Frenemy Music?
Jazz and the Aural Imaginary in Wartime Japan

E. Taylor Atkins

Abstract: In my 2001 book Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan, I argued that despite an attempted «total jazz ban», the music survived as «salon/light music» or «hidden jazz», and that musicians from the interwar jazz age found ways to contribute to the «new cultural order» of wartime. Taking advantage of more accessible aural and discographical data than was available in the 1990s, here I expand on these findings, arguing that the principal contribution jazz musicians made to the war effort was to construct an aural imaginary of Japan's Asia-Pacific empire. As the imperial boundaries and front lines moved outward from the archipelago into China and Southeast Asia, musicians and recording companies rushed in behind to create sound pictures and tone poems of newly conquered or occupied terrain. Their songs normalized the Japanese imperial presence in Pacific Asia, making distant lands objects upon which to gaze – with one's ears – making «enemy music» friendlier.

Keywords: Jazz; Japan; Fascism; Colonialism; Orientalism.

On 13 January 1943, Japan's Information Bureau and Home Ministry issued a list of some one thousand American and English songs, «including most jazz music», to be eradicated from the Empire's musical life. Imperial subjects were directed to turn over all recordings and printed scores for these songs, so that they could be destroyed1. When the song list was published, Japan had been at war in the Pacific with the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand for thirteen months. The campaign «to sweep away American and English music from our homes and streets» was part of a much broader purge of Anglo-American cultural and linguistic influence from imperial Japan, to thereby purify public culture, and to «spiritually mobilize» the populace for a protracted war.

It is true that much of the Anglo-American popular songbook was formally banned, that commercial ballrooms were closed, that the number of saxophones in an ensemble was limited, and that banjos, steel guitars, 'ukuleles, trumpet mutes, and «jazz percussion instruments» were outlawed in wartime Japan. However, in my 2001 monograph Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan I debunked the myth of a «total jazz ban» (zettai jazzu kinsbi) that had circulated in oral testimony and in print for half a century – that is, when wartime was discussed at all2.

1 Machi kara mo ie kara mo Beiei ongaku o issō: seiri onban, senjō shu o shitei, in «Mainichi shinbun», 14 January 1943, p. 3; and Beiei ongaku ni tsuihō ret, in «Tokyo Asahi shinbun», 14 Jan. 1943, p. 3.

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I found abundant evidence of a more complex situation. Jazz and dance band musicians were entrusted with regulating their own activities within the broad parameters of Home Ministry directives. Liberal interpretations of those directives, noncompliance, and deceit by performers, record collectors, and jazz enthusiasts were rife, yet punishments were no more severe than a scolding by municipal police or the dreaded military police (kenpeitai). Compared to their counterparts in the USSR and Nazi Germany, Japanese musicians and jazz aficionados fared well: there is no record of musicians or aficionados being jailed or convicted for playing or listening to jazz. An account by drummer Okuda Munehiro (1911-92) illustrates this: after a performance in Osaka, a police officer warned him, «When we counted earlier you hit your cymbal sixty times. You hit it too many times, and that’s Anglo-Americanish [beiei teki]». However, the officer continued, «If you perform mixing in military and folk songs there’s no problem».

Most importantly, vigorous public discussion in the music press culminated in a realistic modus vivendi in which certain elements of jazz and American popular dance music could be either purged or repurposed to serve the war effort and the cultural «New Order» (shin taisel) of the Japanese Empire. Within this context, jazz musicians were proactive in finding a place for themselves in a fascist society at war. Their objective was to at least give the appearance of contributing to the war effort, while continuing in their chosen profession.

There was indeed demand for their services. Popular entertainment was of paramount importance in wartime Japan (ca. 1937-45). Although bellicose slogans decrying frivolity («Luxury is the enemy!» zeitaku wa teki da) cast a pall over cinematic, literary, theatrical, visual, and musical cultures, officials and cultural entrepreneurs understood well that popular media were essential to the spiritual mobilization of the home front. Rather than simply being suppressed by the state, artists and entertainers sought and found ways to continue in their avocations, but now in service to «national policy» (kokusaku). Among them were jazz musicians, whose main sites of employment — commercial dance halls — were closed by the Home Ministry on 31 October 1940. Many high-profile musicians who had been active in the 1920s and 1930s found niches for themselves in wartime society, working as policymakers in patriotic musicians’ associations, in entertainment troupes (imonden) for servicemen at the front, as military bandsmen, as composers and arrangers for recordings of jazz-inspired «light music» (kei ongaku), and most famously as accompanists for The Zero Hour, a short-wave propaganda broadcast aimed at Allied troops in the Pacific hosted by «Tokyo Rose»3. Jazz thus retained enough of a presence that kami-

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kaze pilot Oikawa Hajime ruefully wrote in his diary, «How funny to listen to jazz music on the night before going out to kill the jazzy Americans!»

My intention here is to take advantage of a more accessible aural record than was available when I did my original research in the 1990s, and thereby to expand on these arguments. Remastered compilation CDs are more abundant now, not to mention the fact that the internet and searchable newspaper indexes make it easier to find additional materials. While none of these new sources forces revision of my prior arguments, they facilitate deeper discographical and aural analysis of the commercial musical culture of wartime Japan.

For Japanese the Second World War was both defensive and «holy» (seisen). They described their hard-won Empire as being encircled by the «ABCD» powers (Americans, British, Chinese, and Dutch) and of being strangled to death by the United States’ oil embargo. They claimed their destiny was to liberate Southeast Asia from Western colonial rule, and the Chinese from both the corrupt, inept, «comprador» Nationalist regime and communist insurgents. In the process, Japanese would construct a regional economic zone, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (Dai Tō-a kyōeiken), which they would naturally lead.

The principal contribution jazz musicians made to the war effort was to construct an aural imaginary of Japan’s Asia-Pacific empire. In an essay on the pleasures of world music, Roshanak Kheshtbi uses this term to describe «foremost an affective site to which we are attached», the use of organized sound to create «racialized and gendered music [that] functions in fantasy» about distant places and peoples. My use of the word aural is intended to suggest not just «pertaining to sound» but also the word aura, which musical compositions, recordings, and performances supposedly encapsulated in sound. The imaginary consists of mental maps of imperial space and exotic peoples claimed by Japan. As the imperial boundaries and front lines moved outward from the archipelago into China and Southeast Asia, musicians and recording companies rushed in behind to create sound pictures and tone poems of newly conquered or occupied terrain. Their songs normalized the Japanese imperial presence in Pacific Asia, making distant lands objects upon which to gaze— with one’s ears.

The sound-world crafted by performers, composers, and arrangers with jazz backgrounds was within the officially acceptable, jazz-derived «light music» genre, and thus passed muster during the wartime ban on Anglo-American music. The written text on the center labels pasted onto records was important for deflecting scrutiny and conferring legitimacy on recordings whose contents might under-

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4 Quoted in Fifty Years of Light and Dark: The Hirohito Era, edited by H. Fujimoto, Tokyo, Mainichi Newspapers, 1975, p. 148.

5 At the beginning of the Second World War, the Japanese Empire consisted of Taiwan, Korea, Karafuto (Southern Sakhalin), and the Marshall Islands (technically a League of Nations Mandate), as well as a «client state» in Manchuria (known as Manchukuo in Chinese and Manchūkoku in Japanese).

standably be mistaken for jazz. When the terms *kei ongaku* (light music), *Shina min’yō* (Chinese folk song), or *Nippon min’yō* (Japanese folk song), for instance, were stamped on the center label of 78-RPM records, the musical contents were virtually irrelevant, or at least less suspicious to authorities. After the war, musicians and record collectors alike chuckled that they had been listening to «hidden jazz» (*kakureta jazzu*) all along. Yet the recordings they were listening to were at least as compliant with national policies as they were subversive. They were intended to be musical contributions to a war that was pitched as more spiritual and cultural than strategic. The construction of an aural imaginary that traced the boundaries of the expanding Empire enabled jazz musicians to make positive contributions to wartime culture and society. By doing so they made «enemy music» (*tekisei ongaku*) more friendly.

1. **Jazz journeys to Japan**

In the 1910s and 1920s jazz music, which had originated among the New Orleans black underclass, the marginally more privileged creoles of color, and their Italian immigrant neighbors, caught on among the prosperous cosmopolitan classes in major cities and imperial ports around the world⁷. Japan’s first jazz musicians performed in orchestras aboard transpacific ocean liners; they collected recordings and sheet music when they disembarked on the United States’ west coast; and they studied and copied these for fox-trotters on the return voyage and in luxury hotel ballrooms in Tokyo, Yokohama, Kōbe and Ōsaka. They were part of a multinational group of itinerant musicians that traversed a circuit that extended throughout the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Black American pianist Teddy Weatherford (1903-45) alone found steady gigs in Bombay, Colombo, Calcutta, Singapore, Shanghai, and Jakarta⁸.

After the devastating September 1, 1923, Great Kantō Earthquake leveled much of Tokyo and Yokohama, the epicenter of jazz activity in Japan shifted west to Ōsaka and Kōbe, where violinist/banjoist Ida Ichirō (1894-1972) founded what many

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⁷ On Italian immigrants’ contributions to early jazz, see B.R Raeburn, *Stars of David and Sons of Sicily: Constellations Beyond the Canon in Early New Orleans Jazz*, in «Jazz Perspectives», 2, 2009, pp. 123-152.

regard as the first professional jazz bands, the «Laughing Stars» and «Cherryland Dance Orchestra». Paul Whiteman’s «symphonic jazz» was the single biggest influence on these and later ensembles, which performed at the pay-per-dance ballrooms that proliferated in Japanese cities in the late 1920s and 1930s. Futamura Teiichi’s (1900-48) renditions of My Blue Heaven b/w The Sheik of Araby (1928) were the first «jazz song» (jazu songu) recordings to become major hits, opening opportunities for studio musicians to play jazz. Improvisation, or «faking», was not completely unknown, but neither was it considered essential to the idiom. Thus, only a small handful of Japanese instrumentalists could improvise well in the interwar period.

Not many interwar Japanese jazu songs would be regarded as jazz today; in many cases, the arrangements were not «swung», nor there was much improvisation. There were multiple genre categories in interwar Japanese commercial music, which were usually engraved on the center labels of individual records. Kayōeyoku referred to popular songs with melodies based on the traditional-sounding yonanuki scale (a pentatonic with no fourth and seventh scale degrees); ryūkōka (literally, «flowing songs») were more modern-sounding pop songs; jazu songu, at least originally, were American jazz tunes with lyrics translated into Japanese (e.g., My Blue Heaven, Dinah); shbin min’yō («new folk songs») were new compositions intended to sound «folkish»; saron myūjīkkku (salon music) and kei ongaku (light music) were usually instrumental pieces arranged for mid-sized ensembles. Add to this mix French chansons and Latin American music, and the globalized nature of interwar Japan’s commercial music market becomes clear.

Despite this sizable number of genre classifications, there was considerable overlap that made some songs in one idiom difficult to distinguish from those in another. Musicians, songwriters, arrangers, producers, singers, and ensembles who recorded popular music were not at all confined within these ill-defined boundaries. The glamorous diva Awaysa Noriko (1907-99) was known as a versatile singer of jazz, blues, tango, shbin min’yō, and chansons. One 1934 recording by singer Nakano Tadaharu (1909-70) is actually classified as jazu min’yō («jazz folk song»), and the 1938 patriotic song I Love Japan as a Mills Brothers-style jazu kōrasu («jazz chorus»), by Nakano’s Columbia Rhythm Boys. There is thus little point in splitting hairs to determine whether wartime popular music was jazu or not, when at the time the term could be so broadly applied anyway.

Jazz ignited considerable controversy in Japan, as it did everywhere. Most observers agreed that the music and «convulsive» social dancing portended expressive and sexual emancipation, but they quarreled about whether this was socially beneficial or not. Music critics fretted that jazz facilitated a debasement of popular taste. Nativists objected to its foreign provenance and the frivolity and debauchery it encouraged in «modern girls and boys» (moga and mobo). Despite the cosmopolitan nature of politics, lifestyles, and popular entertainment, there was also general alarm

9 Nakano Tadaharu, Kushimoto buski, Nippon Columbia 28034A, 1934. In Nakano’s discography, the term genre label «jazz chorus» was last used on a November 1939 release (www.tadaharu.com/nakano-list.pdf).
about cultural atrophy in interwar Japan, which encouraged a variety of fascistic agendas.

Alan Tansman has argued that, as in Europe, Japanese fascism was a reactionary modernist response to the threats of social and political division created by the economic and social crises following the First World War. The social, economic, and cultural conditions that gave birth to European fascism were shared by Japan.

More so than its political system, the expressive culture of Japan in the 1930s exhibited fascist characteristics: a «passion for [redemptive] violence», an obsession with «purity and nationhood», and «complete submission, either to absolute order or an undifferentiated but liberating experience of violence». The «language of state propaganda and popular media, which imparted ideology in more obvious ways», converged with autonomous works of literature, art, and music «to help form a fascist sensibility».

It would be unfair to say that wartime jazz musicians had «fascist agendas» so defined. A «passion for violence» was happily absent, and although they certainly contributed to chimeric notions of «national spirit» (kokumin seisbin and Yamato damashii) and the normalization of imperial expansion, «purity» (in the ethno-national, not the moral, sense) was not an issue for them. In fact, as I have argued before, their musical interests and influences remained resolutely cosmopolitan. Jazzmen were simply not convincing fascists.

2. Enemy music

If fascism was a reaction to the contradictions and shortcomings of global capitalist modernity and liberalism, of which jazz was the musical incarnation, then it stands to reason that people with «fascist sensibilities» would regard jazz as «enemy music». Nearly two decades of suspicion, vexation, and antipathy toward jazz culminated in an official repudiation of the music, based on its racial origins in African America, its «lascivious» sonorities, speedy tempos, improvisational «excesses», and overall lack of dignity. Well before the war with the United States began, the

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Home Ministry was publicly advocating that jazz be «banished» from the airwaves and commercial recordings.\(^{12}\)

One of the most scathing indictments was penned by someone who, as an early advocate of jazz, knew it well enough to be a persuasive critic. Since the mid-1920s, prominent music writer and composer Horiuchi Keizō (1897-1983) had written insightful essays that explained jazz in its cultural context and historical moment. To know jazz was to understand modernity and American culture, particularly its African American strains. In his wartime commentary Horiuchi continued in this historian, sociological vein, although his opinion of jazz music was much less favorable.

It goes without saying that music should encourage daring, patriotism, and courage in the people, enrich them and give them hope, and support their lives in time of war. At this point in time it is especially incumbent upon those of us in the music business to use all means possible to render public service through our music. To fight America and England, we must wipe out any feelings of closeness to them. The tolerant Japanese character has by and large uncritically accepted the culture of all countries [...] Fortunately there is almost nothing to learn from America and England when it comes to music, but even if there was, in these times we should avoid familiarity with their music [...] Most Anglo-American music was born of capitalism, liberalism, individualism, and profitism. Even if hostilities with America and England had not begun, it is clear that such music is undesirable in Japan today. We hereby advocate the elimination of Anglo-American music. We believe it proper to avoid even Hawaiian music and the music of Native Americans and black Americans – which is the music of ethnic groups oppressed by [white] Americans and therefore is of no concern to us – as the music of the enemy. Besides, there is no need for Japanese today to perform the music of oppressed [ethnic] nations [minzoku] or of [ethnic] nations with no state. Jazz has already been suppressed. There is no other Anglo-American music worthy of taking up\(^ {13}\).

Horiuchi’s essay amounted to more than a critique of jazz: it was also a call for a reconsideration of the role of popular music in a country at war. This theme was echoed by a number of writers, with varying levels of musical expertise, throughout the war.

To be sure, military songs (gunka), which had been popular since the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), gradually monopolized the wartime soundscape; by 1944-45 commercial recordings, radio broadcasts, and live performances of gunka were nearly all one could hear in the public sphere. But in the late 1930s and early 1940s there was considerable optimism that popular songs (kayōkyoku) and light music could be retooled or sanitized to provide good cheer and «wholesome» relief from wartime stresses, in ways that Western concert music, traditional Japanese music (hōgaku), folk songs (min'yō), and gunka could not. Hōgaku was a catchall term invented

\(^{12}\) Jazu mo tsubō - waratsu nado no shi, kyoku ni mo seigen, in «Yomiuri shinbun», 3 August 1940, p. 3; Denpa mo jazu tsubō, in ivi, 6 August 1940, p. 5.

\(^{13}\) K. Horiuchi, Dai tōa sensō ni shō suru ongaku bunka no shinro, in «Ongaku no tomo», January 1942, pp. 10-11, pp. 12-14. Translation by the author same as for all other translations into English.
in the Meiji period (1868-1912) to cover all forms of indigenous music, which had previously been identified with particular social categories. The more elite genres — imperial court (gagaku), theater (nō), chamber (sankyoku), and Buddhist devotional (shōmyō) music — were too serene and austere for wartime. Popular narrative ballads (nanowa bushi and nagauta) and folk songs (min'yō) could be every bit as bawdy and decadent as jazz. Min'yō were also too parochial or regionally-based to have national appeal, and too «old-smelling» (furukusai) for modern audiences. Gunka's formulaic military cadences got the blood pumping, but those grew tiresome and repetitive, and lyrics about «honorable war deaths» (meiyo senshi) were reliably morose. For instance, Divine Soldiers of the Sky («Sora no shinpei», 1942) describes the bodies of godlike, «babyfaced» paratroopers being «smashed into fleshy gunpowder» (nikudanbun to kudaku tomo)\(^{14}\). It is odd that something called «light music» was considered suitable for wartime. But setting that aside for the moment, what was it? Maruyama Tetsuo (1910-88), the vice president for music programming at public broadcaster Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK) stated that, whereas jazz was a «fanatical music» deployed by «Jewish capital» to «manipulate the Japanese people», and characterized by «saccharine melodies and decadent lyrics», light music was «pretty and rhythmical» music «that one can enjoy listening to lightly». By definition, Maruyama implied, domestic light music lacked jazz's abundant defects\(^{15}\). Others elaborated on these points: jazz «expressed the [American] national characteristics of frivolity, the supremacy of materialism, and the overwhelming sense of triviality». The abolition of «vulgar, decadent, lascivious, noisy» jazz need not portend the end of popular music, but rather its «purification»\(^{16}\). Articles in music journals claimed that jazz offered nothing of value to Japanese musical culture. Besides having a «substantial musical tradition» of its own, Japan was allied with Italy and Germany, great «musical nations». «Anglo-Saxon nations […] have not really been blessed with a musical heritage»\(^{17}\). «Fortunately», another writer contended, «our enemies America and England are not at all «exceptional countries» when it comes to music, and thankfully, erasing Anglo-American music from this world will cause good musicians no pain»\(^{18}\). The challenge for composers, arrangers, lyricists, performers, producers, and recording companies was to create

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\(^{14}\) Sora no shinpei (Umeki Saburō, lyrics; Takagi Tōroku, music), from Senji kayō (King KICX 8428, 1997).


\(^{18}\) E. Ara, Teki Beiei no onban, in «Ongaku chishiki», November 1944, pp. 18-19.
«a musical culture that is stronger than that of Anglo-America in order to fight America and England with our own music»  

The language here is striking for assigning a bold quasi-military role to popular music. The military campaign in the Pacific and continental Asia was paralleled by a «culture war» at home. The paradox of wartime was whether or not music-makers could craft something that anyone would «enjoy listening to lightly», while also inspiring nationalist sentiments and greater exertions for the Empire's ultimate victory. Little wonder, then, that the task was described grandiosely as a «light music revolution» (kei ongaku kakumei)  

3. Befriending the enemy

Arguably, the most viable template for a Japanese national popular music (kokumin ongaku) designed to «appeal to the people's sentimentality and reinforce cultural norms in people's minds» had already been created several years before the essays cited above were written. The collective work of songwriter/saxophonist Hattori Ryōichi (1907-33), veteran pianist Taira Shigeo (1903-??), clarinetist/arranger Sano Tasuku (1908-96), and King Records staff arranger Sugii Kōichi (1906-42) comprised this template. The jazzy platform from which they constructed an aural imaginary of Japan's Pacific Asian empire raises the question of whether jazz was more friend than enemy to the musical culture of the New Order. Here I will focus on the music of Hattori and Sugii, the most prolific and popular of the four.

Although their projects aligned well with wartime admonishments to «write pieces with Japanese feeling», they were generally not government-sponsored musical propaganda pieces extolling national policies. At best, they can be characterized as «unofficial propaganda» that reflected both individual artistic interests, and as timely responses to the cultural marketplace during a time of militarized imperial expansion. In the 1930s, as the Japanese military set up a client state in the Chinese Northeast (Manchuria), and became increasingly bellicose toward Republican China under Guomindang (Nationalist Party) rule, media culture and consumers developed an interest in films, literature, music, cartoons, and visual art that provided (mis)information about continental Asia.

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19 M. Morita, Ongaku, cit., pp. 555-561; Maruyama and Wada, Taidan, cit., p. 12.
20 Kei ongaku no kakumei, in «Ongaku bunka», June 1944, reprinted in Nihon no yōgaku byakuten shi, edited by M. Inoue, T. Akiyama, Tokyo, cit., pp. 565-564. K. Satō, Nippon kei ongaku no hoko, in «Ongaku no tomo», April 1943, p. 33; Maruyama and Wada, Taidan, cit., p. 12. Sometimes the genre was called «salon music» (saron myūjikkusu), but as a foreign loan word (gairai) it probably fell out of favor.
22 See A. Culver, Glorify the Empire, cit.; L. Young, Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997; J. Robertson, Ta-
Hattori, Sugii, Taira, and Sano independently tapped into this market by writing jazz-inflected arrangements of Japanese and Asian folk songs, and new compositions called «continental melodies» (tairiku merodii), aural «evocations of continental Asia» produced and consumed to create a sense of «exoticism» or «pleasure in the foreign» 23. Occasionally, they wrote or arranged blatantly patriotic songs (with military sponsorship), but their work was usually more subtle, claiming to capture either the essence of Japanese national spirit or the encapsulated aura of an exotic Asia-Pacific locale that had—or would—come under Japanese imperial control. In the music of these men, national policies, profit motive, and creative exploration converged nicely. These were kinder, gentler celebrations of Japanese imperialism than gunka were.

Hattori Ryōichi, former student of a Russian refugee from the Bolshevik Revolution who had studied with Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, was a jazzman from the earliest days of Japan’s exposure to the music. The Osaka native had taken up tenor saxophone and played in dance orchestras until he signed with Nippon Columbia as house composer/arranger in 1936. Among his early hits were purposeful efforts to create «Japanese jazz» and «Japanese blues»: The Mountain Temple Priest («Yamadera no oshō-san», 29300A, 1937); and Separation Blues («Wakare no biruisu», 29384A, 1937). The former was a Japanese children’s song that Hattori adapted for a jazz chorus, the «Nakano Rhythm Boys». Voiced by Ayaya Noriko, Separation Blues used the chord progression of W.C. Handy’s St. Louis Blues to support a lyric of parting lovers in Yokohama’s Honmoku district. In each case, Hattori sought to «emphasize the rhythm and maintain a jazz style», while aiming to create a «Japanese jazz» and a «Japanese blues that used the emotions of Japanese people as material» 24.

Collaborating with several different lyricists, between 1938 and 1942 Hattori composed and orchestrated music for a number of jazz-inflected tairiku songs that promoted the Empire. His wartime output can be generally divided into three categories: 1) patriotic Japan-themed songs; 2) wistful China-themed «scenery songs» (fukei mono), released coincident with the horrific fighting between the Imperial Army and the combined Chinese Nationalist and Communist forces; and 3) songs about Korea and Southeast Asia, as the Empire expanded and assimilation policies.


R. Hattori, Boku no ongakujinsei, Tokyo, Chūō Bungeisha, 1982, p. 140. One recent remastered compilation is Seiten 100 shūnen kinen kikaku—Boku no ongaku jinsei (Columbia COCA 71103-05, 2006).
in established colonies intensified under the «imperialization» (kōminka) campaign. The discography below summarizes the pioneering jazzman’s wartime efforts to construct an aural imaginary of Pacific Asia. He was clearly most prolific as a composer of songs about China.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nippon Columbia Catalog #</th>
<th>Performers</th>
<th>Lyricist</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>君は北満の軍旗</td>
<td>You Are The Battle Flag Fluttering in North Manchuria</td>
<td>29125</td>
<td>Otomaru (Nagai Matsuko) &amp; Mamechiyo (Fukuda Yaeko)</td>
<td>Saijō Yaso &amp; Nomura Toshio</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>日本大好き</td>
<td>I Love Japan</td>
<td>29710B</td>
<td>Nakano Tadaharu Columbia Rhythm Boys</td>
<td>Nomura Toshio</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>南京土産</td>
<td>Nanjing Souvenir</td>
<td>29800</td>
<td>Miss Columbia (Matsubara Misao)</td>
<td>Saijō Yaso</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ジャズ浪曲</td>
<td>Jazz Rōkyoku</td>
<td>29893B</td>
<td>Nakano Tadaharu Columbia Rhythm Boys</td>
<td>Hattori Ryōich</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>チャイナ・タンゴ</td>
<td>China Tango</td>
<td>30202</td>
<td>Nakano Tadaharu</td>
<td>Fujiura Kō</td>
<td>1939</td>
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<tr>
<td>広東ブルース</td>
<td>Canton Blues</td>
<td>30245</td>
<td>Watanabe Hamako</td>
<td>Fujiura Kō</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>東京ブルース</td>
<td>Tokyo Blues</td>
<td>30291</td>
<td>Awaya Noriko</td>
<td>Saijō Yaso</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>アリラン・ブルース</td>
<td>Arirang Blues</td>
<td>100001A</td>
<td>Watanabe Hamako &amp; Kirishima Noboru</td>
<td>Saijō Yaso</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
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<td>Manchuria Blues</td>
<td>100097</td>
<td>Awaya Noriko</td>
<td>Kubota Shōji</td>
<td>1940</td>
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<td>ホット・チャイナ</td>
<td>Hot China</td>
<td>100104</td>
<td>Kasagi Shizuko</td>
<td>Hattori Ryūtarō</td>
<td>1940</td>
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<tr>
<td>蘇州夜曲</td>
<td>Suzhou Nocturne</td>
<td>100135</td>
<td>Watanabe Hamako &amp; Kirishima Noboru</td>
<td>Saijō Yaso</td>
<td>1940</td>
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<td>ロッパ南へ行く</td>
<td>Roppa Goes South</td>
<td>100152B</td>
<td>Furukawa Roppa &amp; Columbia Children’s Chorus</td>
<td>Satō Hachirō</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>西貢だより</td>
<td>Saigon Missive</td>
<td>100386</td>
<td>Fujiwara Ichirō, Watanabe Hamako, &amp; Columbia Children’s Chorus</td>
<td>Tsukihara Tōichirō</td>
<td>1942</td>
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<td>パリ島の舞姫</td>
<td>Dancing Princess of Bali</td>
<td>100533</td>
<td>Futaba Akiko</td>
<td>Satō Sōnosuke</td>
<td>1942</td>
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</table>

25 Rōkyoku (also pronounced naniwa bushi) refers to sorrowful narrative ballads that originated in the Meiji period (1868-1912) and were popular in the early twentieth century.
The lyrics of these pieces resist elegant translation into English, reading instead like simple impressionistic lists of the distinctive hallmarks of exotic Asian locales. They «create loose symbolic frames within which the foreign can be imagined», Edgar Pope observes, «diminoid spaces where the listener can play with exotic images and sensations».

«Canton Blues» (1939)

丘の上からバンドを見ければ
赤い灯青い灯夢のいろ
ゆれて流れてどこへ行く
フラワーボートの恋の歌
胡弓さびしそ盲妹かなし
月の夜更の広東ブルース

From atop the knoll, if you view the Bund
Red lamps, blue lamps, the color of dreams
Sways and flows, going where?
The flower boat’s song of love—
How sad the huqin (fiddle) and sad blind girl
The moon’s late-night Canton blues.

«Manchuria Blues» (1940)

嬉し懷かしハルビンの
赤い灯よ青い灯よ
明日は別れて旅の鳥
歌い明かそよ満州ブルース

Happily nostalgic Harbin’s
Red and blue lamps,
Tomorrow we part, traveling bird
Stay up singing, Manchuria blues

«Hot China» (1940)

チャイナ チャイナ チャイナ
チャイナ ホット・チャイナ
それ 今宵はお祭 シナ祭
陽気な町 あの町
チャイナ チャイナ チャイナ
チャイナ ホット・チャイナ
而出る 姉妹 漫々的
而出る 小孩 快々的
シナ太鼓は ボンボボン

China, China, China
China, Hot China
This evening there’s a festival, Chinese festival
A cheerful town, that town
China, China, China
China, Hot China …
Coming out, a Chinese girl, slowly and easily
Coming out, a child, cheerfully
The Chinese drum goes boom boom.

Given the prominence of the word «hot» in the jazz lexicon, its use here is a nod toward the «enemy music» on which Hattori had cut his teeth. But it is also evocative in an ironic way: as the site of what had become a cruel war of attrition with Japan, China was indeed «hot».

What is most noteworthy about these tairiku songs is how unremarkable they are. All the touchstones of Japan’s conventional popular music lexicon are there: namida (tears), wakare (separation), yume (dream), natsukashii (nostalgic), naku (to weep),

26 E. Pope, Songs of the Empire, cit., pp. 321-322.
27 Bund refers to the road alongside an embanked quay. The Shanghai and Canton Bunds were roads along which large Western-style buildings were built and which became popular tourist sites.
tsuki (moon), machi (street), and mune (breast, heart). The main differences are the settings, indicated not only by the place names in the titles, but also by conspicuous mention of stereotypical local customs, attire, scents, sights, and destinations.

In Hattori's taikoku jazz pieces the same emotions expressed in song by Japanese at home are also experienced by Japanese expatriates throughout Asia. Implicitly, the perspectives, the sensory experiences described in these songs, and the emotions they elicit, are those of Japanese observers and visitors. Things foreign—Asian—trigger «Japanese feelings». Wherever the implied protagonists are, they are home, as the exotic is made familiar and emotionally relevant to sojourners from the metropole. This is precisely how Hattori's music normalized empire for his wartime listeners: when journeying vicariously throughout the expanding imperium, they developed affective attachments to the «scenery» (fukei) because it elicited habitual emotional responses. In keeping with the rhetoric of pan-Asian ideology, Japanese in Canton, Saigon, Nanjing, Seoul, and Manchuria were both abroad and at home.

I Love Japan (1938) is a notable departure from this formula, presumptuously speaking in a «Chinese» voice, and telling Japanese listeners exactly what they wanted to hear:

```
空に五色の 旗高く
産まれ出てきた 新国家
明るく支那の 夜は明けて
日本人 やさし
悪い人な 好きあるよ
すがる よろし
全都 それ嘘でない
日本好き 親切よ
皆々 好きな人ばかり
離れられない 日本・支那
そこを邪魔する いやな奴
仲良し姿 見せてやり
胸の溜れ 下げたいな
よその国 僕
騙すことは ダメあるよ
憎む よろし
全都 それ嘘でない
日本好き 親切よ
皆々 慈し深いです
誰が来たても 知らぬ顔
強い日本の 手にすがり
五色の旗も 落ちた
明日は楽土に してみたい
私たち親し とても嬉し
感謝するよ 気持ち良い
全都 それ嘘でない
日本好き 親切よ
皆々 仲良ししましょう
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High in the sky, the five-color flag [of Manchukuo]
A new nation born
China's dawn comes brightly...
Japanese [are] kind,
No bad people, but [they] have love—
It's fine to entreat them.

It's no lie—
I love Japan, [it's] so kind
All of them, likable people only
Inseparable Japan and China
Scoundrels, those who hinder that.
Show your friendly side

I want my heart to feel refreshed.
Other countries [are] detestable.
[Their] deception is awful,
It's fine to test [them].

It's no lie—
I love Japan, [it's] so kind,
All of them so tender-hearted.
We ignore others who come [here],
Clinging to the hand of mighty Japan.
The five-color flag cheerfully,
I want to make a paradise [for] tomorrow.
We are happy, so very happy,
We are grateful, feeling wonderful
It's no lie—
I love Japan, [it's] so kind.
Let's all be friends.
In what one might call his imperial-nationalist turn, Hattori often broadened his musical palette beyond conventional jazz/dance band orchestration, to fashion soundscapes that were as evocative of exotic locales as his collaborators’ lyrics were. He sometimes incorporated formal elements such as Asian pentatonic scales and even instrumentation into his jazz – although he also coaxed sounds from Western orchestral instruments that mimicked Asian ones. Like a lot of orientalist pop songs, «China Tango» (1939) opens with a gong burst; it also features a counterpoint melody on violin, imitating a Chinese fiddle (huqin) to signify Chinese musical exoticism. Pope has noted that Hattori likely appropriated sonic orientalist tropes from American popular music and cinema to craft his aural imaginary of Japan’s continental nemesis.

In contrast to Hattori’s wartime output, which consisted mostly of newly-composed aural portraits of Pacific Asia that accompanied lyrics, accordionist Sugii Kōichi focused more on instrumental renditions of extant folk repertoire in his Salon Music Series for King Records. In Blue Nippon I described Sugii’s tonal palette as «Ellingtonian» in its breadth and versatility. To be sure, he was more than a jazzman and – probably as a result of its declining political acceptability – the word jazu was rarely applied to his music. Nevertheless, from a purely aesthetic standpoint, his work is a highlight of imperial Japan’s jazz heritage – indeed, his oeuvre would hold up much better by today’s standards of «swing» and definitions of «jazz» than most jazu of his era, including Hattori’s. That said, it also conformed well enough with wartime «national policy» that its lingering jazziness could be overlooked.

Here is a discography of Sugii’s recordings that contributed to the aural imaginary of the Japanese Empire:

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30 It appears that only two Sugii records were marked as jazu songu. Both featured the King Jazz Band accompanying Sugii’s vocals. One of these was an adaptation of Blauer Himmel (Blue Sky), a tango by German composer Josef Rixner (1902-73), a fellow writer of «salon music». This 1937 recording (King 737) featured original lyrics by Nogawa Kobun (1900-57), a pioneering jazz writer using the pseudonym Ōi Jazurō 大井蛇津郎 (Let’s jazz a lot). The second, «The Wharf Darkens» (Hatoba kurete, King 794, 1937), was a Sugii original marked both as jazu songu and «fox trot» (fokkusutorotto).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese title</th>
<th>English title</th>
<th>King catalog #</th>
<th>Source (region/prefecture or composer)</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>満州娘</td>
<td>Manchurian Girl</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Ishimatsu Shuji/Suzuki Tetsuo</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>おけさ節</td>
<td>Song of Sado Okesa</td>
<td>2774</td>
<td>Sado Island (Niigata prefecture) folk song</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>木曽節</td>
<td>Song of the Kiso [River]</td>
<td>2778</td>
<td>Nagano folk song</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鹿児島小原節</td>
<td>Song of Kagoshima Ohara</td>
<td>2852</td>
<td>Kagoshima folk song</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>安来節</td>
<td>Song of Yasugi</td>
<td>2867</td>
<td>Shimane folk song</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>八木節</td>
<td>Song of Yagi</td>
<td>2872</td>
<td>Gunma folk song</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>新磯節</td>
<td>New Song of Iso</td>
<td>2879</td>
<td>bauta or zokkyoku—short love song dating from Edo period (1600-1868) – from Ibaraki</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>串本節</td>
<td>Song of Kushimoto</td>
<td>3027</td>
<td>Wakayama folk song</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>草津節</td>
<td>Song of Kusatsu</td>
<td>3040</td>
<td>Gunma folk song</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>太湖船</td>
<td>Boat on Tai Lake</td>
<td>3166</td>
<td>Chinese folk song (Taigu Chuan)</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>黄河の連</td>
<td>Yellow River Gang</td>
<td>3201</td>
<td>Chinese folk song (Huanghe weitulian)</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>紗窓</td>
<td>Gossamer Curtain</td>
<td>3234</td>
<td>Chinese folk song (Shachuang)</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>九連環</td>
<td>Nine Linked Rings</td>
<td>3257</td>
<td>Chinese folk song (Jiulianhuan)</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>春雨</td>
<td>Spring Rain</td>
<td>3595</td>
<td>bauta/zokkyoku</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>かっぽれ</td>
<td>Kappore</td>
<td>3602</td>
<td>Edo-period folk song (zokuyō), from Sumiyoshi shrine dance</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>梅にも春</td>
<td>Spring in the Plum</td>
<td>3613</td>
<td>bauta/zokkyoku</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>妓さん</td>
<td>The Attendant</td>
<td>3618</td>
<td>Edo-period zokkyoku</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>広東の花売娘</td>
<td>Canton Flower Girl</td>
<td>4120</td>
<td>Satō Sōnosuke/Uehara Gendo</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>伊那節</td>
<td>Song of Ina</td>
<td>4556</td>
<td>Nagano folk song</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大漁節</td>
<td>Song of the Big [Fish] Catch</td>
<td>4584</td>
<td>Chiba folk song</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>追分31</td>
<td>Crossroad</td>
<td>4598</td>
<td>Hokkaidō folk song</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鴨緑江</td>
<td>Yalu River</td>
<td>4662</td>
<td>Korean folk song</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>上海の花売娘</td>
<td>Shanghai Flower Girl</td>
<td>4793</td>
<td>Kawamata Eiichi/Uehara Gendo</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The discography shows that Sugii’s output consisted mostly of jazz orchestrations of Japanese folk songs (min’yō), and popular ballads (bauta) and so-called «vulgar songs» from the Edo period (zokkyoku and zokuyō). This series of recordings obviously tapped into the wartime marketability of nationalism; however, by choosing a

31 Hattori Ryōichi also recorded a jazz arrangement of this folk song, Oiwake (Nippon Columbia 29005, 1936).
regional variety of folk material, it also satiated consumer demand for musical representation of their hometowns (furusato or kokyō), and curiosity about the songs of different parts of the country. Thus Sugii was more prolific as a creator of nationalistic musical self-portraiture than his contemporary Hattori. Finally, as I argued in Blue Nippon, the selection of Japanese folk repertoire for jazz treatment enabled Sugii to venture into uncharted artistic territory within the idiom.

There are three tairiku songs in Sugii’s oeuvre: Manchurian Girl, Canton Flower Girl, and Shanghai Flower Girl. The debut recording by Hattori Ryōichi’s younger sister Hattori Tomiko (1917-81), Manchurian Girl assumes the voice of the eponymous girl who thinks only of love, oblivious to the occupation of her land by the Japanese military.

I’m a sixteen-year-old Manchurian girl,
It’s spring, March—in the snow thaw
If the winter jasmine blooms
I will go as a bride to the neighboring village—
Please wait, Mr. Wang, okay?

While sent by gong and drum
Shaken by the flower carriage
Many more [song] lyrics,
So shy and happy,
With dreams only of becoming a bride—
Please wait, Mr. Wang, okay?

Snow and ice—if the frigid wind
Blows in northern Russia, that will be good.
In formal wear, waiting to meet my mother
Manchurian spring, fly here!
Please wait, Mr. Wang, okay?

Lastly, in August 1939 King released Sugii’s intriguing quadriptych Popular Songs of China (Shina meikyoku ben). Boat on Tai Lake and Gossamer Curtain are the jazziest pieces; Sugii swings the melodies lightly and features improvised solos and breaks on trombone, tenor saxophone, clarinet, and drum kit. Like Hattori, Sugii employs woodblocks and a violin evoking the Chinese fiddle (buqin or erhu) on Yellow River Gang to create a Sino-musical atmosphere. Nine Linked Rings is set to a Cuban rumba rhythm, with Sugii stating the melody on his accordion. There is something elegantly, if unintentionally, poetic about this song, which refers to a Chinese mechanical puzzle (jiulanbuan): by 1939 hostilities on the continental front had become a perplexing and frustrating quagmire for the military command.
4. East Asia Fantasia

In the 1930s and early 1940s, all of imperial Japan’s commercial mass media were actively dressing imperialism in the brightest colors», as V.I. Lenin put it. On stage and screen, on phonographs and radios, in visual and print media (fiction, travel literature, cartoons, magazines, children’s literature, and newspapers), different areas of the Japanese Empire were promoted as attractive sites for settlement, tourism, entrepreneurship, and new friendships with deferential, grateful locals. The construction of an imaginary Asia was vital for building popular support and enthusiasm for imperial expansion among the people who would actually be going or sending their menfolk to the front lines. Of course, the vigorous resistance they met everywhere they went quickly disabused soldiers and sailors of whatever delusions songs like I Love Japan or Shanghai Flower Girl might have planted in their minds.

Under siege as their music and their workplaces (commercial dance halls) became politically incorrect, jazz musicians made aural contributions to the imperial imaginary, under no apparent duress from the state. Compared to other, more fascistic media content, wartime jazz was nonviolent, sunny, and relatively benign. But at least until 1942, «light» or «salon» music of varying degrees of jazziness (by which I mean melodic and rhythmic swing and space for instrumental improvisation) remained part of wartime Japan’s soundscape.

As mentioned before, Hattori and Sugii were not alone in writing and recording jazz disguised as light/salon music during the war. Inspired by his trip to entertain troops in Southeast Asia, reedman Sano Tasuku composed and arranged some Indonesia-themed songs for Nippon Victor: the Indonesia folk song Bengawan Solo (Biwashi no kawa, The River Solo, A-4907A) and The Java Mango Vendor (Jawa no mango uri, V-40018A) – the latter was even credited to the Victor Swingsters, in 1942! In addition to some Japanese folk songs, pianist Taira Shigeo (whom I had the pleasure of interviewing in 1995, when he was 91) arranged the most overtly patriotic material of the lot, some of which was openly credited to the Nippon Victor Jazz Band/Orchestra.

We should remember that jazz(wo)men in Japan were hardly unique in writing, singing, recording, and performing jazz in service to the war effort. American jazz icon Duke Ellington wrote and recorded songs such as A Slip of the Lip (Can Sink a Ship) and Sherman Shuffle (for the M4 Sherman tank). Other jazz acts recorded older musical Americana and performed for troops through the United Service

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese title</th>
<th>English title</th>
<th>Victor catalog #</th>
<th>Composers and lyricists</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>戦友ぶし</td>
<td>Song of War Comrades</td>
<td>J-54165A</td>
<td>Sacki Takao and Sasaki Shun’ichi</td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>戦線日記</td>
<td>Diary from the Front</td>
<td>J-54350B</td>
<td>Sacki Takao and Sasaki Shun’ichi</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>一億の合唱</td>
<td>Chorus of the 100 Million</td>
<td>J-54459B</td>
<td>Sacki Takao and Azuma Tatsuzō</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>太平洋行進曲</td>
<td>Pacific March</td>
<td>J-54591A</td>
<td>Yokoyama Masanori and Fuse Hajime</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>海の勇者</td>
<td>Brave Men of the Sea</td>
<td>J-54591B</td>
<td>Amaguchi Ryū, Katsu Yoshio, and Iida Nobuo</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Organization - USO\(^3^4). They did so, however, in an environment in which their music was not officially verboten. By participating in a broader campaign within the entertainment industry to inspire cultural nationalism (via modern arrangements of indigenous folk songs), and to create enchanting images of territories within the expanding Empire (through recordings and performances of folk material from China, Korea, and Southeast Asia, tairiku songs intended to foster affective attachments to these places), jazz artists found their niche in wartime society. Despite the Japanese imperial state’s frequent statements of antipathy, jazz artists found ways to make «enemy music» friendlier to «national policy».

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Fig. 1. Announcement of the ban on Anglo-American music recordings from the Mainichi newspaper 14 Jan. 1943.

Fig. 2. An entertainment troupe (geinōjin imondan) performs for an Imperial Navy amphibious force in China. Date unknown (Source: blog.livedoor.jp/yanagi470/archives/2010-04-18.html).
Fig. 3. 1943 cartoon from the Mainichi newspaper in support of the ban on jazz records (Source: www2.ttcn.ne.jp/heikiseikatsu/rekisi/beiei.htm).