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Christopher Lee April 7, 2023

Memorialized Maritime:
Shinto Ships in the Spiritualization of Newly Japanese Seas, 1905 to 1990s

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Abstract

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My thesis looks at how the Imperial Japanese navy became a recognizable cultural entity during the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, how it entered cultural memory after the navy was completely destroyed in 1945, and how it continued through to the end of warship memoirs in the 1990s. I expand the conventional scope of analysis in naval historiography to argue that the Japanese navy defined public hopes, religious logic, and projections of an imagined and divine Japanese landscape. This thesis is not an exhaustive day by day, year by year recounting of Japanese naval history, but a cultural history that covers the nearly one hundred year time span in order to capture the prewar and postwar continuities of naval identity. I conduct my analysis through three mediums of primary sources: commemorative navy postcards produced from 1907 to 1945, songs and newspaper articles explicating links between religious traditions and warships, and warship memoirs published from 1964 to the 1990s. This thesis demonstrates how persistent navy nationalism forces us to reevaluate how the Japanese navy both markets itself and is regarded as a sacred institution by individuals.

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Table of Contents

Introduction: A Navy Comes Alive on the Shoulders of a New Japan

To most people seeking the spiritual sanctuary of a temple or shrine, their first option wouldn't be a warship designed to launch thousand-pound bombs to the horizons of the high seas. For a Meiji Japanese sailor thousands of miles from the safety of home ports however, the technological advantage of his state-of-the-art warship is diminished; he is left at the mercy of waves that can get thirty meters high and in the worst cases, can leave his ship and him upside down in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. It is in these desperate circumstances that a warship evolves from a machine to an animistic entity blessed with the divine vigor of Shinto gods.

"[Battleship *Yamato*] passed away after a short life of three years and two months," reminisced 95 year old navy veteran Toda Fumio on the 75th "death anniversary" (回忌 *kaiki*) of the ship's destruction.[1] He ended his memoir with literary flourishes: "If I go to the sea, I shall be a water-soaked corpse…but if I die by my emperor's side, I will not look back." These poetic lines derive from 1,300 year old *Manyōshū* poems and have become more widely associated with national and navy songs like "Umi Yukaba" (Going to Sea) and "Gunkan March" (Battleship March).[2] This highly sentimental reflection builds upon a large swathe of historiography about the Japanese navy and illustrates the value of a novel cultural approach within a discourse usually occupied by military histories.[3] In fact, Toda's story positions the personified battleship as an essential component of both individual and national Japanese identities, one that has gone

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[1] NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation), "95歳・戦艦大和75回忌に思う 戸田　文男さん｜戦争の記憶～寄せられた手記から～｜NHK 戦争証言アーカイブス," NHK戦争証言アーカイブス, https://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/shogenarchives/kioku/detail.cgi?das_id=D0001800261_00000.

[2] Yuhi Lee. "Meiji・Shōwa Gunka ni miru Kindaiteki Tokuchō: Gakkyoku・Tēma・Gengo Yōgen o Chūshin ni" 明治・昭和軍歌に見る近代的特徴：楽曲・テーマ・言語用言を中心に [Special Modern Characteristics of Meiji and Showa Military Songs: Focusing on Composition, Motifs, Linguistic Expressions]. PhD Diss., (University of Osaka, 2017).

[3] Modern English language popular works detailing narrative strategy of the Pacific War include: James Hornfischer, *Neptune's Inferno: The U.S. Navy at Guadalcanal* (New York: Bantam Books, 2011); Anthony P. Tully and Jonathan Parshall, *Shattered Sword: The Untold Story of the Battle of Midway* (Lincoln: Potomac Books, 2005).

unaddressed because the image of the Japanese military ship has not properly been examined as a cultural artifact in its own right.

This thesis intervenes into this disparity by focusing on the Japanese navy both as an actor that arbitrated national identity and also as an object appropriated by non-state actors to project local cultural, religious, and political identity. The thesis traces the formation of contemporary naval memory by beginning with the naval enthusiasm of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 and ends with bereavement memorialization in the 1990s. It builds upon the work of naval historians who seek to understand the navy as "a cultural symbol which stood at the intersection of international and national, political and social, technological and economic contexts," but also the role of the navy in arbitration over religious identity.[4]

In expanding the conventional scope of naval history to include the ways in which the Japanese navy arbitrated public hopes, civic duties, and projections of an imagined and divine Japanese landscape, I built upon the legacies of military and naval historians. Charles Schenking has reconstructed the birth of the Japanese naval bureaucracy as a political history while Naoko Shimazu has illustrated cultural narratives about the navy within the larger context of Japanese militarism.[5] This thesis works in conjunction with previous historical works to demonstrate that the navy can, and should be situated in far more than narrow, specialized military contexts in order to understand the pervasive legacies of cultural navy narratives and their role in marketing not only the navy, but the very seas themselves in public imagination.

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[4] Quintin Colville, *A New Naval History. Cultural History of Modern War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 234.
[5] Charles Schencking, *Making Waves: Politics, Propaganda, and the Emergence of the Imperial Japanese Navy, 1868-1922* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005). Naoko Shimazu, *Japanese Society at War: Death, Memory and the Russo-Japanese War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Michel Foucault ended his classic "Of Other Spaces" by singling out the ship as "the heterotopia par excellence."[6] The heterotopia, he described, acts as the physical site amalgamating the idealized imaginary and the material reality. Where Foucault emphasized the ship as a closed space in transit, it was instead the image of a modern, oil-fueled, water-tube boiler ship that ascended to a much broader and idealized significance in Japan following the absolute Japanese victory at the seaborne Battle of Tsushima (1905). Indeed, Admiral Togo's flagship, the *Mikasa* (三笠), sits forever memorialized as the deuteragonist in its berth at Yokosuka Port, where it is ritualistically passed by tens of thousands of ships transiting in and out of the major port every year.

Admiration for warships, such as *Mikasa*, did not stop at material components of the ship. The establishment of shipborne shrines (艦内神社 *kannai jinja*) onboard warships pushed contradictions between the imaginary and the material even further. The warship was then simultaneously a marvel of domestic Japanese engineering but also essentially a shrine, serving as an idealized extension of both Japanese geography and the religious cosmos.

Rethinking warships as shrines adds a new dimension to the large body of scholarship on state Shinto, folk Shinto, and overseas Shinto shrines. Scholars of Shinto have conventionally distinguished state Shinto as secular and ceremonial in contrast to folk Shinto as religious and superstitious. Scholars have placed overseas Shinto shrines within this binary between state Shinto and folk Shinto, which were shrines that the Meiji Japanese state established in overseas colonial territories from 1868 to 1945. The body of scholarship has recently culminated in Karli

[6] Michael Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22–27, 27. https://doi.org/10.2307/464648.

Shimizu's book, wherein she compiles shrines throughout the entirety of the Japanese empire and identifies their secular nature from 1868 to 1945, and new religious identity after 1945.[7]

Though shipborne shrines have never been examined in Anglophone scholarship, they add a new dimension adjacent to the above-mentioned overseas shrines. Where overseas shrines were overseas in the sense of being located outside of the Japanese mainland, shipborne shrines were constantly mobile on the seas. Studies of intimate ties between Shinto and military entities like the navy have been instrumental in long standing debates over Shinto's inclusion or exclusion into the category of legitimate and authentic world religions. Scholars have attempted to situate Shinto in this debate and made broad references to State Shinto (国家神道 *kokka shintō*) as Shinto militarism. For example, Joseph Kitagawa argues that "since it was not a religion…State Shinto had great latitude in utilizing the army and navy to propagate Shinto version of ancestor-worship, the emperor cult, and patriotic morality."[8] For religions scholar John Nelson, this manifests today as what constitutes Yasukuni's Shrine's sacred ground: "a vintage machine gun, howitzer, torpedo, and a tank stand."[9] Shipborne shrines then add the complexity of diverse and conflicting views held by navy personnel to arguments on behalf of scholars like Walter Skya, who have associated Shinto with terms like "radical ultranationalism." [10]

Contrary to depictions of "*Yamatoization*" as a unidirectional endeavor, individual sailors and shrine administrators arbitrated the very structure of Shinto theology itself by asserting their own notions of what navy vessels had a hand in protecting—and being protected by—throughout

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[7] Karli Shimizu, *Overseas Shinto Shrines Religion, Secularity and the Japanese Empire* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2022).
[8] Joseph M. Kitagawa, "Some Remarks on Shinto," *History of Religions* 27, no. 3 (1988): 227–45, 241. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1062277.
[9] John Nelson, "Social Memory as Ritual Practice: Commemorating Spirits of the Military Dead at Yasukuni Shinto Shrine." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62, no. 2 (2003): 443–67, 454. https://doi.org/10.2307/3096245..
[10] Shintō as radical ultranationalism: Walter Skya, *Japan's Holy War:The Ideology of Radical Shintō Ultranationalism* (Durham: University of Duke Press, 2009). Shintō as pluralistic: Jason Ananda Josephson Storm, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

the divine Japanese landscape.[11] Japanese historian Jun Kuno's work on the "shipborne shrine" is central to such theological arbitration in the absence of central doctrines dictating the enshrinement of ships in Shinto shrines—and consecration of shrines in ships.[12] Japanese scholars have also detailed the minutiae of navy visits to these shrines, but have not brought these onboard shrines into larger discourse about Shinto militarism.[13]

As it was primarily navy sailors and individuals rather than the Japanese state who arbitrated the logic behind Shinto ships, I could not initially pursue in conventional archives the information that hinted at the symbolic nature of warships. Though the texts sourced from the National Diet Library did prove to be crucial to this thesis, it was impossible to comprehensively utilize them without establishing the foundation for the very notion of "navy culture." How and where could Japanese people have come into contact with warships? In what ways might different Japanese people have visualized warships? What contexts and assumptions were warships associated with in different Japanese eras?

In order to answer these questions, I set out by building my own archive, which consisted of a variety of ephemera mostly consisting of multicolor navy postcards and warship memoirs. As ephemera was produced to be expendable, the very task of collecting these postcards reflected the historical narrative behind these sources. I primarily acquired these postcards from rare book shops in Japan, who in turn usually acquired them from individuals who came across

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[11] Joseph M. Kitagawa, "The Japanese 'Kokutai' (National Community) History and Myth." *History of Religions* 13, no. 3 (1974): 209–26. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1061814. 217. "Yamatoizing:" used by religions scholar Joseph Kitagawa to describe the canonization of local deities and practices by the Yamato Imperial Clan. It is used here to describe conventional narratives depicting the nationalization and standardization of Shintō in the Meiji period onwards. See, for example, Helen Hardacre, *Shintō and the State, 1868-1988*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

[12] Jun Kuno, "Teikoku Kaigun to kannai jinja : kamigami ni mamorareta Nihon no umi" 帝国海軍と艦内神社:神々に守られた日本の海 [Japanese Navy and Onboard Shrines: Japanese seas protected by the gods] (Chiyoda City: Shodensha, 2014).

[13] Yūya, Kazuki, "Dai Nippon Teikoku Kaigun ni okeru Kannai Jinja ni tsuite: Touji no Saiten・Saishi wo Chūshin ni" 大日本帝国海軍における艦内神社について：当時の祭典・祭祀を中心に [Regarding the Greater Japanese Empire Navy Onboard Shrines: Focusing on Festivals at the time and Rituals]. *Shintō History Review* 68, no, 1 (2020): 56-92.

the postcards in old family collections. These postcards are snapshots of the many Japans that people thought were worth preserving as keepsakes, *despite* the medium's purpose as in serving fleeting visual pleasures through postcard booms from 1905 to 1945 Japan. Postcards themselves are not capable of sourcing a complete narrative. For me, they illustrate what would have likely been the point of contact between average Japanese citizens and warships outside of shipyards. Placed in conjunction with texts however, the postcards help texts take on a new life by making elements found within them tangible and meaningful.

In Chapter 1, I utilize the above mentioned commemorative navy postcards to argue that ships embodied and transported Japan's geography and history through actualized links between warship names and their often poetic namesakes. In Chapter 2, I examine imagery within the navy postcards to show how ships served as microcosms of Japanese religious traditions. In Chapter 3, I analyze prewar and postwar continuities in mourning rituals and memorialization of ships. In Chapter 4, I combine the topics of the previous three chapters in order to narrate the cultural biography of one single battleship: the *Fuso*.

For historian Martin Dusinberre, the Foucaldian ship displaces the corporeal reality of a vessel from its place as "a site of history in its own right."[14] Be that as it may, the mundane and functional experience of a ship is simply one minute aspect of its history. The idealization of the warship in Japan encompasses much more than naval duty, expressed through the lens of mortal vitality in opposition to sterile and lifeless steel. Indeed, imaginative projections of vessels identity situated warships beyond simply "temporal and spatial mediators" and established them as dynamic sites of creative interpretation.[15]

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[14] Martin Dusinberre and Roland Wenzlhuemer, "Editorial – Being in Transit: Ships and Global Incompatibilities." *Journal of Global History* 11, no. 2 (2016): 155–62. doi:10.1017/S1740022816000036.
[15] Ibid., 158.

Chapter 1: A Mural of Castles and Poems Carried to Sea

The chapter examines how the Japanese navy painted castles, winds, clouds, seasons, and over a millenia of poetry onto the sea following the standardization of naming rules in 1904. Vessel names were much more than entertaining ways to refer to otherwise numerically ordered warships; the meanings that undergirded such poetic names became floating representations that spread constructed notions of Japaneseness writ large wherever Imperial Navy warships went. Where warships were restricted to the sea, postcards illustrating and celebrating the vessels moved throughout Japan freely. The Japanese navy held 15 fleet reviews between the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 and the end of World War II in 1945, in which all kinds of warships came together and participated in sacred parades. These ceremonies were microcosms of Japanese history, geography, and literature all condensed into snapshots of the navy nestled in the alcove of a bay.

It is one thing for a ship to be named after poetic motifs, and another for such links to be acted on as more than just names. In 1988, textbook editor Katagiri Daiji published a book titled "Combined Fleet Naming Traditions- The Glory and Tragedy of all 860 Ships."[16] He organized Imperial Japanese warships' names by geography, organisms, idioms etc., and the book was an instant hit among popular naval enthusiasts. It renewed interest in imperial navy names and Japanese Maritime Self Defense Forces (henceforth JMSDF) warships using the same rules, and the book became *the* clear authority on the topic. It was cited in a wide variety of books about the navy henceforth, and the monthly military magazine *Maru*, published by *Sankei Shimbun*, referenced the book in nearly a hundred articles.[17]

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[16] Katagiri Daiji. "Rengō kantai gunkanmei meiden: zen 860 yo-seki no eikō to higeki" 聯合艦隊軍艦銘銘伝 : 全八六〇余隻の栄光と悲劇 [Combined Fleet Naming Traditions- The Glory and Tragedy of all 860 Ships]. Tokyo: Kojinsha. National Diet Library.

[17] Kōjinsha, *Maru* 丸, issues published between 1991 and 2000, National Diet Library. Call No. Z2-171, info:ndljp/pid/2895143.

Analyzing naval naming conventions and their symbolic meaning is not unusual in recent scholarship. Ian Bowers examined how the modern South Korean navy (ROKN) calls upon extensive Korean historical figures in order to legitimize the ROKN as a continuation of past state institutions.[18] Scholars have shown that the practice of naval naming conventions in Imperial Germany and Great Britain, too, served the purpose of generating a unified national self-consciousness.[19] No such extensive analysis of IJN nomenclature exists in the English corpus except for brief references.[20]

Links between Japanese navy names and the poetic meanings that undergirded them were not just niche connections acknowledged by a tiny minority. The revival of interest in these connections were backed by public imagination that associated warships as larger metaphors. The story of this public imagination begins not in 1988, but goes further back to 1904 with two developments: the standardization of navy names in 1904 and the beginning of the commemorative navy postcard in 1907.[21]

The launching ceremony (*shinsuishiki* 進水式) followed the completed construction of each and every warship . These ceremonies were preceded by the (*meimeishiki* **命名式**) in which the ship officially received her name. The ship would then be launched from the slipway in a grand, publicized celebration that would attract thousands of visitors for the more famous ships. Accompanying both these ceremonies was the commemorative postcard (*shinsuishiki ehagaki* 進水式絵葉書), which depicted warships in diverse ways as sometimes fantastical or naturalistic,

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[18] Ian Bowers. *Modernisation of the Republic of Korea Navy: Seapower, Strategy and Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
[19] Jan Ruger. *The Great Naval Game: Britain and Germany in the Age of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
[20] John Dower. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1986), 213.
[21] **Standardization**: Secretariat of the Ministry of the Navy. "Kaigun seido enkaku maki 8" 海軍制度沿革 巻8 [The History of the Naval Institution Volume 8]. (1940), 352. **Rise of navy postcards**: Sada Kakizaki. "Waga kuni no shinsui kinnen ehagaki" わが国の進水記念絵葉書 [Our Country's Ship Launch Commemorative Postcards]. (Japan Society of Naval Architects and Ocean Engineers, 2014), 1.

iconic or aniconic, which varied as much as the number of postcards published for the hundreds of ships launched between 1905 and 1945.

The battleship *Mutsu* (launched 1920) is one example of how a commemorative postcard imprinted ancient Japanese geography onto a warship. All Japanese battleships were named after ancient Japanese provinces. By the Edo period under the Tokugawa administration (1603-1868), these provinces were no longer administrative units, but were "reconstituted as units of regional identity."[22] Mutsu province was one of these, located in modern Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate and Aomori Prefectures. Though the ancient provincial system had been gradually replaced by the modern Japanese prefectural system by 1873, provincial identity persisted as coexistent to the idea of Japan as a unified nation-state.

Japanese Naval Naming[23]	**1868 - 1905**	**1905 - 1931**	**1931 - 1945**	**1954 - 2023**	Cumulative:
Ancient Provinces:	14	11	3	4	32
Mountains:	3	17	5	12	37
Rivers:	5	2	13	31	51
Mythical Creatures:	1	3	16	15	34
Literature/: Shrines	25	2	7	7	41
Weather:	20	91	60	75	246
Waves:	3	8	20	58	89
Plants/Animals:	18	53	49	25	145

[22] Simon Partner. *The Merchant's Tale. Yokohama and the Transformation of Japan* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 2017), 122.

[23] Count includes ships that were named but never launched, and ships that were captured from other national navies and renamed according to conventions. Information compiled from a variety of sources such as: Kaijin Publishing. "Sekai no Kansen" 世界の艦船 [Ships of the World]. 1974-2022. National Diet Library, Tokyo; Hansgeorg Jentschura, *Warships of the Imperial Japanese Navy, 1869-1945* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1977).

(Other) Geography:	17	7	5	11	40
Cumulative:	105	194	178	238	719

(Figure 1.1) I have created a table quantifying Japanese warship names according to categories I have selected. As many names can overlap between multiple categories or move from one category to another depending on the cultural context, the numbers may be subject to interpretation. Post World War II JMSDF ships generally opted to use names that were associated with weather, organisms, and waves until more recent decades.

Japanese naval naming conventions were standardized in 1904, but in reality the names were as diverse as the types and number of significant Japanese symbols. I have divided the chronology of Japanese naval naming into four periods, firstly from 1868 (birth of Japanese navy) to 1905 (end of Russo-Japanese War), secondly from 1905 to 1931 (London Naval treaty, which limited Japanese naval construction), thirdly from 1931 to 1945 (end of World War II), and lastly 1954 (establishment of JMSDF) to today as of the writing of this thesis. It should be noted that the warships from the first three periods all belonged to the same nominal navy, while warships of the fourth period belong to an almost wholly new fleet. Though there may be no singular source explaining the intent of naming trends, the most significant discrepancy is in the relative decrease of Japanese warships after 1954 named after ancient provinces (fig. 1.1).

Warships named after waves, primarily destroyers, utilized the Japanese names for ocean currents around the Japanese archipelago. Some destroyers, like the destroyer *Kuroshio* and *Oyashio* both launched in 1940 translate as the Japanese equivalent of the Black Current and Kurile Current respectively. Others, like the destroyers *Natsushio* (Summer Tide) launched in 1940 and the destroyer *Ōnami (*Big Waves) launched in 1942 were not named after any named oceanic currents, but rather general maritime phenomena. These destroyers and the oceanic, mobile connotations of their names expanded imagined Japanese borders into the sea, and established ownership over expanses of water that could not be permanently occupied. The

inclusion of even generic tides and waves into this interplay situates Japanese geography as a dynamic force that visually traverses even the sea (also wind and animals as destroyers were named after these two mobile categories as well).

Battleship *Mutsu*'s commemorative postcard depicts the limits of Japanese territory in 1920 shaded red, encompassing not just the Japanese mainland but also Korea, though annexed territories further south are not pictured (fig. 1.2). The postcard also labels each of the islands that make up Japan, such as the main island (Honshū 本州), and marks each of the four major Japanese navy ports with anchors.

(Fig. 1.2). Battleship *Mutsu*'s commemorative postcard in 1920. Japanese territory is labeled red, with the silhouette of the battleship overlaying the historical Mutsu province. The numbers in the lower right list various statistics about the *Mutsu*, such as the tonnage and crew complement. The illustrated flowers reference a strain of lily that the region is known for, called the Mutsu Princess Lily (*Mutsu Himeyuri* 陸奥姫百合). (DTA's Digital Collection).

The postcard raises the abolished Mutsu province to a similar level of note as Korea, the five core islands, and the navy ports by overlaying the silhouette of battleship *Mutsu* over the approximate historical boundaries of Mutsu boundary. Mutsu province is not explicitly labeled by text, but by the silhouette of the warship and effectively renders the ship as the province itself. Regional identity is further represented by the presence of Mutsu lilies illustrated in the lower right. Not only are both physical and cultural elements of Mutsu province present, but it is also drawn into the contemporaneous context of 1920s Japan by its association with the modern, world-class battleship *Mutsu* (which was considered in Japan as a member of the Big Seven, the seven most heavily armed gunboats in the world between 1919 and 1937).

Portrayals of a Japanese culture painted through commemorative postcards also utilized literary motifs, with some following ancient Japanese poetic conventions while others were modern creations. I have listed three smaller, less famous ships from a wide time span between 1905 and 1945 and their commemorative postcards which capture artistic motifs. First, the light cruiser *Tenryū* launched in 1917 was named after the Tenryū River flowing through modern Nagano, Aichi, and Shizuoka prefectures (fig. 1.3). Second, the destroyer *Shigure* launched in 1935, can be translated as "rain shower" (fig. 1.4). Third, the destroyer *Hagikaze* launched in 1940 and can be translated as "clover wind" (fig. 1.5).

These respective descriptions of warship names, however, are not sufficient to describe the undercurrent meaning of their portrayals on postcards. Yokosuka Naval Arsenal, responsible for the construction of *Tenryū*, depicted the ship against the backdrop of an illustrated Tenryū River in her commemorative launch postcards. However, another set of postcards, apparently to celebrate *Tenryū*'s inspection according to the stamp, instead adopts a literal rendition of the name as "sky dragon."

For the destroyer *Shigure*, her postcard by Sasebo Naval Arsenal touches on the particular poetic lineage of the word *shigure* (時雨). In ancient Japan, the word referred to autumnal rain showers, but by the Heian period (794 to 1185), it referred to winter rain showers.[24] The word was a recurring poetic motif, known as *utamakura* (歌枕), from the classical *Manyōshū* poem collection compiled in the Nara period (710 to 794). As an *utamakura*, the word *shigure* is not necessarily used to refer to any normal rainfall, but evokes connotations such as "changing colors of Kasuga Mountain soaked in rain" from its presence in classical poetry.[25]

This is also true for *Hagikaze*, which combines the bush clover plant (*hagi* 萩) with the convention of suffixing many destroyer names with "wind," (*kaze* 風). As an *utamakura*, *hagi* was widely used in *Manyōshū* poems as an mark of autumn, and the phrase (*hagi ga hanazuri* 萩が花ずり) was used in the Japanese middle ages (eleventh to seventeenth century) to capture the image of green-dyed clothes.[26] In this sense, *Hagikaze*'s commemorative launch postcard combines the clover *utamakura* with an emerging context of destroyers associated with wind.

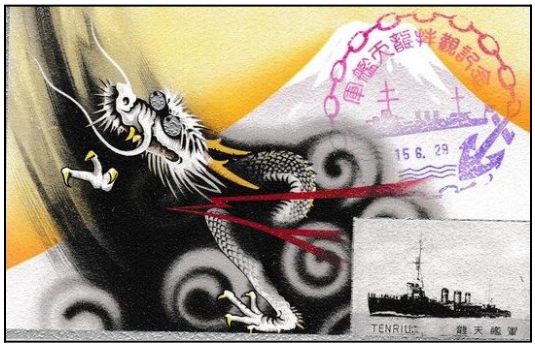

Figure 1.3. This postcard of *Tenryū* portrays a Japanese dragon against the background of Mount Fuji. Tenryū River is more well known as running between the Kiso and Akaishi mountain alps, which may point to the primacy of national symbols like Fuji. (Author's collection)

[24] Yoichi Katagiri. "Utamakura uta kotoba jiten: zoteiban" 歌枕歌ことば辞典: 増訂版 [Utamakura lyrics dictionary: expanded edition]. (Kyoto: Kasama Shoin, 1999), 197.
[25] Ibid., 197.
[26] Ibid., 336.

Figure 1.4. *Shigure*'s postcard portrays a shower of rain against a background in which winter has yet to arrive. In the lower right, *Shigure*'s name is written in a calligraphic style similar to backgrounds used in other commemorative postcards to signify poetry. (DTA's Digital Museum Collection)

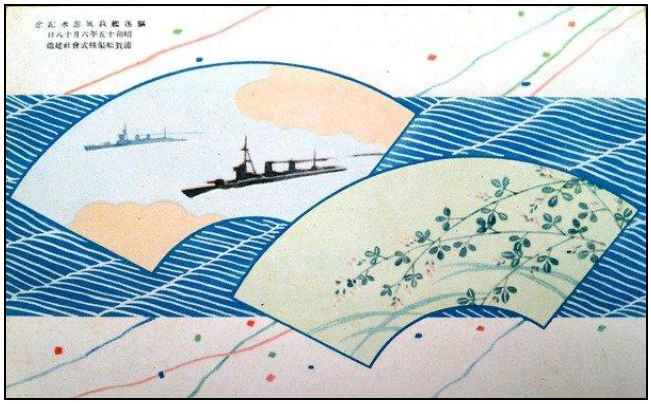

Figure 1.5. *Hagikaze*'s postcard illustrates two fans, with the one above portraying the destroyer itself and the one below portraying her as branches of bush clover swaying in the wind. (DTA's Digital Museum Collection)

Commemorative launch postcards situated warships within a decorative setting that brought an ancient past to the front, but many also colorfully illustrated the boundaries of the modern Japanese empire, as in the *Mutsu*'s postcard. While *Mutsu*'s postcard portrayed boundaries within areas that were firmly considered Japanese, the heavy cruiser *Suzuya* and her postcard arbitrated geographic identity in a more ambiguous area (fig. 1.6). The *Suzuya* was named after the Suzuya River located on the Southern Sakhalin Island, which Japan annexed as

Karafuto prefecture after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. Even after the Soviet Union annexed the entire Sakhalin Island in 1946, the river retains its former name as the Susuya River.

The Suzuya River's identity as a component of Japanization in the South Sakhalin Island was reflected in the heavy cruiser *Suzuya*. Not only was *Suzuya* the only cruiser named after a river located in any territory colonized by Japan after 1895 (annexation of Taiwan), but her commemorative launch postcard in 1934 displays a border stone at the 50th parallel between South Sakhalin (occupied by the Japanese) and North Sakhalin (occupied by the Soviet Union). Japan placed four border stones in 1905 along the parallel, the first and only time in which Imperial Japan officially placed border stones at national boundaries. The postcard likely depicts border stone No. 2, located just west of the Suzuya River. The side of each border stone facing south was engraved "Imperial Japanese Border" (*Nihon teikoku kyōkai* 日本帝国境界), with the other side communicating the border in Russian. Yokosuka Naval Arsenal's production and distribution of this commemorative postcard simultaneously imprints *Suzuya* into the arbitration of national boundaries, which was furthered by the enshrinement of Karafuto Shrine onto the ship.[27]

[27] "No. 4775, 1935 November 12 Donation stores acceptance" Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR) Ref.C05034319100, Official Letter Notes 1935 H Stores (except arms) Volume 2 (National Institute for Defense Studies), 8.

Figure 1.6.
(Left) *Suzuya*'s commemorative launch postcard in 1934. The postcard depicts South Sakhalin in the background, border stone No. 2 in the circle panel, and the silhouette of cruiser *Suzuya* at the bottom. (Author's Collection).
(Right) Preserved border stone No. 2 displayed at the Nemuro City of History. The border stones established in 1905 mark the 50th parallel boundary between North and South Sakhalin. Japanese is engraved on the southern face, with Russian on the reverse face.[28]

National landmarks communicated Japanese presence wherever they were seen. Shimazu writes about how many Japanese soldiers in 1904-1905 would pass by "typically Japanese" sites for the first time in their lives on their way to the Russo-Japanese battlefield. She argues that exposure to such landmarks "merg[ed] them with the quintessentially Japanese landscape."[29] However, the South Sakhalin Island is further away from the heart of Japan than even Hokkaido, and it is unlikely that many Japanese would ever see Japanese landmarks there in person.

[28] Nemuro City, "*Kokkyo hyōseki*" 国境標石 [National border stone], Nemuro City Museum of History, March 1, 2018, https://www.city.nemuro.hokkaido.jp/lifeinfo/kakuka/kyoikuiinkai/kyoikushiryokan/siryoukann/1/676.html
[29] Naoko Shimazu, *Japanese Society at War: Death, Memory and the Russo-Japanese War*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 76.

Postcards, on the other hand, brought these landmarks to Japanese anywhere with postal access. In *Suzuya*'s case, her commemorative postcard brought the border stones to a public audience and doubly emphasized Japanese presence in Sakhalin through illustrations of the navy.

Japanese warships were associated with landmarks, but some of the most notable links were with castle landmarks. Though castles scattered throughout Japan are popular tourist destinations today, historical Japanese castles at the turn of the twentieth century were in a much more precarious situation. However, as Benesch and Zwigenberg have narrated, "in the early 1900s, nostalgia for a rapidly vanishing past led civil society groups and municipalities to call for the preservation and restoration of castles."[30] As castles returned to the limelight as symbols of the past, the Japanese public imagination turned to warships as modern castles set to sea. The official lyrics of the Imperial Navy anthem, "Warship March," (*gunkan kōshinkyoku* 軍艦行進曲) refer to warships as "floating castles of iron" that guard not just land, but sea as well.[31]

Commemorative postcards also capitalized on these intimate links between castles and warships. The battleship *Settsu* was launched in 1911, and was named after the ancient *Settsu* province which covered the majority of modern day Osaka prefecture. Accordingly, one of *Settsu*'s postcards positions her launching against the backdrop of Osaka Castle. The castle was the center of *Settsu* province, and was the site of the battle in which the Tokugawa forces finally eliminated the last bastion of Toyotomi resistance in 1615.

Aircraft carrier *Kaga* was initially launched as a battleship in 1921, and her launch postcard also contains elements of castle imagery as regional identity. Her postcard places *Kaga* against Kanazawa Castle, the center of Kaga domain authority in the Tokugawa period. By the

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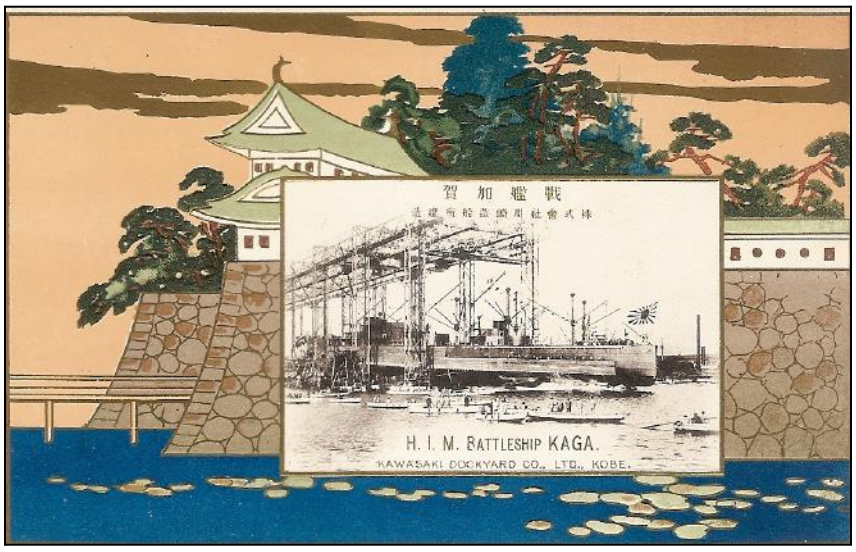
[30] Ran Zwigenberg, and Benesch, *Japan's Castles: Citadels of Modernity in War and Peace*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 3.
[31] Horiuchi Keizō 堀内敬三. "Meiji Kaiko Gunka Shōka Meikyoku Sen" 明治回顧軍歌唱歌名曲選 [A Review of Selected Famous Meiji Military Songs], Tokyo: Kyobun-Sha 京文社, 1989 Reprint. (Originally published in 1932), 102-103.

twentieth century however, significant portions of *Kaga* castle had been torn down to create the equivalent of barracks for army soldiers as "a rapidly expanding military typically took precedence over heritage concerns."[32] It would not be until 1929 legislation that enabled funding for the protection of historical castles, and the designation of castles as national treasures in 1935 that castles became recognized as "important elements of Japan's architectural and cultural heritage."[33]

The *Kaga* postcard was then exceptional in 1921 as bringing historical Kaga identity to the forefront, and doing so through castles. *Kaga*'s importance as a capital battleship and comparisons that likened warships to floating castles allowed Kanazawa castle to enter the public eye. Although the postcard ostensibly implants the battleship with regional Kaga identity, it was perhaps Kanazawa castle that benefited in reminding postcard audiences of the castle's historical attribute as a symbol of Kaga province. Warships were new, and castles were old, but the two came together as one in commemorative launch postcards. The two subjects engaged in a reciprocal relationship in which warships were imbued with a historical legacy, and castles were brought back into relevant discourse.

[32] Zwigenberg and Benesch, *Japan's Castles*, 35.
[33] Ibid., 150

Figure 1.7. (Left) Battleship *Settsu*'s commemorative postcard in 1911. The circle panel in the left depicts Osaka castle, and the ax at the right is typical of sacred silver axes used to cut the cord that subsequently releases the ship. The rectangle panel in the middle depicts *Settsu*'s launch into water. (DTA's Digital Museum Collection)



(Right) Battleship *Kaga*'s commemorative postcard in 1921. The rectangle panel in the center depicts the construction of *Kaga*, with Kanazawa Castle and the surrounding moat in the background. The moat was only filled in 1910 as an army initiative.[34] (DTA's Digital Museum Collection)

[34] Ibid., 35.

Each Japanese ship was a representative of their own landmark, metaphor, or literary motif. Put all together, the fleet not only encapsulated macrocosmic Japanese elements like enormous ancient provinces through large battleships, but even the microcosmic down to the flowery breezes through small destroyers. The significance of these elements within the Japanese navy was captured through the fleet review (*kankanshiki* 観艦式). The fleet review between 1905 and 1940 (last fleet review before the establishment JMSDF) was a practice in which the Japanese navy would summon up to almost 200 warships at a time to gather in an important port as a grand display. Sometimes as a show of force, other times as an imperial ceremony, the fleet review was a rare event in which all types of ships from all four naval bases around the country congregated as a single combined unit.

At fleet reviews, warships were organized into stationary columns composed of diverse ships, from small coastal defense ships and submarines to the largest battleships and aircraft carriers. In the 1930 fleet review, the Japanese navy organized seven columns of around 20 ships off the coast of Kobe Port. On October 26, 1930, Emperor Hirohito arrived in Kobe Port aboard the heavy cruiser *Haguro* and transferred onto the battleship *Kirishima*. With two hundred thousand spectators onshore and a smaller number viewing from civilian ships, the Emperor aboard the *Kirishima* proceeded between the columns of ships in a ritual inspection (fig. 1.8).[35] Newspaper articles captured the grandiosity of the event by describing Kobe Port as having been the departure point for the legendary Empress Jingu's naval expedition to Korea 2,000 years earlier. They also emphasized how the fleet review in 1890 only garnered 18 ships, while the one

[35] "KOBE ALL PREPARED FOR NAVAL REVIEW," *The Japan Times,* October 25, 1930, 1. Japan Times Digital Archive.

in 1930 mustered 165 ships as a testament to Japan having finally achieved the ability to construct its own warships.[36]

Figure 1.8. Map from a pamphlet distributed at the 1930 fleet review held in Kobe Port. Each horizontal line represents a column of ships, and each circular node is a different ship. First column starts from the bottom and ends with the seventh column at the top. There are an additional two extra unnamed columns under the first column (unpictured). The bolded line passing between the first and second column and looping back in between the fifth and sixth column traces the path that the royal family and their retinue took aboard designated warships (in this case the *Kirishima* escorted by the four *Myōko*-class cruisers). (Author's Collection).

Maps of the 1930 fleet review were distributed not only through pamphlets to spectators who were directly there, but to a wider audience through postcards. With every warship in each column containing their own cultural connotations, the fleet review presented a display of Japan on the sea. The emperor's transit through the fleet was analogous to a tour of the Japanese landscape and cosmology, as he passed by "Kaga Province" (aircraft carrier *Kaga*) before transiting through the "Nara, Sendai, and Natori Rivers" and following "heavenly winds" (destroyer *Kamikaze* 神風) next to Mount Furutaka (cruiser *Furutaka* 古鷹). A *Yomiuri Shimbun*

[36] "Emperor Hirohito Witnesses Grand Naval Review Today As Kobe Heralds the Ruler," *The Japan Times*, October 26, 1930, 1. Japan Times Digital Archive.

article titled “Magnificent! Sketching a Picture of a Maritime Nation” portrayed the 1933 fleet review just three years later through the same terrestrial comparison, emphasizing the image of iron castles set to sea.[37]

Figure 1.9. (Left) Postcard of the 1930 fleet review within the bay of Kobe Port. *Kirishima* flanked by the four heavy cruisers left of the main fleet. The urban landscape of Kobe Port is also conveyed. (Author’s Collection).
(Right) A postcard photograph of the emperor’s retinue passing between the columns. (Author’s Collection).

By the 1930s, the Japanese navy had been able to construct a world class fleet in their own shipyards. In commemorating the launch of each ship by delving deep into the undercurrent meanings of each name, the Japanese navy took a further step by transporting not just terrestrial landmarks, but elements of Japanese space and time onto surrounding seas. As each ship traveled to corners of distant seas or just ports off the Japanese coast, it served a role very similar to that of its commemorative postcard; it brought with it a piece of Japan unfastened from its spatial constraints.

The commemorative postcards made such an argument about Japan through the Japanese navy: the Japanese empire may be modern, but even its ships are based on an ancient historical legacy. The presence of Japanese warships then suggested Japanese ownership over previously

[37] “Tokubetsu Daienshu Kankanshiki” 特別大演習観艦式 [Special Maneuver Fleet Review], *Yomiuri Shimbun*, August 26, 1933. Yomidas Rekishikan Database.

foreign overseas waters and lands by imbuing them with broader connotations of Japanese space and history. Indeed, Japanese warships were used to colonize lands and symbolize Japaneseness not through gunfire, but through a constructed imagination that integrated warships as cultural artifacts of an empire time immemorial.

Chapter 2: Worshiping Shinto Steel on Oceans

The Pacific Ocean is translated into Japanese (太平洋 taiheiyō) with the same English meaning "peaceful ocean," reflecting its calm waters and the absence of storms in many parts of its vast expanse. However, the Pacific Ocean became associated with rough and stormy waves when the cultural imagination called for it. Depending on the context, the Japanese from 1905 onwards portrayed the Pacific Ocean on one hand as calm turquoise-blue waters of the South Seas or on the other as raging pitch-black waters. Japanese artists, intellectuals, and politicians would often emphasize either trope for their own agendas.

For example, the destroyer *Natsushio*'s (夏潮) postcard in 1939 portrays an idyllic beach setting adorned with palm trees.[38] Courtesy of her name, referring to the "summer tide," the setting presents an archetypal idealization of the peaceful South Seas devoid of native inhabitants. It is in critique of this gaze that scholar of Japanese literature Toshio Yamaguchi examines the poem "South Seas Pavilion," written by Yosano Tekkan in 1914.[39] In the poem, Yosano criticizes Japanese exhibitions for their inauthentic portrayal of South Seas cultures and landscapes, and Yamaguchi presents Yosano's conflation of South Seas and simplicity as Orientalism. Indeed, these depictions of the South Seas later became ubiquitous on the front and back covers of widely distributed navy magazines.[40]

For imperial navy sailors however, the rough seas were a constant threat. Religious practices related to warships relieved these anxieties by bringing land shrines and their protective spirit onto the oceans figuratively in premodern Japan, but literally from 1905 to the end of the empire in 1945. Until 1945, Shinto warships fostered Japan's expansion at sea not only by

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[38] Ibid., https://muuseo.com/JAP_prpr/items/284?theme_id=5597
[39] Toshio Yamaguchi. "Nihon Bungaku to Hakurankai" 日本文学と博覧会. https://www.manabi.pref.aichi.jp/contents/10005505/0/index.html. Aichi Prefectural University, 2003.
[40] Umi to Sora-Sha 海と空社. "Umi to Sora" 海と空 [Sea and Sky]. 1934-1944. National Diet Library. Call ID: 雑 32-53, info:ndljp/pid/1615986.

military means, but also as parts of religious consciousness. Warships were not only weapons or political symbols, but also sacred spaces not only for Shinto, but became associated with Buddhist and Shugendō traditions as in the case of the heavy cruiser *Maya*. Shipborne shrines were no larger than what could fit on a shelf due to limited space on already cramped warships. Despite their small physical size, shipborne shrines were offshoots of much larger shrines on the mainland and often invoked their legendary status. Sailors had great pride in their warship's name, as warships were often named after important places, objects, or creatures.

I will use the heavy cruiser *Ashigara*, launched in 1928, as an example to illustrate the pattern of relationships as depicted in (fig. 2.1). *Ashigara* is named after the sacred Ashigara Mountain, which is famous as a site of Shinto and Buddhist syncretic worship. It is also the location where the folk hero Kintarō, Japanese Paul Bunyan, was said to have spent his childhood performing legendary feats. One of *Ashigara*'s commemorative postcards captures a famous scene from Kintarō's story, in which he judges a wrestling match between a rabbit and a monkey.

Ashigara's builders and crew connected Ashigara Mountain lore with their warship's name; the former designed the postcards and the latter had the mountain's Ashigara Shrine sponsor their shipborne shrine.[41] The relationship between shipborne shrines, land shrines, and navy personnel transformed land shrines into movable shrines that traveled with a warship wherever she went. Many of these sailors described warships as if they had their own spirits and remembered them with affection.[42]

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[41] Takeshi Nakajima. "Koukai Keshiki" 航海風景 [Nautical Landscape]. (Tokyo: Gakuji Shoin, 1935), 48.
[42] Such as in the bereavement memoir *Together with the Spirit of Mogami*. The inscription on cruiser *Maya*'s grave at Tenjo Park reads: "warship Maya has resurrected from the bottom of the South Seas and made a magnificent appearance on the top of [Maya's] home, Mt. Maya."

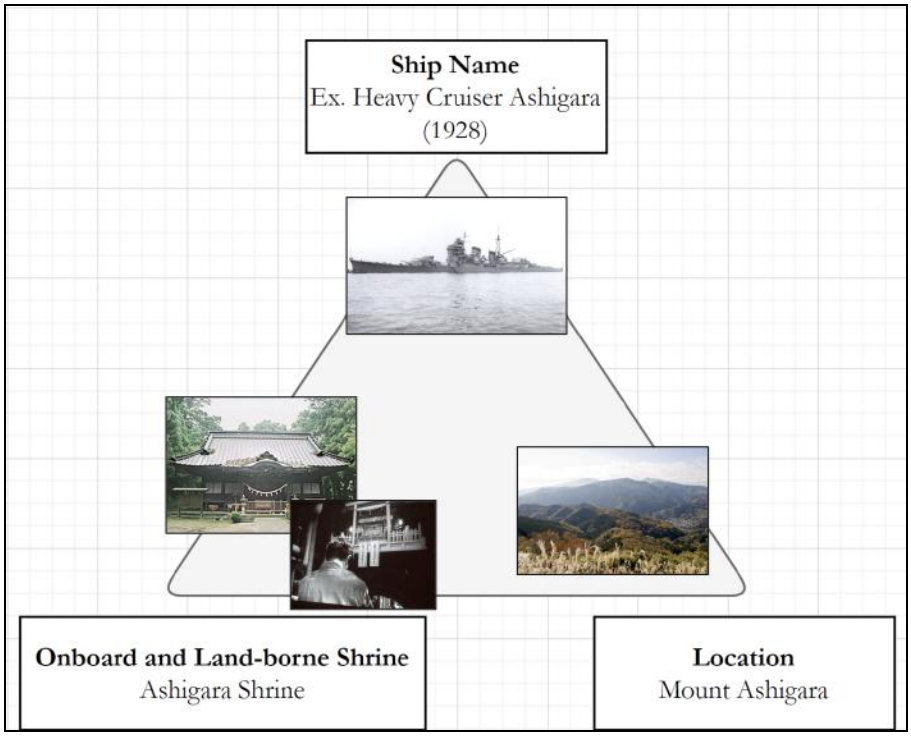

Figure 2.1. A diagram depicting the relationship between a warship and its shipborne and terrestrial shrines, and the warship's namesake.

Despite the potential insights shipborne shrines offer into negotiations over secular/religious and civilian/military identities in modern Japan, these shrines have not even been defined in English scholarship on Japanese or Shinto history. This thesis makes up for the gap by examining the ways in which navy arsenals and sailors arbitrated the relationship between their shipborne shrines, their ships, and the landborne shrines that authenticated shipborne shrines as legitimate points of worship. I do not narrate the enshrinement process of every shipborne shrine as existing scholarly works in Japanese have done so.[43] Instead, I situate the topic within broader interpretive discourse about Shinto.

Popular enthusiasm towards warships emerged after the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, but such enthusiasm developed into devotion for sailors in the 1920s and 1930s. The warships

[43] Jun Kuno. "Teikoku Kaigun to kannai jinja : kamigami ni mamorareta Nihon no umi" 帝国海軍と艦内神社:神々に守られた日本の海 [Japanese Navy and Onboard Shrines: Japanese seas protected by gods] Chiyoda City: Shodensha, 2014.

became embedded into the religious landscape of modern Japan. Most studies of Japanese warships in imperial Japanese mass culture have focused on the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 and the Battle of Tsushima in 1905. These studies focus on depictions of the naval battles in mass prints and memorializations of famous participating warships.[44] However, scholarship has not examined the direct link between warship identities and Shinto cosmology. To first establish the feasibility of this premise, this chapter looks at contemporaneous navy songs illustrating the connection between warships and Japanese national destiny.

In particular, the song "Japanese Navy" (日本海軍 *Nihon kaigun*) links the entire Japanese fleet afloat at the time of its composition to notions of Japan as a divine nation (神国 *shinkoku*). The classical poet Ōowada Takeki wrote the lyrics for the song in 1901, but it would not be until 1904 that the Japanese navy incorporated the song into its formally sanctioned collection. Though the song was composed in the late Meiji period, the song instead echoed songs of the early Meiji period, which Yasuko Tsukahara describes as "little more than Western melodies set with new texts in Japanese."[45] However, the song lyrics reflect Takeki's background as a poet, with connections to waka and haiku poetry through literary place allusions called *utamakura* (歌枕). As a result, even though the Japanese navy used the song for modern and utilitarian purposes as a school song (唱歌 *shōka*) and as a military marching song (軍歌 *gunka*), the structure and pacing of the lyrics capitalize on Japanese literary tradition. "Japanese Navy" is essentially archetypal Japanese poetry sung to a Western tune.

Different versions of "Japanese Navy" vary in lyrics and number of stanzas, but for the sake of clarity I will focus on one particular version found in a song collection published by

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[44] Frederick R Dickinson, "Commemorating the war in post-Versailles Japan," In *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 523-543.
[45] Yasuko Tsukahara. "State Ceremony and Music in Meiji-Era Japan." *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 10, no. 2 (2013): 223–38. doi:10.1017/S1479409813000244.

Kyōbunsha in 1932.[46] In introducing the song, I have selected the sixth stanza out of twenty total stanzas for analysis.

> Sixth (Verse)
> Chiyoda Castle's thousand years (*chiyo*)
> And the evergreen (*tokiwa*) color of Matsushima
> Are not withered even by snow, just like Hashidate
> Relying on its many pines
>
> 六
> 千代田の城の千代かけて
> 色も常磐の松島は
> 雪にも枯れぬ橋立の
> 松もろともに頼もしや

In just one verse, the song makes a number of literary allusions to both geographic locations and metaphors. Matsushima along with Hashidate make up two of what are known as "The Three Scenic Views of Japan" (日本三景 *Nihon sankei*).[47] Matsushima consists of over 200 pine-covered islands in what is today Miyagi prefecture, and Hashidate is a pine covered sandbar stretching from one side of Kyoto prefecture's Miyazu Bay to the other. Both of these are *meisho*, or famous places that have attained great literary significance and became instantly recognizable not just in poetry, but as images spread on mass-distributed woodblocks from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Both Matsushima and Hashidate were common subjects for the famed Utagawa Hiroshige in the 1850s and feature prominently in his woodblock prints.

Chiyoda Castle too, is an old name for Edo Castle, the seat of the shogunate's power in the Tokugawa period. More commonly read as *jōban*, the term 常磐 is read as *tokiwa* in the

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[46] Keizō Horiuchi 堀内敬三. "Meiji Kaiko Gunka Shōka Meikyoku Sen" 明治回顧軍歌唱歌名曲選 [A Review of Selected Famous Meiji Military Songs], Tokyo: Kyobun-Sha 京文社, 1989 Reprint. (Originally published in 1932), 102-103.

[47] The third sight is Miyajima Island in Hiroshima, famously home to the Itsukushima Shrine. The stanza attests to the eternal nature of Japanese *meishō*, or famous places. The last line of the stanza refers to a Japanese proverb proclaiming that a pine tree strength is only proven in times of heavy snowfall, just as is loyalty is only proven in times of hardship.

song. *Tokiwa* comes from classical Japanese as a poetic way to refer to "eternity," and literally translates to "eternal rock." Clearly, the song is rife with poetic allusions, but the connection to the navy is not immediately obvious. An unknowing listener would not recognize that warships have actually been inserted into the verse, and each poetic term constitutes both a warship name and a literary reference.

This is the same verse, but I have bolded and bracketed warship names and listed adjacent their commissioning dates in parentheses.

> Sixth (Verse)
> **[Chiyoda]** (1891) Castle's thousand years (*chiyo*)
> And the eternal **[Tokiwa]** (1899) color of **[Matsushima]** (1892)
> Are not withered even by snow, just like **[Hashidate]** (1894)
> Relying on its many pines
>
> 六
> 「千代田」の城の千代かけて
> 色も「常磐」の「松島」は
> 雪にも枯れぬ「橋立」の
> 松もろともに頼もしや[48]

As mentioned, "Japanese Navy" varies from one version to another. However, all versions follow the same pattern, with each and every verse combining warship names with poetry in the style established above. In essence, "Japanese Navy" reminds listeners that imperial Japanese navy warships are not just weapons, but inheritors of Japan's storied literary traditions.

I have reproduced and translated the rest of one shortened variation of the song to demonstrate that the interplay between warship names and Japanese literary and religious imagery holds true throughout the entire text.

日本海軍」*Nihon Kaigun* / The Japanese Navy (1901) **Bolded** = vessel name		
「扶桑」の空に聳え立つ	***Fusō** no sora ni sobietatsu*	Towering over the skies of **Fusō**
「富士」の高嶺の「朝日」かげ	***Fuji** no takane no **Asahi** kage*	**Fuji** peak's **Asahi** morning silhouette
かゞやく「吉野」の櫻花	*kagayaku **Yoshino** no ouka*	Shining **Yoshino's** cherry blossoms
かをる譽の「高雄」山	*kaoru homare no **Takao***	**Takao's** sweet reputation

[48] Ibid., 112.

榮ゆる影も「常盤」なる	*sakae yuru kage mo **Tokiwa** naru*	Glorious splendor is **Tokiwa** everlasting
松の操の「松島」と	*matsu no misao no **Matsushima***	Faithful pines **Matsushima**[49]
世界にひゞく我國の	*sekai ni hibiku waga no*	Our country echoes throughout the world
武威「高砂」の浦の波	*bui **Takasago** no ura no nami*	Brawny **Takasago's** waves
寄せなば寄せよ鐵石の	*yosenaba yoseyo tesseki no*	Gathering iron and stone,
砦はかたき「天城」山	*toride wa kataki **Amagi** yama*	The tough fortress **Amagi** mountain
楯を枕に「敷島」の	*tate wo makura ni **Shikishima*** no	**Shikishima** bolsters the shield
大和心の「明石」がた	*yamato gokoro no **Akashi** gata*	**Akashi** bay of the Japanese spirit
「須磨」「厳島」あとに見て	***Suma Ikutsushima** ato ni mite*	See **Suma** and **Ikutsushima** after
國に命を「筑紫」路や	*kuni ni inochi wo **Tsukushi** michi ya*	The nation's vitality, **Tsukushi** road
雲に秀づる「高千穂」の	*kumo ni hidezuru **Takachiho***	**Takachiho** crests the cloud,
嶺より高き大君の	*mine yori takaki ōkimi no*	The lord higher than the peak
御稜威溢るゝ「秋津島」	*miitsu abururu **Akitsushima***	Overflowing with authority, **Akitsushima**
引きはかへらぬ武士の	*hiki wa kareranu mononofu no*	A warrior who does not retreat
心の弓の「八島」がた	*kokoro no yumi no **Yashima***	The bow in [his] heart is **Yashima**
「八雲」「八重山」千代かけて	***Yakumo Yaeyama** chiyo kakete*	**Yakumo** and **Yaeyama** for a thousand years
まもる「千代田」の宮柱	*mamoru **Chiyoda** no miyabashira*	**Chiyoda** guarded pillars[50]
立つし功は「千早」ぶる	*tatsushi kō wa **Chihaya** buru*	Commendable **Chihaya** godly power[51]
神のめぐみの「筑波」山	*kami no megumi no **Tsukuba** yama*	Blessing by gods **Tsukuba** mountain
動かぬ御代世を世に示す	*ugokanu miyoyo o se ni shimesu*	Mark the unwavering imperial reign
「金剛」「磐城」「摩耶」「愛宕」	***Kongō Iwaki Maya Atago***	**Kongo Iwaki Maya Atago**
「赤城」「葛城」「鳥海」山	***Akagi Katsuragi Chōkai** yama*	**Akagi Katsuragi Choukai** mountain

While Yuhi Lee does not point out the links between warship names and literary terms in his dissertation, he points to "Japanese Navy" as an example of "divine country thought" (神国思想 *shinkoku shisō*). Divine country thought points to the notion that the restoration of the emperor as a Shinto *kami* also reinstituted the whole of Japan as a sacred land filled with Shinto legends throughout its history. "Japanese Navy" communicates this construct of a divine Japan even without references to warships by condensing a wealth of distinctly, or constructed as, Japanese Shinto traditions.

[49] From a common Japanese proverb that states that a pine tree's endurance is only proven in times of heavy snowfall: "Yuki asshite matsu no misao o shiru" 雪圧して松の操を知る.
[50] Temple or palace pillars. "Miyabashira" 宮柱.
[51] Reference to 17th poem from Ogura Hyakunin Isshu [One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each] compiled in medieval Japan.

The insertion of warship names in the song, however, was a step in applying the country's Shinto sacredness onto the fleet. Though warships mentioned in the song had only been afloat for at most two decades and in some cases not even finished construction, allusions to famous images like Matsushima apply the venerated qualities of places time immemorial to an otherwise infant fleet. The Imperial Japanese Navy had only been established in 1886 after all, a total of 15 years before the song's composition. Though icons like Matsushima had traditionally been areas of great literary lineage, it was through songs like "Japanese Navy" that these symbols were elevated to that of a mythologized Japanese past. It is important to note that the song "Japanese Navy" may have established the foundation for imagining Japanese warships as elements within sacred Shinto cosmology, but the reality of the fleet was quite different. French, British, or otherwise non-Japanese shipyards constructed almost all the Japanese warships afloat in 1905, not to mention that all designs were drafted by non-Japanese shipbuilders.

The launch and commissioning of the battlecruiser *Kongō* in 1912, named after Kongo Mountain, marked a fundamental shift in not just the military arms race, but connotations of the Japanese fleet as historical and sacred. Though a British naval architect provided the design and the British Vickers shipyard constructed *Kongō,* the battlecruiser was Japan's first warship of the dreadnought age (marked by the launch of the HMS Dreadnought in 1906). The rest of the *Kongō*-class battlecruisers, *Haruna* (Haruna Mountain), *Hiei* (Hiei Mountain), and *Kirishima* (Kirishima Mountain), were all built by Japanese shipyards. *Kongō*'s enlistment into the Imperial Japanese navy in 1913 then marked the navy's shift to subsequent ships that were domestically designed, domestically constructed, and capable of going toe-to-toe with the most modern warships of peer competitors.

Commemorative postcards produced and then distributed on the day of a warship's launch reflected this trend. While the postcards for *Kongō* were simply photos taken at her construction and launch, later postcards captured Shinto connections through Japanese art forms. Instead of the sanitized objectivity of photographs, stylistic drawings allowed designers to associate warships with their sacred allusions not just nominally, but directly through images as well.

The heavy cruiser *Nachi* and her postcards presented a quintessential example as a cruiser launched in 1927 and designed by esteemed Japanese naval architect Hiraga Yuzuru. She was constructed by the Kure Naval Arsenal, though the arsenal is better known as the city of Kure today. Kure, a port city located a half hour away from Hiroshima by express rail, played an extensive role in the development of warship identities. Along with the creation of the imperial Japanese navy in 1886, the Meiji government established Kure as one of the four major navy ports assigned to the defense of Japanese seas, along with Maizuru, Yokosuka, and Sasebo. All four of these navy ports became significant urban centers, and their growth and decline corresponded with the amount of navy investment. As a result, Kure Arsenal shipbuilders maintained a deep investment in the individual identities of warships as a reflection of their own local identity.

In June 1927, the Kure Naval Arsenal launched the heavy cruiser *Nachi* and, like the arsenal had done for many other major warships, designed a series of postcards to celebrate the event. The ship's name was ostensibly inspired by Nachi-san, a sacred mountain in Japan. However, the Nachi-san is just as notable for famous places in its vicinity also bearing its name, such as Nachi Falls and the Kumano Nachi shrine. Postcard designers at Kure Naval Arsenal capitalized on these associations by directly connecting the warship to these places (2.2). This

dynamic highlights how a warship's name was not just a bureaucratic label, but drew upon long established Japanese identities to distinguish warships as individuals and subjects of emotional investment, rather than as unfamiliar and dispassionate weapons.

Figure 2.2. Ca. 1927
(Left) Postcard depicts heavy cruiser *Nachi* bathed in celebratory confetti and flags characteristic of her launching ceremony, and places her adjacent to Nachi Falls.
(Above) Postcard within the same series situates *Nachi* within a condensed depiction of the boundaries (and local fish speciality) of coastal town Kushimoto. The red labels from left to right read: *Nachi-jinja* (Nachi shrine), *Seiganto-ji* (Seiganto temple), and *Nachi-no-Taki* (Nachi Falls). (DTA's Digital Museum Collections)

The first postcard established a connection between the sacred mountain Nachi and the famous Nachi Falls, while the second postcard further strengthened the association between cruiser Nachi and the religious landmarks in the area. The use of three red labels to distinguish

the land-based places of worship as special areas of note is significant, as it divorces the Nachi shrine from its usual designation as one of the three Kumano shrines. This visual connection creates a stronger link between cruiser Nachi and Nachi shrine, depicting the warship as an extension of the sacred site. In fact, cruiser Nachi's crew even arranged for her enshrinement at the very temple, establishing a correspondence between Nachi shrine and the shipborne shrine on the warship.

In addition to Nachi shrine, the second postcard also includes Seiganto temple and Nachi Falls, encompassing the canon of religious sites in the area and bringing together Shinto, Buddhism, and even Shugendo together. Though Shugendō generally refers to a body of Shintō and Buddhist folk traditions originating in ancient Japan, the label has been conflated with religious mountain worship. Kure Arsenal postcard designers inadvertently called upon what religions scholar Gaynor Sekimori refers to as "Shugendō of the sea" (海の修験道 *umi no shugendō*) to evoke a tripartite relationship between warships, seascapes, and Shintō worship.[52]

The first postcard may only depict Nachi Falls, but the waterfall itself constitutes religious imagery. Before shrines had even been established in the general area known as Kumano, the waterfall was considered the residence of the Shugendo deity Hiryū Gongen.[53] The significance of Nachi Falls was so great that it became a staple of Kumano mandalas. Mandalas essentially use symbols to depict condensed geographic space and in the case of the Kumano mandalas, demarcated the Kumano area as Buddha's sacred abode. In later Kumano pilgrimage mandalas of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Nachi shrine became the most popular subject of depiction, pointing to the ubiquity of Nachi as a sacred area.[54] In effect, the postcard

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[52] Sekimori Gaynor. "Shugendō and the Sea." In *The Sea and the Sacred in Japan Aspects of Maritime Religion*, edited by Fabio Rambelli, 9:101-115. (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018), 102.
[53] Elizabeth Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 164.
[54] Ibid., 172.

functioned as a mandala that reinforced the Nachi area as a sacred space, but also introduced the warship *Nachi* as a rightful component of the condensed space.

This microcosm of sacredness associated with the name Nachi imbues the warship with elements of faith in a seaborne way, displacing the Nachi faith from its stationary status and representing Japanese faith abroad as the cruiser transits the colonial Pacific seas. In this way, cruiser Nachi not only serves as a guardian for her crew but also embodies the entire Nachi region, carrying the elements of faith with her as she travels. This highlights the importance of warships in Japanese mass culture as an instrument of empire building carrying the domestic to the abroad, as the warships not only served as military assets but also carried significant cultural and religious meaning.

Other Japanese warships were named after areas linked with the Kumano space as well. Three of these were the battleship *Ise*, the cruiser *Isuzu* (by association with Ise), and the cruiser *Kumano*. Their respective commemorative postcards all depict religious elements of their namesakes: *Ise* of Ise Shrine, *Isuzu* of Isuzu River (which opens into Ise Shrine), and *Kumano* of Kumano Hongu Shrine (fig. 2.3). Put all together with *Nachi*, commemorative postcards depicting Kumano pilgrimages formed a mandala not just within a single set. Instead, the sets from the four warships come together to form one portion of the religious landscape of the Kumano region.

Figure 2.3. (clockwise) Commemorative postcard of battleship *Ise* (1916), cruiser *Isuzu* (1921), and cruiser *Kumano* (1936). (Courtesy of DTA's Digital Museum Collections)

Ise's postcard places her adjacent to a panel depicting Ise Shrine. Chrysanthemum flowers line underneath the panel, and the flag on the left depicts the Kawasaki Heavy Industry emblem.

Isuzu's postcard depicts her below a number of destroyers, and to the left of a panel depicting Ise Shrine. There are five bells underneath the panel, hinting to her name which can be translated to fifty bells.

"Shugendō of the sea" can also be applied to many other Japanese warships named after mountains that were traditionally sites of Shugendō worship (fig. 2.3). The heavy cruiser *Maya* and the experiences of her crew present an especially good example. The cruiser was named after Maya Mountain of Kobe city, which is a mere mile away from Osaka Bay at its closest point. As Maya Mountain was named after the woman who gave birth to Gautama Buddha in Buddhist tradition, heavy cruiser *Maya* is also one of the only warships to be named after a woman.

Sacred mountains in Japan were thought to have been parts of far away continents that had split off, taken to the sky, and landed in the Japanese islands.[55] The notion of moving places of worship is thus not new, and made literal by the extensive popularization of shipborne shrines by the 1920s. Such movement on behalf of the warship affected acts of worship, brought Japanese religious worship from terrestrial to maritime spaces, and established warships within Shinto cosmology.

Though Maya Mountain was famous for Tenjo Temple, the case of cruiser *Maya*'s shipborne shrine points to Shinto predominance among religious traditions of the navy. Enshrinement of shipborne shrines worked as follows: sponsoring land shrines formalized the process by "splitting" the shrine and bestowing a part to their respective warship. The warship would have a model of the shrine, or other objects to signify the shrine's presence. Although enshrinement of cruisers named after mountains in shrines located on their namesake mountains had already been a precedent, this was not the case for cruiser *Maya*. Instead, Tenjo Temple donated an amulet that cruiser *Maya* accepted and consecrated, but *Maya*'s shipborne shrine actually corresponded to the Inner Ise Grand Shrine.

Worship at shipborne shrines follows from the nineteenth century tradition of praying to Konpira Shrine and deities for safety in rough waters.[56] By the turn of the twentieth century with the development of steel gunboats, sailors prayed to Konpira Shrine for fortune in battles and evasion from enemy shells.[57] An excerpt from the *Kantai Kibun*, a navy newspaper illustrates the spiritual assumptions that undergird such worship. The anonymous author, a sailor of the battleship *Mutsu* writes, "On this clear day, a celebration of our guardian Mutsu Shrine [located

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[55] Allan G. Grapard. "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions." *History of Religions* 21, no. 3 (1982): 218.
[56] Sarah Thal, *Rearranging the Landscape of the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 107.
[57] Ibid., 232.

on the battleship] was solemnly performed… We are convinced that the divine protection of the Mutsu Shrine is always above us."[58] In doing so, the crew utilized their shipborne shrine as an extension of the landborne Iwakimiya Shrine, located in modern Aomori.

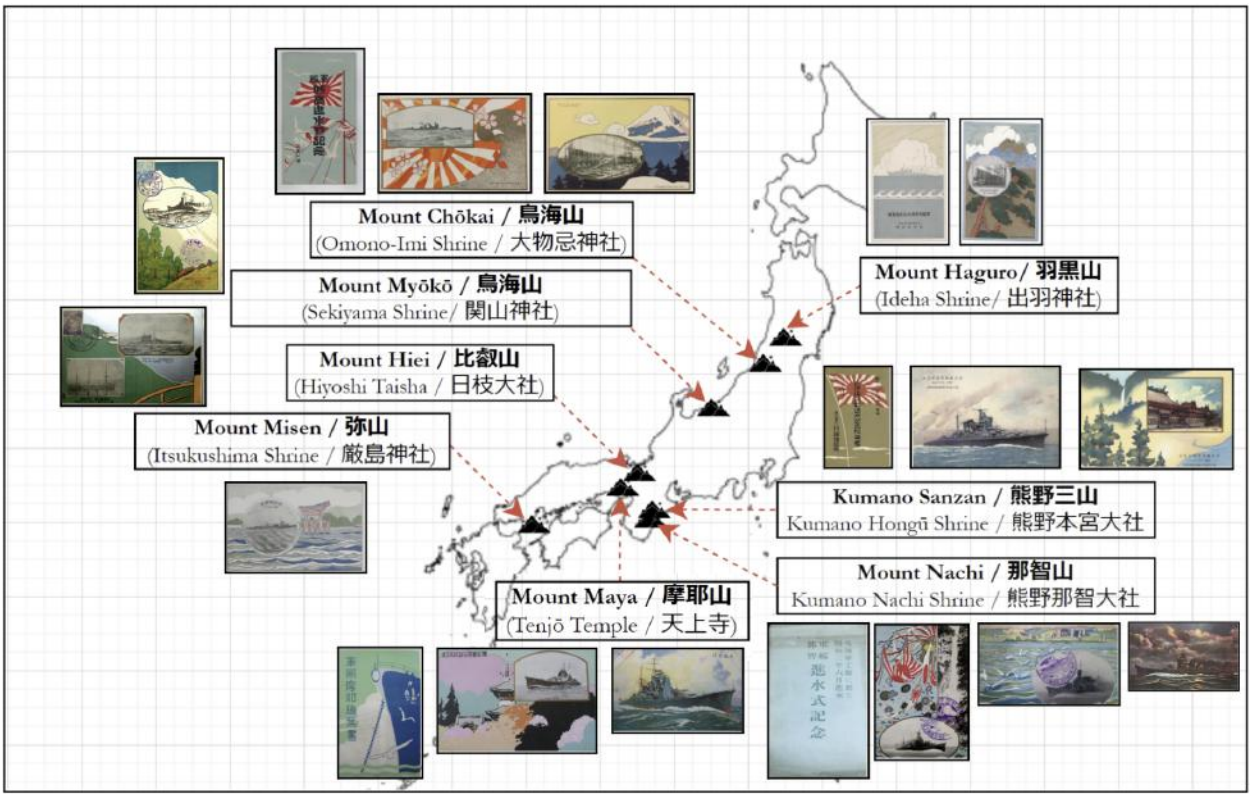

Figure 2.3 I have created a diagram that lists warships that (1) are named after or linked to a sacred mountain associated with Shugendō, (2) have commemorative postcards depicting said mountain, and (3) have shipborne shrines sponsored by shrines found on said mountains. The exception is that of cruiser *Kumano* and Kumano Sanzan mountains, as the warship is technically named after Kumano River. I have listed for some warships the postcard sleeve and other postcards within the series in order to illustrate how the full set looks.

Drawing parallels between the experiences of warship crews and Shugendō pilgrimages provides insight into how Japanese sailors put the theoretical connections between religion and the navy into practice. Yuya Kazaki's article on shipborne shrines draws from Kobe City

[58] Ministry of Navy Education 海軍省教育局. "Kantai Kibun: Shōwa gonnen kannai shimbun" 艦隊氣分 : 昭和五年艦内新聞 [Fleet Sentiments: shipborne news in 1930]. Tokyo: Kaigunshō Kyōikukyoku, 1931: 22-23.

newspaper articles about one of *Maya*'s pilgrimages on July 4th, 1932.[59] The pilgrimage fits into Sekimori's template for Shugendō of the sea in the following ways: sailor worship at Maya's shipborne shrine off the coast of Kobe Port (passage along the coast); the Maya's crew disembarks at Kobe Port and the captain leads them on their routine visit to Tenjōji Temple (passage from sea to land); and sailors re embark the cruiser *Maya* with offerings (passage from land to sea).

Despite the prioritization of Shinto faith (opting to enshrine *Maya* in the less related Shinto Ise Shrine instead of the Buddhist Tenjo Temple), the reality of worship was much more blurry. Indeed, neither *Maya*'s crew nor the priests at Tenjo Temple refer to the sailors' pilgrimage as Shugendo in the news article. In practice, their pilgrimage involved traveling from sea to land and back at a sacred mountain traditionally associated with Shugendo. These activities existed as part of "Shugendō as a continuum, not a contrast, between land and sea" in which religious traditions of the navy mediated such a relationship. Furthermore, practices like cruiser *Maya's* pilgrimage demonstrate that navy ships and the religious connotations of their names are not simply a link that people today have retroactively capitalized on, but rather an association acknowledged and practiced by sailors and shrine personnel in the 1920s and 1930s.

Despite the folk associations of shipborne shrine worship, the Japanese government actually recognized and began to regulate the shrines on all warships with legislation in 1940.[60] Shipborne shrines constituted mobile shrines reminiscent of overseas shrines, but taken to an even greater degree in maritime characteristics. Later chapters will examine how the

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[59] Yūya Kazuki, "Dai Nippon Teikoku Kaigun ni okeru Kannai Jinja ni tsuite: Tōji no Saiten・Saishi wo Chūshin ni" 大日本帝国海軍における艦内神社について : 当時の祭典・祭祀を中心に [Regarding the Greater Japanese Empire Navy Onboard Shrines: Focusing on Festivals at the time and Rituals]. *Shintō History Review* 68, no. 1 (2020): 70.
[60] Sakai Hiyoshi, "Einai jinjatō no sōken" 営内神社等の創建 [The Construction of Military Shrines]. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History* 147, (2018): 328.

consequences of this worship established the foundation for mobilization, even after the establishment of the Maritime Self Defense forces in 1954.

Chapter 3: Resurrecting a Bereaved Navy

"I think it is important to convey to the future Japanese navy just how helpful Rear Admiral [Arleigh] Burke was in the rebuilding of the Japanese navy at the war's end," said former Imperial Japanese Vice Admiral Zenshiro Hoshina on July 21st, 1989.[61] These words were recorded as part of a series of transcripts which captured the nostalgic attitude by which former Imperial Navy officers and politicians reminisced from 1980 to 1991. The personnel expressed gratitude towards Burke and other American naval officers who supported the rebuilding of the Japanese navy as the JMSDF. This was despite the fact that America had defeated Imperial Japan in 1945, only 9 years before the establishment of the JMSDF in 1954. The stance of these former Imperial navy personnel, with many serving as post-war civilian politicians, hinged on the notion that JMSDF was not a new post-war navy, but the resurrection of an inherited naval identity, a truly "Japanese" navy.

These sentiments evolved through a series of over 100 meetings held by former navy personnel of a naval organization called the Suikōkai (水交会), which was essentially a 1952 reiteration of its imperial navy forebear the Suikōsha (水交社). Both civilian organizations were social clubs for imperial or former imperial navy personnel, but the Suikōkai today has become populated by JMSDF members as well. A component of the Suikōkai mission statement states the objective to "console the spirits of their predecessors and honor them."[62] Naval historian Kazushige Todaka collected the audio tapes which recorded the Suikokai meetings and the transcripts were made publicly available by the Japan Broadcasting Company. In these sessions,

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[61] Kazushige Todaka 一成 戸高. *Kaigun Hansei 11* 海軍反省 11 (Kyoto: PHP Institute, 2018), 74.
[62] Suikōkai 2011. Suikōkai Articles of Incorporation for Public Interest Foundation, https://suikoukai-jp.com/suikoukai/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/teikan.pdf.

they reflected not only on the navy's responsibilities, duties, and performance in World War II, but also on their lobbying efforts for the creation of the JMSDF.

This chapter argues that the late twentieth century and contemporary rhetoric of a transcendent naval identity originated from mourning rituals for Japanese navy personnel. It begins with the visits of naval sailors to Yasukuni Shrine in the early twentieth century and understands them as the foundation for a strain of naval bereavement distinct from general military or civilian bereavement. Naval bereavement became a regular practice not only within shrines, but also on warships and in local denominational temples until the end of the empire in 1945.

I jump forward to the postwar era because an exhaustive year by year chronicle of Japanese naval history is not the goal. As this thesis is a cultural history, I cover the nearly one hundred year time span in order to capture the prewar and postwar continuities of naval identity. I further argue that naval identity emerged as a collective memory developed between right-wing Japanese politicians and mourners through memoirs published between 1964 and the 1990s, which I call warship memoirs. Scholars have examined the role of memorials in crystallizing collective memory within a wide variety of settings. Jay Winter examined the proliferation of statues, graveyards, and cenotaphs commemorating World War I in Western European spaces.[63] Junyi Han too has illustrated the role of graveyards, the Tengchong Cemetery in particular, in constructing a national identity of mourning-centered nationalism in post-World War II mainland China.[64] The collective memory of naval bereavement developed out of similar desires to commemorate war tragedies, but rose initially out of textual memoirs instead of

[63] Jay Winter. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Chapter 4 "War Memorials and the Mourning Process," 78-117.
[64] Junyi Han, "Creating the Past: Guoshang Cemetery and Chinese Collective Memory, 1945 and Beyond," Senior diss., (Emory University, 2020).

physical monuments. Indeed, warship memoirs themselves were instead the monuments, and provided the foundations for institutional support that enabled the establishment of naval cenotaphs and graveyards after the publication of the first memoirs in 1964.

Postwar Japanese foreign policy has been characterized by some commentators as almost exclusively determined by American interests. Former Japanese Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama, who served from 2009 to 2010, and his faction the Democratic Party of Japan characterized the relations in this way:

> Because the current Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements have left the United States to make the major decisions and Japan has been satisfied with simply being a junior partner, the Japan-U.S. relationship cannot be called an alliance in the true sense of the word.[65]

The history of naval bereavement in Japan demonstrates that United States policy was well-received by the Japanese right-wing because the United States allowed them to pursue their own interests. It was not just a matter of predetermined legislation, as Hatoyama characterizes, but a relationship in which legislation coincided with concessions for the Japanese right-wing. Post-war American navy officials allowed their Japan rank equivalents to foster their own sense of naval patriotism, which allowed the LDP to form a core constituency that aligned with their logic over bereavement.

This was evident in the Japanese award of the Order of the Rising Sun to General Curtis LeMay in 1964. The Order of the Rising Sun remains the most distinguished award for foreigners distributed by the Japanese state to those who have contributed significantly to Japanese interests. However, General LeMay was the architect of strategic bombing plans against Japan in World War II, which killed millions of Japanese civilians. Moreover, he authorized the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945.

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[65] Seo-Hyun Park. *Sovereignty and Status in East Asian International Relations*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 155.

The award was complicated further by the officials who recommended him for the award. One of these officials was Genda Minoru, the primary architect of the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and a prominent military official after the war. The official who awarded LeMay directly was Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, whose brothers were a Vice Admiral in the Imperial Japanese navy and Nobusuke Kishi, known as the "Monster of the Showa Era" for his brutal control of Manchuria in the 1930s and 1940s. Kishi is more famous in the West as Prime Minister of Japan from 1957 to 1960 and as the grandfather of former and deceased Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.

The award sparked protests and Prime Minister Sato's response captured the relationship between post-war armed forces and American policy. In a *New York Times* article published at the time in 1964, Sato argues that "bygones are bygones. It should be but natural that we reward the general [LeMay] with a decoration for his great contribution to our Air Self-Defense Units."[66] This wartime amnesia of violence both committed by and against Japanese citizens was not only motivated by avoidance of wartime responsibility, but because the devotional interests of former military personnel had been satiated.

The reemergence of Japanese military forces after World War II was not solely driven by pragmatic concerns related to defense and industry, but rather by a deeper attachment to late Meiji-era rituals that had become entrenched in Japanese spirituality. These military forces served not only as a means of material defense, but also as a coping mechanism and a source of identity that evoked powerful emotional responses, including a willingness to overlook the actions of those responsible for Japan's wartime destruction.

An article published on March 26, 1899 by the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, one of the premier Japanese newspaper circulations, revealed the connections between the Yasukuni Shrine and the

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[66] "Honor to Lemay by Japan Stirs Parliament Debate," The New York Times, December 8, 1964, https://www.nytimes.com/1964/12/08/archives/honor-to-lemay-by-japan-stirs-parliament-debate.html.

Japanese navy.[67] The article is titled "Joint Enshrinement of Requisition Ship Crew 軍艦代用船乗組員死亡者の合祠)," referring to the enshrinement of non-combat personnel who had served on three requisitioned (*Yamashiro, Saikyo,* and *Ōmi Maru*) and three chartered vessels (*Shinagawa, Motoyama,* and *Asagao Maru*). According to the article, these crewmen perished in the Sino-Japanese War between July 25, 1894 and November 17, 1895 and were enshrined in Yasukuni Shrine.

The article briefly narrates the history above, but focuses on the cooperation between the Japanese Seafarers' Relief Association (henceforth JSRA, which still exists to this day) and bereaved family members of the deceased crew. Though Yasukuni Shrine enshrined the names of the crew, the family members petitioned the association to investigate as to the actual whereabouts of the crew's bodies. The Meiji statesmen established the JSRA in 1880 to provide medical assistance to sailors, but the organization's secondary role was to provide consolation and assistance to bereaved family members of sailors.

The 1899 *Yomiuri Shimbun* article exemplifies a development in which the Meiji state became closely intertwined with the affairs of civilians related to the navy. It also established Yasukuni Shrine as a liminal zone in which navy affairs blurred the distinction between state and civilian spheres. This relationship between the civilian and military bureaucracy served as the foundation for troubles at sea becoming a larger metaphor for not just the Japanese state's interests but also the security of Japanese citizens. During the Taisho (1912-1926) and early Showa (1926-1989) periods up to the end of World War II in 1945, it was common in stories, political commentary, and other literature to refer to naval conflicts and the presence of warships as "raging waves" amidst tensions with West. For example, renowned adventure novelist

[67] "Gunkan daiyōsen norikumīn shibōsha no gōshi," 軍艦代用船乗組員死亡者の合祠 [Joint Enshrinement of Requisition Ship Crew] *Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 26, 1899.

Masashi Terashima published in 1935 a book titled *Raging Waves: A Battle History of the Japanese Navy*.[68] In the introduction to the book, Terashima notes the inevitability of "raging waves" (*dotō* 怒涛) following the national cry to "protect the sea and guard the Pacific" after the official Japanese withdrawal from the League of Nations.[69] Later references to "quiet seas" in postwar memoirs were examples of the opposite side of the dichotomy, in which calm seas corresponded to assuaged bereavement, and rough seas corresponded to unresolved grief.[70]

The ties between bereavement and calm/rough seas originate from the most dramatic and publicized images of maritime risks in peacetime: rough waters, typhoons, capsized boats, and drowned sailors. Historian Jonas Reugg, in his article on early Japanese colonialism in the Pacific, points to "the resurrection of sea-centric mapmaking" as Tokugawa Japan shifted its expansionist plans to the seas.[71] As a result, Southern expansion doctrine (南進論 *nanshin-ron*) may have "disentangled [Japan] from the mythological space that the Pacific had represented" as instead the jurisdiction of the empire.[72] While criss-crossing streets on cityscape maps mark areas of actual order and physical geography, the ink lines that correspond to official maritime routes represent an unrealized ideal on top of ever moving and shifting oceans waters.

Maps such as those published by Japanese maritime societies in the 1930s and 1940s appear to impose clearly defined and understandable zones of control over the Pacific Ocean and, consequently, Japan's maritime empire. Despite these illusions of borderless technological modernity, the oceans continued to pose undeniable risks to the most advanced components of

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[68] Masashi Terashima. "Dotō: Nihon Kaigun Senki" 怒濤 : 日本海軍戦記 [Raging Waves: A Battle History of the Japanese Navy]. Tokyo: Nippon-Koronsha, 1935.
[69] Ibid., 6.
[70] Battleship Fusō Association 戦艦扶桑会. "Senkan [Fusō] Gojūkaiki・Chinkonfu" 戦艦「扶桑」五十回忌・鎮魂譜 [Battleship Fusō's 50th Death Anniversary and Genealogy of Remembrance] 1993. Yasukuni Library Archives. Call No. 93604 397.5B., 37
[71] Jonas Rüegg, "Mapping the Forgotten Colony: The Ogasawara Islands and the Tokugawa Pivot to the Pacific," *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 6, no. 2 (2017): 440-490. doi:10.1353/ach.2017.0015.
[72] Ibid., 456.

the Japanese navy, with the Tomozuru Incident in 1934 and Fourth Fleet Incident in 1935 being two of the most well-known examples.

Though typhoons and rough waters at sea posed ever present dangers to imperial navy warships, severe disasters like destroyer *Sawarabi*'s capsize in rough waters and loss of her entire crew in 1932 were rare.[73] Destroyer *Tomozuru* catastrophe in a storm on March 12, 1934 and the death of over 100 of her crew, however, sparked investigations that revealed that over 50 navy warships were susceptible to the same environmental hazards at sea. Despite institutional navy reforms aimed at revising warship designs, the Fourth Fleet Incident occurred the following year on September 26, 1935. In this case, 58 ships were caught in a massive typhoon that caused significant damage to all destroyers present. Even worse, the typhoon wreaked massive ruptures in the larger heavy cruisers and aircraft carriers.[74]

Anxieties over deadly seas were much better documented in postcards instead of the sanitized maritime landscapes of officially sanctioned maps. Illustrations of navy ships caught in rough waters and about to capsize captured the dangers that the Pacific posed in the cultural imagination, in contrast to caricatures of the idyllic South seas (fig 3.1). In this regard, the enshrinement of sailors at shrines and the involvement of civilians in this process through associations like the JSRA was the modern evolution of earlier eighteenth and nineteenth century rituals for safety at sea, such as in that of Konpira shrine worship as discussed in Chapter 2.

[73]Sadao Seno, "A Chess Game With no Checkmate: Admiral Inoue and the Pacific War," *Naval War College Review* 26, no. 4 (1974): 26–39. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44641455.
[74] Ibid., 37.

Figure 3.1:
"Fleet in Billowing Waves" (Dotōchū no Kantai 怒涛中之艦隊) postcard set.
Exact date of publication other than prewar origin unknown (Author's collection).
(Upper left) Captioned: "Main torpedo squadron fleet exercise in rough waters"
(Upper right) Captioned: "The First Fleet pushing through frenzied and raging waves"
(Bottom) Destroyer *Arashi*'s (嵐) commemorative launch postcard (ca. 1940) depicts her in stormy waters as a reference to her name, as *arashi* means storm (DTA's Digital Museum Collections).

Yasukuni Shrine was a site in which as John Nelson puts it, "souls of the dead are enshrined and propitiated but also valorized and fetishized."[75] However, Yasukuni Shrine was also simply a tool through which bereaved family members articulated their mourning as non-state actors. Yasukuni Shrine became a site of pomp and grandeur for bereavement, but primarily for state ceremony. Postcards of naval ceremonies at Yasukuni Shrine illustrate sailors undertaking ceremonial marches in rank and file (fig. 3.2). Far from these state arbitrated rituals

[75] John Nelson, "Social Memory as Ritual Practice: Commemorating Spirits of the Military Dead at Yasukuni Shinto Shrine," The Journal of Asian Studies 62, no. 2 (2003): 446.

in local villages, Shimazu mentions that "interests remained first and foremost local, revealing a surprising lack of national vision," and "local patriotism fostered by local elites did not readily translate into official patriotism."[76] Individuals mourning for their loved ones at sea did so out of their own interests instead of the interests of a national cosmology.

Figure 3.2: A postcard dated 1939 depicts a contingent of Japanese marines participating in a routine festival at Yasukuni Shrine. (Author's Collection).

State and individual spirituality concerning naval bereavement revolved around warships as a focal point first through Yasukuni Shrine rituals from the late Meiji period onwards. However, the culmination of the intersection between state and local identities only developed with the establishment of the JMSDF and thus naval memorialization discourse. Warships were

[76] Naoko Shimazu. *Japanese Society at War: Death, Memory and the Russo-Japanese War*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 155.

simultaneously symbols of the state and sacrosanct spaces for survivors and the family of deceased sailors.

The rise of warship memoirs provided not just a physical, but literary space by which the state and individual bereavement built off of each other. This thesis defines the warship memoir as any manuscript published between 1964 (publication of the first warship memoir) and the 1990s (end of warship memoir publications) that focuses on an individual warship as a focal point of mourning. These manuscripts were typically published by associations created and named after their respective warships. Many of these memoirs tinged the ship's war history with nostalgia, as evidenced by the Tenryū Association's publication of a memoir in 1995 titled *Chronicle of Comrade-in-Arms Praying to the Ends of the South Seas*.[77] The title is a reference to the association's characterization of sailors who had died aboard the *Tenryū* as having been "laid to rest in the depths of the South Seas as the flowers of our homeland."[78] In this sense, the memoir was a prayer by post-war survivors to honor the spirits of comrades located in the sacrosanct South Seas.

The first warship memoir was published in 1964 about the battleship *Musashi*, which, along with her sister ship, the battleship *Yamato*, was the largest battleship ever built.[79] *Musashi* was also the flagship of the Imperial Japanese combined fleet for the near entirety of the Pacific War, establishing her as the symbolic head of the navy. The Musashi Association compiled the memoir in honor of the approximately thousand sailors who died with the *Musashi*'s sinking by American aircraft in the Battle of Sibuyan Sea (October 24, 1944). The manuscript identified the

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[77] Warship Tenryū Association 軍艦天龍会. "Nanmei no Hate ni Inoru Senyukai no Ayumi" 南溟の果てに祈る戦友会の歩み [Chronicle of Comrade-in-Arms Praying to the Ends of the South Seas] 1995. Nara Prefectural Library. Call No. 3556.91502.
[78] Ibid., 20.
[79] Musashi War Dead Memorial Service Administrators 武蔵戦没者慰霊祭執行者. "Gunkan Musashi Senbōsha Ireisai Kinenshi" 軍艦武蔵戦没者慰霊祭記念誌 [Warship Musashi War Dead Memoir] 1964. Yasukuni Library Archives. Call No. 205057 397.5B.

majority of these sailors and paid tribute to them. The Musashi Association was started by ten former sailors who considered their visit to Yasukuni Shrine in 1951 on the anniversary of the *Musashi*'s sinking as the organization's inception.[80] Indeed, the spiritual undercurrents of naval mourning made the revival of discourse about the "former" Japanese navy more acceptable in a largely anti-war postwar environment.

The belief in a warship as a spiritual space and more than a weapon was a way of honoring the vessel and the individuals who served on it, as well as recognizing the ship's legacy. Bereaved family members and former sailors found comfort in the idea of a ship's spirit continuing to exist even after the physical vessel is no longer present. In 1969, Akira Soji, the former captain of the warship Mogami, published a memoir about the ship in collaboration with the newly established Mogami Association. The memoir, titled *Together with the Spirit of Mogami*, gathered a range of statements from former Mogami crew and survivors in memory of both the ship and those who had passed.[81] In the manuscript's foreword, the head of the association, expresses his intent to "pray for the souls of the *Mogami* and the deceased to find happiness in the next world."[82] Both the title and statements by members of the Mogami Association assume that the ship itself possesses a soul (referred to as *kanrei* 艦霊) and must be given condolences, just like the deceased human crew.

The memoir also contains reprints of articles written about the *Mogami*, which detail efforts to memorialize the warship and her crew in public spaces. One of these is titled "Rejoicing in the Reconstruction of the 'First Mogami' Mast 一 Osaka's Nakanoshima Park's Renowned National Flag Raising."[83] This article was written by Kondo Fusakichi, a former

[80] Warship Musashi Association 軍艦武蔵会. "Gunkan Musashikai no Ayumi" 軍艦武蔵会のあゆみ [Chronicle of the Warship Musashi Association], https://gunkanmusashikai.org/history.html.
[81] Warship Mogami Related Caretaker Commitee 軍艦最上関係世話人会. "Junyōkan Mogami Kanrei to Tomo ni" 巡洋艦最上艦霊とともに" [Together With the Spirit of Heavy Cruiser Mogami] 1969. Author's Collection.
[82] Ibid., 2.
[83] Ibid., 239.

Mogami sailor who later became the president of the (Kansai Ichigyou Club / 関西一業クラブ). Fusakichi narrates the history of a memorial in Osaka's Nakanoshima Park dedicated to not "his" *Mogami*, but to the "first" *Mogami*, a warship launched in 1908. He calls the warship he served on the "second generation *Mogami*" (launched 1934) and the postwar JMSDF *Mogami* (launched 1961) the "third generation."[84] In talking about these iterations of the *Mogami*, he ascribes them organic attributes, describing the mast of the 1908 *Mogami* which had been erected in Nakanoshima Park as a memorial in 1930 as "an old man's bone."[85] He later calls the third generation *Mogami* a fine ship, and expresses hope that the ship will inherit the "blood" of the first and second generation *Mogami* and obtain an illustrious service record.[86] He furthers this generational analogy by sharing an anecdote in which the captain of the JMSDF *Mogami* attended the restoration of the memorial mast as a "grandson laying a wreath at his grandfather's grave."[87]

Underlying the entire article was Fusakichi's desire to erect an additional memorial adjacent to the first generation *Mogami* mast memorial in honor of the second generation *Mogami* and the approximately 300 sailors who had died on the ship throughout World War II. The plan never succeeded, and the mast memorial was apparently moved to the Yamato Museum in Kure, Hiroshima in 2009. The article thus captures animistic characterizations of warships in naval bereavement, but also the difficulty of garnering support for such memorials.

Instead, the Nagasako Naval Cemetery in the hills of Kure served as a site in which memorials could be condensed as an enclosed warship graveyard. The Nagasako Naval Cemetery was initially established in 1890 as a cemetery for sailors, but became a warship

[84] This makes the newest *Mogami*, launched in 2019, the fourth generation.
[85] Ibid., 240.
[86] Ibid., 243.
[87] Ibid., 241.

graveyard after 1964. Over 80 ships are memorialized in the graveyard with the names of deceased sailors listed on plaques, echoing the enshrinement process of Yasukuni Shrine. Nagasako Naval Cemetery thus served as a sanctuary in which disparate memorialization efforts came together as a unified movement. Many warship memorials found their origins in areas outside the location of the cemetery but were relocated to Nagasako (1974 for *Mogami*).[88] Today, the cemetery is ostensibly called Nagasako Park, but is still widely known as the "Old Imperial Navy Cemetery" and continues to be a site of pilgrimage for both the descendants of sailors and the wider public (fig. 3.3).

Figure 3.3: The battleship *Yamato*'s memorial in Nagasako Park (built in 1979). The memorials are still widely visited, with the assorted drinks at the base of monuments such as this one presented as offerings. (Author's photo, taken January 12, 2023).

Warship memorials outside of Nagasako Park also characterize their subjects in animistic ways. Heavy cruiser Maya, whose connections to Tenjo Temple have been mentioned in Chapter 2, has a memorial dedicated to her on top of Maya Mountain. The inscription on her memorial

[88] Kure Naval Cemetery Preservation Society 呉海軍墓地顕彰保存会事務局. "Kure kaigun bochi ni tsuite" 呉海軍墓地について [Regarding the Kure Naval Cemetery], http://www.maroon.dti.ne.jp/kurekbk/.

plaque reads, “warship Maya has resurrected from the bottom of the South Seas and manifested a magnificent appearance on the top of [Maya’s] home, Mt. Maya.”[89]

Despite the militaristic qualities of warships, mourners capitalized on the cultural and spiritual qualities of navy ships as a focal point to channel their bereavement. Naval bereavement in this framework went beyond distinctions of ally or enemy to encompass a universal maritime salvation. Naval bereavement made it possible to market postwar navy ships as agents of disaster relief, thus portraying them as protectors of a spiritual and tranquil Pacific Ocean. In the intersection between state and individual naval bereavement, warships memoirs crystallized a common collective memory. This memory provided an alternative to tragedy or military dominated narratives about World War II, and enabled the creation of a distinct spiritual identity free from the politically laden connotations of explicit Shinto worship (though Shinto certainly undergirded such spirituality).

Additionally, this mourning practice contributed to the infantilization of navy ships, which were transformed into cute media and product mascots. In her book *Playing War*, Sabine Fruhstuck analyzes the use of sexualized anime characters in Japanese military media as the infantilization of the military.[90] Among the military media cited, she mentions the game *Kantai Collection* (艦隊コレクション)—*Kancolle* (艦これ) for short— as an example of “girls within a continuum of sexualized settings.”[91] The intersection of anime settings and military settings for naval bereavement, however, goes much further than just sexual gratification. *Kancolle*’s anthropomorphization of imperial navy warships as young women goes further to communicate the logic of naval bereavement through empathetic figures.

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[89] “Junyōkan Maya” 巡洋艦摩耶 [Cruiser Maya]. https://www.asahi-net.or.jp/~un3k-mn/ren-maya.htm.
[90] Sabine Fruhstuck. *Playing War: Children and the Paradoxes of Modern Militarism in Japan*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017), 16.
[91] Ibid., 184.

Kancolle's franchise follows as part of a long series of tragedy-filled Japanese naval media. Japanese naval movies such as *Human Torpedoes Attack* (1955), *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970), and *Imperial Navy* (1981) all conclude with the inevitability of death. In *Human Torpedoes Attack*, the main cast resign themselves to orders for a suicide torpedo attack, in *Tora! Tora! Tora!,* Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto prophesies the destruction of the fleet, and in *Imperial Navy*, a Zero pilot salutes to the sunken battleship *Yamato*. The 2023 *Kancolle* anime, titled "Someday, at that Sea," is a successor that narrates 1944 navy operations through young women.

Figure 3.4: The destroyer *Shirakumo* (launched 1927) as an injured young woman departing for convalescence. The real-life sinkings of warships within the show's timeline are instead presented as retirement-inducing injuries.[92]

In this depiction, the young women are characters doomed to inevitable violence against an antagonistic enemy navy composed of restless spirits that perished in an unnamed conflict heavily implied as World War II (fig. 3.4). Such antagonists are associated with crimson, turbulent waters emblematic of historical depictions of raging waters as a reflection of war and

[92] KanColle: Itsuka Ano Umi de, episode 1, "Sortie Day," Directed by Kazuya Miura, aired November 4, 2022, (Crunchyroll, 2022). https://www.crunchyroll.com/watch/G0DUN7VJ3/sortie-day.

subsequently bereavement. Rather than just as weapons, imperial navy ships are retrospectively portrayed through *Kancolle* as custodians of the sea. This is in line with JMSDF promotion of their warships as agents of disaster relief. This situates navy warships, old and new alike, as personifications that are simultaneously protectors and subjects of mourning on a sacred level.

Today amid anxieties over confrontation with China, the JMSDF is currently seeing a new age of fleet expansion, accompanying a naval arms race in the Pacific that echoes the early twentieth century build up of the Dreadnought Age in Europe.[93] It is important to understand the marketing of the Japanese navy as not just an exclusively modern phenomena, but as a campaign that taps into long standing spirituality concerning the Japan navy and repackaged in modern media such as anime. The expansion of the modern Japanese fleet is then not just the construction of material weaponry, but is also the resurrection of emotionally charged spirituality intimately tied to war memorialization.

[93] Dzirhan Mahadzir, "Japanese PM Kishida Renews Calls for Expanded Defense Spending," USNI News (Maryland), November 8, 2022, https://www.nytimes.com/1964/12/08/archives/honor-to-lemay-by-japan-stirs-parliament-debate.html. https://news.usni.org/2022/11/08/japanese-pm-kishisda-renews-calls-for-expanded-defense-spending-in-speech-on-warship

Chapter 4: Narrating the Battleship *Fusō*: Mourning over Mulberries and Tranquil Seas

Fusō went by many labels. To some, she was simply Japan's first cutting-edge super-dreadnought in 1914, one step above the dreadnought precedent established by the British navy in 1906. To others, she was represented as the mulberries that dotted the ancient East Asian landscape, the hills meandering over Korean mountains, or even the canvas of dreamy, tranquil seas on which people mourned for their loved ones. And yet, *Fusō* is ostensibly an insignificant ship. After all, she has not reached the level of notoriety that compelled Welsh historian Jan Morris to incorporate the *Yamato* within her canon of classical war art. Instead, this thesis shows how a ship that initially appears to be relatively obscure—not to mention the hundreds of other vessels in the Japanese navy—actually participated in the cultural imagination of Japanese society from her birth in 1914, to far after her death in 1945, to her remembrance in 1993, and even to the present day.

This chapter will narrate *Fusō*'s cultural biography of just one ship among the many commissioned by the imperial Japanese navy to demonstrate how a warship's symbolism superseded its pragmatic functions. *Fusō* was concurrently the culmination of newly imported British maritime technology and an invocation of classical Chinese references to Japan as *Fusang* (扶桑).[94] For the sake of clarity, this thesis will use henceforth *Fusō* when referring to the battleship and *Fusang* when referring to the literary term.

"By the turn of the twentieth century, postcards were a massive industry. Hundreds of billions of postcards were made, bought, sent, and delivered around the world," writes American historian Lydia Pyne.[95] This was especially true for postcards streaming in and out of Japan, with

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[94] Edward H. Schafer, "Fusang and beyond: The Haunted Seas to Japan." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109, no. 3 (1989): 379–99. https://doi.org/10.2307/604140.
[95] Lydia Pyne, *Postcards: The Rise and Fall of the World's First Social Network* (London: Reaktion Books, 2021), 20.

Japanese landscape, women, and cultural artifacts becoming frequent subjects of the imprinted European gaze. Indeed, the depiction and trade of navy postcards after the Russo-Japanese War adds an interplay rarely mentioned by scholarship in the globalization of print aesthetics transported through postcards.

These postcards can be separated into two categories: the photographic and the graphic. While the photographic postcards depict their subjects in naturalistic, black and white form, graphic postcards took advantage of consumer and trending aesthetic interests in color prints, and "may have illustrated the battlefield, but they too were more commemorative than documentary."[96] One type of postcard, characteristic of European, American, and Japanese postcards depicted national warships in strictly naturalistic terms. Alongside black and white photos of particular ships in question, publishers listed detailed statistics alongside the ship's name in a condensed table (fig. 4.1). These postcards flowed from Europe and America to Japan, and vice versa, and stoked easily quantifiable comparisons of naval power and national prestige in a strict mechanical fashion.

Commemorative postcards produced by the Kure Shipyard Workers Association (fig. 4.2) that depict the battleship *Fusō* were distributed on her March 28, 1914 launch day to those who attended the ceremony. *Fusō* was Japan's first cutting-edge super-dreadnought, a step above the infamous dreadnought precedent established by the British navy in 1906. More importantly, the *Fusō* was a domestically constructed (Kure Naval Arsenal) warship in contrast to earlier import vessels like the Kongō class.

[96] Anne Nishimura Morse, *Art of the Japanese postcard : the Leonard A. Lauder Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, MFA Publications, 2004), 77.

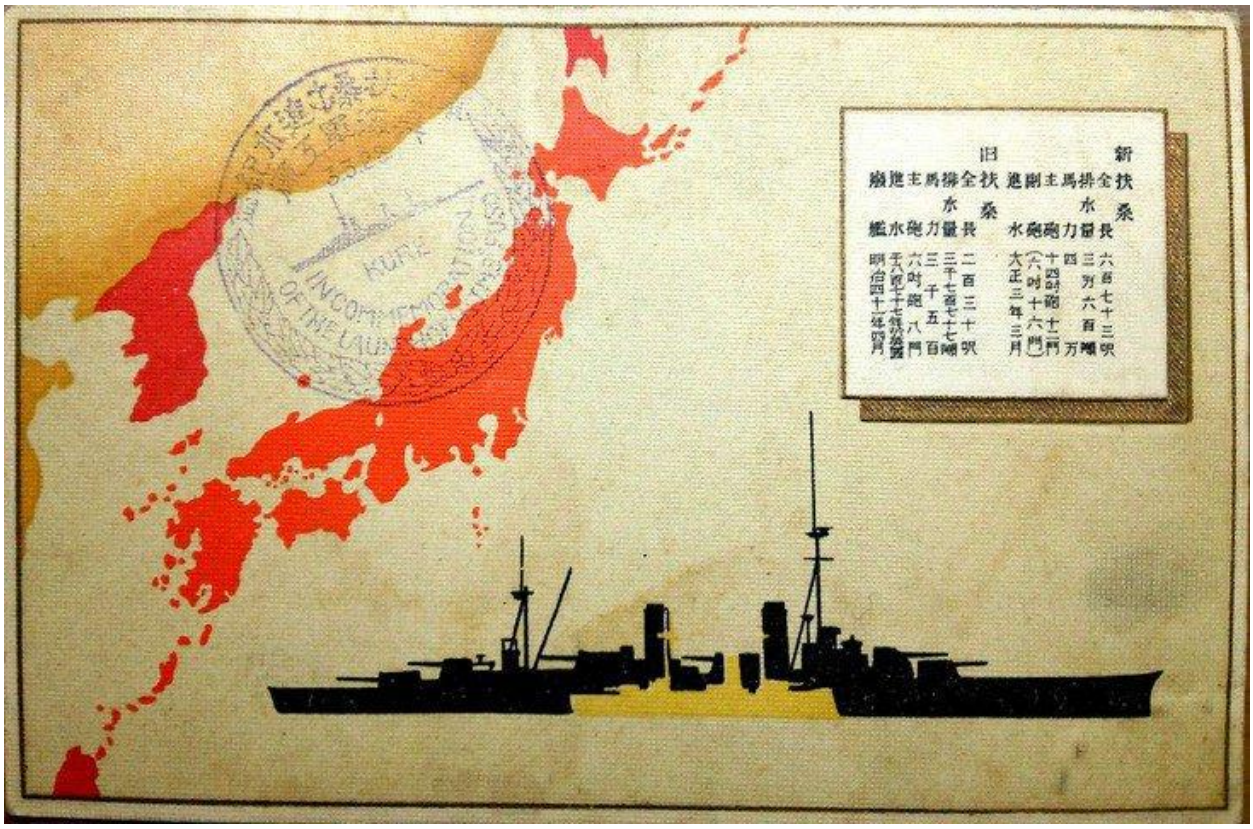
Figure 4.1. Postcard of *Fusō* (Author's Collection). Japanese characters are arranged in upper right columns to denote statistics such as ship class, place of manufacture, displacement, crew complement, and gun caliber.

Fusō was a lens by which the Japanese seized upon a distant past and reimagined Japanese boundaries into foreign lands. Three months after her launch, newspaper *The Japan Times* published an article headlined "Was '*Fusō*' Ancient Japan?"[97] In it, the author initially portrays the ship's launch as the catalyst for the revival of thousands-years old references to Japan as *Fusō.* The author cites classical Chinese and Japanese literature, and even posits that the term originates as a poetic allusion to mulberry trees.

However, the author then cites Japanese linguist Shōzaburō Kanazawa and revises the premise to establish *Fusō* not as a reference to Japan, but to Korea instead. Seemingly agreeing with Kanzawa's references to ancient Korean locations as *puso*, the author ominously ends with

[97] "Was '*Fusō*' Ancient Japan?." The Japan Times. June 24, 1914.

the statement "that the name long applied figuratively to this nation, has become truly so applied at last by the annexation of the [Korean] Peninsula by the Empire."[98]



(Figure 4.2).

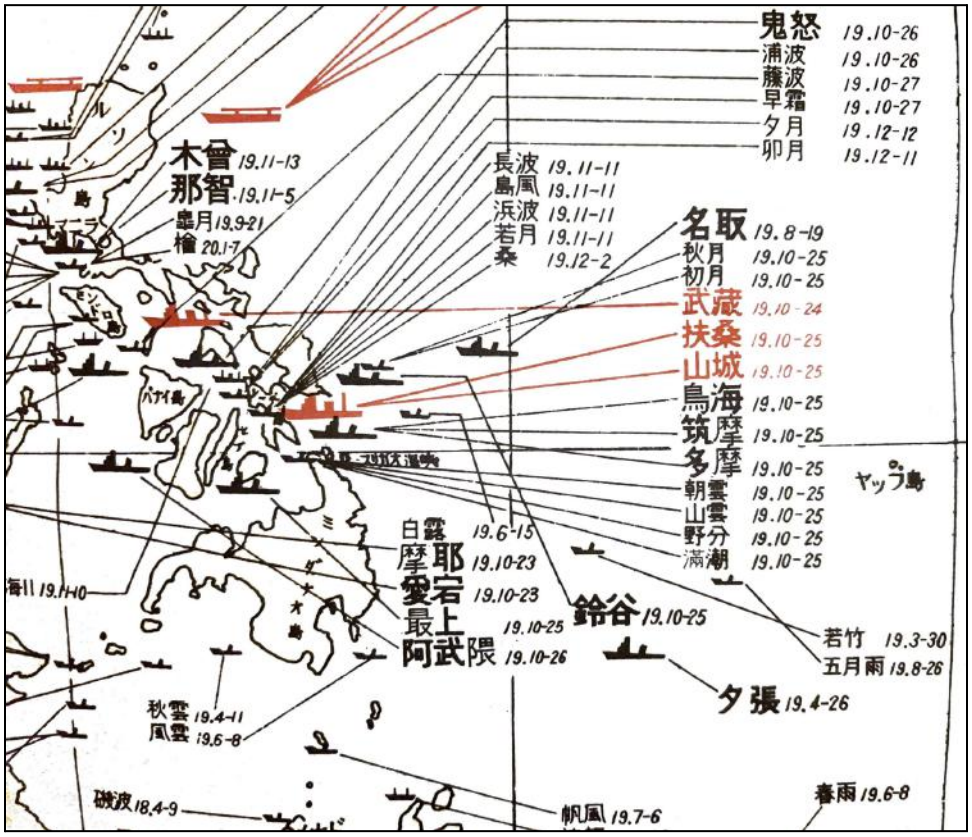
Commemorative postcard distributed by the Kure Naval Arsenal connects the past and present iterations of the *Fusō*, ca. 1914. The black silhouette of the reincarnated superdreadnought *Fusō* (launched 1914) dwarfs the yellow silhouette of ironclad *Fusō* (launched 1877). Areas shaded in red not only denote the territory controlled by Japan at the time, but also represent Fusang's transition from a literary reference to a literal materialization with the acquisition of both Korea (*puso*) and the battleship. (Courtesy of DTA's Digital Museum Collections).

Though battleship *Fusō* may not have literally constituted the landmass of ancient Japan, mulberry trees, nor Korean geography, her name conjoined *Fusang* with the pride of the Japanese navy and reintroduced the term to discourse over national founding myths. Regardless of the Ministry of the Navy's intentions in naming the ship, this association sparked the use of

[98] Ibid., 2

the superdreadnought as a figurative metaphor for a deeply-rooted "Japan" drawn from classical East Asian civilizations.

One of *Fusō*'s commemorative launching postcards (fig. 2) shades Japanese-controlled geography, in particular Korea, as a backdrop against depictions of *Fusō*'s past and present incarnations.[99] For those like *The Japan Times* and Kanazawa, the battleship *Fusō* frames Japanese imperialism and the annexation of Korea in 1910 not just as a matter of territorial acquisition, but also as a celebrated and material reification of classical East Asian lore.



(Figure 4.3). ca. 1947
"Catalog of Japanese Navy Vessel Losses" Zoomed in on the Philippines theater. Capital ships (battleships and carriers) are highlighted in red, and all smaller ships are printed in black. *Fusō* is the second red name in the column, and the Nishimura fleet is represented by a single icon in the Surigao Strait. The numbers next to the name indicate her sinking date as October 25th, Shōwa 19th Year (1944).
(Author's Collection).

[99] DTA's Digital Museum Collections. https://muuseo.com/JAP_prpr/items/111?theme_id=5620

The end of the Pacific War in 1945 brought with it the dissolution of the Japanese navy as the Article 9 of the Potsdam acceptance of surrender, dictated that "the Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives."[100] This too, brought an end to the notion of Japan as a vast maritime empire synonymous with its oceanfaring navy, with virtually every single warship destroyed or doled out as war prizes to other nations, including former colonies.[101] Japanese naval naming conventions persisted, but with the same old naval names written in hiragana rather than kanji to distinguish from ostensible historically imperial traces.

However, a Japanese navy would soon be formally reestablished in 1954 as the Japanese Maritime Self Defense Forces (JMSDF), after the informal mobilization of navy forces concerning Japanese participation in the Korean War.[102] Scholars have examined the "forgetfulness" of post-war Japan, citing amnesia towards the imperial era in the 1982 textbook controversies and tension stoked by visits to the infamous Yasukuni Shrine by Japanese politicians.[103]

Rather than classifying Japanese memories of the navy as amnesiatic, nationalistic, nor monolithic, this thesis emphasizes the plurality of ways the navy served as a site of commemoration. This commemoration was not only for the familial deceased, but rose out of sentiments that Japanese society had forgotten the war as a whole. In this characterization, the image of "tranquil seas," (静かな海 *shizuka na umi*) echoes throughout bereavement memoirs

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[100] National Diet Library. "Birth of the Constitution of Japan." https://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c06.html
[101] One of these, the destroyer *Yukikaze* "Snow Wind," has taken on a prominent resonance in Taiwanese-Japanese cultural memory after the destroyer's handover to the Republic of China navy, renamed as *Dan Yang*. The historian Brett Walker has written a chapter biography of this particular destroyer, soon to be published: Nadine Heé, Stefan Hübner, Ian J. Miller and William Tsutsui, editors, *Oceanic Japan: The Archipelago in Pacific and Global History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, forthcoming).
[102] Robert D. Eldrige and Musashi Katsuhiro. *The Japan Self Defense Forces Law: Translation, History, and Analysis* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019).
[103] Kiichi Fujiwara "Imagining the Past: Memory Wars in Japan, Policy and Society," 25:4 (2006): 143-153, DOI: 10.1016/S1449-4035(06)70096-0.

and post-war navy publications as constructions of a utopic South Seas, and re-envisions navy ships as symbols of peace. This construction persists to the present day, as the JMSDF released its 2022 and 70th anniversary slogan calling for the "protection of the future, and the preservation of the sea" ("守る未来、つなぐ海" *mamoru mirai, tsunagu umi*).[104]

The *Fusō* was no exception in also having a warship memoir written about her. However, the *Fusō* Association (扶桑会) in particular expressed regrets that it took so late (1993) for her memoir to have been written and a dedicated cenotaph established, owing to the scarcity of survivors.[105] She thus marks the end of warship memoirs as one of the last subjects to be written about. Even today, the cenotaph sees visitors every year, every October 23rd, the date of the *Fusō's* death anniversary. An article published by the Kure Support Corporation seized upon one such visit as an example of Kure's storied history, demonstrating the lasting impulses of a ship and crew that perished long ago in the autumn of 1945.[106]

In *Fusō's* bereavement memoir, Matsuda Sōryū, the wife of a deceased *Fusō* sailor, recounts her visit to Leyte in 1993:[107]

> "Everyone dedicates a silent prayer to the tune of 'Umi Yukaba.' An old woman nestles her face against the side of the boat in memory of the deceased, her son gazes at the motionless sea, reminded of the long years [after the war]. This tranquil ocean [Leyte] has now completely swallowed that great battle, gently smiling as if nothing has happened. I silently take out a bowl. I prepare tea. Since that day, I have lived with everything poured into this bowl.
>
> 'Please have a drink.'

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[104] Japanese Maritime Self Defense Forces. 海上自衛隊創設70周年記念ロゴマーク・キャッチフレーズ [Maritime Self Defense Forces 70th Founding Anniversary Commemoration Logo and Catchphrase]. https://www.mod.go.jp/msdf/70th/logo.html

[105] Battleship *Fusō* Association 戦艦扶桑会. "Senkan [*Fusō*] Gojūkaiki・Chinkonfu" 戦艦「扶桑」五十回忌・鎮魂譜 [Battleship *Fusō*'s 50th Death Anniversary and Genealogy of Remembrance] 1993. Yasukuni Library Archives. Call No. 397.5B. 10

[106] Kure-Ouendan. "Senkan *Fusō* Senbotsu-sha Ireihi" 戦艦扶桑戦歿者慰霊碑 [Battleship *Fusō* Memorial to those Killed in Battle] October 26, 2021. https://kure-ouendan.org/2021/10/26/fusou/.

[107] Battleship *Fusō* Association 戦艦扶桑会. "Senkan [*Fusō*] Gojūkaiki・Chinkonfu" 戦艦「扶桑」五十回忌・鎮魂譜 [Battleship *Fusō*'s 50th Death Anniversary and Genealogy of Remembrance] 1993. Yasukuni Library Archives. Call No. 397.5B. 37

> I wonder if my long-gathered thoughts have reached your side together with this bowl. I am glad I came. I am glad that I could see this ocean for myself… This October, *Fusō*'s memorial service will also accompany [*Fusō*'s] 50th death anniversary."

She does not mention the *Fusō* until the very end of her section—among forty-three other memoirs—and does not comment on the nature of the war. Instead, Matsuda utilizes the warship as a means to project her own emotions and her memories of her husband. For Matsuda, it is not *Fusō*'s specific characteristics nor storied combat history that bears any particular interest, but the way in which the ship has drawn a group of friends and mourners with common interests together.

A Shinto navy upon "tranquil seas" echoes throughout this collective memory, birthed out of visions projecting a utopic maritime Japan and Asia in the pre-World War II decades. At the same time, these visions also constructed the South Seas as an inherently peaceful but fragile space, justifying the necessity of Japanese naval presence and thus preservation of native culture. Indeed, *Fusō*'s imagination (fig. 4.2) as a unification of literary Korea and Japan certainly contributed to the legitimation of colonization. In the post-war 1960s through 1990s, these "tranquil seas" became a means by which family members and enthusiasts could unite around navy ships like the *Fusō* as a site of common identity.

(Figure 4.4).

Battleship *Fuso*'s memorial monument in Nagasako Cemetery. This monument is the subject of the Kure Support Corporation article, and sees usual visitors who have taken over responsibility for maintenance.

Drinks placed at the bottom of the stone slab and above the plaque are offerings placed by bereaved descendants, volunteers, and sometimes tourists. (Author's photo, taken January 12, 2023).

Today, battleship *Fusō* and her crew have their own memorial in Nagasako Naval Cemetery (fig. 4.4). Though *Fusō* was constructed and launched over a hundred years ago, her presence in the landscape can still be felt. The cenotaph of *Fusō* may not immediately evoke images of mulberries or ancient Japan, but it remains a cultural staple in discourse about naval commemoration to this very day.

Conclusion: The Resurrected Navy in the Information Age and a New Naval Arms Race

Throughout this thesis, I have unconsciously referred to ships with feminine pronouns. In the English linguistic tradition, warships are usually referred to as "she" or "her," but these gendered pronouns do not exist in the same way in the Japanese language. Despite this, ships still take on a feminine identity in Japanese media such as *Kancolle*. Indeed, the navy occupies an identity unconsciously taken for granted for the majority of people despite the ubiquity of naval imagery and presence.

The JMSDF opened its 70th founding anniversary with the song "Gunkan March," leaving the legendary verse "umi yukaba" unspoken, and hosted ships from twelve other national navies at an international fleet review that began November 5th, 2022.[108] Against a backdrop of weapons demonstrations, the JMSDF chronologizes its humanitarian work in disaster relief throughout South Seas territories. Chief of staff Admiral Sakai Ryo characterizes the JMSDF in lofty terms: "It can be seen that we, as a country, are standing at a turning point, and the JMSDF will need to make bold strides forward for the coming future… we will continue to defend our country, bring peace and stability to the region, and realize a free and open Indo-Pacific.[109]"

Culturally, the JMSDF does not have a monopoly over depictions of the navy, and neither did the pre-World War II imperial navy. Since the Japanese game's release in 2013, *Kantai Collection* has become a pop culture phenomenon reinvigorating naval interest throughout Japan.[110] With its premise based on representing imperial Japanese navy ships as young women

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[108] "Gunkan March," a popular navy song created in 1897. The JMSDF today leaves the phrase "umi yukaba" unsung, as it performs the song without vocals. HIDE Photo & Movie Channel. "海上自衛隊東京音楽隊　行進曲「軍艦」" YouTube Video. November 28, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EFxbG5RcPG0.

[109] Ministry of Defense Maritime Self Defense Forces Official Channel. "令和4年度国際観艦式 INTERNATIONAL FLEET REVIEW 2022" [Reiwa 4th Year International Fleet Review] YouTube Video, 4:26:30-4:27:03. November 5, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1T4sn3NECRw

[110] Akky Akimoto. "Kantai Collection': Social game of warships sets course for big money." *Japan Times,* February 20, 2014. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/life/2014/02/20/digital/kantai-collection-social-game-of-warships-sets-course-for-big-money/

and fully embracing the motif of securing "tranquil seas," the game is not just a domestic, but an international phenomenon. Indeed, my initial foray into naval history through this game is a testament to the game's soft power influence. Though *Kancolle*'s fervor has passed its peak, it remains a constant in Japanese pop culture with significant annual presence at Comiket (コミックマーケット), an indicator of grassroots interest in derivative works.[111] As a result, the ships continue to receive reimaginings that bleed into broader mass culture and JMSDF publicization.

The Japanese navy commenced with the birth of modern Japan in 1868, and a distinct Japanese naval identity has persisted to today based on names, literature, mourning, and nostalgia. As Fumio Toda, the veteran mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, looked back on the *Yamato* in 2020, he did not call upon minute statistics like the ship's world-first 18 inch cannons or its detailed mechanical specifications. Instead, he narrates with tenderness, "even now, my eyes get hot when I remember boarding the ship and fighting in the South [Seas]."[112] Today, there is no JMSDF ship named *Yamato*, but Japanese media has memorialized her in ways such as through the iconic *Space Battleship Yamato* anime, or through *Kancolle*'s portrayal of *Yamato* as a gentle, soft-spoken *yamato-nadeshiko* archetype.[113]

Today, the JMSDF has appropriated the image of tranquil seas to present itself as a symbol of peace and benevolent activism, even as prime minister Fumio Kishida called for naval expansion at the 70th anniversary of the JMSDF. The modern navy has also fully embraced the radically-reimagined dissemination of its imperial past, with navy officials famously photographed alongside *Kancolle*'s depiction of the *Suzutsuki* (launched 1942) inside the JS

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[111] Lynzee Loveridge. "Dōjin Circle Numbers Reveal Top Series at Comiket 92." *Anime News Network,* August 9, 2017. https://www.animenewsnetwork.com/interest/2017-08-09/dojin-circle-numbers-reveal-top-series-at-comiket-92/.119929

[112] https://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/shogenarchives/kioku/detail.cgi?das_id=D0001800261_00000.

[113] *Yamato-nadeshiko* as a feminine ideal. Samuel Leiter. "From Gay to Gei: The Onnagata and the Creation of Kabuki's Female Characters." *Comparative Drama* 33, no. 4 (1999): 495–514. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41154044. 497

Suzutsuki (launched 2012).[114] In order to look into and understand the future of "Japanese seas," one must recognize that it is populated not only by the JMSDF, but by strong cultural assumptions and undercurrent sacrosanctity.

[114] Taro Kono, Twitter post, February 7, 2020, 10:08 p.m., https://twitter.com/konotarogomame/status/1225979718685450242?s=20&t=MerB-ExAGgZ2Soz4whXypw

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Kawasaki Dockyard, "*Senkan Ise*" 戦艦伊勢 [Battleship Ise]., postcard, circa 1916. DTA's Digital Museum Collection, https://muuseo.com/JAP_prpr/items/63?theme_id=5620.

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