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Outcasts of Empire: Japan's rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border" 1874-1945

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US\$34.95, paper.

Outcasts of Empire: Japan's rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border" 1874-1945 challenges the limits of the international system and state sovereignty, explores interlocking forces of colonialism, historical processes of indigenisation, colonial boundaries, and governance through a detailed narrative history of outcasts at the empire-dynasty's periphery. Through this wide-ranging work, Professor Barclay aims to contribute 'to the literature on global transformation by foregrounding the immense quantities of labour-power required to operationalize the ideal typical political units that constituted the international system' (p.15). Previous research has argued that indigeneity and the international system are related historical phenomenon. Barclay delves into this issue and makes the case that their co-creation can be traced back a century; and, more importantly, he asserts that entanglement as part of the global movement means that the roles of indigenous people are integral component of national geobodies. I am immensely inspired by how effortlessly Barclay's writing travels between the micro- and macrohistorical perspectives.

The volume consists of three sections, the first being an introduction that explains the book's theoretical framework. The subsequent section (Part One 'The Anatomy of a Rebellion') draws from Barclay's previous articles on gaining trust with aborigines on Japan's Southern frontier and interethnic marriage in colonial Taiwan (published in 2003 and 2005). The last section (Part Two 'Indigenous Modernity') draws from Barclay's articles (published in 2015 and 2016) on the emergence of Indigenous modernity and anthropometric photographs as 'shape-shifting jokers'.

The introduction, which describes the theoretical framework that Barclay utilises in the book, sets the foundation for stimulating debates and dialogues throughout the reading journey. In this section, he establishes the central argument that 'nationality, internationalism, and indigenism were mutually constituted formations, rather than sequentially occurring phenomena' (p.2). He demonstrates this by analysing early twentieth century state-society relations on Taiwan's

‘savage border’ during Qing and Japanese regimes via adopting the concept of geobodies (Winichakul, 1994). In doing so, Barclay unveils the mirage of the international system through examining the distinctive indigenous geobody and how it has the characteristics of a geobody but remains a subunit. These indigenous peoples, analysed by Barclay as ‘the other side of the coin of the birth of the modern nation-state system’ (p.11), are the key example to see the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality in Taiwan under Japanese rule. Instead of embracing the idea that the story of Europe is the story of the world, Barclay’s work assists in elucidating the limits of the international system (cf. Mignolo 2007: 481-482).

In ‘The Anatomy of a Rebellion’, Barclay commences his analysis with an anatomy of the Ryukyuan shipwreck in 1871 to examine how Meiji oligarchs ‘positioned the nascent national geobody within a complex regional system at the intersection of Western international society and the East Asian tributary system’ (p.65). Barclay elucidates how Indigenous peoples as outcasts of the Qing emerged from the ruins as a dispossessed minority by juxtaposing the notions of ‘wet diplomacy’ and ‘scorched-earth’ campaigns. Wet diplomacy signifies the blurring boundaries of state sovereignty along the ‘Savage border’ that bore resemblance to the Qing, Tokugawa and Joseon guest rituals. Wet diplomacy, adopted as a cornerstone of early Japanese rule in colonial Taiwan, was a way to gain confidence and friendship with the Indigenous peoples through diplomatic drinking (cf. 44-46). Contrasting to ‘dry’, Barclay uses ingeniously the *wet* diplomacy to have the qualities that needed to be renewed periodically. Reviewing documents on the Fukahori mission, Barclay depicts the end of renewing such ‘wet bonds’ and expressions of fealty, because the Japanese understood ‘wet diplomacy would not make indigenous into loyal, governable, imperial subjects in a timely manner’ (p.96). Under the pressure of generating revenue from camphor, the Japanese introduced myriad carrot-and-stick policies to subjugate indigenous people. In practice, guardlines (in Japanese 隘勇線)—a military tactic of a combination of electrified fences, land mines and guardhouses to segregate ‘civilized’ and ‘barbaric’ Indigenous people—were constructed as the key ‘scorched earth’ policies. This turn--from wet diplomacy to scorched earth policies--signified the start of the land dispossession that sets the scene for the contemporary indigenous-state relationship.

Drawing on linguistic diversity across borders, chapter two explores strategies to link a rebellious Qing periphery to an efficient and centralised administration through language and education policies. The organic solutions to the cross-border communication developed from the imperfection of Tongshi, transitioning to a new class of Japanese interpreters and to a period of political marriages. The solutions are in desperate need because, as Sakuma Samata's 'five-year plan to control aborigines' (1909-1914) ended, Japanese officers with the power of life and death over their colonial subjects directly governed indigenous territories.

Part two, entitled 'Indigenous Modernity', explores the co-production of colonial modernity and global indigenism by the Japanese administration and indigenous peoples. In his detailed historical analysis, Barclay unravels the intersecting circumstance between increased resource extraction in colonial Taiwan and reprographic technology, and how it ultimately consolidated the racialised non-Han population as second-order geobodies. In chapter three, Barclay continues to explicate the process of racialisation and co-production of modernity and indigeneity by giving an example of red textile. The dyed red thread or cloth was originally given as a gift by the Japanese to gain trust from the Indigenous peoples. However it was repackaged ultimately as "traditional" Tayal textiles in the ethnic tourism and was sold as an authentic cultural object. Identifying this Tayal red textile as an entangled object (cf. 167-169), Barclay analyses how the discourses on authenticity, progress, and primitivism are produced. In chapter four, Barclay delves into the meticulous projects of geobody construction committed by Japan's colonial administration, tourism industry, and scholarly apparatus. After the fourth governor-general Sakuma Samata solved the "aboriginal problem", Barclay argues that the Japanese state did not neglect the indigenous people. Rather, it continued its project of 'indigenous modernity invention' creating an array of cultural imaginaries through taxonomies, ethnonyms, collected museum pieces and postcard photography. This 'science of race' was activated in the post-Samata era and enthusiastically revived after the period of martial law in Taiwan (1948-1987). It bares significance to the current state-indigenous relationship, as Barclay concludes that the architect of Japanese the colonial project, in particular the indigenous modernity as second-order geobody, sets the 'terms of engagement' (p.249) that still impacts daily.

Outcasts of Empire is a well-written book by an author who is profoundly familiar with the contemporary history of Asia, especially the history of colonialism shared by Japan and Taiwan. As an indigenous researcher who grew up in Wulai (a Tayal settlement that was mentioned numerous times because it is not only close to active nodes of indigenous-Chinese-Qing communication, trade, and warfare, but also a gateway into Tayal-dominated mountain interior), I appreciate Barclay's detailed documentation and in-depth analysis of Japan's construction of disciplinary society in the northern 'Savage Territory'. This work is not only a pleasure to read, but is of high contextual relevance to any reader who is curious about colonial Taiwan in a broader perspective. Nonetheless there are two points that require more extensive treatment. First, as the book is formed from sections of articles published between 2003 and 2016, it would have been more satisfying if the author had discussed indigenous rights after President Tsai Ing-wen's official apology and how it manifests in relation to the 'terms of engagement' and the international system. Second, as Barclay is neither completely an outsider nor an insider, his sense of reflexivity, the ethical considerations and the researcher's position are highly relevant. In particular, it would have been great to read more on the reflection of word choices in narrating the history, as the choice of words reflects power struggle in many levels (cf. Danapan, 2008). For example, Wushe was no longer "an incident", but was narrated as an uprising and rebellion. I would have liked to learn more about Barclay's reflections of how he embodies the colonial history in Taiwan.

Barclay provides an important contribution to the field of political theory. Contemporary liberal political thought tends to present itself as an universal idiom for understanding international relations. Barclay's work gives us much to contemplate concerning indigenous claims of sovereignty, as well as identity and difference. In addition, this book is relevant to ongoing discussions of what Simon (2018) calls 'ontological implications of indigeneity'. This book is a must-read for readers who want to familiarize themselves with contemporary history and Indigenous peoples in the Taiwanese context.

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