitant and cowardly. While Tomioka's state can be read allegorically as an embodiment of defeated Japan, it is also worth rethinking the hierarchy imposed by patriarchal society, in which only men have the privilege to behave like this.

In this sense, Yukiko's taking initiative in the interracial relationship with Joe, not just destabilizes the racial hierarchy, but also threatens the patriarchal hierarchy of Japanese society. While she cherishes the beautiful memories with Tomioka in Vietnam and the

transient sexual encounter with Joe in postwar Japan, she keeps moving ahead, struggles to live fully, and dies in her pursuit for love. Even though the novel ends with a tragic note, Yukiko embraces a strong sense of agency in the precarious condition of the war. Conversely said, Niu is the absolute racial other that falls into oblivion in the novel, and it serves a cruel reminder considering the intersection between gender and race in the context of the war.

This chapter focuses on Hayashi's literary writings in the final years of the war and the postwar period. Hayashi's conversion from pro-war to anti-war stance seems to reveal what common people at that time were thinking about and she followed the trend to write about it. She criticized the Japanese government officials, which is similar to the Post-War School, even though she did not belong to this school as a female writer. She stood with the ordinary Japanese people and revealed their sufferings during and after the war. She paid special attention to women and stood in solidarity with them. Her consistent concern for children also shows a peculiar scene of how children are deployed by the war. However, her critiques are also problematic as they are saturated with imperialist nostalgia and amnesia. By juxtaposing Chinese and Japanese soldiers in the postwar period, she shied away from the Japanese war responsibility. While yearning for the so-called simpler life in Southeast Asia, she casted a typical imperialist nostalgia. This nostalgia continues in her novel *Flouting Clouds*, but in a more complex way. Yukiko embodies multilayered identities and experiences: a victim of domestic sexual violence, a colonizer, and a low-class woman, who is struggling to live. Her imperialist nostalgia is also immersed in a romantic relationship which offers her all the fantasy about what love is like, as well as a strong sense of freedom.

Yukiko's female agency, similar to Hayashi's whole life, is questionable, yet worth remembering critically.

Chapter Three: Gendering Displacement

How about myself? Exile (*liufang*) for a whole life. I was a Chinese kid in the Japanese concession in my hometown. At the gate of the park in the Japanese concession, there was the sign of “No dogs or Chinese allowed”. During the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, I was a refugee (*liuwang*) student wandering (*liulang*) around. I am a “mainlander” in Taiwan, a Chinese in the U.S., and a Chinese American in China. I was laughing while presenting in the convention: where exactly am I?¹²³

我自己呢？流放了一辈子。我是故乡的日本租界的中国孩子，租界公园门口挂着“狗与华人免进”的牌子。抗战时期，我是流亡学生，到处流浪。我在台湾是“大陆人”，在美国是中国人，在中国是华裔美国人。我在大会上讲着讲着，自己笑了起来：我究竟在哪里呀？¹²⁴ (Nieh, *Sansheng yingxiang* 513)¹²⁵

¹²³ Emphases are added by me.

¹²⁴ Emphases are added by me.

¹²⁵ There are numerous versions of Nieh’s autobiography. The first version was published in 2004 by Huangguan wenhua (皇冠文化) in Taiwan and Baihua wenyi chubanshe (百花文艺出版社) in mainland China with the same name *Three Lives* (*Sansheng sanshi* 三生三世). The second version is called *Images of Three Lives* (*Sansheng yingxiang* 三生影像) which was published by Mingbao chubanshe (明報出版社) in Hong Kong in 2007 and by Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian (生活·读书·新知三联书店) in mainland China in 2008. There are some changes to the contents. The third version is called *Three Lives* (*Sanbeizi* 三辈子) published by Lianjing chuban gongsi (聯經出版公司) in Taiwan in 2011 with more pictures. A second edition of *Sanbeizi* was published by the same publisher in 2017. In mainland China, the third version is called *Three Lives (Updated Edition)* (*Sansheng yingxiang [zengding ben]* 三生影像[增订本]) published by Shenghuo

In her autobiography entitled *Images of Three Lives*, Nieh Hualing recorded her confusion about her multiple identities expressed while presenting at the Convention of International Writers held in Belgrade in 1988 under the conference theme of exile (*liufang* 流放) and literature (Nieh, *Sansheng yingxiang* 513).¹²⁶ She defined her life experience in mobility as “three lives,” as the title of her autobiography shows, in mainland China, Taiwan, and the U.S.

In the paragraph above, Nieh constantly uses words, such as *liufang*, *liuwang* (流亡), and *liulang* (流浪), which point to her multiple displacements. The Chinese character *liu* in the words *liufang*, *liuwang*, and *liulang* literally means flow. Compared to the two other terms, *liulang* is neutral, similar to the connotations of wandering. *Liufang* is linked to a negative meaning, which means “banishment as a form of punishment by government” and

dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian in 2012. This version deleted the introduction called “Traces of Three Lives” (*Sansheng zongji* 三生蹤跡). All the other contents and pictures largely remain the same as the third version published in Taiwan. The version I am using is published in 2012 in mainland China, but I also refer to the 2011 version in Taiwan for the deleted introduction. See Nieh, Hualing. *Sansheng sanshi* 三生三世 [Three Lives]. Baihua wenyi chubanshe 百花文艺出版社, 2004; Nieh, Hualing. *Sansheng sanshi* 三生三世 [Three Lives]. Huangguan wenhua 皇冠文化, 2004; Nieh, Hualing. *Sansheng yingxiang* 三生影像 [Images of Three Lives]. Mingbao chubanshe 明報出版社, 2007; Nieh, Hualing. *Sansheng yingxiang* 三生影像 [Images of Three Lives]. Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian 生活·读书·新知三联书店, 2008; Nieh, Hualing. *Sanbeizi* 三辈子 [Three Lives]. Lianjing chuban gongsi 聯經出版公司, 2011; Nieh, Hualing. *Sansheng yingxiang (zengding ben)* 三生影像 (增订本) [*Three Lives (Updated Edition)*]. Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian 生活·读书·新知三联书店, 2012.

¹²⁶ Belgrade by then belonged to Yugoslavia, but now belongs to Serbia. This convention somehow precludes the diasporic condition of the city and its people.

a kind of involuntary exile (Lee, “On the Margins” 212).¹²⁷ *Liuwang*, which can be rendered as “wandering in escape,” is often found in “the circumstances of war or famine, connoting almost the fate of a refugee” (Lee, “On the Margins” 212). This was a common human condition for Chinese people impacted by wars during the first half of the twentieth century. Therefore, the keywords to define Nieh’s life experience can be mobility, wandering, displacement, exile, or diaspora.

In this chapter, I will explore the literary representation of Nieh’s experience in displacement within China as a refugee (*liuwang*) student during the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression or the Second Sino-Japanese War, and how this representation is related to her later experience of mobility beyond China. Through writing, she not only remembers her war experience, but also re-members or reconstructs it. I do not mean to essentialize the uniqueness of her war memory as a refugee student; instead, my goal is to add to the diversity of war memories so as to expand its scope beyond memories of the battlefield to include memories about daily life.

I will start the chapter by discussing the definition of refugee students in the context of the war and how this image has been adopted by writers both during the war and in the postwar period. While representations of refugee students may be included in the nationalist discourse of fighting against the Japanese aggression, I will inquire into the (in)commensurability of female refugee students’ experience in the nationalist narrative of the war through the depiction of female sexuality and intimacy. Through her exploration of

¹²⁷ Lee, Leo Ou-fan. “On the Margins of the Chinese Discourse: Some Personal Thoughts on the Cultural Meaning of the Periphery.” *Daedalus*, vol. 120, no. 2, The MIT Press, 1991, pp. 207-26.

female subjectivity, sexuality, and intimacy in her literary works, Nieh creates a feminist discourse about refugee students which questions and even challenges nationalist understandings of war remembrance.

A. Experience and Representation of Refugee Students

In the 1930s and 1940s, there were three waves of refugee students in China, according to Wang Dingjun (王鼎鈞) (1925–), a prominent writer in the Chinese-speaking world and a refugee student during the Second Sino-Japanese War. First, youths from Northeastern China left Manchuria due to the Mukden Incident on September 18, 1931; second, youths from coastal provinces escaped to inland areas due to the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937; and third, youths escaped outside of the Chinese mainland due to the Chinese Civil War (Wang, *Numu shaonian* 19).¹²⁸ The three waves were related to each other and drove youths to displacement.

My focus is on the second wave, since that is the wave to which Nieh Hualing belongs. Because Nieh's home in Hankou was in the Japanese concession, she became a victim of discrimination by foreigners in her homeland. After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in 1937, which symbolizes the start of a full-fledged war between China and Japan, the Japanese expatriates all retreated in early August from the Japanese concession in Hankou (Nieh, *Sansheng yingxiang* 72). In August 1938, her family was forced to leave home to live in exile within China due to the Battle of Wuhan, with constant air raids in Hankou and

¹²⁸ Wang, Dingjun 王鼎鈞. *Numu shaonian* 怒目少年 [Youth with Glaring Eyes]. Erya chubanshe 爾雅出版社, 2005.

approaching Japanese troops (Nieh, *Sansheng yingxiang* 73). This can be seen as an internal displacement.

Wang further explains “refugee students” in the second wave as youths who refused to go to Japanese-run schools in the Japanese occupied areas, escaped to the Chinese home front, and attended refugee schools set up by the Nationalist government (Wang, *Shanli shanwai* 1; Wang, *Guanshan duolu* 3).¹²⁹ These refugee schools were usually free of charge and the Nationalist government offered the students loans to maintain their lives (Wang, *Guanshan duolu* 3). “Refugee students” during the second wave were part of the nationwide refugee flights after the outbreak of full-fledged war between China and Japan (Spence 445; Lary 16), which can be regarded as “the greatest forced migration in Chinese history” (MacKinnon 46-49).¹³⁰

While some refugees’ voices were lost or forgotten in history, others persist in the forms of oral history and (auto)biographical writings. There are novels, poems, reportages, biographies, autobiographies, and memoirs. These writings inscribe the group of “refugee students” who wrote during the war, or after the war in remembrance of their war experience. Some examples include Mu Dan’s¹³¹ (穆旦) (1918–1977) poem *Lyric in the Air*

¹²⁹ Wang, Dingjun 王鼎钧. *Shanli shanwai* 山里山外 [In and Outside Mountains]. Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian 生活·读书·新知三联书店, 2013. Wang, Dingjun 王鼎钧. *Guanshan duolu* 關山奪路 [Seizing Path along Passes and Mountains]. Erya chubanshe 爾雅出版社, 2005.

¹³⁰ Due to the “inadequacy of aggregate figures,” it is hard to know the exact number of refugees during the war (MacKinnon 50). The number during the first six months amounts to millions of refugees and the total number during the war ranges from millions to hundreds of millions (MacKinnon 47).

¹³¹ This is his well-known pen name. His real name is Zha Liangzheng.

Raid Shelter (*Fangkongdong li de shuqing shi* 防空洞里的抒情诗) (1939) and Wu Danian's (吴大年) (1925–) *Self-Narrative of Little Refugee* (*Xiao nanmin zishu* 小难民自述) (1941), written during wartime (Shen 33).¹³² In addition, there were more writings published after the war. Lu Qiao's¹³³ (鹿桥) (1919–2002) novel *Song Never to End*¹³⁴ (*Weiyang ge* 未央歌) (1959) and Zong Pu's¹³⁵ (宗璞) (1928–) novel *Heading South* (*Nandu ji* 南渡记) (1988) focus on refugee students in the National Southwestern Associated University in Kunming; Wang Dingjun's *Youth with Glaring Eyes* (*Numu shaonian* 怒目少年) (1995), which is one volume of his autobiographical tetralogy, and Chi Pang-yuan's (齐邦媛) (1924–) memoir, *The Great Flowing River* (*Juliu he* 巨流河) (2010) focus more on their life experience and remembrances as refugee students (Shen 33). Nieh is also part of the last category, writing both novels and autobiographies about her life experience and remembrance as a refugee student.

These students were usually “patriotic youth” (*aiguo qingnian* 爱国青年) (Wang, *Guanshan duolu* 3). In the minds of refugee students, their homes were merely temporarily occupied by the Japanese troops; they cherished the faith that Chinese people would take the lost land back one day, even though many other young people were hopeless and even

¹³² Shen, Weiwei 沈卫威. “‘Liuwang xuesheng’ Qi Bangyuan, Wang Dingjun dui lishi de jianzheng ‘流亡学生’齐邦媛、王鼎钧对历史的见证 [Refugee Students Qi Bangyuan, Wang Dingjun Witnessing History].” *Dushu* 读书, no. 10, 2018, pp. 32-40.

¹³³ This is his pen name. His real name is Nelson Ikon Wu.

¹³⁴ This work was written between 1944 and 1945.

¹³⁵ This is her pen name. Her real name is Feng Zhongpu.

committed suicide. It was a time of both hope and desperation. This hope during the desperate time is most clearly shown by the fact that refugee students were usually wholeheartedly devoted to resistance against Japanese aggression through joining the battles and/or through engaging in artistic and cultural activities to publicize anti-Japanese ideologies. Nieh mentions these activities frequently in her works, such as singing patriotic songs, performing patriotic dramas, and volunteering to support the daily lives of ordinary people during wartime. Therefore, these works advocate patriotic idealism.

While “patriotic” is widely used to describe this large group of refugee students, it is also important to recognize “refugee students” as an existential category. They were “the diasporic within the homeland” that insisted “on the impossible in times of extreme violence governed by the logic of bioethnic politics” (Yan 259).¹³⁶ Many refugee students have experienced a lot of foreign cultures, even once studying abroad in Japan, Europe, and the U.S. Since China and Japan were at war, they chose to prioritize the nationalist agenda. Even though they are diasporic in their homeland, they remain energetic and enthusiastic, constantly self-reflecting on difficult existential questions and navigating between an obvious ethnocentric nationalism and a seemingly impossible cosmopolitanism. If we see the refugee students as a synchronic concept during the war years, they are different from the present-day refugees because the latter comprises people who escaped the nation-state of origin due to extreme conditions.¹³⁷ While both kinds of refugees are usually involved in

¹³⁶ Yan, Haiping. “19. Other Cosmopolitans.” *Cosmopolitanisms*, edited by Bruce Robbins and Paulo Lemos Horta, New York UP, 2017, pp. 254-70.

¹³⁷ The definition of present-day refugees is based on the official website of the USA for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. For more information, see “What is a Refugee?.” USA for UNHCR, <https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/what-is-a-refugee/>. Accessed 21 January 2021.

involuntary displacement, the refugee students during the Second Sino-Japanese War in Nieh's works did not leave the Chinese land, and thus they were internally displaced refugees.

Yet the concept of "refugee students" becomes even more complicated if we consider them in a diachronic manner. In retrospect, the displacement caused by the Second Sino-Japanese War was temporary and some of the Chinese people were able to go back to their original homes if they were lucky enough to survive. However, the Chinese Civil War that followed the Second Sino-Japanese War turned the temporary displacement of some Chinese people into a perpetual one. Many of the refugee students continued reflecting on the war experience both in fictional and biographical genres after the two wars. This was the case with Lu Qiao, Wang Dingjun, Chi Pang-yuan, as well as Nieh Hualing. The continuous "diasporic displacement" (*liuli* 流离) was not only spatial, but also temporal, and that may explain the continued resonance of their war memories, which are narratable and inheritable after so many years (D. Yang 31, 35).¹³⁸

The double displacement of space and time furthers the tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Nieh's life experience follows this "diasporic displacement" since she was further displaced, moved to Taiwan and later to the US. In her writing, we can identify her identity crisis between being Chinese and being American. She reconciles the split by clinging to her Chinese culture and persisting in writing in Chinese language. This echoes Lee's concept of "Chinese cosmopolitanism" after struggling with his own identity crisis in

¹³⁸ Yang, Dominic Meng-Hsuan. *The Great Exodus from China: Trauma, Memory, and Identity in Modern Taiwan*. Cambridge UP, 2020.

the U.S. The concept of “Chinese cosmopolitanism” refers to “a fundamental intellectual commitment to Chinese culture and a multicultural receptivity, which effectively cuts across all conventional national boundaries,” and, by definition, is “a purposefully marginal discourse, intended to recontextualize the margins” (Lee, “On the Margins” 215). Nieh also acknowledges her in-betweenness and embraces such “marginal discourse” to foster a dialogue between two cultures. However, what is special about Nieh is that she pushes this tension further by dwelling upon the possibility of an alternative path through the lenses of gender and sexuality.

B. Nieh Hualing’s Representation of Refugee Students

Nieh has written three novels in her writing career, all of which are closely related to the figure of refugee student: *The Lost Golden Bell*, *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*, and *Far Away, A River*.

In *The Lost Golden Bell*, the female protagonist, Lingzi, is a refugee student who goes back to her mother’s hometown Sandouping,¹³⁹ after finishing high school education. This novel is based on Nieh’s own experience of escaping the war-torn Hankou. Her second novel, *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*, is composed of four parts taking place at four historical moments, including the Second Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese Civil War, the White Terror in Taiwan, and social movements in the U.S. opposing Americans’ involvement in the Vietnam War (1955–1975). The first part introduces the female

¹³⁹ Sandouping is a real toponym and Nieh’s mother has relatives there (Nieh, *Sansheng yingxiang* 74).

protagonist as a refugee student during the Second Sino-Japanese War, together with her lesbian friend as well as a nameless male refugee student on a boat. In her third and last novel, *Far Away, A River*, the female protagonist, Lian'er (Lotus), is the second generation of a refugee student. Lotus is also a biracial girl who travels from China to the U.S. to find her father. In the second part of the novel, she reaches a reconciliation with her mother because her mother shares her memories with Lotus as a refugee student during the Second Sino-Japanese war and an anti-war activist during the Chinese Civil War.

In this section, I will discuss the intimate relationship between two generations of women as mother and daughter in *The Lost Golden Bell* during the war and how they build up mutual trust with each other under the precarious condition, and then move to the mother-daughter relationship after the war in *Far Away, A River* and how they reconcile with each other by transmitting war memories. The transfer of war memory between different generations relates to Marianne Hirsch's conception of postmemory, which describes the memory transferred to the second generation of Holocaust survivors, but adds another possibility about the inheritance of the last generation's memory (Hirsch 106-107).¹⁴⁰ Finally, I will explore the intersection of sexuality and intimacy in *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*, and how the female protagonist subverts the heteronormative relationships in the war memories.

¹⁴⁰ Hirsch, Marianne. "The Generation of Postmemory." *Poetics Today*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2008, pp. 103-28.

1. Lingzi and Her Mother in *The Lost Golden Bell*

The Lost Golden Bell can be read as a bildungsroman of Lingzi among people around her by experiencing family love, friendship, and romantic love within several months in Sandouping (Ying 85).¹⁴¹ The novel is narrated from the perspective of the eighteen-year-old girl, Lingzi, who has graduated from high school and awaits the result of the college entrance exam in 1938 during the Second Sino-Japanese War.

The novel starts with the female protagonist waiting for her mother to pick herself up at the river dike of Sandouping.

Where is mom?

I stand on the river dike of Sandouping, holding a cross-stitch linen bag with the broken baggage besides me. Mom did not come to pick me up. When I boarded in Chongqing, it was full of dangers: air raids from the enemy planes, whitewater rapids, and those malicious gazes. I was not afraid of them at all. I left home the second year after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, and I was thirteen back then. Five years of life in exile cultivated my courage. However, when I

¹⁴¹ Lin Haiyin's (林海音) (1918-2001) *My Memories of Old Beijing* (*Chengnan jiushi* 城南旧事) (1960) and Xu Zhongpei's (徐钟珮) (1917-2006) *Lingering Sound* (*Yuyin* 余音) (1961) are also exemplars of autobiographical novels concerning women's growth at the same age in Taiwan (Ying 85). See Ying, Fenghuang 應鳳凰. "Nie hualing yanjiu zongshu 聶華苓研究綜述 [Literature Review on Nieh Hualing]." *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian* 23—*Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 131-46.

stand on the unfamiliar river dike and search for my mom, I cannot bear the lost and lonely feeling anymore.

妈妈在哪儿呢？

我站在三斗坪的河坝上，手里捉着麻布挑花口袋，脚边放着一捆破行李卷。妈妈并没来接我。我由重庆一上船，就是惊险重重：敌机的轰炸，急流险滩，还有那些不怀好意的眼睛。那一切我全不怕。七七事变第二年我就离开了家，那时我才十三岁。五年的流亡生活已锻炼出我的勇气。然而，当我站在那陌生的河坝上，四处寻找妈妈的时候，那迷失、落寞的感觉，我却不能忍受了。(Nieh, *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 1)¹⁴²

¹⁴² *The Lost Golden Bell* was first published in 1961 by Xuesheng shuju (學生書局) in Taiwan. There are three more versions published in Taiwan, 1964 by Wenxing shudian (文星書店), 1969 by Dalin chubanshe (大林出版社), and 1987 by Linbai chubanshe (林白出版社). The Wenxing version was reprinted for four times from 1964 to 1966. I am using the 1980 version published by Renmin wenxue chubanshe (人民文学出版社) in mainland China. I also refer to the Wenxing version because Nieh's essay "Am I the Heroine" (*Lingzi shi wo ma ling zi* 苓子是我嗎) is slightly different from that in the 1980 version. The English version of this essay is translated by Nieh herself and published by Heritage Press in Taiwan in 1962 with the same content as the 1964 version. See Nieh, Hualing 聶華苓. *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Xuesheng shuju 學生書局, 1961; Nieh, Hualing 聶華苓. *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Wenxing shudian 文星書店, 1964; Nieh, Hualing 聶華苓. *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Dalin chubanshe 大林出版社, 1969; Nieh, Hualing 聶華苓. *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Linbai chubanshe 林白出版社, 1987; Nieh, Hualing 聶華苓. *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文学出版社, 1980; Nieh, Hualing 聶華苓. "Lingzi shi wo ma 苓子是我嗎." *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文学出版社, 1980, pp. 205-09; Nieh, Hualing 聶華苓. "Lingzi shi wo ma 苓子是我嗎." *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Wenxing shudian 文星書店, 1964, pp. 233-39; Nieh, Hualing. "Am I the Heroine." *The Purse and Three Other Stories of Chinese Life*, The Heritage Press, 1962, pp. 87-95.

Her journey from the temporary capital, Chongqing, to the small town, Sandouping, takes place by the Yangtze River. She faces both natural and human-made dangers on the journey. Such a risky journey is typical of what refugee students went through during wartime. The ongoing war becomes the backdrop of the everyday life in Sandouping. The battle never takes central stage. It is hidden yet threatens everyone in the novel and forces them to escape. Everyone is affected by the war concerning their livelihood: refugees swarm into this town from the downstream regions of the Yangtze River, and more people are thinking about escaping to upstream cities like Chongqing. Lingzi and her mother are also considering the latter choice. In this first scene of the novel, even though she can bear the life in exile by herself, Lingzi still relies on her mother emotionally. She cannot help searching for her mother on the river dike. What makes her more emotional than the fear of facing the dangers along the journey is her reliance on her mother.

During the several months in Sandouping that covers the temporal scope, Lingzi forms a deeper bond with her mother after leaving her for five years. When she receives the news that she fails the examination, she is upset; at the same time, she is also worried that her mother would be even more upset. She recalls a teenager who committed suicide by jumping into the Jialing River, a tributary of the Yangtze River, because he failed the exam and did not have the guarantee for board and lodging (Nieh, *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 65). The teenager was also a refugee student whose family was in the Japanese occupied area. At that moment, Lingzi once again realizes the importance of family and the support of her mother. In such a chaotic moment, the person for Lingzi to hold onto is her mother. It is because of the war

that the connection between the mother and the daughter becomes even more precious and significant. Even if she fails the exam for now and may lose the support from the government grants to refugee students, Lingzi can still rely on her mother financially and emotionally.

When she first arrives at Sandouping, Lingzi feels lost and lonely while searching for her mother. She identifies herself as a refugee student and she is puzzled about her future. In the novel, she keeps questioning: who she is; what the meaning of life is; why human beings struggle to survive; and where she should go. Her daily life in Sandouping is the backdrop of all these existential questions. One night when she is sitting at the desk, she compares her two figures, one in the photo taken two years ago and the other in the mirror now.

There is a photo of mine on the desk, which is inserted at the back of the mirror. It is a photo that I sent to my mom two years ago from school. In the photo is the fluffy short hair, high forehead, upturned nose, and eyes looking ahead as if to penetrate something. “Rebellious eyes,” I recall Uncle Yinzhi’s saying. I turn to the other side of the photo, the opposite of which is a mirror. The eyes in the mirror are somewhat different. There is something in them, gentle and uncertain. Where did I get such eyes? Since I came to Sanxingzhai, I feel as if I am splitting from innocence and struggling in the fissure of personality—I am struggling to grow up. That is not the thing I could feel among the lively girls.

桌上有我一张照片，嵌在镜子背面，是两年前我由学校寄给妈妈的，齐耳蓬蓬的短发，高高微凸的额头，掀起的鼻孔，眼睛定定望着前面，仿佛要

望穿什么东西，“桀骜不驯的眼睛”，我想起了尹之舅舅的话。我将照片翻了过去，反面是一面镜子。镜中的眼睛却有些不同了，渗了点儿东西，几乎是柔和、飘忽的。我从哪儿得来这样的眼神呢？自从来到三星寨以后，我好像就由单纯中分裂，在个性的裂纹中挣扎——挣扎着成长，那不是我在一群啾啾的女孩子之中所能感受到的。(Nieh, *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 63)

She feels the change which arises from struggling to grow. As Nieh says in the essay “Am I the Heroine” in the 1980 version,

I did not feel like writing a simple love story. I wanted to write about the growing up of a girl. Growing up is a painful thing, a helpless struggle. (Nieh, “Am I the Heroine” 93)

我不想单单写那么一个爱情故事，我要写一个女孩子成长的过程。成长是一段庄严而痛苦的过程，是一场无可奈何的挣扎。(Nieh, 1980, “Lingzi shi wo ma” 207)

Even though it is a painful and helpless struggle, Lingzi is growing up with a strong desire of living. As a refugee student, she is not a victim of war; instead, she seems to have the agency to decide where she is heading to. At the end of the novel, she decides to go to Chongqing with her mother and her friend Yaya.

“Hey, watch out, Yaya! There is another big wave!” I hold her hand and look at the golden lights on the river. “Ah, amazing! Waves, winds, and sun, all amazing! I cannot wait to jump onto the ship!”

“What are you rushing for?” My mom said calmly. “There is no home anywhere we arrive at.”

“It’s even better, mom! So we can restart again.”

Mom gazes at me, searching for a while. There are joy, surprise, and a sense of melancholy in her eyes.

“Grown up! You’re really grown up!”

“喂，小心，丫丫！又来了个大浪！”我抓着她的手，看着江上万道金光。“啊，真好！浪、风、太阳，都好！我恨不得一脚就跳上那条船！”

“急什么？”妈妈平静地说。“到什么地方也没有自己的家。”

“这样才好，妈妈！我们可以从头开始。”

妈妈的眼睛盯在我脸上，搜索了一阵子，然后掠过一阵喜悦和惊异，还透着点儿忧郁。

“嗯，长大了，真的长大了！” (Nieh, *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 203-204)

In this dialogue, there is a clear contrast between Lingzi and her mother. While her mother complains about homelessness, Lingzi feels that going to Chongqing means the start of a new life. This signals the liveliness of a young girl as Lingzi even though the situation in China was so gloomy at that time. She is not immersed in the idea of home as her mother is because she still feels that there is a world out there to be explored. Fully embracing her

mobility, Lingzi is forward looking without indulging in the lost stable life. In her “Am I the Heroine,” Nieh says,

It’s impossible for you to resign yourself, actually. You have to live, even if you don’t live well. Furthermore, it seems to me that it is a most touching and solemn moment when one decides to go on his own way. (Nieh, “Am I the Heroine” 94)

你要消沉也不行，你非得活下去不可，雖然活得不好。而且，我覺得一個人在決定走自己的道路那一刻是人生中最重要、最動人的一刻。(Nieh, 1964, “Lingzi shi wo ma” 237)

In many ways, Nieh entrusts her hope and faith to Lingzi because *The Lost Golden Bell* was written at a time when the progressive journal *Free China* was shut down and her colleagues were put into jail by the Nationalist Government amid the White Terror in Taiwan in 1960 (Nieh, “Xiezai qianmian” 1).¹⁴³ Although *The Lost Golden Bell* was allowed to be published in 1961 amid strict censorship due to martial law in Taiwan, she could not express her indignation of martial law in this edition. It was not until 1980 when the novel was published in mainland China that she was able to explicitly recall this event and her emotions. In her essay “Am I the Heroine” written in November 1961, she also mentions that she was suffering from “a serious illness” during writing and “[t]he only thing I can

¹⁴³ Nieh, Hualing 聂华苓. “Xiezai qianmian 写在前面 [Foreword].” *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金铃子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文学出版社, 1980, p. 1.

grasp is the enjoyment of being alive and of writing honestly when I'm healthy" (Nieh, "Am I the Heroine" 94-95). It is not hard to connect her illness with this political event, even though she never says so. In her autobiography, she writes a section recalling September 4, 1960, when her colleagues were arrested by the police and her family turned into "an isolated island" with "police surveillance" (Nieh, *Sansheng yingxiang* 170). In this sense, the seemingly autobiographical figure, Lingzi, has to be enthusiastic and passionate for the sake of the author who is eager to live. Lingzi as a lively subject in the novel also transfers to the reality and inspires the author herself. The Second Sino-Japanese War is also juxtaposed with the White Terror in terms of its violent situation and the threats to human survival.

2. Lotus and Her Mother Liu Fenglian in *Far Away, A River*

Compared to the pure lively self of Lingzi, the female protagonist in *Far Away, A River*, who is a biracial woman named Lotus, shoulders more historical burden because of the split with her mother during the Cultural Revolution. On her trip to the U.S. in 1982, Lotus is in her thirties. Her father, Bill, is an American soldier and scholar. Her mother, Liu Fenglian, is a Chinese refugee student from the Second Sino-Japanese War who gradually turns into an anti-civil-war activist during the Chinese Civil War. Lotus's father and mother meet toward the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War. They get married during the Chinese Civil War when Bill is about to die due to an injury from the anti-civil-war student movement.

The novel is divided into three parts. The first and the third parts are set in 1982 when Lotus travels to the U.S. to search for her father's family in his hometown, Stone City, in Iowa. She encounters her grandparents, Old Brown and Mary, her cousin Billy, and other people living in this town including Dr. Lin, an immigrant and doctor who was born in

mainland China and educated in Taiwan. The novel covers three generations across two continents and the communication and the conflict among people from different cultural backgrounds.

My focus in this section is the second part of the novel, which describes the life experience of refugee students and explores how the memories of the refugee students are conveyed to the second generation. This part consists of seventeen letters from Lotus's mother to Lotus. The letters mainly recall Fenglian's memories in Chongqing, Hankou, and Nanjing during the two wars in China between 1944 and 1949. Similar to what Lingzi has experienced during the war, there is the threat to her survival and the shortage of food, but there is also the excitement of freedom from family and the strong nationalist sentiment to safeguard the country. Lotus also jots down notes in parentheses in the correspondence. It should be noticed that while Fenglian's past is shared between her and Lotus, the notes in parentheses narrated by Lotus are not sent back to Fenglian. In this sense, it is more like Lotus's confession to the readers. After knowing her mother's past, Lotus reaches a reconciliation with her mother through knowing her mother's memory as a refugee student during wartime.

Part of the reason why Lotus comes to the U.S. is that she wants to escape from her mother. The reasons behind this escape are twofold: one is that Lotus feels guilty of accusing her mother during the Cultural Revolution, the other is that Lotus is traumatized by her rape in the countryside during the Cultural Revolution as a sent-down youth (*zhiqing* 知青; the literal meaning is educated youth). A sent-down youth was a young person who was studying in the cities and sent to the countryside to live and work, either voluntarily or

coercively during the Cultural Revolution (Rene xi).¹⁴⁴ Lotus is considered the “lost generation” of the Cultural Revolution (Rene xi). She is also querying where her home is and where she should go henceforward. In the U.S., by interacting with Billy, she summons up the courage to write to her mother. Through sharing with Lotus her own memories during the tumultuous times of the two wars, Fenglian helps her daughter to be free from the mindset of escape. After meeting Dr. Lin, Lotus finally narrates her trauma for the first time, which I will analyze in Chapter Four. While being away from her mother, she feels the urge to go back home and accompany her mother. However, the novel ends with uncertainty of where she is going.

When Fenglian conveys her memories during the two wars, Lotus feels the resonance between them because she herself is inflicted by the Cultural Revolution. Lotus feels guilty facing her mother because she condemned her during the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, the first letter starts with the mutual confession.

I’ve loved you since you were born and will love you till my death. I need you to know this. (I also love you, mom, even when I cursed you as “anti-revolutionary” and “servile follower of the U.S. empire.”)

¹⁴⁴ Rene, Helena K. *China’s Sent-Down Generation: Public Administration and the Legacies of Mao’s Rustication Program*. Illustrated ed., Georgetown UP, 2013.

从你生下，我是爱你的，一直到我死——这一点，你必须知道。（我也爱你，妈妈，纵令在我骂你‘反革命’、‘美帝走狗’的时候。）(Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 119)¹⁴⁵

This sets the basic tone between mother and daughter who want to reconcile with each other. They also use terms from the Cultural Revolution to communicate, such as “rebel faction” (*zaofan pai* 造反派) (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 121, 123). They share the same sense of distrust and suspicion among people during the two wars and the Cultural Revolution. This distrust is also between mother and daughter. It is only after the Cultural Revolution that they can communicate with each other wholeheartedly.

We had various hinderances: the psychological hinderance, the generation gap, the historical hinderance—you do not know what kind of history I have been

¹⁴⁵ There are four Chinese versions of *Far Away, A River*, including 1984 by Sichuan renmin chubanshe (四川人民出版社) and by Sichuan wenyi chubanshe (四川文艺出版社), 1996 by Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe (河北教育出版社), and 1985 by Sanlian shudian (三聯書店) in Hong Kong. Since the content of the novel does not change, I choose the version by Sichuan wenyi chubanshe due to availability. There is a partial English version of the novel written by Nieh. See Nieh Hualing 聂华苓. *Qianshanwai, shuichangliu* 千山外，水长流 [Far Away, A River]. Sichuan renmin chubanshe 四川人民出版社, 1984; Nieh Hualing 聂华苓. *Qianshanwai, shuichangliu* 千山外，水长流 [Far Away, A River]. Sichuan wenyi chubanshe 四川文艺出版社, 1984; Nieh Hualing 聂华苓. *Qianshanwai, shuichangliu* 千山外，水长流 [Far Away, A River]. Sanlian shudian 三聯書店, 1985; Nieh Hualing 聂华苓. *Qianshanwai, shuichangliu* 千山外，水长流 [Far Away, A River]. Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe 河北教育出版社, 1996; Nieh Hualing. “Young Father, Where Are You?.” *The World Comes to Iowa: Iowa International Anthology*, edited by Paul Engle, Rowena Torrevillas, and Hualing Nieh Engle. Iowa State UP, 1987, pp. 248-57.

through. In addition, human-made hinderance, which is the most dreadful one. One does not trust the other, even between mother and daughter. Now, I can tell you all of them as long as you would like to hear. (Mom, what I gain the most after coming to the Stone City is that I can hear your heart-to-heart talk. After your talk, I also want to show you my “heart.”)

我们之间以前的确有各种不同的障碍：心理障碍，代沟障碍，历史障碍——你不懂我是从什么样的一段历史中生活过来的。还有，人为的障碍，那才是最可怕的障碍，人不信任人，连母女也不信任了。现在，我可以向你全盘吐出，只要你爱听。（妈妈，我到石头城来最大的收获，就是可以听你谈“心”了。你谈完了，我也要向你交“心”。） (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 136)

For Lotus, she never knew anything about her mother’s past until it was revealed during the Cultural Revolution; and influenced by the social atmosphere during the Cultural Revolution, she turned against her mother. This becomes her guilt. However, Lotus was also a victim of the Cultural Revolution because she was raped as a sent-down youth. Lotus even compares herself with the Shen Chong (沈崇) case, when her mother mentions it, by saying Shen was luckier than her. Shen Chong was a Peking University student who was allegedly raped by soldiers of the United States Marine Corps during the Chinese Civil War in 1946, and due to insufficient evidence, the verdict was overturned by the U.S. Department of Navy.

Although she was raped by American soldiers, she woke up the ethnic consciousness of Chinese people, which generated patriotic movements around the country. Your daughter was raped by several shadows. Mom! Who would protest for me? Whom should I protest to? Even if there is a protest, where should I find the criminals? The ones that raped your daughter are shadows in different shapes!

她虽被美军强奸，却唤醒了中国人的民族意识，掀起全国各地的爱国运动。你的女儿却是被好几个黑影子奸污了。妈妈！谁为我抗议？向谁抗议？即令抗议，到哪儿去找罪魁祸首？奸污你女儿的，是各种不同人形的黑影子啊！（Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 170）

Fenglian's narration about the Shen Chong case disturbs Lotus and somehow becomes an opportunity for Lotus to process her own traumatic memories. On the one hand, this can be seen as Lotus's catharsis when she is later able to narrate the trauma with Dr. Lin. On the other hand, this contrast between Shen and herself is problematic as if Shen as a woman is once again appropriated to be the symbol of the nation without any agency, and this contrast is narrated by a fellow woman.

In their communication, Lotus is willing to hear more from her mother. Lotus compares her own traumatic memories in the Cultural Revolution with her mother's trauma and resistance during the two wars. This is different from Marianne Hirsch's generation of postmemory with the traumatic memories of Holocaust, in which the second generation is usually overwhelmed by their parents' traumas and their own memories are displaced by their parents' memories (Hirsch 106-107). In contrast, Lotus not only takes this opportunity

to process her own traumatic memories, but also feels reconnected with her family and the nation.

Now I gradually understand the history of my father and mother and the history of your generation. National history is a big tree with twisted roots and intricate gnarls; personal histories are the branches. I am not adrift, but a leaf on the branch, which will fall but grow again. Mom, thank you for telling me your past.

现在我才逐渐了解爸爸妈妈的历史，也了解了你那个时代的历史。国家历史是棵盘根错节的大树，个人历史是树上的枝干。我不是浮萍；我是枝干上的一片叶子——落下又会长出的叶子。妈妈，谢谢你对我谈你的过去。

(Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 185)

Mom, thank you! Knowing the history of the “family”, I belong to that “family”; knowing the history of the “country”, I belong to that “country.”

妈妈，谢谢你！知道了“家”史，我就是属于那个“家”的；知道了“国”史，我就是属于那个“国”的。(Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 257)

For Lotus, she feels a sense of belonging and recognition through knowing the national and personal histories from her mother. Even though Nieh calls it “history,” it is also what Jan Assmann calls the “communicative memory” between the two generations.

Communicative memory “lives in everyday interaction and communication [with] the affective ties that bind *together* families, groups, and generations” (111). Such memory collects and accrues directly from communication between people. In the Chinese scholarship, Lotus’s confession is read in an allegorical way as the young generation striving for the rise of China (Li, “Dinü que” 538).¹⁴⁶ The love relationship between Fenglian and Bill is also seen allegorically as the symbol between the friendly Sino-U.S. relationship (Li, “Dinü que” 541) and the bridge between two cultures and nations (Xiao, “Nie hualing” 560).¹⁴⁷ After all these years of reflection, Nieh is still obsessed with Chineseness, but her recognition is not about any “ideology,” but the “Chinese history, Chinese culture, Chinese landscape, and Chinese people” (Q. Yang 143).¹⁴⁸ Nieh feels that the mainland is “a

¹⁴⁶ Li, Kailing 李恺玲. “‘Dinü que’ de ge——ping nie hualing xinzuo qianshanwai, shuichangliu ‘帝女雀’的歌——评聂华苓新作《千山外，水长流》 [Jingwei’s Song: Discussing Nieh Hualing’s New Work *Far Away, A River*].” *Zhongguo dangdai wenxue yanjiu ziliao congshu nie hualing yanjiu zhuanji* 中国当代文学研究资料丛书 聂华苓研究专集 [Chinese Contemporary Literature Research Materials Series: Research Collection of Nie Hualing], edited by Li Kailing and Chen Zongshu 谌宗恕, Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 湖北教育出版社, 1990, pp. 535-50.

¹⁴⁷ Xiao, Qian 萧乾. “Nie hualing de lishigan——qianshanwai, shuichangliu duhou 聂华苓的历史感——《千山外，水长流》读后 [The Historical Consciousness of Nieh Hualing: After Reading *Far Away, A River*].” *Zhongguo dangdai wenxue yanjiu ziliao congshu nie hualing yanjiu zhuanji* 中国当代文学研究资料丛书 聂华苓研究专集 [Chinese Contemporary Literature Research Materials Series: Research Collection of Nie Hualing], edited by Li Kailing and Chen Zongshu 谌宗恕, Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 湖北教育出版社, 1990, pp. 558-60.

¹⁴⁸ Yang, Qingchu 楊青矗. “Bushu guxiang de guxiang——fang baoluo ange’er he nie hualing 不是故鄉的故鄉——訪保羅·安格爾和聶華苓 [The Hometown That Is Not Hometown: Interviewing Paul Engle and Nieh Hualing].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 83-96.

hometown that is not mine” (Q. Yang 142). In a sense, *Far Away, A River* can be read as a return to her Chineseness, but this return carries traumatic memories and reconciliation.

3. Sexuality of Refugee Students in *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*

Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China presents a radical image that is different from the more common images of female refugee students, such as the pure girl struggling within China during the war in *The Lost Golden Bell*, and the biracial woman’s obsession with China and return to Chineseness in *Far Away, A River*. One of the most important issues in the first part of *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China* is the sexuality of the refugee students, which is no longer suppressed by military violence or nationalist sentiment. Instead, the female protagonist uses her body and sexuality as a tool to explore the breaking national and gender boundaries.

Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China was written during the first few years following the author’s move to the U.S. in the early 1970s (Nieh, “Sangqing” 271).¹⁴⁹ By keeping a physical and mental distance from the two Chinas (the People’s Republic of China, or mainland China, and the Republic of China, or Taiwan), Nieh offers the female protagonist the mobility and the diasporic perspective to reflect on her life experience and turn herself into a “Chinese cosmopolitan.”

The novel is divided into four parts in the form of letters written by Peach to the U.S. Immigration Service with Mulberry’s notebooks attached to the letters. Each of the four notebooks shows a fragment of twentieth-century history. As the story develops, it emerges

¹⁴⁹ Nieh, Hualing. “Sangqing yu taohong liufang xiaoji 桑青與桃紅流放小記 [Diasporic Record of Mulberry and Peach].” *Sangqing yu taohong 桑青與桃紅 [Mulberry and Peach]*, Shibao wenhua chubansh 時報文化出版, 1997, pp. 271-73.

that Mulberry and Peach are the same woman who suffers from schizophrenia due to her traumatic experience in mainland China and Taiwan. In her life, she tries to escape from the traumatic memories of her family, the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Civil War in mainland China, the White Terror in Taiwan, and the complicated situation as a female Chinese immigrant in the United States. That is why Peach refuses to be recognized as Mulberry and tries to get rid of the memories of Mulberry by recalling and narrating them to the immigration officer. Mulberry/Peach experiences the transformation from a girl born in a traditional Chinese family to a “promiscuous” woman who maintains several sexual relationships with different men in the U.S. At the end of the novel, she escapes from a psychiatric hospital by staging a car accident.¹⁵⁰ Peach is able to resist oppression “by employing madness as a force” (FitzGerald 67).¹⁵¹

Due to the fragmented and provocative nature of the novel and the changing sociopolitical situation in mainland China, Taiwan, and the U.S., *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China* had a complicated history of publication and criticism. It has been regarded as a classic of Chinese literature, Taiwan literature, and Asian American literature. Its English translation won the National Book Awards in the U.S. in 1990. However, when it was first serialized in the *United Daily News* (a newspaper published in Taiwan) in the 1970s, the novel was censored by the Nationalist Government in Taiwan. The first complete

¹⁵⁰ Based on the dates of the fourth letter and the fourth notebook, she wrote the letter to the Immigration Service on March 21, 1970, after she escaped from the hospital in January 1970 (Nieh 159-160).

¹⁵¹ FitzGerald, Carolyn. “‘Diary of a Madwoman’ Traversing the Diaspora: Rewriting Lu Xun in Hualing Nieh’s ‘Mulberry and Peach.’” *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, vol. 26, no. 2, 2014, pp. 38-88.

publication in Chinese appeared in Hong Kong in 1976 and it was not until 1988 that the first complete edition was published in Taiwan.¹⁵² One reason why this novel was censored is that Nieh alluded to the White Terror in the third part of the novel (Xiao, “Hubei ren” 187).¹⁵³ Another possible reason is that she was translating Mao Zedong’s poetry with her husband, Paul Engle, at that time, which made her blacklisted by the Nationalist Government (Zhu 219).¹⁵⁴ Thus, the publication history of the novel was fully “political” (Lee, “Chonghua” 298).¹⁵⁵ When it was first published in mainland China in 1980, the fourth part of the novel was deleted because it was too “obscene” (Pai, “Shijixing” 293).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² The 1976 version was published by Youlian chubanshe (友聯出版社) in Hong Kong. Huayi wenhua gongsi (華藝文化公司) and Xinjiapo qingnian shuju (新加坡青年書局) published two more versions in Hong Kong in 1986 and 2009, respectively. The 1988 version was published by Hanyi seyan wenhua gongsi (漢藝色研文化公司) in Taiwan. Shibao wenhua chuban gongsi (時報文化出版公司) published two more versions in Taiwan in 1997 and 2020, respectively.

¹⁵³ Xiao, Qian 蕭乾. “Hubei ren nie hualing 湖北人聂华苓 [Nieh Hualing from Hubei].” *Sangqing yu taohong* 桑青与桃红, by Nieh Hualing 聂华苓, Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe 中国青年出版社, 1980, pp. 183-90.

¹⁵⁴ Zhu, Jiawen 朱嘉雯. “Han you younv——nie hualing 漢有遊女—聶華苓 [By the Han Are Girls Rambling About—Nieh Hualing].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 209-26.

¹⁵⁵ Lee, Ou-fan Leo 李歐梵. “Chonghua sangqing yu taohong de ditu 重劃《桑青與桃紅》的地圖 [Redrawing the Map of *Mulberry and Peach*].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 297-300.

¹⁵⁶ See Pai, Hsien-yung 白先勇. “Shijixing de piaobozhe——chongdu sangqing yu taohong 世紀性的漂泊者——重讀《桑青與桃紅》 [Wanderer across the Century:

Similar to its publication history, its critical history of criticism has also undergone significant changes from reading as a national allegory to a diasporic and feminist reading. When it was first published in 1976, Pai Hsien-yung emphasized the allegorical reading of the novel—“a fable of the tragic state of modern China”—rather than the personal history of a nymphomaniac like Mulberry/Peach (Pai, “The Wandering Chinese” 210).¹⁵⁷ Leo Ou-fan Lee departs from Pai’s allegorical reading and argues that the novel deconstructs “the master narrative of modern Chinese history” and renews the figuration of “a self-exiled Chinese on the peripheries” (Lee, “On the Margins” 216). This deconstruction of Chineseness points to what Sau-Ling C. Wong promotes as the Asian American approach of reading the novel (Wong 146).¹⁵⁸ It also echoes the changing interpretation by Nieh Hualing herself from

Rereading *Mulberry and Peach*].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 291-96.

The first complete edition in mainland China was published in 1990 by Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe (春风文艺出版社). Before that, the first version in mainland China was published by Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe (中国青年出版社) in 1980. After 1990, there were two more versions published in mainland China: one was by Huaxia chubanshe (华夏出版社) in 1996 and the other was by Beiyue wenyi chubanshe (北岳文艺出版社) in 2004. See Nieh, Hualing 聂华苓. *Sangqing yu taohong* 桑青与桃红 [Mulberry and Peach]. Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe 春风文艺出版社, 1990; Nieh, Hualing 聂华苓. *Sangqing yu taohong* 桑青与桃红 [Mulberry and Peach]. Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe 中国青年出版社, 1980; Nieh, Hualing 聂华苓. *Sangqing yu taohong* 桑青与桃红 [Mulberry and Peach]. Huaxia chubanshe 华夏出版社, 1996; Nieh, Hualing 聂华苓. *Sangqing yu taohong* 桑青与桃红 [Mulberry and Peach]. Beiyue wenyi chubanshe 北岳文艺出版社, 2004.

¹⁵⁷ Pai, Hsien-Yung. “The Wandering Chinese: The Theme of Exile in Taiwan Fiction.” *The Iowa Review*, vol. 7, no. 2, Apr. 1976, pp. 205-12.

¹⁵⁸ Wong, Sau-Ling C. “The Stakes of Textual Border-Crossing: Hualing Nieh’s *Mulberry and Peach* in Sinocentric, Asian American, and Feminist Critical Practices.” *Orientations: Mapping Studies in the Asian Diaspora*, edited by Kandice Chuh and Karen Shimakawa, Duke UP, 2001, pp. 130-52.

centering on China to highlighting “universality” and “the human condition” (Wong 148). Wong concludes by emphasizing the “protean career” of the novel with “historical situatedness” (Wong 148). Similarly, Guo Shuya goes back to the female protagonist and argues that the major character’s sexual enjoyment and her resistance against any rules represent her break with the collective memories of the patriarchal Chinese tradition because she is not searching for a national identity but overthrows it. For the female protagonist, she—as an individual—is the “subject” and “the nation is the ‘other’” (Guo 309).¹⁵⁹ More recently, Carolyn FitzGerald combines the allegorical and Asian American ways of reading and adopts “a multifaceted approach”: “[a]n allegorical approach alone is inadequate in examining the novel’s richness and complexity; at the same time, celebrating Mulberry and Peach as multicultural and subversive fails to address the disturbing autoethnography prevalent throughout this work” (FitzGerald 78). She thinks of the end of the novel as a “rebirth,” both a “reconnection to cultural roots” and “a yearning for new life in a schizophrenic world torn by the madness of war and violence” (FitzGerald 79).

As Kirk Denton writes in his review of Nieh’s *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*: “is Nieh Hualing a Chinese writer, a Taiwanese writer, or an overseas Chinese writer?”, this novel is “the literature of exile which is based on a paradox: the longing for freedom from one’s past and the psychological need to define one’s self in terms of that

¹⁵⁹ Guo, Shuya 郭淑雅. “‘Sang’qing yu ‘tao’hong?—shilun nie hualing sangqing yu taohong/guozu rentong ‘喪’青與‘逃’紅? —試論聶華苓《桑青與桃紅》/國族認同 [‘Lost’ Mulberry and ‘Escaped’ Peach?—Discussion on Nieh Hualing’s *Mulberry and Peach* and National Identity].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 301-18.

past” (Denton 137).¹⁶⁰ Nieh as a writer is struggling between freedom and recognition which can be seen from her changing positions in the three novels. Wong argues that the labels on Nieh put her in a position moving toward a center, but the novel itself is supposed to be deconstructive and protean (Wong 148). Chiu, comparatively, argues for the in-betweenness of Nieh’s novel. By using Cathy Caruth’s trauma theory, Chiu argues that the value of the novel lies in the “incomprehensibility” of the female protagonist in the novel who “never completely disappears, always an alien presence in her multiple absences” (Chiu 33).¹⁶¹

This long history of publication and criticism signals multiple interpretations of the novel and the possible rebirth of the female protagonist. While most of the scholars prefer to singling out this one novel and link it back to Nieh’s life experience of movements, in my reading, I would like to focus on the figures of the refugee students in the first part of the novel and read it in contrast with her other two novels. In my reading, following the diasporic and feminist approach of previous scholarship, I emphasize the sexuality of the refugee students in the first part of the novel to read how the female protagonist gradually liberates herself from the patriarchal family and ethnocentric nationalism, including Mulberry’s break from her patriarchal family and her involvement in a love (more accurately, sexual) triangle. The major character’s pursuit for sexual agency also frees her from the violence of the war, even temporarily.

¹⁶⁰ Denton, Kirk. Review of *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China* by Hualing Nieh. *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association*, vol. 24, no. 2, May 1989, pp. 135-38.

¹⁶¹ Chiu, Monica. “Trauma and Multiplicity in Nieh’s *Mulberry and Peach*.” *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, vol. 36, no. 3, Sept. 2003, pp. 19-35.

The writer situates the first part of the novel in the Qutang (or Chü-t'ang) Gorge along the Yangtze River, when the Second Sino-Japanese War was nearing its end between July 27 and August 10 in 1945. It starts with the female protagonist, Mulberry, and her lesbian friend Lao-Shih running away from home to Chongqing (or Chungking). They are both “students at the Provincial High School” (Nieh, *Mulberry and Peach* 16).¹⁶² According to Lao-Shih, Chongqing is a paradise for refugee students.

“Chungking, it’s huge city. The centre of the Resistance! What are you scared about? The hostel for refugee students will take care of our food, housing, school and a job. You can do whatever you want.” (Nieh, *Mulberry and Peach* 16)

“重庆！嘿！好大的城！抗战中心呀！怕什么？流亡学生招待所管吃管住，升学，找工作，爱干什么就干什么！” (Nieh, *Sangqing yu taohong* 18)¹⁶³

¹⁶² There are four English versions. The first one was published by New World Press in 1981 in China. The second one was published by The Women’s Press in 1986 in Great Britain. The third one was published by Beacon Press in the US in 1988. The fourth one was published by Feminist Press in the US in 1998. According to FitzGerald, the 1998 version is the most complete, therefore, I am using this version (FitzGerald 43). See Nieh, Hualing. *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*. Translated by Jane Parish Yang and Linda Lappin, New World Press, 1981; Nieh, Hualing. *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*. Translated by Jane Parish Yang and Linda Lappin, The Women’s Press, 1986; Nieh, Hualing. *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*. Translated by Jane Parish Yang and Linda Lappin, Beacon Press, 1988; Nieh, Hualing. *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*. Translated by Jane Parish Yang and Linda Lappin, Feminist Press, 1998.

¹⁶³ The version I am using was published in 1990 by Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe.

As the wartime capital, Chongqing signals freedom for Mulberry and Lao-Shih from their patriarchal families and the solitary condition. At the same time, the novel does not mention whether they reach Chongqing or not, which may signal that “resistance” against the Japanese aggression is not Mulberry’s major concern. Chongqing as a destination is not significant, but the trip on the move is. They board the boat to Chongqing with the other three major characters in this part, including the old man, Refugee Student,¹⁶⁴ and Peach-flower Woman. After boarding, the boat becomes stuck on the rocks along the Yangtze River. Although they encounter air raids by the Japanese troops and natural threats, most of the interactions are among the passengers, and they share with each other their wartime personal stories and family memories.

The first part of the novel symbolizes the first step that Mulberry takes to betray the rules controlling Chinese women. Mulberry stole the jade griffin when she ran away from home. The jade griffin is so precious to the patriarchal family because it is the bond of patrilineal inheritance, where only male children can inherit the jade. Her mother hit her when she touched it and even locked her up in the attic because she broke the jade. The figure of the mother here turns into an accomplice of the patriarchal family. Mulberry’s escape conjures the reminiscences of a notable female figure during the May Fourth Movement, Nora, the female protagonist who leaves her family at the end of the play, *A Doll’s House*, by Henrik Ibsen (FitzGerald 70). Nora became a famous figure in China in the context of discussions about Chinese women leaving the patriarchal family, because of Lu

¹⁶⁴ This is one character’s name in *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China* who is a nameless male refugee student.

Xun's speech "What Happens After Nora Walks Out" (Lu 256).¹⁶⁵ Lu Xun points out that if there is no social transformation there are "only two options" for Nora: "to fall into degradation or to return home" (Lu 257). Mulberry seems to have followed the first way, as many critics diagnose Mulberry/Peach as having "nymphomania" (Pai, "The Wandering Chinese" 210; Ye 202).¹⁶⁶ Even Nieh herself sympathizes with Mulberry in an interview by stating that she turns into a "sexual pervert" from "such a good girl" (Yao 160).¹⁶⁷ However, the fragmented nature of the novel leaves it open to different interpretations. Instead of reading it as degradation, we can also read it as liberation.

One of the exemplary plots to showcase the divergent interpretations and my reading of Mulberry's experience as liberation is the sexual intercourse that takes place between Mulberry and Refugee Student. While Yu-Fang Cho reads the sexual intercourse as "sexual assault," which "dramatizes Chinese male aggression" (Cho 171-72),¹⁶⁸ Zhou Fenling

¹⁶⁵ Lu, Xun. *Jottings Under Lamplight*. Edited by Eileen J. Cheng and Kirk A. Denton, illustrated ed., Harvard UP, 2017.

¹⁶⁶ Ye, Shitao 葉石濤. "Nie hualing de fuhuo 聶華苓的復活 [Nieh Hualing's Resurrection]." *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 201-02.

¹⁶⁷ Yao, Jiawei 姚嘉為. "Fangyan shijie wenxue xin: zhuanfang nie hualing 放眼世界文學心——專訪聶華苓 [Looking at the Heart of World Literature: Interview with Nieh Hualing]." *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 153-63.

¹⁶⁸ Cho, Yu-Fang. "Rewriting Exile, Remapping Empire, Re-Membering Home: Hualing Nieh's *Mulberry and Peach*." *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*, vol. 5, Oct. 2004, pp. 157-200.

interprets it as Mulberry's "erotic journey" and "sexual enlightenment" (Zhou 341).¹⁶⁹ Indeed, they are confined in a boat, but the escape is through the "sexual carnival" (Zhou 341). Before they board the boat, Mulberry feels sexually attracted to Refugee Student. Nieh offers here a highly graphic internal monologue:

He's just escaped from the area occupied by the Japanese. When he gets to Chungking, he wants to join the army and fight the Japanese. He is barechested, showing off his sun-tanned muscular chest. This is the first time we've ever spoken. But I dreamed about him. I dreamed I had a baby and he was the father. When I woke up my nipples itched. A baby sucking at my nipples would probably make them itch like that, itch so much that I'd want someone to bite them. I had another dream about him. It was by the river. A torch was lit, lighting the way for a bridal sedan to be carried up the narrow steps. The sedan stopped under my window. I ran out and lifted up the curtain and he was sitting inside. I told that dream to Lao-shih. She burst out laughing and then suddenly stopped. She said that if you dream of someone riding in a sedan chair, that person will die. A sedan chair symbolises a coffin. I said, damn it, we shouldn't go on the ship with him

¹⁶⁹ Zhou, Fenling 周芬伶. "Yimin nv zuojia de kun yu tao——zhang ailing fuhua langrui yu nie hualing sangqing yu taohong de lisan 移民女作家的困與逃——張愛玲〈浮花浪蕊〉與聶華苓《桑青與桃紅》的離散書寫與空間隱喻 [The Trapped and Escaped Immigrant Female Writers——Diasporic Writing and Space Metaphor of Zhang Ailing's "Floating Flowers" and Nieh Hualing's *Mulberry and Peach*]." *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian* 23—*Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 333-54.

through the dangerous Chü-t'ang Gorge if he is going to die! (Nieh, *Mulberry and Peach* 21)

他刚从沦陷区跑出来，和我们一道在巫山搭上木船，要到重庆参加远征军。他和船夫纤夫一样打着赤膊，亮出他又黑又壮的胸膛。我们还没有谈过话，我却梦见过他：我梦见我生了个孩子，他就是孩子的爸爸。我醒来的时候两个奶头还是痒痒的，孩子吮着奶头大概就是那样子痒法，痒得要人把奶头吮一下。我又梦见过他一次：江边一簇火把亮了，照着一顶花轿在笔直的石梯子上抬上来。花轿在我窗前停下来了。我跑出去掀起花轿的门帘子，坐在里面的竟是流亡学生！我把那梦讲给老史听，她笑了一阵，突然停住了。她说梦人坐轿，人就会死，轿子就是棺材。我说糟了，我们还要和他一同坐船过瞿塘呢。(Nieh, *Sangqing yu taohong* 24)

From Mulberry's perspective, Refugee Student's physical features arouses sexual desires in her. Mulberry's sensual pleasure of the itchiness of the nipples comes from daydreaming about Refugee Student. For the second dream, there is a somewhat unexpected twist because the person sitting in the bridal sedan is Refugee Student and the person to lift the curtain is Mulberry. According to the traditions, it is usually the opposite: the bride is the one to sit in the bridal sedan and the bridegroom is the one to lift the curtain. This twist can also be read as Mulberry's first step of self-awakening to control her destiny and sexuality. What is even more intriguing is the way Lao-Shih interprets Mulberry's dream. She offers a dreadful interpretation of Mulberry's second dream as if she is jealous of Refugee Student.

The reason why I read it this way is because there is a clear description of Lao-Shih as Mulberry's "lesbian friend" in the English translation (Nieh, *Mulberry and Peach* 15). In the original Chinese version, Mulberry and Lao-Shih's running away from home is described as "elopement" (*siben* 私奔) (Nieh, *Sangqing yu taohong* 18); Refugee Student also described the two as "little couple" (*xiaoliangkou* 小两口) (Nieh, *Sangqing yu taohong* 24).¹⁷⁰ Lao-Shih acts as the guardian of Mulberry and she takes the lead in deciding where to go next. In this sense, Mulberry's change of affection makes Lao-Shih unpleasant toward Refugee Student.

The next interaction between Mulberry and Refugee Student is when Refugee Student protects Mulberry by hiding her under him.

Suddenly Refugee Student shoves me to the floor and sprawls on top of me.

A minute ago, we were standing in the aisle. Now our bodies are pressing against each other. He is bare-chested and I can smell the odor of his armpits. Lao-shih's armpits smell the same way, that smell of flesh mixed with sweat, but smelling it on his body makes my heart pound. I can even feel the hair under his arms. No wonder Mother likes hairy men; I heard her say that once when I was walking by her door. The thick black hair (it must be black) under his arms tickles me. I'm not even scared of the Japanese bombers anymore. (Nieh, *Mulberry and Peach* 32)

¹⁷⁰ In the English translation, *siben* is translated as "ran away together" (Nieh, *Mulberry and Peach* 16) and *xiaoliangkou* is translated as "you two" (Nieh, *Mulberry and Peach* 21), both of which lost the original indications of Mulberry and Lao-Shih as a couple, whether jokingly or seriously.

流亡学生把我一把扳在地上，趴在我身上。我和他本来都站在走道上。

我们身子贴着身子。他打着赤膊。我闻着他胳肢窝的体气。老史的胳肢窝也是那样的气味——膻气加上汗气，但从他身上发出来就叫人心跳。我也感觉到他胳肢窝的毛。难怪妈妈喜欢有毛的男人——我从她房门外面走过见过的。流亡学生胳肢窝里一大丛黑毛（我想一定是黑的！）搔在我臂膀上，日本飞机我也不怕了。（Nieh, *Sangqing yu taohong* 38）

At this moment, Mulberry's body is close to that of Refugee Student. She is again sexually aroused by Refugee Student and this sexual attraction also makes her overcome the fear of the war, even just momentarily. At the same time, she also compares Lao-Shih and Refugee Student's odor, and she realizes that she has a crush on Refugee Student. She later compares the hair under Lao-Shih's arms with that of Refugee Student. Compared to Refugee Student's "thick black hair," Lao-Shih "has only a wisp of hair under her arm" (Nieh, *Mulberry and Peach* 32). In this sense, Refugee Student is more sexually attractive than Lao-Shih for Mulberry. Although there seems to be some homosexual relation between Mulberry and Lao-Shih, Mulberry chooses the heterosexual partner.

For several days aground, each passenger shares their wartime personal stories. Refugee Student betrays his father, who works for the Japanese. The old man survives the Nanjing Massacre and Chongqing Bombing (1938–1943). Peach-flower Woman is a child bride who helped the family she was married into to raise her husband from his childhood (*tongyangxi* 童养媳). Her husband has run away to Chongqing after growing up. She hears the rumor that her husband has had a love affair and is going to Chongqing to find her

husband with her baby. On the fifth day aground, after dreaming about eagles taking everyone away, which may symbolize everyone's escape from their destinies, Mulberry makes love with Refugee Student.

Refugee Student, bare-chested, is lying on the deck.

The gorge is black. He reaches up to me. I lie down on top of him. We don't say anything.

My virgin blood trickles down his legs. He wipes it off with spit. (Nieh, *Mulberry and Peach* 45)

流亡学生躺在甲板上，打着赤膊。

峡里很黑很黑。他的手向我伸出来。

我在他身上躺下去了。

我们没有说话。

他腿上沾着我的处女血。他吐了口唾沫擦掉了。(Nieh, *Sangqing yu taohong* 56)

Compared to the rich description of Mulberry's feelings in the previous contacts with Refugee Student, her first sexual intercourse with him is silent. It is understandable why Cho interprets this as "sexual assault" because Refugee Student takes the lead and there is no conversational consent. However, Mulberry later recalls this sexual experience, which is a mixed feeling of pleasure and pain. Therefore, it cannot be simply interpreted as "sexual assault."

I remember when he lay naked on the deck, his weight on my body, head hanging over my shoulder, my thighs wet and sticky. I'm still a little sore there. I couldn't stop caressing his body, like a rock in the sun, so smooth, warm, hard. So a man's body was that nice. I wished I could stroke him forever, but when he used all his strength to push into my body, it hurt. How could Peach-flower Woman sleep with her man every night? And even have a baby? I don't see how she could bear the pain. (Nieh, *Mulberry and Peach* 54)

我想起他在甲板上赤条条的样子：他压在我身上，头吊在我肩上；我腿上湿濡濡的，那儿还有点痛。我不住地摸他的身子，就象太阳里一块好石头，光光的，暖暖的，硬硬的。男人的身子原来那样好法！我希望那样子摸他一辈子！可是，他用力挤进我身子的时候，那滋味并不好受。桃花女居然天天晚上和他男人睡觉，还可以生出一个娃娃！不知道她是如何熬过来的？

(Nieh, *Sangqing yu taohong* 69)

The body touching with Refugee Student is pleasant for Mulberry, but she cannot bear the penetration as a sexually inexperienced girl. This sexual experience also irritates Lao-Shih. When they start gambling on the sixth day aground, Lao-Shih and Refugee Student are fighting for the ownership of Mulberry by putting her as the wager. Even though Lao-Shih did not witness the sexual intercourse, she somehow knows what has happened and pretends to ignore Mulberry. To cheer her up, Mulberry has seemingly homoerotic contact with Lao-Shih.

ahead, they are all in a carnival atmosphere. It is at this moment that they are told that the Japanese have surrendered, and the boat is able to move again. Even though they are displaced, they are performing vibrancy and opening up spaces for sexual exploration by moving beyond the rigid and heteronormative boundaries imposed by nation-states and regimented daily lives.

In this carnival, Refugee Student still holds onto his patriotism by critiquing the wrong deeds of the Nationalist Government and being eager to join the army and safeguard the country; at the same time, his love affair with Mulberry and his undisguised pursuit of sensual pleasure also loom large. The last depiction of Refugee Student in the first part, “still dressed as the flower drum girl, snatches up a drumstick and pounds on the drum,” is ambiguous (Nieh, *Mulberry and Peach* 56). It can be interpreted as a dramatic and patriotic scene, which is a typical presentation of refugee students (Li, “Nie hualing” 4).¹⁷¹ Along this line, the love affair is seen only as for the “need of the story” to catch readers’ attention (Li, “Nie hualing” 4). However, this interpretation still reads the story from a patriarchal and ethnocentric perspective and puts the male Refugee Student at the center. Noting that Refugee Student still wears women’s clothes due to a gambling loss, this scene betrays the male Refugee Student’s words and showcases his covert exploration of his own body and sexuality as well.

¹⁷¹ Li, Kailing 李恺玲. “Nie hualing qiren qizuo 聂华苓其人其作 [Biography and Works of Nieh Hualing].” *Zhongguo dangdai wenxue yanjiu ziliao congshu nie hualing yanjiu zhuanji* 中国当代文学研究资料丛书 聂华苓研究专集 [Chinese Contemporary Literature Research Materials Series: Research Collection of Nie Hualing], edited by Li Kailing and Chen Zongshu 谌宗恕, Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 湖北教育出版社, 1990, pp. 3-13.

Compared to the male Refugee Student, Mulberry discards nationalism and learns about sexuality in a precarious moment, moving ahead with it. Mulberry does not hide her sexual desire, and she openly explores it in order to be free of ethnocentric and gender boundaries. In this sense, this is an unusual depiction of refugee students that is starkly different from all the other depictions in Nieh's works. *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China* offers the readers such a radical image of refugee students breaking the temporal-spatial boundaries of the boat and wartime emergency by embracing her sexual agency. Her sexual pleasure under the war condition is clearly showing the possibility of transcending the conventional war narratives. This sexual agency plays a key role for her to recuperate from the trauma of her patriarchal family and the war situation, and later in the novel, her status in exile in the US.

In the afterword of the republication of *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China* in Taiwan, Nieh says, "my mother tongue is my root. China is my hometown. Iowa is my home" (Nieh, "Sangqing" 271). Because she wrote this novel in Iowa, she had more artistic freedom and agency and was free from taboos imposed by Chinese patriarchal, societal values. She also acknowledges her ambition when writing this novel, as it describes "the conditions of people, not just Chinese people" (Nieh, "Sangqing" 272). This ambition reveals that Nieh intends for the depiction of refugee students in *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China* to transcend the conventions of nationalist discourse and signify the tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. At the same time, the female protagonist transcends the limit of Chineseness by embodying a "Chinese cosmopolitan." She keeps wandering around, from mainland China to Taiwan, and then to the US, without claiming

stable citizenship. In this way, Mulberry remains boundless. The female protagonist is truly subversive, much more than Nieh herself.

Yet, in Nieh's autobiography, when she recalls her life in exile during the Second Sino-Japanese War, she still draws on the titles of patriotic songs as subtitles, such as "Along the Songhua River" (*Songhua jiang shang* 松花江上), "On the Taihang Mountains" (*Zai taihang shan shang* 在太行山上), "On the Jialing River" (*Jialing jiang shang* 嘉陵江上), and "Ballad of the Great Wall" (*Changcheng yao* 长城谣). At the same time, she devotes a whole section to discussing writers in exile that she encounters at conferences and workshops. To think along both lines of inquiry in relation to the mother-daughter relationships in *The Lost Golden Bell* and *Far Away, A River*, Nieh as a writer is a typical "Chinese cosmopolitan" who is constantly thinking about both her marginality and her Chineseness. There is no easy answer to her dilemma. Nieh as writer is still obsessed with her root in Chinese culture and she sends Lotus as a racial girl to search for it. However, in her depiction of Mulberry/Peach, we see the female protagonist using sexuality to reject patriarchal society and ethnocentric nationalism, even though she was forced to be part of the historical process. Mulberry/Peach, as a rather special refugee student, signals the incommensurability of the nationalist narrative of the war and struggles to move more freely in terms of sexuality and intimacy.

Chapter Four: Mobilizing Shame

In 2017, Zhang Ling published her latest novel, *A Single Swallow*, which reflects her consistent concerns for women and the tumultuous twentieth century of China with a focus on a training camp of the Sino-American Cooperative Organization in a small Chinese village during the Second Sino-Japanese War. Zhang has always been attracted to the extreme moments of human beings, including the natural disaster of earthquake with her novel *Tangshan Earthquake* and the human-made disaster of war with *A Single Swallow*. In a conversation with a literary scholar in Taiwan, Zhang says, “In fact, I want to write about how people behave when they are thrown off the track by a disaster” (Zhang, “Jianshi”).¹⁷² She is interested in uncovering human nature during the extreme conditions. Her answer partly responds to some fundamental questions: why do we still remember the war after all these years? In what ways are we still talking about the war in the contemporary era? Zhang has a sense of urgency to recuperate what is buried in the past and to inscribe the past in her literature.

A Single Swallow is written as a conversation between three ghosts, Billy, an American missionary, Ian Ferguson, an American soldier, and Liu Zhaohu, a Chinese soldier, each of whom recall their interactions with the female protagonist. Originally named as Yao Guiyan, the female protagonist is referred to by the Chinese soldier as *Ah Yan*, is renamed Stella by the American missionary, and *Wende* (Wind) by the American soldier. While the ghost narratives only form three pieces of memories about the female protagonist, the three men

¹⁷² Zhang, Ling 張翎. “Jianshi le shenghuo de zhenxiang zhihou, yijiu re’ai shenghuo 見識了生活的真相之後，依舊熱愛生活 [To See the World as It Is and to Love It].” Interview with Zhang Ling’s *A Single Swallow*, By Yang Cui 楊翠. *Yuedu zhi 閱讀誌* [Open Book], 28 Dec. 2018, <https://www.openbook.org.tw/article/p-28916>. Accessed 24 April 2019.

witness the turning points of her life: her encounters with sexual violence, how she deals with the sexual trauma, and the resulting shame due to this sexual violence. Indeed, sexual violence is usually adopted as a literary trope to discuss how women mobilize shame, especially in the extreme condition of war. The feeling of shame brought by sexual violence is imposed on women due to the patriarchy and the ethnocentric nationalism. At the same time, women suffer from immense sexual trauma and have to process it.

In this chapter, I will start by discussing the cultural representations of sexual violence in the war, particularly the literary representations in Xiao Hong's¹⁷³ *The Field of Life and Death* and Ding Ling's *When I Was in Xia Village*. Then I will move to Zhang Ling's *A Single Swallow* and how the female protagonist, Yao Guiyan, borrows the nationalist sentiment and mobilizes shame to save herself from the rhetoric of losing chastity. Through this analysis, I will demonstrate the inherent tension between nationalism and feminism through the sexual violence in the war. Finally, I will link the wartime sexual violence to the context of other historical context in *Far Away, A River* to discuss diasporic conditions further.

A. Cultural Representations of Sexual Violence

Sexual violence, as a lived reality and a literary trope, has been prevalent long before the Second Sino-Japanese War. Taking the most iconic military sexual violence in the Asia-

¹⁷³ Xiao Hong belongs to the group of writers who were in exile (*liuwang* 流亡), namely, “Northeastern Writers in Exile” (*dongbei liuwang zuojia* 东北流亡作家) (Kong 322). Xiao Jun is also part of this group. See Kong, Haili. “The Significance of the Northeastern Writers in Exile, 1931–1945.” *A Companion to Modern Chinese Literature*, edited by Yingjin Zhang, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2015, pp. 312-25.

Pacific War, the “comfort women” issue, it is possible to demonstrate a complex historical and geographical trajectory. In the Japanese context, before the establishment of military comfort stations in the 1930s, there was the “recruitment” of Japanese women who were called Karayuki-san (唐行きさん) and were sold to the rest of Asia as prostitutes. In some sense, this precludes the “military comfort woman system” during the Asia-Pacific War (Colligan-Taylor xxv).¹⁷⁴ After the war, sexual violence continued during the U.S. occupation in Japan and in the U.S. Armed Forces and it does so to this day (Frühstück, *Gender* 108).¹⁷⁵ In Taiwan, military prostitution, which followed the structure of Japanese comfort stations, occurred during the martial law period (Yao 25).¹⁷⁶ The military sexual violence could be institutionally organized as well as disorganized that are “committed by advancing or retreating troops” (Frühstück, *Gender* 99). Along with the military-based ones, sexual violence has been conspicuous in the general public and in the sex industry for a long time.

When it comes to the cultural productions concerning sexual violence, there is an increasing number of documentaries in recent decades recording women’s traumatic experience during wartime, especially “comfort women.” In mainland China, the most well-

¹⁷⁴ Colligan-Taylor, Karen F. “Translator’s Introduction.” *Sandakan Brothel No.8: Journey into the History of Lower-Class Japanese Women*. Written by Tomoko Yamazaki, translated by Karen F. Colligan-Taylor, Routledge, 1998, pp. xiii-xxxix.

¹⁷⁵ Frühstück, Sabine. *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Japan*. New ed., Cambridge UP, 2022.

¹⁷⁶ Yao, Huiyao 姚惠耀. *Zhanhou Taiwan “junzhong leyuan” yanjiu (1951–1992) 戰後臺灣「軍中樂園」研究 (1951–1992)* [Study on the Postwar Taiwan’s “Military Paradise” (1951–1992)]. 2019. Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue 國立臺灣師範大學 [National Taiwan Normal University], Master’s thesis. *Airiti*, <https://doi.org/10.6345/NTNU201900584>.

known ones are *Thirty Two* (*Sanshi'er* 三十二) (2013) and *Twenty Two* (*Ershi'er* 二十二) (2015) both directed by Guo Ke (郭柯) (b. 1980). In Taiwan, there are Yang Chia-yun's (楊家雲) (b. 1947) *A Secret Buried for 50 Years: The Story of Taiwanese "Comfort Women"* (*Ama de mimi-taiji wei'anfu de gushi* 阿媽的秘密-台籍慰安婦的故事) (1998) and Wu Hsiu-Ching's (吳秀菁) *Song of the Reeds* (*Luwei zhi ge* 蘆葦之歌) (2015). In South Korea, the most recent one is called *Comfort* (*Bodeulabge* 보드랍게) (2020) directed by Emmanuel Moonchil Park, which connects the "comfort women" movements with the MeToo movement. In the U.S., documentaries include Tiffany Hsiung's *The Apology* (2016) and Miki Dezaki's *Shusenjo: The Main Battleground of the Comfort Women Issue* (*Shusenjo* 主戰場) (2018), the latter of which focuses on the debate on "comfort women" and reveals the contradictory logic of the Japanese and American right-wingers.

In addition, the literary narratives concerning the wartime sexual violence are diverse since the war. In war literature, or National Defense literature (*guofang wenxue* 国防文学) in China, the most typical representation is the Japanese soldiers raping Chinese women. This is usually seen as a symbol of Japanese aggression and occupation of Chinese land and people, where women are merely victims without their own voices (Barlow 36).¹⁷⁷ Rape turns into a literary trope for "national literature and anti-imperialist propaganda" (Liu 197).¹⁷⁸ Male writers turn the plot of Chinese women being raped by Japanese soldiers into a

¹⁷⁷ Barlow, Tani E. "Introduction by Tani E. Barlow." *I Myself Am a Woman: Selected Writings of Ding Ling*. Translated by Tani E. Barlow, Beacon Press, 1989, pp. 1-46.

¹⁷⁸ Liu, Lydia H. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937*. 1st ed., Stanford UP, 1995.

national allegory. Xiao Jun's¹⁷⁹ (萧军) (1907–1988) *Village in August* (*Bayue de xiangcun* 八月的乡村) (1935) is one of the typical examples: “the crime of rape does not acquire meaning until it is committed by foreign intruders” and “nationalist revolution is gendered as male” (Liu 198). Allegorical writings of rape stories (predominately by male writers) dismiss the trauma experienced by female individuals and subjugate the personal voice to the national grand narrative of History.

However, female writers such as Xiao Hong and Ding Ling refuse to follow the allegorical way of writing stories of rape. Xiao Hong's *The Field of Life and Death* and Ding Ling's *When I Was in Xia Village*¹⁸⁰ are two representative examples written during wartime. In recent decades, the Chinese American writer Yan Geling's (严歌苓) (1958–) works, such as *The Flowers of War* (*Jinling shisan chai* 金陵十三钗) (2007), have also become prominent. In these works, Chinese women endure the sexual violence not just committed by Japanese soldiers, but also by Chinese men. The trauma and shame followed by the violence are imposed by compatriots and these women need to find their own sexual agency through struggles.

In *The Field of Life and Death*, one of the female characters, Golden Bough (*Jinzh* 金枝), is not raped by Japanese man, but a Chinese man, which alludes to both the Confucian patriarchal family structure and the male-dominated nationalism (Liu 199). Golden Bough has to marry the Chinese man who raped her because she is pregnant and her mother

¹⁷⁹ This is his pen name. His real name is Liu Honglin (刘鸿霖).

¹⁸⁰ In *I Myself Am a Woman: Selected Writings of Ding Ling*, Tani E. Barlow selects three works of Ding Ling that are related to rape, including “Affair in East Village,” “New Faith,” and “When I Was in Xia Village.” Here, I choose “When I Was in Xia Village” as an example.

arranges the marriage to cover Golden Bough's shame. Her child is later killed by this man because he is fed up with the baby's cry. However, after her husband's death, she goes to the city to find a job and endures another rape by a Chinese city man. While men can be sublimated to become national subjects by joining the revolution against imperialism, women like Golden Bough are struggling under men's exploitation and being mindful of Japanese soldiers' sexual violence. Comparatively, in *When I Was in Xia Village*, the female character Zhenzhen (贞贞; literal meaning, chastity) is raped by Japanese soldiers, but then turns into a sex worker and spy for the Chinese Communist Party. In this way, the female character is not merely a victim of sexual violence. Although enduring gossips among fellow villagers, she is a "war hero" among the cadres (Barlow 38). More importantly, toward the end of the story, while treating her sexually transmitted disease, she decides to further her study. In this sense, "rape in war" becomes "a political act" and "unchastity as an ethical issue is best resolved in political terms" (Barlow 38). In these two stories, female writers reject the literary trope of rape as an allegory or a metaphor of national suffering; instead, they reclaim the voices of female characters and showcase their struggles during the war.

Another prominent feature of these two stories is how female characters deal with shame. Shame is a "double play of concealment and exposure" because one person's desire to cover "presupposes the failure of cover" "because one has already been exposed to others," and one person feels shameful when failing to be the ideal other in front of the witnesses or under the imagined view of others (Ahmed 104, 106). Following the Confucian tradition in the Qing Dynasty, a woman is supposed to die by avoiding rape, resisting rape, or "commit[ting] suicide out of shame after being sexually assaulted" so as to be enshrined

as “daring women and girls” (*liefu* 烈妇; *lienü* 烈女) (Rosenlee 136).¹⁸¹ This is still the case in the rural areas of the Republican China that the two writers depict. As rural women, Golden Bough and Zhenzhen face a conservative atmosphere concerning woman’s desire and chastity. Their loss of chastity is seen as a shame in other people’s eyes. Because of the rape and their continuous living, neither of them secures the social norms; instead, they break the supposed boundaries of shame placed upon them and move ahead as what Sara Ahmed calls “queer subjects.” Queer subjects take on the “badness” of failing the normative ideals of women imposed by the patriarchal society (Ahmed 107).

This queer feeling may be a realization of what is behind the sexual violence as what happens to Golden Bough, or a transformation about going beyond the sexual shame as what happens to Zhenzhen. After Golden Bough moves to the city, she continues to be subjected by both patriarchal nationalism and imperialism, and she realizes and expresses her hatred toward both Chinese and Japanese. She says, “I used to hate men; now I hate the Japanese instead. Do I hate the Chinese as well? Then there is nothing else for me to hate” (Xiao 100).¹⁸² This reflection or accusation reveals her dire condition as a woman and debunks the male-dominated nationalism and imperialism. The nationalist narrative inevitably leads to a self-contradiction: the rivalry between Chinese and Japanese collapses when both sides are hated. Comparatively, Zhenzhen is denounced as “poxie” (破鞋; literal meaning, broken shoes; metaphorical meaning, prostitute) by fellow villagers and forced by her family to get

¹⁸¹ Rosenlee, Li-Hsiang Lisa. *Confucianism and Women: A Philosophical Interpretation*. New ed., State University of New York Press, 2007.

¹⁸² Xiao, Hong. *The Field of Life and Death & Tales of Hulan River*. Translated by Howard Goldblatt and Ellen Yeung, Indiana UP, 1979.

married as a way to cover her unchastity, but she refuses to do so. She complains the hardship to be a woman by enduring both sexual trauma and shame. Her future seems to be uncertain even if she joins the male-dominated political revolution. But she is also determined to explore the future in a different manner than marriage and kinship.

I just feel now that I'm someone who's diseased. It's a fact that I was abused by a large number of Jap devils. I don't remember the exact number. In any case, I'm unclean, and with such a black mark I don't expect any good fortune to come my way. I feel that living among strangers and keeping busy would be better than living at home where people know me. Now that they've approved sending me to [Yan'an] for treatment, I've been thinking about staying there and doing some studying. I hear it's a big place with lots of schools and that anyone can attend. It's better for each of us to go our own separate ways than it is to have everyone stay together in one place. I'm doing this for myself, but I'm also doing it for the others. I don't feel that I owe anyone an apology. Neither do I feel especially happy. What I do feel is that after I go to [Yan'an], I'll be in a new situation. I will be able to start life fresh. A person's life is not just for one's father and mother, or even for oneself. Some have called me young, inexperienced, and bad-tempered. I don't dispute it. There are some things that I just have to keep to myself. (Ding and Barlow, "When" 314-15)¹⁸³

¹⁸³ Ding, Ling and Tani E. Barlow. "When I Was in Xia Village." *I Myself Am a Woman: Selected Writings of Ding Ling*. Translated by Tani E. Barlow, Beacon Press, 1989, pp. 298-315.

我觉得我已经是一个有病的人了，我的确被很多鬼子糟蹋过，到底是多少，我也记不清了，总之，是一个不干净的人了。既然已经有了缺憾，就不想再有福气，我觉得活在不认识的人面前，忙忙碌碌的，比活在家里，比活在有亲人的地方好些。这次他们既然答应送我到延安去治病，那我就想留在那里学习，听说那里是大地方，学校多；什么人都可以学习的。大家扯在一堆并不会怎样好，那就还是分开，各奔各的前程。我这样打算是为了我自己；也为了旁人，所以我并不觉得有什么对不住人的地方，也没有什么高兴的地方。而且我想，到了延安，还另有一番新的气象。我还可以再重新作一个人，人也不一定就只是爹娘的，或自己的。别人说我年轻，见识短，脾气别扭，我也不辩，有些事情哪能让人人都知道呢？ (Ding, “Wo” 232)¹⁸⁴

In this paragraph, Zhenzhen first states her unchastity in an outspoken way, but she does not feel apologetic; she clearly feels tired of the gossip in the village and the worry from her parents due to the sexual shame; she feels an urgency to move to Yan'an, which is the center of revolution, and start anew. Besides, although the comrades call her a “war hero,” she does not claim that title either and rejects the enshrinement as a national subject. At the same time, she is making use of the resources that are offered by the Party to pursue a new life of her own. In the last sentences, she reflects on her personality, but she does not want to change them either. In this sense, she is trying to do a “self-naming” and define her own self (Ding and Barlow 298).

¹⁸⁴ Ding, Ling 丁玲. “Wo zai xiacun de shihou 我在霞村的时候 [When I Was in Xia Village].” *Ding Ling quanji 4* 丁玲全集 4 [Complete Collection of Ding Ling 4], edited by Zhang Jiong 张炯, Hebei renmin chubanshe 河北人民出版社, 2001, pp. 214-33.

In these two stories, we see two different trajectories of rural women: moving to the city and doing the work of the lowest pay while enduring further violence; joining the nationalist efforts and learning more knowledge. The latter way seems to be the right way to go, but as the other female character, Mother Wang (Wangpo 王婆), in *The Field of Life and Death*, shows, Mother Wang cannot claim the same social status and the elevated manhood by rejecting her female identity and joining the revolution. Comparatively, although Zhenzhen does not throw away her female identity by using her body for information, it remains unknown whether Zhenzhen can improve her situation by learning.

These two works are canonical texts by female writers interpreting rape in the war by rejecting the nationalist and masculinist way of interpretations. However, questions remain about who decides the meaning of the loss of female chastity. The female characters themselves, the patriarchal traditions, or the nation? How does the woman herself process the shame and trauma brought by the sexual violence? These are the issues that Zhang Ling deals with in her novel, *A Single Swallow*.

B. Sexual Trauma and Shame in *A Single Swallow*

Adopting the trope of sexual violence, *A Single Swallow* depicts the transformation of the female protagonist from being overwhelmed by sexual shame and trauma to self-recognition. Since the story stages a conversation between three major male protagonists, the first three chapters narrated by the three male protagonists set the scene of their personal and sociohistorical contexts. The Chinese soldier, Zhaohu, who is also the fellow villager and the fiancé of the female protagonist, Guiyan, speaks of the tragedy of losing both his father and Guiyan's father, who were killed in the Japanese air raid. Through his narration,

readers learn about Guiyan's strong personality. She takes over her father's job and breaks the patriarchal rule that only men are allowed to trample the tea leaves. She also helps Zhaohu to escape from forced conscription during the war by making him her fiancé.

However, this is not the end of Guiyan's disasters. In the fourth chapter, the American Missionary Billy, who also works as a doctor, witnesses the aftermath of Guiyan's and her mother's catastrophes. Both Guiyan and her mother were raped by Japanese soldiers. Her mother is mutilated by the Japanese soldiers and in her last breath tells Billy to save her daughter. Through Billy's eyes, the narrative depicts the sexual violence in a graphic way and brings immediate discomfort to readers:

I turned it over. It was a young girl, and she was unconscious. She looked about twelve, maybe a little older. She was almost completely naked. There were no visible injuries to her, but there was sticky, wet blood on her thighs. It was still flowing. Pulling her legs apart, I found a thick wooden stick jammed into her, stained purple with blood. (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 67)

我把那个身体翻过来，是一个昏迷过去的小女孩，十二三岁的样子，或许稍大一些。女孩几乎完全赤裸，身体上没有明显的外伤，只是大腿上有湿黏的血迹——血还没有止住。我分开她的两腿，发现中间插着一根已经被血染成酱紫色的粗木棍。(Zhang, *Laoyan* 81)

Even if the writer does not reenact the scene of sexual violence, it is clear from Billy's observation of the aftermath how cruel it was. In addition to the graphic scenes, there are

also numerous descriptions of characters' emotions. When Billy recalls the emotions when he witnesses the scene, he can only remember the pain of hearing because his eyes, heart, and belly are too shocked and turn into numbness. He also expresses his emotions by calling the rapists "animals" (*chusheng* 畜生) (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 68; Zhang, *Laoyan* 81). In addition to his intense hatred toward the rapists, Billy tries to save Guiyan, at least physically at this moment.

The interaction during the treatment between Billy and Guiyan is immersed in Guiyan's feeling of shame and Billy's reflection on her shame. Guiyan is unwilling to be treated at the beginning because she needs to show her naked body to Billy. Even the threat of death cannot persuade her to receive the treatment. Only when Billy mentions that she may not be able to give birth to children if not receiving treatment does she agree to be treated. Billy reflects that "in a rural, reclusive village, the threat of barrenness could be worse than death" (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 69). Billy is also aware of the power of gossip if Guiyan's traumatic experience is revealed to other people, as he reflects that "nothing could cleanse the shame of a girl" being raped (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 70). After curing her physically, Billy is still cautious about touching upon her sexual trauma. The only safe space as Billy finds out is located in "her thirst for knowledge" when she is copying psalms, so Billy teaches her new words and Christianity (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 73).

When Guiyan is fully recovered physically from the sexual violence, Billy sends her home because she is homesick and misses her fiancé Zhaohu. However, he later finds out that Guiyan is bullied at home because the sexual violence she endured was seen by two fellow countrywomen and Guiyan's experience turns into a "public secret" among villagers (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 78). Fellow villagers call her "*pohuo*" (破货; literal meaning,

spoiled goods; metaphorical meaning, prostitute) and she is again raped by her fellow countryman Scabby. Zhaohu witnesses the second rape and pushes Scabby away; but at the same time, he is unwilling to have Guiyan as his wife anymore and this drives Guiyan into a totally hopeless state. Because of Guiyan's recurrent traumatic experiences, Billy takes her back to his place. For about a year, she is totally mentally overwhelmed by the sexual trauma, showing little interest in anything. The only emotion that is caught by Billy is her "disgust" toward her own body (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 84). The shameful feeling toward her body and her being, which actually traumatizes her, turns her into a "queer subject" that "takes on the 'badness,' such as her numbness and disgust, as its own, by feeling bad about 'failing' loved others" (Ahmed 107). The sexual violence is not her "badness" at all and she may cherish the hope that her fellow villagers would comfort her. However, as what has happened to Golden Bough and Zhenzhen, villagers look down upon her and she completely loses hope. The shameful feeling of failing the so-called loved others occurs twice to her, and this shame triggers her trauma even further.

The turning point is when Guiyan takes the initiative to be Billy's assistant and treat a patient with acute appendicitis. When two men accompanying the patient are afraid of blood and internal organs, Guiyan is brave enough to help Billy until the end of the surgery probably because her own experience makes her immune to ruptured and bloody bodies. Through this surgery, Billy realizes Guiyan's "fragility and bravery" and that she needs "to save herself by saving others" (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 88). Billy finally comes up with the idea that to cure Guiyan he will teach Guiyan to practice medicine so that Guiyan can live independently without relying on men or being afraid of fellow villagers' gaze.

After this, another attempted rape happens when the Sino-American Cooperative Organization is stationed in the village where Billy and Guiyan live, and the story of Guiyan's sexual trauma is again circulated by Billy's helper. One of the students in the organization called Snot wants to demonstrate his masculinity by raping Guiyan. This time, Guiyan decides not to be dominated by shame and summons up her courage to reveal the sexual violence to the organization, while soldiers in the organization think she dares not to lose her face by revealing it.

They were sizing her up, betting she wouldn't dare speak, since she risked losing face if she did. But they had made a mistake. They had pushed her too far. She could handle ten steps, but they had taken eleven, and that final step pushed her to the bottom of the chasm. From the bottom of the chasm, the sky looked different. She had actually found the crack in the darkness. She finally understood that no matter how important face was, it was not more important than life. She understood, but they didn't. They didn't know what sort of earth-shattering things a person was capable of once she had dared to give up her face. (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 146-147)

他们都在心里秤过她了，他们赌定了她不敢，因为她还要面皮。可是他们做错了一件事：他们把她逼过了头。十步整好的事，他们偏偏走了十一步。就是那一步，把她推到了谷底。坐在谷底看天，天又是另外一副样子，竟让她把没有一丝缝隙的黑暗，硬是看出了一条破绽。她突然就懂了，面皮

再紧要，也紧要不过性命。她懂了，他们却还没懂。他们不知道，一个人若敢把面皮舍了，能做出什么样惊天动地的事来。(Zhang, *Laoyan* 186)

In the internal narrative, Guiyan throws away the so-called sexual shame because she cannot bear it anymore. For the first time, she accuses the sexual harasser and asks for punishment on the sexual harasser. As she crosses the line of the so-called shame that is set up by the normative expectation placed on woman, Guiyan also passes the unspeakability or inaccessibility of trauma (Luckhurst 4), and narrates her sexual trauma for the first time by saying,

“I was taken advantage of by the Japanese.”

“After I went home, they disowned me. They thought since the Japanese had taken advantage of me, they could too.”

“After that, I left Sishiyi Bu [her hometown] and came to Yuehu ([he village she is at now]. I thought I could live a peaceful life, but someone still spread those rumors here.”

“Why do you injure me? Why don't you settle accounts with the Japanese instead?”

She only realized she was shouting when she felt pain in her throat and ears. She heard her voice reverberate off the cistern and the walls. (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 150)

“我遭了，日本人的欺负。”

“我逃回家后，他们都不认我，他们觉得我遭了日本人的欺负，他们都可以欺负我。”

“后来，我就离开了四十一步村，来到月湖。我以为，我能过太平日脚了，可还是有人，把那些事传到了这里。”

“你们为什么只知道欺负我，你们为什么不找日本人算账？！”

斯塔拉知道这句话是喊出来的，因为她觉出了喉咙和耳朵的疼。她听见水缸和墙壁在嘤嘤嗡嗡地颤动。(Zhang, *Laoyan* 191)

This accusation is the climax of the whole novel. At this moment, she finally relinquishes her sexual shame and moves ahead from sexual trauma through narration. This is a significant step to process trauma, as “narrative heals aporia” between the impossibility and the necessity to speak up as Luckhurst explains (84). What is even more significant is how she mobilizes shame in the last sentence in a way that echoes male-dominated nationalism, but also makes use of it to gain her own agency. She is asking a throbbing question to every male soldier and makes them speechless. During the war, Chinese male soldiers are supposed to protect Chinese people from being attacked by the Japanese aggression, based on the logic of patriotism and nationalism; but the fact is that a Chinese male soldier attempts to attack a Chinese woman. Guiyan’s question, along with Golden Bough’s reflection and Zhenzhen’s action, exposes the essence of this nationalist effort: there is no safe position for women in this war.

Because of this accusation, the sense of shame is transferred to Snot. Snot is not punished by his leaders because Guiyan wants him to fight against Japanese troops. In a later action, Snot sacrifices himself to save his comrades and is beheaded by Japanese

troops. At this moment, Guiyan carries out a surprising action: sewing back Snot's head onto his body. This action is depicted as if "a mother coaxing a mischievous child to sleep" (Zhang, *A Single Swallow* 170). This metaphor of making Guiyan into a mother and Snot into a naughty child is ambiguous. On the one hand, Guiyan seems to be a sacred mother figure, who invariably forgives the guilt of human beings, which sends Guiyan back to the male-dominated nationalism that she finds problematic and echoes the allegorical reading of the female figure in anti-Japanese ideology as a symbol of the mother nation. On the other hand, her forgiveness can also be read as a further proof of how she throws away the shame that is governed by Confucian tradition of "daring woman." She chooses to live, and her life is enshrined with patriotism.

Compared to Guiyan, Zhaohu never breaks away from shame. His shame is that he is unable to save her from being raped and cannot marry her because she lost her chastity. In the postwar years, Scabby, who raped Guiyan during the war, rises to be an official in socialist China because of his penniless condition. Scabby keeps harassing Guiyan, but she scares him away by threatening him not to deliver his baby during his wife's childbirth. Somehow, Guiyan lives up to Billy's expectation that she would not be hurt again because of her technique as a doctor. Guiyan somehow gains "power over people's bodies" as a medical professional, balancing the political and military power her male compatriots have (Barnes 58-59).¹⁸⁵ However, Zhaohu's final shame comes when he finds out in the postwar years that Guiyan voluntarily offers her body to Scabby in order to save Zhaohu from labor camp and starvation. How should readers understand Guiyan at this point? She has tried so

¹⁸⁵ Barnes, Nicole Elizabeth. *Intimate Communities: Wartime Healthcare and the Birth of Modern China, 1937-1945*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2018.

hard to deal with sexual shame and trauma, so why does she still use her body to help Zhaohu? How should readers understand this action? Has she fallen into the patriarchal trap again after all these struggles? Or is this her choice out of the practical concern to save Zhaohu? I think both interpretations are possible and that this is a demonstration of both her tenacity and flexibility as she faces women's crude wartime situation.

Following the ambiguous end of *A Single Swallow*, another ambiguity arises because of the narrative strategy. As this story is mainly narrated from the perspectives of three male protagonists, they only possess fragmented memories of what happened to Guiyan. If Scabby is another narrator or ghost in this dialogue, readers may know what happened to Guiyan during the Cultural Revolution and the latter years of her life. However, we as readers do not hear directly what Guiyan thinks in this whole process, and we can question as to whether these disasters should really be the turning points of her life. The absence of the female protagonist's voice serves as a warning about how female subjectivity during the war may be at stake through the mediation of literary narrative.

C. Sexual Trauma and Shame across the War in *Far Away, A River*

In the last section of this chapter, I would like to come back to Nieh Hualing's novel, *Far Away, A River*, and discuss the third part of the novel, which is situated in Iowa in 1982. As I mentioned in the last chapter, after reconciling with her mother, Lotus somehow touches upon her sexual trauma and rethinks the shame following the trauma. Different from Guiyan's direct confrontation of questioning sexual shame imposed on women, Lotus turns to Dr. Lin for more personal healing.

In the third part, Lotus stays in Dr. Lin's home with Dr. Lin's daughter, Lily; Lotus also takes the job of taking care of Lily. Dr. Lin has an affection for Lotus, and he also notices Lotus's sexual trauma. Dr. Lin carries out a conversation both in terms of helping Lotus to narrate her trauma and for him to reveal his feelings to Lotus. He starts by complimenting Lotus's maternal nature and then questions why she shies away from men and hides her femininity (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 303). Lotus is hesitant to continue this conversation, so Dr. Lin switches to the topic of marriage and reveals his own love experience during the 1940s in China, which acts as an invitation for Lotus to exchange her own story. He was separated from his girlfriend due to the Chinese Civil War because he went away, while his girlfriend stayed in mainland China. Then Dr. Lin posts another probing and uncomfortable question as to whether Lotus longs man and even whether she has slept with a man before (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 305). This triggers Lotus and she bursts into tears. Dr. Lin comforts her by saying "Lotus, you were hurt; I know, you were hurt" (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 306). While crying, Lotus confesses, "I was hurt! I was hurt! I am no longer a virgin" (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 306). Here, we find a recurrent pattern in literature about how the feeling of sexual shame continues to function in relation to women's self-perception. Dr. Lin again comforts her by saying "it is not uncommon to have sex at the age of fourteen or fifteen in the U.S." (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 306). Lotus replies, "American girls are voluntary. But I was raped! I was raped!" (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 306). Dr. Lin continues by saying "rape happens in the U.S. too, and there are institutions to deal with the problem of rape," and then invites Lotus to talk further about the rape by saying "you have suffered for too long" (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 306). Hearing this last sentence, Lotus cries even harder for quite a while. Finally, she starts to talk about the details of her sexual trauma. During her

years as a sent-down youth, she fell in love with another sent-down youth, Zhu Li. However, because of their different family backgrounds, especially Lotus's family as potential "spies," Zhu did not continue this relationship. Yet, there was one night when she was alone in the dormitory; a young man came to her bed and had sex with her. She did not dislike the experience because she felt it was Zhu. However, after that, several middle-aged men came to her at different nights and she felt "I was raped for real" (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 310). After suffering from all these rapes, Lotus was totally "numb" and "dead" (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 310). At this moment, the young man came back again, and she found out it was indeed Zhu.

I covered my face in his arms and cried silently. Tears of regret, happiness, gratitude, shame... I also had a sense of triumphant joy: Zhu Li and I, not equal in politics, but equal in bed. The next day he was transferred back to Beijing.

我把脸捂在他怀里，无声地哭起来。歉疚，幸福，感激，羞耻.....的泪水。我也有一股胜利的快乐：我和朱立，在政治上不平等，在床上可是平等了。第二天他就调回北京了。(Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 310)

At this moment, Lotus may feel a sense of relief because her first night and the loss of her virginity were for Zhu. Her mixed feelings of happiness and sorrow come from her sufferings of rape and her silence not to tell all this to Zhu. At the same time, she feels this sense of equality because she knows that Zhu would not marry her due to different family and political backgrounds, but for this particular night they are on the same ground sexually. This statement by Lotus sounds transgressive in the sense of how sexuality overcomes social

and political hierarchies even just for a moment. However, she falls back to the abyss of sexual shame until the correspondence with her mother and this uncomfortable, yet important conversation with Dr. Lin. She thinks that her mother's love of her father shows "romantic love is a combination of kinship, friendship, and sexuality" (Nieh, *Qianshanwai* 312). Through narrating her own traumatic experience and reflecting on her mother's war memories, Lotus also goes past the aporia of trauma, and she starts to feel nostalgic about home.

In this sense, Lotus's sexual trauma and shame imposed by the national calamity of the Cultural Revolution are linked back to her mother's wartime experience and memories, which in turn heals her through inheriting her mother's war memories. At the same time, it should be noticed that this conversation is initiated by a Chinese diasporic man in the U.S. The double displacement of time and space, or the anachronism, mediates this confession and narrative. In Lotus's case, her sexual shame can only be mobilized and reconciled in the displacement of temporal, national, and cultural contexts.

In this chapter, my focus was on the sexual trauma and shame triggered by national and transnational calamities, especially in the context of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Through analyzing the traumatic experiences of Golden Bough, Zhenzhen, and Guiyan, I showed how rural women during the war experienced sexual shame in different ways and took action to change the status quo of patriarchal society and nationalist confinement. To further complicate sexual trauma and shame in a transnational context, we see how shame can be mobilized in the temporal and spatial displacement, not for the sake of the nation anymore, but more personal healing. However, as I have shown in the third chapter, at the

end, Lotus seems to reclaim the idea of Chineseness and hope to go back to her country and home.

Coda

In February 1944, Eileen Chang recorded her war experience during the Battle of Hong Kong (December 8–25, 1941), as one of the first battles of the Asia-Pacific War, in “From the Ashes” (*Jinyu lu* 烬余录).¹⁸⁶ In this essay, she compares what has happened in the war with the historical writing of the war.

I have neither the desire to write history nor the qualifications to comment on the approach historians ought to bring to their work, but privately I have always found myself wishing that they would concern themselves more with irrelevant things. This thing we call reality is unsystematic, like seven or eight talking machines playing all at once in a chaos of sound, each singing its own song. From within that incomprehensible cacophony, however, there sometimes happens to emerge a moment of sad and luminous clarity, when the musicality of a melody can be heard, just before it is engulfed once more by layer after layer of darkness, snuffing out this unexpected moment of lucidity. Painters, writers, and composers string together these random and accidentally discovered moments of harmony in order to create artistic coherence. When history insists on the same sort of coherence, it becomes fiction. The reason that H.G. Wells’s [1866–1946] *Outline of History* cannot stand as a proper history is that it is a little too rationalized,

¹⁸⁶ For a discussion on this essay, see Huang, Nicole. *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s*. Brill, 2005; FitzGerald, Carolyn. *Fragmenting Modernisms: Chinese Wartime Literature, Art, and Film, 1937-49*. Brill, 2013.

chronicling as it does the struggle between the individual and the group from start to finish. (Chang, “From the Ashes” 39-40)¹⁸⁷

我没有写历史的志愿，也没有资格评论史家应持何种态度，可是私下里总希望他们多说点不相干的话。现实这样东西是没有系统的，像七八个话匣子同时开唱，各唱各的，打成一片混沌。在那不可解的喧嚣中偶然也有清澄的，使人心酸眼亮的一刹那，听得出音乐的调子，但立刻又被重重黑暗上拥来，淹没了那点了解。画家、文人、作曲家将零星的、凑巧发现的和谐联系起来，造成艺术上的完整性。历史如果过于注重艺术上的完整性，便成为小说了。像威尔斯的《历史大纲》，所以不能跻于正史之列，便是因为它太合理化了一点，自始至终记述的是小我与大我的斗争。(Zhang, “Jinyu lu” 21)¹⁸⁸

In this paragraph, Chang highlights the “irrelevant things” in historiography since “reality is unsystematic.” When the writer focuses on “coherence,” history turns into fiction. This particular kind of fiction follows a teleological logic, which echoes György Lukács’s notion of “historical novel.” Perry Anderson argues that Lukács’s idea of historical novel

¹⁸⁷ Chang, Eileen (Zhang Ailing). “From the Ashes.” *Written on Water*. Translated by Andrew F. Jones, Columbia UP, 2005.

¹⁸⁸ Zhang, Ailing 张爱玲. “Jinyu lu 烬余录 [From the Ashes].” *Sanwen juan yi: 1939–1947 nian zuopin (zhang ailing diancang quanji)* 散文卷一：1939–1947年作品（张爱玲典藏全集） [Collection of Essays 1: 1939–1947 (Complete Collection of Zhang Ailing)]. Ha’erbin chubanshe 哈尔滨出版社, 2003.

emphasizes linear progression of a particular kind of person shaped by unavoidable social forces. The grand narrative of History is inevitably set as the backdrop to bolster “the historical necessity of the winners” (Anderson 24).¹⁸⁹ However, what Chang has experienced is the “incomprehensible cacophony” of the reality. It breaks the logic of the historical novel and overcomes the linear progression that characterizes grand narrative of History. To do this, the writer has to deny her own “textual sufficiency and narrative unity” and needs to be honest with her own incomplete understanding of history (Yang 161). Chang’s dilemma between history and reality reveals two ways of writing war narratives. Instead of writing historical fiction, Chang prefers to write fictions about memory. On the one hand, fictions about memory can be seen as the counter-narrative of History, or as Yomi Braester’s concept of “witness against history”: it is at peace with the nonlinearity of memory and serves as the channel for untold stories in history to be heard. On the other hand, fiction about memory reveals the basic questions of human existence, including survival and subjectivity. Instead of taking survival and subjectivity for granted, fiction about memory puts them into question and seeks answers in the process of writing memories.

In this sense, the female writers that I have discussed throughout the dissertation venture into war narratives that are not merely reflections on the grand narrative of History, but touch upon their deep-felt emotions, intimacy, and sexuality. Hayashi’s wartime writings mix various genres of reportage and fiction due to her self-paradoxical feelings and emotions flowing between lines. Her later writings are also mixed with autobiographical and

¹⁸⁹ Anderson, Perry. “From Progress to Catastrophe.” *London Review of Books*, 28 July 2011, pp. 24-28.

fictional elements and showcase her dilemma between imperialist nostalgia and amnesia as well as entangled human relationships. Nieh's memory writings about refugee students change over time and she connects the Second Sino-Japanese War with the continuous (trans)national calamities among mainland China, Taiwan, and the U.S. Her daring depiction of a madwoman pursuing her sexual agency clearly stands out among war narratives. This kind of memory writing shows the power of literary language and challenges the conventional understanding of female subjectivity facing precarious moment. Zhang's fiction, *A Single Swallow*, clearly manifests the nature of memory writing, as Hayashi's *Floating Clouds* and Nieh's *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China* and *Far Away, A River*. The stories are all made up of pieces of memories from different characters. The novels are sometimes mixed with dialogues, letters, and notes that are not following a linear progression. From their writings, readers go into the sites of memories and travel across various times and spaces. The most precious things in these writings are indeed the individual memories and how they relate to and inquire into collective memories. Women's struggles of survival and subjectivity are shown through all the details in the writings. They might be transient in the grand narrative of History, but worth remembering through memory writing and shaping alternative cultural memories of the war.

Bibliography

A. Primary Sources

Chi, Pang-yuan 齐邦媛. *Juliu he* 巨流河 [The Great Flowing River]. Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian 生活·读书·新知三联书店, 2010.

Dezaki, Miki, director. *Shusenjo: The Main Battleground of the Comfort Women Issue*. Tofoo Films, 2018.

Ding, Ling 丁玲. “Wo zai xiacun de shihou 我在霞村的时候 [When I Was in Xia Village].” *Ding Ling quanji 4* 丁玲全集 4 [Complete Collection of Ding Ling 4], edited by Zhang Jiong 张炯, Hebei renmin chubanshe 河北人民出版社, 2001, pp. 214-33.

Ding, Ling and Tani E. Barlow. “When I Was in Xia Village.” *I Myself Am a Woman: Selected Writings of Ding Ling*. Translated by Tani E. Barlow, Beacon Press, 1989, pp. 298-315.

Guo, Ke 郭柯, director. *Sanshi'er* 三十二 [Thirty Two]. Sichuan guangying shenchu wenhua chuanbo youxian gongsi 四川光影深处文化传播有限公司, 2013.

---. *Ershi'er* 二十二 [Twenty Two]. Sichuan guangying shenchu wenhua chuanbo youxian gongsi 四川光影深处文化传播有限公司, 2015.

Hayashi, Fumiko 林芙美子. “Bangiku Hayashi Fumiko bunko atogaki 「晚菊 林芙美子文庫」 あとがき [Postscript of Late Chrysanthemum in Hayashi Fumiko Collection].” *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集 [Complete Collection of Hayashi

- Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 16, Bunsendō 文泉堂, 1977, pp. 259-261.
- . *Floating Clouds*. Translated by Koitabashi Yoshiyuki 小板橋義之 and Martin C. Collcutt, Hara Shobō 原書房, 1965.
- . *Floating Clouds*. Translated by Lane Dunlop, Columbia UP, 2006.
- . “Fubuki 吹雪 [Snowstorm].” *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集 [Complete Collection of Hayashi Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 5, Bunsendō 文泉堂, 1977, pp. 431-43.
- . Hayashi Fumiko shishū “hana no inochi wa mijikakute” 林芙美子詩集「花のいのちはみじかくて」 [Poem Collection of Hayashi Fumiko “The Life of a Flower is Short”]. 栄光 Eikou Books, 2013.
- . “Hokugan butai 北岸部隊 [Northern Shore Corps].” *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集, edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 12, Bunsendō, 1977, pp. 172-334.
- . “Sakka no techō 作家の手帳 [The Diary of a Writer].” *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集 [Complete Collection of Hayashi Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 8, Bunsendō 文泉堂, 1977, pp. 1-59.
- . *Sensen* 戦線 [Front]. Yumani Shobō ゆまに書房, 2000.
- . *Sensen* 戦線 [Front]. Chūōkōron shinsha 中央公論新社, 2006.
- . *Sensen* 戦線 [Front]. Kaihan 改版, Chūōkōron shinsha 中央公論新社, 2014.

- . Hayashi, Fumiko 林芙美子. “Ukigumo 浮雲 [Floating Clouds].” *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集 [Complete Collection of Hayashi Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 6, Bunsendō 文泉堂, 1977, pp. 169-420.
- Hino, Ashihei 火野葦平. *Mugi to heitai* 麦と兵隊 [Wheat and Soldiers]. Kaizōsha 改造社, 1938.
- Hsiung, Tiffany, director. *The Apology*. National Film Board of Canada, 2016.
- Imagawa, Hideko 今川英子. “Chosho mokuroku 著書目録 [List of Publications].” *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集 [Complete Collection of Hayashi Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 16, Bunsendō 文泉堂, 1977, pp. 311-60.
- . “Nenpu 年譜 [Yearbook].” *Hayashi Fumiko Zenshū* 林芙美子全集 [Complete Collection of Hayashi Fumiko], edited by Imagawa Hideko 今川英子. Vol. 16, Bunsendō 文泉堂, 1977, pp. 283-310.
- . Seitan 110 nen hayashi fumikoten—kaze mo fukunari kumo mo hikarunari— 生誕 110 年 林芙美子展—風も吹くなり 雲も光るなり— [110th Birth Anniversary Hayashi Fumiko Exhibition—The Wind Blows and the Clouds Shine—]. Kitakyūshū Shiritsu Bungakukan 北九州市立文学館, 2013.
- Kirino, Natsuo 桐野夏生. *Nanika aru* ナニカアル [There Is Something]. Shinchōsha 新潮社, 2010.
- Kurosawa, Akira 黒澤明. *Hachigatsu no kyōshikyoku* 八月の狂詩曲 [Rhapsody in August]. Shōchiku 松竹, 1991.

- Li, Ang 李昂. *Miyuan* 迷园 [Mysterious Garden]. Maoteng famai chubanshe 貿騰發賣出版社, 1991.
- . *Beigang xianglu renren cha: dai zhencaodai de mogui xilie* 北港香炉人人插: 戴贞操带的魔鬼系列 [Beigang Incense Burner of Lust: The Devil with a Chastity Belt Series]. Maitian 麥田, 1997.
- Lin, Fumeizi 林芙美子. *Fanglang ji* 放浪记 [Diary of a Vagabond]. Translated by Wei Dahai 魏大海, Fudan daxue chubanshe 复旦大学出版社, 2011.
- . *Fuyun* 浮云 [Floating Clouds]. Translated by Wu Fei 吴菲, Fudan daxue chubanshe 复旦大学出版社, 2011.
- . *Fuyun* 浮云 [Floating Clouds]. Translated by Jin Shan 金山, Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe 中央编译出版社, 2012.
- . *Fuyun* 浮雲 [Floating Clouds]. Translated by Li Yanhua 李彦樺, Maitian 麥田, 2021.
- . *Lin Fumeizi de aiqing poumian* 林芙美子的愛情剖面 [Facets of Love for Hayashi Fumiko]. Hongtongtong wenhua chubanshe 紅通通文化出版社, 2017.
- . *Wanju* 晚菊 [Late Chrysanthemum]. Translated by Liu Xiaojun 刘小俊, Fudan daxue chubanshe 复旦大学出版社, 2011.
- . “Zuojia shouji 作家手记 [The Diary of a Writer].” *Wanju* 晚菊 [Late Chrysanthemum]. Translated by Liu Xiaojun 刘小俊, Fudan daxue chubanshe 复旦大学出版社, 2011, pp. 169-230.
- Lu, Qiao 鹿橋. *Weiyang ge* 未央歌 [Song Never to End]. Rensheng chubanshe 人生出版社, 1959.

- Lu, Xun 鲁迅. “Kuangren riji 狂人日记 [Diary of a Madman].” *Xin qingnian* 新青年 [New Youth], Vol. 4, Issue 5, 1918, pp. 414-424.
- . “Zhufu 祝福 [New Year’s Sacrifice].” *Dongfang zazhi* 东方杂志, Vol. 21, Issue 6, 1924.
- Luo, Guanqun 罗冠群, director. *Tucheng xuezheng* 屠城血证 [Massacre in Nanjing]. Fujian dianying zhipianchang 福建电影制片厂 & Nanjing dianying zhipianchang 南京电影制片厂, 1987.
- Masumura, Yasuzo 增村保造, director. *Akai tenshi* 赤い天使 [Red Angel]. Daiei Eiga 大映映画, 1966.
- Mu, Dan 穆旦. *Mu Dan shiji* 穆旦诗集 [Poetry Collection of Mu Dan]. Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文学出版社, 2019.
- Nieh, Hualing 聂华苓. “Am I the Heroine.” *The Purse and Three Other Stories of Chinese Life*, The Heritage Press, 1962, pp. 87-95.
- . “Lingzi shi wo ma 苓子是我吗.” *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金铃子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文学出版社, 1980, pp. 205-09.
- . “Lingzi shi wo ma 苓子是我嗎.” *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Wenxing shudian 文星書店, 1964, pp. 233-39.
- . *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*. Translated by Jane Parish Yang and Linda Lappin, New World Press, 1981.
- . *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*. Translated by Jane Parish Yang and Linda Lappin, The Women’s Press, 1986.

- . *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*. Translated by Jane Parish Yang and Linda Lappin, Beacon Press, 1988.
- . *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*, translated by Jane Parish Yang and Linda Lappin, Feminist Press, 1998.
- . *Qianshanwai, shuichangliu* 千山外，水长流 [Far Away, A River]. Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe 河北教育出版社, 1996.
- . *Qianshanwai, shuichangliu* 千山外，水長流 [Far Away, A River]. Sanlian shudian 三聯書店, 1985.
- . *Qianshanwai, shuichangliu* 千山外，水长流 [Far Away, A River]. Sichuan renmin chubanshe 四川人民出版社, 1984.
- . *Qianshanwai, shuichangliu* 千山外，水长流 [Far Away, A River]. Sichuan wenyi chubanshe 四川文艺出版社, 1984.
- . *Sangqing yu taohong* 桑青与桃红 [Mulberry and Peach]. Beiyue wenyi chubanshe 北岳文艺出版社, 2004.
- . *Sangqing yu taohong* 桑青与桃红 [Mulberry and Peach]. Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe 春风文艺出版社, 1990.
- . *Sangqing yu taohong* 桑青与桃红 [Mulberry and Peach]. Huaxia chubanshe 华夏出版社, 1996.
- . *Sangqing yu taohong* 桑青与桃红 [Mulberry and Peach]. Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe 中国青年出版社, 1980.

- . “Sangqing yu taohong liufang xiaoji 桑青與桃紅流放小記 [Diasporic Record of Mulberry and Peach].” *Sangqing yu taohong* 桑青與桃紅 [Mulberry and Peach], Shibao wenhua chubanshe 時報文化出版, 1997, pp. 271-73.
- . *Sansheng sanshi* 三生三世 [Three Lives]. Baihua wenyi chubanshe 百花文艺出版社, 2004.
- . *Sansheng sanshi* 三生三世 [Three Lives]. Huangguan wenhua 皇冠文化, 2004.
- . *Sansheng yingxiang* 三生影像 [Images of Three Lives]. Mingbao chubanshe 明報出版社, 2007.
- . *Sansheng yingxiang* 三生影像 [Images of Three Lives]. Shenghuo dushu xinzhishi sanlian shudian 生活·读书·新知三联书店, 2008.
- . *Sanbeizi* 三輩子 [Three Lives]. Lianjing chubanshe 聯經出版公司, 2011.
- . *Sansheng yingxiang (zengding ben)* 三生影像(增订本) [*Three Lives (Updated Edition)*]. Shenghuo dushu xinzhishi sanlian shudian 生活·读书·新知三联书店, 2012.
- . “Sansheng zongji 三生蹤跡 [Traces of Three Lives].” *Sanbeizi* 三輩子 [Three Lives]. Lianjing Chubanshe 聯經出版, 2011, pp. 11-13.
- . *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Xuesheng shuju 學生書局, 1961.
- . *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Wenxing shudian 文星書店, 1964.
- . *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Dalin chubanshe 大林出版社, 1969.

- . *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Linbai chubanshe 林白出版社, 1987.
- . *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文學出版社, 1980.
- . “Xiezai qianmian 写在前面 [Foreword].” *Shiqu de jinlingzi* 失去的金鈴子 [The Lost Golden Bell]. Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文學出版社, 1980, p. 1.
- . “Young Father, Where Are You?.” *The World Comes to Iowa: Iowa International Anthology*, edited by Paul Engle, Rowena Torrevillas, and Hualing Nieh Engle. Iowa State UP, 1987, pp. 248-57.
- On, Kei Chan 陳安琪, director. *Sansheng sanshi nie hualing* 三生三世聶華苓 [One Tree Three Lives]. Jingcui gongzuo fang 精萃工作坊, 2012.
- Park, Emmanuel Moonchil, director. *Bodeulabge* 보드랍게 [Comfort]. 2020.
- Suzuki, Seijun 鈴木清順, director. *Shunpuden* 春婦伝 [Story of A Prostitute]. Nikkatsu 日活, 1965.
- Wu, Danian 吳大年. *Xiao nanmin zishu* 小難民自述 [Self-Narrative of Little Refugee]. Jiangsu renmin chubanshe 江蘇人民出版社, 2015.
- Wu, Hsiu-Ching 吳秀菁, director. *Luwei zhi ge* 蘆葦之歌 [Song of the Reeds]. Juese guoji 絕色國際, 2015.
- Xiao, Hong. *The Field of Life and Death & Tales of Hulan River*. Translated by Howard Goldblatt and Ellen Yeung, Indiana UP, 1979.

- Xiao, Jun 萧军. *Bayue de xiangcun* 八月的乡村 [Village in August]. Shanghai nuli she 上海奴隶社, 1935.
- Yan, Geling 严歌苓. *Jinling shisan chai* 金陵十三钗 [The Flowers of War]. Zuoqia chubanshe 作家出版社, 2015.
- Yang, Chia-yun 楊家雲, director. *Ama de mimi-taiji wei'anfu de gushi* 阿媽的秘密—台籍慰安婦的故事 [A Secret Buried for 50 Years: The Story of Taiwanese “Comfort Women”]. Funü jiuyuan jijin hui 婦女救援基金會, 1998.
- Yuan, Muzhi 袁牧之, director. *Malu tianshi* 马路天使 [Street Angel]. Mingxing dianying gongsi 明星电影公司, 1937.
- Chang, Eileen (Zhang Ailing) 張愛玲. “From the Ashes.” *Written on Water*. Translated by Andrew F. Jones, Columbia UP, 2005.
- . “Jinyu lu 烬余录 [From the Ashes].” *Sanwen juan yi: 1939–1947 nian zuopin (zhang ailing diancang quanji)* 散文卷一：1939–1947年作品（张爱玲典藏全集） [Collection of Essays 1: 1939–1947 (Complete Collection of Zhang Ailing)]. Ha'erbin chubanshe 哈尔滨出版社, 2003.
- . *Qingcheng zhi lian* 傾城之戀 [Love in A Fallen City]. 1943. Huangguan wenhua 皇冠文化, 1999.
- . *Yangge* 秧歌 [The Rice-Sprout Song]. Jinri shijie chubanshe 今日世界出版社, 1955.
- Zhang, Ling 张翎. *A Single Swallow*. Translated by Shelly Bryant, Amazon Crossing, 2020.
- . “Jianshi le shenghuo de zhenxiang zhihou, yijiu re'ai shenghuo 見識了生活的真相之後，依舊熱愛生活 [To See the World as It Is and to Love It].” Interview with Zhang

Ling's A Single Swallow, By Yang Cui 楊翠. Yuedu zhi 閱讀誌[Open Book], 28 Dec. 2018, <https://www.openbook.org.tw/article/p-28916>. Accessed 24 April 2019.

---. *Laoyan* 勞燕 [A Single Swallow]. Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文学出版社, 2017.

Zong, Pu 宗璞. *Nandu ji* 南渡记 [Heading South]. Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文学出版社, 1988.

B. Secondary Sources

Abel, Jonathan E. *Redacted: The Archives of Censorship in Transwar Japan*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2012.

Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2014.

Altınay, Ayşe Gül, and Andrea Pető. "Introduction: Uncomfortable Connections: Gender, Memory, War." *Gendered Wars, Gendered Memories: Feminist Conversations on War, Genocide and Political Violence*, edited by Ayşe Gül Altınay and Andrea Pető, Routledge, 2016, pp. 1-20.

Anderson, Perry. "From Progress to Catastrophe." *London Review of Books*, 28 July 2011, pp. 24-28.

Assmann, Aleida. "Transformations between History and Memory." *Social Research*, vol. 75, no. 1, 2008, pp. 49-72.

Assmann, Jan. "Communicative and Cultural Memory." *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, Walter de Gruyter, 2008, pp. 109-18.

- Azuma, Eiichiro. *In Search of Our Frontier: Japanese America and Settler Colonialism in the Construction of Japan's Borderless Empire*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2019.
- Barlow, Tani E. "Introduction by Tani E. Barlow." *I Myself Am a Woman: Selected Writings of Ding Ling*. Translated by Tani E. Barlow, Beacon Press, 1989, pp. 1-46.
- Barnes, Nicole Elizabeth. *Intimate Communities: Wartime Healthcare and the Birth of Modern China, 1937–1945*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2018.
- Baudelaire, Charles. *The Flowers of Evil*. Translated by James McGowan, Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Berry, Michael. *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature and Film*. Reprint ed., Columbia UP, 2011.
- Berry, Michael, and Chiho Sawada. *Divided Lenses: Screen Memories of War in East Asia*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.
- Braester, Yomi. *Witness Against History: Literature, Film, and Public Discourse in Twentieth-Century China*. 1st ed., Stanford UP, 2003.
- Caruth, Cathy. *Unclaimed Experience. Trauma, Narrative, and History*. 1999. Johns Hopkins UP, 2016.
- Chen, Lingchei Letty. *The Great Leap Backward: Forgetting and Representing the Mao Years*. Cambria Press, 2020.
- Chiu, Monica. "Trauma and Multiplicity in Nieh's Mulberry and Peach." *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, vol. 36, no. 3, Sept. 2003, pp. 19-35.

- Cho, Yu-Fang. "Rewriting Exile, Remapping Empire, Re-Membering Home: Hualing Nieh's *Mulberry and Peach*." *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*, vol. 5, Oct. 2004, pp. 157-200.
- Colligan-Taylor, Karen F. "Translator's Introduction." *Sandakan Brothel No.8: Journey into the History of Lower-Class Japanese Women*. Written by Tomoko Yamazaki, translated by Karen F. Colligan-Taylor, Routledge, 1998, pp. xiii-xxxix.
- Copeland, Rebecca L. "Sincerely Yours: Uno Chiyo's *A Wife's Letters* as Wartime Subversion." *Representing the Other in Modern Japanese Literature: A Critical Approach*, edited by Mark Williams and Rachael Hutchinson, Routledge, 2006, pp. 165-182.
- Denton, Kirk. Review of *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China* by Hualing Nieh. *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association*, vol. 24, no. 2, May 1989, pp. 135-38.
- Dirlik, Arif. *Culture and History in Postrevolutionary China: The Perspective of Global Modernity*. The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2012.
- Dower, John W. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2000.
- Duus, Peter. "Chapter 1 Introduction." *The Cambridge History of Japan*, edited by Peter Duus, vol. 6, Cambridge UP, 1989, pp. 1-52.
- Ericson, Joan E. *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.
- Erl, Astrid. "Traumatic Pasts Literary Afterlives and Transcultural Memory New Directions of Literary and Media Memory Studies." *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*, 2011: 1-5.

- . "Travelling Memory." *Parallax*, vol. 17, no. 4, Nov. 2011, pp. 4-18.
- Feigel, Lara. *The Love-Charm of Bombs: Restless Lives in the Second World War*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2013.
- Fessler, Susanna. *Wandering Heart: The Work and Method of Hayashi Fumiko*. SUNY Press, 1998.
- FitzGerald, Carolyn. "'Diary of a Madwoman' Traversing the Diaspora: Rewriting Lu Xun in Hualing Nieh's 'Mulberry and Peach.'" *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, vol. 26, no. 2, 2014, pp. 38-88.
- . *Fragmenting Modernisms: Chinese Wartime Literature, Art, and Film, 1937-49*. Brill, 2013.
- Frühstück, Sabine. *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Japan*. New ed., Cambridge UP, 2022.
- . *Playing War: Children and the Paradoxes of Modern Militarism in Japan*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2017.
- . "Sexuality and Sexual Violence." *The Cambridge History of the Second World War: Volume 3, Total War: Economy, Society and Culture*, edited by Michael Geyer and Adam Tooze, Cambridge UP, 2015, pp. 422-46.
- . *Uneasy Warriors: Gender, Memory, and Popular Culture in the Japanese Army*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2007.
- . "'The Spirit to Take up a Gun': Militarising Gender in the Imperial Army." *Gender, Nation and State in Modern Japan*, edited by Andrea Germer et al., Routledge, 2014, pp. 163-79.
- Fujitani, Takashi. *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2013.

- Fujitani, T., Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama. "Introduction." *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(S)*, edited by T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama, Duke UP, 2001, pp. 1-29.
- Gardner, William O. *Advertising Tower: Japanese Modernism and Modernity in the 1920s*. Harvard University Asia Center, 2006.
- Gerow, Aaron. "War and Nationalism in Recent Japanese Cinema: Yamato, Kamikaze, Trauma, and Forgetting the Postwar." *Divided Lenses: Screen Memories of War in East Asia*, edited by Michael Berry and Chiho Sawada, University of Hawai'i Press, 2016, pp. 196-219.
- Gluck, Carol. "Operations of Memory: 'Comfort Women' and the World." *Ruptured Histories: War, Memory, and the Post-Cold War in Asia*, edited by Sheila Miyoshi Jager and Rana Mitter, Harvard UP, 2007, pp. 47-77.
- Gomibuchi, Noritsugu 五味淵典嗣. "Bungaku, media, shisōsen: 'jūgun pen butai' no rekishi teki igi 文学・メディア・思想戦：〈従軍ペン部隊〉の歴史的意義 [Literature, Media, and Ideology War: Historical Significance of 'Military Pen Corps']." *Otsuma Kokubun* 大妻国文, vol. 45, 2014, pp. 93-116.
- Gordon, Andrew. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. 4th ed., Oxford UP, 2020.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Translated by Lewis A. Coser, 1st ed., University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Hanley, Lynne. *Writing War: Fiction, Gender, and Memory*. University of Massachusetts Press, 1991.

- Harootunian, Harry. "Japan's Long Postwar: The Trick of Memory and the Ruse of History." *Japan After Japan: Social and Cultural Life from the Recessionary 1990s to the Present*, edited by Tomiko Yoda and Harry Harootunian, Duke UP Books, 2006, pp. 98–121.
- Hauser, William B. "Women and War: The Japanese Film Image." *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein, University of California Press, 1991, pp. 296-314.
- Henshaw, Jonathan, et al. "Introduction: Discarding Binaries and Embracing Heteroglossia." *Translating the Occupation: The Japanese Invasion of China, 1931–45*, edited by Jonathan Henshaw et al., 1st ed., University of British Columbia Press, 2021, pp. 3–11.
- Herman, Judith Lewis. *Trauma and Recovery*. 1992. Basic Books, 2015.
- Hershatter, Gail. "The Gender of Memory: Rural Chinese Women and the 1950s." *Signs*, vol. 28, no. 1, The University of Chicago Press, 2002, pp. 43–70.
- . *The Gender of Memory: Rural Women and China's Collective Past*. University of California Press, 2011.
- Hirsch, Marianne. "Interview with Marianne Hirsch." Columbia UP, <https://cup.columbia.edu/author-interviews/hirsch-generation-postmemory>. Accessed 7 November 2021.
- . "The Generation of Postmemory." *Poetics Today*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2008, pp. 103-28.
- Hirsch, Marianne, and Valerie Smith. "Feminism and Cultural Memory: An Introduction." *Signs*, vol. 28, no. 1, The University of Chicago Press, 2002, pp. 1-19.
- Hsia, Chih-tsing. *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*. 3rd ed, Indiana UP, 1999.

- Horiguchi, Noriko J. *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body*. University of Minnesota Press, 2012.
- Horton, William Bradley. "Tales of a Wartime Vagabond: Hayashi Fumiko and the Travels of Japanese Writers in Early Wartime Southeast Asia." *Under Fire: Women and World War II: Yearbook of Women's History*, edited by Eveline Buchheim and Ralf Futselaar, Uitgeverij Verloren, 2014, pp. 37–49.
- Huang, Nicole. *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s*. Brill, 2005.
- Īda, Yūko 飯田祐子. *Kanojo tachi no bungaku* 彼女たちの文学 [Women's Literature]. Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai 名古屋大学出版会, 2016.
- Kanō, Mikiyo 加納実紀代. *Onnatachi no "jūgo" zōho shinpan* 女たちの〈銃後〉増補新版. 1987. Inpakuto shuppankai インパクト出版会, 1995.
- Kawamura Minato 川村湊, et al. *Sensō bungaku wo yomu* 戦争文学を読む [Reading War Literature]. Asahi shinbun shuppan 朝日新聞出版, 2008.
- Keaveney, Christopher T. *Beyond Brushtalk: Sino-Japanese Literary Exchange in the Interwar Period*. 1st ed., Hong Kong UP, 2008.
- Keene, Donald. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era; Poetry, Drama, Criticism*. 1st ed., Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1984.
- Kobayashi, Mieko 小林美恵子. "Pen butai ペン部隊 [Pen Corps]." *Onnatachi no sensō sekinin* 女たちの戦争責任 [Women's War Responsibility], edited by Okano Yukie 岡野幸江, Kitada Sachie 北田幸恵, Hasegawa Kei 長谷川啓, Watanabe Sumiko 渡邊澄子, 2004, p. 152.

- Koga, Yukiko. *Inheritance of Loss: China, Japan, and the Political Economy of Redemption after Empire*. 1 ed., University of Chicago Press, 2016.
- Kong, Haili. “The Significance of the Northeastern Writers in Exile, 1931–1945.” *A Companion to Modern Chinese Literature*, edited by Yingjin Zhang, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2015, pp. 312–25.
- Kōra, Rumiko 高良留美子. “Kaisetsu 解説 [Commentary].” *Sensen 戦線 [Front]*. Yumani Shobō ゆまに書房, 2000, pp. 225-28.
- . “Sakka teki yabō no hate—Hayashi Fumiko no ‘hōrō’ no jiku no ue de 作家的野望の果て — 林芙美子の〈放浪〉の軸の上で [The Limit of Writer’s Ambition—Beyond Hayashi Fumiko as ‘Vagabond’].” *Onnatachi no sensō sekinin 女たちの戦争責任 [Women’s War Responsibility]*, edited by Okano Yukie 岡野幸江, Kitada Sachie 北田幸恵, Hasegawa Kei 長谷川啓, Watanabe Sumiko 渡邊澄子, 2004, pp. 153-63.
- Lary, Diana. *The Chinese People at War: Human Suffering and Social Transformation, 1937–1945*. Illustrated ed., Cambridge UP, 2010.
- Lary, Diana, and Stephen MacKinnon. *The Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China*. University of British Columbia Press, 2001.
- Lee, Leo Ou-fan 李歐梵. “Chonghua sangqing yu taohong de ditu 重劃《桑青與桃紅》的地圖 [Redrawing the Map of *Mulberry and Peach*].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing]*, edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 297-300.

- . “On the Margins of the Chinese Discourse: Some Personal Thoughts on the Cultural Meaning of the Periphery.” *Daedalus*, vol. 120, no. 2, The MIT Press, 1991, pp. 207-26.
- . *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945*. 1st ed., Harvard UP, 1999.
- Lee, Sanghyuk 李相赫. “Senjō no yokubō wo meguru jendā kōzō to nijūsei: Hayashi Fumiko no *Sensen*, *Hokugan Butai* 戦場の欲望をめぐるジェンダ——構造と二重性 —— 林芙美子の「戦線」「北岸部隊」 [A Desire for Gender Structure and Ambivalence on War: Hayashi Fumiko’s *Front and Northern Shore Corps*].” *Kokyō: nihongo bungaku kenkyū* 跨境: 日本語文学研究 [Border Crossings: The Journal of Japanese-Language Literature Studies], vol. 8, 2019, pp. 151-72.
- Li, Kailing 李恺玲. “‘Dinü que’ de ge——ping nie hualing xinzuo qianshanwai, shuichangliu ‘帝女雀’的歌——评聂华苓新作《千山外，水长流》 [Jingwei’s Song: Discussing Nie Hualing’s New Work *Far Away, A River*].” *Zhongguo dangdai wenxue yanjiu ziliao congshu nie hualing yanjiu zhuanji* 中国当代文学研究资料丛书 聂华苓研究专集 [Chinese Contemporary Literature Research Materials Series: Research Collection of Nie Hualing], edited by Li Kailing and Chen Zongshu 谌宗恕, Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 湖北教育出版社, 1990, pp. 535-50.
- . “Nie hualing qiren qizuo 聂华苓其人其作 [Biography and Works of Nie Hualing].” *Zhongguo dangdai wenxue yanjiu ziliao congshu nie hualing yanjiu zhuanji* 中国当代文学研究资料丛书 聂华苓研究专集 [Chinese Contemporary Literature Research

- Materials Series: Research Collection of Nie Hualing], edited by Li Kailing and Chen Zongshu 湛宗恕, Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 湖北教育出版社, 1990, pp. 3-13.
- Lin, Sylvia Li-chun. *Representing Atrocity in Taiwan: The 2/28 Incident and White Terror in Fiction and Film*. First Edition, Columbia UP, 2007.
- Liu, Liangya 劉亮雅. *Hou xiandai yu hou zhimin: jieyan yilai Taiwan xiaoshuo zhuanlun* 後現代與後殖民：解嚴以來台灣小說專論 [Postmodernism and Postcolonialism: Taiwanese Fiction since 1987]. Maitian 麥田, 2006.
- Liu, Lydia H. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937*. 1st ed., Stanford UP, 1995.
- Lu, Xun. *Jottings Under Lamplight*. Edited by Eileen J. Cheng and Kirk A. Denton, illustrated ed., Harvard UP, 2017.
- Luckhurst, Roger. *The Trauma Question*. Routledge, 2008.
- MacKinnon, Stephen R. *Wuhan, 1938: War, Refugees, and the Making of Modern China*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2008.
- McDonald, Kate. *Placing Empire: Travel and the Social Imagination in Imperial Japan*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2017.
- Miyake, Yoshiko. “12. Doubling Expectations: Motherhood and Women's Factory Work Under State Management in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s.” *Recreating Japanese women, 1600–1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein. University of California Press, 1991, pp. 267-95.
- Miyata, Toshiyuki 宮田俊行. *Hayashi Fumiko ga mita daitōa sensō* 林芙美子が見た大東亜戦争 [The Greater East Asia War that Hayashi Fumiko Saw]. Hāto Shuppan ハート

- 出版, 2019. Molasky, Michael S. *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory*. Routledge, 1999.
- Mizuta, Noriko. “In Search of a Lost Paradise: The Wandering Woman in Hayashi Fumiko’s *Drifting Clouds*.” *The Woman’s Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women’s Writing*, edited by Paul Gordon Schalow, and Janet A. Walker. Stanford UP, 1996, pp. 329-51.
- Molasky, Michael S. *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory*. Routledge, 1999.
- Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. “Debating Racial Science in Wartime Japan.” *Osiris*, vol. 13, 1998, pp. 354–75.
- Nakamura, Jessica. *Transgenerational Remembrance: Performance and the Asia-Pacific War in Contemporary Japan*. Northwestern UP, 2020.
- Nora, Pierre. “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*.” *Representations*, no. 26, 1989, pp. 7-24.
- . “Preface to the English Language Edition.” *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1 - *Conflicts and Divisions*, 1st ed., Columbia UP, 1996, pp. xv-xxiv.
- Ogata, Akiko 尾形明子. “Hayashi Fumiko ron no kokoromi ensen kara heiwa e no ishi — ‘ame’ ‘Fubuki’ ‘kawa haze’ 林芙美子論の試み 厭戦から平和への意志 — 「雨」「吹雪」「河沙魚」 [Discussion on Hayashi Fumiko from Anti-War to Peace—*Rain, Snowstorm, and Kawahaze Fish*].” *Sensō no kioku to onnatachi no hansen hyōgen* 戦争の記憶と女たちの反戦表現 [Memory of War and Women’s Anti-War Expression], edited by Hasegawa Kei 長谷川啓 and Okano Yukiie 岡野幸江, 2015, pp. 97-122.

- Okano, Yukie 岡野幸江, Kitada Sachie 北田幸恵, Hasegawa Kei 長谷川啓, Watanabe Sumiko 渡邊澄子. “Hajimeni はじめに [Introduction].” *Onnatachi no sensō sekinin* 女たちの戦争責任 [Women’s War Responsibility], edited by Okano Yukie, Kitada Sachie, Hasegawa Kei, Watanabe Sumiko. *Tōkyōdō Shuppan* 東京堂出版, 2004.
- Orr, James J. *The Victim as Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan*. 1st ed., University of Hawaii Press, 2001.
- Pai, Hsien-yung 白先勇. “Shijixing de piaobozhe——chongdu sangqing yu taohong 世紀性的漂泊者——重讀《桑青與桃紅》 [Wanderer across the Century: Rereading *Mulberry and Peach*].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. *Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan* 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 291-96.
- . “The Wandering Chinese: The Theme of Exile in Taiwan Fiction.” *The Iowa Review*, vol. 7, no. 2, Apr. 1976, pp. 205-12.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 1992. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2007.
- Pulvers, Roger. “Fumiko Hayashi: Haunted to the Grave by Her Wartime ‘Flute and Drums.’” *The Japan Times*, 24 June 2012. www.japantimes.co.jp, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2012/06/24/commentary/fumiko-hayashi-haunted-to-the-grave-by-her-wartime-flute-and-drums/>. Accessed 13 October 2021.

- Rene, Helena K. *China's Sent-Down Generation: Public Administration and the Legacies of Mao's Rustication Program*. Illustrated ed., Georgetown UP, 2013.
- Romagnoli, Stefano. "Gendering the War: The Colonial Gaze in Hino Ashihei's *Hana to Heitai*." *Rivista degli studi orientali*, edited by Fabrizio Serra, 2016, pp. 141-62.
- Rosaldo, Renato. "Imperialist Nostalgia." *Representations*, no. 26, University of California Press, 1989, pp. 107-22.
- Rosenfeld, David M. *Unhappy Soldier: Hino Ashihei and Japanese World War II Literature*. Lexington Books, 2002.
- Rosenlee, Li-Hsiang Lisa. *Confucianism and Women: A Philosophical Interpretation*. New ed., State University of New York Press, 2007.
- Rothberg, Michael. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*. Stanford UP, 2009.
- . *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators*. 1st ed., Stanford UP, 2019.
- Sakai, Naoki. "The Regime of Separation and the Performativity of Area." *Positions: Asia Critique*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2019, pp. 241-79.
- Sakaki, Atsuko. *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature*. University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
- Schwarz, Bill. "Memory, Temporality, Modernity: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*." *Memory*, edited by Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, Fordham University, 2010, pp. 41-58.
- Scott, Joan W. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 5, 1986, pp. 1053-75.
- Seraphim, Franziska. *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945–2005*. Harvard University Asia Center, 2008.

- Shen, Weiwei 沈卫威. “‘Liuwang xuesheng’ Qi Bangyuan, Wang Dingjun dui lishi de jianzheng ‘流亡学生’齐邦媛、王鼎钧对历史的见证 [Refugee Students Qi Bangyuan, Wang Dingjun Witnessing History].” *Dushu* 读书, no. 10, 2018, pp. 32-40.
- Spence, Jonathan D. *The Search for Modern China*. 3rd ed., W. W. Norton & Company, 2013.
- Suge, Satoku 菅聡子. “Hayashi Fumiko *Sensen*, *Hokugan Butai* wo yomu—senjō no jendā, haisen no jendā 林芙美子「戦線」「北岸部隊」を読む—戦場のジェンダー、敗戦のジェンダー [Gender in the Battlefield: Reading Fumiko Hayashi’s *Sensen* and *Hokuganbutai*].” *Hyōgen Kenkyū* 表現研究, no. 92, 2010, pp. 25-32.
- Takahashi, Tetsuya 高橋哲哉. *Sengo sekinin ron* 戦後責任論 [Discussion on Postwar Responsibility]. Kōdansha 講談社, 1999.
- Tam, King-fai, et al., editors. *Chinese and Japanese Films on the Second World War*. 1st ed., Routledge, 2014.
- Tanaka, Stefan. *Japan’s Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*. University of California Press, 1995.
- Thomassen, Bjørn. *Liminality and the Modern: Living Through the In-Between*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014.
- Treat, John Whittier. *Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb*. University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Uchiyama, Benjamin. *Japan’s Carnival War: Mass Culture on the Home Front, 1937–1945*. Cambridge UP, 2019.

- Ueno, Chizuko 上野千鶴子. *Nashonarizumu to jendā* ナショナリズムとジェンダー [Engendering Nationalism]. 1998. Seidosha 青土社, 2009.
- Wang, Ban. *Illuminations from the Past: Trauma, Memory, and History in Modern China*. 1st ed., Stanford UP, 2004.
- Wang, David Dewei. *The Monster That Is History: History, Violence, and Fictional Writing in Twentieth-Century China*. University of California Press, 2004.
- Wang, Dingjun 王鼎鈞. *Guanshan duolu* 關山奪路 [Seizing Path along Passes and Mountains]. Erya chubanshe 爾雅出版社, 2005.
- . *Shanli shanwai* 山里山外 [In and Outside Mountains]. Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian 生活·读书·新知三联书店, 2013.
- . *Numu shaonian* 怒目少年 [Youth with Glaring Eyes]. Erya chubanshe 爾雅出版社, 2005.
- Wang, Xiangyuan 王向远. “*Bi budui*” *he qinhua zhanzheng: dui riben qinhua wenxue de yanjiu yu pipan* “笔部队”和侵华战争：对日本侵华文学对研究与批判 [“Pen Corps” and War of Aggression: Research and Criticism about Japanese Literature of Invading China]. Beijing Shifan Daxue Chubanshe 北京师范大学出版社, 1999.
- Williams, Mark, and Rachael Hutchinson, editors. *Representing the Other in Modern Japanese Literature: A Critical Approach*. 1st ed., Routledge, 2006.
- Winter, Jay. *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. Yale UP, 2006.
- Wong, Sau-Ling C. “The Stakes of Textual Border-Crossing: Hualing Nieh’s Mulberry and Peach in Sinocentric, Asian American, and Feminist Critical Practices.” *Orientations*:

- Mapping Studies in the Asian Diaspora*, edited by Kandice Chuh and Karen Shimakawa, Duke UP, 2001, pp. 130-52.
- Xiao, Qian 蕭乾. “Hubei ren nie hualing 湖北人聂华苓 [Nie Hualing from Hubei].” *Sangqing yu taohong 桑青与桃红*, by Nie Hualing 聂华苓, Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe 中国青年出版社, 1980, pp. 183-90.
- . “Nie hualing de lishigan——qianshanwai, shuichangliu duhou 聂华苓的历史感——《千山外，水长流》读后 [The Historical Consciousness of Nie Hualing: After Reading *Far Away, A River*].” *Zhongguo dangdai wenxue yanjiu ziliao congshu nie hualing yanjiu zhuanji 中国当代文学研究资料丛书 聂华苓研究专集* [Chinese Contemporary Literature Research Materials Series: Research Collection of Nie Hualing], edited by Li Kailing and Chen Zongshu 谌宗恕, Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 湖北教育出版社, 1990, pp. 558-60.
- Yan, Haiping. “19. Other Cosmopolitans.” *Cosmopolitanisms*, edited by Bruce Robbins and Paulo Lemos Horta, New York UP, 2017, pp. 254-70.
- Yang, Dominic Meng-Hsuan. *The Great Exodus from China: Trauma, Memory, and Identity in Modern Taiwan*. Cambridge UP, 2020.
- Yang, Qingchu 楊青矗. “Bushu guxiang de guxiang——fang baoluo ange'er he nie hualing 不是故鄉的故鄉——訪保羅·安格爾和聶華苓 [The Hometown That Is Not Hometown: Interviewing Paul Engle and Nie Hualing].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nie Hualing 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓* [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan

- 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 83-96.
- Yang, Xiaobin. *The Chinese Postmodern: Trauma and Irony in Chinese Avant-Garde Fiction*. University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Yao, Huiyao 姚惠耀. *Zhanhou Taiwan “junzhong leyuan” yanjiu (1951–1992)* 戰後臺灣「軍中樂園」研究（1951–1992） [Study on the Postwar Taiwan’s “Military Paradise” (1951–1992)]. 2019. Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue 國立臺灣師範大學 [National Taiwan Normal University], Master’s thesis. *Airiti*, <https://doi.org/10.6345/NTNU201900584>.
- Yao, Jiawei 姚嘉為. “Fangyan shijie wenxue xin: zhuanfang nie hualing 放眼世界文學心——專訪聶華苓 [Looking at the Heart of World Literature: Interview with Nieh Hualing].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 153-63.
- Ye, Shitao 葉石濤. “Nie hualing de fuhuo 聶華苓的復活 [Nieh Hualing’s Resurrection].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 201-02.

- Ying, Fenghuang 應鳳凰. “Nie hualing yanjiu zongshu 聶華苓研究綜述 [Literature Review on Nieh Hualing].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 131-46.
- Yoneyama, Lisa. *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*. First ed., University of California Press, 1999.
- Zhou, Fenling 周芬伶. “Yimin nv zuojia de kun yu tao——zhang ailing fuhua langrui yu nie hualing sangqing yu taohong de lisan 移民女作家的困與逃——張愛玲〈浮花浪蕊〉與聶華苓《桑青與桃紅》的離散書寫與空間隱喻 [The Trapped and Escaped Immigrant Female Writers——Diasporic Writing and Space Metaphor of Zhang Ailing’s “Floating Flowers” and Nieh Hualing’s *Mulberry and Peach*].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 333-54.
- Zhu, Jiawen 朱嘉雯. “Han you younv——nie hualing 漢有遊女——聶華苓 [By the Han Are Girls Rambling About—Nieh Hualing].” *Taiwan xiandangdai zuojia yanjiu ziliao huibian 23—Nieh Hualing* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 23—聶華苓 [Compilation of Research Materials on Modern and Contemporary Writers in Taiwan 23—Nieh Hualing], edited by Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰. Guoli Taiwan wenxueguan 國立台灣文學館, 2012, pp. 209-26.