

## Article

# When William Came to Japan: A Comparative Study of *When William Came* and the Post-War Period of Japan

Satoru Fukamachi 

Graduate School of Intercultural Studies, Kobe University, Kobe 657-0011, Japan; fukamachi@port.kobe-u.ac.jp

**Abstract:** *When William Came* (1913) is Hector Hugh Munro's (Saki) novel that describes the German invasion of Britain and its aftermath. It has been regarded as a propaganda novel since its publication, calling for conscription and the like; however, its psychological portrayal of Londoners under German rule is worth reading. Though there are studies on the literary and cultural aspects of this work, none have examined how realistic his depiction would be if Britain had lost the war. However, the premise of this work—how to live in a situation where a traditionally powerful nation is defeated and, because it is an island nation, it is impossible to reverse its defeat—can be historically examined. This study examines the accuracy of Munro's imaginings by comparing his imagined post-war British people with real post-World War II Japanese people. Although it can be argued that Munro was optimistic about the existence of the colonies, the results show numerous similarities between the changes in the two populations, before and after the war, and in their feelings towards the victorious nation. Munro's insights into people were surprisingly profound.

**Keywords:** Hector Hugh Munro; *When William Came*; Ashihei Hino; Ango Sakaguchi



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## 1. Introduction

Hector Hugh Munro (Saki) (1870–1916) published his second novel, *When William Came: A Story of London Under the Hohenzollerns*, in November 1913, and it was described by the press as a 'Message of Warning in Fiction Form' (*When William Came* 1913, p. 6) or 'written with a national purpose' (*A Knock-out and Its Sequel* 1913, p. 5). The novel is a fictional account of Britain's defeat by Germany and contextualizes this defeat as a consequence of inadequate defense policy forces. The political nature of the story is evident from the fact that the former Commander-in-Chief, Frederick Roberts, who was campaigning for the introduction of conscription at that time, sent Munro a letter of praise for the work, saying, 'I have just now seen your book "When William Came" and must tell you . . . how thoroughly I approve the moral it teaches' (Byrne 2007, p. 232).

Amongst the growing concerns about the relations with Germany, many works published during the early 20th century dealt with questions about Germany's possible attack and its preparation for war with Britain. Before the outbreak of the First World War, the world was anxiously waiting to discover the fate that would befall Europe. Many writers made military predictions and came up with outlandish strategies as there was a growing demand for such novels. The rapid growth in membership of the National Service League, led by Lord Roberts, which advocated for the introduction of conscription, may also have fuelled the publication of such works.<sup>1</sup>

The predictions in these invasion stories were martial and political in nature, and many novels focused on military predictions of Germany as the enemy. The most notable of this genre at the time was William Le Queux's *The Invasion of 1910* (Le Queux 1906). Le Queux invited Roberts, who had recently retired from the army, as his adviser to add credibility and topicality to his military predictions. The invasion novels pioneered by George Chesney (Chesney 1871), an army lieutenant still in active service, owed their popularity to readers' demand, amongst the growing international tensions, and to the

reliability of these military predictions, which were backed up by the expertise of the writers and their advisers. This was severely criticized in P. G. Wodehouse's comedy *The Swoop!* (Wodehouse 1909), in which nine armies, including Germany and Russian, invaded Britain en masse.

According to Laurie-Fletcher, *When William Came* is 'typical of most invasion stories' (Laurie-Fletcher 2019, p. 38). However, it is a work unlike any other invasion novel from that time.<sup>2</sup> For example, the Germans—the invaders and the rulers—are portrayed as gentlemanly, which goes against the view that prevailed in Britain; for example, from 1900, school history textbooks imprinted the image of the Germans as a 'brutal, sadistic enemy' on the minds of children (Crowford 2009, p. 61), and with the impact of the so-called Bryce's Report (Bryce 1915) in 1915, such images of the Germans were crystallized.<sup>3</sup> Even before the First World War, it was common for invasion novels to portray the Germans as machine-like, accurate and ruthless. The popularity with readers of works about the self-serving and vile German government and about Germans in London, spies posing as ordinary people to destroy Britain from within, can be seen in *The Invasion of 1910* (Le Queux 1906), which is said to have sold over a million copies.<sup>4,5</sup> Munro's narrative of London under German rule is structured without depicting murder or other forms of violence and without including such hearsay information. He portrays the occupation policy that makes people less resistant to Germany and increasingly fond of them. This is unusual for an anti-German story.

Munro also devoted very little space to the central concerns of the typical invasion novel, such as German military operations and British defense policy, and focused mainly on the attitudes and thoughts of both the rulers and the dominated. Munro's expertise was not in military matters but in perceiving people, and he used his expertise to create his plots.<sup>6</sup> Ever since the pioneering study of I. F. Clarke (Clarke [1966] 1992), this novel has been merely treated as an important example of invasion stories before WWI, and it seems that Munro's outstanding ability to observe people has not been fully discussed. At least, no consideration has been given to how realistic his portrayal of the people under occupation is. Although the real Britain has never been occupied by another country, it may be possible to examine the accuracy of his view of how people act under the strict foreign rule if attention is paid to the premise of the story: an island nation with a long history, respected by other nations, has a high place in the world, is deprived of land, sea and air forces and is under the dominion of another nation.

Japan must be a prime example of Munro's vision of such a nation dominated by another. His idea<sup>7</sup> that once an island country has lost control of its surrounding sea, it is hopeless to counterattack was brought to reality in Japan in 1945. To some extent, then, it is possible to assess the reliability of what he wrote about in the novel by looking at the historical facts and accounts of Japan. Therefore, this study examines *When William Came* and compared it with Japan at that time.

## 2. Comparison of Attitudes and Mentality before and after the War in Fictional Britain and Japan

In *When William Came*, Britain is invaded and defeated by the Germans in less than a week. The main character, a wealthy young man, called Murray Yeovil (hereafter Yeovil), returns from Siberia to find Britain under German rule and is frustrated by the changes and the people who have adapted to live under the new regime. He gradually became accustomed to the changes with the encouragement of his wife, Cicely Yeovil (hereafter Cicely), who had already accepted German rule. In the story, one of the psychological changes among the British public after the defeat is that ridiculous notion become popular. This is the case with Leonard Pitherby's history books, Gorla Mustelford's imaginative dance, and Tony Luton's popular songs. Each success is described and is followed by a scornful comment by the narrator or Yeovil. For example, when Pitherby writes a history of the Hohenzollern family, Yeovil says, 'I didn't know that writing was much in his line ... beyond the occasional editing of a company prospectus' (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 83). He

points out Pitherby's inexperience as a historian, but even his wife Cicely, who defends Pitherby, admits his amateurism: 'something may be lacking in style, perhaps' (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 83). Gorla is described as a fake artist on various occasions. Yeovil's first statement when he hears about her popularity in London is, 'she was a rather serious flapper who thought the world was in urgent need of regeneration and was not certain whether she would regenerate it. I forget which she attempted ultimately' (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 85). He frankly states that she is a fickle amateur. Tony Luton's rise to popularity especially symbolizes the state of the popular mind in this fictional London. His debut song, 'They quaff the gay bubbly in Eccleston Square,' is explained, as its title suggests, as meaningless (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 21). Moreover, Tony is '[d]ressed as a jockey, for no particular reason' (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 21), a reminder that his popularity was not due to any elaborate preparation or planning. Since Britain is defeated, it is easy to understand the reason that Pitherby's book about praising the new ruler becomes popular among the ambitious ruling class. However, even though London's entertainment industry has been suffering from a shortage of talented people after the war, and that Londoners want to be distracted from the current situation, the rise of Gorla and Tony is rather puzzling; there is no necessity for someone such as Gorla or Tony to become popular. However, some accounts of the historical book referred to by Yeovil can be considered as a clue to their success. It is about the Bulgars under Turkish rule: '[b]ondage has this one advantage: it makes a nation merry' (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 127). It portrays the psychology of the people who are dominated by another country since they had become indifferent to their home country's future because of the defeat and had begun to embrace the ridiculous changes. When applying this passage to the people in the story, there is a connection with the British becoming more idiotic and more indifferent to the future of their own country. The extent to which the British have become more frivolous could also be a marker of how hopeless they are about their defeat and about the future of Britain. Tony's songs were about folly, and Gorla's nonsensical dances were the amusement of many Londoners. The history book also says, '[w]here far-reaching ambition has no scope for its development the community squanders its energy on the trivial and personal cares of its daily life and seeks relief and recreation in simple and easily obtained material enjoyment' (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 127). So, these accounts of the Bulgars play a metaphorical role in the novel. There is no profundity in Gorla's or Tony's works, which are simply cheap entertainment to be consumed (although Gorla's dance is misunderstood as a serious work of art) and are well matched to the taste of the fictional Londoners. Their popularity reflects not only a frivolous social atmosphere but also the melancholia of the English people, who must accept conquest without the hope of fighting back.

Throughout the story, comparisons with pre-war Britain are used to convey the mood of the post-war period. Since Munro's novel was published before the war, descriptions of contemporary or pre-war London seem to be unnecessary information for the readers at the time. In this way, Munro deliberately emphasizes how great pre-war London was and how vile it has become with internationalization. Moreover, in depicting melancholia and the power held by different ethnic groups over the local people through Yeovil's eyes, Munro shows a sacralized picture of the lost mono-ethnic character of London. For Munro or Yeovil, it is important that London has to be dominated by Englishness and not be overwhelmed by other races. Munro's conception of Englishness is perhaps best described in his portrayal of the countryside; it is an unspoiled paradise because it is free from foreign influences. Although the loss of far-reaching ambition and the degradation of the British people are fictional, this cannot be dismissed as mere fantasy. Japan had also undergone an interesting transformation when the war ended. The changes in this closed island nation are surprisingly similar to Saki's imagination.

In April 1946, shortly after the end of the Second World War, the novelist and philosopher Ango Sakaguchi (1906–1955) published his essay *Daraku Ron* [*Discourse on Decadence*] (Sakaguchi [1946] 2000).<sup>8</sup> In it, he explains how the Japanese people lost their discipline and morals, which were well kept during the war. He mentions people who were considered

role models for the Japanese during the war, such as Kamikaze pilots and war widows. The Kamikaze pilots risked their lives for their country and the Emperor; however, many of them survived because the war ended before they were ordered to fight and die. What happened to them afterward was that not a few of them ended up working in the black market.<sup>9</sup> It was typical that they cheated their fellow Japanese people, who were suffering from a lack of food, by buying their goods at very low prices and selling them food at very high prices to line their pockets.<sup>10</sup> The widows, who had pledged their chastity during the war, forgot their late husbands and sought new love soon after the war. However, Sakaguchi argues that such changes are not to be lamented. To summarise his point, in brief, he says that pre-war Japan was a kind of utopia, a place where the crime rate was extremely low and where it was so safe that people did not hesitate to leave their houses unlocked, but he also argues that it was an empty utopia that was composed of an artificially created national character, and it was far from the nature of human beings. Rules are made because they are contrary to our nature, and to live in a way that follows the rules is to live in direct contradiction to our nature. The post-war Japanese people who lost their far-reaching ambition were not corrupt; they were simply liberated from their oppressive state. What changed was the system rather than the people. Before and during the war, Japan was in a state of beauty, where people had high moral standards and local residents supported each other. However, they were doing so against their human nature; thus, it was empty. This is how Sakaguchi sees Japan and the people at the time. Such an idealized version of Japan may be similar to Britain that Yeovil thinks he has lost in *When William Came*.

Unlike in *When William Came*, Japan (as with many of the countries involved in World War II) faced terrible food shortages. A Japanese judge, Yoshitada Yamaguchi,<sup>11</sup> who died of starvation while relying solely on rationed food, proved by his own death that one must break the law in order to survive. However, the illegal acquisition of food was not the only example of the breakdown of discipline that had been maintained up to 1945. The breakdown of discipline—or, more specifically, the tendency to live for pleasure—was to be found in many aspects.

It is said that many Japanese women fell in love with the soldiers of the Occupation Forces, and many of them were prostitutes, known as ‘pan-pan.’ While the Japanese government provided prostitutes for the Occupation Forces and even set up brothels, these ‘pan-pan’s were not part of any such organization.<sup>12</sup> According to one statistic about these women, a large number of them said that they became prostitutes voluntarily and not for a living but out of curiosity (Dower 2000, p. 134). These women, who were supposed to have sought revenge for the murder of their families and relatives only a few months ago, were now willing to have physical relations with their former enemies.<sup>13</sup>

Another writer who became a soldier, similarly to Munro, Ashihei Hino (1907–1960) earned fame during the war for his reportage novels. His *Kakumei Zengo [Before and After the Revolution]* (1960) (Hino [1960] 2014)<sup>14</sup> is also a novel based on his experiences during the days around the end of the war.<sup>15</sup> The protagonist, Tsuji, who is based on Hino himself, along with other literary figures, served in the military press office in Fukuoka. The story mainly focuses on the struggles of the protagonist and his fellow writers. However, there are also many instances that show the change in the people after the defeat. One example is the tram drivers. During the war, these men were the archetype of serious worker who was strictly punctual and disciplined, but after the war, some of them were utterly degraded. One night, the protagonist, Tsuji, happens to be in a carriage where the staff are drunk and are running the carriage amok while passing around bottles of alcohol. There are only two passengers on board, the protagonist and a young woman, and the protagonist fears for his life while the young woman is pale. The train does not stop at the station where it is supposed to stop; it almost derails on a curve, and the driver stops suddenly at a station and allows the two passengers to disembark without charging them a fare. The decline in the professionalism of the drivers surprised Tsuji, and it was impossible to dissociate it from the ever-growing decadence and disorder of the post-war period.<sup>16</sup> The protagonist laments this moralistic decline, but he is also demoralized as a writer; while his friends

encourage him to write novels, he sees the current situation as an opportunity to make money and opens a restaurant. The defeated British population in *When William Came* focuses on temporal pleasures and gains, and this is also similar to the case in Hino's novel.

### 3. Attitudes toward the Colonies

In *When William Came*, many people, including the British Royal Family, abandon the British mainland and retreat to India or other tropical colonies. The characters talk about English people living in the tropics, but none of them are said to be living happily. Thus, Munro presents the colonies as an uncomfortable option, where British people have to struggle to maintain their lifestyles from the British mainland. The life of one of these families is described in detail in Chapter XVI. It is far from comfortable compared to life in Britain, and a widow, Mrs. Kerrick, struggles to maintain the lifestyle that she had in Britain. She chooses to move to the tropical land, employs indigenous people, and runs a farm. She also has a few English friends. The structure of these relationships is similar to that before the war: hierarchical relationships with the indigenous people and friendships with the British. Munro seems to assume that the colonies would remain submissive even after Britain loses its military might.<sup>17</sup>

Another part of the story also shows that Britain's defeat does not cause a major security problem for British people abroad. When Britain is taken by Germany, Yeovil is stricken with malaria in Siberia. It is then that he realizes that the Russians do not look at him with the same respect as before, but Munro may be thought to have been quite modest in his imagination about the treatment of people from a defeated country. If, for example, the Russians had stripped Yeovil in Siberia, what countermeasures would Yeovil have had? Before the war, the Russian police would have dealt harshly with assaults on British citizens, but the embassy of the newly defeated nation would not be able to put up a strong protest against the Russian police. The British traveler, who has lost his backing, would be easy prey.

Munro is a writer with close ties to the colonies. He was born and brought up in Burma under British rule until he was two years old, and his father was a police chief in Burma. His older brother was stationed in India as a military police officer, and Munro followed him. However, after a near-death experience with malaria (similar to Yeovil), he gave up colonial life to become a writer. He was born to a father who used to rule the Indians and Burmese, and naturally, he also wished to follow his father's path. Even after Munro returned home and retired from the service, he thought that the people from the colonies were submissive, possibly because of the various stories told by his father in Kent.

Japan had a vast colony (dominion), though not as large as Britain. However, after the defeat, the Japanese in the colonies tried to return to Japan. There was no exodus of Japanese from Japan as in *When William Came*. Contrastingly, there was a massive influx into the country.<sup>18</sup> Japan was forced to abandon all its colonies, but many Japanese people had livelihoods and fortunes in these lands. However, they had no choice but to leave and abandon their possessions, knowing that Japan was occupied by the Allied Forces. In other words, they went to, in Munro's words, a prison because the colonies had become too dangerous for them to continue living there. The Japanese did not have the luxury of going to the colonies to escape the humiliation of being ruled by other countries. In the words of Japanese, returning to mainland Japan from the colonies is called 'hikiage (repatriation),' but, in reality, they were fleeing from the danger of being killed or assaulted. Furthermore, in the works of Yoko Kawashima Watkins and others, there are accounts of Japanese women dressing up as men because they feared that they would be raped if found to be women (Tanizawa 2015, p. 154; Furu'umi 2020, p. 24) in the former territories. There are also accounts of abortions performed on women who had been raped on the continent (Uetsubo 1993).<sup>19</sup> The fall of the dominant side in a colony also means that they will become weak and defenseless against any crimes.

#### 4. Attitudes towards the Enemy

Most of the upper and middle classes in the country seem to be accustomed to German rule, while there are many who are dissatisfied with the state of Britain. When Yeovil meets a young clergyman in Chapter XI, he is told that the working-class people are so frustrated that '[t]hey look round for someone to blame for what has happened; they blame the politicians, they blame the leisured classes; in an indirect way I believe they blame the Church' (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 181). While they blame anyone they can think of, they never turn their anger against the Germans. A fisherman in Chapter XII, on the other hand, believes that Britain should not easily yield to Germany; however, he is portrayed as an ignorant and unthinking countryman. In this way, the story suggests that the more people know about the situation, the more thoughtful they are in concluding that Britain is doomed. An exception to this is Eleanor Greymarten, a wise woman whose plan is to visit each and every Englishman preaching English pride, an almost unthinkable idea to which Yeovil, when presented, does not give a second thought. In other words, even a sensible Englishman such as Yeovil does not move towards overthrowing Germany. In Chapter I, Cicely's young friend, Ronnie Storre, says, 'I would take things tragically if I saw the good of it . . . as matters stand, it's too late in the day and too early to be anything but philosophical about what one can't help. We've just got to make the best of things' (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 18). These words also reflect the hopelessness of the situation. However, his indifference to the British tragedy and his interest in the benefits to be derived from this indifferent attitude is apparent. In Chapter III, Yeovil's old friend, Holham, says, 'the necessity for the life of the country going on as if nothing had happened . . . people must be fed and clothed and housed and medically treated, and their thousand-and-one wants and necessities supplied' (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 55). His words also show his belief in putting people's lives first. He would have agreed with Ronnie when it comes to the question of whether national pride or the lives of the people should come first. The difference between Ronnie and Holham, however, is that Ronnie is hedonistic in his pursuit of profit and, such as Cicely, he wants to make a career out of this defeat, whereas Holham is altruistic in his response to the needs of the people as a doctor. He, too, takes the position that there is nothing that Britain can do but wait. Even those who, such as Holham, are concerned about Britain's fate, and those who, such as Ronnie, are indifferent, come to the same conclusion: that there is nothing that Britain can do about Germany and that the British people must live to their best under the present circumstances. Thus, everyday life goes on in Munro's depiction of London, even under German rule. Though it is natural to reach a rational acceptance of Germany, strangely, no one develops hostile feelings toward them. The solution to such irrationality is the popular phrase 'fait accompli.' Yeovil cannot become accustomed to it and spends his days in agony, but the word is convenient for many of the other characters, who do not want to sacrifice their personal lives to resist the Germans. Believing in the word and thinking that there is nothing they can do, they do not feel guilty for accepting the enemy. As Herr von Kwarl says, '[f]or centuries, Britain ruled the seas . . . and now the seas rule her' (Saki [1913] 1914, pp. 102–3). This ruthless comment entails that even if a mass uprising miraculously drove the German army from the British mainland, there would be no further solution. Britain, without a navy, could no longer break the German naval blockade, and Britain would simply be left to starve to death in isolation. If Britain had been a continental country, there would always have been a chance, but without control of the seas, Britain would have had to rely on the mercy of its conquerors. Therefore, as Kwarl's words, '[b]rave men fight for a forlorn hope, but the bravest do not fight for an issue they know to be hopeless' (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 103), suggest, there is not the slightest chance for Britain against Germany. There will be no such movement, and there will be no enmity toward Germany.

Indeed, the Londoners in this novel can hardly be said to show any enmity towards Germany. Even though the British government is dysfunctional, the Germans in London are completely safe. All the German characters in the novel move freely and confidently show themselves at various popular places and social gatherings in London. Although only

a few months have passed since the war ended, they are not worried about the possibility of being attacked or mobbed. This is more evident in the opening night performance of *Gorla*. The German Emperor comes to see her dance in the midst of a full house and a large audience containing many British people. Nevertheless, the spectators are merely excited to see the emperor and overwhelmed by his dignity. Another example is how Herr von Kwarl enjoys his daily life. He is the mastermind behind the German government's policies and probably the most important person in Germany after the Kaiser, but he dines elegantly at the same time every day at a special table in his favorite restaurant. London is portrayed as a safe place for the Germans.

This is somewhat puzzling because, no matter how well the Germans are able to siege and occupy Britain, they are in Britain after all. In terms of numbers, the British were overwhelmingly large. Nevertheless, the Germans depicted by Munro are all at ease in the midst of Britain. Kwarl's words give a clue as to where this confidence is based:

If all Germans were expelled from Britain tomorrow, in three weeks, they would be free to come and go as they please. We have scout ships and scout planes systematically posted all over the place so that not even one ship's worth of provisions would reach England (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 90).

Kwarl is very confident in the safety of German occupation in Britain. Dr. Holham is of the same opinion and believes that Britain would starve in a fortnight or so without German mercy. So, in the story, both British and German characters share the same belief, which guarantees the safety of the Germans. However, it is told that in Newcastle, one of the former ministers is half killed, although he had less responsibility for the defeat, and another minister is hiding in Exmoor for fear of being lynched (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 50). The vicar in Chapter XI also talks about how angry and frustrated the British young people are, saying 'they look round for someone to blame for what has happened' (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 181). It can be said that these British people are quite dangerous, though their anger is never directed at the Germans.

When Ashihei Hino participated in the Sino-Japanese War, he despised the local Chinese people in the occupied areas, as they smiled at him and other Japanese soldiers with a sneer and showed their obedience. However, when Japan was defeated, he saw the Japanese doing the same thing. In Hino's *Kakumei Zengo [Before and After the Revolution]*, the protagonist Tsuji sees station attendants at one station making small American and British flags, even though the news of the occupation soldiers' arrival has not yet been received and only four days have passed since their surrender (Hino [1960] 2014, p. 280). The following quotation details how Tsuji reflects on the changes in the Japanese people after the defeat:

In the days since the 15th [August] . . . there has been a great deal of agitation and confusion. . . . When a man comes to the verge of disaster, all the decorations come off. A man who yesterday was talking about the annihilation of the United States and Britain with bubbles at the corners of his mouth, the day after defeat, is already rushing to make the Stars and Stripes welcome the enemy; a man who yesterday was an important leader, today is busy running a dance hall for foreigners (Hino [1960] 2014, p. 98).

It seems to be a complete psychological change, and yet, according to Ango Sakaguchi, nothing seems to change when it is considered as their utmost attempts to adapt and live with the present situation. However, Tsuji, such as Yeovil, does not appreciate such a change among his people, but he is helpless to do anything about it and only laments.

As an island nation, similar to Britain in *When William Came*, Japan did not engage in any resistance activity after its defeat nor turned its anger toward the victors. The most symbolic example of this is when Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964) landed at the Atsugi Air Base on 30 August 1945. He, and a small group of men, drove to a hotel in Yokohama in a car provided by the Japanese government.<sup>20</sup> Along the way, 30,000 Japanese soldiers, lined the road every few feet to guard them. Those who accompanied him, such as Robert

Eichelberger, who was second only to MacArthur in power, feared an attack by Japanese soldiers, but this did not happen (Kenney 1951, p. 181).

The dissatisfaction of the common Japanese people with the former Japanese leaders manifested primarily through punishment by the winning countries. The most famous examples are the Tokyo Trials and the expulsion from public service, called the Purge,<sup>21</sup> but the massive number of 500,000 letters sent to GHQ and MacArthur by the Japanese is also an example of their revenge on their own race. Some of these letters praised MacArthur personally and asked for reforms, but many letters included reports against fellow Japanese people (Okamoto and Tsukahara 1988, p. 259). There are many records showing that the Japanese were targeted for assaults by the Allied soldiers, while there had not been a single reported crime committed by a Japanese person against them (Dower 2000, p. 579). Through the insidious means of tip-offs, some of the Japanese took revenge on their compatriots, but they did not turn their hostility against their former enemies.

In *When William Came*, for some of the British who wanted to obtain a good position as the ruling class, Germany is to be flattered, but for the common British population, Germany is to be obeyed. Even if they have great grievances, they are reluctant to criticize them directly. This is clearly shown when the conscription law is enacted. Conscription was a major concern in both the story and in real Britain during that time, but this law, which passes in the novel, is a serious offense to them. The article goes as follows:

The British-born subjects of the Germanic Crown . . . had habituated themselves as a people to the disuse of arms and resolutely excluded military service and national training from their political system and daily life (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 187).

In both the story and reality, the British people were opposed to conscription.<sup>22</sup> The law enforced in this story does not impose conscription on the British people either. There is no doubt that all the British people are unhappy about this law, but no one talks against it, and they accept it sadly. As soon as the young vicar, who has been deeply interested in the pros and cons of conscription, learns of the result, he stops chatting with Yeovil and leaves the place. Later, a parade is held to celebrate the enactment of the law, and the Londoners, who look on with envy at the splendid sight of the German troops marching, are silent. This shows the resignation of the British people, who are simply silent in the face of intense dissatisfaction.

Such a resigned attitude can also be seen in Japan, where, on 15 August 1945, the Emperor called on the Japanese people on the radio to ‘pave the way for a grand peace . . . by enduring the unendurable and suffering what is insufferable.’<sup>23,24</sup> Such an attitude on the part of the Emperor, or the Japanese Government, clearly shows the resignation of the Japanese towards the overwhelming victors. Similarly, this is how Cicely tells Yeovil to survive in London under the new regime:

If one wants to live in the London of the present day, one must make up one’s mind to accept the fait accompli with as good a grace as possible . . . There are things that jar horribly on one, even when one has got more or less accustomed to them, but one must just learn to be philosophical and bear them (Saki [1913] 1914, p. 111).

This idea is quite similar to the words of Emperor Showa. In *When William Came* and in post-war Japan, it can be concluded that survival for the defeated island nation meant willing submission and bearing the unpleasant demands. It is obvious from Japanese history that Munro was right in his prediction, especially that the Germans in Britain would be absolutely safe. Herr von Kwarl’s confidence in his own safety is due to his trust in the rational minds of the Britons. He understands the overwhelming superiority of Germany to such an extent that the British lion becomes as tame as a cat.

## 5. Conclusions

When *When William Came* was published in 1913, a barrister and journalist, Ernest Belfort Bax (1854–1926), observed that it was a new phenomenon in which the religion of nationalism was being propagated in the form of a novel (Bax 1914, p. 2). Indeed, the novel is, to a large extent, in accordance with the aims of the National Service League.<sup>25</sup> However, Munro's work cannot be dismissed as mere propaganda, for it is so deeply insightful regarding the psychology of subjugated people and their behavior. The setting of this novel can be translated as follows: (1) an island nation with a respectable position in the world being ruled by another nation; (2) a country stripped of its power over its land, sea, and air. Apart from the fact that the story is set in Britain, his insights into people in such a situation can be applied to post-war Japan, as Japan is also an island nation with an important position in the world and was disarmed by the victors.

The Japanese underwent a great psychological transformation when they realized that their defeat was absolute. There was, as Munro imagined, a change involving a tendency towards low morals and light-heartedness. Just as the Londoners sought cheap trends and tried to forget their pains in the present situation, so did the Japanese. Ango Sakaguchi compares the so-to-speak great decline in the moral character of the Japanese people before and after the war. He concludes that even though it appears to be the case, the Japanese people have not changed at all. They have simply been freed from strict regulations. From the perspective of patriotic people such as Yeovil, the Japanese at the time were corrupt people, and such a change in them would have been convenient for the new rulers. However, Sakaguchi believes that there is genuine beauty in people who are not bound by the morals that the nation sets out.

Yeovil also compares London before and after the war, and he is distressed by the changes in the city and its people. This is also the case in the works of Ashihei Hino, i.e., the protagonist, Tsuji. However, gradually, both Yeovil and Tsuji come to accept the changes and adapt to their new situation. In this way, it can be said that they are microscopic depictions of the fall of a patriotic protagonist. In the history book *When William Came*, it is stated that '[b]ondage has this one advantage: it makes a nation happy,' which is a timeless tendency that applies to fictional Britain and actual post-war Japan.

Although Munro includes in the novel the notion that the British are angry about the defeat, the British do not show obvious hostility towards the Germans. The people's anger is directed only at the British leaders and not at the invading Germans, who are unharmed in Britain. It seems to be an impossible plot; however, it was later proven to be accurate in the occupation of Japan from 1945. In the novel, whether the motives of the characters, such as Ronnie or Fulham, are selfish or altruistic, rationally speaking, there is no alternative but to take no action against Germany. This sense of helplessness was the cause of the popularisation of the word 'fait accompli.' It is often used as a watchword to erase the sense of patriotic guilt. Thus, they live in peace with the attitude that they are bound to yield to Germany. Given the events of the time at which Japan was occupied, it shows the depth of Munro's insight into human nature. It is emblematic of this that Douglas MacArthur was escorted by 30,000 armed Japanese soldiers to his hotel without fear. There was not a single reported incident of an occupying soldier being attacked by the Japanese during the occupation. There must have been many Japanese who held grudges against the Allied Forces. Yet, in the face of overwhelming defeat, none took revenge on their former enemy. In addition, both in the case of *When William Came*, and in the case of Japan, the desire for revenge was directed against their own race.

In the novel, there is no mention of the colonies becoming independent as a result of Britain's defeat in the war. The existence of colonies in the tropics, such as India, represents merely a place of refuge for the British people. In Siberia, where Yeovil was recovering from malaria, he experienced only slight discomfort from the Russian gaze. Perhaps this is where Munro's prejudice is embedded, having been brought up in a family environment where he took for granted that the British would dominate the colonists.

It was an event that had not happened previously in recorded history until the Second World War, when a major island nation was completely defeated in a war. Munro imagined what would happen in that defeated country, and his correctness can be seen in the history of Japan from 1945 onwards. The seemingly absurd changes in Munro's characters were, in fact, so accurate that they could be considered prophetic. Of course, Munro wrote this work to suit the times (Byrne 2007, p. 121), and there is a political message in it that could be described as propaganda. However, Munro's insights into human nature, which are so successful in exposing the shameful side of human nature that people hide, may also serve as an insight into the unchanging truth of human nature. Perhaps this is most evident in *When William Came*.

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## Notes

- 1 How Lord Roberts sought to use writers to realize conscription is detailed in 'The Last Glorious Campaign: Lord Roberts, the National Service League, and Compulsory Military Training, 1902–1914' (Stearn 2009).
- 2 For example, Harry Wood points out that the war is deliberately not depicted in the novel (Wood 2014, p. 197).
- 3 Although the invasion narratives often portray Germany as the villain, it can be said that in early twentieth-century Britain, both 'idealists' who aspired to learn from Germany and 'realists' who highlighted the dangers of Germany existed (Scully 2012, pp. 88–92).
- 4 Le Queux said that it had sold more than a million copies, but the actual number is not known. On the other hand, the *Daily Mail*, which was serialized, had a circulation of over a million copies (Bulfin 2018, p. 259). This suggests that it was widely read. It should also be noted that Lord Roberts recommended it to the House of Lords (Le Queux 1906, "Preface").
- 5 However, a study shows that, unlike in 1906, when Le Queux's work appeared, from 1911 onwards, a tendency to be more liberal towards Germany was also seen (Scully 2012, p. 128).
- 6 This does not mean that Munro had no knowledge of war. He spent four years in the Balkans and Russia as a reporter for the *Morning Post*, covering the First Balkan War and nearly losing his life during the Russian Revolution (Byrne 2007, pp. 75–98).
- 7 Of course, this idea was not unique to Munro. In the 1870s, Gladstone, a supporter of the Blue Water School, argued that it was important that the waters around Britain were protected, and this was still the main idea in British defense strategy at the time. For more on the history and ideas of the Blue Water School, see Norman Longmate's *Island Fortress: The Defence of Great Britain 1603–1945* (Longmate 1991). Closer to the period in which this work was published, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History: 1660–1783*, by Alfred T. Mahan (Mahan 1890), an American naval officer, was a very influential book in Britain, which emphasizes the importance of home waters.
- 8 For details of Ango Sakaguchi's philosophy and life, see Ataru Sasaki (Sasaki 2016).
- 9 One of the former suicide attackers who made his fortune working in the black market was Shinji Shimizu (1926–2022), founder and former chairman of Life Corporation (a major Japanese supermarket chain). See 'Hanashi no Shōzōga' (Shimizu 2015).
- 10 In addition, violence and looting by ex-Kamikaze members (Tokkōtai) were so rampant that the term 'Tokkō kuzure' [degenerated Tokkōtai] became popular (Dower 2000, p. 108).
- 11 Yamaguchi lived only on rationed food, much of which he gave to his two children. There was much controversy about his death from starvation. For a detailed account of his death, see Yamagata's *Ware Hanji no Syoku ni Ari [I am a Judge by Profession]* (Yamagata 1982).
- 12 It is not clear how the term 'pan-pan' was coined, but it was a widely used and scornful term for these women.
- 13 The most famous novel written on the subject of pan-pan is *Nikutai no Mon [Gates of Flesh]*, published in March 1947 by Taijiro Tamura (Tamura 1947). It was the first best-selling novel of the post-war era, depicting pan-pans struggling to survive while being despised by the public. Since the appearance of this work, many works of what might be termed 'nikutai bungaku' ['flesh literature'] have been published; see Maruyama Masao's 1949 essay 'Nikutai bungaku kara nikutai seiji made' ['From flesh literature to flesh politics'] for details (Maruyama 1949). An anthology of this literary work is also available (Molasky 2015).

- <sup>14</sup> This work was serialized in the magazine *Chuokoron* from May to December 1959 and published in book form in January 1959. In the same month, he committed suicide by poisoning (Ikeda 2000, pp. 6–7; Hino [1960] 2014, p. 296).
- <sup>15</sup> Yasuyuki Kajiwara has conducted a comparative study of American military sources and this work. For full details, see his article (Kajiwara 2013).
- <sup>16</sup> One publishing phenomenon that is emblematic of this era is the ‘kastori magazine.’ These magazines, which published mainly obscene and vulgar works, often disappeared before three issues (gou) were published and were named after ‘kastori-zake,’ an inferior type of sake circulating at the time (it was said that one would be heavily drunk by the time one had drunk 540 mL or three ‘gou’). The use of katakana for ‘kasturi’ differentiates it from the original ‘kasuri shochu’ (shochu made from sake lees), and the use of katakana also makes it heterogeneous, giving the magazine and its associated culture a sense of queerness. See *Kasutori Bunka Kou (An Essay of Kasutori Culture)* by Takuya Hasegawa for details (Hasegawa 1969).
- <sup>17</sup> Unlike Munro, George Chesney made a different prediction in *The Battle of Dorking*. In that story, as soon as it became clear that Germany had landed in Britain, India revolted on a massive scale. The British army, without backing from the British mainland, was no match for the rebels, and India easily became independent (Chesney 1871). Having fought in the war against the Indian rebels in the Sepoy Mutiny (1857–1858), Chesney must have been aware of the dissatisfaction of large numbers of Indians with the British in India and of the dangers they might cause, and he might well have been conscious of the British as an aggressor against India.
- <sup>18</sup> The total number of repatriates is estimated by the Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare to be around 6.6 million. This is equivalent to approximately 10% of the total population of Japan at the time.
- <sup>19</sup> The Futsukaichi Sanatorium carried out abortions on repatriates who had been raped during the year and a half before it closed in 1947. The number of abortions at the sanatorium alone is said to have been approximately 500. However, there are no accurate records. For more information on the sexual abuse of repatriates, see *Mizuko no Uta* (Uetsubo 1993).
- <sup>20</sup> The hotel is the New Grand Hotel, 15 miles from the Atsugi Air Base, where MacArthur once stayed on his honeymoon (Kenney 1951, p. 176).
- <sup>21</sup> In the post-war purge, more than 200,000 people were targeted for their strong support of the war effort. Among them was Ashihei Hino. However, in his case, he did not belong to any government agency in the first place, so it was not clear what he was being expelled from. Still, it must have been a pleasing moment for some Japanese, who wanted to satisfy their punitive sentiments. Of course, there is no doubt that being publicly punished was painful for Hino. He was also expelled from the Writers’ Association. For details on the purge and its effects on Hino, see Ikuko Yamagishi (Yamagishi 2010).
- <sup>22</sup> Public opinion about conscription was symbolized by the growth of the National Service League and the popularity of the *Daily Mail* and other publications at the time that promoted foreign dangers. Despite all this, it cannot be said that the majority of Britons supported conscription. For example, when the National Military Training Bill was rejected in the House of Commons in 1908 by 250 to 34, the Liberal MP who introduced it, Malcolm Kincaid-Smith (1874–1838), tried to prove that the Bill had popular support by resigning from Parliament and being re-elected (Johnson 2017, p. 215). However, the vote in May 1909 was disastrous, and he received only 479 votes, according to the newspapers of the time. The fact that the top candidate, Philip Foster, took 5374 votes and that he had taken 4321 when he was elected in 1906 is further evidence of how little popular support conscription had (By-Election. London May 5 1909, p. 8).
- <sup>23</sup> The announcement was called The Jewel Voice Broadcast and marked the first time that the Emperor’s voice was broadcast publicly. The full text of the broadcast is available at the Atomic Heritage Foundation: <https://www.atomicheritage.org/key-documents/jewel-voice-broadcast> (Jewel Voice Broadcast 2021).
- <sup>24</sup> In addition to using a lot of difficult words, the sound quality of this broadcast was said to have been very poor because the output was so high that it interfered with other radio waves (Kimura 2001, p. 167). In his book *Before and After the Revolution*, Ashihei Hino writes that there was so much noise that ‘it was impossible to catch a single word’ (Hino [1960] 2014, p. 199).
- <sup>25</sup> In terms of its support for conscription, the story shares the principle of this organization. However, the organization was afraid of losing its supporters due to using Germany as a model, so it chose Switzerland instead (Rau 2009, p. 86).

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