

MADAME BUTTERFLY AND MEN OF EMPIRE:
STEREOTYPING AND TRAUMA IN 20TH CENTURY
NOVELS

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ABSTRACT

While most research has rightfully focused on sexism and racism in 'Madame Butterfly' texts (Marchetti 1993; van Rij 2001; Morris 2002; Koshy 2004; Prasso 2005; Park 2010), this thesis argues that stereotypical protagonists and narrative themes from Puccini's fin de siècle opera, *Madama Butterfly*, reappeared after wars in Korea and Vietnam and in the first years of the new millennium as prototypes for two traumatic, sub-textual 'ghosts' suppressed in public discourses: an 'unmanly', psychologically-wounded Western subject-as-perpetrator, and a scarred Asian woman, the civilian victim of Western atomic and incendiary weapons, an almost un-representable figure.

This thesis draws on a variety of fields, including literary trauma theory (Mandel 2006; Weaver 2010; Visser 2011; Balaev 2015), military masculinity studies and social psychology. It examines, in close readings within cultural, historical contexts, the synergies between trauma and moral (*thèmis*) conflict represented in a selection of twentieth century 'Madame Butterfly' narratives, primarily by ex-military writers, at three significant moments in history: firstly, 1880-1912; secondly, post-WWII from 1950-1980, including the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Vietnam Conflict; and, thirdly, from the 1990s to the early 2000s, the turn of the new millennium. 'Moral conflict' in this thesis refers to Shay's definition of *thèmis* as 'just order' or 'what is right' (*Achilles in Vietnam* 5) and to the idea that a disjuncture between *thémis* and experience can cause psychological damage (Shay *Odysseus in America* 33). Examples of novels representing this disjuncture include *Fifth Daughter* by Hal Gurney (1957), Jere Peacock's *Valhalla* (1961), James Webb's *The Emperor's General* (1999), and Anthony Swofford's *Exit A* (2007).

The examination of twentieth-century reconstructions of *Madama Butterfly's* gendered and racist stereotypes in these novels has found evidence supporting Gilman's notion (in *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness*) that stereotyping reveals much about the fears and anxieties of those producing the stereotypes, that 'pathology' in human cognition stems from 'disorder and loss of control, the giving over of the self to the forces that lie beyond the self' (Gilman 24), to trauma. This thesis examines the notion that Madame Butterfly stereotypes and themes allowed veterans 'to write about the war' for an uncomprehending public, as did Salinger in *Catcher in the Rye*. Along the way, the thesis also attempts to understand why Western men should have maintained such an emotional attachment to a quaint fin de siècle literary figure for an entire century.

INTRODUCTION

In the decades after WWII, Western male writers such as James Webb, John Hollands, Hal Gurney and Jere Peacock constructed novels based on their own experiences in Japan, drawing on narrative structures and protagonist roles from Giacomo Puccini's opera, *Madama Butterfly*, the best-known version of the Madame Butterfly narrative in the Western world. Still in popular repertoire today, the opera was first performed in 1904 in Milan,¹ then at Covent Garden in 1905, the US in 1906, and Australia in 1912 (The Metropolitan Opera 2016).

Most twentieth-century novelists engaging with Madame Butterfly conventions and characters had spent time in Japan during the Occupation and wars in Korea and Vietnam, when it was a Rest and Recreation (R and R) base.² The writers appear to have had in mind *Madama Butterfly's* personification of the Japanese 'geisha' or, more correctly, '*mousmé*', a term that French writer, Fleet Officer and adventurer Pierre Loti, alias Julien Viaud, used in his novel/travelogue *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887) to describe an extremely young girl in the Japanese sex trade who was available for temporary 'marriage' to foreigners in treaty ports such as Nagasaki and Yokohama. Between 1880 and 1914, Viaud wrote novels based on his exploits overseas. He adopted the nom-de plume, 'Pierre Loti', and used it in real life, underlining the close connections between himself and the narrator of his texts, so that his novels may be regarded as not just fictional works, but travelogues embellished with exotic details.

Puccini's and his librettists' operatic narrative was the culmination of a process of adaptation building on Loti/Viaud's novel, *Madame Chrysanthème*, a jaded account of Loti's temporary treaty port 'marriage' during his short sojourn in Nagasaki in the summer

of 1885.³ Many critics, such as Groos, Liao, Marchetti, and Koshy, have traced the Butterfly narrative's evolution from Loti's travelogue into its operatic form during a twenty-year period straddling the turn of the twentieth century. In the second text of importance in this evolution, *Madame Butterfly* (1898), a short story, John Luther Long borrowed key elements from Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* and wove them into an anecdote brought back from Japan by his sister. In this anecdote, a deserted and pregnant *mousmé* in Nagasaki attempts suicide when abandoned by a Western man. In Long's story, an American, Lieutenant B.F. (Benjamin Franklin) Pinkerton, grossly exploits and neglects the female protagonist, now called Madame Butterfly rather than 'Miss Chrysanthemum' (Kikou-san). Thus, Loti's male character becomes a perpetrator inflicting moral harm on his victim, who, in turn, becomes a devoted and loving feminine ideal in a morality tale, rather than a complaining, indifferent *mousmé*.

David Belasco developed Long's short story into a play, transforming the rather sentimental story into high drama and changing the male protagonist into a more likeable character. He also brought Butterfly's (completed) suicide into full view of the audience. Puccini was much affected by the play, and, with his librettists, Luigi Illica and Giuseppe Giacosa, incorporated aspects of all three texts into *Madama Butterfly* (Groos 655), transforming the two leading characters into powerful, enduring icons of grand opera. The naval officer and the Japanese *mousmé* took on characteristics which, as stereotypes, were replayed throughout the twentieth century, not only in productions of the operatic stage version, but in novels, musicals and films. Illica and Giacosa's romantic libretto and Puccini's seductive music resonated more powerfully in Western public consciousness than any other version of the Butterfly story. Infused with powerful emotion, poetry,

drama and imperialist ideology, it remained the primary model and reference point for writers of Western romances until at least the turn of the twenty-first century. Even though Puccini kept on revising the opera, and there are several versions of it, none of which can be regarded as definitive (Groos 670), the quintessential Butterfly narrative passed down from the fin de siècle remained intact throughout the twentieth century.

This enduring narrative begins with the brash Lieutenant Pinkerton engaging the services of Cio-Cio-san,⁴ a young temporary bride in Nagasaki. Cio-Cio-san is a (former) 'geisha', a generic term used loosely in the novels to describe almost any female worker in the 'flower and willow' (sex and hospitality) world (Dalby xvi).⁵ Although the marriage in Puccini's opera is clearly a short-term business transaction, Cio-cio-san (Miss Butterfly) falls in love with Pinkerton, the powerful white Westerner⁶ who, in contrast, merely toys with his child bride. After Pinkerton's ship sails, Cio-Cio-san waits in increasing poverty for his return: she rejects all marriage offers from Japanese suitors, and, having renounced her own religion and, by default, her family's approval, is left alone for three years with her servant, Suzuki, and her blonde, blue-eyed child. Pinkerton eventually returns with his American wife, who, reassured that the child is white, claims him, whereupon Butterfly kills herself for the sake of 'honour'⁷. Puccini's opera adds a feature that Loti's novel, Long's story and Belasco's play lack: when Pinkerton returns to Japan and discovers the dire consequences of his careless actions, he breaks down in remorseful distress: 'Sempre il mite suo semblante/ con strazio atroce vedro'. Here Pinkerton laments that he will 'always see [Butterfly's] gentle face/ and be haunted by ... guilt' (Fisher 48). At the end of the opera, Pinkerton histrionically cries 'Butterfly! Butterfly! Butterfly!' (Fisher 35), deeply affected by her suicide and a belated sense of 'perpetrator trauma'. His display of

emotion contrasts with the near-indifference or stoicism that the Loti/Pinkerton character had exhibited in earlier versions of the narrative.⁸

In showing the usually-stoic Western perpetrator breaking down, the operatic version of Pinkerton departs from fin de siècle *status quo* norms defining the Western Man of Empire. Pinkerton's uninhibited, highly emotional outpouring of distress also highlights a structural conflict in the opera centred in inconsistencies in Pinkerton's character (Groos 670).⁹ Puccini and his librettists had initially argued over the portrayal of Pinkerton's character in Illica's Act One script. Written first, Illica's script was based on *Madame Chrysanthème* and Long's short story (655). In Illica's first act, Pinkerton, just as Loti had done, displays overt racism towards Butterfly's Japanese relatives, comments lustfully on her child-like and sexually-alluring qualities, and toasts the American bride he will marry in the future. The production team realised they had a problem with their protagonist's viability as a romantic hero, since Pinkerton's defects of character and behaviour, fleshed out in a staged dramatic performance with orchestral enhancement, and exposed to intense audience scrutiny, would be painfully obvious. He would appear as a villain, which was not the role a romantic tenor normally played. Groos' article makes it plain that the Pinkerton/Loti character had to be greatly modified to avoid offending the audience. (Ricordi, however, the publisher of the production's manuscript, strongly argued against any attempt to soften the protagonist's character.) Any tenor worthy of respect was expected play the role of a hero, and, singing at least one passionate aria, to deliver emotional intensity implicit in a higher voice timbre, tessitura, and thrilling high notes. For this reason, the tenor was given the *romanza*, 'Addio fiorito asil', in which he demonstrates a capacity for human compassion, regret, and finer feelings in general.

In the second and third acts, which are modelled on Belasco's play and Long's short story (666), Pinkerton changes from a racist, amoral sexual predator in an industry prostituting children into an erring, immature man who, redeemed by his lover's sacrifice and bitter experience, attains empathy and wisdom. In singing a heart-melting, haunting aria, he is eminently charming and forgivable. These changes to his character 'made possible a tenor role that is both more attractive and more complex' (Groos 664), and also heightened the tragedy in Cio-Cio-san's role (663).¹⁰

A uniquely Italian expectation of the tenor's role (Groos 670) was not the only factor that played a part in transforming both the narrative and the male protagonist: 'different conceptions of fidelity to ... sources, questions of theatricality and dramatic viability, [and] concern with the equilibrium of vocal parts' (Groos 670), the technical and performative necessities of producing the opera, also influenced the reworking of the opera's protagonist roles and its subsequent moral implications. Whether sanitising and humanising Pinkerton's character was 'the product of a series of conflicts and compromises' in the opera's construction, 'a pre-existing aesthetic' or deliberate authorial intent (Groos 670), the end result was a redeemable character who deeply regretted that his morally-bankrupt actions had caused such distress. By humanising the Imperialist man of steel, the opera also imbued the role of Western men in Asia viewed by middle and upper-class audiences with far more noble characteristics.

The opera's portrayal of a morally-traumatised perpetrator, a complex, conflicted Western subject, was disseminated widely among opera audiences from the middle and upper classes throughout Europe, Britain and the United States, and it persisted into the twenty-first century. *Madama Butterfly's* orchestration and skilled vocal technique stirred

audience emotions, fixing the central East-West narrative in Western mythology. It reached an even greater audience, since its arias were replayed in homes, and versions of the opera were reproduced in films. In this way, *Madama Butterfly's* characters became cultural icons, familiar in the West, particularly in America, and thus were ready-made as character models for later twentieth-century writers of popular romance novels set in the Far East.

Pinkerton's emotional display of traumatised remorse took on a heightened significance after a series of intensive wars in the twentieth century, which produced great trauma in many of those forced to act against their own moral codes and Western ideals of enlightenment and progress. Particularly for writers with a history of military service, the Madame Butterfly narrative and its stereotypes provided a positive, culturally familiar template within which to insert an account, often romanticised, of war service and its moral conflicts. The writers appear to have identified strongly with the remorseful protagonist's inner conflicts and moral inconsistencies.

While Butterfly's trauma was always obvious in all forms of the narrative, there has been, in general, little analysis of the nature of Pinkerton's trauma, since, in the end, he has not been perceived as a victim: he undoubtedly fares much better than Butterfly, and is free to return to a prosperous life in America with a white wife and child, an outcome long regarded as a marker of success and future happiness. It appears, however, that Western military writers of Butterfly narratives later in the century recognised something of the morally-conflicted Pinkerton in themselves as foreigners in Asia, and saw Butterfly in their lovers, which may partly explain why versions of these characters appeared frequently in their novels, which domesticated and romanticised the moral

conflict inherent in war and conquest.

While not all texts selected for analysis in this thesis precisely follow the Butterfly narrative format outlined earlier, they share some significant, common characteristics. Firstly, they are usually set in Japan against a backdrop of current or recent war, anxiety and social change, in sites geographically accessible to Western men in the twentieth century, such as military bases near Tokyo or Nagasaki. There are also correlations between Pinkerton and Butterfly's romance, in which the lovers are doomed to be separated, since armed servicemen's deployments to R and R in Japan were also destined to end abruptly for reasons such as homeland racism or deployment to new posts. Later versions of Lieutenant Pinkerton were usually members or associates of the American or British Commonwealth Occupation forces occupying Japan after WWII, or on R and R leave during the Korean War or the Vietnam Conflict.

Interrogating structures of power and race in line with Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), many scholars investigate Far East Asian romances modelled on Puccini's opera, *Madama Butterfly*, as sexist and racist products of an oppressive Orientalist imagination (Marchetti 1993; van Rij 2001; Morris 2002; Koshy 2004; Prasso 2005). Intense analysis of the negative aspects of race, sex and power in Butterfly narratives is entirely appropriate, although such a tight focus may have distracted attention from other layers of meaning. An intense focus on analysing race and power can lead to a type of reverse stereotyping in which male military men or Men of Empire are seen as unreflective or unlikely to suffer psychological harm, perpetrator trauma, as a consequence of their oppressive actions.

This thesis builds on previous research into Madame Butterfly novels' sexism

and racism, but draws on recent literary trauma studies, as well as masculinity studies and social psychology, to observe that racism and misogyny co-exist in some post-WWII and turn-of-the-twenty-first-century Butterfly novels with the articulation of a sense of failure to live up to Western moral ideals or notions of manifest destiny. This kind of representation occurs particularly in the context of the ethical minefields of WWII and wars in Korea and Vietnam. This thesis looks at these representations from another angle, arguing that some later twentieth century Butterfly romances facilitated the expression of masculine trauma as well as Japanese and Vietnamese women's sufferings inflicted by Western military men, both politically sensitive issues at the time of writing; stereotypical Butterfly characters and narrative forms provided a way of containing and representing the West's painful moral failures (abuses of *thèmes*) in Asia, which injured Western perpetrators as well as Asian women.

Stereotypical male and female Butterfly protagonists, re-constituted figures from the fin de siècle, reappear in post-WII Madame Butterfly texts later in the century as sub-textual 'ghosts', signifying both a suicidal, burned and raped Asian woman and an 'unmanly', traumatised military man, the fallen Man of Manifest Destiny or Man of Empire. This thesis makes the case that these texts, easily dismissed for their racism and sexism, provided one of very few publishable mediums in which male writers could work through anxiety and moral conflict in a conservative, post-war environment stigmatising 'unmanly' men and avoiding close scrutiny of Western conduct in Asian wars, particularly the use of atomic and incendiary weapons in Japan.

Although trauma and anxiety are inseparable from the experience of war, military protagonists were rarely shown exhibiting the physical markers of moral

ambivalence and trauma such as weeping, shaking, refusing to fire weapons or deserting, because such behaviour offended ideals of desirable masculinity. It was culturally acceptable, deemed 'cowardly', 'malingering', 'hysterical', or 'wimpish' (Bostock 1943; Gillespie 1944; Showalter 1985; Bourke 1996).

Trauma and anxiety in male protagonists in later Butterfly texts are usually buried beneath a strict adherence to social and cultural conventions regulating masculine behaviour and language. A scarred Asian woman, a civilian victim of Western atomic and incendiary weapons, is likewise a traumatic, almost un-representable figure in novels about the West's wars in Asia. The melancholic and politically-sensitive aspects of the protagonists are not immediately apparent to Western readers in some of these romances, partly because they are based on the Butterfly narrative, and thus its male and female stereotypes are so familiar, like fairy-tale characters, already known. The operatic version can be seen as representing a much-edited, sanitised form of nineteenth century child abuse mixed with connotations of pleasure and romance. Since Pinkerton's character is reformed, recasting the narrative as a *bildungsroman*, the reformation of a thoughtless young man by hard experience leaves oppressive structures of power untouched.

Twentieth century war novels before Vietnam did not generally show the Western military man as a cruel, tormenting perpetrator, just as they did not dwell on a 'wimpish' masculinity, or war-related sufferings of female victims. For example, a protagonist was not generally depicted aiming a flame-thrower at a victim or dropping incendiary devices on civilians in Tokyo. A close analysis of stereotypes in a cross-section of Butterfly narratives through trauma theory brings into clearer focus a complex, emotional and conflicted masculinity and a little-discussed, traumatised Asian femininity,

ungarnished by romance. It brings to the fore 'moral injury' (Frame 2015) and 'psychological wounds' (Shay *Odysseus* 33) in male and female protagonists, but it focuses primarily on military men, diplomats, or other professionals who represent Western global agency, in whom national image and emotion coalesce (Väyrynen 137). In a post-WWII climate of political sensitivity and a strong emotional investment in mid-twentieth century myths of Western masculinity, such representations of vulnerable masculinity, heavily disguised in stereotypes, metaphors and a brash, hyper-masculine exterior, co-existed with and often partly obscured misogyny, racism and Imperialism.

In this way, this thesis decodes obscure literary representations of psychological wounding and moral conflict in Western masculinity and Far East Asian femininity produced during a century of rapid social change and wars of unprecedented scale and brutality. It offers a close reading of a cross-section of Butterfly novels, primarily written by Western military men at three significant historical points, to gain insight into the ways in which male perpetrator trauma and moral injury is voiced in a socio-historical context hostile to 'unmanly' expressions of distress. A (covert) awareness of Western moral failure is shown to be implicit in representations of Asian women who, although exotic, have been burned, injured and disfigured in war.

In each Butterfly narrative examined in this thesis, a version of Pinkerton engages in a love relationship with an Asian female protagonist who is in the sex and entertainment industry, office administration, or domestic service. She is often referred to as a 'geisha', a former geisha, or has characteristics that, to a Western eye, appear to be geisha-like. The Japanese protagonist is in some way indebted to her American or British lover. This relationship indicates a particular way of representing the Western subject on

an international stage. While the male protagonist 'saves' his lover, providing material goods or protection in times of uncertainty and scarcity, he also victimises her, either directly or by way of his membership in an imperialist or fighting force that has damaged her, her family and her country. The female protagonist, 'Butterfly', makes sacrifices, sometimes giving up religion, family, culture and even her life for her lover's sake. Her blood or suffering signifies forgiveness for the harm perpetrated by foreign armies or, in much later novels, cultural invasion.

While her Western counterpart and rival, a wife or lover, often lacks empathy, the Butterfly character is practiced in sexual technique and the healing arts, both physical (massages, teas, and baths), and spiritual (counselling, prayers and rituals atoning for guilt). The woman's otherwise perfect, 'golden' body often bears the scars of fire bombings and even atomic attacks, but, identifying with her lover's culture more than her own, she accepts these scars without rancour for those who inflicted them. There is a loving, a leaving, and often a bloody death. Melancholic undertones pervade all forms of the story, but there is also a sense that the world is being put right for men, a sense evoked through the use of stereotypes and their connotations, built up over time, and thus familiar to the public. Past brutalities and mistakes are transformed through romance, and men's wounds are healed through ministrations of food, baths and sex. Any flouting of the moral order is excised through a woman's suffering, selflessness and/or violent death.

An analysis of traumatic themes in Butterfly stereotypes, in distractingly romantic narratives such as James Webb's *The Emperor's General* and Hal Gurney's *Fifth Daughter*, reveals much about an era coming to terms with policies enabling the indiscriminate, mass killing of civilians and the deployment of weapons with

unprecedented destructive power. It is significant that most of these novels were written by men who, having served at the sharp end of Western policies in Asia, were implicated in the use of fearsome weapons. It is thus unsurprising that twentieth century Lieutenant Pinkerton and Butterfly stereotypes are infused with internal contradictions in which Westerners are enlightened warriors, a force for good and progress in the world, and, simultaneously, the perpetrators of barbarous acts. McClintock, in *Imperial Leather*, engages with internal contradictions in white men's writing, focusing on the internal contradiction's role in reinforcing ideologies of racial and sexual power. While acknowledging the presence of these ideological forces in the novels being analysed, this thesis addresses internal contradictions in some white men's novels that represent an awareness of being implicated in and entrapped by these same ideologies of power. The novels work through these contradictions to reconstruct a moral warrior identity, desirable but damaged by bitter experience.

Representations of emotional and moral anxiety, hard-wired into the original Butterfly narrative and coloured by nineteenth century moral failures, political events and social change, continued to appear from the 1950s up to a decade after the turn of the twenty-first century. In these later forms of the Butterfly narrative, updated versions of Lieutenant Pinkerton serve their countries and face difficult moral dilemmas. These moral conflicts refer to a military and socio-political environment in the world outside the novels in which powerful new technological and indiscriminate modes of fighting were implemented. Norms governing masculine behaviour failed to allow for the new and intense moral conflicts produced in those who deployed them and witnessed their physical effects on victims, both civilian and military. Late twentieth and early twenty-

first century research into the psychology of military service, particularly that conducted by clinical psychologist and author Jonathan Shay, has shown that exposure to morally-conflicting conditions can cause deep inner contradictions, 'psychological wounds' (*Odysseus* 33) that can lead, in turn, to 'perpetrator trauma' (LaCapra 79), and 'moral injury' (Frame 2015). Such injuries occur particularly as a result of the soldierly art of killing, which requires the suppression of civilised instincts and the making of painful decisions concerning whom to wound or kill and how to carry this out (Grossman xix). For this reason, a male protagonist's Japanese lover is often marked with physical and mental scars inflicted by Western weapons of mass destruction, the intrusive reminders of a troubled history. The female protagonists as 'geisha' lovers, loaded with Madame Butterfly connotations and romance, bring to conscious mind the effects of powerful weapons on civilians but also the qualities of feminine innocence and devotion to Western men. Japanese femininity takes on a spiritual and moral dimension linked with a pre-trauma historical period imagined in Western mythology as glorious.

In light of the above, Madame Butterfly novels can be said to depict an anxious, traumatised Western consciousness caught between notions of *thémis*—'what is right'—(Shay *Achilles in Vietnam* 5) and the morally-fraught expediencies and seductions of wars, Imperialism, and radical social change. This thesis analyses these representations through Gilman's notion, outlined in *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness*, that stereotyping reveals little about those who are stereotyped, but exposes the inner fears and anxieties of those who are doing the stereotyping. Using this concept together with trauma theory, this thesis foregrounds the role that moral injury (or *thémis* abuse) plays in representations of psychological injury built up over time into

Butterfly stereotypes. *Thèmis* is an ancient Greek term that clinical psychiatrist and literary scholar Shay defines as personal or collective notions of 'just order' or 'what is right' (*Achilles in Vietnam* 5). He applies the term to describe central moral contradictions, or violations of *thémis*, which cause traumatic responses in combat troops (5). *Thémis* is tightly bound to strongly-held notions of the correct ordering of society and the conduct of its citizens, governments and military institutions (5). It can be rendered in modern terms as 'moral order, convention, normative expectations, ethics, and commonly understood social values', collective moral and social codes that define a society's ideals, its *thémis*, or assumptions about 'what is just and right' (5). The novels' depictions of relationships between stereotypical Far East Asian women and male Westerners not only reveal Western fears and anxieties, but perform a symbolic negation of *thémis* conflicts, while, in most cases, downplaying women's suffering.

This thesis began as a relatively straightforward investigation into racist, Orientalist stereotypes in representations of Asian femininity in Western novels. Early in the research process, it became evident that Butterfly novels had in common a substantial, sub-textual vein of melancholy and anxiety as well as racial and gender stereotyping. Most Butterfly novels were written by male war veterans; indeed, Loti¹¹, who penned *Madame Chrysanthème*, was a fleet officer in the French Navy. After WWII, most writers of Butterfly novels had also been in contact with local women in Japan: James Michener, who wrote *Sayonara*, served as a US Navy officer in the South Pacific, and, during the Korean War, John Hollands (*The Exposed*) saw active service as an infantry officer with the British Commonwealth Forces. Robert Roripaugh (*A Fever for Living*) was with the US army in Occupied Japan, and Jere Peacock (*Valhalla*) a journalist embedded with the

US Marine Corps. Richard Setlowe (*The Sexual Occupation of Japan*) was deployed to the Taiwan Straits on the USS Midway during the second Quemoy Matsu Crisis in 1958, and James Webb (*The Emperor's General*), served as a US Army platoon officer in Vietnam, while Anthony Swofford (*Exit A*) was a sniper with the US Army in the Persian Gulf. The frequency with which veteran writers engaged with the Butterfly narrative form and stereotypes suggests that these provided a structure highly amenable to working through the disjuncture between an idealistic warrior self-image and experiences inconsistent with that image in the twentieth century.

Research into stereotyping theory today remains focused on race and prejudice, on discovering new techniques for explaining real-world prejudicial behaviour in neuro-scientific, social-cognitive, evolutionary and developmental approaches (Quadflieg, Mason and Macrae 76). This thesis, however, returns to social and cognitive psychologist Gilman's (1985) idea—also in Breger's *Myth and Stereotype* (1999) and Stangor's *Stereotypes and Prejudice* (2000)—that stereotyping produces prejudice, sexism and exploitation, which Gilman calls the 'pathological' aspects of human cognition¹², while stereotypes themselves are neutral, necessary mechanisms that maintain self-esteem, mental stability and emotional equilibrium in human psychology (16).

Stereotypes in the necessary, functional sense are information-organising structures through which individuals and groups make sense of life and justify their status in society (150). Stereotypes process an excess of perceptual data into internal maps of the existential world, and can thereby foster mental health. Sensory data is thus organised into a form, a stereotype, which facilitates instant recall and recognition, and makes sense of copious and potentially-disorienting input (Hilton and von Hippel, 1996). A stereotype

is 'a momentary coping mechanism, one that can be used and discarded once anxiety is overcome' (Gilman 18). In Gilman's words: '[w]e create images of things we fear or glorify. These images never remain abstractions; we understand them as Real World entities. We assign them labels that serve to set them apart. We create "stereotypes" '(15). They help to manage 'pathology' in human cognition that comes from 'disorder and loss of control, the giving over of the self to the forces that lie beyond the self' (24).

Gilman's view of pathology in stereotyping allows for cogent links to be made between stereotyping theory and literary trauma theory. Stereotypes in Gilman's view become pathological when used to project on to others that which the self fears: corruption, disease, death and other losses of control over a self perceived as fragile (23). The projection of 'potential illness, age and corruption' of the mind, body and spirit on to others protects the self's physical, mental and spiritual integrity (23). Mental illness, in some cases, is associated with sexuality and violence, and is generally feared because the self loses a degree of control of thought and action (23). For most of the twentieth century, males did not readily admit to psychological and moral wounding, a propensity for suicide, the perpetration of domestic violence, or crippling guilt after war or great stress. In the novels studied in this thesis, particularly in Michener's *Sayonara*, male characters project or otherwise deflect on to female characters those things they fear or abhor in themselves. In *Sayonara*, for instance, the issue of returning servicemen's domestic violence, as well as some servicemen's sexual violence in post-war Japan, are projected on to unattractive or assertive American women, particularly the suit-wearing Mrs Webster, and also on to the Butterfly figure, Katsumi, who dies in a double suicide. However, Hana-ogi, the other side of the Butterfly/Katsumi figure, wears traditional

Japanese dress with increasing frequency as the novel progresses, and reflects back to the male protagonist the Japanese nation's love, admiration and forgiveness for both Japanese and Western men's wartime atrocities.

When discussing the functional, even beneficial aspects of stereotypes, Gilman suggests that, in making sense of the world and controlling fear, stereotypes engage with contradictory experience: stereotyping subjects can both idealise and demonise their objects (15). The stereotype's function in making sense of the world by balancing contradictions is significant here, in that using stereotypes in writing can work to achieve a symbolic balance between a protagonist's ideals (personal or national *thèmes*) and actions, past or present, that contravene those ideals. This sense of balance in writing lessens the gap between a protagonist's ideals or *thèmes*, and evidence to the contrary from historical fact and personal experience. Though suffering anxiety from a perceived loss of control over the world, compromised subjects can combat distress by 'adjusting their mental pictures of the world': people and objects can be made to appear 'good' even when their behaviour is 'bad' (Gilman 17).

Stereotypical characters in Madame Butterfly novels can be considered 'pathological' in their racism and misogyny and, simultaneously, fraught with trauma and moral anxiety generated by 'conflicting moral imperatives' (Bristow 5), or *thèmes* conflicts. These internal contradictions, when translated into experience in adults, can produce crises in identity and anxiety (Shay 5; Wilson 2002). Moral conflicts between ideals and personal beliefs and actions in the material world exacerbate trauma and precipitate defensive reactions because they challenge fundamental assumptions about the self and its way of being in the world (Janoff-Bulman 79; Shay 34; Chodorow 235–56;

Matsakis 30). In Janoff-Bulman's view, stereotypes contain assumptions about a group's or an individual's place in the world (35). Other trauma theorists and practitioners have demonstrated that moral, cultural expectations in conflict with the expediencies of real-world action can cause identity loss, anxiety and trauma in military personnel and others deployed in foreign places (Fontana 133; Tick 204-247; Matsakis 47; Paulson et al xxi). In Butterfly narratives, internal contradictions that challenge an idealised way of viewing the Western self are balanced out by the projection of negative feelings on to female characters.

Protagonists connoting a national or cultural Western masculine identity on one hand embrace ideals of Empire and country, but, on the other, evince deep disillusionment. At the same time, stereotyping within a Butterfly narrative frame constructs a Western ideal of feminine perfection within the abused, suicidal, incarcerated, raped or burned Far Eastern Asian lover. Although the male protagonist has failed to live up to ideals of manifest destiny by wounding a Japanese girl or woman, he is vindicated because of her love and desire for him. In this way, the stereotypes braid together, Frankenstein-like, a semblance of a lost moral warrior, the Man of Manifest Destiny, or Man of Empire: desirable, loved and redeemed.

The stereotype's anxiety-relieving, regulating and balancing functions, reaffirming the position of the self in relation to others within the world, can also operate on a collective level: stereotypes can be commandeered by social and political entities for representing and reifying social and national belief and status systems in the face of evidence of behaviour that contradicts those beliefs (Gilman 20). This connection to a wider society underlines Butterfly novels' immersion in the political discourses of their

day, and partly explains why writers engaging in stereotyping and other metaphorical displacements in novels felt the need to simultaneously represent and veil social and political critique of sensitive aspects of the post-war world.

Questioning whose fear and anxiety is 'managed' in stereotypical representations in the novels under scrutiny, and how this 'management' is handled, highlights ways in which engaging with the stereotypes of an exotic, tragic and spiritual Asian Butterfly and a powerful yet flawed Western masculinity can covertly represent psychological and moral wounding and ethical failures at a time when these are taboo topics in social and military discourses. Scrutiny of this kind reveals how a covert awareness of Western moral failure, implicit in images of women burned, injured and disfigured in war, came to be represented under conditions of heavy censorship. In this sense, stereotypes in Butterfly novels are inseparable from the historical, politico-social environment in which they are produced.

Examining the synergistic relationship between the West's ethical ideals or *thèmis* and the social expectations of military masculinity reveals that, in the fin de siècle, during which Butterfly stereotypes developed, 'Imperial masculinity [had] captured the imagination of the public and was promulgated in the rhetoric of politics, literature, and even science: British manhood would bring civilization to the hinterlands of the world' (Windholtz 631). Indeed, many scholars, including Nagel, have linked 'a renaissance in masculinity' at that time to 'the institutions and ideology of Empire' (247). Western masculinity was generally represented in Empire travel-adventure novels and travelogues in close association with Western moral superiority (Arnold 1892; Jones 1896; Reed 1880). The West's traditional signifier of hegemonic masculinity, the knight-errant, or

warrior, was contiguous with a strong sense of 'what is right', a sense of *thémis* (*Achilles in Vietnam* 5), encompassing themes such as patriotism, utopianism, justice and the fair treatment of fighting men by their superiors. Thus, when represented in Western Empire and war literature, both male protagonists and their 'burden' or role in Asia are contiguous: each signifies conflict in Western identity, personal and collective. Because the role of the Man of Empire embodied both Western moral ideals and traditional male sex role behaviours (Connell 1992; Morgan 1994; Reeser 2010), it can be said that stereotypical male protagonists in *Madame Butterfly* texts represented Western foundational beliefs about 'how the world works' and Westerners' status within it, from Lieutenant Pinkerton of the US Navy in Long's *Madame Butterfly* (1898) to Lieutenant Marsh of the US Marine Corps in Webb's *The Emperor's General* (2001).

Although not under investigation in this study, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and *Lord Jim* provide other examples of how conflict between Western men's idealism concerning Empire and harsh experience can be indirectly represented through a Western male protagonist's exploits overseas. Marlow, Kurtz and Jim experience traumatic moral conflicts between the ideals of Empire and their own roles supporting corrupt policies. Puccini's romantic opera, built on Loti's ultimately failed missions on behalf of 'Mother France' (Matsuda 2005), and Marlow and Kurtz's ventures as emissaries of the Enlightenment to benighted nations, are both to do with passions and ideals in conflict with a 'heart of darkness', the melancholic awareness that men, icons of masculinity, can fail to live up to ideals of Western manhood in extreme circumstances. An example of this type of conflict from the later twentieth century is seen in the West's development of technologically brilliant but inhumane weapons, arguably designed to free the world from

tyranny, but which led the world to the brink of annihilation. They introduced to the litany of human suffering, for civilians and combatants alike, new and horrific ways of wounding and dying. There was a need to radically rethink strategies to help combatants cope with intensified moral implications that new and powerful weapons raised, and yet the general populace, soldiers themselves, and clinical, political and military institutions continued to operate according to unrealistic, out-of-date beliefs about what service personnel should be able to withstand in battle, conflating men's trauma symptoms with a defective masculinity. These are the kinds of conflicts that have made their way into novels structured along the lines of the fin de siècle Butterfly narrative.

In the myth of knightly combat, which has always influenced twentieth century Western discourses about its dealings with the rest of the world, Western military men stand for what is right, or Western *thèmes*, fighting wars and serving the Empire for high ideals, without excessive emotion or brutality, unlike non-whites who, in the racist environment of the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, were generally stereotyped as barbaric and emotionally unrestrained. Western men, however, are 'great knights-errant of the sea', who have 'gone out on that stream [the symbolic Thames], bearing the sword, and often the torch, messengers of the might within the land, bearers of a spark from the sacred fire' (Conrad 17).

These ironic and conflicted words from *Heart of Darkness* personify a fatal flaw, a contradiction at the heart of the West's empire-building, civilising mission. This contradiction is also present in all Madame Butterfly narratives: optimistic idealism inevitably yields to racism, irrationality and corruption. In terms of the West's self-identity, much of nineteenth and early twentieth century writing about Empire has in the

past 'optimistically imagined' (Fussell *Wartime* 164-79) that Western military campaigns and economic exploits overseas were ultimately for just ends, to advance global progress, harmony and prosperity through reason, science, democracy and commerce, and to otherwise benefit the host cultures it visited, fought, traded with, or occupied. In a Northern American context, 'Manifest Destiny' ideology encouraged the belief that 'those [Americans] of Anglo-Saxon heritage' who 'had successfully settled the eastern seaboard', having brought British ideals of democracy and governance from Britain, were a 'separate, innately superior people', the heirs of 'an Anglo-Saxon-Teutonic [knightly] tradition' (Horsman 4).

Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*, like Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, engages closely with the failure of masculine, national ideals. It represents Western heterosexual masculinity and, sub-textually, moral anxiety, in intimate synthesis with unprecedented social change and the stresses of maintaining and justifying imperial ventures. *Madama Butterfly* and *Heart of Darkness* both represent, although with different levels of transparency, the repercussions for men who, as emissaries of Empire and the Enlightenment, violate personal codes of 'what is right' in roles overseas. Sharing a common contradiction, the mission and the man were often interchangeable when represented in Empire and war literature: each stood for a conflict in Western (male) identity, personal and collective. The warrior-servant of Empire and nation was moral, rational and enlightened yet, as social psychologist Grossman points out, also trained to instantly access the uncivilised instincts and aggression required for killing, or oppressing subordinates, processes opposed to the civilised restraint of moral virtue (2009).

The dynamics at play between representations of lost idealism, the White Man's

Burden, and Western masculinity in twentieth century Butterfly narratives are clearer when considering the operation of *'thèmes'*, or personal, social or cultural codes defining 'what is right' (Shay 2003; 5). Bristow identified moral conflict in fin de siècle 'Boys' Own' literature, and in pirate stories in particular. He noted that young men of Empire in late Victorian times, many of whom became officers and political leaders, had to accept two opposing moral imperatives in narratives seeking to influence their formative years, particularly those narratives with pirate protagonists: the restrained, virtuous behaviour expected of an English gentleman, and a bloodthirsty lust for violence (35). Structures built up in Madame Butterfly stereotypes from the turn of the twentieth century also accommodated 'dual moral frameworks' (Bristow 35) in later Butterfly texts. The 'conflicting moral frameworks' centred in male behaviour in these narratives marked off the ethical duality which 'ha[d] existed at the core of the West's colonialist enterprise' (35).

Marchetti's *Romance and the Yellow Peril: Race, Sex and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Film*, which investigates Asian romance films in their historical and cultural contexts, opened lines of inquiry into Western ideology beneath the Butterfly narrative's romantic surface that have shaped the direction of this thesis. Although, for the most part, research into Butterfly texts has targeted Imperialism, racism, sexism, and cultural narcissism, scholars of film and culture such as Prasso (2005) and Shimizu (2007) have also noted depression and melancholy in some Western male writers' representations of Asian femininity in twentieth century popular culture and film. Wisenthal's collection of essays, *A Vision of The Orient*, examines Orientalism in fin de siècle Butterfly texts, primarily in response to the play *M. Butterfly*, a text which viewed the myth through the

eyes of a Chinese female impersonator,¹³ a spy for the Chinese Government. In Wisenthal's collection, Micznik uses Kristeva's theory of abjection and McClintock's notion of the fetish to explain Butterfly's otherwise inexplicable attraction to Pinkerton, and her suicide. Micznik identifies Belasco's play as the first of the foundational Butterfly narratives to identify Butterfly's life as a tragedy, and argues that Puccini's musical motifs further delineate the psychological abjection of the lives of geisha and temporary wives. This thesis, however, locates different types of trauma in both male and female protagonists, and focusses on the role these traumatic paradigms played when deployed as stereotypes in novels after WWII to express a failure of idealism, a sense of perpetrator trauma, in male protagonists. Both masculine and feminine stereotypical, traumatic figures in these novels depict responses to twentieth century trauma in an era that suppressed the discussion of both Asian women's and Western men's trauma in public discourses.

As far back as 1989, Kali Tal, a social scientist working with Vietnam veterans, and a contemporary of Gilman in the immediate aftermath of the Vietnam War, had observed in *The Mind at War* that representations of Asian femininity in veterans' novels cast stereotypical Asian female characters as 'the resolution of conflicts within the author' (77), although her focus was not specifically on those with Butterfly themes but on 'Asian' women as they exist in Orientalist discourse, a simplified group sharing similar attributes. Tal in *Vietnam Generation* claims that '[a]n author has a special psychological involvement in the creation of a narrative born out of traumatic experience', for there is '[a]n intimate relation between the traumatic experience and the symbols generated by that experience' (6). She suggests that traumatised combat veterans often create an Asian

'love interest ... to demonstrate that the soldier/killer is still worthy of love and capable of loving', observing that the Asian woman is usually 'both more and less than a human being, for she is both idealised and demonised' (6). Tal's references to the contradictions inherent in an 'idealised' and 'demonised' Asian female character closely resemble Gilman's notion that anxious or traumatised subjects stereotype those whom they fear or glorify (15). Gilman and Tal's theories, together with the notion of a close association of writers with their texts in trauma theory, suggest that veteran writers resolve or minimise their own ethical conflicts and validate masculine and national self-identities when organising anxiety and traumatic experience into narrative structures containing stereotypes. Tal claims that '[b]y writing war fiction, the combat veteran novelist may attempt to either reconstruct the world image which was shattered by the war, or to reintegrate his wartime experiences in some more acceptable manner. In fiction ... he is free to imagine what he likes' (9).

Deconstructive and post-structuralist criticism had formerly eschewed making this kind of connection between writers and their textual representations. Perpetrator trauma, moral injury and psychological wounding are more recent distinctions in defining traumatic injury to the mind and spirit that early poststructuralist approaches to trauma in literature, particularly Caruth's, bundled under the (then) relatively new medical concept of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, usually abbreviated to 'PTSD' (*Unclaimed Experience* 57; *Explorations in Memory* 3). Although Caruth has often been criticised for insisting that the experience of trauma is unknowable and tied closely to a Western notion of PTSD (Stampfl 16; Balaev 1), she was one of the first to identify literary studies as a productive field for representing and mediating trauma. In *Unclaimed Experience* and in a 1991

article named 'Psychoanalysis, Culture, and Trauma' (2), Caruth argued that reconnecting the text to its author was necessary to meet the unique demands of trauma writing.¹⁴

Nearly twenty years after *Unclaimed Experience*, Caruth continued to argue against a critical stance disconnecting writing from its original context and the intentions of the writer. In *Orphaned Language: Traumatic Crossings in Literature and History* (2011), she drew on two visual metaphors from Dicken's *David Copperfield* to clarify the importance of the writer in representations of traumatic experience: firstly, a headless King Charles the First, and, second, a kite, which drops to the ground in random territory when loosed from its owner's hand. To Caruth, writing, when 'detached from its parent, the speaking subject, wanders off; and wandering away from its source, it is open to the abuse of those who cannot understand it, to being set adrift, unsupported, out of its own context, to being in the wrong place at the wrong time' (239).

In 1995, around the same time that Caruth's early theories on trauma writing were being published, Hartman also argued that literary textual analysis needed to re-establish connections with writers, readers and the outside world because anxiety and trauma require a particular kind of reading and reception tied to ethics, beliefs and social contexts:

For a generation now, literature has been increasingly looked at from a political angle. Many in the profession are desperate to ... make the literary object of study more transitive, more connected with what goes on in a blatantly political world. Trauma studies provide a more natural transition to a "real" world often falsely split off from that of the university, as if the one were activist and engaged and the other self-absorbed and detached. There is an opening that leads from trauma studies to public, especially mental health issues, an opening with ethical, cultural, and religious implications. (543-544) [15]

Trauma theory creates, in Hartman's view, an 'opening', or a more 'natural transition', a point of connection between traumatic experience and writing, a link previously downplayed in literary criticism before the rise of trauma theory, which abandons the idea that literature is objectively disconnected from the real world, that which lives, breathes and suffers (543-44). In Hartman's view, adopting an aloof, critical stance when dealing with trauma and its representation is unproductive, for similar reasons to those contained in Caruth's visual metaphors above. Other critics stress the importance of political engagement and empathetic reader reception in trauma theory: in Whitehouse's view, trauma fiction has taken as its object of analysis 'issues of politics, ethics, and aesthetics' that relate to trauma, motivated by a desire 'to make visible specific historical instances of trauma', and 'to reinstate the role of the emotionally responsive reader and the process of reading as an ethical practice' (3). Trauma fiction theory, which grew out of social psychology, psychoanalysis, and literary studies (Whitehead 3), in Matus' view, 'is about cultural attitudes to responsibility and accountability', and less about 'developments in the science of mind' (19). 'The science of mind' refers to a focus on trauma in psychiatry and medical discourse, which in Matus' view is of less importance in literary representations of trauma than 'responsibility and accountability'(19), where trauma is linked to social ethics and their violation, a similar concept to Shay's notion that *thèmis* violation was a primary preoccupation in Vietnam veterans' trauma narratives.

These views are in accord with those of Balaev (2014) and others who argue that trauma readings should engage with matters of culpability for crimes in the real world, rather than an unknown, unspeakable trauma. Today, traumatic texts are regarded as

deeply embedded in their cultural and ethical environments, and the limitations of PTSD-only definitions of trauma are emphasised (Balaev 6-8). Locating trauma writing in specific cultural contexts, Whitehead sees that such a connection enables researchers to identify the 'figurative return of elements of the past which have been silenced or culturally excluded', uncovering the 'ghosts' that 'embody or incarnate the traumas of recent history and represent a form of collective or cultural haunting' (7). Contemporary trauma theorists, such as Balaev (2014), in focusing intently on issues of injury, accountability and redress, share common ground with Caruth regarding the relevance of writers when reading literary trauma.

However, they query Caruth's and the Yale School's early, 1990s post-structuralist approaches to trauma theory, a Freudian/Lacanian insistence that 'belatedness and aporia' (Visser 2011), the unspeakability and non-historicity of trauma in literature, define literary trauma: Caruth's conflation of PTSD with the unspeakability and unknowability of trauma was too narrow to adequately theorise literary trauma. They reject the notion that traumatised subjects cannot know or articulate specific traumatic events, that trauma is 'un-representable' and 'unsolvable' (Balaev 1). In other discussions of trauma theory, Caruth's earlier theories on the unspeakability of traumatic experience, 'once provocative' are now 'ossified into the received wisdom of a dominant paradigm' (Stampfl 16). Literary theorists such as Visser, Mandel (2006) and Balaev (2015) dispute earlier trauma theorists' reliance on Freud and Lacan's understanding of trauma as 'the return of the repressed and a sense of absence' (Balaev 5). Similarly, many psychiatrists have dismissed the idea that 'repressed' memories are unavailable for recall, preferring to use the term 'suppressed' to denote the conscious rejection of painful memories.

According to McNally, trauma survivors recall their memories 'all too well': their thoughts are unwelcome and intrusive. They are coded and dismissed from the mind by an act of will (175). Both Visser and Balaev argue that locating trauma in an event that cannot be articulated and can only be perceived as traumatic long after the event makes it impossible for victims to identify perpetrators and to name specific human rights abuses. Applying non-specific approaches to analysing traumatic texts hinders political engagement with real world atrocities and their redress (Balaev 18). This thesis therefore bears in mind that trauma theory, in a contemporary sense, looks toward political action rather than deeming all traumatic experience unspeakable or all texts separated from their cultural and political contexts (Mandel 2006; Weaver 2010; Visser 2011; Balaev 2015). It is therefore important to note that silences, omissions and 'the unspeakable' in this study refer to silence and 'aporia' imposed by social policing and self-censorship rather than unmotivated, automatic responses inherent in traumatic experience itself.

Recent military-based theorists (Frame 2015; Dierries 2015) have also recognised that PTSD is too narrow a term to define the complex nature of post-war trauma, arguing that 'moral injury' is an important trauma subset: it is a powerful cause of veterans' inner wounds and other symptoms of post-war stress and anxiety, including PTSD (Frame 2). Both Frame and Dierries have engaged with and built on Shay's preference for the term 'psychological and moral injury' (*Odysseus in America* xiii) to 'PTSD' (4). This thesis closely reads selected Butterfly novels for their traumatic and melancholic subtexts in light of research from the 1990s and recent research into the part that moral wounding has played in generating traumatic writing (Weaver 2010; Frame 2015). The concept that moral injury is a source of anxiety and trauma is central to this

study, which foregrounds Shay's theories on the place of *thémis* in veterans' war narratives. In addition, the terms 'perpetrator' and 'victim' are not always mutually exclusive. It appears that the distinctions between victim and perpetrator roles are often fluid: men in the armed services, abused by dehumanising punishments in military prisons or forced to obey ethically repugnant orders, can be regarded as victims of *thémis* violation even if, in other contexts, they change roles from victim to perpetrator (McNair viii). The two positions can co-exist.

Identifying contradictions between *thémis* and experience in the real world is in line with contemporary trends in literary trauma studies because it assumes a close, traumatic correlation between internal ethical conflicts, gendered self-identity, identifiable, knowable stressors, and events in specific periods of history. Compact yet inclusive, the concept of *thémis*, reclaimed from the distant past, can be applied in varying cultural contexts, ancient or contemporary. It is adaptable to discussions of trauma in postcolonial studies and in cultures outside the West. Luckhurst discussed this need to open up trauma studies to other cultural contexts in *The Trauma Question* (213), as did Visser in her article *Trauma and Power in Postcolonial Literary Studies* (Balaev 2014).¹⁶ Shay, of course, interpreted and used the concept in a contemporary Western context, within clinical psychiatry, which is rooted in Freud's trauma theories (and those of his less-famous peers). However, Shay's use of *thémis* violation loosens but does not sever tight definitions of trauma established in 1990s Freudian/Lacanian theories and in the fourth edition of *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM IV).

Research for this thesis began with a preliminary question: in an age of literary psychological realism, after a century of abortive wars, why were so few WWII trauma

writers giving voice to moral conflict and injury akin to that expressed in Remarque's 1929 novel, *All Quiet on the Western Front*? An answer to this question was found by considering Fussell's view that the weight of colonial and post-WWII public expectations frequently silenced men's traumatised voices: their expressions of moral pain were too 'unmanly' or 'unpatriotic' to be aired in public (Fussell 1991; 311), and moral ambivalence accounted for a dearth of novels of any literary substance following WWII (311).

Remarque's novel contained overt and realistic representations of traumatised, hysterical combat soldiers in WWI, but before Vietnam veterans' novels emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, any representations of the conflicted Western man and his mission tended to be couched in language as evasive as Conrad's or Hemingway's: careful metaphors, repeated tropes and subtle allusions. For most of the fin de siècle and the earlier years of the twentieth century, few overt representations of moral conflicts and associated mental illnesses in male protagonists appeared in literature. Conrad had demonstrated in *Heart of Darkness* that recent personal or national implication in moral offence was usually too painful or seemingly unpatriotic to be openly and unambiguously represented.

Representations of colonialism as moral failure were also relatively scarce. As Kaplan observed, '[I]t is difficult for national groups and those in power to discuss weakness openly' (21). Trauma novels could always be interpreted as something else; for instance, Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* was widely studied as a *bildungsroman* or coming-of-age novel, in which an 'alienated teenager' struggles and fails to fit in with conservative society, an 'inspirational figure to the hippie generation' (Shields and Salerno 261).

However, for Hunt, 'Holden Caulfield has more in common with a traumatised soldier than an alienated teenager', and, in Rogers' view, '[r]esurrecting Holden was exactly what

Holden had to do to not only avoid writing about the war, but more importantly, to write about the war' (564). These characteristics of Salinger's novel also apply to Madame Butterfly novels written in the same period, and for the same reason, 'to write about the war', particularly about the devastating effects of war on men's identity, personality and behaviour, for an uncomprehending public.

The second question, which this thesis answers at length, inquires into whether anything other than Orientalist desire could explain the tenacious, enduring fascination Western male writers had for the Madame Butterfly narrative, despite its tawdry cultural *faux pas*, improbable plot and gullible heroine (Bernstein 3; *The East, the West and Sex* 217). To put the question another way: why did successive generations of male writers from the late nineteenth century and into the new millennium, with gravity and emotion, revive the old melancholic themes and stereotypical fin de siècle protagonists in their own twentieth century fictions of war and (sexual) conquest? Analysing the ways in which the genre's structural facility to speak the unspeakable will contribute to an understanding of why male writers took Puccini's version of the Butterfly story so seriously and interpreted their own experiences through it for more than a century despite its cultural naiveté and other flaws (van Rij 153).

Butterfly narratives peaked during three periods that marked particular moments in the West's relations with Japan, marked by intense anxiety at home: firstly, 1880-1912; secondly, post-WWII from 1950-1980, including the Korean War and the Vietnam Conflict; and, thirdly, from the 1990s to the early 2000s, the turn of the new millennium. The chapters in this study are roughly grouped around these periods. However, because novels in all three post-war periods frequently discuss their own morally-fraught issues by

setting the action in Japan or in another era, exact boundaries cannot be drawn between novels written after WWII and the Korean and Vietnam wars. For example, James Webb represents Vietnam War moral issues by revisiting similar issues in the last stages of WWII and the Occupation of Japan. Setlowe also represents Vietnam War moral dilemmas by revisiting the heady days of the American Occupation.

Chapter One discusses the cultural forces in the first period, from 1880 to 1904, which helped to shape Pierre Loti's travelogue *Madame Chrysanthème* and Puccini's influential opera, *Madama Butterfly*. The opera emerged in the West during a time in which 'mass campaigning and parliamentary legislation were mobilised over the emotive topics of child prostitution, incest and the age of consent' (Jackson 2). Progressive adaptations and rewritings of the Butterfly narrative using Butterfly stereotypes in the late nineteenth century were influenced by *thémis* anxiety and fear. Late-nineteenth-century Europe, America and Britain were awash with ethical and cultural anxiety, the *zeitgeist* within which the Butterfly story evolved, an anxiety visible in cultural history and other novels of the time, such as Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897). After the heady days of Imperial conquest, a degree of fear had set in concerning the maintenance of Empire, a fear concentrated in the mental and moral collapse in the ideal (military) Man of Empire, particularly during overseas service (Sturma 116; Smith 16). For opera audiences at the turn of the twentieth century, Pinkerton embodied a moral double standard, and audiences had to negotiate a 'dual moral framework': his right as a Westerner to do what he pleased with women overseas was not seriously questioned, but his character, evolved from Loti in *Madame Chrysanthème*, patronises an industry in which, as Loti's travelogue itself indicates, men seek to have sex with children.

It is possible to argue that contemporary moral values should not be superimposed on *Madama Butterfly* when analysing it. However, as Jackson observes in *Child Sexual Abuse in Victorian England*, contemporary discourses about child molestation tend to assume that 'the sexual abuse of children was both discovered and constructed in the late 1970s', whereas the issue was as much the focus of public concern in the late nineteenth century as it is today (Jackson 2). Loti's embarrassing observations of twelve and thirteen-year-old *mousmès* in Nagasaki and other treaty ports in the 1880s, intentionally or not, did not appear in progressive changes made to Butterfly's circumstances and age in Act One. Butterfly's age is set at 'fifteen' which is more discreet than 'twelve', the age of the seductive dancer Loti initially considered marrying. That Butterfly is fifteen years old places her just over the lines of respectability.

This chapter limits the discussion of moral anxiety in Butterfly stereotyping to the exploitation of very young girls such as Loti's real-world O-Kané-san, who appears in *Madame Chrysanthème* as Kikou-san. Loti's transformation in degrees from an exploitative perpetrator to a romantic, if careless, boyish heart-throb in successive texts suggests that Madame Butterfly narrative structures, stereotypes and tropes, infused with connotations steeped in fin de siècle anxiety, were ready-made for managing the ethical morass of twentieth century wars, particularly in relation to gendered and racist stereotypes of Asian femininity persisting throughout the twentieth century. The familiar Butterfly narrative structures and stereotypes formed a site at which cultural anxieties and trauma were worked through, neutralising conflicting moral imperatives facing men serving overseas.

Although anxiety concerning paedophilia is part of the opera's social and cultural

background, there is no suggestion here that it was always present in subsequent rewritings of the Butterfly narrative. Discussing themes of paedophilia and controversies surrounding Butterfly's age in this chapter is relevant to the overall argument because it serves as an example of the prototypical narrative's propensity for containing and rendering harmless a range of potentially threatening moral conflicts. It would be naïve to deny that the love of extremely young girls is not an attraction for some Western men in Asian pleasure grounds, or that some Butterfly novels do contain a degree of anxiety concerning the age of Asian lovers. As far as present knowledge allows, there has been little or no mention of this aspect of the Butterfly narrative in previous scholarly discourses.

The second, third and fourth chapters in this study investigate Butterfly stereotypes and structures emerging from WWII and the Korean War. The second chapter analyses representations of *thémis* violation and attendant 'perpetrator trauma' (LaCapra 2001; 79) or 'victimiser consciousness' (Dower *History Wars* 70) in two Madame Butterfly novels by ex-military writers, who were former combatants in the US armed forces in the Korean War: Gurney's *Fifth Daughter* and Holland's *The Exposed*. It investigates how Madame Butterfly structures and devices mediate two conflicting loyalties in Western protagonists: identification with the victims of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (the *hibakusha*), and identification with the perpetrator group (America and its Allies). The plots and characterisations in each novel are loosely based on the writers' real-world relationships with Japanese women encountered during R and R breaks in Japan during the Korean War, and each represents Western military men's reactions to the aftermath of the atomic bombings. It is reasonable to conclude that the

moral anxieties represented in Korean War novels were intensified by their production during a period of disillusionment, stalemate and grief that shook the West's faith in its WWII image as the champion of just causes.

Particular attention is given in this chapter to the traumatic image of the burned Japanese woman, which appears with significant regularity in servicemen's writing about conflicts in Asia. In the world outside the novels, real-world encounters with prostitutes' perfect or partially-scarred skin confronted Western lovers with the wounds inflicted on non-combatants by their own forces, an awareness previously buried beneath silence, denial and suppression. This kind of awareness is usually managed in subtexts and metaphors, but *The Exposed* is unusual in that it overtly sets out to achieve a symbolic reconciliation between Western anger at Japanese WWII atrocities and Western awareness of moral duplicity in experimenting with a weapon of immense power and unknown effects on civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A final reconciliation of moral outrage on both sides is consummated by the love and suicide of a seventeen-year-old Japanese *hibakusha* (a person exposed to atomic radiation), an example of how the Butterfly stereotype functions in many novels in this genre.

The third chapter examines representations of socio-cultural anxiety after the Korean Conflict in Michener's *Sayonara* (1954), and the operation of *thémis* violation in men's angry, anxious perceptions that social structures and gender roles were 'not right' in post-war America, in that women had displaced or undermined men's control and agency. *Sayonara* is notable for its fervent critique of Western women, and expresses a degree of hatred for them. The novel's misogynist stereotyping, which in Gilman's terms could be described as pathological, appears to be deeply rooted in a fear of losing masculine

identity and status to a creeping modernity and, worse, a triumphant feminism, which brings to mind similar nineteenth-century fears present in Puccini's opera. In *Sayonara*, Asian women, in contrast to Western women, are viewed as non-combatants and as a means of restoring the old order, and, unlike their male counterparts, are not held accountable for Japanese moral excesses in WWII. Criticism is, however, directed at racist white women such as Mrs. Webster, who supports America's anti-miscegenation and anti-immigration laws that stop servicemen bringing home non-white war brides.

Sayonara was extremely popular in that it reconstructed positive images of the American forces generated by victories in WWII. It also buried in its subtext the morally and psychologically-wounded returned soldier, who, in peace-time, often became an angry, abusive partner and father. The 'ghost' of post-war domestic violence occurring in the homes of returned servicemen exists at a sub-textual level in *Sayonara*, but it is suppressed, just as it was in public discourses. The abused wife is subsumed under feminine characters negatively stereotyped as ugly, angry bigots and inadequate lovers, the nexus of men's rage and inadequacy. By contrast, conflicted Western subjectivity is reconstructed in *Sayonara* via the loving and forgiving Japanese woman, who is 'both more and less than a human being', and represents 'the reconciliation of contradictions within the author' (Tal 1). In this way, the romance between an American man and a Japanese woman becomes secondary to love between men-in-arms, and the novel's critique of restrictive immigration policies a metaphor for men's post-war trauma and fears that they cannot reintegrate into civil society.

The fourth chapter analyses Jere Peacock's *Valhalla* (1961), which addresses *thémis* abuse against American soldiers by critiquing corrupted disciplinary regimes and

training techniques that broke the spirit of men, who subsequently lost both idealism and patriotism, a loss that ex-Marine Corps officer James Webb also works through in *A Sense of Honour* (1981). Peacock's representations of trauma and moral conflict in the novel are not those of a combatant, but are to do with his role as a close observer of Western men and military culture in Japan, a journalist-witness embedded with US Korean War troops. *Valhalla* critiques the military's mid-century failure to effectively study and treat combat fatigue, or to allow humanitarian concerns to govern its codes of military justice and behaviour, thus laying the blame for systemic brutality and corruption at the feet of military authorities. Representations of *thèmis* violations in the novel are to do with military authorities who betray soldiers' trust by betraying their expectations that life-and-death decisions of those controlling their lives should be as humane, trustworthy and as ethical as possible, even in the moral vacuum of war. Soldiers in this case are made victims within a system that they depend on for survival, and to which they have pledged allegiance and trust. Madame Butterfly themes, stereotypes and narrative structures mediate these betrayals of trust, and the failure of idealism implicit in trust. 'Jo-sans' and 'business women' in the town near a military base offer the only psychiatric help acceptable to the soldiers, many of whom who have fought stagnant, high-casualty trench warfare reminiscent of WWI. The men see low-status Japanese women as fellow victims of coercive systems. Well-acquainted with fear and horror, the prostitutes listen to the men as they talk through their traumatic experiences, nurturing them, and offering intimacies seen as romantic and making peace with a former enemy, which simultaneously exploits women with few options for survival, a double standard pre-figured in the nineteenth century Butterfly narrative.

The fifth and sixth chapters are set within a third period in which Madame Butterfly narratives peaked, 1980-2005. In these years, nostalgic pre-millennial anxiety concerning the passing of Empire and the continuing emotional fallout from the Vietnam War came together. This period, straddling the turn of the new millennium, was marked by a resurgence in bookshops of Western Orientalist literary nostalgia overlaid with Postmodern, neo-Orientalist imagery: exotic, fragmented feminine body-parts, fans, red lips, white faces and elliptical eyes on book covers flooded the popular literary fiction market. It is possible to interpret this Orientalist rush to publication as symptomatic of a Western desire to reflect on the world as it once was, the passing of Empire, and a desire to escape a disturbing present and anxious future by revisiting the past. The idea that *fin de siècles* evoke nostalgia, negative emotions, and even serious mental illness is scarcely new (Showalter 1997; Mighall, 1999; Arata 2008; Bogousslavsky, 2014); '[h]ysteria', in Showalter's view, 'peaks at the ends of centuries, when people are ... alarmed about social change....' (19). Western millennial anxiety discernible within this renaissance of *Japonisme* and Orientalism in novels coincided with literary responses to the Vietnam War.

The fifth chapter analyses moral anxiety and war trauma in two Madame Butterfly novels written by former combatants in the US armed forces in Vietnam.¹⁷ *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* covers 1980s American-Japanese economic competition (economic 'combat') and also hearkens back to the protagonist's experiences during R and R in the Vietnam War and in post-WWII Japan. *The Emperor's General* is set during the Occupation of Japan, and indirectly addresses the moral and operational failure of US political policies and military strategies in Vietnam, a failure of *thémis*, by exploring

MacArthur's barely-legal political machinations to have General Yamashita hanged for war crimes in the Philippines, instead of Emperor Hirohito or his family.

The mood of white male protagonists in both novels is highly nostalgic as they remember halcyon days of youth and power in Japan, closely tied to romances with bar hostesses or 'geishas'. The novels' Western man-Asian woman romances reconstruct the post-WWII world for readers still coming to terms with the moral abyss America appears to have fallen into while fighting the Vietnam War. Representations of trauma and moral conflict were endemic in literature from this period because the war in Vietnam embroiled participants in socially-abhorrent moral crises such as the indiscriminate killing of women and children, which meant that Western fighting men became known at home and abroad, often unjustly, as 'baby-killers' instead of saviours. US policies in the region had allowed free-fire zones and mass aerial incendiary and chemical attacks on an enemy almost indistinguishable from the civilian population. Bourke comments in *An Intimate History of Killing* that many American forces behaved in Vietnam just as the West had accused the Japanese of doing in WWII (231).¹⁸ These details of the novels' historical context are important in identifying veins of anxiety and trauma in the texts: both work through the moral ambiguities and complexities of the Vietnam era by relocating their novels in Japan. That they were not set in Vietnam suggests a subtextual displacement and avoidance of painful ethical issues implicit in representations of Vietnamese femininity and Vietnam's desecrated, poisoned environment.

A Japanese setting enabled members of the Western armed forces visiting Japan on leave from Korea and Vietnam to imagine themselves as neo-colonial¹⁹ 'Lords of Humankind' (Kiernan 1986), Empire builders and world saviours (Marchetti 105) within

Western ideologies of manifest destiny, rather than defeated Imperialists or victims of systemic military abuse (dehumanising discipline and morally conflicting orders) and disorienting social change at home. Like *Sayonara*, the novels recreate an era in which Americans enjoyed high status as victors over the Japanese and as overseers of its successful economic and structural post-war reforms and recovery. Within a patriotic framework, both novels link Japanese femininity with themes of confession, punishment, and absolution. This linking of internal conflict in Western protagonists with forgiving, nurturing Japanese femininity, and the suppression of Vietnamese femininity, can be interpreted as a device resolving opposing painful moral conflicts (Tal 1), a recurring process in veterans' writing.

Chapter Six examines *fin de siècle* melancholia and moral anxiety in *Exit A* by Anthony Swofford (2007), and three other novels engaging with Butterfly themes in ways that are very different from those in earlier periods. Swofford's novel is an example of modern 'trauma literature' that consciously uses forms, themes and tropes to communicate anxiety and moral conflict, in a manner unlike earlier veterans' novels. *Exit A* works through moral complexities and contradictions, violations of *thémis* troubling an adult child of parents directly involved in the morally-ambiguous events of WWII and the Vietnam Conflict. It deals with anger, moral anxiety and second-generation trauma stemming from military actions in Hiroshima and Vietnam, and the disruptions to parental care experienced by children in military families, before making some peace with these issues through a romantic East-West alliance and a half-Japanese daughter's reconciliation with her Vietnam veteran father.

It is significant that the West's fervour for fantasies that take the reader to other

times and places, to idyllic, pre-modern Japanese landscapes, should return at the close of the millennium. A resurgent Orientalism and interest in *Japonisme* was visible in the new (twenty-first century) fin de siècle as publishers released hundreds of books, novels and films on 'geisha' themes. Arguably, this was to do with the passing of an era in which the West was dominant in Asia: a 'last gasp' release of emotion recognising the end of Western Imperialism and hegemony and the fading of a power relationship underlined as Western men fraternised with Japanese women. This period was not going to come again: the real-world generation that remembered and loved Madame Butterfly was aging.

The defining text of this period was Golden's geisha-as-prostitute fantasy, *Memoirs of a Geisha*, published in 1997, the same year in which the Union Jack was lowered for the last time in Hong Kong and the Kowloon Peninsula. Recalling Western fin de siècle dreams of accessing the interior spaces of exotic Asian femininity, Golden's novel preceded many other novels and non-fictional texts depicting Japan's 'Flower and Willow' world. The intense Orientalist revivalism of Golden's text was at odds with a simultaneous and prolific publication of novels in English by Asian female writers representing their own constructions of Asian femininity, which often ridiculed or exploited Western men's expectations that Asian women should behave like Madame Butterflies or other Orientalist projections of Western anxieties. Larissa Lai's *When Fox is a Thousand* and Henry Hwang's play *M. Butterfly* both offer radically different ways of imagining female subjectivity in Asia that rejects co-option into Western narratives for Western ends, exposing its connections with a masculinity simultaneously violent and vulnerable.

By focusing on Western male protagonists as conflicted and traumatised

perpetrators rather than Imperialist aggressors, or as both, this study does not defend men of Empire's oppressive acts, and neither does it seek to justify the moral excesses of both Asian and Western combatants in twentieth century wars fought 'without mercy' (Dower 1986). It acknowledges feminist discourses arguing that a late twentieth century focus on the psychologically-wounded soldier, while necessary for the healing of deeply traumatised men, was also used in the interests of Western image recuperation after Vietnam, emphasising that Vietnam veterans were victims, and obscuring Vietnamese women and girls who were raped during the war and silenced after it (Thistlewaite 2015).

However, this thesis does support the view that justice and political, representational redress for Asian victims of war, or a deeper understanding of the psychological cost to both sides of the century's history of Western wars in Asia, is not attained or properly addressed by denying any relevant group a voice in processing the painful past.²⁰ Human cognition is, of course, complex, and, in research aimed at understanding an Imperialist past, casting military men only as Imperialists and oppressors can blur vision and impede political action and redress, particularly for women. As Rothberg observes, there is a need 'to confront trauma studies with necessary, conflicting demands', an approach that requires the address of 'apparently conflicting goals', and 'a grasp of ambiguity, hybridity, and complicity' (232), which can lead to 'a more supple understanding of the implications of racial and colonial forms of violence' (232). Stereotypically thinking of male, Western, veteran authors and their characters *only* as sexist Imperialists, rapists and murderers may also, unwittingly, hamper research supporting political redress for women injured in war. As LaCapra, working with Holocaust survivors and their tormentors puts it: '[p]erpetrator trauma ... must itself be

acknowledged and in some sense worked through if perpetrators are to distance themselves from an earlier implication in deadly ideologies and practices' (LaCapra 79). Indeed, Weaver comments on the role that 'deadly ideologies and practices' played in preparing and enabling American soldiers to commit atrocities against women, children and old people in Vietnam. She found that responsibility for soldiers' crimes resided in part with the culture of machismo that had raised them: the soldiers' capacity to commit crimes was developed in pre-existing social and military cultures of brutality and misogyny (15). Likewise, systemic misogyny in Vietnamese culture had pre-programmed Vietnamese women to absorb the shame for wartime rapes by soldiers from both sides, which meant that these women did not agitate for redress at the war's end (24). Weaver further argues that men in the Winter Soldier Investigation had been traumatised not only by war itself, but by participation in atrocities (15).

It is the intention of this thesis to draw attention to stereotypical representations in a selection of Butterfly novels published from the 1950s onwards that reveal a protagonist's awareness of being implicated in 'deadly ideologies and practices' that led to the suffering of Asian female victims as these are represented in war romances set in Japan. This investigation begins with an exploration of moral conflict in nineteenth century Butterfly narratives that set up the prototypical structures which men used to write about war and its aftermath for the next one hundred years.

CHAPTER ONE: FIN DE SIÈCLE MORAL ANXIETY, CONFLICTED MASCULINITY, AND ASIAN CHILD-WOMEN

This chapter examines the socio-ethical influences shaping Puccini's opera, *Madama Butterfly*, the prototypical version of the Butterfly narrative adapted later in the century to represent the anxieties and traumas of the post-WWII world. Examining the ethical concerns of the milieu from which the opera emerged brings out of the shadows the figure of the nineteenth-century paedophile, a spectre partially obscured by the opera's technical excellence and romance, but nevertheless present in Lieutenant Pinkerton, in whom an implicit conflict between exotic romance and a repugnant reality coheres. This chapter focuses on the opera as a text embedded in an ethical and social environment which sought to minimise sexual predation on the young. To date, there has been little research into social anxiety and paedophilia in relation to *Madama Butterfly*. This thesis explores that gap, using the opera's unexamined paedophilic element as an example of how *thèmes* abuse and perpetrator trauma can be managed in familiar narrative structures and stereotypes, transforming the unspeakable into a 'speakable' form, a means of assimilating and managing 'conflicting moral frameworks' (Bristow 35).

It may be possible to argue that, rather than obscuring the more repugnant aspects of treaty-port prostitution, the opera delivers an openly ethical message: it promotes sympathy for girls exploited by Westerners availing themselves of the Asian sex trade, bringing their plight to the attention of audiences. However, Butterfly is inseparable in Western imagination from her character as it was performed before audiences. The child victim is somewhat obscured by the persona of the virtuoso operatic performer, whose voice and delivery commands empathy for the abandoned Butterfly but

does not draw attention to Western male exploitation of a Japanese child. Rather, as Yoshihara explains,

... the white divas who played the [Butterfly] role on stage [were] [t]rained in the most spectacular form of European high culture, performing the roles of the heroines on stage, and leading highly public lives off stage ... These divas in fact embodied modern American womanhood much more than Japanese femininity. (Yoshihara 976)

In addition, an overall effect of order and unity is produced by enclosing disturbing events within musical form, potentially diminishing the opera's ability to make a political statement, to advocate for social change, or even to adequately represent the real-world circumstances of girls caught up in a vicious trade.²¹ As Liao expresses it, 'By permitting a radical look into reality, art also has the potential for veiling it' (33).

Dawson's observation that *Butterfly* is constructed as a 'powerful tragic heroine' in the style of 'classic tragedy' (121) is relevant here. Indeed, '[t]he archetypal heroine is one of the most powerful in all opera and the culmination of Giacomo Puccini's previous heroines' (3). Significantly, it was this image of *Butterfly* that was etched onto Western memory, and not the helpless victim depicted in texts by Loti, Long, and Belasco. It is reasonable to suggest that *Madama Butterfly* does not educate an audience about the more abject aspects of sex tourism in the nineteenth century; rather, it suppresses the 'unspeakable' by revealing just enough of its dark side, but no more, to remove its potential sting, rendering the opera's themes risqué rather than genuinely reprehensible.

Many studies have focussed on the *Butterfly* narrative's sexism, racism and Imperialism in postcolonial discourses generated by Said's *Orientalism*. Marchetti, in *Romance and The Yellow Peril*, van Rij in *The Search for the Real Madame Butterfly*, and

Koshy in *Sexual Naturalization: Asian Americans and Miscegenation* have previously analysed the progressive alterations transforming Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* into Puccini's world-renowned opera, interpreting the significance of these changes in terms of national identity, race and gender, clarifying the role they played in reinforcing miscegenation laws in the US and reifying whiteness as truly American. This chapter builds on Koshy and Marchetti's work but does not focus on racism as they do, but on *thèmes* abuse in *Madama Butterfly* in the form of child sexual exploitation.

In order to begin considering the socio-ethical context in which the opera was viewed in the fin de siècle West, it is helpful to imagine Pinkerton and Butterfly together in a performance of *Madama Butterfly* at Covent Garden in 1905. Here, in contrast to its 1904 failure in Milan, the opera was well received. Framed in a proscenium arch, Lieutenant Pinkerton, played by Enrico Caruso, embraces a full-bodied white woman in a kimono, Emmy Destinn (Rodmell 85). She is supposed to be a very young Asian girl, child sex worker, 'Miss Butterfly',²² whom the lieutenant has purchased from her parents for temporary services during his ship's lay-over in Nagasaki Harbour. In the tableau, Pinkerton's costume, that of an officer in the American Navy, signifies Western presence in Asia, an association reinforced in the recurring musical motif, *The Star-Spangled Banner* (Fisher 29). Near the end of Act One, thousands of stars shine over the Nagasaki love-nest as Butterfly sings: 'Quante stelle' ('So many stars!'): 'Stars unending! Never have I seen such glory! / Throbbing, sparkling, each star in heaven, like a fiery eye is flashing' (Fisher 118).

Although romantic and beautiful to an opera audience, this wedding night scene goes to the heart of Imperialism's internal conflicts, and raises *thèmes* abuses suppressed

in Western history, the historical 'ghosts' of the extremely young girls caught up in treaty-port prostitution in the 1880s, who fed Western fantasies of the erotic Orient. In contrast to the mature Cio-Cio-san depicted above, a medium close-up photograph in *Pierre Loti L'Incompris* depicts a much younger girl than audiences see in Puccini's opera. The photograph, by Hikoma Ugeno, is also reproduced on the cover of *Madame Chrysanthème Suivi de Femmes Japonaises* (1988). Editor Quella-Villèger identifies the girl as O-Kanè-san, the real-life version of Kikou-san, or Madame Chrysanthème, a *mousmè* appearing in Loti's travelogue of the same name, and a feminine model for Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*.²³ The girl in the photograph is tiny, of an age a contemporary eye might identify as twelve.²⁴ She looks too young and vulnerable to be romantically engaged in a sexual relationship with a man such as Loti, who, together with a shipmate, 'Yves', appears with her in another photograph taken on the same day. Viaud, a French naval officer, a man old enough, and more, to be her father, was one of many men in military or diplomatic service with access to Japanese treaty ports and who sought out foreign sexual adventures.

Puccini's opera reproduces a sanitised and romanticised version of Loti's real-world experiences within the Japanese temporary child 'bride' system and his short 'marriage' in Nagasaki to O-Kikou-san, or 'Miss Chrysanthemum', her sex-industry name.²⁵ Loti and fellow officer Yves shared a house with 'Miss Chrysanthemum' for three months while their ship, *Triomphante*, was in Nagasaki Bay, undergoing repairs after 'the long blockade of Formosa' (133). While *Madame Chrysanthème* offers no certainty regarding Kikou-san's age, it does indicate that Loti, in contracting a sham marriage with a young girl of unverifiable age, participated in a system catering for international

paedophiles. His travelogue features ambiguous and inconsistent statements, disavowals, and sometimes overstatements regarding Butterfly's age and those of her fellow *moussmés*, which suggests a degree of dissembling in an era in which the sexual exploitation of children provoked widespread political agitation in the West.

As mentioned earlier, the West's Butterfly fantasy in its operative form had roots in a real-world system enabling military, business and diplomatic personnel access to sex with girls far from Western home countries. By the 1880s, Japan's treaty ports hosted a variety of forms of prostitution, as did many ports of call around the world. After Yokohama, Nagasaki and Hakodate were opened to US trade from 1859, temporary wives like O-Kanè-san were available to all male European visitors, and not just to the Dutch on the island of Dejima, who had enjoyed limited access since 1630. Temporary marriages, not permissible in their home countries, gave Western men long-term and exclusive access to young girls, with whom they could live relatively cheaply and comfortably (Leupp 9). Pat Barr, in *The Deer Cry Pavilion*, a study of Japanese/Western relations from 1868-1905, describes these temporary arrangements thus:

A *moussmé* could usually dance and sing, and was expected to entertain her transitory husband and attend to his comfort with the help of servants for as long as the temporary 'marriage' lasted, which was often for the duration of a man's desire, a ship's term in harbour, a tour of duty, or until complications such as pregnancy spoilt the marriage, which was meant to be, above all, convenient for males. (Barr 185-86)

Loti describes a *moussmé* as 'a young girl, or very young woman' (56). In his opinion, the word *moussmé* 'is one of the prettiest words in the Nipponese language; it seems almost as if there were a little pout in the very sound—a pretty, taking little pout,

such as they put on ...' (88).²⁶ He was 'captivated' by the idea of '[s]choolgirls—funny little *mousmés*' and the 'infantine grace of these little girls in their long frocks and shiny chignons' (197). *Mousmès*, or very young women, were the real-world face of the heroic, mature 'geisha' construct usually seen by opera audiences. Loti sought out the Garden of Flowers tea-house, looking for the services of a *mousmé*, because '[m]any of [his]' friends, on their return home from that country, had told [him] about it' (29). Van Rij observes that, '[t]o the seafaring community of the nineteenth century, the practice of an easy contractual arrangement with a poor girl in a Japanese harbour was well known' (18). During Loti's travels in Oceania and Asia, Loti pursued other very young females who appeared in his novels and travelogues; for example, in *The Marriage of Loti*, Harry Grant, later called Loti, marries Rarahu, a fifteen-year-old, and in *Le Roman d'un Spahi* (1881), Jean Peyral has an affair with Fatou-gaye, a naked fifteen-year old Khassonke girl of Sudanese stock.

Madame Chrysanthème suggests that Loti came to Japan with few scruples concerning the age of the 'doll' he intended to procure. In the opening pages of *Madame Chrysanthème*, armed with prior knowledge, he savours the pleasures in store as he sails into Nagasaki Harbour. He is relatively open about his desire to marry a child, confiding to his friend, Yves, that he was ready to be 'led astray', to temporarily marry a pretty child-bride who was '[n]ot much bigger than a doll' (8). The term 'led astray', a tongue-in-cheek inference that Japanese girls willingly initiate sexual contact with foreign men, that they have the power to choose their partners freely, is an early indication of Loti's use of language to subtly distance himself from an industry in which girls were often coerced into service by families and pimps. His words also engage with a well-known myth that

Oriental women reached sexual maturity at a younger age than Western girls, and were possessed of an easy, precocious sexuality. His use of the term 'doll' references his childhood fascination with Japanese artefacts and also dehumanises the girl he intends to purchase. Other sailors from the *Triomphante* were making similar plans to contract temporary wives, such as 'the midshipman Z—', who contracted 'the tiny Madame Touki-San, no taller than a boot: thirteen years old at the outside, and already a regular woman, full of her own importance, a petulant little gossip' (96). While waiting to be introduced to his own prospective 'bride', Loti peers through a hole in the wall and sees 'a darling little fairy of about twelve or fifteen years of age, slim, and already a coquette, already a woman' who was entertaining other guests in the teahouse (46).

Instantly attracted to the 'coquette', Loti muses thus: 'Suppose I marry this one, without seeking any further. I should respect her as a child committed to my care; I should take her for what she is: a fantastic and charming plaything' (46). These references to sexualised playthings and dolls were carried over into Puccini's opera, and the use of words like 'respect', 'care' and 'entrusted' brings to the fore the processes of obfuscation and the blurring of moral boundaries in Loti's influential text.

Loti's musings about marrying the dancer are inconsistent with his claims, made later, that he refused the offer of Jasmine, Madame Chrysanthème's sister, on the grounds that she was too young. Loti asks the go-between, M. Kangourou, if he might 'marry' the (possibly) twelve-year-old 'darling little fairy' (46) he had seen earlier. The term 'marry' here of course is a euphemism casting a veneer of respectability over the purchase for long-term prostitution of a relatively sexually-untouched girl. In 1930, Keisō Horiuchi, the translator of Puccini's opera libretto into Japanese, called the marriage-broker's work

'sleazy activities', and changed the character into a respectable translator (Yoshihara 994), which suggests a desire to rid the opera of its moral offences and cultural inaccuracies. In Loti's text, M. Kangarou explains that the dancer was a 'guècha' (Loti 48), and therefore not for hire. Perceiving, however, that his client was looking for a very young girl, Kangarou responds with: 'Ah, I know just the kind of girl you require', and eventually produces Jasmine for Loti's inspection. Jasmine is 'so young that *even I* [italics mine] should scruple to hire her' (56). The girl is not pretty, and so Yves (in real life Pierre Le Cor), points out to a despairing Loti that Kikou has the desired prettiness: 'I should never have remarked her without his observation that she was pretty', Loti remarks later (64). Jasmine had also been hired out previously, whereas this was not the case with Kikou (61). Loti, showing a preference for virgins, exclaims: 'She [Kikou] is not married! Then why did the idiot [the go-between] not propose her to me at once, instead of the other [Jasmin]?' (61). Thus, it was not necessarily Jasmine's age that met with Loti's disapproval. That the girls' ages were not mentioned in treaty-port bride transactions is evident in that Loti has to guess how old Kikou was: '[I]ess young than Mlle. Jasmine, about eighteen years of age, perhaps, already more of a woman' (59). Loti uses the latter phrase, 'already ... a woman' several times in the novel when referring to Japanese girls, and, when used in reference to the virginal Kikou, it suggests a fascination with femininity on the brink of maturity.

From Loti's description of her demeanour, Kikou-san is clearly unwilling to participate in the 'marriage'. Formerly only an observer in a crowd of Jasmine's relatives, who will profit from the transaction, Kikou wears 'an expression of ennui, also of a little contempt, as if she regretted her attendance at a spectacle that dragged so much' (59). In a

scene that evokes Orientalist paintings of female slaves having their teeth inspected, M. Kangourou 'forces her to rise' (37) to be inspected by Loti. Taken aback at being suddenly singled out from a group of observers, Kikou is 'half sulky and half smiling' (37), but, like most girls in the system, has no say in the proceedings. It is reasonable to suggest that Kikou, who had never chosen to be in the sex industry, was traumatised by having to engage in enforced sex with a stranger she did not like. Loti observes that Kikou, when waking from sleep, 'looks at me and hangs her head: something like an expression of sadness passes in her eyes' (296). Her depressed manner throughout the 'marriage' irritates and alienates Loti, who wishes that she was like her more cheerful fellow 'brides'. He describes her as 'melancholy' (46), 'listless', 'fatigued' (55), 'serious' (62), 'absent' and 'sulky', 'acting' as if she was 'performing a duty only' (189). Late at night, she 'plays the part of a tired little girl' (172). He and Yves are also surprised at her 'little, timid airs', having 'imagined nothing like it in such a connection as this' (39). When Kikou and her lover finally part, Loti is 'puzzle[d]' because Kikou is 'indifferent' and 'unconcerned' towards him (208). Loti, in a manner particularly devoid of empathy, assumes that her behaviour stems from a character flaw, or from a concealed desire for Yves. From these descriptions, it is possible to conclude that Loti's Japanese romance describes the prolonged rape of a girl of unverified age by an older man. The implications of this reveal the extent of the modifications made to the Butterfly character and the context between Loti's text and Puccini's opera that also modified the narrative's moral implications for audiences, which, as Nieves observes, were from the middle and upper classes (4).

Loti's conflicted attitudes can be seen in a web of ambiguity regarding his own motivations and actions for 'marrying' Kikou-san. During the bride-viewing, he privately

criticises Jasmine's female relatives for being willing to sell their daughter, Kikou's sister. He remarks that they had surprisingly refined airs for 'women who, not to put too fine a point upon it, have come to sell a child' (58). Even though he queries the women's 'airs' at such an event, he does not note the double standard implicit in his own enthusiastic participation in a system which, in his terms, 'sells' children. Likewise, Yves does not object to the coercion involved in Loti's exotic experiment, but, somewhat inconsistently, is 'shocked' at the apparent sexual precociousness of the *moussmès* who proposition him in a street inhabited by 'ladies of doubtful reputation' (93): '[a] whole band of tiny little *moussmés* of twelve or fifteen years of age, who barely reached up to his waist, were pulling him [Yves] by the sleeves, eager to lead him astray' (93). On the dedication page in *Madame Chrysanthème* (n.p.), Loti informs his patron, 'La Duchesse De Richelieu', that he feels 'some hesitation in offering [the travelogue], for its theme is not altogether proper' (58). Although this arch statement is partly in jest, it was also true. France's Penal Code of 1810 was in force (as much of it still is today). Technically, and morally, by purchasing an unwilling girl for sexual services, Loti was in breach of Section 4, Book 3 of the Code, which states that

[w]hoever shall have attacked morals, by exciting, favouring, or facilitating, habitually, debauchery or corruption in the youth of both sexes, under the age of twenty-one years, shall be punished with an imprisonment of from six months to two years, and a fine of from 50 to 500 francs. (Crimes against Individuals 67)

Loti was also flouting another section of the Code, which deals with rape: 'If the crime [rape] has been committed upon the person of an infant, under the age of fifteen years complete, the criminal shall undergo the penalty of hard labour for time' (67-68). This of

course applied in France, and not in Japan, and France's age of consent was thirteen at the time (Robertson n.p.), but the cultural attitudes towards sexual predation on the young are clear. Projecting his own ambivalence about the venture on to Kikou-san's relatives, Loti takes refuge in cynicism: 'It seems to me that my betrothal is a joke, and my new family a set of puppets' (66). On the final page, Loti prays: 'Oama-Terace-Omi-Kami ... wash me clean from this little marriage of mine, in the waters of the river of Kamo!' (317), which implies, in spite of its ironic references to his landlady's Shintoist prayers, a desire to distance himself from his disturbing Japanese 'marriage'. It suggests that his conduct was not 'perfectly acceptable' (98) in France or in his own mind.

The age of a Japanese female lover is usually stressed in *Butterfly* texts because it was and continues to be a moral sticking point in situations in which Western men patronise overseas sex industries. Puccini and his librettists fixed the age of the eponymous heroine, *Butterfly*, at fifteen, an age that hovered perilously close to—or below—the age of consent in some states of the USA at the time. *Butterfly* states that, at fifteen, she is 'well along in years' and is almost 'too old' for Pinkerton (14). Pinkerton only finds out her age when all the guests are assembled for their 'marriage', when it is too late to demur. *Butterfly* says, '[I am] fifteen! I am old, am I not?' (14). This revelation provokes a startled response from Sharpless and Pinkerton, a reaction that clears them of prior knowledge that a temporary bride could be so young. Sharpless and Pinkerton both exclaim: 'Fifteen years old!' (14). Sharpless further comments that fifteen is 'the age of playthings', and Pinkerton adds: '... and of sweets', which seems a loaded statement.

Puccini and his librettists err, as did most writers after Loti, by depicting fifteen-year-old *Butterfly* as an 'ex-geisha'. At the age of fifteen, *Butterfly* is too young to have

had a past career as a fully-fledged geisha, or 'art-woman', the profession of older girls and women (Seigle 10). Dalby's study of geisha hierarchies in *Geisha* (1983) makes it clear that high-class geisha roles required many years of training, and that Westerners were often unaware of the many different roles and levels within the Japanese sex and entertainment industry, conflating them into a generic Western 'geisha' stereotype. Puccini was misusing the term 'geisha' to mean 'prostitute', whereas Loti more accurately uses the term, *mousmé*, which most late nineteenth century Western travellers to Japan used, although the term sometimes appeared as 'musume' ('my daughter' in Japanese), or was misspelt as 'mousmee' (Long 1898).

The unpalatable nature of treaty port 'marriages' in *Madame Chrysanthème* is underlined by Kikou-san's inability to defend herself or exercise any control over her body, as Ugeno's photograph of the vulnerable-looking *mousmé* and Pat Barr's observations above indicate. Girls like Kikou in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were usually from the lower classes and could not choose their sexual partners. The appeal of *mousmé* brides for Western military personnel, sex tourists and government officials is obvious: extreme youth, supposed virginity, and an assumed freedom from venereal disease. Widespread anxiety to do with contagious diseases in colonies like Hong Kong and Singapore (Levine 8), not to mention political activism concerning the age of consent at home, were making procuring minors more difficult.

If the womanly Cio-Cio-san described in the wedding-night scene in *Madama Butterfly* above was replaced with a girl as young as Kikou, the opera's ethical sore points may have impinged far more on the pleasures of an operatic escape. In the socio-political context of the fin de siècle, the tableau is potentially fraught with social anxiety

concerning not only paedophilia but also miscegenation, the mixing of 'Mongoloid' races with Caucasians (Demel 59). A point of anxiety related to miscegenation in the scene is a degenerating masculinity in *Men of Empire*, both physical and mental, a sign that all was not well with Western men's moral fitness to rule, that many emissaries of Empire, those bearing the brunt of the West's mission to the world, were falling short of the standards expected of them. Many were breaking down (Matsuda 29), and the fear was that others lacked the bodily strength, muscular self-restraint and moral fibre necessary to maintain the ideals of Empire. Lieutenant Pinkerton embodies these concerns and the ethical contradictions implicit in Empire. His embrace of a child represents the synergies at play between ideals and experience, ethical injury and trauma: trauma to the child, made invisible in stereotyping, and trauma experienced by men implicated in *thémis* abuse, in which they inflict great harm on others and themselves in the cause of 'manifest destiny' or a mission of mercy bringing enlightenment to the rest of the world.

Anxiety and trauma implicit in *Madama Butterfly* is centred in the discontinuity between Western ideals of *thémis*, ideals of manhood, and the ethically-ambivalent actions of men of Empire overseas. Since Freud, internal conflicts such as these have been recognised as being capable of causing mental illness. Discontinuity between actual experience and idealistic expectations of 'how the world should work' can promote anxiety and trauma in the human psyche (Fontana 133; Tick 204-247; Janoff-Bulman 11; Matsakis 47; Paulson et al xxi). This is particularly true in regard to moral ideals, deep-seated convictions, personal and social codes of ethics and behavioural norms concerning 'what is right' or '*thémis*' (*Shay Achilles in Vietnam* 5): conflicted responses to ethical stressors can generate different degrees of anxiety, identity damage and other negative

emotions and defensive conditions at national and personal levels (Wilson 266; Tick 2005; Simon 7-12; Fussell *Wartime* 7). In war writer and veteran soldier Fussell's view, 'the initial optimistic imagination encountering actuality' in war can produce not only anxiety but 'severe trauma' (*Wartime* 11). Likewise, LaCapra argues in *Writing History, Writing Trauma* that identity loss, anxiety and trauma can affect persons other than victims: 'perpetrator trauma' (79) can occur in those whose work demands compliance with orders, laws or policies that contravene deeply-held personal or cultural moral codes. Such conflict exacerbates trauma and precipitates defensive reactions in (many) perpetrators because it undermines fundamental assumptions about the self and its way of being in the world (Janoff-Bulman 79; Shay 34; Chodorow 235–56; Grossmann; Matsakis 30). A loss of idealism in those carrying out the policies of Empire, or other higher authorities, is linked to betrayals of trust. The failure of idealism implicit in trust can destabilise personal and collective identity structures (Tick 276; Grossman 224), thereby threatening functionality (Fontana 19,133; Tick 6, 204-247; Janoff-Bulman 11; Matsakis 47; Paulson et al xxi).

Madame Chrysanthème reflects a widespread Imperialist mindset in which ideals of 'what is just and right' (Shay *Achilles in Vietnam* 5) meet 'the expediencies implicit in forging and maintaining empires and fighting wars' (Bristow 35) The text's 'dual moral frameworks' (35) require a reader to accept that the West's civilising mission was advanced by men of the right material to acquire and maintain the Empire, who were brought up on pirate adventures modelling an adventurous, if violent and plundering, masculinity. Thus, in spite of Loti's assurances that he was merely participating in Japanese customs, doing as the natives do in a faraway port, evidence from his own text

and from history reveals the text has 'conflicting moral frameworks' (Bristow 35), which are never reconciled.

The Western Butterfly myth evolved in a period in which fears of racial degeneration and social, cultural erosion were rife in Britain, Europe and America (Navarette 3). A plethora of scholars such as Smith (2015) and Karschay (2015) have connected Europe's fear of degeneration, 'one of the most influential concepts in late Victorian culture' (Ledger and Luckhurst 1), with a perceived decline in moral fibre and physical fitness in Men of Empire, especially those who 'went native' (Brantlinger 65-85), raising fears of miscegenation. The nineteenth century was also a time of 'sexual and psychological uneasiness' (Holte 5). Coincidentally, German physician Kraft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886) was published the year before Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*. In his text, Kraft-Ebing uses the term 'paedophilia erotica' for the first time in Western medicine to name a condition he saw as a sign of degeneration, as evidence of 'an impaired genetic inheritance' (Goode 10).²⁷ Others in the same pathological category were sadism, fetishism and masochism (10). As Showalter points out, 'all fin de siècles produce hysterical plagues and moral panics' and 'hysterical syndromes multiply' as they interact with 'social forces such as religious beliefs, political agendas, and rumour panics' (19).²⁸

The imperious Pinkerton in *Madama Butterfly* has the accoutrements and mannerisms of a Man of Empire, and thus represents Western ideological imperialism abroad. As an officer in the US American Navy, Pinkerton's involvement in a system prostituting children ties him to fin de siècle concerns about moral decay at the heart of Empire. It is possible, however, to argue that contemporary ethical values should not be

used to critique those in a text from a long-gone era, because, when it was written, girls were married at a much earlier age, even in the West. However, 'historians point to the late nineteenth century as a period when mass campaigning and parliamentary legislation were mobilised [regarding] the emotive topics of child prostitution, incest and the age of consent' (Jackson 2). Public consternation regarding underage girls and rapacious men was evident when audiences first viewed *Madama Butterfly*, and had begun years before. In 1885, the year before Loti published *Madame Chrysanthème*, a crowd of approximately 25,000 British demonstrators paraded in Hyde Park, agitating to raise the age of consent for girls from 13 to 16 (Walkowitz 236). This ongoing campaign took place over approximately twenty years either side of 1900, mostly in response to pressure from social purity movements against child prostitution and father-daughter incest, a fin de siècle marker of social degeneration. Throughout Britain, Europe and America, state governments, spurred on by the Women's Christian Temperance Union and similar reformists, worked at varying speeds against entrenched notions of girlhood and sexuality to raise the age of female consent (Walkowitz 246-284). In Britain in the 1880s, concern over child prostitution and father/daughter incest precipitated the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885. This Act raised the age of female sexual consent to sixteen (Walkowitz 247), and, by 1920, American legislators in some states had also increased it to 16 years, 'and even as high as 18 years' (Robertson n.p.). Hence, attitudes to child sexuality were still in a state of flux outside grand operatic halls in 1905, when Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* was first staged in London.

In his short story, *Madame Butterfly* (1898), which followed Loti's travelogue and pre-dated Puccini's opera, John Luther Long defined the child-like qualities that

reduced Butterfly's human complexity and increased her sexual allure. She had 'all the charms of a mousmée [sic]' (41); specifically, she plays like a child, and goes about 'jingling her new keys and her new authority like toys' (9), also tossing her baby around like a toy. She was 'quite an impossible little thing, outside of lacquer and paint' (8) and was inclined to 'burst into a reckless laugh' and 'thr[o]w herself like a child upon [Pinkerton]' (11). Likewise, in the opera, Pinkerton responds to her as a child: 'O Butterfly, my tiny little child-wife' (130), and 'dear little baby wife of mine' (136). He finds these qualities arousing, declaring on his wedding night that 'her innocent baby face/... sets my heart throbbing' (48), and '[when] she speaks, she sets my heart/ a-flame with her doll-like manner!' (13). Her innocence is tempered by devilry: 'Child, from whose eyes the witchery is shining/now you are all my own!' (104). Butterfly begs Pinkerton to 'love me a little. Oh, just a very little, /as you would love a baby' (111), which assures Pinkerton she will not trouble him with emotional demands.

The idea of erotic children was a source of deep fascination to other fin de siècle writers besides Loti. Henry James, for example, focused on sexual awareness in the very young in *The Turn of the Screw*, published in the late 1890s (MacLeod 362), and sexual theories and ethnology also played a part in directing public discourses on the sexual nature of children (Metchnikoff, 86, 90–91; Moll, 219). In *The Japs [sic] at Home* (1895), adventurer Douglas Sladen describes an encounter with Japanese *mousmés*, whom he and a male friend had arranged to meet in a teahouse. His friend 'had a man's desire, and [Sladen] had a Kodak' (122). He describes the *mousmés* as '[o]ur charmers ... [of] ten and fourteen ... We of course bought them tea and cakes and candies, and ... little geegaws [I] kodaked them, and the artist sketched them and stroked them [although they were

supposedly accompanied by a 'priest']. I was merciful enough not to Kodak this part' (122). Loti writes in a similar vein in *Madame Chrysanthème* that *mousmés* have '[p]retty little physiognomies, narrow eyes peeping between slit lids like those of a new-born kitten, fat pale little cheeks, round, puffed-out, half-opened lips. They are pretty ... these little Nipponese, in their smiles and their childishness' (182). At home after his visits to Japan, Loti kept '[p]ortraits ... innumerable portraits, spread out upon [his] writing-table; laughing faces of *mousmés*, known or unknown; little eyes drawn to the temples—little eyes as of cats' (1890; 119). This image of Japanese females as pretty, flirtatious children proliferated also in popular Western plays and musicals that followed Loti's travelogue. Monckton's musical, *The Mousmés* (1909) portrayed the 'knowing looks' and flirtatious manner of erotic Japanese child-women: 'Pink little cheeks where the dimples dance/ Coy little smile and roguish glance/ Plainly say, 'Step this way!'... So, try to resist us if you can/ Gay little girl and flirted fan!' (Act One, Chorus 3). *The Mousmé* is typical of many popular shows that exemplify the West's fascination with Japanese *mousmés* who, after Puccini's opera, were generally referred to as 'geisha'.

The sexualisation of children was viewed by others as symptomatic of a deep malaise in Western masculinity.²⁹ In *The Desirable Body*, Stratton argues that a prevailing sense of phallic disempowerment among males in the late nineteenth century, a failure of patriarchy, was brought on by rising Feminism and the State's increasing control of the means of production and surveillance. This led to a general diminution in masculine pride, self-esteem and power, and an increased level of paedophilia and incest among males in late Victorian society (15). A sense of male disempowerment provoked a corresponding eruption of feelings of vulnerability and impotence, which were displaced

on to inappropriate targets, such as very young girls, usually prostitutes, but also daughters (15). Robson (2001) and Sanchez-Eppler (2002; 86) point out that a symptom of collapse in male self-esteem was endemic alcoholism, vividly replayed in Temperance literature images associating drunken men with the redeeming kisses of their daughters. Gordon's research into incest and other areas of child abuse in the late nineteenth century indicates that alcoholism was by far the most significant stress factor for incest and other forms of abuse (173).

Thus, assumptions that men, particularly those of the upper classes, were entitled to sexual access to girls at puberty and younger were under attack at the turn of the century (MacLeod 359), and so were ideas of early sexual maturity and natural sexual precocity in working class girls (363). It is consistent with the prevailing unrest concerning the behaviour of men that Puccini, Giacosa, Illica and Ricordi should have been at odds over how Pinkerton should be represented, since his sexual desire for the child-like Butterfly and his indifference to the possibility he might 'crush' her paints him as a stereotypical villain character,³⁰ familiar in melodramas, who preys on young girls, rather than a sensitive individual capable of fine feeling and remorse, of singing the 'Addio fiorito asil' aria, and of uttering three terrible cries of distress on high F sharp as Butterfly dies.

Pinkerton's potential for arousing anxiety in the audience was also exacerbated by a concern in the fin de siècle West about the state of masculinity in general. During the later years of the nineteenth century, a loss of moral control in Men of Empire overseas was akin to mental breakdown, and was 'scarcely distinguished from an act of betraying one's country' (Bock 85;107). Western masculinity ideals implied that men who were

racially fit to rule, to carry the 'white man's burden', were also capable of moral and emotional restraint (Levine 22; Windholtz 631). In Conrad's work, for example, moral conflict emerges as a powerful cause of mental illness in characters charged with enacting the policies and political strategies of Empire and nation. Examples of morally-conflicted masculine characters, fearful of losing physical and emotional control, are found in both *Heart of Darkness* and *Lord Jim*. In *Conrad and Psychological Medicine*, Bock argues that 'a crisis occurs in Conrad's fiction when the restraints of duty are observed or betrayed, when nerves hold or fail, when sanity or insanity prevails' (107). A decline in the characters' mental health stems in large part from the corrosive effects of the double moral standards implicit in everyday Imperialism. Bock further observes that '[h]omosexual desire, heterosexual irritability, and neurasthenic enervation were defining conflicts in [Conrad's] life and would inform every layer of his fiction: the imagery, narrative style and strategies, and the major tropes' (76).

Bock's observations cohere with Gilman's view that mental illness is feared partly because it involves a loss of control over language and behaviour, and can be associated with sexuality and violence (23). Although Conrad's novels are not part of this analysis, their representations of discontinuity between an idealistic vision of Imperialism and a very different everyday reality clarifies the role played by *thèmes* conflicts in *Madama Butterfly*. Like Kurtz's unnamed acts of 'horror', Pinkerton's conduct is at odds with both Western ideals of *thèmes* and masculinity ideals. The opera and Pinkerton himself signify the contradictory impulses implicit in the masculine Western self as Imperialist, a conflicted, destructive identity. Pinkerton, Kurtz and Marlow, men in the service of Empire, carry out their transgressions far from the scrutiny of Western

mainstream society, and fail to control their unruly passions. In *Heart of Darkness*, Marlow is ambivalent about his implication in a morally-bankrupt Imperialist system. Metaphors and allusions conceal mental illness and moral failure. Similar themes are aestheticised in the trappings of high art and romance in *Madama Butterfly*.

Anxiety was also produced in Men of Empire in the late nineteenth century by 'unravelling idealism' and the threat of possible mental breakdown, a collapse brought on by the great effort and moral contradictions involved in sustaining and maintaining empires (Matsuda 29). Being in the military, Loti would have been subject to unusual, damaging stresses and strains, since making wars and ruling empires was taxing on men's psychic health (Matsuda 2005). In *South Sea Maidens: Western Fantasy and Sexual Politics in the South Pacific* (2002), Sturma points out that 'far from finding freedom in Never-Never lands', many men serving their countries feared 'dissipation, despair and loneliness' and 'going troppo' (116). The high hopes and fantastic visions of the early Imperialists—the Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, English and French—began to fade in the later years of the nineteenth century, when problems of consolidation and retention followed relatively easy conquests and appropriations of territories and colonies: 'the new era of prosaic administration and management' stifled those such as Loti who 'fashioned love stories in which passionate longing, loss, and nostalgia [were] ... necessary elements of imperial mastery' (Matsuda 13). Loti also suffered from depression, which would in part explain his intolerant attitude towards manifestations of Kikou's melancholic disposition: she was, by means of entertainment, novelty and sexual services, meant to distract him from his own melancholy, not reinforce it.

A sense of lost idealism and melancholy is evident in Loti's travelogues,

including *Madame Chrysanthème*, in which a sense of *thémis*, or 'how the world should work', proves difficult to reconcile with a traumatising reality. In *Madame Chrysanthème*, a sense that the world was disordered, and a sense of disappointment, is very evident as Loti sails away from Japan in the autumn, on a 'boundless waste of waters', 'a grave so solemn and so vast' (333). He has looked for solutions to his maladies and insecure identity in overseas travels and the company of young women, pursuing, in literature and travel, the ideal of a past society unspoilt by the stresses and anxieties of industrialised modernity, but has found only disappointment: 'Colonies represented for me the gateway into the unknown; but where would it lead me now, to what oceans that I have not explored?' (qtd. in Matsuda 13). His empire 'could only be beautiful and sad, fashioned to justify idylls of fatal Idealism' (Matsuda 15).

Both Conrad and Loti, in active service for their respective countries, had experienced traumatising, life-threatening incidents, and had witnessed wounding, injury and death, all of which potentially cause PTSD.³¹ Conrad's (Bock 2002) and Loti's symptoms appeared in association with a struggle to reconcile the moral inconsistencies endemic in the everyday servicing of Empire. These inconsistencies caused the mental instability that contributed to Conrad's mental collapse in 1912 (16). Conrad's psychological disorder, previously called 'hysteria' or 'neurasthenia', could today be loosely categorised under the term, 'PTSD' (16), connected to a sense of moral conflict (Bock 90-117; 128-38). *Lord Jim*, *Under Western Eyes* and *Heart of Darkness* worked through psychological conflicts generated by stresses and strains of constructing and running Empires. As Virginia Woolf, writing in *Mr Conrad: A Conversation*, noted: 'You must have noticed the sudden silences, the awkward collisions, the immense lethargy

which threatens at every moment to descend. All this, I think, must be the result of that internal conflict' (1: 310-1.) Arata, analysing texts written by prominent writers such as Haggard and Kipling, comments that 'although [their texts have] often been read by later critics as unambiguously celebratory of late-Victorian masculinity ideals, the male romance is in fact deeply imbued with a sense of loss' (89).

The Butterfly myth emerged from a similar, melancholic Western masculine mindset. It is fair to say that part of the abuse Kikou suffered in *Madame Chrysanthème* stemmed from Loti's projection of those aspects of his own self that he did not like on to her, an act which does not justify his exploitative actions abroad, but taking it into account adds another layer to understanding a complex network of influences coming to bear on representations of the Western subject on a world stage in Butterfly romances.

A contemporary critic might argue that Pinkerton's ethical failures may not have concerned fin de siècle opera audiences because, in the logic of moral relativity, Japanese cultural standards were different from those in the West, and thus staging a strikingly age-diverse relationship between a Western man and a hired Japanese girl was morally neutral. Indeed, Loti, in *Madame Chrysanthème*, states that, to the Japanese, the sale of a child-bride was 'only doing a thing that is perfectly admissible in their world' (58). On the contrary, as was evident in Keisō Horiuchi's translation of the opera, mentioned earlier, portraying Pinkerton and Butterfly's sexual relationship in a high art form like opera embarrassed the Japanese. Van Rij has described a Japanese audience's reactions to the opera's first season in Japan at the Imperial Theatre, noting that they could not understand why Westerners thought the tale beautiful and affective, nor could they comprehend why such distasteful and culturally-inaccurate themes should be on public display in Western

high culture (van Rij 141).³² Hoiuchi and Yamada's 1930s Japanese revision of the opera erased many other of its cultural absurdities and inaccuracies (Yoshihara 993), and, of particular interest to this thesis, deleted any suggestion of child prostitution. Butterfly's age was raised to a respectable twenty-two, and, as mentioned earlier, the go-between (Gorō in the opera), was elevated to that of a gentleman, an 'intelligent translator' (Yoshihara 993). While these changes may have been motivated by a need to redeem national pride, they also indicate an awareness that portraying an enslaved fifteen-year-old girl and an American in a treaty-port contract as a sublime romance is at best absurd, a product of a distorted, and at worst a diseased product of a pathological Western imagination.

However fanciful the opera may have appeared to the Japanese, Pinkerton's trauma may have come close to the truth for many fin de siècle men who did not fit the all-powerful-white-man image, or who were all too aware of the moral outrages perpetrated in the name of Western enlightenment, or were wilting under the mental and physical strain of administering the Empire. Although Pierre Loti and Yves may have strutted and acted like Imperialists in nineteenth-century Japan, *Madame Chrysanthème* indicates that they were wary of Japanese authorities, who could pose a threat to Western men living in Nagasaki, since they strictly controlled Western access to Japanese women. As Sturma observed earlier, Westerners in Loti's time often felt insecure and even fearful for their safety when overseas (116). Foreigners in Japan were meant to stay within the European concession, and the sex industry catering for them was separate from Japanese society (Vos 141). Loti himself was called to account by police agents making regular checks on foreigners in Japan for occupying a house outside the European enclave

(*Madame Chrysanthème* 164), and he mentions that one of his fellow officers and his temporary wife were evicted from their rented house.

Western men had since 1630 been isolated on Dejima, a man-made island constructed at Nagasaki, in the north-western region of Kyushu. The government had allowed Portuguese, then Dutch (and some Chinese) residency on the island, although strict rules of apartheid applied. The children of any Western-Japanese union also experienced various levels of discrimination in Dejima, and, around 1873, were denied Japanese nationality (Leupp 65- 66; 120). Parents and procurers making girls available to foreigners in Loti's time still occupied the outer limits of Japanese society (Blake 252; Vos 143). Loti reveals that he felt that 'under the obsequious amiability of this people lurks a secret hatred toward Europeans' (106). He and Yves felt 'isolated' and 'separate' when not accompanied by the 'little band of mousmes' (97-98), although when they did go out in public as a group, 'decorum' required that the men should not be seen with them, and so they walked behind the girls, feigning 'indifference' (98). Rather than existing in mainstream Japanese society, girls like Butterfly and her son, or any other type of prostitute, their families and their managers serving foreigners, were segregated from their own people and also from the Western community in Japan. Pat Barr, living in Japan in the late nineteenth century, observed the following:

The women, who were invariably the daughters of working-class families, stayed inside the home ... they were not accepted in the wider social life of the foreign community but mixed almost exclusively with their own relatives (who usually accepted the situation) and with other couples on the same footing. (Barr 185-86)

As previously mentioned in the Introduction, several nineteenth century male

writers had progressively minimised some of the more obvious references to child prostitution in *Madame Chrysanthème* by the time Puccini, Illica and Giacosa began working on the score and libretto of *Madama Butterfly*. When British and American audiences saw the opera, its production team had made further changes to Pinkerton's character, so that Pinkerton, in tears, passionately bemoans his abuses of *thémis*, and departs from the restraint and stoicism expected of men. Although his reaction may be viewed as stereotypically Italian operatic behaviour or as remorse conveniently delayed, this gesture humanises and softens his character and rehabilitates him as a moral being, sweetening the opera's potentially-unsavoury themes.

In Koshy's view, Long's story examined 'the difference between good and bad Americans' (38): '[m]en like Pinkerton undermined the moral claims of the civilising mission' (38) since 'they symbolise[d] a fissure in the American presence in Japan—a division between those who uphold the ideals of their country ... and those who tarnish the same ideals' (39). Long, as previously mentioned, added to the narrative a moral dimension not present in *Madame Chrysanthème*³³, a change that transformed Loti's nostalgic travelogue into a critique of Western men's exploitation of Japanese adolescents and children (Koshy 30). Miss Chrysanthemum of Loti's tale metamorphosed under Long's pen into Miss Butterfly, a victim of Western abuse and an object of philanthropic pity.

Although Long's short story may have changed Loti's *Madam Chrysanthème* into a morality tale criticising Western men's treatment of girls overseas, its moral critique remains ambiguous because, paradoxically, it also changed a prosaic business relationship into a romance. This short story, and another by Long called *Purple Eyes* (1898), contain

themes of the abandonment and sacrifice of young women who die for the love of Western men, which transforms the death of a girl in the bloom of youth into a romantic, feminine ideal. Butterfly's saintliness is evident when, about to die after being abandoned by Pinkerton and losing her son to Kate, she magnanimously tells her rival that '[b]eneath the great arches of heaven there is no woman happier than you' (Fisher 84). The trajectory of fin de siècle Butterfly texts from Loti's novel to Puccini's opera focused with increasing explicitness on Butterfly's act of self-destruction: in Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*, Loti and his *moussmé* part in a business-like fashion, and in Long's story, Cio-Cio-san begins to suicide but stops short of death. However, in a climactic finale in Belasco's play and Puccini's opera, the act is completed and brought into full view of the audience, and so are Pinkerton's final displays of remorse. Portraying the death and suffering of beautiful women as a sexualised ideal of femininity is not, of course, unique to Long, or indeed to the nineteenth century, since heroines had been dying in operas since Handel and Purcell. Another of Puccini's gentle and oppressed heroines, Mimi, in *La Bohème*, dies in a tragic and clichéd manner, as does Verdi's Violetta in *La Traviata*. There are many other examples of this dark, male aesthetic in nineteenth-century art and literature.

Butterfly's abandonment and death by suicide seems to have resolved the tensions between social norms and the contrary actions of men overseas who are meant to represent an enlightened Empire: her death imposes order on their disorderly conduct, or boyish thoughtlessness, and deflects on to her the punishment for guilt and failure to live up to Western ideals. In Koshy's view, the opera transforms Butterfly into a 'saintly martyr' (7), who 'sacrifices herself to her male god' (9). The violent act becomes a marker of feminine duty and proof of Western men's ability to arouse women's passions. It exists

in Western mythology in symbiosis with a nebulous, ill-defined sense of feminine 'honour'.

The opera's juxtaposition of a very young girl in the arms of a much older man became less disturbing when viewed under the anaesthetising, narcotic effects and lush seductions of Puccini's powerful music and Illica and Giacosa's poetic lyricism (Kondo 23; Weber 323). Through the power of the dramatic arts in *Madama Butterfly*, the Butterfly narrative became known across the West as a definitive way of viewing the Western masculine self in Asia and of imagining the Asian woman as Madame Butterfly. The power of the opera's effects on Westerners might explain why, as Levin has remarked, that *Madama Butterfly* seems to have occupied 'critically-uncontested territory until the closing years of the twentieth century', surviving even the heat of Postcolonial interrogation' (3).

Part of the power of the opera's ability to diminish abjection and moral pain lies in its avoidance of explicit details that may have given a more realistic view of the practice of selling girls to Western men. Butterfly, although she dies in the end, is powerful, a world away from real prostitution and even Loti's unsympathetic relationship with Kikou-san. This of course is the function of the stereotype, to simplify and thus contain a threat to a sense of well-being. The opera thus engages with opposing aspects of Western Orientalist psychology: a tendency to idealise and demonise Others, which, as has been previously observed, is symptomatic of underlying fear and anxiety and a consequent desire to contain others in an out-of-control world (Gilman 6; Tal 1). It is clear from Gilman's theories, outlined in the previous chapter, that fear and anxiety precipitates over-idealised or negative stereotypes, plentiful in Puccini's opera, to control

inimical emotions and confirm collective or individual status in the world, and to shape the world, managing social trauma and anxiety caused by failures of *thémis*.

The trappings of Orientalism and Japonisme hide from view the suffering Asian girl, a ghost that continued to haunt Western history in the post-WWII era. In referring indirectly to the unspeakable, by presenting an attractive version of it, the opera and its reception says something about the unspeakable, which has a direct correlation to the problem of how to represent war; indeed, writers later in the century drew on its rich connotations to cast a rosy patina over their own trauma tales. *Madama Butterfly* established the stereotypical metaphors, tropes and narrative structures that ordered, edited and shaped disorderly male perpetrator trauma into an aesthetically pleasing unity, which proved amenable to managing anxiety and trauma in a century of terrifying, world-wide wars. The Butterfly narrative after *Madama Butterfly* offered fiction writers a ready-made structure for representing and transforming *thémis* abuses, sources of moral pain, most often perpetrated by members of Western forces rather than foreign enemies, which haunted members of the West's armed forces during active service in Asia.

There is no suggestion that any of the writers producing novels with Butterfly themes later in the twentieth century were associated with paedophilia, but it is used in this chapter as an example of *thémis* abuse, demonstrating the Butterfly narrative's capacity to speak about the unspeakable in a manner that seems to smooth out contradictions and to absorb social anxiety. In post-WWII and post-Vietnam novels, Japanese women engaged in domestic or sexual service near Western military bases, and female *hibakusha* in Hiroshima, burned and scarred by atomic attacks by a Western

military, are the twentieth century equivalents of nineteenth century young girls sold into sexual slavery.

CHAPTER TWO: PERPETRATOR TRAUMA AND THE SCARRED ASIAN WOMAN IN *FIFTH DAUGHTER* AND *THE EXPOSED*

In the twentieth century, creeping decolonisation and continuous, brutal wars severely eroded idealistic ideas of Western global status and conduct. Soldierly ideals and optimism crushed in the Great War were revived in time for WWII. At the war's end, after all sides had participated in the indiscriminate slaughter of civilians and mass exterminations, ideals of collective gallantry were even harder to sustain (Fussell *Modern War* 312). This chapter examines representations of 'perpetrator trauma' (LaCapra 79) or 'victimiser consciousness' (Dower *History Wars* 70), already identified in Puccini's opera through Pinkerton's remorse, in *Fifth Daughter* by Hal Gurney (1957) and *The Exposed* (1999) by John Hollands. These novels, neither of which appears to have attracted critical scrutiny, address the United States and Allied fire and atomic bombings in Hiroshima, working through American and British men's post-war confrontation with the humanity of a former enemy during intimate encounters with Japanese women in Japan. This chapter argues that, while Puccini's Butterfly character sanitised Western activities in the Japanese sex trade, thus minimising the potential for anxiety in fin de siècle audiences, its meaning changed after WWII to represent moral injury and *thèmes* abuse in the post-WWII world. Japanese female protagonists in these novels represented civilian women and girls burned or wounded in body and mind in WWII, particularly the *hibakusha*, those exposed to the direct impact of the bomb or its radioactive product, black acid rain. Likewise, just as Pinkerton's operatic character had represented both Western *thèmes* failures and a degree of perpetrator trauma, male protagonists in novels such as *Fifth Daughter* and *The Exposed* exhibit varying degrees of anger at being implicated, by

association or direct action, in the wounding and scarring of Asian civilians, an anger commensurate with the intensity of each novel's political critique. Both novels suggest that the reconciliation of hatred and grievous wartime *thèmes* abuses on both sides is possible through the romantic coupling of Western men and Japanese women.

Publicly representing the human effects of burning civilians *en masse* was controversial in the 1950s and early 60s, and it remains so. Hersey's *Hiroshima* (1989), published in *The New Yorker* on 31st August 1946, caused a sensation, as a horrified general public gained a rare insight into the effects of the Hiroshima bombings on everyday citizens through eye-witness testimonies. Had Hersey's long article been filed from Japan, however, instead of New York, it would very likely have been blocked by US Occupation censorship (Lifton and Mitchell 56). As suggested in the title of Lifton and Mitchell's study of American responses to the bombings, *Hiroshima in America: A Half Century of Denial*, public debate following Hersey's revelations was soon quashed, since the 1947 Stimson Report heralded a sustained campaign promulgating the official line on the atomic bombings: they were a necessary evil that saved lives on both sides (100). As a result, by the early 1950s, few voices objecting to the atomic bombings were heard in public discourses. *The Exposed*, based on a novel written by British Korean War veteran, John Hollands, in the mid-1950s, attacks the West's atomic and fire bombings with aggressive intensity, which explains why its publication was delayed until 1999.³⁴ Critique of the bombings in Robert Roripaugh's *A Fever for Living* (1961) and Hal Gurney's *Fifth Daughter* (1957), were less direct, burying references to injured civilians in scattered figures of speech. Burns on young Japanese women's otherwise beautiful skin recur in both *Fifth Daughter* and *The Exposed* as metonyms for the moral contradiction

implicit in the West's fire and atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Lifton, quoting an unknown source, expresses the moral contradiction in this way: 'If we [Americans] have struggled to bring about a Kingdom of Heaven on earth, we have been willing to borrow our tools from the Kingdom of Hell (309).'³⁵

Burns, of all wounds inflicted on women and children in twentieth-century wars, have disturbed the public most. Judith Butler in *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, observes that 'pictures of children burning and dying from napalm most shocked and outraged the US public' (150). Butler is referring to reactions to the image of Kim Phuc taken by Associated Press' Nick Ut in Vietnam on 8th June, 1972, long after WWII. The image encapsulates the horror of collateral damage in any war, but particularly in modern wars, in which civilians are indistinguishable from combatants and are maimed and killed by bombs and chemical substances dropped indiscriminately from the air. The little girl in the photograph, burned by a mixture of napalm and white phosphorus jelly, is shown running down Route One at Trang Bang, a village near Saigon and the Cambodian border after a South Vietnamese Airforce napalm strike. Widespread protest at the degree of civilian suffering, as well as the innocence and vulnerability of civilians exposed in the image, sped up negotiations to terminate the Vietnam War (Chong 7). Such pictures 'disrupted [an] entire sense of public identity' because readers 'apprehend[ed] the precariousness of those lives we destroyed' (Butler 150).

Written in post-9/11 America, Butler's comments were part of a wider discussion on appropriate responses to acts of aggression that deeply traumatise victims. She identifies in herself and other Americans a sense of perpetrator trauma, guilt and distress for past actions, which conflicts with a desire to defend the anxious, vulnerable self with

further acts of violence: 'It is as much a matter of wrestling with one's own murderous impulses, impulses that seek to quell an overwhelming fear, as it is a matter of apprehending the suffering of others and taking stock of the suffering one has inflicted' (150). This description of inner conflict also operates in *Fifth Daughter* and *The Exposed* in depictions of scars on women's bodies that confront Western protagonists in Japan. In *Fifth Daughter*, subtle references are made to marks on women's bodies and minds, metonyms testifying to wounds inflicted by men in Asia in WWII who, like Lieutenant Pinkerton, were attached to the armed forces. Post-war protagonists in both novels face the disturbing reality that the West's wartime campaigns in Japan cast them as perpetrators of excessively cruel acts rather than saviours. This shift in perception, a disruption of individual and collective assumptions about one's place in the world, has the potential to be traumatising (Janoff-Bulmann 1992; Butler 150). The girls' scars are reminders of the invisible psychological wounds inflicted on civilians during WWII, and a confused inner state proceeding from acts of excessive violence, or *thèmis* abuse, present in some Western perpetrators. The painful repercussions of war's brutality, mental and physical scars, guilt, loneliness, depression and trauma, in both Western men and Asian women intrude at regular intervals throughout the novel, mimicking the pattern in which traumatic memories periodically interrupt everyday lives.

Physical scars disfigure girls' 'hysterical [bodies]' made 'vibrant by warring impulses' and inscribed with 'emotional, social, and political trauma' (Robinson 155). This passage from *Marked Men: White Masculinity in Crisis* refers to male 'hysterical bodies', but the description can refer to any human who has experienced war. Not only physical scars, but mental scars signify the 'delayed action effect' of 'weapons of mass destruction'

which are 'of a moral and mental nature' (Douglass and Vogler xi). Corporeal signifiers of this kind point not only to victims' past sufferings but also to mental suffering, 'perpetrator trauma' (LaCapra 79) in the present. What is most at stake in *Fifth Daughter* and *The Exposed* is whether the West's capacity to explode catastrophic weaponry over densely-populated cities renders untenable a belief in Western goodness and exceptionalism, a sense of 'manifest destiny' embodied in the novels' male protagonists.

Butterfly narratives such as *The Exposed* and *Fifth Daughter* are an extension of discourses in the external socio-political world commenting on the fallout from WWII and the Korean War. In 1955, the US media focused public attention on a group of young Japanese *hibakusha* brought to America for cosmetic burns surgery (Barker 1988). The women were known as 'The Hiroshima Maidens', a title that suggests both a romantic way of imagining atomic bomb victims and a humiliating reference to their dim marriage prospects. The reception and promotion of the Hiroshima Maidens was symptomatic of an era in which '[America] sank deeper ... into moral inversion' (Lifton and Mitchell 309). Wilson dismisses the Maidens venture as a matter of 'treating and petting the Japanese women whom we disfigured and incapacitated' (qtd. in Lifton and Mitchell 310), an exercise in suppressing painful culpability for the women's injuries and in rehabilitating a damaged national self-image. For Lifton and Mitchell, attempting to repair the cosmetic attractiveness (and thus marriageability) of young women cast Americans as compassionate healers (315), leaving untouched questions about policies and strategic decisions causing the women's wounds.

Balanced between moral inversion and giving voice to that which cannot be said, *Fifth Daughter* and *The Exposed* each focus on the beauty and forgiving, grateful

character of a young Japanese woman marked by WWII, a reminder of the human consequences of the West's war policies in the recent past. They depict a post-war world in which thousands of young American and British and Commonwealth men are brought into close proximity with Japanese women. For the women, long years of impoverishing war has forced them out into streets and brothels, as well as administrative offices and the private quarters of the occupying forces (Kovner 137), a situation that continued in the world outside the novels for several years after the war. In *Fifth Daughter*, Sumico Hayashi, the novel's young Butterfly protagonist, represents these women and a new generation willing to embrace post-war change whilst still retaining deep family loyalties. Like *Madame Butterfly*, Sumico has fallen on hard times. By necessity, she enters the orbit of the American military at an air base, finding work as a housemaid for Steven Ryan, an entertainments officer embedded in the US army, who becomes her lover

During WWII, the armed forces and the public had been encouraged to imagine Japanese bodies as ungendered, anonymous, and alien, described in such terms as 'vermin', 'apes' or 'lice' (Ham 13). Insect stereotyping applied not only to male Japanese opponents but to women and children who, as supporters of the war machine and potential defenders of the mainland, were portrayed by General LeMay, the overseer of the incendiary bombing campaigns in Japan, as deserving 'extermination' (13) by being 'scorched, boiled ... [and] baked' (LeMay 387). This kind of pathological stereotyping develops in response to threats, and encourages killing with impunity. It enabled the use of atomic weapons in cities. Recent research indicates that soldiers losing sight of respect for the enemy and exhibiting extremes of cruelty towards them suffer higher levels of PTSD in later years (Wingrove-Haughland 215). For Shay, '[t]he impulse to dehumanise

and disrespect the enemy must be resisted', because 'the soldier's physical and psychological survival is at stake' (*Achilles in Vietnam* 119).³⁶ In this sense, perpetrators, even those associated only with such acts by membership in the armed forces, such as Ryan in *Fifth Daughter* and George Saville, the British male protagonist in *The Exposed*, are, after the war, torn between seeing themselves as personally responsible for grievous wounding and death and a sense that their superiors have commanded them to perform acts violating their personal sense of *thèmis*. In this situation, they are victims of authorities who have betrayed them. This kind of struggle was extremely hard to present to the public in novel form at the time, but it is nevertheless visible in metaphors, stereotypes and Butterfly tropes in both *Fifth Daughter* and *The Exposed*.

In historic, post-war Japan, as in the novels, dehumanising images of Japanese women were reversed for many in the US and Allied forces during intimate encounters with Japanese prostitutes and girlfriends. In John Dower's view, American military personnel found that 'the enemy was transformed with startling suddenness from a bestial people fit to be annihilated into receptive exotics to be handled and enjoyed' (138). This transformative 'handling' of 'receptive exotics' frames romances in both novels. Violent actions perpetrated in the past, and questions of accountability for excessive violence, rise to consciousness via scars (usually small and thus not too revolting) on women's and girls' bodies, or, later in *The Exposed*, on skin totally compromised by underlying radiation sickness, which 'destroys the human body even while the body is alive' (Ota 149).

Male protagonists in *Fifth Daughter* and *The Exposed* find that Japanese women are anything but 'vermin' or 'cockroaches' (Pyle 5), or, indeed, 'Louseous Japonicas' (Lasswell 37), a particularly obnoxious stereotype promoted in the American armed

forces as a way of motivating service personnel to kill the enemy (Russell 506).

Pathological, caricatured stereotypes inculcated in military training seemed to enable soldiers to kill civilians and armed combatants in a dispassionate manner, particularly when using hand-held incendiary weapons—flame-throwers—which cause painful death, and, in survivors, gross disfigurement and prolonged suffering.

Fifth Daughter sets the scene for its critique of the atomic bombings, and other weapons of war that cause slow and painful deaths in civilians, in and around an American air base, Naha, Okinawa, during the early stages of the Korean War. The real-world Naha was at the centre of an abortive battle in April 1945 to establish an American and Allied land base for the invasion of mainland Japan. The Occupation has officially ended, but Americans and their Allies retain considerable power in a country still recovering from WWII and serving as a US military supply and recreation base for Western forces fighting in Korea. Ryan falls in love with Sumico, the fifth daughter of the Hayashi family, eventually relinquishing his passion for an American woman, Jacqueline. Like Butterfly's family, the Hyashis have fallen from a former affluence, their home destroyed by American bombs (39) and her two brothers killed in Burma (72). The Hyashi's tiny house on the southern coast of Okinawa, is overshadowed by the ruins of 'Nagakusuki' castle, a remnant of the Hayashi ancestors' feudal realm. (The castle ruin's real-world equivalent is 'Nagakusuku' Castle.) Water for the Hayashi garden and house is supplied by a bomb crater, the site of a WWII conventional bombing raid that killed Sumico's father. That sustaining life comes from a landscape scar, a bomb crater, points to the novel's themes of post-war reconciliation, one of several aspects of the novel's commentary on relations between former enemies. As his actions and rather didactic

speech patterns indicate, Ryan represents progress and ideological freedom. This paired conflation of a protagonist with nation/culture occurs also in Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific* and in *Sayonara*. In the latter novel, a masculine West, Major Gruver, guides a feminised Asia, Hana-ogi, into a utopian future after bitter conflict. Such role-playing positions Western men in Asia as saviours (Marchetti 116-117), a carry-over from the White Man's Burden ideology, which distracts attention from other less-than-attractive aspects of Western policies enacted in Asia.

Ryan writes and stages a musical that is intended to promote post-war unity, ameliorating the hatred of former enemies, and implanting new ways of thinking in Japan. The musical, which retells the story of *Madame Butterfly* in a 1950s context, is performed in an old Quonset hut. The show employs melodies from Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* and popular songs; for example, the musical's title is based on a song popular at the time: 'Frankie and Johnny'. This postmodern pastiche of high and low musical forms is, the novel suggests, an exercise in post-war assimilation: the female lead singer, a gun-toting Sumico, clad in a kimono, shoots 'Johnny', a twentieth-century manifestation of Lieutenant Pinkerton, for his infidelity with a white woman, a modern-day Kate Pinkerton. Ryan's production showcases a Japanese girl rather than a Western woman in the leading Butterfly role, thus advocating peace-time inter-racial romance as an antidote for wartime racism. His musical script also offers an alternative, 'female revenge' ending in which the offending male dies instead of marrying a white woman and disappearing to America in the manner of former versions of Lieutenant Pinkerton.

The positive outcomes the play predicts come at a disturbing cost: a violent death signifies a blood-resolution of moral failure. In a wider sense, women's post-war sexual

subjugation is cast as colour-neutral romance. In this, the novel not only rewrites the Butterfly narrative, but demonstrates what Lifton and Mitchell call the 'splitting of the atom and [the] American conscience' (377), referring to James Agee's *Time* magazine article, 'The Bomb' (21). In his article, Agee argued that 'the demonstration of power against living creatures instead of dead matter created a bottomless wound in the living conscience of the [American] race'. *Fifth Daughter* emerged into a complex web of silence regarding the brutality of all sides in WWII, a state of denial in which a desire to suppress and bury the past nevertheless competes with a need to bear witness to brutality. This 'split conscience', as mentioned previously, has been a feature of Butterfly narratives since the genre's beginning, and is the equivalent of the 'dual narrative frameworks' Bristow observed in *fin de siècle* writing for men and boys (35), and of Shay's theory that traumatising conflict between 'what is right' and painful experience is central to trauma representations in much post-war writing (*Achilles in Vietnam* 5).

Consistent with the Butterfly narrative's themes of transgression and punishment, *Fifth Daughter* is preoccupied with the idea of suicidal Asian women. The Hayashi's home and the ruin are not far from the nearby city, Naha, and 'Suicide Cliff', which corresponds in the world outside the text to Mabuni Cliff, today a place of historical interest to Western tourists. The Hayashi family has had a traumatic past: it has lost three daughters during the Battle of Okinawa to suicide, rape or fire, which correspond to injuries of the mind, body, and spirit. Years later, Kosuko, Sumico's sister, the fourth daughter of 'Mother Misfortune' Hayashi, sees a ghostly vision of her three un-named, dead sisters. In a manner resembling traumatic repetition, these visions of her sisters return to 'haunt' Kosuko, just as the image of burned women haunts the novel and

Western history. One of the sisters, pursued by American soldiers intent on raping her, leaps from Suicide Cliff:

Her quiet eyes seemed to be measuring the infinite distance of the earth far below her. As she leaped, two other girls ran to her through the moon-streaked underbrush and covered their faces as they stopped short on the tissue of rock which drifted away in the darkness.

(22)

This representation of a traumatic incident in the novel is an example of self-censorship rife in 1950s Cold War public discourses, in which moral criticism of the American government's policies and wartime procedures are toned down. The vision, although a form of giving witness to a traumatic event, nevertheless is not an eyewitness account, since it is framed in a transcendent medium that casts doubt on its materiality. The traumatic events Kosuko describes are not anchored in the real world, or communicated by eye-witnesses other than 'ghosts'. The two unnamed sisters in the vision, who witness the crime, do not speak, and they cover their eyes, signifying that this event is not only 'unspeakable but also 'unsee-able'. The act of covering the eyes can also imply that only the dead have seen these crimes, and thus ghosts must appear to speak for the victim, and to identify the perpetrators. In this way, eye-witness testimony is framed in an ambiguous medium, a vision of the dead. An event presented as unverifiable circumvents, by its very ephemerality, the identification of specific perpetrators and direct political engagement, which means the novel's critique of real-world crimes does little to disrupt the idea that America, its culture and ideology, were Japan's benevolent saviours.

In addition to rapes by the occupying forces, other disturbing aspects of the war in Okinawa that were generally suppressed in Western post-war discourses come to light

in three different mediums: Kosuko's dream, Sumico's testimony to her workmates and Grandmother Hayashi's private musings by the castle ruins. Kosuko dreams that the second Hayashi daughter dies by fire at the hands of the Americans. In this vision, Kosuko's sister was 'standing among the low palms, which rustled with the sound of fire ... covering her face', then uncovering her eyes to the 'horror which lay in the luminous dust, revealing the blackened emptiness of her own face' (22). This is the second appearance of the act of covering and uncovering the eyes, a repetition underlining the 'unsee-ability' of trauma, and 'the impossibility of responding to another's death' (Caruth 1996;100). Palms 'rustl[ing] with fire' near the actors in this scene refer to incendiary devices, napalm, incendiary bombs and flame throwers used by American and Allied forces in Japan. Grandmother Hayashi, reflecting on an American infantryman's damaged helmet and dog tags lying near the castle ruins, wonders if the unknown American soldier who died there had 'aimed the flame thrower at the blacked hole they had laughingly named "The Cave of the Virgins", killing her daughter and many young people sheltering there' (13). Sumico adds other details later as she describes her family's history to her workmates:

While the children clung there, too horrified to move, a flame-thrower was assembled ...
 When the blast of fire was over, their tiny bodies had fallen like dry leaves to the floor.
 All the rock they could place over the mouth of this cave could never cover the horror we
 found there. (147)

Witnessing to *thèmis* abuse here takes place in the novel's material world, and not in myths or visions. The bodies themselves, although mute, offer concrete proof that a crime has been committed. 'All the rock they could place over the mouth of this cave

could never cover the horror we found there' not only refers to an historical WWII method used to clear out the many caves in the cliffs during the battle for Okinawa (Takejiro 2006), but evokes Lady Macbeth's familiar lament: 'All the perfumes of Arabia cannot sweeten this little hand' (*Macbeth* Act 5, Sc. 1).³⁷ Here, in both cases, physical markings testify to a perpetrator's guilt despite attempts to conceal them, and moral conflict causes mental illness. Occurring throughout the novel, these kinds of allusions to Western texts, including the Bible, point to 'unspeakable' crimes that cannot stay hidden.

The 'virgins' of the cave, also known to the real-world public as the 'Star Lily Girls' (Edwards 194),³⁸ died in the caves on the Okinawan cliffs, the site of the fictional Hayashi home. The schoolgirls had been conscripted as nurses to help with the vast numbers of Japanese dead and injured. Today, the cave near the Himeyuri Peace Museum is the focal point of the Himeyuri Monument, where the bodies of two hundred students found in various caves after the fighting ended are entombed. The term 'the Virgins' evokes the extreme youth of the victims, but also, from Western culture, a virgin sufferer, Mary, who intercedes for erring humans. The image of a woman interceding for wrongdoers also appears in *Fifth Daughter* as 'Kwannon', elsewhere known as the Buddhist goddess 'Guanlin'. A statue of 'Kwannon, Goddess of Mercy' also appears in Roripaugh's *A Fever for Living*, in which female protagonist, Yoshiko, tells her US army boyfriend that American pilots, ironically, had used the statue to get their bearings when attacking nearby aircraft factories (Roripaugh 255). Captain Marsh, the Pinkerton figure in Webb's *The Emperor's General*, similarly appeals to 'Kanon', 'the Buddhist Goddess of mercy', for forgiveness for his role in the Vietnam War (359). Mary and Kwannon/Kanon in turn evoke *Madame Butterfly*, who sacrificially offers her child and life up for a

Western man and by her death bears the burden for the offences of others. Here the Butterfly image is invested with religious connotations similar to those in Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*, and his other heroines, Tosca and Mimi, whose prayers and virtuous deeds meet with only bad treatment.

It is helpful at this point to turn to eyewitness accounts of the battle for Okinawa in the world outside *Fifth Daughter* to get a clearer understanding of its references to an horrific procedure, 'cave-flushing', that entombed the Virgins. This process had not featured in Western war history discourses until relatively recently. The American and Allied forces used it to clear hundreds of caves on the Okinawan coast in which armed Japanese defenders, as well as hospital staff and patients, families, teachers and schoolchildren had sheltered. Higa Takejiro, a Nisei interpreter, worked with the American infantry as a translator in the last stages of the battle, urging the occupants of the caves and tunnels to surrender before the caves were blown up and sealed with hand grenades and other explosives. The following excerpt (in colloquial language) is from Takejiro's unpublished manuscript, *The Battle of Okinawa Revisited*. It reveals the consequences of a refusal to surrender, and sheds light on the novel's reference to the 'Cave of the Virgins', and of fire imagery in *Fifth Daughter*:

And they wouldn't surrender, for one thing. If they don't come out, engineers going to throw the explosive and seal off the cave. Or they throw flamethrower, burn 'em ... Many of them may be buried alive.... the American engineers throw the can of gasoline, then they throw a grenade and explode the whole cave. And later on, flamethrower. (n.p.)

The distressing nature of these details obscured in the West's victory narratives goes some way to explaining why critique of the decision to deploy the atomic bomb, in

Fifth Daughter and to a lesser extent in *The Exposed*, is muted, dispersed in familiar Butterfly stereotypes, implied in figures of speech, visual images and scattered, fragmentary memories and allusions rather than in direct address. It is too hard to look at such material directly, a point reinforced by the recurring references to covering and uncovering the eyes. The novel does, however, name specific historic sites and alludes to procedures like cave flushing, which identifies Americans as perpetrators of excessive violence. Its political sensitivity at the beginning of the Korean War, only a short time after WWII, may account for the lack of academic interest in this novel: it was a little too graphic and troubling for the time, even if its political critique was half-hidden behind myths, stereotypical characters and figures of speech.

This kind of self-censorship in the novel is in line with official suppression of realistic detail in representations of Hiroshima in the West. Photos and eyewitness accounts of the aftermath of the bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, particularly the effects on humans, were off-limits (Lifton and Mitchell 78; Hendershot 18): '[f]or nearly a decade, the world would hear nothing of the human repercussions of the atomic bombings' (Ham 448). The public saw some images of atomic injuries in John Hersey's *Hiroshima*, as mentioned earlier, and other, limited, accounts of the effects of atomic impact and radiation, but published photos concentrated on the destruction of material objects, and not people. Christian churches and other scattered voices denounced the inhumanity of the American government's actions in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but formal research-based critique did not escalate in the West (or in Japan) until the mid-1990s, when many WWII Japanese and American records were declassified. Revisionist scholars have used these records to argue against the strategic need to explode a weapon of mass

destruction on civilian city centres, particularly when it was not known if the explosion might trigger an uncontrollable chain reaction, and its effects on the human body were similarly unknown (Lifton and Mitchell 1989; Linenthal and Englehart 1996; Dower 2010; Ham 2011). In Lifton's view, the scarcity of representations of Hiroshima in Western literature indicated that Americans 'need to retain a sense of [them] selves as a people of special goodness' (309). Thus, the Western world was initially sheltered by censorship, coming from the American Occupation forces, the American Government, and private individuals, from too realistic or detailed an encounter with the human effects of nuclear and other weapons that burn deeply, and this accounts for the delayed publication date of *The Exposed* (1999), as mentioned above, and the strategies of displacement that muted political critique in *Fifth Daughter*.

An atmosphere of silence, a failure of language to describe the bomb blast's aftermath, also appears to have limited its representation in film and literature. As Lifton and Mitchell point out, its scale and horror cannot be captured on film and '[t]here is no major American novel about Hiroshima' (375). In Fussell's view, WWII in general was 'a savage, insensate affair, barely conceivable to the well-conceived imagination' (131). It did not produce literature of the quality that emerged after WWI, the trench poets' work, and it could not be romanticised (131). Indeed, in the beginning of Resnais' film, *Hiroshima Mon Amor*, a Japanese male lover is only able to communicate what he has seen and heard in Hiroshima through silence, as Cathy Caruth points out in her well-known investigation of traumatic repetition and unspeakability, *Unclaimed Experience*. In the post-war period, even though political critique of the government's reasons for dropping the bomb was not widely articulated in Japan or the West, Hiroshima was

'everywhere', primarily in 'the unconscious': it was in film, television and literature in science fiction (Hendershot 20), in 'themes of futurelessness and absurdity, and in [a] predilection for violent or vengeful behaviour by heroes and anti-heroes alike' (Lifton 376).

In *Fifth Daughter*, transcendent experience occurs outside the sphere of the airbase, which stands for the ostensibly rational, unemotional Western mind. Traumatic events take place in various natural, spiritually-charged locations associated with local history, religion and war trauma: on Suicide Cliff, which is 'studded with tombs' (171); at the castle ruins; at night in the Hayashi garden beside the bomb-crater pool; and around the sea and rocks below the cliff and castle. As ancestor-worshippers, the Japanese characters, particularly Sumico, live in a space between the material and spiritual worlds, in which immortals and spirits interact. These places and the events that occur in them thus have ambiguous meaning because they are closely associated with myths, displacing the need to assign blame or demand accountability from historical figures for perpetrating extreme violence on non-combatants. An example of this opaque mode of representing real historical acts occurs in the novel's prologue, where an unnamed narrator recounts a legend in which cycles of regrowth and recovery follow war, thus rendering Okinawa's, and, by default, WWII Japan's, destruction by fire and atomic bomb inevitable because it was pre-determined, just another phase in a natural cycle rather than the consequence of a government's conscious policy-making. In this myth, Chinese fishermen describe a dragon who

... would burn the sky, then sink back into the boiling sea.... the legend of a living dragon drifted like the steam and the burning dust of his breath far across the world

(9)... [F]rom the beginning, the history of the island was a story of bloodshed ... they [the Okinawans] came to know that fires were eventually quieted by rain, that fresh youth sprang up in the midst of plagues, and that they could rebuild from the wreckage of their cities. (10)

This inevitable cycling of destruction and recovery seems to lock Japanese history into a traumatic repetition, in which acts such as mass killing, and killing the self, do not matter because they are both natural and determined by destiny.

Fifth Daughter, through Ryan, invests America with the ability to deliver democratic governance and thus free Japan from its perception that destiny is predetermined. While the novel draws attention to the traumatic real-world policies and decisions American leaders made during the war, these real-world aspects are also referenced in relation to an apparent Japanese concept that they were the inevitable outcomes of natural life-cycles or continuations of legends. In this way, the Japanese, and especially Sumico and her family, are represented as seeing themselves as pawns trapped by immense and inevitable natural forces, rather than suffering the effects of conscious foreign policies. By obscuring real victim's voices, such representations diminish a novel's potential to critique events in the real world, to trigger specific political interventions and strategies, since the real-world events they refer to can be dismissed as presented as possibly figments of the imagination than something more substantial and relevant. This form of representation illustrates Balaev's point that rendering trauma practically 'unspeakable' in texts imposes limits on literature's capacity to stimulate political action, and to speak on behalf of victims (Balaev 18).

Later in the novel, Sumico narrates her family's traumatic history to Japanese

workmates, who do not want to hear her say that her 'own sister ... leaped from Suicide Cliff rather than ... be touched by the giant barbarian rapists', an act Sumico says is 'an honourable death' (146). The workmates are unsympathetic when Sumico bears witness to her family's trauma—'Mama-san, why don't you stop her?'—a refusal to hear that assumes significance in light of 1990s research linking empathetic reception of testimonies to trauma recovery (Herman 1992; LaCapra 2001). 'Mama-san, why don't you stop her?' represents a desire to silence Sumico's testimony to a crime, which in turn underscores Kosuko's vision of her ghostly sister's gesture of 'not seeing' or 'not hearing': the victim cannot speak, so others must bear witness to the trauma. The question the unwilling listener addresses to Mama-san highlights the difficulties of adequately responding to an account of horror, the dilemma Butler raised earlier. The listener's question is like that which a dying child asks of his sleeping father in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, and which, in Lacan's view, demonstrates that the father cannot 'see' ('hear') or appropriately respond to traumatic reality (qtd. in Caruth *Unclaimed Experience* 100). Therefore, both the father and the girl who cannot hear Sumico's story represent the 'aporia' that ensues not from the victim's inability to witness to trauma, but the silencing that ensues when listeners fail to hear or respond to the message. This failure to perceive was characteristic of the post-war years and the suppression of testimonies, films, photographs and literature bearing witness to the true horror of an atomic holocaust, and men's stories about their own or others' traumatic experiences and betrayals of authority.

The un-named sister's death to recoup honour evokes Butterfly's motives for dying by *seppuku*, an Orientalist trope that seems to have featured in so many twentieth century retellings of the story. Throughout the novel, constant, fragmentary references to

suicidal acts such as Kosuko's visions or references to suicidal thinking are never explicit, but enclosed in figures of speech, and always tied to 'remembering', which is significant in a discussion of cultural trauma and the importance of hearing, seeing, remembering and honouring what has gone before. For example, Sumico's grandmother —'Remember, Sumico!' (418)—exhorts her to remember the honour of her 'ancient people' by acting from allegiance to them rather than befriending their enemies (the Americans): '[w]e ourselves have dishonoured our nation [by embracing Americans and their culture]' (419). In Grandmother Hyashi's view, Sumico's romance with Steven Ryan, whom she identifies with her daughter's killers, has tainted Sumico with their blood, so that 'even the storm [a typhoon] cannot make the living clean' (418). The storm's inability to erase guilt repeats earlier allusions to the Macbeths' attempts to conceal the murder of Duncan, reinforcing the novel's engagement with issues of guilt and retribution, perpetration and victimhood.

By the pool in the Hayashi garden, the spirit of Sumico's father appears to remind her to beware of following her heart's desires, which will 'cast shadows over the purity of inner peace' (246) and 'lead to [the] grave and ... death' (247). Sumico's sister, Kosuko, and her grandmother intimate that because of her indiscretions with Ryan, she should follow her dead sister's example and die to preserve the family's honour (418). The impetus for Sumico's drive to suicide is thus shaped by her own perceived failure to remember the old ways, which are depicted very stereotypically through Western myths about Asian culture. It is also driven by the violence perpetrated on her people, the injuries of the past, and her failure to act with honour by being intimate with the enemy. This is despite the fact Sumico has remained loyal to her people during the battle for the island, that she had 'not forgotten the nights we searched the [cliffs] and dragged the

bodies of the wounded into the protection of our cave' (147). In addition, Sumico's ghostly father reminds her that the world, and by implication Ryan, is 'a painful illusion', which suggests that escaping from it and him was of little consequence (247). Thus, the novel seems to imply that if there is going to be a blood-reconciliation for past mistakes, it may as well involve a Japanese woman, for whom suicide is ostensibly a natural act of 'little consequence' (247).

Another recurring metaphor for suicide in *Fifth Daughter* underlines the novel's engagement with Butterfly themes. A gate in the castle wall faces out to the sea above the cliffs. Through this gate, Sumico observes, 'one can pass just as easily ... through the illusion of this world into death' (417). Sumico 'watched the trees bending like grass at the edge of the cliff ... some broke and tumbled as easily as thistles across the ground' (416). However, the archway gate is also an illusory place: in her imagination, the gate 'melt[s] in an edge of fire'. In a previous vision, she had stood 'in [the archway] until [her] back hurt against the stone' (44). She felt 'in danger' and a voice says, 'Do not cry' (44), prefiguring Ryan's voice when he rescues her from destruction on the cliff. It is possible to argue that the novel's fixation on guilt, death and intimate relationships also suggests anxiety regarding inter-racial love and miscegenation, which feminist writers identified as a recurring source of conflict preoccupying Western writers of Orientalist literature (Marchetti 1993; Koshy 1994).

The impulse to suicide is also implicit in the actions and voices of the spirits said to occupy the rocks at 'Nagakusuki' Castle, for when 'spirits from the past return ...: by accident, one [spirit] finds himself imprisoned in a living body. When he *forgets* [italics mine], he follows his companion far beyond the edge of the cliff' (170). Spirits are not the

only mobile entities associated with suicide in the novel: birds function in a similar way to spirits. On one occasion, a caged singing bird (Sumico) escapes its cage, which is crushed (Sumico's body). In another instance, Sumico is associated with a metonym describing a bird in flight: 'On a high volcanic ridge ahead of him, [Ryan] saw her open her arms to the warm embrace of the wind. She was poised for a moment, like a bird in flight, about to skim the deep swells of the rising sea' (236). In this scene, Sumico is to outward appearances communicating with spirits, but, in a presentiment of danger, Ryan sees further: 'he saw her perched on the edge of the wall before she disappeared and he felt a sudden fear as he found himself alone' (241). Bird-in-flight images also extend to American planes that constantly pass over Okinawa: planes 'had become more familiar to [Sumico] than the flight of birds, and their sound was as though they were ripping open a heavy cloth made of the sky' (28). This metonym of sound refers to a comment Kosuko had made earlier to 'cold American silk', the presents soldiers gave to impoverished prostitutes or lovers, and described as 'the excitement of such silk against your flesh' (28). The juxtaposition of planes ripping open the sky and 'heavy cloth' speak, in the politically cautious manner characteristic of this novel, of the mental and physical injuries to Japanese women inflicted by both American men and planes, and of the vulnerability of women's bodies in Japan during and in the years after WWII.

Intimations of impending violence build to a climax near the end of the novel as the natural world and Sumico's own mind turn against her. Sumico's mental state and act of near-suicide are couched here in terms of the natural world, as in myths. During a typhoon, urged on by conflicting loyalties to the Japanese dead and Ryan, Sumico finds her grandmother near Suicide Cliff. In this scene, the wind, a typhoon, takes on a violent

animus previously assigned to spirits and birds: 'the wind caught [Grandmother's] hair and whipped it across her throat' (418), in the first of a series of flagellation (punishment for ungoverned passion) metaphors. To Sumico's distressed perception, 'the black strands were like fractures in the inscrutable stone of her [Grandmother's] face ... the fissures and seams in the rocks' (419). Later, 'thin-bladed reeds struck out and stung her [Sumico's] body' (418). 'Kneeling down under the swinging stalks, she ran on, and the storm moaned above the sound of heavy grass lashing in the wind' (418). Here the meaning of the events, the address to the centre of moral pain, is articulated, but indirectly through the actions of non-human beings and elements. On the edge of the cliff, the 'Crooked Gods' were 'reaching for her' and crying out (414). The voices of spirits were believed to inhabit the typhoon and to 'cry in the wind and cradle the bodies of the dead', thus mourning and 'remembering' them (228). 'Sumico 'stares into the shadows' while 'the whole island seem[ed] to be plunging into the abyss of the sky' (417): 'the winds ... wept through the storm-twisted branches, and they swept down as though they would lift her from the fissure where she clung to the rock ... she gave her balance to the wind' (419)

In the original Butterfly narrative, Lieutenant Pinkerton, returning to Japan, belatedly and helplessly mourns his cruelty to Butterfly, but *Fifth Daughter's* Pinkerton substitute, Ryan, appears in time to save Sumico. Having searched the cliffs for her, he '[catches] the limp figure and [swings] back down into the deep crevice of the rock...."Why were you out there looking out to the sea?" ' Ryan as America saves Japan from self-destruction because '[o]ur man of the sky will not allow us to look for the answers at the edge of a cliff' (419). Sumico refuses Ryan's marriage offer after the rescue, but adds that ' ... if you want me you will find me searching the sky for a swallow'

(422). These words refer to Long's story in which Pinkerton promises to return to Japan when the robin starts to nest, a promise that testifies to Pinkerton's cynicism and Butterfly's credulity, for robins were not native to Japan. Therefore, Sumico's statement that she would return with the swallow writes back against a Western tradition of men loving and leaving women. The words also mark a reversal of Puccini's tragic ending: the heroine, Sumico, does not die, but returns to reconcile with her family and educate them into appreciating the new democratic thinking, which, by implication, will free them from bondage to the spirits of the past. Angst and bloodletting are laid to rest. America as perpetrator is transformed into a benign, if rejected saviour, a type of Christ, whose manifest destiny was to save the world. In Butterfly novels, blood-letting to reconcile moral conflict was almost mandatory, but this novel seems at first to have escaped this convention.

Although Sumico has been spared a conventional Butterfly heroine's death, the act of suicide is displaced on to a minor female character, Teruko. (A similar splitting of Butterfly's character also appears in *Sayonara*, written in this same period, and in subsequent novels.) Teruko is marginalised in nearby Naha city because she had cohabited with an American officer, whom she calls 'Sergeant'. Her son, Toyomitsu, is the child of a missing, possibly dead, Japanese naval officer, which, of course, was Lieutenant Pinkerton's occupation. As Teruko tells Sumico the story of her lover's desertion, butterfly imagery connects her to Madame Butterfly: she 'ran her fingers over gold trceries of small butterflies ... on a black lacquer cabinet' (163). That she has cohabited with and, more disturbingly, loved a foreign man, and that she ultimately kills herself, also identifies her with Puccini's heroine. In addition, Teruko's story is scattered

with bird images that underscore the more sinister functions of avian entities and flight in *Fifth Daughter*, and evoke Pinkerton's promise to Cio-Cio-san that he will return when the robin builds her nest:

'He is gone forever' ... She held up the sleeve from a short military jacket and pointed to the air-force insignia. 'See,' she said, 'three birds in flight ... It's the end ... the damned end ... This time I thought that my man might want me to go with him ... I gambled for what was in my heart against my respect.' (162)

Teruko then speaks the words similar to those in the opera that mark a moment of final understanding and despair, which precipitates Cio-Cio-san's suicide: 'Never. He will never come back' (162), adding that '[o]nce they are gone they are gone, and before they return, the swallows will cross the sea' (164). The reference to Teruko's 'respect' reprises the loss of honour that motivated the operatic Butterfly's suicide. Teruko's son becomes ill with 'sleeping sickness', which Lieutenant Opler refers to as 'Jap b encephalitis' (115), a disease that will permanently damage his brain. Partly because her child's death is inevitable, Teruko carries the sick boy from the house during the typhoon, telling Sumico that 'I have not forgotten ... that there is such a thing as an honourable death ... And somewhere, as she [Sumico] listened, a woman's cry seemed to mingle with the chaos of the night' (415). Japanese women here are imbued with a capacity to 'mercy kill' their children by throwing them over cliffs, and following them, even in peace-time. This readiness to suicide resonates with disturbing images in the real world of mothers throwing themselves and their children over cliffs during battles for Saipan and Okinawa.³⁹ These images of leaping figures were released to the American public in a limited way, as apparent evidence of the Japanese people's fanaticism, which, according

to the official line, justified the use of the atomic bomb. The novel's intense interest in suicidal Japanese women may indeed signify a traumatic response to these images of mass suicide.

As well as themes of suicide, guilt, punishment, and forgiveness, the impulse to murder is also manifest in the novel. It emerges at night when Sumico sits beside the Hayashi's garden pool. The impulse to murder her rival, closely related to the desire to murder herself, surfaces as Sumico considers Ryan's lingering regard for Jacqueline, and feels '... [a pair of] scissors in her pocket'. She 'rocked gently with the comforting hardness under her fingers' (248), and decides that her skin colour, reflected in the pool, is too dark, and thus unlikely to appeal to Steven as much as the 'bright-haired' American woman's white skin:

And the image of a white throat displaced the thoughts in her mind.... There was no longer a future for her among the Americans.... She lifted her braids from her shoulders, wound them tightly around her throat, and glimpsed herself in the water. Her braids circled her neck like long black ropes, and her face was as pale as if she were hanging from a tree. (248)

Sumico cuts off her hair, displacing an act of suicide and possibly, a murderous act towards a rival. She recognises that guilt for disloyalty to family and nation has concealed jealousy and hatred, including self-hatred, from herself. These obsessions appear to structure the novel, in that perceptions of outer romance and altruism mask murderous impulses and revenge reminiscent of the 'murderous impulses' Butler refers to after 9/11. In *Fifth Daughter*, recourse to Butterfly themes and stereotypes allows the writer to control and partly repress discussion of post-war Western depression or

suicidality, topics not acceptable in post-WWII public discourses, particularly not in representations of exemplary Westerners like Ryan. 'Wrestling with one's own murderous impulses, impulses that seek to quell an overwhelming fear' (Butler 150) is displaced on to Sumico, whose Asian-ness marks such acts as unsurprising, almost expected, in the tradition of *Madame Butterfly*.

Although men's mental pain is projected on to female characters in the novel, there are frequent, fragmentary references to masculine trauma and loss, scars and wounding. At the airbase, Ryan's room is close to the 'last bed to China' for a succession of fighter pilots 'shipping out' to do a hundred missions over Korea (219). He feels a sense of loss as, one after another, he hears them 'cry out in their sleep ... caught up in the deep dream of mutilation and death' (220). He reflects that 'they would find they could not remove the scars of war, like a child who washes the dust of the playground from his face' (219). Entering their room early one morning after another young man has left, unremarked, for Korea, he broods, sensing 'something foreboding about the emptiness where clothes had been hung' and observes 'the unnatural care with which the pop bottles and comic books were stacked neatly in the corner' (219). He muses that the ground crew would already have forgotten 'the reverse comet of dust and flame which had taken the pilot from the earth—perhaps for the last time' (219).

Expressions of melancholia in Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* and his other writing are similar to *Fifth Daughter's* themes of loss, nostalgia and disillusionment. In *The Book of Pity and of Death*, Loti describes himself as 'haunted ... by visions of the past' (149): 'The past—all the accumulation of what has gone before us—possesses my imagination almost unceasingly.... Already there rose up in my pathway the revolting

mastery of the brutal annihilation of human beings, the blind continuation of families and races' (146). Although Ryan had never been a soldier, his brother had been 'sent to this castoff island [Okinawa] and lost' (39), and 'his body or dog tag had never been found' (37). Consequently, Ryan's heart had become 'a grave' (420). Referring to spirits stirred out of graves by the typhoon, Ryan tells Sumico that she had 'opened [his] heart', 'the deepest grave that could be touched' (420). He tries to 'free himself from the shadows ...' (39), affected by what might be called an emotionally-driven synesthesia: 'Okinawa even now smelled of their blood' (38). Near the ruins, he sees the unknown cracked helmet, the same one that had prompted Mother Hayashi to wonder if it had belonged to one of her daughter's attackers (224). Ryan does not see the dog tags, so the soldier's identity remains unknown, and readers never find out whether or not the helmet had belonged to his brother. It is worth noting that men's trauma has received so little direct address in the novel. Rather, it has been filtered through the perception of a Japanese woman in love with an American man. In this way, Butterfly structures have assisted in the construction of a positive Western masculine identity in a potential moral minefield.

Japanese WWII survivors, Sumico and her sisters, have not suffered as much as the victims that eyewitness Yōko Ōta describes in *City of Corpses*. Ōta's writing style contrasts with *Fifth Daughter's* tentative, spiritualised representations of trauma. This cautious approach was characteristic of 1950s atom bomb writing in the West (Ham 428). Ōta was one of very few Japanese eyewitness-writers to leave a literary record of the carnage following the atomic attack, and this makes her testimony more politically troubling, since it is not rendered questionable by enclosure in a novel, which can be dismissed as fiction. Ōta language, terse and rich in visual detail, differs from Gurney's

since its traumatic import is undiluted by softening rhetoric or romantic patina and yet produces more emotion in the reader. Ōta's sentences are repetitive, urgent, and factual, without the scientific disinterest of sterile statistics. The suffering described is starkly corporeal in its focus on mutilated bodies:⁴⁰

Their bodies were distended, like the bodies of people who have drowned. Their faces were fat and enormously puffed up. Their eyes were swollen shut, and the skin around their eyes was crinkly and pink. They held their puffy swollen arms, bent at the elbows, in front of them, much like crabs with their two claws. And hanging down from both arms like rags was gray-coloured skin. (188-189)

The precise detail in this writing makes it easy to see why some contemporary trauma theorists interested in tying trauma writing to ethical witnessing, redress and justice have trouble with trauma theory's early fascination with 'aporia', the 'unspeakability' and the 'belatedness' of traumatic representation: Ōta's trauma writing describes the sufferings of victims with immediacy and clarity. Her traumatic memories are all too accessible to the conscious mind rather than lost in an inarticulate, repetitive loop. While her writing is a powerful tool for political activism, it does not need to directly label Americans as perpetrators of war crimes; rather, the evidence speaks for itself.

Vividly-recalled memories of WWII trauma also recur frequently in *A Fever for Living*, in which office girl Yoshiko recalls traumatic memories from WWII, when

... little planes with broken-looking wings flew over very low while children were playing in the street near Yoko's house. Yoko had seen ... one girl lie [sic] down in the street with red mittens pressed over her ears, as she had been told, and not move while the small bullet holes stitched her blood in the snow. (75)

'Night-flower' Jeanie, a prostitute from the village adjacent to Camp Drake,⁴¹ at Ogawa, 'would talk all night about killing herself, about what a bad woman she was, how afraid she was because she had seen a crow outside the room ...' (230). These memories point to war trauma and issues of guilt, injury and crimes that have not been officially acknowledged or addressed.

Another semi-autobiographical novel that works through issues of the perpetration of injury, redress for victims and possible reconciliation, *The Exposed*, focuses on a romance between a British officer in the Korean War and a young girl who dies from radiation sickness. It sets out to achieve ethical and emotional equilibrium between Western anger at Japanese WWII atrocities and the West's own use of a weapon of immense power and unknown effects on civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This reconciliation is mediated by the conciliatory attitude and suicide-death of a seventeen-year-old Japanese *hibakusha*, house-girl Katsumi (the same name as Michener's popular heroine in *Sayonara*), who, when 13 years old, was exposed to radioactive black rain that followed the atomic bomb blast (17). As a *hibakusha* in *The Exposed*, Katsumi is generally shunned by locals and unlikely to marry, although she is otherwise beautiful, and thus is 'rescued' when employed at the Headquarters of British Commonwealth Forces in Korea in Kure, near Hiroshima (43), a former Japanese naval barracks (34). Occupation policy required that the local population should be paid to do menial work in camps and headquarters (36; 57), and so Katsumi performs house duties for British army officer, George Saville, camp adjutant and officer in the 'Home Counties Borderers' Regiment'. Kure is recovering from incineration after an incendiary attack by 'Mr B' (American and Allied bomber planes—B-29s) in 1945. The British are thus Japanese

women's 'saviours' in several ways: Katsumi and her mother are delighted by the size of their pay packets after many years of poverty; Katsumi has faith that '[o]fficers were gentlemen, and different from the other ranks' (62); and George has 'saved' her from a fate she dreaded (22) at the 'Silver Cloud House of Consolation' (41) or from 'working in bars along the Hondori' (115). In general, Katsumi 'elevated [George Saville] far above all those soldiers in Japan who merely sought sexual playthings. George-san was a true officer and a gentleman' (129), unlike Puccini's Pinkerton. Katsumi, repudiating the actions of the Japanese army, is staunchly pro-Western, like Butterfly. Katsumi contrasts '[George's] generosity with the cruelty of Japanese officers towards recruits during the war', and 'the Japanese army officers' cruelty to their own men' (119). In this way, the novel evokes *Heart of Darkness* and its conflicted emotions—on one hand, there is allegiance to country and idealism, and on the other, rage, feelings of betrayal and disillusionment.

Katsumi becomes George Saville's proxy-wife, but, unlike the original *moussmé*, Madame Chrysanthème, she performs menial tasks, as well as bathing and 'mothering' him (19; 87; 91). At the time, British officers maintained the traditions of Loti and other overseas travellers to Asia by 'procuring pristine girls' (29), for it was important they were 'not seen whoring like other ranks' (29), but seen to be showing humane benevolence. Like earlier Butterflies, Katsumi's behaviour is that of a very young girl, although she is said to be seventeen. Hollands has written several different versions of his Japanese romance, and in the preface to the 2013 version of the *The Dead, the Dying and the Damned*, he reveals that his real-world house-girl, unknown to him, had been under the age of consent when they first became intimate. Katsumi's age evokes fin de siècle moral

dilemmas that persisted into twentieth century versions of the story. Katsumi, like Butterfly, is child-like: she is 'a gorgeous little house girl' who 'look[s] after' him' (*The Exposed* 64). Like Long's Butterfly, she is as 'playful as a kitten' (48), and doll-like in appearance because 'her skin [is] so smooth, [and her] features so regular and impeccably moulded' (47). George refers to her as a 'little girl' (92), a 'good girl', observing that she has the 'startled look of a fawn' (112). She is also attractive, even '... magnificent. He stared at her, overwhelmed by her beauty... he had no idea any Japanese girl could be so lovely' (46-7). George's observations reinforce Dower's point, made earlier, that the Japanese enemy, to Westerners, was rapidly 'transformed from a bestial people fit to be annihilated into receptive exotics to be handled and enjoyed' (Dower 138).

The novel identifies two sources of WWII ethical offence that raise conflicting loyalties: the Japanese army's treatment of British prisoners, and the American and Allied atomic bombing policies and its callous treatment of civilians irradiated and otherwise wounded by their weapons, with which they were still experimenting. The latter point brings into focus two important questions: why did the West decide to deploy a grievous weapon of unknown effect when Japan was already defeated, and why did the American-led administration fail to provide for the relief of surviving civilians? The novel distances the British from the Americans' cruelty in neglecting the survivors, but acknowledges a degree of British complicity in using the bomb. *The Exposed* is thus concerned with political questions of culpability: who were the perpetrators, and who the victims? The narrator sums up the novel's central questions in the following statement: 'It [the wounding and lack of care of Hiroshima survivors] was so cruel it made a mockery of any divine decency... but what about the actions of his [George's] country in causing this?'

(305).

Katsumi personifies the human, moral heart of the bomb issue, and Padre Thomas Muldoon the hatred many ex-prisoners of war and members of the public felt for Japanese captors who brutalised and tortured prisoners (55). Padre Muldoon was scarred both in mind and body, having been captured when Singapore fell to the Japanese, held in Changi prison, and set to work on the 'death railway on [the] Siam border' (76). He witnessed horrifying incidents such as the beheading of prisoners who refused to bow towards Tokyo (76). George coins the abusive name of 'Pissy Muldoon' for him because the Padre had been subjected to a form of torture involving gross distension of the bladder, causing permanent urinary control problems. What is also significant is that Muldoon's medical notes also mention a mysterious incident at Officer Cadet Training School that the narrator, Dr. Alistair McIntosh, feels 'had a more profound effect on Muldoon than anything else' (76). Victimisation at the hands of a British training unit as well as the actions of the Japanese have contributed to Muldoon's physical wounds, mental scars and moral decline, bringing about the 'undoing' of his 'character', to use Shay's terms (*Achilles in Vietnam* xiii). Thus, Muldoon '...rants like a madman' (109), hates the Japanese (111) and actively works against any kind of 'fraternisation with the Japanese', while '[e]verything about him cried out for help, psychological rather than physical' (56). His character evokes the disorientation of Vietnam veterans who returned, untreated and victimised, to civil society. The level of plain speaking in this novel indicates that, near the turn of the millennium, writers could more explicitly address painful issues than was the case forty years earlier, as seen in *Sayonara* and *Fifth Daughter*.

When Katsumi finally succumbs to radiation sickness, Dr Alistair McIntosh vows to save her. Muldoon, however, objects to having a 'Jap' in the base hospital. The novel places responsibility for his ruinous character and influence at the door of a training system that failed to properly protect recruits and the Japanese army, and who failed to treat prisoners of war humanely. Making distinctions between perpetrators and victims is a complex task, because the borders dividing them are porous: Muldoon's behaviour brings into focus the way that traumatised victims can simultaneously victimise others, becoming perpetrators themselves. Indeed, this duality is subtly referred to in the novel when the author has George read Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, in which both sides in WWI are shown to have committed atrocities.

The Exposed's more direct attack on the Americans' use of the atomic bomb begins when one of several narrators describes Katsumi's early exposure to black rain. Hollands acknowledges in the prologue that he had based these descriptions on eyewitness accounts in Robert Jungk's *Children of the Ashes* (1985) and *Hiroshima* by John Hersey (1946). Two contrasting metonyms define the novel's central source of moral outrage toward the atomic bombings and its aftermath: early descriptions of Katsumi's 'perfect' skin and the description of the same skin ravaged by radiation sickness. In the early days of their relationship, George is 'fascinated by the superb hue of her skin. She was a golden girl, her colour so deep and mellow, it had the lustre of a Van Gogh masterpiece. His hands slipped down to her tiny, nipped-in waist ... sculptured in finest marble' (137). When Katsumi and George play a game counting each other's blemishes, George finds none: she is indeed 'perfect' (138). This game prepares readers for the changes that occur when radiation poisoning eventually destroys Katsumi's beauty, a

process described in the following passage that calls to mind *City of Corpses*:

Her once beautiful brown eyes were dilated and bloodshot, bulging out of shrunken sockets. Her skin was like old parchment, stretched and translucent. Her lips were dry and cracked, with ugly sores spreading out from them. When she tried to smile, she exposed gums so bright they looked raw. (305)

At first, the novel singles out Americans as the perpetrators of the excessive cruelty apparent in Katsumi's suffering. The clinical coldness of the American scientists in the Hijiyama Hospital towards Katsumi (307) and their lack of compassion outrage Dr. McIntosh, who seeks treatment there for her radiation sickness. The hospital staff are not interested in treating her; indeed, they acknowledge that there is no cure for radiation sickness. They then discharge her after examining only the bomb's physical after-effects (309), telling McIntosh that 'we're only here to learn. Not to cure. The job of curing lies with the patient's own doctor ... I'm afraid we are all ignorant in this field' (309). Rather than requiring an ethical response from the ones who caused the sickness, Katsumi's condition is 'the burden of a defeated nation' (150). McIntosh puts the novel's contrary point of view in forceful and colloquial speech:

"You insensitive bastard! You build a multi-million-dollar hospital that doesn't treat people you've poisoned, but that doesn't stop you wanting their corpses. You want to know exactly how you did it. Why? So you can do it cheaper and more efficiently next time?" (310)

McIntosh cares for Katsumi in the military hospital at British headquarters in the face of Padre Muldoon's objections. McIntosh, in a climactic moment, names both the British and Americans as culpable for excessive violence in WWII, and identifies the novel's central

moral dilemma: 'That young girl in there is one of your war crimes, Muldoon. Yours, mine, and the Americans' ... She doesn't blame anyone. Nor does she hate anyone ... she's only here because some of us have a sense of shame and guilt at what we've done to her' (315).

McIntosh goes on to list the physical symptoms of radiation sickness that Katsumi will suffer during a drawn-out death: teeth and hair loss, gum rawness, bleeding from orifices, constant vomiting, a head 'like a ripe, yellow pumpkin', 'petechiae the size of golf balls' and decimated white blood cells (315). If Katsumi's tortured body represents Western brutality, Muldoon represents Japanese cruelty towards prisoners of war. Particularly because Katsumi was a civilian child when irradiated, and Muldoon a grown soldier when enduring torture, McIntosh argues that the scale of the deaths of the Japanese civilians, and the length and intensity of their suffering, more than balances Japanese atrocities, if justice requires measure for measure: 'Not one quick stroke of a samurai sword, but weeks of unremitting hell. So what's the difference? You watch her die and then tell me which was the worse' (315).

Muldoon, a perpetrator by means of his support of the bombings, rethinks his former belligerent behaviour, and he and Katsumi are reconciled. However, not wanting Saville to witness her descent into humiliating physical disintegration, Katsumi ends her life, slicing her throat with a small vegetable knife rather than the *kai ken* used by Madame Butterfly. Kasumi's suicide completes the cycle of crime and redress, and her physical transformation from beauty to abhorrent spectacle. The narrator's description of her body after the event resembles to some degree the pictorial detail of Ōta's trauma writing, although it is more openly subjective:

She was lying amid blood-soaked sheets. It wasn't the blood that was so appalling. It was something far worse. Katsumi's baldness and her toothlessness, together with the clearness of her enlarged skull beneath translucent skin, gave her the appearance of an alien being, some weird little creature from another planet. (333)

This scene replays the closing moments of *Madama Butterfly*, in which everyone stares at a dead female body inscribed with the marks, stigmata, of 'emotional, social, and political trauma' (Robinson 88), the consequences of total war. Her body is rendered 'hysterical' from 'warring impulses' (155), and is itself a witness to its mistreatment at the hands of Western men.

In the mid-twentieth century, the West experimented with a power which could destroy the world. In *The Exposed*, a delayed response to this drastic development, the Nagasaki *mousmé* becomes the grotesque victim of a nuclear holocaust in the same city. The moral pain in the suicide of a young girl, softened and suppressed in Puccini's opera, appears in more realistic form. The increased candour in Holland's novel was made possible because its content, censored out of his 1954 novel, was only published in 1999, after great political and public shifts which altered attitudes to British and Japanese intimacies and reduced official censorship regarding criticism of the bombing of Japanese cities. Gurney's novel, published in 1957, had had to self-censor its representations of moral fault in American conduct in Japan. Scarred Butterfly figures and images of death, suicide and mental wounding, and the prolonged suffering or grisly deaths they signify, mark Western protagonists as perpetrators of crimes beyond tolerance even in war. Pinkerton changes form in the novels discussed in this chapter to become an apocalyptic perpetrator of injuries unimaginable in the original narrative.

Connotations expressing nineteenth century attitudes to Empire, romance and race had by the mid-twentieth century built up in Butterfly narratives, and post-WWII male writers found in them ready-made structures for projecting a powerful and redeemed Western persona from a past imagined as exotic into a nightmarish contemporary world, smoothing over the shortcomings or pain of Western male protagonists and legitimising or sanctifying Western policies in Asia. They provided a vehicle for expressing 'perpetrator trauma' and other related anxieties springing from a failure of Western ideals (LaCapra 78). Written in a frightening new nuclear age, Butterfly stereotypes and narrative form in *Fifth Daughter* and *The Exposed* work through conflicts and moral offences often suppressed in the post-WWII world, mediating that which could not be plainly spoken. Both novels contest the official view that the act of exploding the atomic bomb and the use of napalm and fire to kill and burn civilians were ultimately humane acts because they shortened WWII and saved lives, while bringing democracy and modernity to Japan. The cultural familiarity of Butterfly and Pinkerton stereotypes in the texts provided a non-threatening structure within which the disturbing implications of post-war self-reflection could be processed and published.

This use of stereotypes opens to view the abject moral failure inherent in any conventional conduct of modern hostilities, while, paradoxically, synthesising conflicts between violator and saviour roles. The stereotypes assist in reconciling idealism and experience, and, while not neutralising painful questions of Western and Japanese moral culpability for WWII's excessive violence, help to reinstate notions of Western men's innate goodness.

CHAPTER THREE: MISOGYNY, ANXIETY AND THE LOVE OF MEN IN *SAYONARA*

This chapter analyses representations of men's war trauma and post-war misogyny and violence in James Michener's *Sayonara* (1954), in which negative stereotypes of Western femininity and an idealised Japanese femininity, framed by elements of the well-known Butterfly romance, impose symbolic order on a world rendered chaotic by WWII and the Korean War. While *Sayonara* completely excises any mention of America's use of atomic weapons, or rapes and murders by troops stationed in Japan, it focuses on an element of chaos of particular concern to male characters in *Sayonara*, a form of assertive femininity in American wives and lovers, nurtured at home while men were away at war. In the novel, post-war American women are perceived as mostly unattractive, unfeminine, and unwilling to return to a lifestyle based on domesticated simplicity and traditional male/female roles, unlike Japanese women, who embody desirable, domesticated womanhood and offer men stressed and wounded in war 'real love' and a chance to heal.

The novel's primary love object, this chapter argues, is not Japanese women, but the American military man, who can do no wrong. Its surface resistance to racist policies barring immigration to the US of Japanese war brides masks a deeper anxiety: veterans' alienation from home countries and Western women. *Sayonara* is primarily concerned with the difficulties American war veterans face when trying to reintegrate into civil society, although this concern is not clearly articulated, except at a sub-textual level. This anxiety is rooted in an awareness that the American government and its people offered no strategies for post-war recovery acceptable to men trained in a hyper-masculine military

culture and suffering from the physical and emotional stresses of military service. Men could not easily assimilate back into a civil society that had become foreign, almost enemy territory, populated by 'monstrous' women. In this way, American war veterans in *Sayonara* are aliens in their own culture, like their Japanese lovers excluded from it by racist immigration policies.

It is reasonable to surmise that a reader would find masculine vulnerability hard to detect underneath the novel's thick veneer of ultra-conservative, masculinist sexism and racism, a form of aggressive posturing characteristic of 1950s post-war political and cultural discourses. It is also reasonable to imagine a reader may feel little sympathy for the thinly-disguised aggression towards Western women represented in the novel, which, this chapter observes, was also present in domestic violence in post-war Western society, a negative result of men's military training of the time and also a symptom of war trauma. Susan Gubar, in *No Man's Land*, links men's belligerence towards Western women in the form of domestic violence to post-WWII war trauma, observing that this was, in many cases, a reaction to 'the vulnerability so many men experienced because of the degrading conditions of combat or the impersonality of military procedures and technology' (240). For Gubar, this 'paradoxically led them to escalate the war between the sexes' (240). Violence and anger directed at women was fuelled by the era's traditional sense of men's entitlement to domestic authority and a sense of outrage that women were now competitors for jobs and status. Hostility towards stereotyped Western women in *Sayonara* can be linked to a post-war 'gender war' in the Western world outside the novel, in which men, often brutalised by war and harsh military discipline, returned to find another kind of war in their society and homes. It is important to note the distinctions

Gubar makes between men's vulnerability due to combat, and their vulnerability due to 'military procedures'. Direct combat causes behavioural and psychological extremes in military personnel, but so do the rigors of military training and the tensions aroused by merely being in a war zone (Forbes, McHugh and Chemtob 54-55). These distinctions form useful background knowledge in perceiving the various types and levels of trauma represented, covertly, in *Sayonara* and other texts by war veterans studied in this thesis.

Set in 1952, *Sayonara* could be categorised as a Korean War or a WWII novel because the former war was in one sense a continuation of the latter: only five years separated them, and many soldiers fought in both. There was little time for WWII writers to formulate their responses before MacArthur led American and British Commonwealth forces in support of the Republic of Korea against the North Koreans and their Chinese allies. In the novel, Japanese women meet American men on R and R in Kobe, Japan, the nexus between a war zone and home. The women provide a link for the men between the culture of war and that of civil society, as well as being guarantors of post-war nurture, an antidote to domestic warfare with assertive women. While *Sayonara* appears to depict only heterosexual love, the film version of *Sayonara*, as Marchetti has pointed out, highlights a certain gender ambiguity in Hana-ogi's appearance (136). As a Takarasuka artist in an all-female entertainment group based on the real-world Takarasuka Young Girls Opera Company, Hana-ogi frequently appears in men's clothing in both the film and the novel, although later she wears only flowing, conventionally feminine clothes. This drag act, abandoned early on in the novel (Marchetti 136), hints at a subtext in which the primary focus of Gruver's love is not heterosexual love, but a deep love of American men bonded by military service, a love which Shay notes is present among combat soldiers,

and is not necessarily sexual (*Achilles in Vietnam* 40).

Because *Sayonara* focusses on men in military culture, the kind of love it subtextually represents could be described as *philia*. Shay applies this term from ancient Greek philosophy to describe the intense bonds between veterans who have served together, which can exceed 'the strongest family relationships' (40). This brings to mind naval officer Loti's work, including *Madame Chrysanthème*, in which love for French navy men, centred in a shipmate, Yves, forms one of several subtexts. Berrong, in *In Love With a Handsome Sailor*, argues that that much of Loti's writing has homoerotic overtones; *Icelandic Fishermen*, for example, in Berrong's view, can be read as a gay novel (104-120). David Henry Hwang's play, *M. Butterfly*, recognised and dramatised the idea that that the primary attraction for Western men in the Madame Butterfly narrative is not so much Butterfly herself, but a particular way of gazing at the Western masculine subject. The kind of love Renè Gallimard, Hwang's version of Pinkerton, experiences for Song Liling, or Butterfly, can be described in terms of Greek philosophy as *eros*, or sexual love driven by a love of ideals and beauty. In Gallimard's case, *eros* is mixed with *philautia*, or love of self.

If homoeroticism is present in *Sayonara*, it is buried deeply, since, as Marchetti observes, Michener quickly abandons the idea of Han-ogi's sexual ambiguity as soon as he raises it (136). It is more useful for the purposes of this study to define the intense feelings for men present in the novel as *philia*, or the love of comrades-in-arms. In *Sayonara*, love of comrades is closely tied to the concept of *thémis*.

This chapter investigates an aspect of *thémis* offence different to those covered so far. Rather than referring to a humanist understanding of ethics, *thémis* here is a highly

subjective, masculine rendering of 'how the world should work' for military men, a set of beliefs formed by an injured masculine subjectivity fearful of post-war social change, a fear personified in stereotypes of a demonised American femininity. In this chapter, *Sayonara's* utopian constructions function as an imaginary model of how post-war domestic and civil society, from a white male perspective, should be structured to alleviate masculine anxiety and to reassert masculine authority. The novel suppresses men's *thémis* abuses in the form of men's mass abandonment of their babies born of Japanese mothers in Japan by transferring them on to racist American women. In addition, the novel suppresses domestic violence. A sense of escapism and a reconfiguration of perpetrator and victim roles suppress a history of American WWII and Korean War veterans' crimes against women and children, both in the West (Muir 296) and in Japan (Takemae 67). *Sayonara* is also silent about veterans' racism, such as that shown to black Americans in the forces, but focusses instead on American women's resistance to the immigration of Japanese women.

Tropes from Puccini's opera permeate *Sayonara*, such as a romance between a geisha-like woman and an American military man, East-West lovers doomed to eventual separation, and also the suicide of a young woman. There are parallels between Pinkerton's final comprehension of Butterfly's humanity and Gruver's transformation from a state of abject racism towards Japanese women to being deeply in love with Hana-ogi. In Michener's version of the Butterfly narrative, American *thémis* abuses, such as the racist attitudes behind restrictive immigration policies preventing Japanese wives and their children from entering the US are blamed, firstly, on racist American women, and, to a lesser degree, the American Government. After examining links in the novel between

suppressed psychological injuries, misogynistic representations of Western women, and a utopian vision of the possibilities for men offered by a newly-democratic Japanese nation, this chapter also briefly compares *Sayonara*'s representations of post-war Japan with a few, rare examples of the accounts of former *pan pan*, bar girls or prostitutes about their dealings with Western military men in post-war Japan at the time. Since these texts are only available in the Japanese language, they are accessible to this study only via secondary sources. However, the alternative perspectives offered in these secondary sources throw into relief *Sayonara*'s suppressions and silences about many aspects of post-war society in Japan and in America. These silences in *Sayonara* are contained within female and male stereotypes, and were necessary to sustain the tenuous dream that Japan, even after prolonged war and in a state of unconditional surrender, was a utopian haven of sexual freedom and racial equality for Western men.

In this analysis, it is necessary to bear in mind that stereotypes, in narratives as in society or culture, reveal anxieties and fears in the subject doing the stereotyping, and assist in managing 'pathology' in human cognition, helping to control 'disorder and loss of control, the giving over of the self to the forces that lie beyond the self' (Gilman 24). This theory can be usefully applied to the analysis of literature representing military personnel, who have been trained to react automatically to violently defend the self and other men, and are routinely exposed to forces that threaten to overwhelm their coping mechanisms. Free-floating anger and aggression often disturbs the peace-time lives of such men (Forbes, McHugh and Chemtob 52-73). Many twentieth-century war veterans experienced emotional instability in a civilian society that seemed unaware until after the war in Vietnam that homecoming soldiers needed communal rituals of re-integration to

ease the transition from battlefield to suburban streets (Tick 201-217). In the absence of sufficient or acceptable treatment for war trauma, women and children at home often became the targets of men's aggression, as Gilbert and Gilbar argued in *No Man's Land* (211-65), and as Anthony Swofford demonstrates in *Hotels, Hospitals and Jails: A Memoir*, an autobiographical account of post-Vietnam domestic violence in his own military family. In Swofford's text, a violent father, a veteran of twenty-two years' service, left for his son a legacy of rage that was reproduced in Swofford's life: 'a brand of anger and bravado and quick temper that constantly threatened to explode: a bucket of dynamite with a short fuse' (42). *Hotels, Hospitals and Jails: A Memoir* is an example of writing which openly portrays this anti-social behaviour with a candour absent from Michener's text.

In *Sayonara*, Japan still resonates with World War II, but has begun to physically recover from its immediate aftermath and serves as a military base and R and R site for American troops fighting in Korea. The novel begins with the image of US Airforce pilot, Major Lloyd Gruver, climbing out of his jet fighter, fresh from combat in Korea. He has just shot down his seventh Chinese/Korean MIG (7), and is exhausted, suffering combat fatigue. The trope of the psychologically and biologically injured military man is central in *Sayonara*, but the topic of PTSD or combat fatigue quickly descends into a subtext as a conventional Asian romance takes over. A US Airforce doctor tells him he has 'had it' (7), and, in Chaplain Feeney's words, he is 'as tense as a watch spring' from flying too many combat missions over Korea (12). These statements about Gruver's health are admissions, rare in the novel, that men as powerfully masculine as Ace Gruver can break down. The doctor's euphemistic, colloquial term, 'had it' side-steps the shame implicit in naming a

psychiatric condition. The term 'combat fatigue', widely in use at the time, was preferable to 'mental illness' or 'mental breakdown' because it was ambiguous, like the WWI term, 'shell shock', implying that the condition was honourably physical, rather than dishonourably psychological. It is worth noting that post-WWII literature's representations of trauma and anxiety were made before writers and the reading public had enough knowledge about war psychology to tell genuine injury from cowardice, malingering, faulty genes, and other markers of apparent masculine inadequacy. Such influences shamed and constrained social perceptions and textual representations of men's and women's post-war trauma.

As further background to understanding Gruver's condition, it is also worth noting that military psychologist Grossman observes that air combat pilots are less vulnerable than the infantry to psychological damage, because they kill from a safer emotional distance (115). However, as Fussell has observed, all men exposed to combat for long enough will break down:

In war, it is not just the weak soldiers, or the sensitive ones, or the highly imaginative or cowardly ones, who will break down. Inevitably, all will break down if in combat long enough.... Each moment of combat imposes a strain so great that men will break down in direct relation to the intensity and duration of their experience. (*Wartime* 81)

The belief that only weak men break down in war was still widespread in communities and in military culture during the Korean War, and thus it was necessary in *Sayonara* that Gruver's conventional masculinity should be beyond question. No ordinary enlisted man, 'Ace' Gruver is a model of desirable masculinity, a renowned fighter pilot of distinguished military heritage, the son of a 'man's man', a four-star general in 'the company of men'.

(19). He is engaged to an all-American girl, Eileen Webster, the daughter of General Webster and his powerful wife.

Although he is tall, young, and athletic, he enters Kobe, Japan, as an 'innocent abroad', unlike Loti and Lieutenant Pinkerton, who, when entering Japanese waters, had eagerly anticipated the pleasures of buying a Japanese child-wife. Gruver expects little of Asia or its women, expressing his low expectations in the language of wartime propaganda, racism and sexism, observing that Japan was full of 'dirty streets, little paper houses, squat men and fat, round women' (7). In his view, all Japanese women were 'round-faced' and 'chunky'; 'it had never occurred to [him] that anyone would want to kiss a yellow-skinned Japanese girl' (56). For Gruver, a wide psychological and cultural gap separates the Americans and the Japanese who are, a few years after WWII, still the 'yellow' enemy. When asked if he had personally ever 'tangled' with any of the 'beautiful Japanese dolls' at Tachikawa (a US air base town west of Tokyo), his reply is consistent with official edicts that officers should not fraternise with local women: 'I'm a four-star general's son. I don't tangle with Japanese dolls, beautiful or not' (8). In keeping with his background, Gruver asks, 'How [does] a self-respecting American ... get excited about a Japanese girl?' (99), a question that the novel proceeds to answer. He tries, without success, to dissuade Private Kelly from marrying 'dumpy', 'yellow' and 'round' Katsumi, citing the many hardships Kelly will face, such as losing his American citizenship, support entitlements for his wife, and any possibility of promotion. The implications for Katsumi of such a marriage are not discussed: it is assumed that all she wants, like Butterfly, is marriage to an American man.

Gruver is on the brink of a journey into understanding, a path Kelly has taken

before him. When he comes to see Japanese women in a new light, Gruver 'discovers' a 'secret' known only to male visitors to Japan who are 'brushed across the eyes by some terrible essence of beauty' (62). Ultimately, his racism falls away as he discovers this secret that, in the text, stands for the charms of Asian women, who, serving men, are integrated as adjuncts into male military culture, a fraternal military society in a utopian Japan imagined as entirely separate from the American civilian world.

Likewise, Captain Marsh and General MacArthur in James Webb's *The Emperor's General* share 'secrets' in glances acknowledging their mutual understanding of what 'real love' is in taboo romantic relationships with Asian women. Jay tells General MacArthur that he has fallen in love with Divina Clara, whereupon 'secrets passed between us through our eyes' (63). The General responds with: 'Be careful with this. You have discovered one of the world's greatest secrets.' Later in the novel, Jay again 'held his [MacArthur's eyes] for a moment' (81). With his eyes, Marsh signals that he is aware of MacArthur's long-standing affair with Consuelo, a Filipina equivalent of Madame Butterfly, who has waited for him in lonely fidelity for a lifetime. Indeed, she survives MacArthur's death by only a few months: 'Secrets passed between us ... [MacArthur and Gruver]' (81), signalling complicity in men's business and a transgression of restrictive racial policies, both of which are hidden from Western women in an exchange among members of an exclusive, masculine fraternity that addresses a sense of alienation from homeland norms but fosters a 'them and us' mentality in a gender war.

Part of the 'secret' that MacArthur, Marsh and Gruver share is a belief in Asian women's capacity to reinvigorate men. In *Sayonara*, Gruver slights Western wives and lovers by observing that 'I could never have known even the outlines of love had I not

lived in a little house where I sometimes drew back the covers of my bed upon the floor to see there the slim, golden body of the perpetual woman' (128). Here 'slim and golden' is silently in opposition to 'fat and white', a comparison unfavourable to Western women also expressed in other scenes in the novel. From Gruver's perspective, 'no man could comprehend women until he had known the women of Japan' and their capacity for 'unremitting work, endless suffering and boundless warmth' (128), a list of the qualities residing in the novel's construction of true femininity. The preface of Roripaugh's *A Fever for Living* similarly describes Western men's passion for Japanese women, this time in terms of an infection and a compulsive addiction, in the heat of which political (but not racial) differences dissolve:

It was a fever: the Japanese women got in your blood ... [they were] willing, compliant, skillful, utterly yielding, as only Oriental women know how to be ... it was a question of who was the conqueror and who the conquered. A few married them, but most men loved them, left them and never forgot them. (1961 n.p.)

This 'fever for living' brings to mind conversations in *Sayonara* in which male characters discuss their belief that Japanese women can bring them back to life. Gruver had seen Katsumi 'bringing [Joe Kelly] back to life' (106) through massages and care, but Gruver 'fears' that if Eileen (Mrs. Webster's daughter) were his wife, she would not be able to scrub his back, knock stiffness out of his neck, bring him his kimono and 'bring him back to life' as Katsumi does for Kelly: 'I had a great fear ... that Eileen Webster would not be able or willing to do that for her man' (117). Taking it a step further, Gruver says of Eileen that 'I do not think she could take a wounded man and make him whole' (117). Why Gruver should have a 'great' fear is left unsaid, just as it is unclear what it is in

'a man', a term Gruver uses to avoid referring directly to himself, that is made 'whole'.

Kelly's resurrection through his Japanese wife's attentions brings with it the revival and thawing of emotions. The novel projects this freezing of feeling, a symptom of PTSD (Kirtland 42), on to American women, which accounts for the frequent references to their cold, inhuman qualities. There is a belief system operating here, outside of the novel, that Shay saw in homecoming Vietnam veterans, whose 'dogged' but disappointed belief that 'the love of a good woman could make a man whole' precipitated anger and aggression (*Odysseus in America* 65–75). To Shay, many veterans also assumed that wives or lovers with other things on their minds besides the veteran and his needs must be aberrant, scheming, hostile or all three (65–75). Shay thus describes the foreshortened perception, observed in veterans and present in *Sayonara*, that designates women as 'good' or 'bad' depending on how they respond to men's needs. By describing this limited perception in male characters, *Sayonara* represents and then displaces war veterans' sense of moral injury and abusive post-war behaviour on to feminine characters, both Japanese and American.

In Michener's novel, masculine trauma and anxiety, suppressed in a subtext and in stereotypes, do not appear in the form of victimised passivity and vulnerability. Rather, trauma co-exists with sexism and misogyny in the form of distrust, even hatred, in the construction of American female characters such as Mrs Webster, upon whom male characters project their own aggression, racism and symptoms of post-war trauma. In *Odysseus in America*, Shay uses [Vietnam] veterans' verbal accounts to understand men's efforts to fit into civil society after the physically and morally destructive experience of war. In these accounts, trauma is made manifest in aggression and a wide range of anti-

social impulses as a way of meting out punishment and revenge (12), including an impulse to stereotype and attack women.⁴² Clinical and social psychologist Shay further observes that some veterans will produce 'hate narratives' that '... [also] provide comfort and "healing" to the person communalising that narrative' (2006 n.p.) 'Communal narratives [and stereotypes] can be used to mobilise for revenge, pre-emption, or lynching as for healing. Sweetness and Light are not the only inhabitants of the Garden of Narrative' (2006; n.p.). Representations of aggressive power in stereotyped characters can co-exist with fear, weakness and vulnerability (Breger 1995; Stangor 2000). Aggression and sharp divisions between 'bad' and 'good' femininity (Gilman 17), very pronounced in *Sayonara*, are in themselves produced by anxiety.

From a white male perspective, the complexities of the American presence in post-war Japan is cut down into manageable proportions within fixed gender-role stereotypes. These stereotypes emphasise the domesticity of Japanese women in creating places of refuge for white men exhausted by the outside world. Hana-ogi, Gruver's high-status lover and star of an enclave of all-female singers, actors and dancers not far from Tachikawa air base was, before meeting Gruver, set apart for a life in art, living a privileged existence in post-WWII Japan that would end if she married. Regardless of her elite status and the cost of marrying, Hana-ogi cannot resist falling in love with the American officer, and sacrifices her career for the pleasure of hearing him 'splashing in the tub' (135). The novel denies her a voice, and so Michener has Gruver impose his own views rather than hers when outlining his idea of romance and domestic peace in New Japan: 'She wanted nothing other than to be here with me. She wanted to cook our meals over the glowing fire and ... when she slid the paper doors shut in the evening, she

wanted to lock us in and the world out' (122). In *Sayonara's* world, Japanese women 'want nothing more' than to live a quiet life at home, cooking in the evening while their husbands take a bath (182). Gruver's desire to lock out the world in Japan speaks of an attempt to recover from war trauma and a desire to escape into a lifestyle idealised as simple and uncomplicated, free from the expectations and conflicted loyalties of American society.

In the Korean War world of *Sayonara*, Michener portrays a Japan, although exotic in many respects, that is already familiar to American men, both in the roles that Japanese women perform, and in the way in which the Western world conflates a Japanese femininity imagined as unchanging with the Japanese nation: '[s]he [Hana-ogi] was timeless and she was Japan' (210). This conflation brings with it a desire for time to stand still. This desire has been a consistent trope in Butterfly narratives, including in Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*. From the 1880s onwards, Loti, exhibiting an anxious state of mind stemming from a melancholic perception of the ephemeral nature of people and objects (*The Book of Pity and Death* (1892; 149), had fixated on exotic women in ancient cultures that seemed to him to resist change (Sturma 116) and had disapproved of any intrusions of Western modernity threatening the imagined simplicity of ancient lifestyles. His enthusiasm for a *mousmé* marriage, an opportunity to cohabit with a girl representing the exotic Far East, quickly faded into disillusioned melancholia (Smith n.p.). His ongoing state of anxiety and fear is explicitly stated in the following passage from *Le Rôman D'un Enfant (The Romance of a Child)*:

I appear to have a more vivid realisation of the rapid flight of the years, the crumbling away of all that I endeavour to hold to, I almost realise the final, unimaginable

nothingness, I see the bottomless pit of death, near at hand, no longer in any way disguised. (Smith Ch. LXVIII n.p.)

This desire to retreat from depression, hopelessness and the deaths of loved ones to a safe, pre-trauma space in which time stands still, a desire to be in control rather than overwhelmed and helpless, also appears in *Sayonara*. In manifesting this desire, Michener's novel has something in common with an otherwise very different novel, *The Catcher in the Rye*, published three years before. Protagonist Holden Caulfield desires that children, and he himself, should inhabit an Eden-like environment free from fear and threat, a desire rooted in deep post-war trauma (Babae and Bt Wan Yahya 1,827). Shields and Salerno, in *Salinger*, observe that 'Holden Caulfield has more in common with a traumatised soldier than an alienated teenager' and, further, that *The Catcher in the Rye* was actually a way of 'writing about the war' (261). Although Salinger's novel did not engage with Madame Butterfly stereotypes and themes, there are similarities in that both novels mask war trauma in male characters, while casting them as 'saviours' (Marchetti 105) and as moral agents. The people whom they desire to save are imagined as frozen in a child-like, happy and innocent state, which is a way of suppressing the reality that, rather than being saved by American servicemen, many of them had suffered as victims of terrifying American weapons.

To Captain Marsh, young, slim Japanese women offered '[t]he kind [of love] that opened up ... a world both wonderful and forbidden' (48). 'Wonderful and forbidden' evokes entrenched Orientalist myths of the nineteenth century, which motivated Loti's world-wide search for an antidote to depression and *ennui* (Sturma 116), a renewal of the self through the pleasures of youthful women in exotic settings. Sturma points out,

however, that 'far from finding freedom in Never-Never lands' in the nineteenth century, many men feared 'dissipation, despair and loneliness' and 'going troppo' (116). Masuda asserts that nineteenth century Western men in foreign countries were looking for escape and healing, possibly motivated by depression and anxiety. Loti, seeking release from *ennui*, views Japan, even before he sets foot on Japanese soil, as a 'fairyland', a place of sexual opportunity: 'Japan opened to our view, through a fairy-like rent, which thus allowed us to penetrate into her very heart' (*Madame Chrysanthème* 14). In *A Diplomat in Japan* (1921), Sir Ernst Satow, a British junior diplomatic official at the time of the opening of Yokohama and Nagasaki to European trade, reveals the source of his desire to undertake Foreign Service in the Far East:

Lord Elgin's *Mission to China and Japan* by Lawrence Oliphant ... inflamed my imagination with pictures verbal and coloured of a country where the sky was always blue, where the sun shone perpetually, and where the whole duty of man seemed to consist in lying on a matted floor with the windows opened to the ground towards a miniature rockwork garden, in the company of rosy-lipped, black-eyed and attentive damsels—in short, a realised fairyland. (17)

Sayonara's Major Gruver uses similar imagery when he discovers his attentive 'damsel', Hana-ogi and her 'enormous love' and gets to know 'her land, the tragic, doomed land of Japan' (138). She lives in a household of women behind 'dark and towering walls of cryptomerias' (189). It was 'like a fortress [or a harem], and [he] was pleased at the prospect of invading it' (185). Whilst studying a wood-block image of Hana-ogi's ancient courtesan double, he declares that 'she was timeless and she was Japan' (210), which conflates the traditional 'courtesan' (a prostitute of ambiguous status), Hana-ogi the entertainer and lover, and the Japanese nation. This clustering of personae sums up the

multi-layered meanings that 'geisha', and Butterfly stereotypes have had in Western writing since the nineteenth century.

Some of the most sweeping rhetoric in praise of Japanese women's virtue comes from Major Gruver, who makes the claim that, since the beginning of the occupation, a 'half million American men ... had wandered down the narrow alleys to find the little houses and the great love' (142). It is doubtful that all half-million found love. Indeed, there may be some truth in the comment made by Michener's biographer, Hayes, that Michener could be 'utopian' and 'naive' (114). As *Sayonara's* Gruver and Private Kelly find 'the great love', they are welcomed into a gentle and female Japan, a communal village in which a man can 'feel important' and sit after work, watching his woman cooking dinner (54). By the end of *Sayonara*, Major Gruver's low opinion of Japan and its women is completely reversed through his relationship with high-class entertainer Hana-ogi. Gruver claims that his experiences with the 'warm-skinned' (rather than 'yellow') Hana-ogi have provided him with a simple answer to his question concerning 'getting excited' about Japanese women: when making love to Hana-ogi, 'she is not Japanese and you [Gruver himself and, by default, American male lovers in general] are not American' (113). Not only he, but '[n]early half a million ... men' have gained 'understanding' of Japan by 'find[ing] a girl as lovely as Hana-ogi' (113).

Captain Jay Marsh expresses similar sentiments in *The Emperor's General* (2001), that sex with a Japanese woman, Yoshiko, has the power to cancel out class, race and wartime enmity: Yoshiko 'was not a geisha, and I was not a captain. She was not Japanese, and I was not American' (Webb 224). These transformations are metaphors for the return of order and harmony to a warring, chaotic world. These discoveries transform

men after the Korean war as they did in *Madama Butterfly*. For example, Lieutenant Pinkerton's high spirits and self-confidence dissolve in tears in a highly emotional final aria: 'Yes, in one sudden moment, I see my heartless faults and feel that I will never have peace from this agony' (Fisher 81). Fisher describes this as 'a stunning moment of introspection and transformation' (10). It is stunning because Pinkerton's display of emotion was new to the *Butterfly* narrative, and ran the risk of feminising the male protagonist. Its inclusion in the opera is transformative because it depicts a brash, opinionated man who has undergone a journey into knowledge and has changed into a man of feeling. He is afflicted by perpetrator trauma which, as Pinkerton laments, will affect him for the rest of his life (Fisher 10).

In *Sayonara*, by way of contrast, Western military men save Japan, a country personified in Japanese girls, whom they see as innocent, child-like and needing to be rescued from feudalistic, threatening Japanese males and their political system (Marchetti 116-117). American military men are liberators rather than aggressive, angry perpetrators of violence or rape, identities suppressed in wider discourses about post-war America and Japan. The novel constructs new Japan as a retreat from modernity and assertive femininity, a utopia built on democratic governance, female domesticity and lifestyle simplicity. In this construction, stereotypically traditional Japanese women keep house, and American men, Major Gruver and Private Kelly, retreat from an angst-ridden present, recovering self-respect eroded by war, modernity and American women's assertiveness.

Set against a highly idealised Japanese femininity, Western women in *Sayonara's* gender war are depicted as speaking loudly, behaving aggressively, and showing insufficient interest in men's needs. In Fussell's view, representations of antipathy towards

Western women of this kind, towards partners and mothers, began to proliferate in novels after WWI when the ideals that mothers stood for soured (*Thank God for the Atom Bomb* 2). Indeed, 'the former adoration of Mother has scarcely weathered the scorn of such psychically damaged veterans as Hemingway, Remarque and Graves' (2). Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* summarises this ill-feeling when describing the former 'Boy's Best Friend, (Mother)', as an 'unimaginative, ignorant, sentimental drone and parasite' (Fussell 246). Pearl Buck's novel-writing both internalises these masculine values and undermines them through irony. For instance, Allen Kennedy, Buck's male protagonist in *The Hidden Flower* (1952), begins to understand why men said 'it was impossible to love an American woman if one had known a woman of the Orient' like Josui, a Japanese girl whom Allen had met when she was still at college:

She spoiled him outrageously ... She expected no help from him in the little household duties of the places where they stopped; she waited on him as a matter of course, holding the towel ready when he bathed, washing his shaving things when he had finished.... She showed herself Japanese at heart. (Buck 157)

The last sentence implies a subtle form of aestheticised racism, and also critiques Western women by comparing them with Josui: Allen concludes that '[a]n American girl would never have so served him' (157). In *Sayonara*, Gruver's character views American femininity as more openly hostile than the narrator in *The Hidden Flower* when describing his mother and 'hard and angular' American women working in post-war Tokyo:

They were the women driven by outside forces. They looked like my successful and unhappy mother, like powerful Mrs Webster, or like the hurried bereft faces you see on a

city street anywhere in America at four-thirty in the afternoon ... Possibly these harsh faces in the Osaka P.X. bore an unusual burden, for they were surrounded each day with cruel evidence that many American men preferred the softer, more human face of some Japanese girl like Katsumi Kelly. (133)

Working American women here lack 'real' femininity, and are 'hard', 'harsh', 'hurried' and 'humiliated'. They are assertive, and, elsewhere, like animals ('horsey-faced'), made unhappy because men prefer soft, feminine Japanese girls ostensibly driven by their hearts rather than 'outside forces', influences other than the heart and home (135). In Gruver's view, the majority of his countrywomen at Tachikawa Air Base have undesirable bodies: some are 'outsized', and, in the sense of unpalatable food, 'tough [and] bitter' (134). Young Western female characters in turn resent their Japanese counterparts for monopolising the available young men and attracting their sexual interest and love. Elsewhere in the novel, a husband complains that his air-base worker American wife is not as charming a companion as his Japanese lover (53), and in another instance this same wife bemoans the fact that she was a 'plain Jane who couldn't get married in America' and so 'came out ... where there were plenty of men ... [b]ut the damned Japanese girls had them all' (53). In Buck's later novel, *The New Year* (1968), Laura, the American wife, seen through her husband's eyes, is 'elegant' but 'too thin'. 'Her bones, though delicate, were too obvious ... Soonya [a Korean ex-lover] had a delicate framework, too ... but [was]clothed in softly rounded flesh' (31). In this way, both novels portray Asian and American women's bodies as signifying racially and nationally-determined inner qualities. This use of inner-outer imagery carries over into the post-Vietnam era in Danielle Steele's *Message from Nam* (1990) in which Ralph's Western wife Beatrice is 'as

cold as ice' (26), whereas France, his Vietnamese lover, is identified with her 'strangely seductive' country' (257).

In *Sayonara*, Mrs Webster's robust policing of mixed-race fraternisation restrictions and her tweed suits brand her with an unpleasant feminine racism and an unattractive physical masculinity. Gruver fears that—not 'wonders if'—Mrs Webster's daughter, Eileen, to whom he is at first engaged, will become like her mother, for he could see 'the same martial tendencies' in her (49). He describes Mrs Webster's ambitious and assertive behaviour in the language of combat, a gender war:

[I] sensed pretty clearly that she saw herself fighting her daughter's marriage battle. Years before she had taken on young Mark Webster in just such a fight and she had been victorious and the entire army knew she had won and from that time forth she had moulded and marched Mark Webster into a one-star generalship that he could never have attained by himself. (59)

The powerful Mrs Webster, Gruver's prospective mother-in-law, unofficially instigates and enforces protocols restricting the public fraternisation of Japanese women and US officers, and speaks against Japanese wives emigrating to America. Indeed, Mrs Webster considers that Japanese-American couples 'behav[ing] like white couples' are 'disgusting' (30). She 'liked the Japanese—if they kept their place' (38). American women thus resist the idea of potential Asian daughters-in-law, whereas military men and their fathers are more accommodating. General Webster, unlike his wife, is a passive, somewhat indulgent observer of her campaigns against the military's involvement with Japanese women. *Sayonara* thus projects on to jealous and racist women the blame for the racism endemic in American society that was behind the American Government's post-

WWII immigration policies preventing Japanese war brides from legally settling in America. By default, American women are also blamed for servicemen's abandonment of 'mixed race' children after the Occupation and the Korean War.

By focussing on the character deficiencies of Western women, *Sayonara* deflects attention from men's racism as well as the military's clandestine support of prostitution in Japan (Kovner 149). Japanese women, however, are depicted as being free of racial prejudice. Likewise, in *The Emperor's General*, Divina Clara's Filipino grandmother, when speculating on why American men so often abandon their Asian lovers and children, concludes that 'in their own homes in the States they are somehow ashamed. Perhaps it is American women who shame them' (92). In *The Emperor's General*, Captain Jay Marsh states that his mother 'will never accept Divina Clara [his Filipino fiancé before he met Yoshiko]. She doesn't like Asians ... [s]he doesn't want slanty-eyed grandkids' (75). Other novels set in Japan also depict white women as worse racial bigots than men and as instigators of the bad treatment that Japanese wives could expect in the US. In Pearl Buck's *The Hidden Flower*, Allen Kennedy's mother angrily denies the legality of her son's Buddhist marriage to his Japanese wife, whereas her husband is charmed by Josui's beauty and feels powerless to influence his strong wife, who feels she has more to lose than he does in the everyday observance of social rules, visiting codes and the niceties of an all-white-female social sphere. Mrs Kennedy cries, '[Y]ou can't think of a slant-eyed women walking around here in our house or even in the town! Who'll invite her to parties? It will be the end of our whole life' (140).

In *Sayonara*, Mrs Webster, and, potentially, her daughter Eileen (whose behaviour was softened in the 1957 film version of the novel) are depicted as conspirators

in feminising, neglecting and humiliating men, while their assertiveness is seen as provoking men's retaliatory aggression and anger. Japanese women, by way of contrast, offer 'real' love and make men feel 'important' (42). Gruver observes that 'men with wives back in the States talk about Junior's braces and country-club dances and what kind of car their wife bought. But the men with Japanese wives tell you one thing only. What wonderful wives they have. They're in love. It's that simple' (21). This apparent simplicity underscores the fact that language barriers often limited conversations between Western men and their girlfriends. Dower points out that 'with very few exceptions, all relationships were defined and conducted in the conqueror's tongue' (207). Jay Marsh in *The Emperor's General* speaks in a similar vein to Gruver: MacArthur's mistress Consuelo offered '[r]eal love. Not the society-page, wear-the-right-furs love of his first wife ... [t]hat kind of love' (48).⁴³ Hana-ogi offers Gruver 'that kind of love': even though she has dazzling beauty, self-generated wealth, artistic ability and immense sophistication, she is still a country girl at heart, and, in an object lesson for white women, is willing to give up her career to care for Gruver. Thus, the novel is a good example of how 'white man's power [was] manifested in ... sexual access to the women of other races, rendering white and non-white women competitors for their patronage' (Kelsky 80).

Sayonara's portrayal of hatred for modern 'unfeminine' American women is at odds with its apparent focus on universal peace, harmony and simplicity. In the novel, anger is a justifiable response to out-of-control women. Michener's combative stereotypes of femininity can therefore be said to represent a projection of masculine anxiety and a desire to fight back to prevent changing gender roles. Sturma makes the point that the 'South Sea Island maiden' protagonist of Michener's *South Pacific* 'is in part the creation

of male insecurity, providing an embodiment of "natural" femininity in times of stress in gender relations' (161). This, in turn, coheres with Gilman's statement that '[w]e create images of things we fear or glorify ... we create stereotypes' (Gilman 15). An Asian woman in some veterans' novels is 'both more and less than a human being', idealised and demonised, representing 'the reconciliation of contradictions within the author' (Tal 1). *Sayonara* makes sense of the world by stereotyping Asian women as exotic, spiritual and domestic angels, and Western women as destructive, shallow, and aggressive harridans, thus verifying American men's positions and status in the world (Gilman 16). Stereotypes 'arise when self-integration is threatened', and they are necessary 'ways of dealing with the instabilities of the world', of 'preserv[ing] [an]illusion of control over the world and ourselves' (18). Stereotyping in *Sayonara* here has taken a 'pathological' turn. The novel produces 'stereotypes that legitimise the denial of others' rights, power, autonomy and identity' (18), which are different to momentary coping mechanisms. This 'pathological' type of stereotyping creates hard lines of difference, of 'good' and 'bad' manifested in the novel's 'good' Asian and 'bad' Western women, part of a scapegoating process that generates pure binary oppositions between self and other, and projects anxiety and loss in the self on to another (LaCapra note 5; 47). In this way, *Sayonara* represents not only military men's need to feel powerful, but also their feelings of alienation from American civil society, which does not understand their need to be made whole, instead offering them only more stresses, power struggles with indifferent women whose new aspirations direct their energies outside of the domestic sphere.

Having established a notion of deficient Western femininity, *Sayonara* maps a utopian model for post-war reconstruction in Japan, based on democracy, romance, and

feminine domesticity, which in the context of a recognisably white and Western novel, is a male concept of how the world should work. In such a world, men are ministered to and healed, and take refuge from modernity and its stressful pressures, confident their comfort and self-esteem will be bolstered by idealised Asian women. However, an easy projection of uncomplicated American men in a utopian Japan in the aftermath of a conflict as brutal as the Korean War is likely to suppress much that may disturb idealistic constructions of a race-blind, domestic peace. The process of 'putting the world right' in *Sayonara*, that is, constructing a world built exclusively around American men's needs, is interlaced with silences pointing to the following assumptions: Japan's reconstruction according to an American model 'frees' Japanese women although class distinctions and patriarchy are very much in place; 'kind' American men buying hungry women is philanthropy or 'saving' them; and, lastly, Private Kelly's relationship with Katsumi, which Gruver sees as exemplary, allows for violence and verbal abuse, and ends in a double suicide.

Both *Sayonara* and *The Emperor's General* state more than once that the romantic heroine is not a common prostitute to be bought, but a high-value prize, unreachable to the common soldier and to anyone but the most elite of Japanese men, and certainly off-limits to the everyday Privates consorting with *panpan* girls on the street and in brothels. In this respect, *Sayonara* is similar to other Butterfly novels in which female protagonists are not ordinary women or prostitutes, but have artistic refinements like those of Madame Butterfly, and are frequently from respected although war-impooverished families. Loti and Long had been more forthright in acknowledging the low status of the girls in their narratives. By contrast, Hana-ogi is a Tarakasuka artist, attracting public veneration, removed by way of high income and artistry from the taint of prostitution. In

both *Sayonara* and *The Emperor's General*, the narrator exhibits significant anxiety that the reader should understand that the officers' women are not common and available prostitutes or *panpan*, but valuable conquests, unattainable to enlisted men. Thus, the protagonists' own fine qualities generate Japanese women's love for them, rather than being called forth by pecuniary interests.

For instance, in *The Emperor's General*, Captain Marsh does not pay for Yoshiko's love, and neither does he seek her favours in a brothel, since she is a high class 'geisha' sent as a gift of hospitality to his room. To refuse would be to insult the giver, the Emperor's Privy Seal, Koido. Following a steamy bath together, Marsh offers assurances that this is not mere prostitution: 'In her eyes I saw more than duty ... And as she turned to walk away I knew she meant it' (269). Similarly, romance between a high-status American pilot and a high-class, artistic Japanese woman in *Sayonara* transforms American and Allied mass patronage of the Japanese sex trade into something more aesthetic, a process instigated years before when Luther Long's critique of Western men's shabby treatment of Japanese girls was transformed into high romance in Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*. The stereotypes carried over from that era worked just as well in the mid-twentieth century context to control moral anxiety and to shore up Western authority in a changing and ethically-ambiguous world.

Sayonara's post-war, recovering Japan is not as egalitarian as it may at first appear, for it is not blind to gendered hierarchies: the 'perpetual' and 'golden' woman, the elegant Hana-ogi, being a good match for an officer, outclasses Private Kelly's gold-toothed and physically unattractive Katsumi, who collects autographs from Tarakazuka performers. Katsumi, however, is superior to the assertive Western women, who occupy

the lowest position in the novel's femininity hierarchy. The officers' romances with elite women thus obscure the unromantic reality that many women in Japan had to prostitute themselves to the Occupied Forces to alleviate crushing deprivation and to access money and luxury items (Kovner 137). Gruver describes Katsumi and Kelly's relationship as exemplary and unlike out-of-line American marriages:

I had never witnessed a marriage where two people loved each other on an equal basis and where the man ran his job on the outside and the woman ran her job at home and where these responsibilities were not permitted to interfere with the fundamental love that existed when such things as outside jobs and housekeeping were forgotten. (61)

The ambiguous use of the term 'equality' is one of many internal contradictions that undermine the novel's idyllic vision and gives an insight into what 'equality' might have meant in Japan from an American perspective, in which male domination of females is the norm, and white American culture is considered superior to Japanese. Katsumi and Kelly's marriage reveals that verbal abuse, and inconsiderate, belittling treatment of women is normal male behaviour (especially in the machismo-rich 1950s military culture). Private Kelly regularly verbally abuses Katsumi, although it is passed off as light-hearted banter among mates, harmless because she does not understand English or the meaning of the derogatory jibes. For instance, she is clearly the butt of Kelly's humour; his jokes about her in front of his friends are at her expense, and he describes her to his male friends as 'fat and dumpy' (93). On another occasion, he complains to Gruver that it was difficult to 'cure' Katsumi of her habit of giggling and stuffing her fist into her mouth, remarking: 'Honest to God, Ace. It's easier to train a dog' and adds that he, apparently in jest, told her that 'if she ever giggled again and stuffed her fist in her mouth

I'd break her arm off at the wrist' (100). He then gave Katsumi 'a solid wallop on the bottom' after which she 'giggled like mad, stuffing her hand into her mouth' (90). When Gruver suggests that they 'get some air', Kelly remarks that 'We'll blow and Katsumi can come home by train' (94). This male banter infantilises and demeans Katsumi, but there is no suggestion that readers are to interpret the marriage as anything other than wholesome: it is consistent with the gendered behaviour and attitudes represented throughout the novel. Storr, in *Like a Bamboo: Representations of a Japanese War Bride*, discusses similar dynamics in Asian female-American male relationships visible in the pervading, infantile stereotype of 'Babysan', which applied to Japanese women in the eyes of the Occupation forces:

[T]he character Babysan, a popular image of Japanese women, [was] published in military newsletters and ... its origin is directly tied to military conflict and occupation. Babysan and similar cultural icons of Japanese women likely influenced my father's perception of my mother'. (22)

Thus, utopian Japan depends on women's servitude and simplicity. There are also other elements in the novel that disturb the reader and unsettle the text's idealised surface, exposing its moral ambiguity. In the following passage, the narrator calls Americans who buy young women as 'kind', because they save them from hunger at home:

In Korea we used to joke about enlisted men who bought Japanese girls of sixteen or seventeen. A man could buy a girl anywhere in Japan and we thought it a horrible reflection on Japan, but today I saw that it would always be possible to find some Japanese farmer who would be eager to sell his daughter to a kind man, for if she stayed at home and had to fight for her share of the skimpy rice in the family bowl she could never do as well as if she went off with a man who would buy rice for her. (112)

By representing the role of US servicemen in Japan as 'kind' philanthropists, rather than paedophiles or perpetrators of other kinds of predatory behaviour, the narrator reprises Loti's participation in a system that abuses young girls. According to this logic, taking advantage of a family's poverty becomes an act of philanthropy, but the philanthropist's interest in 'saving' a former enemy only extends to young girls. The vagueness of 'sixteen or seventeen' evokes the similarly rough age estimates made at Loti's bride-viewing. This kind of moral ambiguity, which paints men's sexual exploitation as doing girls a favour, has infused the Butterfly story since Loti and Pinkerton paid for the services of young *mousmès*. Patrons of the Asian sex trade flourishing around current and former US military bases continue to use the same logic (O'Rourke 1997).

Lieutenant Gruver also thinks in terms of 'saviour' rather than 'perpetrator' when discussing Japanese war brides: '[it] was incomprehensible to me that any Japanese, living in that cramped little land with no conveniences and no future, would refuse America' (174). This illuminates the novel's investment in a national myth expressed by an army colonel's wife in Pearl Buck's *Hidden Flower*: '[O]f course the Japanese are all mad to get to the States. They think it is heaven on earth and I suppose it is, in comparison' (119). Michener's evocations of a sexual utopia surpass Loti's in connotative transformations in that he mythologises life in Japan under the terms of militaristic dictatorship, tight censorship, and an environment in which 'the victors preached democracy ... [but] ruled by fiat' (Dower 211).⁴⁴

As has been already noted, a woman in *Sayonara's* post-war culture could be 'trained' to stop embarrassingly un-American habits, and this applies also to their physical appearance. In spite of Gruver's idealistic views of Katsumi and Kelly's relationship, it

moves on from everyday racialised and sexist put-downs and insults to become obsessive and pathological, visible at first in small modifications made to Katsumi's appearance: Kelly assures Gruver that he was going to change the fact that Katsumi, 'like most Japanese girls ... had in front a big gold tooth' (51). Katsumi becomes increasingly associated in the novel with themes of cutting flesh and provoking reactions of horror in men. To please her husband, Katsumi undergoes an eye operation 'to make the Mongolian fold fall back into place' ('place' being the 'normal' white position), ostensibly because '[a]ll the little Jap girls who live with GIs are crazy for anything that will make them seem more American' (133). There is no suggestion that Katsumi was actually disfigured by the operation, but to Gruver and Kelly, her eyes had lost their 'Asian' appearance, and thus their exotic difference. They were aghast: 'The result was horrible' because 'what had been a glorious and typical Japanese face was now a conglomeration' (193). This was so even though Gruver had more than once commented that Katsumi was 'ugly'.

In the novel's view, Katsumi's extreme actions stem from her cultural background and race, which make her liable to perform bizarre and violent acts, although it was Kelly's comments about her appearance that motivated her to undergo this body-changing procedure. By casting Katsumi as simple and uncomplicated, the male characters are not concerned with the psychological anxiety that may have led to the operation, but assume that Katsumi's action came from a simple desire to please her husband. This highlights the obsessive desire that American men apparently inspire in Japanese women in the novel, and the traumatic aspects of Katsumi's action are reduced to its effects on her attractiveness. The novel argues for racial tolerance towards Japanese war brides and babies, but retains its own entrenched, racist beliefs, such as the separation

of racial groups by immovable differences, and its investment in the reductive idea that the soul of Madame Butterfly exists in all Japanese women (Kelsky 174), that Asian women exist to please men.

In spite of his discoveries of a solution to alienation in returning service personnel, Gruver returns to the US without Hana-ogi, a convention in the Butterfly tradition, which is necessary to preserve the mystique of an exotic, perfect but doomed romance, to prevent its corruption by images of protagonists devoid of the costumes and settings rendering them exceptional. There is also a suicide, to which the novel has been building: because immigrations laws prevent Katsumi from entering America, Katsumi stabs herself in the neck, and Private Kelly shoots himself, thus enacting a double suicide that Katsumi had earlier described as being 'very romantic in Japanese culture'. The novel is set in 1951, not long before the 1952 Immigration Act, which technically removed race as a bar to entering America and the problem that motivated the suicides, although many married Japanese-American couples had to wait until 1962, when more immigration barriers were removed.

Sayonara's Butterfly heroine-protagonist, Hana-ogi, does not die by suicide, but the act is still an integral part of the plot, although displaced on to the lower-status couple. As Marchetti points out in *Hollywood and the Yellow Peril*, Katsumi's suicide resembles Butterfly's because it functions to symbolically punish those indulging in miscegenation, and restores the *status quo* (79). The shedding of blood as payment for transgression was a familiar concept in religious discourses, and, in a distortion of the concept in those discourses, it bestows on the suicide the redeeming qualities of a blood sacrifice. Although Kelly and Katsumi's relationship was 'equal' and 'ideal', their suicide, perhaps

unwittingly, demonstrates the impossibility of representing ideals such as 'equality' in relationships in which one side forces its standards on the other, and brings to the fore one of many moral contradictions in the novel.

Katsumi ultimately suffers the violent fate that is almost mandatory in Western narratives dealing with transgressive relationships between Westerners and Asians in the twentieth century. The Katsumi character does not fight back, and becomes a scapegoat for off-loading men's melancholia, damaged self-image and rage, and there is even a sense that men's suicides, often all too plentiful after war, are projected onto her character. Indeed, because Western women take a hard line on interracial mixing, they are made ultimately responsible for Kelly's and Katsumi's suicides. In keeping with a pattern of displacing the blame for violent actions from men on to women, Katsumi also becomes partially responsible for their deaths through her earlier suggestion that double suicide was a way to happiness (192), a romantic ideal.

In *Sayonara*, the suicide trope from Puccini's opera is complicated in that Private Kelly dies with Katsumi in a suicide pact. In this male death, Michener extends Pinkerton's overt expressions of guilt and distress in the opera in the image of all three characters, Kelly, Katsumi and the unborn child, dead inside their small house. Here all are the victims of a traumatising system and ideology, a racist American immigration policy, embodied by arch-villain Mrs Webster. The deaths, signalled earlier in the novel through references to double suicide (192), bring to the surface the traumatic 'ghosts' subsumed in Cold War discourses of the time: the psychologically injured Western men and the dead or wounded Asian woman.

When comparing the aestheticised and utopian world in *Sayonara* to Japanese

women's representations of life under the Occupation, Gruver's view of it (42) might have been more realistically described as appreciating the pleasures of a society in which women have historically been men's subordinates. That Japanese women's sexual intimacies with Western men in Japan were unerringly positive appears to have been a 'secret' kept not only from Western women but also from most Japanese women. Molasky's *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa*, Slaymaker's *The Body in Japanese Post-war Fiction*, and Kovner's *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Occupied Japan* each summarise and discuss female Japanese writers' literary responses to the Occupation. It is important to note again that the Japanese women's texts discussed here are only available in the Japanese language; hence, they are made accessible to this thesis, which focusses on Western texts, only through secondary sources. In Molasky's view, the shortage of female writers on this topic was due to several factors: the American Occupation authorities did not educate the Japanese populace to be bi-lingual (29); few mainland Japanese writers of any sex have addressed the Occupation; and most literary reactions to women's intimacy with the American forces has come from Japanese men.

Those female writers who have broached the subject include Shibaki Yoshiko, Saegusa Kazuko, Tamaka Yukiko, Nakamoto Takako, and Hiroke Akiko. Molasky, Kovner and Slaymaker's studies of their texts offer an alternative reading of 'East-West' romances in post-war Japan, indicating that female writers did not share Michener's idea that Occupied Japan was a sexual utopia for Japanese women. Japanese female writers such as Shibaki Yoshiko (1955) and Yukiko Tamaka, when writing about American men's intimate dealings with Japanese women during the Occupation, depict the women

as far more disinterested and prosaic (Molasky 186) than they are portrayed in Michener's or other Western male writers' texts: the consensus in Molasky, Kovner and Slaymaker is that the women were most concerned with survival and money for themselves and their families. There were very few sources of money in war-ravaged Japan, but it was usually forthcoming from working in some way with the occupying forces.

Shibaki Yoshiko's *Women of the Night Lights* (1955) suggests that 'the colour of [m]oney from one soldier is the same as the next' (qtd.in Slaymaker 132), for 'Japanese men and the occupying GIs are similar in their treatment of women' (161). In Molasky's text, Japanese female writers tend to represent American men consorting with Japanese women as 'just another form of the same thing' (186), suggesting that 'the roles of wife, mistress and prostitute are best understood not as separate realms but as overlapping sections on a continuum of women's oppression' (186).⁴⁵ In Saegusa's *A Winter's Death*, a woman decides to become a prostitute rather than a GI mistress because 'emotionally, it was easier to deal with a different man from one day to the next' (Molasky 186; Saegusa 14).

Women who wrote about the sexual aspects of Occupied Japan criticised Japanese men for failing to protect them from American rapes. Molasky observes that Saegusa Kazuko's *A Winter's Death* 'challenges popular assumptions about sexuality, marriage and prostitution in the context of the Occupation' (184), and that it was Japanese male writers, not Japanese female writers, who were interested in prostitutes. Male writers dwelt on prostitutes or *panpan* women as metaphors for the Japanese nation's prostitution to the occupying forces, a source of national shame and victimhood (Molasky 188). Saegusa, however, in *A Winter's Death*, took exception to the Japanese people's cultural

rejection and persecution of those women who had been 'sullied' by the Occupation (Molasky 186). In Slaymaker's view, Japanese female writers do not represent Americans as liberating women's daily lives: there is 'no suggestion in the women's fiction that gender relations had changed at all' (161). In contrast to Michener's utopian vision, they 'rarely even try to portray non-power-stratified utopias; they are seemingly aware they cannot be rid of the oppressive structure by exchanging it for a utopian, "freeing one" ' (Slaymaker 138); furthermore, they do not share 'the obsession with women as guides (or as the path itself) to a utopia' adding that 'so many women writers do not find this topic compelling enough to write about' (161). The women's texts portray both Japanese and American men as culpable for women's abuse under the Occupation, which, of course, contrasts with Michener's idealistic vision of post-war gender and racial harmony.

It is not hard to see why *Sayonara's* portrait of life in Occupied Japan might have had little appeal for Japanese women, particularly when considering the following passage, in which Gruver commends the 'women of Japan' for their capacity for menial work:

[T]he young girls I saw with their American soldiers, the little women bent double carrying bricks and mortar to the ninth story of a new building, the old women in rags who pulled ploughs better than horses, and the young wives with three children, one at breast, one strapped on the back, one toddling at her heels ... no man could comprehend women until he had known the women of Japan with their unbelievable combination of unremitting hard work, endless suffering and boundless warmth. (142)

Here the narrator's 'knowledge' of women fits the novel's vision of post-war Japan: a capacity for hard work and service is part of the women's racial essence, and part of their appeal. During her romance with Gruver, Hana-ogi does all the housework and cooking,

keeps up her acting commitments and undertakes long train trips to conceal her relationship from the Takarasuka community. She accomplishes all this because the refined artist is at heart 'a good, happy country girl' (101). Michener harnesses her innate Japanese connection to the rural landscape, and an ancient 'Asian' womanliness, to her desire to serve Gruver and to place her own career in jeopardy to minister to his needs. It is also possible to see in Michener's vision of post-war Japan why his novels may have been 'approved of' by the State department (Hayes 108), and why his 'social and political ideology pleased the American political establishment' (110), projecting 'an optimistic point of view' required by 'middle America' (108).

Despite its critique of racist immigration laws, and its deep concern with American servicemen's feelings of alienation from civilian life, *Sayonara* is conservative in its support of American WWII policies, just as another of Michener's novels, *The Bridges at Toko-ri* (1953), 'translate[s] Washington's rationale for the Korean War' (Klein 119). Published in the same year as *Sayonara*, *The Bridges at Toko-ri* was criticised by *The New Republic* magazine for 'sounding too much like a *Voice of America* broadcast' (119), a morale-building exercise to cheer the American public in the grip of a stagnant, trench-fought war, which killed so many for too little gain. In general, Michener's novels were 'aligned ... politically and intellectually with the official forces of US expansion' (Klein 119), and his novels 'pleased the American establishment' (Hayes 110). In *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture 1945-1960*, Chung Simpson sheds some light on the frequency and objectives of this kind of representation in a American writing about the Occupation. Simpson observes that General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers and the Occupation of Japan, and

director of its reconstruction, frequently used images of Japanese women for political and ideological ends. In Simpson's view, Japanese women were usually portrayed as entirely complicit in working with the occupying forces to forge a new post-war Japanese society. In statements and press coverage, MacArthur represented the United States' presence in Japan as 'a partnership of complementary opposites' with the USA as the husband and Japan as the wife (165-166).

In *Sayonara's* world, domesticated Japanese women as representatives of the Japanese nation are subordinate to American men, and yet 'equal' under a new democratic regime, an arrangement which restores men's 'correct' place in the social order, reinstating America's status as a fighting force tarnished by losses in the Korean War. To highlight American men's apparent physical power and virility, Gruver compares the physical stature of swashbuckling young American servicemen with rural Japanese men, 'the little workmen of Japan trudging along the footpaths at dusk' (45). As Gruver remarks, '[I]t's a pretty powerful experience for a fellow six-foot-two to travel to Japan ... everything seemed to have been constructed for midgets' (70). This deeply conservative post-war sentiment governing *Sayonara's* construction, publication and reception contrasts with the gradual appearance of openly anti-establishment protest novels that began to depict American men's post-war brokenness, such as those by Peacock, James Jones and Roripaugh.

While *Sayonara* obscures American ethical abuses in Occupied Japan, analysis of its subtext reveals deep anxiety that WWII had precipitated unwelcome changes to domestic roles, which threatened men's status. *Sayonara* reconstructs the conflicted Western self through the eyes of forgiving, loving, and highly idealised Japanese female

stereotypes, and, by the intensity of its utopian idealism and obvious silences and suppressions, replays the Madame Butterfly story in the lives of American servicemen in Occupied Japan, revisiting Western *fin de siècle* fantasies of an idyllic, pre-modern Japan. It focuses on a vision of a utopian New Japan based on Western democratic structures, ideologies, and economic policies, and inhabited by Western ex-servicemen and loving, service-orientated, and sexually-available Japanese women. The ideal Japanese woman in *Sayonara* under American and Allied Occupation is uncritical of American policies and reforms, and deeply enamoured of American servicemen and Western lifestyles. Japanese women's love for GIs signified a subordinate nation's admiration and love for its temporary rulers, as well as a willingness to forget the war and to cooperate with the West in reconstructing the world in accordance with democratic principles (Behrstock 33).

For this reason, in Japanese Rest and Recreation centres in sites such as Tokyo and Kure, smart, tall American officers walked arm-in-arm with quasi-high-class geishas 'liberated' from Japanese men and feudalism, rather than with poverty-ridden prostitutes in wasted landscapes of scorched earth in Japan or of stagnant trench warfare and defeat in Korea. The novel thus suppresses any mention of the fire and atomic bombings of Japanese cities, although the figure of the dead, pregnant Katsumi serves to awaken the ghost of the war and the destruction of women and children. This ghost, in *Sayonara's* subtext, assumes the form of idealised Japanese protagonists aligned with Americans against a perceived 'enemy', an aggressive American femininity.

It is possible to describe *Sayonara's* stereotyping of Western femininity as 'pathological' in the sense described above: glorified 'geisha' and stereotypical Butterfly characters are pitted against demonised caricatures of suit-wearing, frowning American

women. Images of Japanese women in Occupied Japan strike at Western women's self-esteem, scoring points for masculine hegemony. Such oppositional tactics work to control a perceived threat to 'fundamental assumptions about the [Western, masculine] self and its way of being in the world' (Janoff-Bulman 79). That psychological damage can produce misogyny and abusive behaviour is compatible with Weaver's (15) and Rothberg's views (232), mentioned earlier, which recognise that focusing only on men's aggression in terms of power and sexism in post-war writing may not sufficiently address the complexities of writing about war. Factoring in the effects of exposure to military culture and war zones on combatants addresses many other intricate influences that find their way into literature after periods of widespread trauma, social dislocation and disorientation.⁴⁶

At the same time, *Sayonara* typifies a post-war retreat into idealism regarding New Japan and utopianism in post-WWII American literature, television and film: both sides in the end forget (suppress) the painful past and set trends for a new era of international peace founded on East-West sexual intimacy and an American-style economy and democracy. When bearing in mind LaCapra's observation that 'extreme binarisation'—creating strong lines of difference, of 'bad' and 'good'—can conceal anxiety (1998 5-6), the novel's multiple suppressions, and its stereotyping of women and men as good or bad, suggest that fear and anxiety undermine *Sayonara's* surface idealism.

Sayonara, then, can be viewed as a post-WWII Madame Butterfly narrative centred in 'what is right', *thémis*, in the sense of a masculine set of rules about 'how the world should work' to ensure American men's well-being in a Cold War, post-WWII (and post-Korean War) world. By means of stereotyping, projection, and creating strong binary oppositions between Asian and American femininity, Michener's novel constructs an

imaginary post-war world built on Japanese women, who can make damaged men 'whole' (117). A Japanese version of *Madame Butterfly*, a combination of entertainer Hana-ogi and Katsumi Kelly, works to bring together the novel's moral conflicts. Constructing American women as dangerous bigots and unattractive malcontents suppresses a history of Western men's post-war abuse of women, both Western and Japanese, and other negative aspects of Western conduct in WWII, the Occupation and the Korean War.

Identifying these processes in the novel has brought into focus those things its male characters most feared and deplored in themselves: men's post-war violence, alienation and mental illness. In a similar vein to Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* and other travelogues, *Sayonara* is less about men's love for women and more about love between brothers-in-arms in a fraternal military culture that recognises military men's alienation from civilians, acknowledges a homeland lack of understanding, and minimises veterans' responsibility for *thèmes* violations by stereotyping its female characters. In addressing the disjuncture between military and civilian worlds, the novel maps a strategy for veterans' reintegration into society, setting out models of feminine conduct and adjustments to the American government policies that, it argues, will smooth such a transition. American masculinity framed by romance works in *Sayonara* to stimulate national amnesia as a way of protecting the nation from 'the horrors of what [it] has done or what has been done to [itself]' (Kaplan 74), and, arguably, contributed to an ideological and cultural environment in which the moral ambiguity of the past was not dealt with openly.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE KOREAN WAR AND *VALHALLA*

This chapter examines representations in Jere Peacock's *Valhalla* of trauma, *thémis* abuse and moral conflict in American military personnel in Japan during the Korean War and, to a lesser extent, the use of Japanese 'Butterfly' women to ameliorate their trauma. It is worth noting that this chapter refers to few secondary sources, since *Valhalla* has as yet attracted little more than a cursory glance in the research world. While noting some of *Valhalla's* differences to *Sayonara*, this chapter brings to the fore the efficacy of psychological realism in depicting the effects of trauma, *thémis* abuse and moral conflict. These effects in *Valhalla* are conveyed in emphatically colloquial, non-medical language infused with a hard-bitten, machismo quality. *Valhalla* was not known as a 'trauma novel' in the manner of *All Quiet on The Western Front*, but its descriptions of the behaviour of male characters and the psychological influences motivating their actions offers valuable insight into war trauma as it was perceived, experienced and misunderstood in the armed forces in the 1950s, a time when there were many psychically injured men but little tolerance for their injuries. This lack of tolerance was exacerbated by a lack of understanding that even the toughest men can break down in war, or that grievous injury can occur when personal codes of 'what is right' are violated.

Peacock, embedded as a journalist with the US Marines during the Korean War, closely observed the mannerisms, speech, and emotional states of men in a hyper-masculine environment in which, paradoxically, to a public used to imagining warriors as the apotheosis of male potency, they had little power or agency. When reading *Valhalla* while bearing in mind Shay's real-world studies of the behaviour and psychology of

veterans, it becomes evident that Peacock's detailed representations of combat soldiers' thoughts and actions are remarkably like Shay's descriptions of 'the personality changes that mark PTSD's severe forms', in which past traumatic experience persists 'in the present physiology, psychology, and the social relatedness of the survivor' (*Achilles in Vietnam* xx). It is not known if Peacock knew much about 'battle fatigue', one of the names for PTSD in use at the time, and other extreme reactions to military stressors, or if he had the condition himself. His novel is far from a medical exploration of military psychopathology, yet its rendering of the male characters' thought patterns and behaviour, seen through contemporary research into trauma, accurately describes the symptoms of psychological damage which, Shay argues, are not unique to the current age, since they appear in a similar form in Homer's *Iliad* (*Achilles in Vietnam* 3). That Japanese female characters feature significantly in these representations of trauma suggests the women perform more than a superficial, decorative function, since they help male protagonists to recover a partial belief in human integrity.

This chapter argues that *Valhalla*, with its portrayals of Japanese women ministering to psychologically-wounded Western men in the Butterfly tradition, can be viewed as a trauma novel, produced long before 1990s intensive research raised clinical and social awareness of the causal relationship between veterans' often criminal and socially-alienated behaviour and their unresolved psychological and moral injuries. *Valhalla's* primary GI protagonist, Giff Bohane, and Hugh Thornton, a second-tier male protagonist and Giff's platoon commander, struggle to suppress any outward signs of psychological trauma in order to conform to 1950s stereotypes of authentic military masculinity. As many studies into the effects of gender expectations in the military have

since shown (Showalter 1997; Herman 1997; Chamberlin 2012), being branded as a 'psycho' was deeply shameful. Men suffering from the psychological and neurological effects of fighting twentieth century wars feared being seen as 'emasculated' men (Chamberlin 359) behaving like 'hysterical women' (Herman 20) and thus failing to live up to cultural expectations of male strength (Chamberlin 363).⁴⁷ Psychologically disturbed behaviour and female hysteria are thus conflated.

Giff and the other men, internalising these attitudes towards trauma, label themselves as well as their psychologically-ill colleagues as 'psychos', defective unmanly men who, unable to stomach combat, take advantage of diagnoses of 'combat trauma' or 'battle fatigue' to evade active service and stretches in military prisons. The men's difficulties represent systemic failures of *thèmis* around the time of the Korean War when combat veterans, already traumatised, receive further harm in military penal institutions. Rather than embracing Michener's vision of a band of brothers finding real love in a gentle Japan, *Valhalla* represents military officers of the time as the perpetrators of extreme violence against their fellow soldiers, which blurs the line between victim and perpetrator roles. Middle Camp Fuji prison is staffed by sadistic men, themselves brutalised by war, who subject the already-traumatised Giff to a regime of intense, systematic violence in order to break his spirit and induce compliance, thus betraying his trust in a system meant to sustain him.

Roripaugh's *A Fever for Living*, published in the same year as *Valhalla*, deals with similar issues of the abuse of power in the US Army just after the Korean War. These issues come together in the novel's second-tier character of Lieutenant Keeler, who has a history of disdain for his men's welfare and safety. Keeler's cruelty is evident in a

scene in Japan in which he forces his men to undergo an excessively punishing march, during which he brutalises a Guamanian Korean War veteran carrying physical and psychological wounds (315). In an act underlining the dangers to lower ranks from abusive enemies higher up in the system, Keeler eventually kills the black GI and the novel's protagonist, Private Paul Travis, who went to the aid of the GI. The novel's concern with moral conflict is evident in Travis' character since, although he remains a Private, he has been awarded the Silver Star for bravery in battle. Keeler represents for Travis 'the same product of military fanaticism as the SS or the Black Shirts' (332). Showing the lethal nature of these same-side conflicts in this way underlines the tensions of race and rank plaguing the US Army in Japan at the time. It reinforces the novel's point that a soldier's own side, a body of men trained to kill, if badly led, can be as dangerous as the enemy; in fact, a former enemy, represented by Japanese women, is the only source of comfort to *Valhalla's* male protagonists in an otherwise bleak, abusive masculine culture.

Although there is very little secondary material available on either *Valhalla* or on the conditions it describes in Camp Fuji, veterans' anecdotal Internet reflections on postings to Japan in the 1950s indicate that South Camp Fuji and Middle Camp Fuji were actual American bases and that *Valhalla's* descriptions of conditions in Middle Camp Brig, although not openly discussed, were more than flights of fantasy.⁴⁸ Indeed, Camp Fuji is still operational as a Marine Corps training facility today (Karan 306). Whitehead, Jones and Braswell, in *Exploring Corrections in America* state that the public took little interest in prisons in America during WWII, and as a result, some were run humanely but others were places of 'shocking cruelty', and it was not until riots broke out in the 1950s that conditions improved (48). In this wider climate of diminished public scrutiny of

penal institutions, and Cold War censorship, Peacock's novel adopts a highly political stance by criticising systemic failures that permitted disciplinary regimes that brutalised and humiliated soldiers, particularly those who were black and enlisted, of the common ranks, without authority or commission. Within Camp Fuji, PTSD symptoms are seen as insubordinate behaviour to be beaten out of offenders. Detailed representations of Giff's experience of institutionalised military brutality in *Valhalla* differ markedly from the political self-censorship in *Sayonara*, which, as noted in the previous chapter, depicts Japan under American governance as utopian for American men and the Japanese.

In *Sayonara*, the subject of war trauma is raised and then abandoned. Gruver is seen suffering from combat fatigue at the beginning of the novel, but the matter of his mental health is not mentioned again, apart from some vague references to making wounded men whole. *Valhalla*, published six years after Michener's highly influential novel, undermines *Sayonara's* view of idealised, tough American men living in post-war Japan. The two novels are concerned with post-war disorientation in the military, but readers may be left thinking that Gruver's combat fatigue was easily treatable by rest, and had no deeper basis. In contrast, the mannerisms and behaviour of *Valhalla's* traumatised protagonists, Giff and Hugh, and other characters, described in realistic detail, are linked to moral distress.

These and other differences emerging in the six years separating the publication of the two novels mark wider changes occurring in the West's political mood and post-war psychology, the emotional and moral fallout from WWII and stalemate in Korea. These years saw a widespread descent into pessimism and Cold War apprehension, an increasing pathology and disillusionment with the idea that Westerners were leading the

world into a bright, progressive future. Philosophical and political rejection of the old order in the West became evident in increased publications of anti-establishment, anti-war novels, which also obliquely addressed war trauma, such as *Catch-22* (1961) and *Slaughterhouse Five* (1969). Political and social activism gained momentum throughout the 1960s, culminating in mass Vietnam War and civil rights protests.

Valhalla captures a moment of stagnation and *ennui* after the heavy casualty rates of the Korean War failed to produce a definitive victory for the Republic of Korea Army and the United Nations Forces (Axelsson 42; Fussell *The Norton Book of Modern War* 652; Englehardt 65). Optimism for the future generated by WWII victories faded under crushing losses in Korea, while the Cold War continued to generate fears of global annihilation, and instability in Indochina festered. In *1960s Counterculture: Documents Decoded*, Willis states that, in American bases in Japan and Korea, despondency and disillusionment with the idea that Western military campaigns advanced democracy and freedom added to growing popular dissatisfaction with military and political institutions and white, male conservative authority (xv). Roripaugh's novel, *A Fever for Living*, also represents this dissatisfaction in its account of the morale-destroying monotony of camp life for drafted and Regular Army troops stationed at Camp Ogawa, a US Army ordinance storage depot in Japan near a small rural town near Hamano City. The depot was built on the site of an old Japanese aircraft factory expanded for use during the Korean conflict (77), and thus the novel's action, like that in *Valhalla*, occurs in the shadow of WWII.

Unlike *Sayonara's* positive representations of 1950s US military men as bonded brothers in arms, *Valhalla* depicts them as crowd of lonely men in an American infantry

combat unit attached to the 3rd Battalion, 3rd Marines, in which protagonists, Giff and Hugh struggle with a sense of meaninglessness and detachment. Their unit is located at a former WWII prisoner of war camp, South Camp Fuji, in Honshu, Japan (101), during a lull in fighting in Korea to allow for political manoeuvring. Likewise, *A Fever for Living's* primary protagonist, Private Paul Travis, a conscript in his early twenties whose army duties are administrative, feels alienated from army life, and is 'uneasy' in Camp Ogawa (35). Roripaugh's novel describes training that 'twists' the mind so that men 'lose balance', turning into 'chronic troublemakers' who fight amongst themselves, drinking to escape, or 'go[ing] native with Jap girls' (62). Some also 'crack', 'going awol' (62), as does Giff in *Valhalla*. In Travis' view, the armed forces 'train men to be animals', and so '[it] should come as no surprise if they act like animals' (59).

In *Valhalla*, soon-to-be-demoted Corporal Giff Bohane and Private First Class Cinamo Dallas are first seen on a ship's deck while leaving active duty in Korea, bound for R and R at South Camp Fuji, where Hugh Thornton is the platoon commander. This beginning brings to mind the structure of Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*, which begins in a similar manner, with a conversation between two friends in the military on board a ship travelling to Japan. Unlike Loti's novel, there are descriptions of the behaviour of minor characters on board the ship, of combat soldiers still wired for the battlefield. Finely-tuned survival skills, such as fast fight-or-flight reactions, hyper-vigilance and hyper-arousal enable soldiers to respond with high energy and aggression to a perceived threat at a moment's notice (Croft and Parker 95). Therefore, away from the battlefield, they may have 'fear-filled nights of alone-ness' (13), 'tossing fitfully in their sleep under a feverish aura of red' (16). Giff hears a sleeping soldier 'holler chokingly in his sleep: "Let

me at 'em! I'll kill the sons of bitches" '. Hearing this, Giff 'instinctively drop[s] to one knee, adrenalin pounding up behind his eyes' (59). In public places, Giff chooses to sit facing the door, which is classic veteran 'battle ready', survival behaviour that can include patrolling suburban and domestic spaces for potential threats, and diving for cover at loud noises: 'We'll take this one close to the door.... I like to see who all comes in', explains Giff (179).

As Giff leaves Korea, his feelings are like those that the melancholic Loti recorded on leaving Japan (*Madame Chrysanthème* 333): Giff experiences 'a feeling of rootlessness, of impermanence' while watching 'the rugged coastline sinking steadily under the now purple ocean'; his own 'rootless wavering existence bubbl[ing] up and flood[ing] over him like a huge skunk bag, trapping him in its dusky lining' (12). Laughter, too, is impermanent, 'carried away on the salty breeze' (10). His moods swing abruptly: 'the carefree vitality of his emotions [were] ... immediately coupled with that inscrutably alien foreboding sense of transition' (9), a pervasive feeling of unreality and alienation. Entering the waters just off Japan, he views Yokohama's harbour-side colour and activity with 'a weird hungover feeling of apartness' (25). At other times, he is 'ill at ease, untalkative' (17). Few researchers of Loti's novels, apart from Matsuda, have considered the role of trauma in Loti's writing, even though, as seen in Conrad, sailors were subject to many experiences that endangered life, and the stresses on military sailors, from harsh discipline, training, combat and masculine culture, would have been even greater. Exterior forces implicit in fighting wars and maintaining empires came to bear on post-WWII novels in a similar manner to those shaping Loti's writing, which explains a little of the Butterfly genre's appeal to early 1960s writers such as Peacock and

Roripaugh.

Protagonists in *Valhalla* value conventional masculinity norms even as they are harmed by having to live up to their unrealistic expectations. As a result, the characters distance themselves from the 'psycho' or 'nut case' who cracks up under pressure, the antithesis of an almost-sacred masculinity. Although incensed at the injustice, incompetence and sometimes criminal neglect of the higher ranks, they deplore just as much the fact that they themselves are buckling under pressure, 'cracking up', and therefore not proving equal to their own standards. Taking refuge in cynicism, and using the diffident, non-medical slang used in most military novels of the time when referring to psychological problems, Private Dallas tells Private Stack that: 'You're only suffering from what they call a battle shock. Since the night you fell on your head. "A trauma", [Private] Poke corrected. "I read it somewhere. Maybe in *Stars and Stripes*; they call it a trauma. It's the thing to have these days. A sort of fucking fad, you know what I mean?" ' (180). Dallas' reference here is to WWI ideas that battle fatigue was centred in physical shock, and Private Poke refers to more progressive notions that gradually emerged in response to WWII.⁴⁹ Protagonist Giff, in colloquial speech characteristic of a realist style, responds with: 'Well, if that's the current thing to have, then count me out. I ain't never had that in my life, don't intend to neither' (180). In an inner dialogue, Hugh Thornton uses similar language, revealing that the 'talking doctors' in Veterans' Administration had told him, a former prisoner of the Japanese, that he was 'crazy' (200) and that '[h]ead shrinking in an educated America would undoubtedly classify him as emotionally immature and maladjusted' (177). In this way, the men express a belief that psychoanalysis and psychology in general is centred in superstition, which foregrounds

the isolation of soldiers at the time who had to cope with psychological wounds, since there was a widespread loss of faith in institutions of any kind, including those that were meant to help them. Soldiers, geographically and emotionally removed from their families and societies, gave primary importance to their relationships with each other and with Japanese Butterfly women in Bamboo Alley.

Giff and his friends, like other men in the camp canteen, are marked by war: 'sparse and hard bitten', 'hunched over their towering cans of beer, all young faces from eighteen to forty-two' (182). Foreshadowing the ostracism faced by Vietnam veterans, the Korean War veterans experience identity conflicts tied to public reactions to the stagnant, life-wasting war in its advanced stages, in which they are '[a] strange breed of men who were savagely cursed one day by the pompous American public and eulogised the next for saving them their pomposity' (182). After his repatriation to America after WWII, Thornton, an officer, had also experienced isolation from the civilian world. Like many alienated, returned veterans, he had spent time in a civilian prison, thirty days in the San Diego city jail. His wartime experiences destroyed his ability to form close relationships, and so he finds relief in severing close ties: 'the more he lost, the better he felt' (173). His emotions are frozen, a common phenomenon that, as Vietnam war psychologist Matsakis observes, turns many a returned veteran into an 'iceman' (*Vietnam Wives* 54-81). Thornton 'divorces himself from feelings' (173) and finds that closeness to people 'suddenly infuriate[s]him with a kind of slow burning' (28). This tendency to change from emotional stasis to anger is in line with Shay's view, evident in the title of his book, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character*, that some reactions and behaviour drilled into soldiers and rewarded with medals in the context of combat are

inappropriate or at worst criminal in civilian life, in which extreme trauma can draw down anger and abuse in response to even minor conflicts (26).

Giff exhibits a loss of faith and trust in those promulgating Western ideals and beliefs, a common after-effect of traumatic experience (Matsakis 46). His cynicism is exacerbated by a chaplain whom he believes is a hypocrite: 'It was obvious that the chaplain did not believe what he said and the men had never believed it—and never would' (97). He despises double standards in all institutions, the kind of morality in which the end justifies the means:

The navy commander chaplain ... expounded heartily on the importance of maintaining virtue. It [the situation in Japan] was not like Korea, the chaplain informed them. In Korea, it seemed, the prostitution of virtue was pardonable because they were defending [here the chaplain paused] ... they were defending—well, democracy. That was it, democracy! (97)

He 'listened to the chaplain with total revolt within himself' (97). The source of psychological pain in this and other representations of trauma lies in *thémis* violations, in which a character's optimistic imagination encounters hard experience, along the way losing faith in ideals and authority. Combined with the effects of harsh conditions and the psycho-physical adaptations of military training, such a loss of faith can produce identity fragmentation, grief and trauma. Identity structures and mental health in the military and in the general population are vulnerable because they depend for stability on harmony between real world experience and assumptions of how life should work in accordance with deep-seated convictions, ideals, personal and social codes of ethics and behavioural norms concerning 'what is right' or '*thémis*' (Janoff-Bulman 11; Shay 5). Dissonance

between idealistic theory and hard experience generates trauma responses, anxiety, and other negative emotions and defensive conditions in collective and personal dimensions (Wilson 266; Tick 2005; Simon 712; Fussell *Wartime* 7).

Valhalla suggests that injustice and malpractice in military discipline may come from higher-ranking men who themselves have been physically and psychologically damaged, a type of representation previously seen in *The Exposed's* Padre Muldoon. Hugh ('Gunny') Thornton, Giff's platoon leader was, like Muldoon, a former WWII prisoner of war. Captured on Wake Island and imprisoned by the Japanese in South Camp, Mt Fuji, a WWII work camp, Thornton has been returned to the same site in the last days of the Korean War. In this chance posting, Thornton is instrumental in pressing charges against Giff for his dereliction of duty, even though he himself was frequently and unofficially absent from South Camp. Here Thornton transitions from victim to perpetrator, creating a tension between the two roles, showing how one may lead to the other.

In South Camp Fuji, every male character appears affected by some form of psychological injury, which applies to officers as well as GIs: Captain Emil Kizer, known as 'the Kizer,' does screwy things' (52) and is 'just odd' (55). He has tired, yellow, 'war-ravaged eyes', and 'lapses at times', 'almost in a daze' (94), making 'vague movements with [a] sugar spoon', 'holding it as if he was unaware it was in his hand' (93). He is also an alcoholic, as are most of the men in *Valhalla*. Giff recalls a former Marine Corps officer, Lew Diamond, who had been a 'legend', a 'powerfully-built man ... the personification of all of them', who had 'died a lush, a juice head' (51), but 'they did not associate themselves with Lew Diamond's demise ... yet the truth was there, ever present,

and they each of them knew it' (51-52). Cinamo Dallas, a quintessential warrior as defined by his Cherokee heritage, is on edge, vulnerable to collapse: his 'killer's face' was 'the deceptively cruel face of a man who lives his life walking on eggs, and knows it'.⁵⁰ Giff comments that other men in the company have 'the heavy look of carrying a fifty-pound monkey on their backs, each monkey with a different name' (118). Gunnery Sergeant Finch is in a constant drunken stupor, and 'groan [s] and scream[s] in [his] sleep' (64). He laments: 'I'm thirty-five and a wash-up' (65) and 'there has got to be more than this', although 'once there had burned [in him] a flame of dignity' (66). Private First Class Quiller Carpenter's hands 'shak[e] visibly' (89). Distributing the symptoms of trauma among many characters gives readers a comprehensive overview of the many manifestations of psychological trauma experienced by veterans, while a more detailed study is made of the effects of trauma on two male protagonists. This representational strategy also makes the point that these symptoms of injury cannot be dismissed as the character failings of one or two individuals, but are widespread in the army.

The men associate mental illness with the more disabling trauma seen in 'the nameless marine who slept on the bottom bunk' whom Giff had not spoken to once in three days'. Giff stares into the man's open eyes, observing that 'they were the coldest, most dead-looking eyes [he] had ever seen'. In addition, he had 'never seen the man out of his bunk. It didn't appear that he even left for chow' (13).

Giff does not associate himself with the man with the 'dead-looking' eyes, although he himself 'laughs too much' (49), bursting into hysterical laughter. He jokingly comments that he is 'probably half nuts' (116). He manifests many other signs that he is suffering from a psychological illness. For instance, he is in a perpetual state of

dissociation from the real world, 'much like a man who sees himself in a movie' (86). He also experiences distortions and foreshortening of time—[t]his life of immediate urgency (29)'—and the failure of memory consistent with dissociation, when he thinks of 'a nameless hotel on an unremembered street on an unremembered day with a woman whose name he could not recall' (14). He has forgotten his family; 'it was almost as if no other life except this one had ever existed ... he wondered if it had ever really happened' (29). Deeply alienated, he feels 'he was losing even the sense of belonging to the Marines' (181). He is also subject to panic attacks: 'fright and panic and the indefinable uneasiness crawled over him. Quickly, he shut it [the fear of never leaving the camp] off from his mind' (182). He feels a 'rag-shaking rootlessness, his heritage of impermanency' (52) and he 'grab[s] for a beer' to 'assuage the feeling of being a tethered bull on a long pole' (53). Like many veterans in the world outside the novel, Giff misses the battlefield: as he looks over the dull South Camp parade ground, 'a sense of loss swept over [him] with a cloudburst-force emotion' (36). The intense emotions of the battlefield, and the deaths of friends can obsess veterans, who long to be back with their dead comrades, feeling that is where they really belong (*Shay Odysseus in America* 84).

Giff also experiences intrusive memories of the deaths he has seen: 'the man slumped there, hit with a burst from a burp gun where the flak jacket did not protect [him]' (46). There are also oblique references to suicidal thoughts, to which many veterans are vulnerable (*Achilles in Vietnam* 3). This is evident in Giff's recollection of a newsreel showing 'Okinawan natives committing suicide leaping from a cliff' (86). The cameraman had reversed the film so that the Okinawan women with babies in their arms had returned up to the cliff tops, and down again, in a repetitive motion evoking the cyclic

return of traumatic memory. In his own mind, Giff sees himself falling through space, kicking and spinning, then 'being jerked up from the void, swearing and fighting, never consummating the journey' (86), which implies a sense of personal implication in the women's deaths, and an ambivalent, frustrated desire for his own death.

Giff repudiates the idea that he had psychological injuries, since he enjoys undisputed masculine status and physical toughness. That he and the other men deny the psychological nature of their symptoms indicates how difficult it was for soldiers who experienced what are now widely considered to be normal reactions to combat or military training to reconcile their symptoms with deeply prejudiced attitudes towards the psychologically injured. These prejudicial attitudes, which soldiers themselves as well as their superiors believed to be true, incorporated false ideas equating psychological wounds with mental insufficiency, physical weakness and feminine qualities. The men clung to hyper-masculine physiques, speech, and mannerisms as proof that they were not ill. Giff is conventionally masculine, 'lean rather than slim, with an angular, hungry-looking face'. He 'swaggers' slightly (9). He and the others also speak in a colloquial, regionally-accented, hard-hitting, and irreverent style, which projects a dare-devil, defiant masculinity. By contrast, the protagonist in *A Fever for Living*, Travis, although he 'could have been mistaken for the average halfback on a small college team', and is 'tanned', seems out of line with the usual type of hyper-masculine stereotypes, since he has 'too fine, almost delicate features' and 'narrow and thin-fingered' hands (14) consistent with a degree in anthropology and an administrative role in the army. That he does not feel at ease within the army is also apparent in his ill-fitting uniform (14).

Cinamo Dallas, veteran of battles for the The Hook, T-bone Hill and Outpost

Vegas, is 'a quarter Cherokee', with a 'dusky high-cheek-boned face, giving him a sort of chilling killer's look', and a 'jaunty' and 'confident' walk (10). Captain Emil Kizer, winner of two Purple Hearts in Guadalcanal and Nicaragua, and a Navy Cross also in Nicaragua, is 'massive' and 'powerful', sitting 'hugely at his desk, large-boned' and 'every inch the military'. At bayonet practice, he is reputed to have 'fought the whole company' (53

Unaddressed, Giff's problems escalate, and his symptoms become more extreme. Already near meltdown, he is arrested and court martialled for leaving his post while on guard duty and for an incident occurring while he was in a psychotic state. In the grip of psychosis, Giff senses a 'grenade' going off inside him (a non-medical euphemism), something which he had been anticipating for a long time (328). Placed in a strait jacket, he refuses to 'take a psycho' (332), since admitting to a mental illness would cast a slur on his military record. That Giff would rather face imprisonment and a dishonourable discharge than be branded a 'psycho' is a measure of the depth of the stigma attached at the time to men with non-physical trauma injuries. By refusing to enter a mental institution, Giff instead endures a sadistic, routine regime of beatings and humiliation designed to break his spirit in Middle Camp Brig. The authorities there ignored and thus condoned such moral excesses. It is doubtful if women would have been subjected to this level of cruelty, whereas it was assumed at the time that a sign of true manliness was an ability to withstand extreme pain with stoicism. The point is thus made that stereotypical beliefs and untrustworthy authorities create the conditions in which moral excess and the perpetration of atrocities thrive. Weaver (15), and many other critics of America's policies in Vietnam have noted that that similar 'deadly ideologies and practices' (LaCapra 79) were the primary drivers of soldiers' excessive violence in the Vietnam War.

References to depression and psychological injuries, such as PTSD, are scattered throughout the text, and, although they are highly visible when gathered together, their collective significance in representing an almost-unmentionable illness is easy to miss in a first reading, particularly when engaging with the novel as a response to modernity in general or as the individual's struggle against the Establishment. The descriptions of men's behaviour in the novel become more noticeable when read together with Shay's descriptions of the symptoms of PTSD and other psychological and moral injuries: 'the loss of memory and trustworthy perception', the 'capacity for explosive violence'; 'persistent expectation of betrayal and exploitation [the erosion of social trust]'; and 'despair, isolation and meaninglessness', a 'preoccupation with military and governmental authorities', and 'alcoholism' (*Achilles in Vietnam* xx).

In keeping with a 1950s interest in exploring the psychological motivations of protagonists, Giff realises that his sense of alienation 'started in Korea on Vegas' (182). His first kill damaged his faith in fighting for ideals: 'Oh, they all knew it wasn't patriotism—they had found that out long ago—not fighting for mother, god or country any more. Hell, no-one was that foolish any more' (60). Giff had received the Silver Star, an award for exceptional valour (Texas Military Department 2016), 'on his first day in Korea ... on Vegas' (92), 'for killing seventeen gooks', removing wounded men from danger, assuming command when a lieutenant was killed, and steadying his men to hold their positions (92). 'Vegas' was a hotly-contested battle-zone in Korea, north of the Main Line of Resistance, roughly the latitude 38th Parallel, and was one of three defensive outposts named after cities in Nevada. The battles to defend them involved some of the heaviest bombardments and casualties of the war (Nalty 56). Giff acknowledges that he

once had cherished the ideals that the Silver Star had represented: 'he too had gone after that shiny glorious something, whatever it was, and his own clear choice had ended with the first man he had killed' (30). The loss of the 'shiny glorious something' echoes Grossman's point that infantry soldiers will often feel personally responsible for taking life, and will suffer for it long afterwards (114-19). In this way, Giff's illness is seen as stemming from a moral injury, and not from physical wounding.

Both *Sayonara* and *Valhalla* are concerned with wounded American men, but *Sayonara*, pointing to women in American civil society as the perpetrators of *thèmis* abuses against American veterans and Japanese women, defends the military's masculine reputation as a protector of democracy and a source of hope for the future. *Valhalla*, however, represents GIs in South Camp Fuji, of whom ninety-five percent were combat veterans, as the victims of a profound disillusionment, which, as seen in Loti's work, is a recurring theme in Butterfly narratives. Peacock's novel expresses a loss of faith in the foundational moral aspirations undergirding the American military. *Valhalla's* central concern is the mistreatment of victims within an institution laying claim to high ideals while victimising its personnel. These ideals helped to structure the way in which American soldiers saw themselves in the 1940s and 1950s. Schrijvers, after examining hundreds of letters sent home by American GIs during WWII, concluded that imaginative idealism was a major constituent of the psychology of the American forces in Asia. Young American and Allied forces men saw themselves as part of a benevolent force entering a mythic Pacific (30), in search of the 'shiny something' that Giff lost on Vegas. They arrived in the Far East and the South Pacific, as had Flaubert, Loti, Satow and others before them, already indoctrinated with romantic mythology present in literature and art,

although mid-twentieth century soldiers were also affected by films:

GIs sailed into the Pacific with visions so romantic that not even the thought of war could chase them from their minds entirely. The images that the American soldiers carried with them were rooted in long-standing traditions. And they were romantic not only because they were fantasies that had no basis in fact, but also because they were idealisations that gave rise to dangerously high expectations. (Schrijvers 33)

Giff, however, has already begun a descent into mental and spiritual breakdown when he arrives in Japan: the act of killing in Korea has changed him. He is very aware of the moral contradictions of his role in the military and of his separation from civil society, in which civilians, protected to some extent by rules and conventions, are relatively free to act in harmony with their ideas of *thèmis*, their capacity for brutality untested. When listening to one of many talks at the camp on the soldier's role, Giff identifies a contradiction in the idea that the military can be a defender of democracy, wondering how men trained to kill can be good advertisements for the American way of life: 'And now they were being told to conduct themselves accordingly, like junior g-men [government-men, or members of the FBI], so the people would get a good impression of the American way of life' (111). As in *Sayonara*, combat soldiers feel alienated from American civil society, so that Giff sees himself as part of 'a strange breed of men who were savagely cursed one day by the pompous American public and eulogised the next for saving them their pomposity' (182). Giff, 'locked away in the deep dark of his mulish stubborn rebellion, forced away from living forever' sees himself as 'an undesirable citizen, and incorrigible' (111). Indeed, he feels combat soldiers have more in common—a 'blood relationship'—with criminals such as Pretty Boy Floyd and Dillinger (110).

Giff no longer believes in the ideals he had formerly cherished, which had given his award for bravery, the Silver Star, its value. A besetting sense of meaninglessness thus haunts him, stemming from unacknowledged moral and psychological injuries. The Silver Star also stands for a loss of faith in those in command, who have betrayed him. Giff hates himself for accepting the Star, feeling that 'he should have refused it' (217) because 'it made him vulnerable to those who had given him it' (217). He 'had become part of those he hated.... [The Star] identified him with ... cowardly leaders', presumably those who are quick to send their troops into danger, but do not stay to share it. This last point was also a preoccupation in Hollands' *Able Company*, which works through violations of 'what is right' in the British army's hierarchical and class-ridden structures in Korea, in which incompetent officers cause the needless deaths of men in their care, destroying the survivors' trust in authority and ideals.

Giff also feels he has been 'taken in' (217) by the Army. At other times, he is ambivalent about the Silver Star: 'he felt a wave of pride, conceit mostly, bubble over him' (126). 'Well, he was vain about it. And why shouldn't he be? It gave him more of an identity, didn't it?' (18). 'He was aware of the lean florid faces turning to scan the silver star on his shirt above his Korean ribbons. He swaggered a little' (105). However, in a more despondent mood, he reflects that civilians, unacquainted with the battlefield, would disregard it: 'On the outside it's nothing, see? ... It don't mean a goddam thing ... on the Outside it's worth sixty-eight cents' (20): 'it means nothin' '(30). The phrase, 'don't mean a goddam thing' was also commonly heard in Vietnam as 'Don't mean nothin' ', a sentiment reflected in the titles of Vietnam War novels by O'Neill (2004), Marsett (2013), and Williamsen (2013), a way of side-stepping and putting on hold the deep conflicts that

attend war service, and of expressing the nihilistic mindset that can follow extreme trauma.

Thornton's character reinforces the novel's focus on betrayed trust as a source of moral pain and character deformation, in officers as well as GIs. When a prisoner of war, Hugh Thornton was not 'pissed off' (199) by his treatment by the Japanese, but by (non-verified) American double-dealings during WWII: 'Oh sure, he was working for the Japanese government, mining copper, building roads, things like that. But they all knew that the copper was being sold on the side to the American and other allied forces ... and no one was ever sure who was fighting whom' (200). In addition, even the Red Cross, in Thornton's view, had sold aid parcels to the Japanese. When he was released, he 'left with the conviction that no one man could change the world, especially him, and the only way to exist without going completely crazy was to be on the inside' (200).

Men in *Valhalla* are vulnerable in a system to which they have surrendered volition for reasons of patriotism, necessity or expediency. They lack agency, for the military controls their lives down to the smallest detail: each rank is subject to scrutiny from those above it, and all are open to abuse should corruption or overly-punitive regimes add to the stresses of an already-taxing work environment. In this sense, in *Valhalla* they are victims, although there is resistance in the novel to the feminising implications of such a description, a resistance unsurprising considering the unforgiving nature of 1950s masculinity norms. Although Giff already has already lost a good deal of his former idealism in Korea, he is broken by excessive, brutalising punishments and dehumanising regimes at Middle Camp Brig. This kind of treatment at the hands of authorities constitutes a betrayal of trust for soldiers, who are particularly vulnerable to

harm because they depend on integrity in the army for survival and are bound to obey orders given by higher authorities, which may have life and death consequences. Betrayal of trust in this inter-dependent system can cause a rupturing of inner *thémis*, or individual schemas defining ethics, what is just and right. *Valhalla* thus engages with the real-world military system outside the novel, in which soldiers can suffer psychological wounds if officers distance themselves from the privations of the battlefield, or are incompetent, alcohol-affected, or overly ambitious, taking unnecessary risks that can cost the lives of loved comrades. Matus' statement that 'trauma theory is less about developments in the science of mind than it is about cultural attitudes to responsibility and accountability' (19), seems particularly relevant to studying trauma in veterans' novels, since responsibility and accountability are essential qualities in a social structure like an army, in which wrong or misguided decisions can waste lives and destroy trust.

Shay points out that moral injury from following badly-conceived orders or other morally-conflicting conditions that arise in battle are 'an essential part of any combat trauma that leads to lifelong psychological injury. Veterans can usually recover from horror, fear, and grief once they return to civilian life, so long as "what's right" has not also been violated' (20). From working with war veterans, Shay concluded that betrayal of *thémis* in warriors yields '*menis*', or indignant wrath, 'the first and possibly the primary trauma that convert[s] ... terror, horror, grief, and guilt into lifelong disability' (21). In more forthright language, Bourke reaches a similar conclusion: 'Hostile reactions [in Vietnam veterans] were much more liable to stem from the feeling of having been "fucked over" by the military and civilian society on the return home rather than [from] any "habit of violence" inculcated by military training or combat experiences' (*An*

Intimate History of Killing 361). Arguing that every army is a moral construction, Shay viewed injustice and betrayals of trust in the military, moral wounding, as the primary source of the worst kinds of psychic harm, worse than the normal physical and mental rigors of training and combat (20). The strain of trying to balance inconsistencies between 'dualistic moral codes', likely to destabilise identity structures (Bristow 35-36), is fleshed out in *Valhalla*. Shay's point that moral wounds inflict the worst kind of harm on soldiers can be seen operating as Giff, having physically survived combat in Korea although injured in spirit by the act of killing, 'still firmly believ[es] in his own immortality' (97). He 'had been shot at many times, but not wounded', so 'the battlefield had not left him completely scarred' (97). However, his identity and spirit are destroyed by the brutality of fellow Americans in Japan, and not by a Korean or Chinese enemy. As in almost all of the novels examined in this thesis, *Valhalla* is not anti-war itself, although it does not romanticise or glorify it, since its male characters acknowledge the need to fight, and take pride in their own capacities as soldiers. In fact, the men in *Valhalla* long to be back on the battlefield, rather than being subject to the dreary boredom of being held in reserve. The focus in the novels is on breaches of trust, a failure of cherished ideals, within their own side, which has failed them.

Sayonara was set in Kobe, which is not far from Kyoto, a centre of traditional Japanese culture, whereas South Camp in *Valhalla* is located near Fujioka, depicted as a dreary country backwater. This setting reflects the depressed mood of the combat veterans, which alternates with tension and restlessness in everyday life stemming from the persistence of finely-tuned adrenalin responses and a readiness for intense action left over from the battlefield. Giff and the men, 'inflicted with peacetime monotony', endure

stagnation and boring training routines, 'the rigors of the company, the field, the inspections, the troop and stomp that they all so combatively hated, [and] tried to hold off' (96). They take part in drills and battle manoeuvres, which, as seasoned veterans, they regard as useless in the chaos of real combat. Giff feels he will 'go psycho' if bottled up in the barracks. If he cannot break out, 'he'd be in the psycho ward by morning' (186). He struggles with 'inertia and his own thoughts', and feels 'an abrupt change of mood ... he was not angry any more, or irritable ... he had just decided to go over the hill [to go absent without leave]' (186). These attitudes and reactions would have been interpreted at the time as character flaws and signs of insubordination, rather than the result of neurobiological adaptations to conditions on the battlefield.

Even if psychiatry in the world outside was beginning to upgrade its views on treating psychological wounds, Middle Camp Brig in *Valhalla* is a world away from medical insight and knowledge. Those in charge of Middle Camp fail to distinguish soldiers' rebellious, combat-frayed and adrenalin-fuelled adaptations to the battlefield from a deficiency of character that can, in the brutal logic of the time, be beaten into shape. They do not make allowances for psychological wounds, which can be as serious as physical wounds. Hugh Thornton comments that conditions in the POW camp in WWII had been better than in Middle Camp Brig, an observation that would probably have been censored out of the novel a few years earlier, since the Japanese maltreatment of prisoners of war was well-known and held up as an example of Asian barbarity compared to Western enlightenment.

Not only does the punitive system at Middle Camp injure prisoners' bodies, it breaks the moral order of the soldiers' culture by committing those who have been

through horrific combat, including the battle-weary and decorated Giff, to imprisonment and torture. All the men at South Camp live in fear of the Brig, which represents injustice, an institution that maintains order by brutality, shaming and intimidation, and which destroys service personnel's pride in their warrior roles. Early in the novel, Giff is aware of this intimidating regime: '[v]isions of brigs danced worriedly through his mind, the old ingrained intimidation of military authority looming within him' (89). While listening to a talk on VD prevention, he idly reflects that '[i]t was time they brought something else in. Something other than the threat of being run up with the morning colours. He was getting pretty damn sick of ... death ... prison [and] ... hellfire' (98).

Giff's fear of 'brigs' materialises later, brought on by a restless anger and boredom rooted in trauma. In separate incidents, he leaves field training, but, more seriously, abandons his post while on guard duty, and takes three friends down to the local town. In military vernacular, he goes 'over the hill', taking others with him (203). There is a double, ironic reference in the term 'going over the hill', since it can refer to going absent without leave or to 'berserk' behaviour during battle, in which grief, in Shay's view, becomes killing rage, causing a loss of all restraint (*Achilles in Vietnam* 77-99), so that soldiers can perform heroic deeds impossible under normal circumstances. The inference is that Giff's heroic actions on Vegas that won him the Silver Star may have been carried out in this state. Battlefield behavioural adaptations that are rewarded with medals are punished by law in civilian peace-time (26), which underscores the contradictions and inconsistencies between the morality of civilian and combat worlds, and the difficulty Giff has in moving between them.

While incarcerated, Giff, a highly-decorated veteran, 'loses' himself, his mind

and spirit breaking while he was pointlessly breaking stones. Dissociation, a defence mechanism against extreme trauma and depersonalisation are described in metaphoric terms: '[i]t was the savage song of the rock pile that lost Giff his identity, kept him moving clear and farther away outside from himself' (367). This mental and spiritual dislocation was the intended outcome of the Brig's disciplinary routines, and so Giff emerges from his incarceration a changed man, compliant, subdued, and numb. However, in another sense, Giff, the victim fighting the system, has not broken physically by cowering or showing signs of distress when being beaten or humiliated by his captors. This sense of victory is troubling, however, since the cost of his resistance, the destruction of his inner self, was high, and could have been prevented had he accepted treatment in a mental hospital. However, in either institution, Giff would have become the victim of unrealistic standards of masculinity, either the notion that real men can 'take it', or the cultural misconception that only effete, mentally weak men need psychiatrists. In this way, it can be seen that wrong belief and institutionalised ideologies and practices can set up the conditions in which abuses of *thèmis* flourish.

Like Giff, Hugh cannot admit to psychological injury. While Giff describes the pain within him as 'a sense of impermanence', Hugh refers to his own moral conflict and mental illness as 'the Inconsistency', which developed after his experiences as a prisoner of war in Japan (170): 'the inconsistency of being a pow ... that inconsistency of coming back in after four years a civilian—for what? Where the hell was he going?' (170). He acts out his own victimisation at the hands of the Japanese and his loss of faith in American integrity by sending Giff to the camp's feared detention camp, although Hugh himself regularly flouts the rules Giff has broken, and himself is regularly absent from

duty.

The following passage describes in non-medical terms a collapse of identity and mind, in which inner contradictions, unreconciled, finally overwhelm the soldier's ability to cope. The inner conflict Hugh calls his 'Inconsistency' leads him to experience dissociation. He feels 'alienated from himself' as 'people moved all along the streets, strange, unrecognised, alien ... he seemed to go off a little from himself, looking back at himself' (163), a description of depersonalisation very similar to Giff's experience of an 'inscrutably alien foreboding sense of transition' (9). In Numazu, near Suruga Bay, Hugh tries to drown 'the fire', the 'burning ... hot embers of his inconsistency lying like a bed of coals in his mind', with alcohol, 'moodily ... drinking sake, whiskey, beer, wine, pouring liquid on the fire, feeding it ... yet there was the inconsistency. He could never run from that' (169). Like Giff, he senses that a crisis is looming: 'a feeling of his own inconsistency swept over him, a wonderment at himself that he knew had been coming for a long time now like the first sudden chills of the return of malaria, as if he had suddenly been tossed into a pit with a pack of drooling wolves' (168). Manic, Hugh progresses through the streets of the town, running ahead of a great fear that those things that held him together, women, the bars and alcohol, would be lost, leaving him open to death:

[He ran] down the right side of the road, not missing a bar, only missing himself, he thought, fending off the night, the time when all the bars would be closed, the phonographs shut down and snapped, the bottles all empty tossed out, the streets womanless—hold off that time, don't let any of it catch up with you, he warned himself.

(170)

He undergoes a crisis on a beach in which his sanity cracks, after which a

process of healing begins. There are some similarities between Hugh's crisis at sea and King Lear's cathartic experience in the natural world on a heath, in which the king gains an awareness of his own lack of human sympathy. The Inconsistency, gaining momentum, finally breaks, so that Hugh 's[ees] himself naked' (170) amid the sea and sand at Nazuni (155). Although *Valhalla* elsewhere adopts a detailed, realistic style, the physical details of this breakdown are projected on to a thunderstorm at sea. Swimming far out, Hugh watches as 'glows of heat lightning crackled in the sky out at sea, looking like an artillery barrage firing white and red salvos. The belated roar of thunder rolled through the muggy darkness and he caught himself straining to hear the familiar whoosh as projectiles fell through the air' (173).

In this way, the storm not only represents a mental breakdown but also involuntary flashbacks, repetitions of traumatic experiences as in PTSD. 'Hypnotised. [Hugh] watched the weather, the fulminating night, the black and white surf' (173). Something is released in him: 'suddenly he laughed out loud feverishly, exhilarated by his own voice competing with the thunder' (173). This, again, evokes Lear's crisis in which the king perceives that he is a victim, 'a man more sinned against than sinning' (Shakespeare Act 3: Sc. 2), and also a perpetrator who has injured others, having: '[e]xpose[d] [him]self to feel what wretches feel' (3:4.).

Later on, Hugh's girlfriend, Chebe-san, the novel's Butterfly character, concludes that her lover had 'gone so wild that second night' because he had '[n]o map of tomorrow', and that there was a 'terrible fear in him' (208), which she only partially understood. The words 'terrible fear' bring to mind Gruver's 'terrible fear' in *Sayonara* that his American fiancé would not be able to make a wounded man whole (Michener 117). Chebe-san, or

Michiko Ito, is 'short, slim and capable' with a 'pensive oriental wistfulness' (207). She is a 'college girl' who 'speaks faultless American' (84) and owns the US Bar in Bamboo Alley, Fujioka, the town just outside of South Camp. Hugh believes that Chebe-san 'liked being a whore', because it was 'fun' and she met 'good people' (196), a conventional statement in East-West romance novels that puts distance between a protagonist and prostituted women in post-WWII Japan. Chebe-san, possessed of an Oriental wisdom, takes the place of a Western psychiatrist by identifying the source of Hugh's fear in his prisoner of war experiences, brought on by subsequently and insensitively being returned to the exact place of his incarceration. Chebe-san's diagnosis contradicts Hugh's earlier statement that it was not the Japanese who had worried him, but American double-dealing. She also sees that his besetting fears come from an existential emptiness that can follow traumatic experience: 'when you reach a point when there is nothing ahead for you ... that is when the cataclysm comes' (209).

Here Chebe-san/Michiko adopts the caring, sacrificial role of Butterfly, delivering all the skills of psychiatry without the shame. Hugh begins to heal. He sees 'his own soul in the face of her ... love' (159). He 'confides in her', which is a departure from his habit of shunning intimacy (161). Chebe-san/Michiko, like Butterfly, is 'girlishly interested, lively, life-giving ... so vital and vibrantly alive', an antidote to frozen emotions and the feeling that he has aged beyond his years (161): '[h]e suddenly wanted to be the innocent again, the kid with the best-looking girl in the school' (164).

Chebe-san waits all night for Hugh while the crisis passes. Returning, he sees her 'sitting on the top step ... his shoes and socks set carefully beside her' (190). The light seems to throw a halo around her hair, suggesting she is an angel or a saint. ' "You feel

better now, ne?" she asked ... smiling with a warm light in her eyes' (190). After his breakdown, Thornton begins to tie his 'inconsistencies' together in conversations with Chebe-san in a type of informal therapy, 'all the while watching her reactions in the darkness—slowly at first, then fast, talking with a heat that carried him away from reality and imagination' (199). He speaks for the first time about his past: '... his enlisting in 1940 when he was 17 and ... being sent to Wake Island and the subsequent internment at Camp Fuji' (199). In a ritual common to nearly all Butterfly novels, Chebe-san, after a meaningful conversation, takes Thornton to a bath-house, and washes him (201). Washing has connotations of cleansing from spiritual impurity and healing, thus Chebe-san performs the role of psychologist, priestess, and lover. Feelings return to Hugh, who later experiences 'opiate elation' (202): '[h]e was to remember it later, the weekend, as one of the finest periods of his life' (201).

While the women in Bamboo Alley have been victimised by poverty, in another sense they have special agency in that they can 'save' men. To Giff, the women 'saved' him from the effects of his captivity in the military system which he felt was driving him to madness: 'It was only the sweet honey-tasting thought of liberty, the town and the *women*, whom, he knew, were his salvation, that kept [him] plodding along' (96). Somewhat cynically, he extends the feminine salvation trope to include 'Salvation penicillin, the queen of the Orient' (98), evoking images of the healing of scars and unsound flesh. This theme of regeneration continues in Giff's vision of escape into a world in which men could 'simply ... have this town, these women, always behind, just a few miles within truck distance, where they could go each night, battered and shot up, and receive through them, the women, the shots of adrenalin that reinvigorated them for the

next day' (127). In *Valhalla*, the term, 'adrenalin shots' (128) is one of several euphemisms by which Giff avoids directly referring to adrenal depletion, a symptom of PTSD, in which 'flight-or-fight' mechanisms have been seriously overworked, leaving the sufferer vulnerable to depression and fatigue. It recalls a similar euphemism for the symptoms of PTSD used in *Sayonara*, in which a physician tells Gruver he had 'had it' (7), which, in turn, is like Sergeant Finch's declaration in *A Fever for Living* that he was a 'wash up' (65). In spite of his pervading sense of disillusion with the Marines, Giff's belief that Japanese women can heal exhausted men is very similar to Gruver's conviction that they can make wounded men whole. Like Gruver, Giff imagines a post-war world in which women serve men: '[t]hen, if it was that way, everyone in the whole world would be satisfied and happy' (128). This is also a restatement of Butterfly's appeal in the twentieth-century West: Butterfly's acceptance of flawed, wounded and alienated men cancels out, or redeems, their dark feelings and sense of shame, and, through her sacrificial service, the men prosper. Indeed, Henry Hwang's disgraced protagonist, Gallimard, voices similar sentiments in his suicide speech:

There is a vision of the Orient that I have. Of slender women in chong [sic] sams and kimonos who die for the love of unworthy foreign devils. Who are born and raised to be the perfect women. Who take whatever punishment we give them and bounce back, strengthened by love, unconditionally. (Hwang 91)

Giff invests the women of Bamboo Alley with a permanence he misses in himself, a stability that strengthens his grip on reality and even on existence: 'The women would always endure, he thought thankfully, gratefully, and he felt suddenly as if he had just come home from a million light years away' (35). In this way, his view of women in

the Butterfly role, who are focused on giving all to the men in their lives, revives an idealism he had thought was dead. This faith in Asian women's healing powers appears frequently in twentieth century post-war novels, which suggests that this was at least one way in which male protagonists' trauma could be articulated without a loss of manliness, since the women were also markers of the men's sexual power.

In *Valhalla*, soldiers become victims within their own system, and so they identify, as far as a pervasive misogyny and sexism will permit, with bar girls who are also powerless in coercive systems. An un-named Korean woman in the nearby town appears to Giff to also be suffering the traumatic after-effects of war. She is possibly a prostitute, one of many in Bamboo Alley's bars. She is a 'vague-eyed girl', a cocaine addict, who, in Giff's view, has 'the look of old Koreans ... the look of himself' (119). She is a fellow-sufferer, an attitude that makes sense considering that lower ranks in the armed service carry out tasks resembling traditional feminine roles. For example, the military requires men to perform 'extraordinarily passive roles, requiring that they give up individual agency, endure humiliations and unthinkingly obey orders' (Marks 74). In Shay's view, soldiers live in conditions close to slavery. For those engaged in war,

...[t]error, mortal dependency, barriers to escape—these are characteristics of modern combat that mark it as a condition of captivity and as harsh as any political prison or labor camp ... it is the world of war itself that creates conditions that add up to captivity and enslavement. (*Achilles in Vietnam* 37)

Asian prostitutes and girlfriends have experienced war at close quarters, and are enslaved to their pimps. Thus, the soldier-clients feel at ease, free from the critical surveillance of higher ranks, and they tend to confide in them (Hollands 2008), something

they cannot do with their Western civilian partners, who are seen as divorced from the battlefield and incapable of understanding its hardships, moral dilemmas, and corrosive effects. The men on leave in Japan also encountered for the first time the vulnerable flesh of Japanese women's bodies, often depicted as scarred, as previously observed, which, in an empathetic sensibility, produces guilt. Giff has a romance with sixteen-year-old Watashi Hanoki Shiro, known as 'Popcorn' at the Bar New Moon (121). Popcorn is missing a leg, and, because this deformity has made her unattractive to other GIs, she has remained 'pure' (125). Although Giff's eyes are obviously fixated on Popcorn's wound, she makes no comment, but his own latent guilt prompts him to imagine that she is about to tell him it came from Hiroshima or Nagasaki, and he is instantly defensive: '[H]e had been that route before and to hell with it' (124). In her wounded state, Popcorn is similar to prostitute Peanuts, who has a 'half-moon scar across her eye' (128). Jokingly, Peanuts says the scar came from 'Hiroshima ...whoooo-boom! ... only kidding' (128).

Giff defends himself against Popcorn's imagined criticism of American bombing raids by jokingly replying that the scar on his own face had come from Pearl Harbour. In these interactions, Giff can be seen holding an internal dialogue, 'self-talk', aimed at working through guilt. He is arguing that the Japanese deserved the atomic and fire bombings because they brought destruction on themselves by attacking Pearl Harbour. Unspoken questions of *thémis*, guilt, grievous offence, and personal culpability can be seen in this 'self-talk', characteristic of many post-WWII Butterfly sub-texts. It suggests that there is a degree of conflict between an American male protagonist's identification with Japanese victims of Western weapons and a desire to ward off accusations of American barbarity and to believe that America exercises more restraint than other

nations. Here, again, it can be seen that *Valhalla* is not anti-war itself, and the novel's critique of the American military is directed at its failure to care for its own personnel, honouring its moral obligations towards them, rather than the military's participation in war in general.

As Giff's relationship with Popcorn intensifies, the Japanese woman's love for the abused military man who, like her, is scarred, suggests to him that she has absolved him from his feelings of guilt. Perhaps because of a language insufficiency, she does not argue the point when sensitive issues relating to WWII arise. The trope of divided loyalty also appears in *A Fever for Living*, when Sawyer, discussing WWII with Yōko, says, cynically, that '[w]e [Americans] don't start wars unless we're attacked, Yōko. It's not true, but it's a good thing to teach the schoolchildren and soldiers' (135), before admitting that he is cynical because 'he 'hate[s] the army', but is 'just sad about America' (136).

Although stereotyping, racism, sexism and exoticism affect representations of Asian femininity in Peacock's novel, they co-exist with serious regard and a degree of respect for Asian female characters: protagonists see the women as like themselves, scarred and at odds with civil society. Instead of being inscrutable, threatening aliens and enemies, 'geisha' lovers offer acceptance that ameliorates questions of Western moral failure and accountability for their use of brutal weaponry against civilians. Stereotyping in this regard acts to restore a degree of self-respect in conflicted protagonists, even if it is highly expedient, meeting the need of the moment and discarded later. It is fair to argue, then, that representations of Western masculinity and Asian femininity in these novels are immersed in Western self-image, in the need to gain self-respect in the face of forces threatening to erode it.

Psychological realism in writing was in vogue in the 1950s, but writers interested in describing the psychology of men-at-arms wrote against the grain of an obligatory stoicism and masculine machismo, natural qualities of the tough and fair fighter (Foster 1999; Horlacher and Floyd 4). Institutional and popular beliefs linked combat fatigue in service personnel to a failure to live up to hegemonic masculinity ideals. In popular representations of masculinity, especially in the context of the West's military presence in Asia, Western fighting men worthy of public respect were not represented exhibiting cowardice, screaming, crying, or indulging in other uncontrolled emotions in the face of danger: the West had long preferred to imagine its masculine identity as governed by reason and discipline in contrast to an Asian enemy imagined as irrational and emotional (Nagel 245; Barrett 1996). Physical athleticism and an essentially moral nature was a part of this identity, although a certain amount of womanising, drinking, and smoking was also acceptable.

The protagonists in *Valhalla* see themselves as 'true' men and thus they are careful to deny in public that they could be mentally ill, even though they manifest varying degrees of uncontrollable rage, disassociation, depersonalisation, restlessness, depression and alcoholism, and other traumatic symptoms pointing to psychological injury. During the high conservatism and masculinist belligerence of the Cold War years, writers avoided constructing too-vivid depictions of traumatised behaviour in male protagonists. Consequently, representations of anxious, hysterical, or fearful masculinity were contained in metaphors, silences, and other indirect forms of representation, or projected on to minor characters at the narrative's margins.

Army psychiatry is generally mocked in *Valhalla*, and, at the time the novel was

being published, military psychiatrists themselves were uncertain whether imperfect character or faulty genes made men vulnerable to psychological wounding, for psychiatry had not yet produced a definition of PTSD that, whatever its other limitations, legitimised the idea that all participants in combat were likely to break down if subjected to overwhelming stressors for long enough (Fussell *Wartime* 81). Such direct expression of and admission to masculine 'weakness' is taboo elsewhere in the novels, just as it was in the masculinist world outside them.

In this way, *Valhalla* engages with *thémis* by critiquing the brutality of army life during a low point in the army's care for soldiers' well-being, a cruel regime unsurprising considering the ferocity that had become the norm in the later stages of the recent experience of total war, WWII. The novel particularly criticises a system deploying disciplinary and training techniques designed to break the spirits of men who subsequently lost idealism, patriotism and emotion, a punitive regime in military prisons in which the custodians of reform were the perpetrators of crimes. *Valhalla* queries the social and institutional demands requiring combat soldiers to live up to unrealistic standards of masculinity that, in an effort to produce 'real' soldiers, push them over breaking point. Peacock's novel depicts the consequences that attend a failure to effectively recognise and treat combat fatigue, or to allow humanitarian concerns to override codes governing military justice and masculine behaviour.

Examining representations of men under great pressure reveals writing strategies that engage with psychological and moral wounding, and describe traumatised soldiers' behaviour as the writers witnessed it, while preserving their masculine integrity. *Valhalla's* publishing and social environment was different to later trauma novels like

those of Tim O'Brien and a host of other veteran Vietnam War writers who overtly addressed trauma, moral dilemmas, and questions of desirable soldierly behaviour.

Where *Sayonara* paints a bright future for Japan and the West after WWII, providing that domestic gender roles are restored, *Valhalla* depicts the depressed consciousness of men pushed beyond their limits and pulled apart by moral contradiction and lost meaning. The failure of ideals in the military is strong in *Valhalla*, in which there is little hope of permanent recovery for those scarred by war.

While both *Sayonara* and *Valhalla* show empathy towards men in the military, trauma in *Valhalla* has none of the vague, unknowable qualities outlined in 1990s literary theory. While *Sayonara* projects men's post-war belligerence on to Western women, *Valhalla* identifies the perpetrators of crimes as the specific actions of specific people for defined reasons in locatable time periods and physical sites. Thus, there is the potential for the novel and its defining ideas to be integrated into real-world political agendas seeking to change systemic failures, which in LaCapra's view (79), is a necessary function of trauma writing, a view that is similar to the views of Balaev and her contemporaries (2014).

Valhalla exposes the abuse of authority in the 1950s-era American armed forces against their claims to defend freedom and justice. In addition, the novel shows how men under authority can internalise arbitrary, unrealistic standards of manliness that prohibit displays of emotion or of 'cracking up', since they perceive such behaviour as personally defective. The novels are microcosms of a much wider, popular sense of *thèmis* abuse developing at the time, a sense of betrayal by governments and authorities, who did not seem to be working with integrity to advance peace, freedom, and common justice.

Madame Butterfly representations in *Valhalla* have lost some of the glamour they had in previous versions of the narrative. The anti-authoritarian mindset of the 1960s was beginning to manifest in an unsentimental, hard-edged realism contrasting with Michener's idealisations and ideological utopianism. In *Valhalla* and in *A Fever for Living*, women are portrayed as enduring, and stronger than the men. They perform healing roles, as usual, and are nurturers, providing 'speaking cures' for traumatised soldiers. They contrast sharply with male army authorities who, themselves brutalised by war, appear indifferent to men's psychological needs. The women in *Valhalla*, however, tolerate and understand soldiers' traumatised behaviour, and offer kindness, warmth, and physical comfort, unlike the authorities, who punish them. This particular aspect of the Butterfly character feeds in to the many layers of significance with which the Butterfly character was loaded in the post-Korean War period, before the onset of the Vietnam War.

CHAPTER FIVE: *THE EMPERORS GENERAL AND THE SEXUAL OCCUPATION OF JAPAN: VIETNAM*

This chapter examines perpetrator and war trauma in Western male protagonists mediated by Madame Butterfly stereotypes in two novels, Richard Setlowe's *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* (2000), also published as *The Deal* (2001), and James Webb's *The Emperor's General* (1999). Both novels engage with traumatic themes and moral injury pertaining to the Vietnam War (1961-1973). Like Michener's *Sayonara*, they use Butterfly stereotypes, drawing on aspects of the traditional narrative to symbolically recover the moral integrity and high status of the American warrior who wins wars for high purposes. These qualities are embodied in the image of young American men, adored by Japanese lovers, who walk the streets of Japan as if they were conquistadors (Setlowe 165) and saviours (Marchetti 105). This chapter argues that the Vietnam War permanently altered the construction and connotations of Butterfly and Pinkerton stereotypes. Pinkerton's vulnerability and brokenness, which appears briefly but significantly in the opera, returned in heightened form in Setlowe's and Webb's novels, while the Butterfly character acquired darker qualities, which tarnished her former innocence and trustworthiness. Whereas order and hope for the future, in the end, are restored in *Sayonara* and *Fifth Daughter*, the endings in *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* and *The Emperor's General* are more ambiguous. Wounded male protagonists receive some healing, but there is a sense that nothing can be the same again.

The writers of the two novels served in the US Navy: Webb was a Marine Corps rifle platoon and company commander with the Fifth Marine regiment in the An Hoa Basin west of Danang, Vietnam (*I Heard my Country Calling* 268-9), and Setlowe an

officer on the USS Midway during 1958, the year of the second Quemoy Matsu Crisis. Setlowe's narrator-protagonist, Peter Saxon, like Gruver in *Sayonara*, is a former Vietnam War Navy pilot. Jay Marsh, the primary protagonist in *The Emperor's General*, is a Marine Corps Captain and aide-de-camp to General MacArthur in the last days of WWII in the Philippines and during the Occupation of Japan. Both novels express regret that American fighting men after Vietnam had lost their identities as 'messengers of the might within the land, bearers of a spark from the sacred fire' (Conrad 17), a knowledge that the armed forces in Vietnam were not able to visualise their service as a 'moral' and 'manly duty', as Theodore Roosevelt defined it, of 'civilising the benighted races of the world, [which is] incumbent upon all the advanced nations' (Pfaff 271). There was a public sense in this period that the American government and armed forces, and thus American international identity, had fallen from grace, disconnected from idealistic notions of special goodness (Pranger 226), which had intensified after the defeat and democratisation of Japan. Disintegrating national ideals and self-respect in America and its political allies in the Vietnam War produced widespread melancholia and depression, which diminished America's national self-esteem.

The Sexual Occupation of Japan and *The Emperor's General* were written in a period characterised by neo-Orientalist nostalgia combined with end-of-millennium retrospection over the fading of Western hegemony in Asia, which appeared in novels published from the 1990s through the first decade of the twenty-first century. This period of reflection coincided with novels still dealing with the aftermath of the Vietnam War. Setlowe's and Webb's novels reflect on America's diminishing power and influence in Asia in nostalgic romances that also refer to lost access to Japanese women in Japan. This

nostalgia is mixed with melancholia, a type of mourning for a loss of faith in the US military after Vietnam, and the military's own loss of faith in itself. The image of victorious young men walking the streets of Japan in both novels represents a high point in Western self-esteem in which men of lowly status in their own countries felt like kings. Nostalgia for those days and for the West's nineteenth century power and belief in itself is represented in later twentieth-century Butterfly novels, in which themes previously apparent in Loti's work and in Puccini's opera became useful for representing men's trauma in a post-Vietnam context. In the face of a prevailing post-trauma *zeitgeist* in America after Vietnam and Watergate, veteran writers used themes of longing to escape a troubled present into a past inhabited by stereotyped characters already 'known' and understood by Western readers, constructing memories of past happiness, security and relative innocence.

In Setlowe's and Webb's novels, post-WWII Japan signifies, for those who have fought the Vietnam War, an era of high idealism lit with the afterglow of victory. Older male protagonists, in a mood of nostalgic melancholy, long to feel as they did in Japan's R and R sites. In these places, as narrator Peter Saxon recalls, servicemen adopted 'the walk of conquistadors, as though the blood victory of our fathers [was] still ours' (Setlowe 165) or, as Webb describes it, they moved 'with the cocky, electrified strides of victors on the prowl' (*The Emperor's General* 174). Captain Jay Marsh experiences the 'blood-victory of our fathers' in newly-occupied Japan, feeling 'a grand elation as the jeep fought through the rain and the mud, as if this journey past the waving, enduring people I had come to love were my very own victory parade' (Webb 74). The idea of 'waving people' is significant, for it is well known that homecoming Vietnam veterans at first did not

encounter welcoming crowds. Rather, in many instances, they were treated as outcasts tainted with innocent blood, cut off from the 'blood-victory' inheritance bequeathed by a previous generation.

The Emperor's General and *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* were produced and read in a political and historical context unlike that of previous wars. Post-Vietnam readers were well aware of the violent realities the novels displace and partially suppress. During the war, televised images showed the world that the American forces were killing and wounding soldiers and civilians alike, and indiscriminately deploying weapons of mass destruction, such as napalm and Agent Orange. The Winter Soldier forums had been conducted, in which eyewitnesses testified that the rape and murder of civilians was 'Standard Operational Procedure' in Vietnam, although these testimonies were often ignored or met with disbelief (Weaver 5; 57), such was the depth of the public's belief in the goodness of its armed forces. Readers had heard of My Lai, in which one hundred American soldiers shot, tortured and killed five hundred and four women, children and old men (Anders Appendix 1).⁵¹ It is reasonable to suggest that such public knowledge influenced the displacement of Vietnam issues in *The Emperor's General* and *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* to other times and settings, just as setting *Madama Butterfly*, a story about child abuse, in an Asian rather than Western landscape seemed to tone down its potential moral offence for a fin de siècle Western audience.

Pranger describes the post-Vietnam era in America as a time of national trauma, in which the nation was faced with the implications of moral failure in the conduct of the war that were hard to reconcile with the ethics espoused by a people of manifest destiny (226). Political writing of the Vietnam era and recent research into declassified

documents from the Vietnam War have verified that rapes by American soldiers and the undifferentiated killing of civilians were almost routine in many parts of Vietnam (Duffett 558; Turse 6; Weaver 2010). The actions of US armed forces in Vietnam, exemplified by Lieutenant Calley and his men's killing rampage in My Lai in 1968, constituted a national falling from grace, which damaged the positive national self-image inherited from victories in WWII:

What we were to ourselves in the forties, fifties, and sixties was so monstrously mythical in its dimensions that the very act of scaling ourselves down to human size brings despair ... This interaction between melancholia and disempowerment in our politics during the 1970s has consequences for American foreign policy ... What forms has disempowerment taken in public wrath over loss of our ideal self? (226)

This period in American history brings to mind Pinkerton's 'stunning moment of introspection and transformation' at Butterfly's death (Fisher 10), when the American naval officer sees for the first time the injuries he had inflicted on the young girl, including the betrayal of her trust, a moment which brings to mind the Butterfly narrative's facility for representing the human cost of Empire-building and war in the West.

In *Cultures of Defeat*, historian Schivelbusch also discusses 'post-Vietnam malaise' and 'disorientation', observing that the debate about Vietnam was 'never settled' and, possibly, its 'remains' were 'unearthed' in the 9/11 attacks, leading to 'war fever' (293-94). The Vietnam War had 'dealt a death blow to the concept of the warrior' (Nelson 28), and, in Vietnam 'all laws of civilization were suspended' (Bourke 231); and the war 'refused to allow men to behave like heroes' (361). It produced large numbers of

traumatised veterans (not to mention thousands of traumatised Vietnamese) who experienced

a loss of ontological security that was traced to the veterans' inability to reconcile their traumatic memories of Vietnam (often involving atrocities) with their cognitive schemas, the moral codes, self-concepts, beliefs about human nature, and notions of cosmic justice through which these men attempted to impose a sense of order and meaning on the world.

(Young 8)

Young here defines moral injury in terms that bring to mind Shay's theory that failures of *thêmis* were a critical factor in producing psychological and moral wounds in Vietnam veterans. Conflict between personal codes of 'what is right' and contrary experiences in Vietnam shattered self-identity and induced injuries, a conflict that is present in potent subtexts in both Setlowe's and Michener's novels.

In the world outside the novels, images of Vietnam's defoliated, poisoned landscape, and its prostitutes, invisible enemy combatants and raped or dead civilians were well known to the public, and thus were not easily transformed or romanticised in novels by those who had been there. Shay had observed that Vietnam veterans' verbal accounts showed that 'much of the sex practiced on prostitutes in Vietnam was extremely violent', but that most cases never came to the attention of the American authorities (1994;134). The nature of many relationships between Vietnamese prostitutes and the Western forces in Vietnam is apparent in the abused and traumatised protagonists, both male and female, in Vietnam veteran David Rabe's *Girl by the Side of the Road at Night: A Novel of Vietnam* (2010). Their relationship differs greatly from those shown in the musical fantasy, *Miss Saigon*, by non-veteran musical writer Claud-Michel Schönberg.

Miss Saigon's characters were virtually the same as those in Puccini's opera, except that the Butterfly character was Vietnamese, and the protagonist an American GI. By contrast, the male protagonist, Private David Joseph Whitaker, and prostitute Quach Ngoc Lan in Rabe's novel are complex characters, traumatised and brutalised by violence in a way that is hard to contain within traditional Butterfly stereotypes.

As in *Miss Saigon*, unresolved pain or perpetrator trauma in Webb's and Setlowe's protagonists are thus mitigated by the Butterfly/Japanese woman character, who allies herself in time-honoured fashion with her Western lover, and embraces American values. Female lovers also perform rites of redemptive cleansing as well as ministrations to the mind and body. Asian romances take on a more spiritual dimension than in WWII and Korean War Butterfly novels. Some of the raw moral pain of Vietnam is thus minimised or suppressed in these novels, but it is nevertheless palpable.

As part of a process of recovering the ideal of the noble warrior, the romances in the novels selected for study here take place outside of Vietnam, in R and R centres in Japan and in different historical periods, although Setlowe's novel contains flashbacks to Saxon's service in Vietnam and R and R in Japan. It seems significant that both Setlowe's and Webb's novels, but particularly *The Sexual Occupation of Japan*, manifest an impulse to hold back or otherwise influence the passage of time, an impetus that has been noted earlier in Loti's work and also in Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, in which time is intimately bound to trauma, since it signifies an inevitable march of the young towards death. Holden desires time to stand still, refusing to accept its power to cause children to grow up and drive towards death (Salinger 78). Indeed, the function of Butterfly stereotypes is to simplify and fix people into knowable, controllable types that do not

change, as is evident in *Sayonara*, when Gruver sees Hana-ogi as 'timeless' (210). Timelessness is a quality frequently ascribed to characters replaying Pinkerton and Butterfly characters in veterans' novels, which explains part of the Butterfly narrative's appeal for veteran writers who desire to represent trauma. In *Sayonara*, Hana-ogi is associated with the idea of 'the perpetual woman' (Michener 128) and, in *The Sexual Occupation of Japan*, Japanese women and men are depicted in racialised and gendered stereotypes, frozen in time, resisting change, fixed within conceptual borders that Westerners can control.

The traumatic implications of changing time manifests in *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* in the title of a French Impressionist painting by Marc Chagall hanging on the walls of the Kuribayashi headquarters in Tokyo in 1999, called 'Time is a River Without Banks' (255). In this painting, a pair of lovers resists the passage of time, ignoring a nearby river that signifies time flowing past them. The river is confined within banks that control its inexorable, onward movement. For them, lost in the moment, time has no boundaries to carry them onward to death, because, in a river overflowing its banks, past and present intermingle, and they evade the forward drive of history, just as a fish, featured at the top of the painting, swims upstream against the current. The statement, 'Time is a river without banks', recurs throughout Setlowe's novel as a metaphor for the powerful effect that memories of the past exert on the male protagonist's present experience. Here the past and the present are not contained within a singular onward motion, but, as in traumatic flashbacks, present and past times merge into one, uncontained by normal divisions.

There are four time periods in *The Sexual Occupation of Japan*, and events flow

back and forth between them: Tokyo in 1999, which is the novel's present time; Tokyo and, briefly, Vietnam in 1964, a traumatic flashback period in Saxon's memory; 1945, the year in which American forces destroyed Tokyo with napalm incendiary bombing raids and deployed the atomic bomb; and the fourth period is 1853/54, the era of Commodore Perry's exploratory mission to procure supplies and gain access to Japanese ports, a mission, or, to the Kuabayashis, an invasion beginning in Edo (Tokyo) Bay. The last two of these time periods, 1945 and 1853/4, are manifest in the novel by means of implication and reference only, but the historical memory of them powerfully motivates actions in the narrative's present, and buttresses the novel's preoccupations with ethical offence and the redemption of past moral failures.

In the novel, the past does not always offer American men a place to recover from war injuries, but it does offer a place in which to refight lost wars. Peter Saxon, a lawyer, a corporate warrior and a partner in a media and communications company, Levy, McGrath and Saxon, stands for American entrepreneurship in Asia, Lieutenant Pinkerton, and also Commodore Perry, who led the nineteenth-century mission to Japan that opened up the way for Butterfly and Pinkerton to meet. His surname, 'Saxon', refers to the American ideology of manifest destiny. In the 1960s, he was a highly-decorated Navy pilot, flying RF-8 Crusaders in Vietnam for reconnaissance rather than combat. The idea of a 'Saxon' flying a 'Crusader' plane is significant in that he is clearly on the side of moral right, and his service awards, which include a presidential unit citation, an air medal, and a Purple Heart (30), reinforce his ethical integrity. His masculine credentials are also first-class, since jet pilots were highly placed in Air Force status hierarchies based on 'risk taking' (Barrett 138). Saxon's ability to think of the world as organised around

stereotypical forms enables him to conceptualise a visible Asian enemy that he can fight in hand-to-hand combat on equal terms, thus fulfilling a desire to reassert a warrior identity, avenge losses in Vietnam and to engage with an opponent of known characteristics rather than a Vietnamese enemy hidden in jungles or behind civilian appearances.

Japanese men in 1999 provide such an imagined enemy. The entrepreneurs in the Kurabayashi company are living in the traumatic past: their hostile attitudes towards Saxon's attempts to forge an entry into the Japanese communications industry indicate they still see him as an intruder, an enemy agent. This concept is part of a stereotype common in the nineteenth and twentieth century West, that Japanese people and culture were at heart unchanging, that Japanese executives were samurai warriors who regarded Americans as invaders to be fought.

Saxon is consistently aggressive and violent, which denotes a warrior's masculine agency, but, in a civilian context, aggression and violence are also characteristic behaviour in traumatised veterans. Such behaviour, Shay notes, can be symptomatic of psychological and moral injury (*Achilles in Vietnam* xiii). Saxon's present danger produces reminders of past conflicts, a Japanese male threat displacing a Vietnamese male threat. Indeed, Japanese male characters, in turn, see in Saxon a ghost of American WWII pilots. They refer repeatedly to his former military service in Vietnam: 'I understand you are something of a warrior,' says Matsu Yurikawa of MITI in an overly-polite manner (56). He later purrs: 'It is interesting that you use the military term—intelligence. But then you have a military background, I understand, a former jet pilot' (108). Yurikawa's words are threatening because 'an aggressive fitness' lurks underneath

the 'expensively tailored' dark suit and Armani tie (56). His outer features suggest inner motivations: he has a 'small falcon beak of a nose', possibly reminiscent of a fighter aircraft, which gives his eyes 'a predatory glint' (62).

In addition, the Kuribayashi Company's ultra-modern foyer features a life-size model of a WWII Zero fighter and an information display on kamikaze pilots, which seem to have been placed there to unsettle Saxon: a rising sun insignia 'confront[s]' his eye (55). One of the most surreal of the attacks on Saxon that 'almost cremat[es]' him is made not with traditional weapons but by entrapment in a microchip burner in which xenon is 'superheated to 2000 degrees [Fahrenheit]', the same temperature as the firestorms generated by WWII Tokyo fire-bombings, which Saxon calls 'a funeral pyre' (215). The morally-questionable deployment of extreme weapons and strategies of war in this novel about Vietnam is in this way articulated through time displacement.

For these Japanese executives, and for Saxon, events in the past and their traumatic effects are fully operational in the contemporary world, in a form of thinking in which the past intrudes on the present and mimics the cyclic, repetitive patterns of traumatic memories. The Japanese men therefore threaten Saxon, the ex-Vietnam War pilot, with retribution for the atomic and fire bombings of Japan's cities. Vietnam is a traumatic repetition of WWII, and Saxon's memories of war have the power to break the banks that control his fears and emotional control.

Typical of the Vietnam era, there is a degree of cynicism and irony in Setlowe's comic-book-like divisions between good and bad characters. These constructions are very different from those in *The Emperor's General*, in which male characters (as opposed to the stereotyped female ones) are complex; for example, a Japanese WWII general,

Yamashita Tomoyuki, 'The Tiger of Malaya', commander of the Japanese Imperial Army in WWII Malaya and the Philippines, is shown acting with more moral integrity than General MacArthur (417-420). While both novels argue for the fundamental goodness of American fighting men, a degree of cynicism concerning American military policy in Asia, characteristic of the post-Vietnam period, is evident in the title, *The Sexual Occupation of Japan*, and in Webb's title, *The Emperor's General*. Setlowe's title refers to America's sexual exploitation of Japanese women's poverty after the war, and ongoing Western hegemony in pre-existing but greatly expanded sex industries flourishing around US military bases in Japan, providing Rest and Recreation for thousands of military personnel'.⁵² In *The Emperor's General*, General MacArthur engages in a barely-legal process to defend Emperor Hirohito and his family against accusations of war crimes, contriving to hang an eminent and, the novel argues, innocent Japanese general, Yamashita. By appointing himself as 'the sole convening authority of the commission', MacArthur ensures that the result of the trial is a forgone conclusion. (231). In this way, MacArthur figuratively becomes Emperor Hirohito's general. Both novels thus are concerned with American abuses of power overseas, manifesting divided loyalties and, in subtexts, addressing US *thèmes* abuses in Vietnam, seeking a sense of redemption through romances with Japanese women.

In spite of his connections to America's sexual occupation of Japan, Saxon's moral status is sound. Because he flew reconnaissance rather than bomb and incendiary raids, his role is less tainted in the post-WWII, post-Korea and Vietnam world than other pilots who flew in assault missions. That he is a Navy pilot also distances him from the infantry, who were most obviously associated in the public mind with ethical excesses in

Vietnam.⁵³ Saxon is on a 'mission' to establish the first post-WWII American/Japanese keiretsu (partnership) between the company he represents, InterNatCom, and the Kuribayashi Electric Company, even though such mergers encounter strong opposition from Japanese *keiretsu* and *zaibatsu* (networks of companies and conglomerates), and the Japanese government.⁵⁴ The angst and resentment of the Japanese corporate world in 1999 is directed at Saxon not only because he is a representative of American men's 'sexual occupation' of Japan, but also because his mission to open up Japanese companies to foreign mergers links him to nineteenth century American advances that wore down Japanese opposition to foreign trade.

Saxon himself sees his entrepreneurial visit to Japan in terms of Commodore Perry's arrival in 1853 and then in 1854 aboard 'black ships' in Edo Bay.⁵⁵ Perry's mission set up the conditions paving the way for the Harris Treaty of 1858, which opened several ports to Western powers (Kalaitzidis and Streich 35), including Nagasaki Harbour. In the novel's present, Saxon thinks of himself as progressive but connected to American history, whereas the Japanese at heart are tradition-bound. He employs a nineteenth-century metaphor to describe the purpose of his meeting with the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry, at which he intends to 'inform them that the Black Ships have sailed into Tokyo Bay' (Setlowe 86). By using this terminology, Saxon draws strength from a grand narrative of American global agency, in which Americans lead a conservative and inward-looking Japan into global advancement and trade. There is a coming together here of three major traumatic themes: the fire-bombings in Tokyo, young men's Vietnam War pain and disillusionment, and the novel's late-twentieth-century nostalgia for a neo-colonialist and idealistic past.

Opposition to Saxon's mission stems from Mr Kurabayashi's traumatic memories of WWII. Saxon's combative attitude is based on a desire to avenge past humiliation stemming from corporate America's first trade deficit with Japan, which lasted from 1965 until 1973 (Brenner 125), in which 'the dollar bought 360 yen primarily because Japanese TVs and cars flooded the US market' (Setlowe 178). It is worth noting that this period is also roughly equivalent to the duration of American involvement in the Vietnam War. In the novel, the war in Vietnam escalates in 1964. By mentioning this year, Setlowe is referring to two reported attacks on the US Navy in The Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964, one of which is widely discredited (Black 2012), which led to the implementation of Operation Rolling Thunder in February 1965, a campaign that eventually sanctioned the bombing of civilians and other ethically disturbing actions in the Vietnam War. Japan became a highly strategic site for Rest and Recreation, and for the supply and organisation of defence *materiel* and personnel under the Japan-US Mutual Security Act (Hamada 2; Steinhoff 4). Mass 'Yankee Go Home!' street protests erupted in Japan and in other countries (*The Enola Gay and the Court of History* 93).

Saxon, in 1999, experiences 'flashbacks' to Tokyo in 1964, a traumatic memory of when he was recovering from wounds received when his aircraft crashed on a reconnaissance run in Vietnam. While in Japan, he meets Lilli, and fights and wins battles on the streets with angry young men, Japanese Vietnam War protestors. In a taxi in Tokyo in 1964, Saxon and Lieutenant Tommy Cochran, his friend and 'wing man' (a fighter pilot escorting his reconnaissance missions), and Lilli and Junko, both hostesses at the Black Rose, are surrounded by 'packs of young men ... with white cloths about their heads' bearing signs saying 'Yankee Imperialist Get Out' (42). When male protestors menace

their taxi, Lilli and Junko are ashamed of being seen with airmen Saxon and Cochran. They are terrified, 'bloodless with fear' (43). '[Lilli's] eyes were downcast, her voice terrified and hardly audible over the din: "They do not like Japanese girls with Americans, I think "' (430). Fears of a violent Asian enemy, ongoing post-Occupation sexual rivalry, and a fear of Asians usurping America's economic hegemony cohere in a scene in which young Japanese males, faces contorted with hate, surround the car and try to upend it. These angry young men have their real-world equivalents in students and others who took to the streets of Tokyo to object to the bombing of North Vietnam and to express ongoing opposition to the asymmetry of agency and power in the Japan-US Joint Security Treaty (Hamada 2; Steinhoff 4).⁵⁶

Thus, Saxon, Cochran and Lilli and Junko are 'trapped' by 'young men of about college age' who represent a new generation free from their fathers' enforced subservience (40). The protestors are also metonyms for the many American civilian opponents of the bombing of North Vietnam who, while seeking to bring the troops home, also ostracised returning veterans for their involvement in the war. The veterans, with a heightened sense of *thémis* outrage, accused authorities of sending them to fight a dirty, impossible war. The angry young men in *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* also represent veterans' displaced rage, anger, and guilt. Faces are 'contorted in rage': they are possessed by a 'murderous rage' that had 'gone beyond politics', coming from 'a deeper, more primal fury' (47). There is 'screaming', 'shouting' and 'pounding on the cab' (43). Saxon ejects the Japanese driver, using 'all the weight and force [he] could muster' and brings down his fist 'like a hammer', crushing the fingers of 'mangled hands'(45). Amid 'screams and howls', and while protestors attack the car with their signs and poles, aiming punches at Saxon, he

forces the car out of the crowd, feeling the car 'bump' as it 'rolled over [the] feet and hands and limbs of the fallen' (45).

Saxon's defensive violence dissipates his own bottled-up, violent emotions in an almost 'berserk state' as in combat when fighters lose control and perform exceptionally heroic deeds. Here masculinity is linked with the emotions of 'murderous' rage and violence, a 'deep and primal fury' (Setlowe 47) that, Shay has observed, occurs frequently in veterans' narratives (77-81). Saxon in 1999 continues to fight the Kuribayashi executives, the Japanese Ministry for International Trade and Industry and the Yakusa, using the language of military combat as he confronts their corporate hostility: 'I buck-and-wing along with them' (10). Similarly, Rufus Ready, Saxon's immediate boss in America, describes Saxon's aggressive resistance in terms of his exploits in Vietnam: 'Saxon, you've done it again. Right into the guns ...' (49), and a Japanese translator refers to Saxon's visit to Kuribayashi's advanced research facility as 'a productive reconnaissance flight' (8).

For Saxon, a modern Japanese environment contains the threat of men waiting to attack, which contrasts with the restful, ordered Zen Buddhist landscape into which the wounded Cochran retreats later in the novel. Most of the Japanese men Saxon encounters are wary of or openly hostile towards him and his mission to negotiate a multimillion-dollar international merger, the first American/Japanese *keiretsu*, with Kuribayashi Electric Company. Akira Kuribayashi, the head of the Company, secretly plots to destroy Saxon, seeking not only redress for American men's former dismissive attitude towards Japanese men, but to repulse yet another invasion. The surname, 'Kuribayashi', may reference General Kuribayashi, who was in command of the Japanese Imperial Army's

forces defending approaches to Japan in the Battle of Iwo Jima, the first of the direct Allied incursions into Japanese territory in March, 1945 (Bradley 402). Both the real-world General Kuribayashi and the fictitious character belong to old Samurai families, a warrior class that had traditionally fought to defend the country from foreign invaders and in the 1860s had resisted the modernisation of the feudal system under Emperor Meiji (Grant 638).

Multiple references to stalking, threatened murder, malevolent intent and assailants 'waiting to tear [Saxon and Cochran] limb from limb' (47) heighten their sense of being in an alien environment. Modern Japan is feudal beneath its plexiglass exterior, a foil to a progressive West. It appears to Saxon as a chaotic, postmodern jumble of images, sometimes uncanny, threatening, and always garish, disconnected and riddled with absurdity; for example, in Kuribayashi Electric's foyer, a WWII exhibit of a Zero fighter and kamikaze pilot contrasts with 'a carousel with an animatronic horse, lion and giraffe merry-go-rounds in the window, [which exhibited] their electronic innards and intricate steel skeletons through Plexiglass skin' (55). On Tokyo's streets, Saxon observes that 'the glaring neon kaleidoscope ... [felt] vaguely threatening, buzzing with a sharp electric hum, the high-tech hieroglyphs of an alien culture' (8). This bizarre world represents Saxon's disordered, chaotic state of mind, the traumatic product of an overstressed, fearful post-war psychology.

The hovering malevolence and unnatural visibility of (plastic) innards and skeletons in the Kuribayashi foyer, in the context of post-Vietnam War writing, also calls up the dread of the unseen attacker in Vietnam, where guerrilla strategies of engagement had neutralised the technological advantage the American forces had in more

conventional battles.⁵⁷ In 1999, Saxon's adversaries are not only shadowy Yakusa criminals but sophisticated Armani-clad Japanese executives, samurai in business suits, a 'faceless', expressionless and malign Asian enemy. Saxon perceives that the suits hide Yakusa tattoos signifying danger, malevolent brotherhood, and sectarian violence, just as every Japanese woman in late twentieth Orientalist novels putatively has 'the soul of a geisha' (Yamamoto 22). In this way, the modern, post-Vietnam world in *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* is unchanged since the time of *Madame Butterfly*, a fact concealed beneath a kitschy ultra-modern veneer.

The elder Kuribayashi, remembering the humiliations of the Occupation and the incendiary firestorms of WWII, engages Yakusa hit men to dispose of Saxon and his associates, derailing any attempts at an international merger. The Yakusa, who own shares in the company, appear in a range of traditional guises with weapons rich in traditional Japanese symbolism: kendo sticks and short samurai swords (*wakizashi*). Although these attacks are murderous, they are conducted by way of individual combat between trained men using skill and strength rather than the impersonal, dispassionate distance-killing of modern weapons of mass destruction. In this way, Saxon can claim genuine victory over his opponents, coming to grips with a face-to-face enemy rather than one that is nebulous and invisible. These references to hand-to-hand fighting point to conditions that made fighting in real-world Vietnam particularly traumatising, since civilians were indistinguishable from combatants in villages and jungles into which adversaries 'vanished' during the day, burrowing into subterranean tunnels.

Near the end of the novel, Saxon fights off a 'murderous' Yakusa attack, which Cochran describes in terms evoking a 'berserk' fighting state: 'I have a clear image of you

[Saxon] charging into the woods [after Yakuza attackers], a sword in each hand, splattered with blood, and the expression on your face Cochran shakes his head and actually laughs ... You practically beat three guys to death' (407). These words bring to mind Rambo, the star of a series of films from 1982-2008 and Hollywood's fighter-avenger of US soldiers killed, tortured and/or captured in Vietnam (Marchetti 104). As other commentators in film studies have observed, Rambo projected an American desire to refight the Vietnam War in order to finally win it, and to recover 'Missing in Action' prisoners, a recovery closely related to retrieving a valued yet now tainted warrior identity (Marchetti 100). Thus, many scenes of conflict in *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* can be read as evocations of a soldier's fury at being rendered powerless, subjected to unbearable losses or forced by authorities to act against his inner codes of 'what is right'.

Part of the recovery of the masculine warrior in *Sayonara* is the feminisation of Japanese men in contrast to powerful American men, which links to a sense of castration many Japanese men felt during the Occupation of Japan (159-177), and which some American veterans felt after Vietnam. In *The Sexual Occupation of Japan's* 1960s world, although the power balance is beginning to change, Japanese men still envy Americans: Saxon visits a Roppongi bar with Lilli and attracts a 'flash of resentment' from young Japanese male patrons, a resentment Saxon interprets as coming from 'two decades of burning jealousy' and because 'few young men could afford [to pay] the prices charged in American dollars' (49). The novel's frequent use of phallic themes invites the post-WWII humiliation of Japanese men to be read as 'castration', and Japan's rapid transformation from bombed-out ruin to economic and technological powerhouse as being driven by Japanese men's desire to recover masculine honour lost in the post-WWII era and during

the wars in Korea and Vietnam. Japanese executives evince a boyish, competitive exhibitionism in displaying their newly-acquired overseas real estates, golf courses and industrial companies to their former Occupation masters. This phallic, competitive fixation in the novel is made graphically clear in an alarming event early in the novel in which a Japanese company director pays a Yakusa fanatic to staple male genitalia reeking of formaldehyde to Saxon's hotel door, to frighten him into abandoning his corporate 'invasion'. Rufus Ready, formerly of the FBI and in 1999 the head of a private investigation agency, warns Saxon that this is evidence that Japanese men don't like 'latter-day Lieutenant Pinkertons very much ... Lieutenant Pinkerton can't buy Madame Butterfly for a hundred and eighty yen anymore for a three-week marriage' (32). The Kurabayashi resentment of Saxon thus goes back much further than WWII.

Because discussion of Vietnam has been displaced to Japan in Setlowe's novel, its criticism of America's deployment of incendiary weapons against civilians in Japan can also be viewed as a critique of similar weapons used in Vietnam. As in Webb's novel, *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* displays a conflicted desire to simultaneously criticise American attacks on civilians but to avoid further castigating Vietnam veterans trapped by a bad system. Representations of moral conflicts applicable to Vietnam emerge in metaphors of pilots who deliver fire weaponry that incinerates victims, thus conjuring up a female 'ghost' of history, the victimised Asian woman, or Butterfly, as in *Fifth Daughter*. The unseen enemy threatening the lives of US servicemen was not just the Vietnamese, but also their own military's use of weapons such as the defoliant, Agent Orange. Over time, this chemical continued to poison American servicemen as well as the Vietnamese, including the future generations of both (Sills 1). In this way, even the

Vietnam warrior's weapons constitute a betrayal by authorities, a *thémis* outrage.

Saxon's job as a reconnaissance pilot in Vietnam was to fly in unarmed and to photograph the aftermath of B-29 bombing raids, sorties using the incendiary agents 'magnesium, napalm, [and] white phosphorus' (Setlowe 128).⁵⁸ This role links Saxon to some of the worst aerial raids in history, to the most grievous of weapons used over Tokyo,⁵⁹ a city that endured carpet fire-bombings in March 1945. The planes' bomb bay doors would open, releasing 'b-29s, f-46 and m-69 canisters', after which '... the stench of a hundred thousand people burning to death five thousand feet below ... brought the bomber crews to their knees, puking on the planes' steel deck', while the pilots vomited on their controls (Setlowe 129). These references point to Saxon's divided loyalties, which brings to the fore his own fears of the Japanese: on one hand, he has a strong sense of pride in his role, as he sees it, of opening up the Japanese to participation in global trade, but, on the other, he is acutely aware that his own country has behaved with even more barbarity than this ostensibly feudal nation.

Kuribayashi has traumatic memories of American planes and fire and atomic bombing campaigns during WWII (91), and his company's symbol, the phoenix, memorialises the ashes from which his business emerged. Saxon realises that his economic venture is 'dead in the water' because Kurabayashi 'would kill himself before he merges or sells one of the companies that have arisen from the ashes of American bombs' (341). Some indirect references in the novel to fire and atomic bombings also suggest that Saxon is targeted because American pilots inflicted the worst scars on Japanese minds and bodies: Japanese hostess Lilli, Saxon's lover, bears a physical scar (in an aesthetically pleasing, obscure place) from the fire-bombing of Tokyo.

In spite of his bravado and aggression in street fighting and commercial manoeuvring, Saxon in 1999 experiences a melancholic sense of loss in Tokyo. He stays one night in a 'love hotel' in Roppongi called 'Dreams Castle', which features 'an elaborate stucco façade of rococo battlements and fairy tale turrets—a Japanese designer's fancy of a European medieval fortress' (1). The 'castle', the habitation of twentieth-century knights and ladies, is a cynical gesture to the novel's themes of past knightly codes, romanticism, a sense of loss and a threatening Japanese modernity. Western dreams of 'fairyländ' in Japan have become a garish absurdity, and the ideals that came with the dreams are, after Vietnam, an abomination, the male genitalia fixed to Saxon's hotel door.

Saxon's spirit, after Vietnam, fails to draw nourishment from Western visions of the nineteenth century, just as the disillusioned Loti mourned the loss of 'ancient' cultures and the encroachment of modernity. At the turn of the millennium, Saxon stands 'in a tower of the Imperial Hotel' and, remembering Vietnam, 'toast[s] the guns of Phuc my Luc' [an intentional pun], the guns that shot down his plane and caused his leg injury, an event that, from a positive perspective, led to his meeting Lilli. Placing Saxon in an elevated place at The Imperial Hotel evokes MacArthur's neo-colonial reign after WWII, not only because of the adjective, 'Imperial' in the hotel's name, but also because the hotel at that time overlooked the Emperor's palace and gardens, and was close to General MacArthur's headquarters. In this way, Saxon acts out America's past position at the pinnacle of power in Japan, but makes cynical reference to the negation of that glory and the destruction of his youth in Vietnam. The setting of this enactment at the Imperial Hotel is ideal, for here there were no signs of the city's obliteration under General LeMay's bombing raids. The real-world incendiary raids that wiped out most of Tokyo

had left it untouched for the prospective post-war administration (Dower 1999; 208), suggesting an expedient, cool ruthlessness on the part of the raid strategists. In this way, the hotel in a city in which traffic policemen still wear 'white saucer-like WWII British helmets' (Setlowe 86) is a fitting place for a Westerner named Saxon to imagine past glories and to mourn a legitimate, lost supremacy.

Saxon runs an eye over women as he drives through Tokyo, reprising the Occupier's privileged gaze: 'At street corners, swarms of young, pretty office ladies and salesgirls obediently freeze at the traffic lights as if deliberately posed there for my obsessed study' (53). However, a 'blare' of martial music from street protests interrupts his reverie, reminding him that the past cannot be recovered, and, in fact, its excesses must be paid for. His memories, like Loti's, are infused with narcissism, lost youth and idealism, recurring throughout the text, summoning up with mournful pleasure the dashing figures he and others used to make in Tokyo in 1964, bolstered by the admiration of young Asian girls:

The clubs were where the American boys were—single men in their twenties, selected for their health and sense of adventure by the Pentagon and made relatively wealthy by the exchange rate and Japan's long post-war impoverishment ... And we actually jitterbugged, boogied, then rock 'n' rolled and discoed, to the delight of the Japanese girls. Let the good times roll. (180)

In *Embracing Defeat*, a Pulitzer-prizewinning study of Japan under the American Occupation, Dower notes that Americans' physical posturing and demeanour was a metaphor for US armed forces' supremacy in Japan. In his view, the American forces 'swaggered' confidently, and 'preached democracy but ruled by fiat', their 'every

interaction ... infused with intimations of white supremism' (211-212). A note in the prologue states that, although the official, political Occupation ended in 1952, 'there is no documented date on which the American sexual occupation of Japan ended' (n.p.). Saxon acknowledges with persistent narcissism that post-war sexual competition had been humiliating for Japanese men: 'Well, there were millions of us for a long time' (32). However, Tokyo in 1999 'is not the same any more' (162). 'All the fine young American warriors are gone' from the Black Rose nightclub and 'the young conquistadors [are] not here anymore' (162). In this way, *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* is redolent with an introspective nostalgia in which a pilot identifies with the high ideals and status of the past, and, aware of his loss, becomes subject to a melancholia common in all Butterfly texts since the dispirited Loti penned *Madame Chrysanthème*.

In *Sexual Occupation*, Western status in Asia is tied to stereotypes of Asian femininity, as Saxon's nostalgia for a tainted yet more idealistic past is bound up with memories of Lilli: 'I stare out of the tinted windows, searching for another vision of Lilli to call up, but no other face, however lovely, resonates in my memory. Michiko Hara now possesses it' (53); 'There is the quality of an apparition about Michiko Hara, something almost ghostly that I can't quite grasp' (13); 'Michiko Hara's soft laughter lilts, reverberating sharply, familiarly in my memory like old chimes' (19); 'There is something haunting about Michiko Hara's voice' (16). In searching for Lilli, Saxon is seeking out his own past youth and national pride, idealism and vigour. Lilli's name, connoting nostalgia and loss, was derived from the German song *Lilli Marlen* (1915), by Hans Leip and Norbert Schultz (later known as *Lilli Marlene*) which Lilli herself describes as 'bittersweet', a 'beautiful' and 'sad' song about a soldier under orders to sail who is thus

parted from his lover. Lilli's face, lit by lamplight, haunts her lover's dreams, a nostalgic trope that evokes the Butterfly narrative. It is meaningful to Lilli and Saxon, for it prefigures their fate as lovers likely to be parted by military orders. Lilli/Michiko thus 'haunts' Saxon's memory, a synecdoche of something else that he has lost. As part of a composite Butterfly figure, Lilli/Michiko stands for sub-textual traumatic content, one of the 'ghosts' that, for Whitehead, in her discussion of trauma theory, served to 'embody or incarnate the traumas of recent history and represent a form of collective or cultural haunting', the 'figurative return of elements of the past which have been silenced or culturally excluded' (7). Lilli is intimately connected to the healing of Saxon's physical and emotional wounds. Frozen in time, she stands for a past that he could not hold on to, the time before the outcome of the Vietnam War was known, and his lost idealism.

Like a traumatic memory, references to the Vietnam War surface throughout Setlowe's novel. For instance, 'Lilli', now Michiko Kuribayashi, the respectable fifty-year-old wife of Kuribayashi executive Kenji Hara, had worked during the Vietnam War as a hostess in *The Black Rose*, Tokyo, a title which was also a colloquial term for the 'black syph', a mythical virulent strain of syphilis rumoured in Vietnam to be responsible for the mysterious disappearance of servicemen (Parascandola 145). By referencing syphilis, 'The Black Rose', an exotic name, connotes a hovering threat of castration from disease, and a malignant feminine sexuality, fears inhabiting the dark spaces of Saxon's mind and the novel's subtext. At this point, a darker Madame Butterfly stereotype is emerging, a combination of the beautiful healer and the infected Vietnamese prostitute who, like Circe, seduces in order to destroy men. By working at the Black Rose, Lilli becomes 'infected', not physically, but with the suspicion that she harbours a potentially-lethal

femininity capable of castrating and killing men. By displacement, she connotes Vietnamese prostitutes infected with the 'Black Syph.' That she also conceals a sharp personal weapon, a knife, intensifies the impression that she is not to be trusted. The knife also connects her to Madame Butterfly, since the Nagasaki girl also possessed her father's knife, although Lilli's *kai-ken* or 'lady's knife' is her own: her power to kill issues from her own self, and is not derived from a man. The knife's threat to males in Setlowe's novel is evident in its 'handle of ivory', which represents the feminine hand that holds it, and also in its 'blood-red silk hilt', which brings to mind the bleeding following the act of driving it deep into a victim's body (14). In a room at the Black Rose, a naked Lilli uses the *kai-ken* in a manner that Saxon finds disturbing but sexually stimulating: 'The light touch of the tip felt like the scratch of a fingernail. As chilling as it was, it excited me tremendously ... where the needle point of the dagger had barely touched my flesh there was an angled red scratch oozing blood' (79). She follows this by drawing a line with the dull edge of the blade across her throat, the red silk and bone of the hilt flashing like an open wound' (77).

Nudity, blood and the ambiguous space between violence and eroticism combine in the telling of the story, after which Saxon concludes that Madame Butterfly was 'a Western male fantasy' (78). In Japan, 'the true romantic heroine did not commit hara-kiri when her lover left' (78), and Butterfly was now to be feared. In an extension of masculine by-play in the novel, a hotel manager warns Saxon after the genitals were nailed to his door to '[n]ever sleep last night [sic]with girlfriend after saying goodbye' (28), and Saxon makes a mental note, upon which he later acts, to avoid ever farewelling Lilli. Butterfly has become an object of fear for men, rather than a marker of victimised femininity: Vietnam has changed Madame Butterfly, perhaps permanently. Lilli/Michiko

Hara, the respectable mother and wife, in a scene in the novel's last pages, fulfills her potential for violence when she fights alongside Saxon against the Yakusa: 'There is only the slightest smear of blood on the blade she holds. Her slash into his raised armpit had been so swift that neither he nor I saw her coming' (399). Her knife skills are an unsettling adjunct to her healing and nurturing qualities, particularly when considering she had indulged in erotic play with the knife in Saxon's bedroom.

Even 'angels' in veterans' novels are unstable, capable of regressing into traitors, deceivers and castrators. Shay links veterans' self-loathing, fear and anxiety coupled with misogyny to an imagined feminine threat (Shay, 2002, 73). In the *Odyssey*, as Shay has observed, Hermes warns the warrior Odysseus that women can 'conceal deadly weapons in their beds and sexual parts' ... and that 'she [the Greek witch-goddess Circe] will lure him into her bed for sex and then cut off his sexual organ' (69): 'War and sex are linked in a secret conspiracy' (82). In Setlowe's novel, Saxon calls Lilli 'Circe', after the 'beautiful enchantress' who enticed 'young warriors returning from the Trojan War' and 'turned them into pigs' (175). Before Cochran's castration in 1964, Lilli refers to the idea of using a *kai-ken* to ensure future fidelity as 'very romantic', presumably in the same tradition as *seppuku* in the opera and mutual suicide in *Sayonara*. Lilli begins to evince the characteristics of a castrating demon when she tells Saxon the myth of Ono-no (an intentional male joke), the first woman traditionally cited as ritually emasculating her lover. The introduction of a propensity to castrate pathologises the Butterfly stereotype, so that unconditional love and ministrations are now suspect, possibly traps, evoking the fearsome Abe Sada.

The real-world Abe Sada, celebrated in the film,⁶⁰ *In the Realm of the Senses*

(1976 and 1994), emasculated and murdered her lover on the night before he was to take leave of her in 1936 (Johnson 2005). As the angry aggressor and castrator, who eschews passivity and self-destruction, Abe Sada provokes anxiety and destroys male potency. This negative stereotype appeared frequently in post-Vietnam veterans' writing as well as in rumours circulating among real-world American troops that Vietnamese prostitutes were Viet Cong in disguise (Shay 2002; 70), and thus trained in weaponry. A highly unlikely and impractical rumour related to Sada Abe stereotyping was that prostitutes also put razor blades or broken glass in their vaginas. In addition, they were suspected of infecting their customers with a 'black syph[ilis]', for which there was no effective treatment, and which had similar effects to castration (Parascambola 145). In *The Sexual Occupation of Japan*, an idealised, despairing and suicidal Butterfly no longer strikes at her own body to preserve honour in the face of abandonment, but slashes at her lover's genitals.

Vietnam veterans' novels in general contain representations of a darker Asian femininity than envisioned in Puccini's opera. They are very different from the romantic women in Butterfly romances set in Vietnam before the American War, such as Graham Greene's *The Quiet American* and the 1992 film, *Indochine*. The threat of castration, love, sex, and violence overlap, marking an unravelling idealism in which Butterfly types merge in the wider popular culture with 'ninja-woman', 'Geisha Assassin', or the generic 'Asian' (Chinese and/or Japanese) fighting woman such as Lucy Liu in *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* who fights against men rather than succouring them, or the 'dragon lady', a scheming and dangerous woman capable of fighting back, a conflation of Chinese and Japanese femininity from a vaguely-defined 'Far East'. These stereotypes have developed

qualities far more 'pathological' than those appearing after WWII and the Korean War.

While *Sayonara's* Butterfly character was constructed by combining Katsumi and Hana-ogi, Lilli is one part of a composite Butterfly figure made up of three characters: Lili/Michiko Hara, Mari Midori, and Junko. Mari Midori in 1999 is a university student, a bar girl at the Black Rose, the abandoned daughter of a black American (Vietnam War) serviceman and a Japanese mother. She gives Saxon information about the Yakusa, and is subsequently raped and murdered, becoming a Madame Butterfly scapegoat deflecting the retribution that could have fallen on Saxon. Junko, another part of the Butterfly character, is a worker at the Black Rose. Tommy Cochran is her lover in 1964. She is '[a] 'dimpled, pretty girl with a fetching Asian-doll face framed by straight black bangs' (39) and also the darker side of Butterfly, an aspect making its way into the genre after the Vietnam War.

In 1999, when the traumatic products of a literal castration are stapled to Saxon's hotel door, Saxon discovers that the staples were reinforced by a *kai-ken* (a lady's knife), driven into the wood. The theme of a threatened castration in this way is introduced early into the novel. It reminds Saxon of a traumatic memory in 1964, in which Junko castrated Tommy Cochran with a *kai-ken* the on the night of his departure from Japan (321), a visualisation of masculine fear of castration and the lethal prostitute feared in Vietnam. She did this to prevent him from taking other lovers and to take revenge for his participation in a degrading, boozy and lecherous officers' farewell party. Junko, believing that officers were gentlemen, expected that an officer's party to which Cochran had invited her would be 'an elegant cotillion of officers and their ladies' (313) rather than the sordid strip-club riot it became. Junko's act was of particular significance in Vietnam,

where some Viet Cong female operatives were considered as deadly as men (Henderson 80).⁶¹ When considering the novel's engagement with Vietnam themes, Junko's act represents a sense of male powerlessness in a war in which men had been unable to 'act like heroes' (Bourke 361); some had 'behaved just as the West had accused the Japanese of doing in WWII' (231). Butterfly does not strike herself, but at Pinkerton. As Butterfly used her knife to defend her 'honour', an act of nebulous logic, Lilli does likewise, but with a very different victim. The cover art of the 1999 original paperback, reinforces the novel's dark themes, featuring a white geisha face gazing out from the other side of a transparent pearl-grey rectangle, simultaneously a flag and a veil, at an unseen object. The only coloured objects to disturb the white section are a pair of blood-red 'geisha' lips and an elliptical ('Oriental') eye enclosed in a red spot, the 'rising sun' emblem of Japan's national flag. The gaze, devoid of emotion, precludes a sudden and violent act.

In what could be considered a symbolic 'punishment' of such women, there is an implied rape scene, the result of a Yakusa attack, in which 'Michiko lies sprawled in the white sand, stripped half naked, her obi ripped off, kimono opened to her bared breasts, and her underpants torn off' (392). The dead body of Mari Midori is also found in a degrading position, but the scene is described in even more voyeuristic detail, her genitals exposed pornographically to the gaze of investigators. Here Butterfly is the unavenged rape victim, figuratively the tortured and raped Vietnamese woman surrounded by men who enjoy the spectacle. It punishes the 'new' kind of Asian femininity: the Viet Cong warrior or sniper, and the malevolent prostitute with the concealed weapon, metal or biological. In a move that is even more complex, this new Butterfly imagery is linked with a 'ghost' of history, the dead, raped, wounded or poisoned victim of war. Victim

imagery was previously seen in *Fifth Daughter's* Hayashi sisters. Weaver, in *Ideologies of Forgetting: Rape in the Vietnam War*, argues that 'rape and sexual violence against Vietnamese women have been effectively written out of historical scholarly critical memory' (8). Significantly for this study, Butterfly imagery in this novel reveals a Western mindset far more complex, self-accusing and violent than in previous versions of the narrative, something that is in keeping with the mood that followed the war in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

In Setlowe's text, Lilli eventually reverts to the traditional Butterfly stereotype: she accepts her own wounds and losses from the Tokyo firebombing whilst 'absolving' her lover of his physical and spiritual wounds from Vietnam. Here she closely resembles the self-effacing heroines, Hana-ogi in *Sayonara*, Katsumi in *The Exposed*, and Yoshiko and Clara Divina in *Emperor's General*. Like Hana-ogi, Lilli has lost family members in WWII, a father and two brothers (289), and, like Cio-Cio-san, is forced by necessity to work in the flower and willow world (285). Cio-Cio-san's father and Lilli's father both killed themselves with a sword, although Lilli's father's death was less honourable, since he had been involved in war crimes in which American POWs were brutally murdered. Thus, the moral backwash of Vietnam and WWII continues to 'haunt' texts at the turn of the millennium, charging Butterfly stereotypes with new layers of traumatic meaning.

In 1964, Saxon's gold, winged airman's badge arouses conflicting emotions in Lilli. She runs 'her forefinger over [his] lapel pin of gold navy wings', and like Snow White, whose innocence is tainted by evil, pricks her finger. She gave a 'quick, pained intake of breath': 'Airplanes frighten me very much', she said. ...'. She has been 'branded' by the Americans with a mark of aggression and sexual power. The pricking of her finger

and the scar on her back metonymically connects the past to the present (1999): 'With Lilli, I too often remembered that fire scar. Sometimes, I touched the slick, leathery gristle of it when we made love' (126). The scar provokes Saxon's 'remembrance' of the bombings and the burning of Tokyo, but the memory adds to his sexual desire for Lilli, and her attraction to Saxon is in part the desire of a raped woman for her attacker: 'The war, the fire-bombings, her father's suicide—had all happened to her as a child. Perhaps the only time she felt safe was when she was sleeping with Americans, particularly pilots, or they were courting her. Then she was in control' (370).

Despite Saxon's confident use of power and aggression, there are long-term traumatic costs for his Vietnam service that inflect his civilian life. His compulsive work habits and his alienation from his wife and daughter can be read as classic signs of war damage (Shay 2002; 57-59). In 1999, like the old wound that causes him to limp sometimes, Saxon's psychological 'old wounds' 'stir', a 'dull pain, more than physical' (51), for '[t]he old Saxon 'had not been innocent', knowing 'horror more intently than the dulled middle-aged guy in the looking-glass' (34) who, many years after the war, still has nightmares (124), has a drinking problem, and suffers 'delayed stress syndrome' (60). Unlike the other veterans at the hospital, he shrinks from sharing his 'sins' within a regular therapy group, and distances himself from killers of children. What 'secret sins' (124) Lilli has absolved him of is unclear.

Although he does not reveal these sins, so that the reader is left to speculate about what these 'secret' sins were, Saxon, the narrator, takes readers into his confidence in a surprisingly direct statement that reveals his intense grief and sense of loss, a change that seems out of character in its emotional frankness: he states that he does not refer to

'war' in frivolous ways 'perhaps because my piece of the real thing was so brutal, even surreal, beyond any analogy, and therefore terrifying. My closest friends [pilots] were annihilated, forever MIA, without ever having set foot in Vietnam' (109). Although there have been previous references to prisoners of war and their mistreatment, the missing friends have not been mentioned anywhere else in the novel, and so the directness and emotion of this statement takes the reader by surprise. This sudden candour appears from behind a mask of stoic masculinity. *Sexual Occupation* thus shares with other novels in the Butterfly genre an engagement with mental and moral wounds and a profound sense of loss which, in a highly masculinist, military culture, was often difficult for men to articulate.

In 1964, Saxon, shot down and crippled by a leg wound, hides from enemy Vietnamese in an excrement-laden paddy field. He contracts a deep infection which later does not respond to conventional treatment, and is in danger of losing his leg to amputation, another kind of emasculation. The filth and mire of the rice-paddy that infects his blood can be read as the poisoning of his spirit with the horror and guilt of killing a 'scrawny little farmer' (280), armed with a shotgun, who finds him. That Saxon killed his adversary in face-to-face combat is significant, for, although in some circumstances this mode of killing could be seen as combat between equals, it creates the worst wounds of mind and spirit (Grossman 115). His description of the killing is graphic, revealing the visceral, degrading nature of combat death. Although Saxon was fighting for his own survival, his sense of moral fault was exacerbated because the enemy was 'old' and 'a farmer'. ⁶²It was not a fight between equals. This incident exemplifies the ethical confusion caused by a lack of clear distinction between combatants and civilians in the

Vietnam War, a lack of distinction that was also troubling to some of those who firebombed Japanese cities and deployed the atom bomb in WWII.

Lilli understands the dual nature of his suffering: it is moral as well as physical. Her 'good' persona, an angel with the power of forgiveness and healing, transcends that of the castrator and heals Saxon's body and spirit. She is contrasted with Joan, Saxon's American wife, with whom he cannot share his traumatic experiences. As his physician, Lilli heals his leg, and, as his confessor, psychiatrist and priestess, heals his spirit. She takes him to a Japanese bathhouse, and bathes him in a symbolic act of cleansing, and administers a traditional healing tea: '[s]he continued to ply me with her teas of bitter herbs from the Asian alchemist' (311). Taking him to a temple, she absolves him of guilt that the infection represents and soothes his soul-anguish with her own stories of her father's culpability for war crimes, the unlawful and particularly cruel killing of American prisoners of war: 'she had at least purged me of horrors by revealing greater ones of her own and by sharing the darkness in her own life' (311). Thus, '[t]he baths at the Kanko became a nightly rite, with its stripping away, its ritualised cleansing, its naked intimacies, and shared confessions. I had, in the end, come to Lilli for absolution. And she had washed me clean ...' (311). Thus, alongside her dangerous association with mutilators of male flesh, Lilli is an angel with the power of forgiveness and healing, a 'good' woman, who heals Saxon with herbs, absolution, and sex (311).

Setlowe has Lieutenant Cochran taking refuge in Japan and a monastic lifestyle, a solution to the alienation he feels from civil society. Cochran, who, before Vietnam had aspired to be a priest (41), becomes 'Roshi Hekkiun', a Buddhist monk (420), and spends the rest of his life in a monastery. Having lost a potent symbol of masculinity and agency,

he feels ill-equipped to find a place in Western society: it is significant that one of Buddhism's spiritual objectives is the negation of all desire. The temple monastery setting recalls nineteenth century constructions of Japan as an ancient garden landscape, characterised by '[c]oarse sand, painstakingly raked into patterns of ripples and whirlpools, carefully shaped dwarf trees, [and] a composition of stones' (373). His house is approached through 'silent spaces with rock gardens laid out with stones, moss, shrubs ... past a pond with a large calico koi, and into an inner walled cloister, finally arriving at a small house with a four-sided sloping roof covered with cypress bark' (360).

This ordered Zen landscape mirrors his newly-ordered mind. It is unlike the troubled post-war Western mind-landscape Saxon sees in a Monet painting, which hangs near a window, contrasting with the tranquil Japanese garden outside. The language used to describe the Monet suggests that the painting's Impressionist, European treatment of natural elements represents Saxon's fragile inner state: 'The garden in the Monet with its mottled sunshine, rampant greenery, and rambling vines is almost barbaric by contrast with the meticulously landscaped Japanese garden outside' (415). The European Impressionist style used in the painting creates in Saxon a feeling of unease, of alienation from modern European culture, whereas the traditionally-styled garden brings a sense of relief. That Cochran reconstructs his mind and Japan as an ancient garden, in which he receives 'cooing' and 'chirpy' attention from Japanese female followers (405), reveals a continued investment in old ideas about Japan as a place for invigorating the Western self 'in the company of rosy-lipped, black-eyed and attentive damsels—in short, a realised fairyland' (Satow 17). Such visions block out memories of bomb-obliterated, burnt cities and steamy, death-trap jungles, reprising Michener's utopian Japan, echoes of which are

found in parts of Webb's *The Emperor's General*.

The Emperor's General was investigated in a previous chapter for its similarities to *Sayonara's* utopian vision of a new Japan, but it is revisited here because its subtext also expresses moral conflict related to the Vietnam war, upholding the integrity of America and its armed forces, recovering damaged ideals of warrior-hood and pride in the US armed forces, particularly pride in the US Marines, while criticising abuses of *thèmis* by its leaders. Webb, an ex-Marine platoon and company commander in Vietnam, addresses these issues more openly in another novel, *A Sense of Honour*, set in 1968, in which he defends the integrity of the Marines, despite widespread public criticism of brutalising training and disciplinary practices occurring in military colleges. Webb's novel traces the movements of General MacArthur and his youthful, fictitious aide-de-camp, Captain Jay Marsh, in the Philippines during the final days of WWII and in the early days of the Occupation of Japan. Marsh becomes romantically linked with a woman in both countries, setting up a guilty animus in the young protagonist. Divina Clara, a Filipino civilian, is the epitome of faithfulness and fecund sexuality combined with Catholic spirituality. Yoshiko, a (Zen) Buddhist and a high-class Japanese prostitute, loves and restores Marsh's physical and spiritual health.

The Emperor's General, like Setlowe's novel, was published in 1999, when literary responses to the Vietnam War coincided with a resurgence of Orientalism. Its cover invites readers to enter another idyllic Japan. The bold, gold title contrasts with a background of violet-hued pastoral tranquillity in which a hazy, violet light from a subdued sun, or moon, washes over a lake ringed by cherry blossoms. The scene extends to the back cover, where, seen from afar in stark relief, a column of three US soldiers

march beside the lake that reflects and softens their images, absorbing their uniformed severity into the romantic landscape. The male figures move like spiritualised warriors in a mythical war. Above the soldiers, a prominent quotation from the *Financial Times* claims that the novel is 'A Madam Butterfly of our time,' a 'tragic romance involving an American officer and an Asian woman, in a timeless, beautiful land afflicted by a catastrophic war' (n.p.). The cover advertising plays on potential readers' knowledge of the Butterfly myth, encouraging them to imagine they will discover a familiar narrative of pathos and romance in foreign places within its covers. It also visualises the aesthetic that dominates the Butterfly genre and reprocesses novels dealing with difficult, painful subjects into a form acceptable to a popular readership.

Set partly in the Philippines during the final days of WWII, and thereafter in Occupied Japan, the novel displaces its discussion of US atrocities in Vietnam on to MacArthur's War Crimes trials, and is intensely engaged with the ethical issues of the Vietnam War, even though the word 'Vietnam' only appears once near the end of the novel (430). This evokes LaCapra's statement, made when discussing post-war recovery from trauma, that some who commit crimes suffer from perpetrator trauma, who must witness to those crimes in order to break free from their implication in 'deadly ideologies and practices' (79). There are also strong parallels between both LaCapra's and Webb's argument with Weaver's view that the US forces' conduct in Vietnam was so appalling because 'the soldiers' capacity to commit crimes was developed in pre-existing social and military cultures of brutality and misogyny' (15).

Lieutenant Jay Marsh, initially in awe of MacArthur, the saviour and reformer, brilliant tactician and warrior, gradually becomes aware of the general's dark side.

Themes of moral ambiguity and disillusionment manifest as Jay is entrapped by MacArthur's expedient ethics at work in the world of high-level military and political power. The novel argues that General MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Occupation forces in Japan, made improper use of temporary military judicial powers for pragmatic reasons to do with the future governance of Japan, ensuring that General Yamashita Tomoyuki was hung for the Japanese Army's atrocities during the last WWII battle for Manila, rather than Emperor Hirohito or any members of his family.

The Emperor's General defends Yamashita's moral purity, highlighting his qualities as a remarkable officer and gentleman, his exceptional military skills, leadership and warrior's code of honour, noting that the general was not present when the Japanese army ran amok. Supreme Court review judges Murphy and Rutledge condemn the unjust proceedings of the military war crimes commission that MacArthur had created to try Yamashita. In Jay's view, MacArthur had rushed the trial through before documents officially ending the war had been signed (429) to ensure that Yamashita would be tried and found guilty by a military body over which MacArthur had final authority. Echoing the views of Yamashita's defense counsel, the judges found that Yamashita in the trial had not been offered the protection of due process of law; had not been charged with personally participating in any act of atrocity; nor was he accused of ordering the atrocities or of knowing about them; and he had been denied 'the most basic Constitutional protections of due process of law' (429). The judges object that Yamashita was denied a proper defence, had no power to change the verdict and thus was condemned to death (429). Judge Murphy makes a 'haunting prediction', a warning that the implications of Yamashita's conviction in such a commission set a dangerous

precedent 'for future presidents, chiefs of staff and military advisors' (430). In Murphy's view, 'the indictment permitted the military commission to make the crime whatever it willed' (430). Here Jay Marsh's narrator's voice changes into a prophetic mode, predicting that '[t]his precedent would bedevil American military commanders and all those in command during the Vietnam War', those who had failed to act on Murphy's concluding epithet: 'He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression' (430).

'Oppression' here, in the context of Vietnam, brings to mind the handling of cases such as the My Lai trials. It is well known that Lieutenant Calley ordered the rape, torture and killing of five hundred and four civilians at My Lai. He was court-martialled and sentenced to prison, but the sentence was commuted to three years' house detention (Nelson 147), which, considering Judge Murphy's statements above, would seem to be a miscarriage of justice for the Vietnamese victims, a failure of *thèmis*. Like Hirohito, American governments and military administrators failed to control a culture of creeping moral excess, and formulated rules of engagement including the use of incendiaries and the demarcation of 'free fire zones'. These made fighting a 'just war' within boundaries (Frame 2015: Meagher 2014) nearly impossible, a way of conducting warfare the novel describes as 'unworthy of our people'; that is, people with a sense of manifest destiny who should 'justly attend to the needs of the world' (Webb 430). Emperor Hirohito and his relatives also, who had everyday responsibility for running the war, supported a military culture in which, in hindsight, human rights abuses were bound to occur.

Thus, on one hand, five-star General Douglas MacArthur to Jay is a model of ideal American military masculinity, a military saviour and a political reformer, but on

the other, a cynical administrator of uneven-handed, expedient justice in post-war Japan. The moral critique implicit in the novel's ironic title becomes clear: Yamashita was Emperor Hirohito's General, his servant, but so was Hirohito's protector, MacArthur. It is only a small step to translate this argument from WWII to Vietnam: just as the militaristic regime in WWII Japan was responsible for failing to structure its army to ensure disciplined control over its men, so the administration behind the men on the ground in Vietnam bore ultimate responsibility for instigating and perpetuating flawed military policies likely to precipitate a descent into a 'heart of darkness', creating conditions in which atrocities on both sides were very likely to occur.

The Emperor's General engages intensely with the matter of rightfully apportioning blame and punishment for military atrocities perpetrated on civilians, represented in the interactions between Madame Butterfly characters. In Butterfly stereotypes and narrative forms, the novel works through the loss of ideals and trust in the aftermath of the war in Vietnam, foregrounding the roles of Asian 'Butterfly' heroines Divina Clara and Yoshiko, who cleanse and atone for a repentant American warrior's *thèmes* violations.

Jay meets Divina Clara, his fiancée of good family when he 'saves' her from a refugee-clogged road being strafed by Japanese planes in the Philippines. In this he enacts the role of 'white knight' or 'saviour', a term Marchetti dissects in *Romance and the Yellow Peril* (105). However, when he is much older and aware of his involvement in political corruption and personal moral failure, Divina Clara becomes for him a redemptive Butterfly figure. Jay, swept up in the momentous events at the end of WWII abandons the pregnant Divina and is seduced in Japan by Yoshiko, a 'high-class' geisha sent to his room

as a bribe from Emperor Hirohito's Lord privy seal, Kido. Privy Seal Kido is keen to curry favour with Jay, whom he sees as close to MacArthur. He informs Marsh that Yoshiko is 'from Kyoto. Very well-schooled. A practiced musician, trained carefully in the martial arts, and an expert at Ikebana! Only the very best geisha are allowed to work here!' (211). Exemplifying Gilman's notion that stereotypes serve to assist the psyche achieve equilibrium between 'good' and 'bad' aspects of the self (17), Yoshiko is for Lieutenant Jay Marsh 'the embodiment of both good and evil, and ... [his] dilemma' (322), for he is engaged to Divina Clara. Regardless, he willingly yields to Yoshiko's expert seductions:

She [Yoshiko] would take me down a flight of stairs into a private room. She would slide a bamboo wall, opening up our room to the wild, dark beauty of the grotto and the fresh smells of the sea.... The sea waves crashed and swirled inside the nearby grotto, making me feel like she was leading me into a mysterious underwater kingdom. (323-324)

The mystical underwater grotto of seduction evokes Odysseus and his troops in Homer's *Iliad*, whom Circe and her women entertained while the men were far from home on military campaigns. Such references to mythology locate the action in male utopian space, which cannot be reconciled with the world the men have left behind. Jay's description of a fantasy world is overlaid with references to Circe, La Belle Dame sans Merci and other mythic seductresses of men-at-arms who render their victims helpless. In addition to being rendered helpless by a Japanese siren's power, Jay reasons that, as Yoshiko's conqueror, he need not feel guilty for betraying his fiancée, for the baths, massages, food and sex Yoshiko lavishes on him were time-honoured, legitimate spoils of victory: 'I surrendered to its inevitability. This was the world I had inherited. This was my

reality ... I was the emissary of MacArthur' (323). The familiar phrase 'I was only following orders' comes to mind. Loti had similarly felt entitled to claim such a legacy as a member of an elite race (Lerner 17) when he had undertaken voyages to a variety of 'exotic' locations that included sexual experiences with young women. Thus, Jay the American neo-colonialist seems to have come to Japan already invested in a mythology of Western supremacy that allowed him to quickly capitulate to an Imperialist mindset and to forget the plight of his fiancée, Divina Clara, in the Philippines.

What begins as a political bribe soon becomes something far more romantic. Expressing a sentiment common in *Madame Butterfly* novels set in post-WWII Japan, the male protagonist denies that he is making the most of a prostituted woman, but is in fact liberating her into the way of Western love: Jay explains that '[s]he had come to perform a duty, but by the time she again dressed in her kimono and leaned over to gently kiss me, something in Yoshiko had visibly changed' (227). Further, as a representative of the United States military, Marsh was not indulging in a common soldier's fling with a prostitute: 'This was not some ordinary American soldier, hanging on to his bar girl from a nearby recreation and amusement association. This was a Japanese-speaking officer, being escorted by one of Kyoto's most refined geishas' (267). Like most male protagonists in *Butterfly* novels, Jay appears to be confused about the multiple hierarchies and levels of artistry and roles that characterise Japan's Flower and Willow world: the narrator confides that '[Yoshiko] is a geisha but she has never been a prostitute' (408), which he later contradicts by saying: 'more than Yoshiko, I had become the prostitute' (323).

In a novel concerned with ensuring due process and justice for the perpetrators of war crimes, one mention only is made concerning the dropping of the atomic bomb. It

holds the status quo line that the deployment of the bomb was necessary to end the war and to precipitate Japan's surrender. The event hastens Jay's transfer from Manila to Japan and is a grand historical event, untroubled by considerations of human suffering:

By the time I reached MacArthur's headquarters ... the entire staff seemed afire with exultation. Something huge had happened, wonderful and yet terrible, forever changing not only war but the conduct of nations ... One plane. One bomb. One city. Tens of thousands of people, dead. The world was reeling from the news. There was no doubt, now. The war would be over in a matter of weeks ... We were going to Japan. Soon. (77-78)

This seeming indifference to human suffering and the perpetration of crimes does not extend to the rest of the novel, in which Jay feels he needs to make atonement, not only for his implication in the unjust hanging of an exemplary Japanese general, but also for his abandonment of the pregnant Divina Clara. In an argument with her father, Jay receives a wound that leaves a permanent scar on his cheek, and Divina Clara loses their unborn baby in an unspecified manner. He imagines both his Asian lovers, Yoshiko and Divina Clara, as versions of Kanon, the goddess of mercy. Yoshiko's blue clothing connects her with Mary, the Roman Catholic intercessor, and Divina Clara appears at the close of the novel as a Carmelite nun, living a life of prayer and intercession. It was possibly a step too far to represent a veteran in tears and asking a deity for forgiveness, and so, just as in other novels male characters in the military would talk about their psychological problems to prostitutes rather than psychiatrists, Jay projects his own guilty spirit on to a statue of Kanon that in a dream is transformed into Divina Clara and a weeping priestess who prays for atonement:

In my dream I had been walking alone on the mountains overlooking Atami and had come upon the mud-glazed statue of Kanon, the Buddhist goddess of mercy. But looking up ... I had seen that she had now become Divina Clara ... Behind me I could hear the old priestess inside the shrine, beating on her strange tubular instrument, singing sadly, weeping for atonement. But it was not the Matsui shrine, it was the Jay Marsh shrine ... and ... the priestess wept for me. (359)

Jay's eventual return to the Philippines as a successful businessman with a wife and grown-up family at home reveals a 'wiser, sadder man' who was 'on the far side of seventy' (459). He tries to recapture the mystique of his earlier Asian sojourn. He visits Divina Clara, who has taken up Holy Orders in a Philippines nunnery, and contemplates the unattainability of a dream he had ruined:

We stared at each other through the impenetrable wooden grille and across the unrecoverable years ... Her nearness, the ringing of the bells, the sweet smell of flowers, my fingers pressing into the scar upon my cheek, the very city in which we had loved so fiercely, all combined to surround me with the memory of the day our lives had so completely turned.... I watched her from the gate as she walked back towards the chanting voices ... 'You are my guardian angel, I said ... Then she walked away from me. (458-460)

Divina Clara disappears into the chapel, presumably to continue to pray for Jay's absolution.

Jay Marsh, deviating from his regular perspective as narrator, sees the seeds of Vietnam's failures in precedents set in the post-WWII War Crimes tribunals. This view is similar to Weaver's observation in *Ideologies of Forgetting*, that a culture of pre-existing social and military cultures of brutality and misogyny enabled men to commit atrocities at My Lai (15). Both *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* and *The Emperor's General* suggest

that service personnel returning from war require religious cleansing to enable them to reintegrate with civil society, a service that Japanese women perform, which was not available to the men in their home countries.

Male psychological and spiritual wounds are represented with a little more candour in these novels than in previous texts, although there is still caution. Japanese women, coded for mysticism and spirituality, offer the American protagonists prayers, washings and purifying rituals as a matter of course, rather than as deliberate 'treatment'. Both novels thus circumvent having to represent the protagonists receiving official psychiatric help. Away from the scrutiny of Western institutions, the men receive healing in a manner that avoids being stigmatised or feminised.

Setlowe's and Webb's novels mark a significant transition point in the cultural and psychological meanings of Pinkerton and Butterfly. *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* constructs a darker, more violent version of the Butterfly character than any seen previously. A fear of castration, the 'ghosts' of Sada Abe and Circe has appeared in response to the psychological trauma inflicted by the Vietnam War. A capacity for violence in the operatic Butterfly has been expanded in Setlowe's novel, and the feminine stereotype has assumed threatening, dark qualities. Formerly vulnerable, Butterfly is now a vampire in innocent and seductive guise. The blood-red 'geisha' lips featured on the novel's cover capture this change in mood. The Butterfly figure is no longer childish or saintly, and her violent tendencies split off into a second and then a third character. She is less trustworthy: Saxon suspects Lilli has the potential to turn the knife on him rather than on herself. This threat to the Pinkerton character is new.

The old stereotypes seem unable to contain trauma as well as they did before.

Despite these changes, a degree of faith in the power of a redeeming Butterfly is restored at the end of each novel, after washings, baths, herb teas and religious rites at temples, but there is a sense that her former innocence is corruptible instead of remaining a stabilising ideal. In Setlowe's novel, the vulnerability always present in the Pinkerton character is intensified in representations of an aged American Vietnam veterans' nostalgia for past glories, youth and romance in Japan. A violent inner rage, however, balances this enhanced frailty in protagonist, Peter Saxon, who relives the experiences of street fighting with hostile civilians, peace agitators and criminals in Japan. Jay Marsh, Webb's Pinkerton character, is also broken and much older, although rage in Webb's novel is directed not at civilians but at attacks on the moral integrity of US soldiers, set up to fail as men of honour, although there is a sense at the end of the novel that the collective moral failure, felt as his own fall from grace, is ameliorated by Divina Clara's continued intercessions (460).

The old Butterfly forms in these novels had to change to accommodate male characters' fears and anxieties after Vietnam. Although novels in this period looked to recover an imagined romance and security, the Butterfly-Pinkerton dyad provoked, for many Westerners, a new kind of cynicism, so that the name, Madame Butterfly, became associated not with ideals and aspirations but with the global sex industry. In the subsequent proliferation of Asian women's writing in English, Madame Butterfly became a symbol of Western appropriation of Asian femininity that was to be resisted, ridiculed and reformed.

CHAPTER SIX: TURN OF THE MILLENNIUM NOSTALGIA FOR EMPIRE AND WRITING BACK IN THE NEW FIN DE SIÈCLE

Near the turn of the millennium, Butterfly representations underwent major changes commensurate with shifts in global socio-political and economic power relationships. Cynicism and mistrust bred in Vietnam had destabilised the Butterfly stereotype's former benign qualities, and a new generation of Asian women writing in English, and also Western writers, took advantage of a Neo-Orientalist revival to 'write back' against Butterfly stereotypes that simplified and reduced all Asian women to a one-sided and limited view of Asian femininity.

This chapter, a coda to the main argument, analyses three texts representing other ways in which Western and Asian writers engaged with Madame Butterfly stereotypes—reprising or repudiating them—in the years leading up to and just after the turn of the millennium. By engaging with the nineteenth century Butterfly myth in a new context, the novels addressed troubling aspects of the West's political and personal interactions in international and inter-cultural engagements that traumatised or otherwise harmed both Asian women and Western men. In this chapter, Larissa Lai's *When Fox is a Thousand*, Anthony Swofford's *Exit A* and Henry Hwang's play, *M. Butterfly*, together with Cronenberg's film version of the play, are set against Arthur Golden's *Memoirs of a Geisha*, a neo-Orientalist restatement of how the world should work for a particular type of Western subject. Golden's novel reinstates Westerners as privileged voyeurs in Far Eastern Asian intimate spaces, in which women act in accordance with a masculine ideal of feminine perfection. The other texts challenge the West's emotional investment in the Butterfly myth, which was reinstated, in a troubling manner, in Golden's novel, thereby

clarifying those suppressed aspects of the narrative which have fed this attachment in the twentieth century.

Larissa Lai's *When Fox is a Thousand*, by reimagining literary representations of Asian femininity through the mind and limitless shape-changing capacities of a female fox spirit, illustrates the endless creative possibilities lost to history by limiting feminine identity to the strictures of demonising or idealising women in Butterfly or dragon-lady stereotypes. *M. Butterfly* exposes the frailty and capacity for self-delusion that motivates 'Asian woman fetishes' and replaces Butterfly's suicide with the ritual self-murder of a melancholic, disillusioned Western male. *Exit A*, by Anthony Swofford, depicts secondary trauma in career military families, and the emotional fall-out impacting children who, growing up in the harsh environment of a military base, have to contend with angry fathers damaged by their military roles. The text depicts an Asian woman-American man romance, but subverts Butterfly stereotypes and rejects the kind of violent, ideological masculinity and military culture that in the past has downplayed the damage done to both victims and perpetrators in war and domestic battle zones. This mindset, which was behind the kind of masculinity evident in the Cold War, helped to set up the conditions and command systems that, in Weaver's view, increased the likelihood that atrocities would occur in Vietnam (15).

A nostalgic revival of Western interest in Orientalist art forms at the close of the millennium took stock of Western privileges lost throughout the twentieth century, including imaginative capital and global status in Asia, the rewards of Imperialism often associated with Asian women and romance. The enduring appeal of the Madame Butterfly tragedy/romance epitomises the emotional charge energising this neo-Orientalist

revival Two anecdotes of Western men's positive emotional responses to the Butterfly story at both ends of the twentieth century will serve to underline its affective power.

Following the London performance of Belasco's play, *Madame Butterfly*, renowned composer Puccini seized the playwright by the neck, and with 'impassioned tears', begged for the rights to reproduce the play as an opera; Butterfly's 'tragic suicide-death had mesmerised and inspired [him]' (Fisher 14). Almost one hundred years after the premiere of the opera, high-profile composer and conductor John Williams, the score writer of the film *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2005), spoke in an interview of his personal desire to work on the film version of Golden's 1988 novel. Reprising the impassioned 1900 scene above, Williams 'begged' director Rob Marshall to let him write the film's soundtrack. Williams had 'never made a request like this before' in his long and distinguished career (*The Music of Memoirs*). Such a request, he said, was motivated by an intense emotional engagement with the novel's 'geisha' heroine, Sayuri, a literary descendant of Madame Butterfly. In the film, the cello gives voice to Sayuri's inner feelings and the violin represents her lover (*The Music of Memoirs*). Throughout the interview, director Marshall also repeatedly professes his own affective attachment to the project, stating that he was 'trying to inhabit' the 'beautiful, ideal, foreign world' of the 'geisha'. The emotional responses described here are typical of many others from opera and film audiences and from readers and writers of popular Madame Butterfly texts since Puccini's heroine first sang her stirring arias and died while Pinkerton's hysterical cries of distress, the last human sounds heard in the opera, rang in the audience's ears.

It is reasonable to wonder why the Butterfly story, from which *Memoirs of a Geisha* draws much of its cultural appeal, should have elicited such strong emotions for

an extended time. The instances described above suggest that many Westerners had acquired a deep emotional investment in thinking of Westerners in Asia in terms of a romance in which there was always the possibility of escaping modernity and disillusionment to a different, pre-modern world of youth and beauty. As mentioned above, many publications on Far Eastern Asian themes, as part of a larger neo-Orientalist revival during this time, represented a Western way of imagining the Man of Empire set off by Japanese and Chinese femininity in the late nineteenth century and in Occupied Japan.

Golden's *Memoirs of a Geisha* was part of a rush to publish novels on geisha and other Orientalist themes that reached a climax at the turn of the millennium. The geisha face became a ubiquitous, easily-recognised trope of Asian female eroticism in Western book-cover art, the performing arts and media, especially in the wake of Golden's novel and Marshall's film of the same name. The whitened skin and red lips of the geisha-face and other similar signifiers of Asian eroticism appeared on many novels and non-fiction books, including the following: *Swallowing Clouds* (Ng 1999); *Shanghai Baby* (Hui Wei' 2001); *The Tale of Murasaki: a Novel* (Dalby 2,000); *Geisha: The Secret History of a Vanishing World* (Downer 2000); *One Hundred and One Ways* (Yoshikawa 1999); *Playing Madame Mao* (Lau Siew Mei 2000); *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* (Setlowe 2000); and Miranda Reign's *Geisha Secrets: A Pillow Book for Lovers* (2001). Most featured covers decorated by a Chinese, Japanese, Singaporean or any kind of Asian expressionless, white-painted, red-lipped face and, often, an averted gaze, which signified a hybridised 'geisha'/Butterfly mystique, and other fragmentary Orientalist signifiers such as body parts (eroticised necks and painted eyes), cherry trees, chrysanthemums, lotus

flowers, fans and kimonos.

The covers of these texts, often featuring Golden's written recommendations, visually referenced the novel or film versions of *Memoirs of a Geisha*: examples of such texts are Dalby's *Geisha* (1998) and *Kimono: Fashioning Culture* (2001); *Geisha: The Secret History of a Vanishing World* (2000) and *Madame Saddayakko: The Geisha Who Seduced the West* (2003). Other similar publications include an English translation of Masuda's *Autobiography of a Geisha* (2003); and coffee-table books such as Cobb's *Geisha: The Life, the Voices, the Art* (1997). Caruth's metaphor, a kite floating free of its owner's hand (2011 n.p.), can be appropriated here to epitomise the chaotic, culturally ungrounded nature of popular Western geisha/Butterfly representations in this period, in which academic studies into what might be called an authentic geisha identity themselves were caught up in Orientalist advertising.

The geisha/Madame Butterfly trope has dominated histories and myths of relationships between Japanese women and Western men since the 1880s, especially in the case of WWII American and Allied military personnel. Studies by Ma (1996), Dower (1999), Kelsky (2001), Prasso (2005), Wisenthal (2006) and others have investigated the intimate histories constituting the myth's basis in real-life relationships in Japan, out of which the generic geisha stereotype grew to pre-eminence in Western film, advertising and novels. In the past, writers of Butterfly novels made little distinction between rank or function in Japanese geisha hierarchies: the 'geisha girl', or 'geesha girl'—as the term has often been pronounced—came to signify almost any type of woman in the Japanese hospitality trade who performs one or a combination of several roles: entertainer, courtesan, bath attendant, hostess or prostitute. By the turn of the twenty-first century, as

seen on the covers of many 1990s books and in the film version of *Memoirs of a Geisha*, in which Ziyi Zhang, Michelle Yeoh and Gong Li played Japanese roles, Butterfly signified any Asian woman from almost any Asian country.

Memoirs of a Geisha has strong ties to the Butterfly myth and its stereotypes, since much of its romantic and commercial appeal derives from Butterfly connotations built up over time in Western culture. The terms 'geisha' and 'Madame Butterfly' were almost synonymous at this late stage in the twentieth century, both part of an Asian woman fetish well known in the sex trade and in popular culture. Golden's novel and Puccini's opera both contain dark themes of abuse running beneath an exotic, romantic surface. The level of erotic voyeurism in Golden's novel, and its voluminous sales figures, suggests there was a revival of interest in Oriental boudoir pursuits that had similarly fascinated Loti. *Memoirs of a Geisha* recaptures a sense of the desire to observe, in lurid detail, the abuse to which the novel suggests women and very young girls in the Japanese sex trade were subjected, inviting a Western viewer to spy on bedroom mysteries the opera alludes to but does not specify. Allison, describing readers' reactions to *Memoirs of a Geisha*, observes that they 'express[ed] feelings of actively possessing: of enjoying the sensation of drawing back the curtain of a private, secretive world and not only viewing it (voyeuristically) but also entering and even inhabiting it' (382).

Although *Memoirs of a Geisha* adopts a feminine Japanese voice, it is as much a text focussed on the Western masculine subject and his imagined way of being in the world as the fin de siècle Butterfly texts were. It replays the same masculine interest in the sexualisation of very young girls, but its prurient voyeurism is more pronounced. The following scene exemplifies the intense desire present in the novel to grasp by gazing at

an erotic spectacle, a symbolic rape. The spectacle, which unfolds in the claustrophobic intimacy of the Baron's private chambers away from friends and servants, is described over four detailed pages, couched in language with a distinct patterning, almost a musical form including pauses and changes in tempo and rhythm. The scene progresses in a series of stages punctuated by moments of silence that give it the character of a ritual. As each part of the kimono and undergarments are forcibly shed, the narrator intones its Japanese name, while Sayuri offers a token but specific act of physical or verbal resistance. Here in a symbolic rape, the abused Asian woman, who has always been hidden behind a veneer of romance and Orientalism, and has haunted the pages of Western men's novels since Loti first embraced O-Kane-san, becomes fully visible.

Before a mirror, the Baron stands behind Sayuri and removes the *obijime*, or cord that that holds the obi (large sash) in place while Sayuri tries to hold on to it (261). When the Baron unfastens the knot of the obi, she pleads with him to stop, but is told to be silent. The Baron unfastens the *datejime* (waistband) beneath the obi, and peels off the kimono. When Sayuri tries to 'clutch it shut', he pulls her arms apart. As her kimono pulls away, she experiences a 'sickening sensation', and cannot look in the mirror as the Baron pauses to caress her and stare at her reflection. With 'fingers like spiders', he unties the strings on her under-robe, and, pulls it open, pushing Sayuri away when she tries to 'grab at his hands'. He loosens the *koshimaki*, a length of fabric wound around the hips, while a 'sound like a sob' comes from Sayuri's throat. The narrative continues: 'Then as slowly as a man might pull the cover from a sleeping child, he drew open my under robe in a long breathless gesture, as though he were unveiling something magnificent' (262). In silence, she watches both her reflected self and the Baron as he takes in each detail of her body:

'First he drew the robe still further open to take in the outline of my waist. Then he lowered his eyes to the darkness that had bloomed on me in the years since I'd come to Kyoto ... His eyes remained there, a long while; but at length they rose up slowly, passing over my stomach, along my ribs, to the two plum-coloured circles—first on one side, and then on the other' (262). Humiliated, Sayuri sheds tears as the Baron (discreetly) masturbates. This naming ritual has marked each stage of a symbolic rape, an act of enforced intimate knowledge. Rather than romance, the register is pornographic, for the Baron ignores Sayuri's resistance until he, silent and absorbed, and she (humiliated), gaze at the exposed, reflected body. The mirror can be read as a metaphor of dissociation, Foucault's 'placeless place' (2002, 231-232):

In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent: such is the utopia of the mirror. (4)

This scene, dissociative for Sayuri, is the breathless centre of a novel that drives towards seeing the mythologised female Asian body revealed in a forbidden zone, the focus of voyeuristic desire. Here the Western self (a Japanese 'Baron') possesses by force the image displaced in the mirror.

To the Baron, this assault is 'just looking'. His words, whispered in Sayuri's ear during her ordeal, are relevant to the West's traditional sexual surveillance of Asian women: 'Don't be so worried, Sayuri ... for heaven's sake, I'm not going to do anything to you I shouldn't do. I only want to have a look, do you understand? There's nothing wrong in that. Any man would do the same' (261). So, within the novel, readers are 'just looking',

whereas Bell, in *Orientalism Transposed*, writes that 'looking means participating ... in the cruelty ... particularly at a remove ... To represent [images of cruelty] visually, whatever the motivations ... whatever the intentions of the artist and attitudes or viewpoints of the audiences ... is to reinscribe those acts, to make them into spectacle' (129). 'Just looking' is, in Kelly's view, a symbolic grasping, in which viewers are not passive, but actively involved (92). In this sense, the Baron's words could be reinterpreted as: '[F]or heaven's sake, Sayuri, I'm only raping you'.

In the novel, readers not only witness Sayuri's symbolic rape but they view a plethora of manipulations of female flesh, exposures, and vaginal violations, several of which involve coercion. Most of its erotic scenes inflict physical or emotional pain on females, or degrade and humiliate them. It appears, from Mineko Iwasaki's account of Golden's misrepresentations of the geisha world, that these are drawn from Golden's imagination and are a distortion of actual practice. The first body surveyed in *Memoirs of a Geisha* is Sayuri's sister, the pubescent Satsu. The child Sayuri, named Chiyo, and family friend, Mr Tanaka, watch a young male expose her sister's breasts and manipulate them: 'I caught sight of her ... leaning against a tree ... I knew I shouldn't be spying' (19). Then it is the child Chiyo's (Sayuri's) body that is exposed to a male gaze, prefiguring the mirror incident described above: 'When I turned—still squatting on the path, and covering my nakedness with my arms as best I could ... there stood Mr Tanaka. ... I sat before him naked, on my haunches in the dirt, with my hair tangled and my face dirty, with the smell of pond water on my skin' (19). When the girls' father sells Sayuri and Satsu into the 'flower and willow' trade', the aptly nicknamed 'Miss Fidget' checks their virginity. Both girls respond with fright and tears as she strips them and roughly examines them with

'dirty and infected fingers' (25). Before her 'mizuage', a young male doctor summarily examines Sayuri as she lies on the floor: 'The doctor knelt at my feet, and ... peeled open my under-robe to expose my legs.... I wanted to draw my legs together. I think the doctor had both of his hands between my legs [in another symbolic rape]' (273).

The rite of *mizuage* which follows reprises an outmoded practice to which prostitutes had to submit in the past. Like the dissociation and displacement of the female self represented in the mirror scene, it is in itself an act which alienates females from their own subjectivity and feelings, an act of grasping, a violation of *themis*. That this is part of a 'romantic' text invites the same argument that Loti used to explain away preying on girls, and that audiences seeing Puccini's opera are invited to embrace, albeit with more elegance: this was normal practice in Japan, standards were different in the nineteenth century, and so on.

As indicated in novels such as *Sayonara*, some Madame Butterfly/geisha stereotypes can have strong links to melancholy, depression and sexual aggression. Golden's novel positions the Western reader as a privileged voyeur watching, unseen, the subordination of vulnerable Asian female bodies to exposure, penetration and physical and mental abuse. Cruelty to the young and voyeurism have always been implicit in the Butterfly narrative but, in Golden's novel, they are honed to a new and disturbing level. To observe that Western Orientalism is culturally imprecise is to state the obvious, but here an idealised Asian femininity is closely associated with representations of extreme, sadistic cruelty inflicted on very young girls in hidden, claustrophobic spaces. This suggests a pronounced turn in Butterfly stereotyping to what might be called, to use Gilman's term, the 'pathological', a marker of masculine fear confused with a desire for

the sublime and beautiful.

Foreshadowing the cultural appropriations of Golden's novel, Larissa Lai in *When Fox is a Thousand* depicts the undesirable treatment that Asian femininity has had in the hands of Western Orientalist fetishists. Mr Hawkesworth, a Dickensian-style dealer buying traditional feminine clothing and Asian artefacts, lives in a 'crumbling' house of horrors. His garden is overgrown, 'competing with the trees for sunlight' (114). Lai, a Chinese writer well aware of the conflation of several cultural identities into the Butterfly stereotype, describes Mr Hawkesworth's sinister mannerisms, making the point that the desire motivating the Orientalist appropriator can border on the obscene: 'He [Mr Hawkesworth] took the garment in his long bony hands and scrutinised it with an almost pornographic gaze that made her shiver ... she cast her eyes to the flowered carpet so as not to see the long fingers wandering over the fabric, the small bright eyes missing nothing' (115). The study in which Hawkesworth examines Artemis' silk garments is 'cavernous'. She feels pity for the garments, vulnerable and delicate in the 'hawk's' hands' (114). Obscenity inherent in Hawkesworth's artefact display is repeated in the image of a Chinese smock stretched out on display at Artemis's Auntie Sue's house: '[S]he had seen such a smock hanging on the wall above the fireplace, propped up through the arm holes by a long bamboo pole. It was pale pink with green borders that matched the sofa' (22). The silk clothing, a metonymic substitute for the Orientalist display of Asian women, evokes Loti's appraisal of Kikou and Jasmine at his bride-viewing ceremony, and Golden's appeals to a Western pornographic gaze in *Memoirs of a Geisha*.

Lai's *When Fox is a Thousand* is an example of Asian women's writing in English that writes back against the appropriations of the Butterfly genre, throwing into

relief the symbolic violence done to Asian women in constructing them as entirely the creatures of men's desires. Writers such as Lai make it possible to imagine what the West's romance in Asia would have been like from a women's perspective. Lai also caricatures the idea of Butterfly and lampoons men with 'Asian woman fetishes'. In *When Fox is a Thousand*, the Fox Spirit functions as a subversive metaphor for Asian femininity. The legendary fox, a shape-changer for centuries, personifies the evolution of feminine autonomy and representation in Asian and Western history and culture. Tales of fox spirits are common in Chinese mythology, and, as they appear in Lai's text, are roughly equivalent in function to Biblical demons. They haunt humans, assume disguises and create mischief, such as turning milk sour, and cause psychological disorders. Foxes also allegedly have the power to re-animate and inhabit dead bodies. Kitsune spirits, their Japanese equivalents, are gifted with incredible powers, including possession, the ability to breathe fire or create fire by rubbing their tails together, to manifest in dreams, to create elaborate illusions, and even to bend time and space or drive people mad. As Fox progresses through its thousand years of change, this history is recovered and rewritten. 'Foxes', in the context of the novel, represent Chinese women, and '[h]uman history books make no room for Foxes' (5). As the librarian from Western Heaven comments in the text, 'you will find, if you are a true scholar, or spend any length of time here, that in those days [the T'ang Dynasty], very few records were kept on women, if any at all' (224).

The Fox's animation of the dead represents the recovery of events and feminine personalities from history via the written word. As the Fox re-animates its subject, it becomes the historian's art, that is, the writer's reanimation of historical characters: 'See how gentle I am, warm muzzle against stone cheek, breath sweet as embalming wood. It

is just a matter of sighing into the proper hollows of the body. I am a glass blower, swelling this fragile form with the shape of life, lucid and eternal' (17). The nature of both historical fact and personality is shown to be elusive, in the manner of Ch'an, as 'beneath every mirage is another mirage' (118).

Hsuan-Chung-Chi, quoted in Gulik's *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, describes the Fox's slow progression, over a thousand years, from earthly frustration, through existence in borrowed bodily forms, to autonomy of movement and form, which measures a progression from limitation and confinement to transcendence, and evokes a vision for the liberation of Asian females:

When a Fox is fifty years old, it acquires the ability to change itself into a woman. At a hundred it can assume the shape of a beautiful girl, or that of a sorcerer...At that age the Fox knows what is happening at a distance of a thousand miles...when the Fox is a thousand years old, it is in communication with heaven, and is then called Heavenly Fox, t'ien-hu. (Van Gulik 88)

In Lai's novel, the Fox tries on different identities, focusing on its reanimation experiments: 'New life must come from the reaches of the earth, from the sweet mouths of women who have passed on before their time' (18). In human form, she actively intervenes in the life of Artemis Wong, ancient history student in Canada. Artemis is named after the virgin huntress of Greek mythology. Her extroverted friend, Diane, (calling to mind Diana, the Roman equivalent of Artemis), takes advantage of men who expect her, as an Asian female, to play traditional, sexually submissive or glamorous roles, using the power of Asian female stereotypes for her own profit. In one instance, Diane, needing money to go on a shopping spree, and looking 'smashing in a lime-green

spandex dress, ... shimmied up to the bar and drew her legs over a high chrome stool, donning a forlorn look' (34). As intended, she attracts the attention of a man with an 'Asian woman fetish', who casually mentions that his hobby is 'boudoir photography'. Diane feeds the entrapped 'Asianophile' the false information that her mother was an operatic singer in Tokyo. The man responds, predictably, with 'She must have made a charming Madame Butterfly'. Wishing to rebuff this racist assumption, Diane insists that her mother sang Wagnerian roles, and not the role of Madame Butterfly. The situation is defused with humour: '[t]he image of a small Asian woman battling the octaves through two and a half hours as a tragic Germanic blonde ... was too much ... a confused grin bloomed across his face' (35). Diane eventually steals his credit card and takes Artemis on a shopping spree: '[a] man like that must know that pretty girls come only at a price' (35). From her perspective, men's vulnerability to deception is self-inflicted, induced by a limited, stereotypical view of how Asian women are supposed to act.

Exit A, by Anthony Swofford, an ex-Marine sniper during the Gulf War (2007), represents other voices missing from previous constructions of the Butterfly narrative, and brings to the fore the trauma that undergirds many veterans' accounts of romances in Asia. *Exit A* was written not long after *Jarhead*, Swofford's first novel recording his deep disillusionment with service in the US Army in the First Gulf War. It depicts what Shay calls 'secondary trauma' (2002; 83) in a post-WWII, post-Vietnam generation, the children of parents directly involved in the morally-ambiguous events of WWII, Korea and the Vietnam Conflict, some of whom feel a sense of personal implication in violations of *thèmis* in a parents' war. The adult children struggle with the implications of their father's and their country's military excesses in WWII and in later wars, questioning their ideas of

'how the world should work', feeling they have inherited some of the moral legacy of these actions. It adds to the discussion of veterans' trauma the impact of psychological wounds on their children, and also the effects of inherited guilt by association which places children in the position of both perpetrator and victim. It also explores the effects on children exposed to violence on a military base. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Swofford documents his own struggles to find peace with his war veteran father in *Hotels, Hospitals and Jails*.

Exit A retains some elements of traditional Butterfly romances, but frequently subverts them. Its American man-Asian woman lovers are Severin Boxx and Virginia Kindwall, both the children of military fathers. Born on different American Air Force airbases in 1972, near the close of the Vietnam Conflict, they grew up on Yokosuka Air Base, Japan, near Tokyo. They are the children of career military fathers whose roles in the armed forces and subsequent PTSD alienate them from their families, and expose their children to a hard-line masculinity charged with aggression. Virginia, the base commander's daughter and the novel's female protagonist, is known outside the airbase enclave as a *hafu*, or child of American and Japanese parents. She is the daughter of the widowed General Kindwall (an ironic name), commander of Yokosuka Air Base and a Japanese mother, Nakashima Sachiko, who died at Virginia's birth at Travis Air Force Base. Virginia's life is immersed in tragedy from the start: at the time of her birth, her father was 'at the base morgue, overseeing the identification and shipment home of the newest dead boys from Vietnam. Other military babies were born to fathers who had died in Vietnam' (2). Like Lai's Artemis, her character goes against the grain of Butterfly stereotyping, since she wears diamonds in her ears, pearls, and combat boots, and 'beat[s]

up perverts in Hinuku' (248). She becomes involved in high-profile gang crime, moving from robberies at gunpoint to kidnapping, then eventually serves a prison term. In this way, her life illustrates the 'undoing of character' that severe trauma can cause (Shay 1994). The origins of Virginia's acting-out lie in a violent childhood environment. Arriving at the base guardhouse, to live with her father, she witnesses a scene in which five military police were 'wrestling a GI to the ground', one of whom 'buried his knee in the man's spine while his partner stepped on the man's head' (100). Virginia is already dissociative, numb with trauma, since she 'didn't feel her father's hug' and 'played with toys that belonged to some other girl' (100).

The adolescent Severin Boxx is named after Saint Severinus, a martyr. He becomes painfully aware of America's implication in the atomic bombings at Hiroshima, and his own father's use of napalm in Vietnam, and the ongoing problems of American troops' crimes, murders and rapes against nearby civilians. Although Severin is a victim of war through having a psychologically-injured father, he is conscious of being a perpetrator of violence by default. There are numerous images of coercive violence and the memories of past wars throughout the novel. For instance, the sports ground is within sight of 'jet-fuelled, mind-blowing birds of human prey' (9) on the flight lines at the airbase, which had formerly been used by the Japanese as a training ground for pilots, and the houses in Tokyo were 'built on the ashes of the fire-bombing' (101-102). South Koreans protest in front of the Yasakuni shrine, which honours the Japanese dead in all wars since 1868, demanding recompense for 'raping and pillaging in South Korea' by the Japanese (99). The area around the base was the domain of 'prostitutes, junkies, drunks, and reefer kings' (28). Here a *yakisoba* woman (a noodle-seller) is 'punched in the face for

short-changing a GI by five yen', and a thirteen-year-old is gang-raped by four marines' (27-28).

Severin's father is a career combat pilot and instructor who had served in Korea and Vietnam. He and Virginia's father, General Kindwall, are distant and continuously absent, a loss which haunts both children. Their fathers are both suffering from PTSD. Severin's father misses his graduation because his father 'couldn't sit in an auditorium for the length of a commencement ceremony. Too many people, too much time, [and] closed doors' (218). General Kindwall, a traumatic, conflicted character, has eyes that 'moved constantly, checking a room, inspecting the doorways and corners ... a constant assessment of the threat situation' (227). His face was scarred by a 'bouncing betty' exploding device in Vietnam (3), and he 'hadn't slept much since Vietnam' (25). Virginia says of her father, 'I never knew him' (227).

Both children experience grief for the loss of their fathers' attention. For instance, as Severin watches a jet take off, he is reminded that his father too wanted to escape: 'the exhaust on his face ... cooking the sky, burning mach., escaping (97): '[h]e wondered if he'd ever really had a father' (218). References to grief for this lost father are numerous, but a particularly poignant metaphor for a child's grief is in the stainless-steel band of his father's smashed watch, returned to Severin after his father's death in a plane crash. Severin would 'wake up in the middle of the night, thinking it was ticking', only to see the 'silent, mangled wristband ... Nothing' (249).

General Kindwall is a model for the kind of masculinity fostered in the aggressive, hyper-masculine culture that Severin rebels against. In his view, Kindwall, in his role as the base football coach, teaches boys to be 'bestial and cruel', which makes

them resemble 'baboons' (28). However, Severin is also conflicted about his feelings for Kindwall, particularly since the coach and mentor embraces the boys at times, offering a type of rough affection. Kindwall's name is ironic, since he can 'strike North Korea with a rain of bombs and fire more effective and impressive than ever unleashed before' (9).

References to past wars infiltrate everyday life at the airbase. The planes Kindwall commands are within two miles of Severin's front door. When Severin was born, his father and his air force friends lit up Flaming Marys and Wailing Jennys, firecrackers, the feminine names of which connote the suffering the men have inflicted on women they have bombed. The novel, like other post-war novels, romantically pairs a victim with her symbolic abuser. Kindwall, before he was the airbase's captain, flew bombing raids in Vietnam. Kindwall's girlfriend, Miyoko, is a Japanese *hibakusha* who always wears something red (23), a signifier of her wounds and victim status from WWII. Because of cultural prejudice in Japan against those contaminated by black acid rain, and because she is skilled at more than domestic duties, she works as a mechanic. Miyoko also plays the role of the nurturing Butterfly in the narrative, a scarred and victimised woman, older than Kindwall. She heals and restores him with a seven-day seaweed diet and applications of green tea enemas, changing his 'dark vision of the world to a vision of brightness, and white light, goodness even' (9). She departs from Butterfly tradition, however, by eventually leaving him for a Japanese man.

Through references to the *hibakusha*, Kindwall, a bomber pilot in Vietnam, is associated with WWII b-29 bomber pilots, a conflation also present in *The Sexual Occupation of Japan*, in which Japanese men associated former RF-8 Crusader pilot Saxon with the bombing of Tokyo (108). As base commander, after 'one phone call',

Kindwall can activate 'two dozen bombers dropping five hundred pound balls of flaming earth and metal on Pyongyang [in North Korea]' (26). He recalls feeling 'god-like' in Vietnam, musing that, in his b-52, sighting his target, he 'knew the future' (27). The people he bombed were 'always soon-to-be-dead, never the living' (26). As a base commander, however, he is well-acquainted with moral ambiguity: he had 'fallen so far from the comfort of a cockpit. From there you never hear the wailing of the dying and their families' (26). 'Every pilot thought he was god; if you didn't, you'd know you were the devil' (27), which echoes Lifton's sentiments, mentioned earlier, in relation to the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which brought out the conflict inherent in using devilish weapons for heavenly purposes (309).

The novel reconciles the divisions and traumas separating the children from their fathers in a scene in Hue City, Vietnam, where Kindwall, unable to belong in America, lives in a hotel beside a 'slow, dirty river' in a polluted landscape (228), waiting to die. He had returned to Vietnam 'to try to repair the country' (285), to redeem the past, something some Vietnam veterans in the world outside the novel tried to do after the war. Kindwall realises he had lost his family to the Air Force, and appears to identify with the people he had killed, telling Severin that 'the family explodes like a grenade you're holding to your belly. But it's not a grenade, it's a nuclear bomb, and your family is gone, and our community, and everything you knew' (230).

Virginia and her Japanese daughter embrace Kindwall, and healing tears are shed, although Kindwall watches the river, which is his way of crying (286). Both Virginia and Severin, however, as adults, accept that their war-damaged, flawed fathers were products of military roles and a culture in which it was hard to perform fatherly,

domestic roles. Virginia, defining the gulf that separates combat and civilian roles and mindsets, has grown in understanding that these fathers, as well as the children, had been wounded by their difficult professions: 'They were giants at war. They killed for a living. And then they came home to their families. Of course they were screwed up' (268).

Cronenberg's film, based on David Hwang's play of the same name, *M. Butterfly*, directly attacks the Butterfly myth, but does not completely dismiss it as mere racism, since it also shows the passions and tangled emotions that drive its appeal, and Asian self-Orientalising complicity in perpetuating the myth. In both play and film, French diplomat René Gallimard falls in love with his idea of a 'perfect woman', Song LiLing, a male actor and Chinese government spy, when he watches her perform an aria from Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*. Song performs the role of a woman during twenty years of intimacy with René. His physical, sexual body was concealed by 'traditional Chinese modesty', flowing robes, and René's need to believe in an ideal. Song similarly conceals his identity as a spy for the Chinese government, using René to gather information on French state secrets concerning the West's deployment in Vietnam, a former French colony, which led to René's imprisonment in Paris for treason.

In the eyes of the French government, the press and popular opinion, René was not only a traitor, but an object of ridicule, a fool. His subconscious fears and insecurities materialise when his vulnerability and gullibility were publicly exposed, as were Madame Butterfly's. In a reversal of the traditional Butterfly narrative, Song betrays his Western lover (Hwang 1989; 96). René self-image, bound tightly to the myth, disintegrates when he experiences what it is like to be the victim of men 'behaving badly'. Disgraced, he enacts a grim ritual before an audience of fellow prisoners. His red-nailed, shaking hand

presses a button on a tape recorder that plays *Un bel di vedremo* ('One beautiful day'), from Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*. The aria is about extreme loyalty to a loved one: the source of Gallimard's pain is a sense of *thémis* betrayal, an aspect of 'honour', just as it was for Long's and Puccini's Butterfly.

René dons a black wig, and applies with an unskilled hand the white face makeup and red lips of a geisha. Gallimard's image, reflected in a mirror, is thus transformed into a gross caricature of his 'perfect woman', Butterfly, or Chinese opera singer, Song Liling. The blurred lines and crude red eye smudges parody the artistically drawn fine lines and delicate shading of a geisha's makeup, or traditional Chinese theatre makeup that reddens the eye area, demonstrating a roughness of touch that further highlights his inability to capture the ideal and make it his. René thus mocks his own obsession with ideals and delusions. His image, reflected in a mirror, fills him with loathing. The curly black wig, lacking the performer's sleek styling, completes the clown image, pathetic and tragic. In a grey robe, he assumes a *seppuku* position and stabs himself in the neck in imitation of Butterfly's suicide, reversing the theory that art mimics life.

This scene portrays René's response to the unbearable loss of love, ideals and honour. The play has been read on many levels (Wisenthal 2006), but, because it came to public notice in the last years of the millennium, it can be seen as portraying the death and disillusionment of Western Imperialism, the demise of an Empire and its high ideals and deep contradictions. The timing of Cronenberg's film connects the Butterfly-Gallimard play to a wider narrative, the rise and fall of traditional Western Imperialism. The film was made in 1993, the same decade in which the British returned Hong Kong to the

Chinese in 1997, in one of the old European Empire's last acts of relinquishment. In the film, Gallimard's personal despair is linked to the national demise of old European colonialist dreams and ideals, and also the Empire's quest for colonies that led to the Vietnam War. The West's real and imagined position of privilege and power in the world, and the West's view of itself, was changing, causing deep anxiety. In mourning for the loss of an ideal, the French diplomat stands for Western mourning for lost heritage, status, and ideals (innocence), for what could have been. He is a colonialist with feet of clay in a lethal confrontation with 'a heart of darkness', a perpetrator turned victim, destroyed by his own desires. By painting his face with a geisha death mask, René personifies the fragmenting of personality, the psychological wounds, that can occur when an optimistic idealism encounters a contradictory reality, a conflict that is at the heart of the Butterfly narrative, and is part of the reason the Butterfly narrative has appealed to some veteran writers.

A type of Loti, René is forced to give up his belief in Madame Butterfly as a sustaining ideal. He is faced with public humiliation and shame when the 'perfect Asian woman' he thought he had loved for twenty years turns out to be a reflection of himself: a man. The significance of Gallimard's image, as Butterfly, reflected in a mirror, calls to mind the legendary Narcissus, who is captivated by his own beauty, trapped by an obsession that leads to his eventual doom. Kristeva links this kind of obsession with depression: 'Depression is the hidden face of Narcissus, the face that is to bear him away into death, but of which he is unaware while he admires himself in a mirage' (5-6). Thus, Gallimard's obsession with Butterfly, a beautiful ideal, was a way of viewing his own self. By extension, men's fascination with the Butterfly myth is a way of viewing the Western,

masculine self in the world. Gallimard's death enacts the trauma inherent in the loss of ideals, when the imagined self is shown to be illusory. It shows the negative effects on the psyche when concepts of 'how the world should work' are violated.

Since the nineteenth century, American men's imaginations have been captivated by Asian women promising them romance, youth, and love. The dream of a perfect woman in a perfect world does not easily fade. Praso, in her recent survey of American attitudes to Asian women, *The Asian Mystique* (2005), describes the scene in the Philippines' red-light districts as Western men, refugees of the old order, wander the streets in search of the Asian mystique, the rejuvenation of lost ideals. Praso's prose paints a gloomy, depressing picture of the demise of Western hegemony in Asia, in which dreams are maintained in the Asian sex industry:

The street is dotted with wandering foreign men, the older ones gaunt with white hair, the younger ones paunchy ... The isolation of being checked out from life is a solitary experience, a cold despair, and they project an abject loneliness, an unspoken admission of failure ... They seem anaesthetised, in search of tender rejuvenating skin, hoping that human contact may somehow restore their sensation, vitality, and youth. What they can buy here, unlike with prostitutes in their own countries, is affection, and a sense of feeling young again. (275)

A passage in *The Sexual Occupation of Japan* is similar: 'For Mari [a bar hostess] there is no army of handsome, rich young Americans—just the occasional grey-haired veteran of the blossom-dappled floating world' (197). Young Japanese women do not need men to buy them silk stockings, lipstick and tins of condensed milk as their great-grandmothers did in the post-war period, from which so many Butterfly tales emerged. The Butterfly stereotype had lost much of its power to cut the world down to a size the West can

comfortably contemplate.

The sheer abundance of neo-Orientalist texts being sold at that time these novels were written suggests that the approach of the new millennium sparked a period of nostalgic reflection, a revisiting of old relationships of power and privilege in the past, which the Butterfly/ Pinkerton dyad had represented throughout the twentieth century. Western Imperialism, European Empires and the idealistic notions that sustained them and sanctioned its appropriations and moral excesses had broken apart during a century of savage wars. However, memories of past sovereignty, prosperity and power remained, contributing to the intensity of the revival of Western interest in all things Oriental in the last decade of the twentieth century. It was not just sentiment and old men's dreams that lay behind this nostalgic period, but a type of millennial anxiety, a preoccupation with *thèmis* in the sense of 'how the world should work' for Westerners, noted earlier in Michener's *Sayonara*. Racism and sexism co-exist with trauma and anxiety in Orientalist fantasies: pre-millennial anxiety fuels a desire to inhabit, at least in the imagination, a pre-trauma past of relative innocence, which does not exist, since the utopia had been brought about by appropriating territories inhabited by people stereotyped into safe, knowable, often racially-determined characteristics, the dilemma Conrad had represented in *Heart of Darkness*.

At the end of the twentieth century, it was very evident that Asian countries and cultures the West had once dominated, or imagined it did, were emerging as technological and political powers. Imaginatively inhabiting a low-technology Asian world, in a romance with a woman whose femininity has changed little over long years, recalls what it must have felt like before Western security and superiority were challenged. The

approach of the end of the millennium underlined the passing of an era: unquestioned Western global domination really was over, taking with it many of the privileged pleasures Western men had enjoyed overseas. In an obsession with neo-Orientalism, the West reflects on its diminished circumstances. Madame Butterfly, an image of great sentimental significance to American men in the past, was also receding from view, or, rather, from a Western grasp. A quotation from Setlowe's text, already seen in Chapter Five, prosaically sums up millennial anxieties concerning the West's changed global status and its economic and sexual prospects: 'Lieutenant Pinkerton can't buy Madame Butterfly for a hundred and eighty yen anymore for a three-week marriage' (32)

CONCLUSION

Gilman's notion that stereotypes reveal the fears and anxieties of those stereotyping others has redirected research for this thesis away from a relatively simple focus on sexism and racism in stereotypes of Asian femininity in twentieth century Western fiction to a more complex analysis of sub-textual war injury and trauma in Butterfly novels. During the writing of this thesis, old copies of little-studied novels, such as Roripaugh's *A Fever for Living*, and Holland's *Able Company*, were sourced and imported from obscure bookshops in America. These texts describe Western military men's behaviour in harsh conditions offset by romances with Butterfly-like Japanese women. At first, the novels did not appear to address psychological trauma, since it was hard to identify the vulnerability and psychological wounding behind the ultra-masculinist characters, but a close examination of the novels through trauma and stereotyping theory while considering their socio-historical historical contexts revealed a great deal of traumatic content.

Most twentieth century Butterfly novels were published after wars in Asia, and thus represented a brand of masculinity fostered in the large-scale mobilisation of men in WWII and throughout the West's continued involvement in Korea and Vietnam. Large numbers of men brought home psychological and moral injuries inculcated in military training alone or complicated further by the stresses of active service, and internalised in military culture, in which there was no mercy for the traumatised, feminised man, or, for that matter, the traumatised Asian woman, both of whom were unsuitable protagonist material in novels for Western consumption at the time. In general, representations of

men's aggressive, disorderly behaviour in post-war twentieth century Western literature were fashioned before writers and the reading public had enough advanced knowledge about war psychology to understand that this anti-social behaviour was a response to injury. Such influences played a large part in constraining diversity in representations of enduring war and its aftermath.

After Puccini's opera made the Butterfly narrative visible throughout the Western world, its representations of the Western, masculine self in a foreign country fascinated male writers to the extent that they continued to engage with it for the next century. Why did Western men form such an emotional attachment to the stereotypical relationship portrayed embedded in Loti's and Puccini's narratives: what factors caused and perpetuated this long-standing obsession? Something other than Orientalist desire must have motivated successive generations of male writers to revive its dark, melancholic themes and stereotypical fin de siècle protagonists in their own twentieth century novels.

The Butterfly narrative in the later twentieth century recalled how it felt to be a Western subject when the West's economic and military forces dominated the world, an era in which faith ran high that Western moral, technological, artistic, economic and evolutionary superiority would enlighten the rest of the world. Western self-image fell from a very great height throughout the twentieth century, as, in a slow decline, empires disintegrated, and a series of terrible wars drew out of Western ingenuity weapons and policies of such savagery that they surpassed anything that other, ostensibly inferior nations had produced.

The Butterfly narrative is, on the surface, a simple story—so simple it left room for writers to flesh out its structures with their own particular circumstances and anxieties,

rewriting the same story in different contexts, retrieving, often against evidence to the contrary, a cherished vision of Western armed forces and Westerners in general as a force for good in the world, retaining Conrad's famous 'spark from the sacred fire' (17) bringing prosperity, democracy and humane standards of behaviour to a dark world.

The Butterfly narrative as it appeared in Puccini's version can also be thought of as a trauma narrative linked to *thèmis* failure, in which traumatic themes are buried beneath a seductive overlay of artistic forms: music, costumes, drama and singing. Its stereotypical characters and narrative forms provided a way of representing the West's painful moral failures in Asia that had injured both Western perpetrators and Asian women. After WWII, the Butterfly romance and its Puccini-esque connotations became a way of rewriting a traumatised Western subject back to symbolic wholeness after shattering experiences in a series of ferocious wars. In other words, there were very strong emotional ties evident in the novels linking Western identity with the Butterfly narrative. The narrative had increased significance for Western veteran writers who had been to Asia, since it attached their own often difficult, individual lives to a greater narrative of Western endeavour in the world.

This thesis has argued that *Madame Butterfly* became a foundational trauma narrative addressing a central conflict in the idea of manifest destiny, a conflict that took several different forms in individual lives in accord with prevailing political and social anxieties. It contained proto-typical structures that proved highly adaptable to representing twentieth century Western anxiety and what LaCapra (79) calls 'perpetrator trauma', and Shay a 'betrayal' (2003;16), and 'moral injury' (Shay 16; Frame 2015). Such terms point to a common malady; that is, the psychological and moral wounding that

occurs when personal beliefs about 'how the world works', *thèmis*, are violated (Shay 2003; 5). The writing in this study has brought to the fore strategies that Western, male writers used to represent two 'ghosts' suppressed from public discourses: the 'unmanly' traumatised man and the burned, beaten and raped female victims of and an imperialist mentality and twentieth century total war. Writing within Madame Butterfly conventions in films and novels has allowed a degree of suppressed despair and trauma to be drawn up into language and conscious mind, offering a way of representing, albeit in disguise, the unseemly historical skeletons in history, such as prostitution, abortions, poverty, diseases, exploitation, desertions, and racism, violations of *thèmis* which have made Western men in their own eyes and in the eyes of the world 'unworthy' of their high aspirations (Webb 430; Hwang 92).

From its beginning, the Butterfly narrative as Westerners came to know it bundled together moral and psychological injury, death and wounding, perpetrators and victims in a simple but powerful form that seduced its (Western) audiences and fixed the geisha/ Butterfly stereotype in Western consciousness. The familiar stereotype downplayed the shortcomings of Western male protagonists and legitimised Western policies in Asia, making use of metaphors of Western agency from the past to construct a meaningful national self-image. This recourse to the old stereotypes and narrative forms represented a type of language failure, in which writers, facing a paucity of what can be said about the horrors of what people do to each other in war, fell back on the familiar and stereotypical, settling for a partial communication with a civilian readership rather than an explicitly realistic approach.

Arguing that many Butterfly novels can be categorised simultaneously as trauma

novels and as sexist and racist Asian romances, this study has examined changes made to Butterfly stereotypes at several points along a century-long continuum, each of which were moments of moral anxiety testing the West's ethical integrity: the paradigms for future use were set up in the *fin de siècle* in an opera constructing the prostitution and abuse of young girls as high romance; after WWII and after the Korean War, Madam Butterfly stereotypes and narratives represented a traumatised, burned and scarred Japanese female survivor who haunts the subtexts of post-war romances in Asia. Her human vulnerability is brought home to Western military men, precipitating a sense of perpetrator trauma, of horror at what the West's brilliant but diabolical weapons did to human flesh. The Pinkerton and Butterfly characters were both refashioned to represent the alienation of both from their home cultures.

Male protagonists took on the connotations associated with an attractive Pinkerton, already known to readers, who, although possessed of unquestionable masculinity and status, is in need of forgiveness. Puccini's Pinkerton, whose display of remorseful sorrow departs significantly from previous versions of the character, and, at the end of the opera, from gender norms of the time, captured the conflicted state of Western subjects serving their country by inglorious means. Pinkerton, although erring morally, and needing to be redeemed by an Asian woman's sacrifice, is nevertheless an iconic figure, good protagonist material, already accepted and desirable in the Western imagination. An engagement with Butterfly narrative forms and stereotypes thus has made it possible to insert a familiar nineteenth century Western persona into a contemporary narrative. The Butterfly narrative's aura of romance, carried over from the opera, sugar-coats representations of otherwise-unmentionable aspects of masculine and

feminine pain, including psychological injuries, moral wounds and suicidality. It appears to have had particular significance for military men; it was a mythical structure through which they could rewrite and make sense of their own troubled histories. For some writers, such as Roripaugh and Peacock, it was a way to connect with a public very far from military culture, since it rendered the veterans' trauma narratives at least partly intelligible, placing both reader and writer in territory familiar to both.

Sayonara, normalising the abusive, misogynist behaviour of its white male characters, idealised men in the armed forces and demonised assertive American women. These strong binary oppositions, and the representation of a dual suicide, constituted a subtext of post-war domestic violence beneath a romantic exterior. The novel suppressed mention of behaviour traits that are often acquired in military training, in which the resistance to kill is broken down, and those instincts required for killing are brought to the surface. *Sayonara* became a popular seminal twentieth century Butterfly romance, and its images of attractive American military masculinity had great popular appeal, particularly since it was made into a Hollywood movie. Michener's novel is an example of how the Butterfly narrative, with its themes of dominance, injury, violent death and ultimate redemption through sacrifice, almost buried under a romantic veneer, seems to have provided a structure within which the after-effects of war could be domesticated for a popular readership.

Melancholic, nostalgic evocations of nineteenth century Western supremacy in Japan and among Japanese women were important elements in Madame Butterfly novels set during the American and Allied Forces' Occupation of Japan and after the Korean and Vietnam wars. War zones in Vietnam and Korea did not signify a moral or physical

victory for Western troops, and neither were they readily redeemable as sites of struggle and loss for just causes. Setting novels in Japan tapped into memories of life for Western forces under MacArthur, when they enjoyed high status in Japan as conquerors and world liberators, having fought and triumphed over a powerful, ideology-driven forces. This status is, of course, entirely consistent with the West's own ideal view of itself projected in international political discourse at the time.

Sayonara, while idealising Western men's intimate relationships with young Japanese girls as the answer to American racism and wartime hatred, also suppressed emotional responses to the injuries its Asian female characters and their families had received during WWII, suggesting instead that the women's capacity to suffer graciously rendered such compassion superfluous. Michener's novel, sub-textually to do with love between a band of brothers, focussed on the difficulties of conditions at home for them in the 1950s, particularly the difficulties they faced in bringing Japanese wives to America. The prevailing views on masculinity in the second half of the twentieth century stigmatised any traces of weakness in soldiers, but particularly the signs of psychological illness, which feminised them. Thus, it is not surprising that responsibility for the social ills the novel addresses should have been projected on to Western female characters, and the hope of healing on to Japanese women, since identifying post-war domestic problems as stemming from war injuries would have feminised *Sayonara's* male characters. By writing a Butterfly romance, Michener mapped out the conditions that the male characters required to feel 'whole'.

Gurney's *Fifth Daughter* adopted Butterfly stereotypes and structures to construct a critique of the American and Allied forces' use of the atomic bomb, and to

create a sense of order in a novel struggling to reconcile contradictory loyalties: a belief in the idea of the moral Western subject and sympathy for the civilian, feminine victims of the bombing campaigns. Holland's novel, *The Exposed*, used the Butterfly narrative for similar purposes, although its critique of the American deployment of the bomb is far more direct, since its publication was held over until several decades later. *Valhalla* focused on *thèmis* abuses against WW II and Korean War combat veterans who were further traumatised in punitive military institutions. In this novel, Butterfly adopts the form of a prostitute providing psychologically and morally-wounded men with the only healing ministrations their masculine pride would accept.

Butterfly representations, however, took on more complex, even sinister connotations after Vietnam in Setlowe's novel, *The Sexual Occupation of Japan*. Threatening, castrating Circe-like attributes were only partially countered by a saint-like ability to heal. *The Emperor's General* was preoccupied, like *Sayonara*, with the American military man and his integrity, both after WWII and in Vietnam. Madame Butterfly in Webb's novel retains saintly, healing qualities but maintains a noticeable silence concerning sexual violence in Vietnam. The novel is an example of the divided consciousness characteristic of the Butterfly genre: Marsh's conflicted feelings about General MacArthur are a metaphor for his divided loyalties to the US Marines, to warriors on the side of right and the perpetrators of unethical behaviour in Vietnam. This internal conflict brings to the fore America's moral failings in its administration of justice after WWII and connects these to moral failures in Vietnam.

Nineteenth century representations of trauma and anxiety in earlier stereotypes of Asian femininity and Western masculinity changed in the years after the Vietnam War,

transferring figures from a period of Western dominance to a painful modern context, and positioning them in a traditional narrative form embellished with a sense of Orientalist exoticism and feminine redemption. At the same time, they addressed millennial anxiety to do with the loss of Empire.

In the years straddling the turn of the millennium, Golden's *Memoirs of a Geisha*, like Loti's travelogue, described the wholesale abuse of young women in the Japanese sex industry, while opening up possibilities for Western readers to imagine themselves in a privileged position, spying in harem-like places, satisfying a voyeuristic desire to observe without repercussion the abuse of Asian female bodies, the erotic aspects of Butterfly's life suppressed in Puccini's opera. However, when young Asian female writers in the 1990s began to publish in English for a Western readership, Western ways of thinking about Asian women expanded, and the Internet and other new media did away with the geographical barriers that foster myths. These new writers enjoyed lampooning men with an 'Asian woman fetish' and caricaturing the stereotypes. These changes indicate that a particular, limiting way of viewing Asian women and Westerners in the twenty-first century is unlikely to perform the same function in men's writing as it did in the twentieth century. The numbers of Butterfly/geisha novels and others with Orientalist themes began to diminish a few years after Hong Kong and the Kowloon Peninsula were relinquished to the Chinese. The usefulness and adaptability of the stereotype appears to be at an end, particularly since the Twin Towers were felled and wars in the Middle East intensified.

The Butterfly mystique appears to have been the product of specific geo-political expediencies, moments of crisis, and ideological circumstances that brought large numbers of Japanese women into contact with Western men. It is unlikely that the West

will continue to represent Japanese women as Butterflies in the way in which they were portrayed in the twentieth century, for Western armies at present are not fighting in Asia, and the world has changed so much that it may no longer be possible to think of Asian femininity in the same way. Swofford's *Exit A* demonstrates the inadequacy of simplifying the *thèmes* abuses of previous generations into Butterfly stereotypes, adding a layer of complexity to thinking about the Western subject in Asia and the aftermath of war that requires more painful modes of handling redress and reconciliation than casting a romantic patina over it. Lai's *When Fox is a Thousand* points to creative ways of imagining Asian femininity that make Madame Butterfly in a modern context seem inadequate, even funny. Since it is unlikely that Butterfly themes will not be as relevant to healing moral and psychological trauma as they did in the twentieth century, the Butterfly narrative will become another old tale like others from the past. Although the stereotypes that served several generations of men in the twentieth century are unlikely to have much relevance in contemporary wars, Puccini's opera will continue to be viewed because of its sheer artistry.

This thesis has discovered that more research needs to be done in analysing representations of masculine trauma in war novels written between the end of WWII and the early 1960s, since these novels emerged before radical socio-political changes began to loosen constraints on 'un-American' political representations in public discourses. The strategies writers employed at the time to negotiate a restrictive publishing environment and equally restrictive ideas of masculinity, particularly in the armed forces, are worthy of investigation through contemporary trauma theories, since that research is likely to reveal layers of meaning that have been, as yet, scarcely noticed. Research into covert

representations of trauma in novels from this period is under-developed in academic discourses, particularly when considering the scale of the twentieth century's mass deployments to war-zones, intense exposure to military culture, and an environment stigmatising mental illness. More translations of Japanese women's writing about the Occupation of Japan and other periods addressed in this thesis are also needed, as are alternative accounts of WWII and the Korean War, and Vietnamese women's writing about the Vietnam War, since our knowledge of the West's history in Asia has been so overwhelmingly shaped by a conventionally masculine viewpoint.

ENDNOTES

¹ See Illica, Luigi and Giuseppi Giacosa, 'Madama Butterfly'. *A Treasury of Opera Librettos*.

² This study refers to Western military personnel as 'he'. This is because women, for most of the twentieth century, were barred from performing the same roles as men. The modern-day military is of course very different. The use of the masculine pronoun is not intended to belittle the work of women, such as nurses, who also worked in combat zones.

³ There were of course other lesser-known 'geisha' plays and stories: Mascagni's *Iris* (1898) was another Butterfly text well-known in the fin de siècle.

⁴ 'Cio-cio-san' is the Italian form of the English 'Cho-Cho-san'. The Italian spelling was used in Puccini's opera, which is the primary text on which twentieth century versions of the narrative are modelled.

⁵ The 'flower and willow world' refers to an industry that social researchers Dalby (2000) and Downer (2000) described as structured by hierarchies marking degrees of artistry and entertainment, a complexity not addressed in fin de siècle and twentieth century writing featuring Japanese 'geisha' or Madame Butterfly characters.

⁶ 'The West' or 'Western' are shorthand terms for a group of countries sharing British and European histories and culture, including Britain, the United States of America, Europe, and British colonies such as Australia and New Zealand.

⁷ Van Rij in *The Search for the Real Madame Butterfly* (157–16), offers a more comprehensive summary of the narrative as it was understood in the twentieth and twenty-first-century West.

⁸ In Belasco's play, Pinkerton embraces the dying Butterfly but only utters one line, 'O Cho-Cho-San!' (32).

⁹ However, the two competing aspects of Pinkerton's character were never really resolved, which makes him more interesting to a modern aesthetic and increases the character's viability as model for other writers representing moral conflict.

¹⁰ Twentieth-century producers of *Madama Butterfly* continued to wrestle with the opera's portrayal of the conflicted Western masculine subject. Commenting on Albert Carre's 1906 production of *Madama Butterfly* in Paris, Smith suggests that this production was 'designed to ensure easy bourgeois acceptance of an opera which had previously shown an uncomfortable picture of colonial self-interest' (Smith qtd. in Groos, 761).

¹¹ Tragic stories about Western men and Japanese lovers pre-dated Loti's and Puccini's texts, but this thesis focuses on the version that made the most impact on Western audiences, Puccini's opera, which glamourised it, and generated films and other forms of the narrative that helped to fix it in Western imaginations.

¹² Stereotypes are distinguished from cultural stereotyping processes, and are not in themselves 'pathological' (Stangor 1).

¹³ There appears to be some uncertainty about the correct term to apply to Song Liling: in commentary on *M Butterfly*, Song is often referred to as a 'transvestite', but others disagree. Since female characters in Chinese theatre were always played by men in women's clothes, the term 'female impersonator' seems appropriate.

¹⁴ That Caruth's work emphasises the importance of the writer in trauma literature has, in general, been underplayed in contemporary literary trauma discourses, in most part because of her earlier work, which engaged strongly with Lacanian and poststructuralist concepts of the unknowability and un-name-ability of the traumatic moment, a concept that can shut down literature's power to address issues of ethical offence and redress.

¹⁵ Hartman is referring to 'the author is dead' theorists who practiced textual analysis in isolation from the writer and the world outside the text. Extreme forms of textual Post-structuralism and Postmodernism can themselves be regarded as traumatic reactions to the twentieth century's overwhelming violence and threatened annihilation (Simon, 722, note 7), a symptom of deep disillusionment with and betrayal by institutions and belief-systems, a retreat to the structure and form of the text to counter ideological contamination.

¹⁶ It is important to note that considering trauma as being rooted in *thémis* violation does not render invalid other markers of trauma identified in DSM manuals and used in early trauma theorists' work; for example, forgetting, silence, bad dreams, a faraway stare and obsession with the past.

¹⁷ 1961 is the year in which the US sent large numbers of military personnel and machines into Vietnam, but it was indirectly involved from a much earlier date. See Paul Ham's *Vietnam: The Australian War* (2007), from Chapter 17, 'Enter the Americans'.

¹⁸ It is important to acknowledge that not all combatants in Vietnam were involved in atrocities, routinely or in isolated incidents. Paul Ham's *Vietnam: The Australian War* defends the Australian forces' reputation in Vietnam, levelling most criticism at America's military strategies there for creating the conditions for moral failure in its troops.

¹⁹ This is not to suggest that Japan or China were ever Western colonies (although of course Hong Kong and the Kowloon Peninsula were leased to the British administration until 1997. However, in Dower's view, American and Allied forces behaved like colonial overlords in occupied Japan (*Embracing Defeat* 211).

²⁰ Tal acknowledged in 1982 that, at first, she had difficulty reconciling two research interests: feminist and Vietnam veterans' writing. They seemed antithetical. It could be argued that the same kind of conflict applies in this study. However, as Tal explains, understanding masculine trauma after the Vietnam War also advances insight into feminine trauma, including responses to rape (191). Weaver's sociological research highlighting the scale of veterans' war crimes brings to light the suffering of Vietnamese women that politicians, presidents and government investigative bodies tried to conceal.

²¹ Liao, in 'Of Writing Music for Words Already Made: "Madama Butterfly", "Turandot" and Orientalism', suggests that opera is able to transform a discordant reality into 'a harmonious and Ordered Realm', since '[i]t organizes and orders sound—solos, duets, trios, quartets, quintets, sextets and chorus' (34).

²² See a photograph of Emmy Destinn, a renowned Czech opera singer, who sang the Butterfly role at Covent Garden in 1905, as reproduced in the brochure, *Madama Butterfly: A Glimpse Into the Archivio Historico Ricordi*, available at Bertelsmann.com (2016). For a great deal of the twentieth century, Japanese singers were rarely used in the Butterfly role, as was also the case in film. In 'The Flight of the Japanese Butterfly: Orientalism, Nationalism, and Performances of Japanese Womanhood', Yoshihara points out that Tamaki Mura was one of few Japanese singers who was seen on the Western operatic stage in the role, although the singer herself was highly critical of its inaccuracies (981).

²³ All the women in the three photographs are very young, but the one of Okanè san on her own indicates extreme youth. This version of O-Kanè-san was on the cover of *Madame Chrysanthème Suivi de Femmes Japonaises*, and in *Pierre Loti: L'incompris*. Quella-Villeger attributes this photo to Hihoma Ugeno, taken on the 12th September, 1885, in his Nagasaki studio. There are two other photographs, each of which feature Loti and his friend and naval subaltern, Pierre Le Cor, standing at either side of a young woman in a kimono. See <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b1400003v>>.

²⁴ There are two other photographs from Loti's collection purporting to represent Okanè-san. These each show a woman flanked by 'Yves' (Pierre Le Cor), and Loti. On closer inspection, the girls are wearing different kimonos, and to the naked eye, do appear to share the same face and body shape. It is unclear how much the photographic session Loti mentions in Chapter 45 plays with fiction and fact.

²⁵ Madame Chrysanthème takes her professional name from the chrysanthemum, a symbol of Japan.

²⁶ See 'The Women of Japan in Fantasy and Reality' in Jean-Pierre Lehmann's *The Image of Japan: From Feudal Isolation to World Power, 1850-1905*, 46.

²⁷ Goode makes a distinction between paedophilia, which is sexual attraction to children, and child sexual abuse, in which a paedophile acts on that attraction and engages in sexual activity with a child (10). Both terms can be applied to Loti and Pinkerton.

²⁸ The idea of 'hysteria' is now understood to be far more nuanced and complex than it was in 1997 when Showalter's *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* was published, as Bogousslavsky's collection of essays *Hysteria: The Rise of an Enigma* (2014) points out. Symptoms of hysteria in the novels are regarded as reactions to trauma, physical and mental, as defined in the Introduction of Judith Herman's *Trauma and Recovery* (1997).

²⁹ Another title for further exploring this matter include Barnes' *Incest and the Literary Imagination* (2002).

³⁰ John Dezikes, in *Opera in America*, notes that some American opera critics, wary of 'Modernist' opera, were critical of Pinkerton's portrayal as a 'seducer-villain' (313).

³¹ Conrad endured a nervous collapse in 1910. He 'had suffered from nervous symptoms for nearly twenty years, ever since his return from the [Belgian] Congo' (Bock xix). His mental collapse is attributable to his experiences there.

³² Van Rij, in *The Search for the Real Madame Butterfly* (141), states that Japanese audiences viewing the opera in the Imperial Theatre, Tokyo in 1924, expressed concern at 'the erroneous impressions that foreigners have of Japanese customs'. The performance was followed by a programme of Japanese songs to 'deflect embarrassment caused by the contemptuous glance at the customs and habits of loose women' (141).

³³ See Koshy and van Rij for more detailed discussion of the changes each writer made to the narrative.

³⁴ *The Exposed*, written by a member of the British infantry forces and published in 1999, forcefully critiques a topic so sensitive that its author waited many years to publish it in a less reactive socio-political environment. (This information was communicated in personal correspondence with the author in 2010.)

³⁵ Lifton notes that this quotation is from an 'observer', but does not specify who that observer was. It is used here because it defines the nature of the conflict so succinctly.

³⁶ J. Glenn Grey, a military intelligence officer serving across Europe from 1941-45, writes in *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle*, that: '[t]he ugliness of a war against an enemy conceived to be subhuman can hardly be exaggerated....' The days spent in such a state were 'utterly without beauty and almost without human quality of any sort' (152-53).

³⁷ There also appears to be a Biblical reference to a common mode of Jewish burial in the first century. In a well-known Biblical event, Jesus of Nazareth was buried in a cave, in front of which a stone was rolled and sealed with a Roman seal (Matthew 27:60). (An angel subsequently removed the stone on Easter morning.)

In Joshua 10:18, the ancient, Old Testament military leader, Joshua, had five enemy kings put to death and then buried in a cave by rolling rocks in front of it. Gurney may be making connections between the Biblical tomb and the 'cave virgins', which evoke Catholicism's Virgin Mary.

³⁸ Edwards, in retelling the story of the Cave of the Virgins, neglects to mention American involvement in clearing the caves or their use of explosives and flame throwers to clear them (after verbal warnings). In his version, the deaths were only caused by the Japanese themselves. He also does not mention that the caves were sealed off after the explosives were used, which suggests that some occupants in the long and intricate network of tunnels would have been entombed while alive.

³⁹ See *Pacific: The Lost Evidence. Saipan*. Episode 5. World War II Centre for Pacific Island studies in the University of Hawai'i.

⁴⁰ In the preface of the second edition of her short story, *City of Corpses*, Ōta writes that ethical writing, or witnessing, requires a different terminology, because words like 'hell' were insufficient (148). It also requires a new style that was 'not consciously literary' (123).

⁴¹ Camp Drake was a real-world Joint US/Air Force base near Ogawa, Saitama, Japan.

⁴² It is interesting to note that military marriages have been shown to be subject to stresses greater than those in the general population. Barstow (2000) and Shay (2002) cite various reasons for this: long separations, PTSD, and a strong machismo culture.

⁴³ Storr's *Like a Bamboo: Representations of a Japanese War Bride* (2000) gives an alternative reading of the assumedly simple 'romances' of American-Japanese liaisons and marriages.

⁴⁴ Another history that contests a romantic version of American occupation of Japan is Yukiko Koshiro's *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the US Occupation of Japan* (1999).

⁴⁵ It is important to acknowledge that many positive relationships between Asian females and Western men post World War II existed.

⁴⁶ Michener spent several years on active duty as a Lieutenant Commander in the Solomon Islands in the US Navy. See his memoir, *The World is My Home* (1992).

⁴⁷ See Whitworth (2008:6) for a description of gender insults directed at military recruits designed 'to play upon her or his specific feminine or masculine anxieties': terms like 'whore', sissy, or simply "you woman" (6).

⁴⁸ See Dennis Downey's June 8th and October 25th October, 2004, and Ralph Brown's 'Brig MCF' posts under the thread 'Middle Camp Fuji 1956' in the veterans' forum on *network54.com*: <www.network54.com/Forum/62085/thread/1086383266/last-1138592550>. Also see Jim Preston's entry near the end of the thread, 'Location-USMC bases on Mt Fuji in 1958' on *Japan-guide.com* on 7th November 2016.

⁴⁹ In the 1950s, psychiatry in general had moved away from the idea that only those who were predisposed by genetics and biology broke down in war, but the old ideas continued to prevail in wider society.

⁵⁰ 'Walking on eggs' or 'eggshells' is a term familiar to those living with PTSD: the present mood might at any moment change into anger and violence, or the ability to cope may suddenly implode.

⁵¹ Appendix 1 of the Kindle edition of *The Forgotten Hero of My Lai: The Hugh Thompson Story* (2014), lists the names of all 504 of these victims.

⁵² The Occupation officially ended in 1952, but the Navy, Air Force and the Marine Corps bases continued at Atsugi, Tachikawa, Yokosuka and Kobe. Only Atsugi and Yokosuka are still in use by the US military.

⁵³ Weaver (2010) argues that government policies and the fighting strategies of both sides practically ensured that the war in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos would lead to atrocities.

⁵⁴ John Dower contradicts the implication here that Japanese business practice was anti-foreign but was based on a model developed 'to promote maximum economic growth in an ominous world' and not because they were 'secret samurai' (Dower, 560). Taylor, in *Shadows of the Rising Sun*, expresses a similar view:

'What appears to Americans as an anti-foreign prejudice may be nothing more than reluctance to deal with unfamiliar customers' (267).

⁵⁵ At Perry's time, foreign ships sailing into Japanese waters were called 'black' ships, because of the pitch that covered the hulls of 16th century Portuguese traders.

⁵⁶ The main group protesting against the US bombing of North Korea in Japan in 1964 was called "Beheiren" (Peace to Vietnam) Citizens' Alliance. In October 1966, the alliance became involved in labour union campaigns, and later joined the International Anti-Vietnam-War Movement (Hamada 2). Resistance to US involvement in Vietnam was also closely associated with decade-long campaigns against the inequalities of the Japan-US Joint Security Treaty (Steinhoff 4).

⁵⁷ To veterans, the idea that America 'lost' the war is unjust and distressing, because they won all traditional battles (Shay *Achilles in Vietnam* 7-9).

⁵⁸ White phosphorous was used illegally in Japan.

⁵⁹ In *An Intimate History of Killing*, Bourke notes that a fighter pilot is imagined to be 'cool, precise and impersonal' and like a 'duelist' (49). However, because bombers in Tokyo raids had to fly in very low, they knew something of the horror their victims faced. On the website, 'This day in History. com', an entry dated March 9th noted that, in these raids, '[t]he human carnage was so great that the blood-red mists and stench of burning flesh that wafted up sickened the bomber pilots' (n.p.), which reinforces Setlowe's description in *The Sexual Occupation of Japan*.

⁶⁰ The Japanese version of the film was entitled *Ai No Koridaa* (1976). Because of its intensely explicit sex scenes and extreme level of violence, the film was only released in the West in 1994.

⁶¹ Henderson, as do other Vietnam War history writers, mentions an infamous VC platoon leader, nicknamed 'Apache', who was notorious for using particularly sadistic methods, including castration, to torture American prisoners of war (80).

⁶² Setlowe may be referring here to an incident in Henderson's *Marine Sniper: 93 Confirmed Kills* (1986) in which a sniper shoots a very old man whose weapon, like those of many civilians loosely involved with the VC, was useless (128-129).

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