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Slurping Towards Modernity: the Birth of an Iconic Japanese National Dish

(adapted from *Slurp! A Social and Culinary History of Ramen - Japan's Favorite Noodle Soup (Brill, 2013)*)

Abstract:

In Japan there is only one word for noodle soup and that is "ramen." Few national dishes have had the power to launch international industries, attract hundreds of millions of international customers, or have comic books, songs and movies devoted to them. Japan's noodle dishes have in the last half-century come to represent "Japan" in the world market. For noodle eaters globally, the word "ramen" often evokes Japan, even though some foreigners and many Japanese believe that ramen has long historical roots in China that were mysteriously transformed in Japan.

Ramen is a food that speaks about the evolution of Japan and its historical relations with China. We need to look at food history, particularly the development of ramen, to understand contemporary Japan and its transformation into a food-obsessed nation, far different from what its cultural origins suggest. By charting the development of ramen we can see how the Japanese acquired, adopted and invented new tastes and dishes – in contrast to what is usually touted as Japanese traditional cuisine. The long evolution of ramen helps us enter the even longer and fascinating history of cuisine in Japan, charting how food and politics combined as a force within Sino-Japan relations.

Full text:

Modern Japanese tastes grew out of both a dialogue within Japan's colonial empire and a discourse bent on separating the concept of national food away from and in distinction to China. We cannot understand the idea of "Japanese cuisine" in a geographical and historical vacuum as a product that grew up in isolation. Indeed, one of the major ideological shifts in identity during the 1910s-20s was the incorporation and consumption of Chinese food and its influence on Japanese cuisine and diet. The revolution in how the flavors of a national cuisine altered can be seen through *ramen*, Japan's famous noodle soup. Traditionally, the Japanese ate little meat, enjoyed parts of the fish their neighbors reviled, disliked pork, and were exceedingly fond of buckwheat noodles. Within a few decades after the 1868 Meiji Restoration, somehow these same people were now gorging on a noodle soup bathed in a hearty meat base. Ramen emerged from Japan's burgeoning democracy, a dish embraced by the lower classes that later was accepted by the country as a whole. It is a mass food, not exotic like sushi, and it requires no special knowledge to order or consume it. At the same time the noodle soup is an imperial food – the Japanese would not ever have eaten ramen had it not been for the first half of the 20th century with millions of Japanese living abroad, and more importantly, millions of Asians living in Japan. Ramen mirrors both pre and postwar Japanese society and is thus a microcosm of modern Japanese culinary history.

Ramen, contrary to its current popularity and ease of production, required an incredibly long history to develop. The ancients could not have created this noodle soup even if they had wanted to – both the ingredients and the attitudes toward cuisine necessary for its evolution were not yet in place. A staggering assortment of components needed to appear precisely at the right time and these resources needed to be manipulated in a certain manner to satisfy a complex new set of consumer demands that for almost two millennia never even existed. It is quite difficult to produce an item that no one knows customers will enjoy. Once both the demand and the supply conditions were met, the ingredients had to find delivery systems, not only in terms of geographical transport to be cooked in a region where people appreciated the tastes, but also in terms of bowl and spoon, to make it to consumers' mouths. All of these items crucial to the birth of ramen – the noodles, broths based on meat flavors, soy sauce, seaweed, bowl, spoon and other toppings – do not occur without artificial interference. Food is one way that societies define themselves, not just in Japan and China. We may not want to always admit it but cultural identity is tied inexorably to traditions of cooking, eating and food in general. The noted British food historian, Ben Rogers, once observed that, "it is no exaggeration to say that, after language, food is the most important bearer of national identity."[1]

This article lays out in three parts why an analysis of the historical evolution of Japan's best selling noodle soup is key to understanding the "modernization" of Japanese cuisine. Part one examines the history concerning how the Japanese conceived of their tastes as something inherent to their ethnicity and a barometer of their civilization in what was believed to be a declining East Asia. Such notions were a prerequisite to show initially how hard the Japanese strove to not consume anything linked with the rest of East Asia as part of their daily diet. Part two looks at Japan's relationship with China and how attitudes changed over time through travel, imperialism and war, leading to an era that helped birth the creation of ramen. The last section looks at the contours of Japan's intricate relationship with food, specifically ramen, and what this reveals more broadly about Japan.

In the early twentieth century Japan was still a hungry nation. The country and leadership were not just hungry for power they were literally hungry. Japan was wealthier and gaining international economic power but, as popular author of the time, Murai Gensai, described in his bestselling fictional food guide, *The Gourmand*, its expanding population also lusted after richer tastes and ached to be the gourmets of East Asia.

After Japan defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of the early 20th century, an article in the *New York Times* in April 1905 went so far as to criticize the idea that Japan represented a "yellow peril," arguing instead that it represented modernity and Westernization in Asia.[2] As the working classes struggled for money and access to previously denied social and political privileges, Japan's empire spread its wings and in addition to Taiwan, encompassed Korea and parts of China, as well as several islands in the South Pacific. The transition from the 1890s through to the 1920s saw more alterations in the national diet and changing attitudes toward foreign cuisines. During this era how Japanese society consumed its daily meals underwent a massive transformation that forever altered "Japanese cuisine."

Time Is the Meter of Civilization – the Birth of Delicious

In the Japanese language, as with other languages, speakers can choose numerous adjectives to describe something that tastes good. The most common is *oishī*. There are other ways of remarking that food is delicious – for example, *sugoku oishī*, which emphasizes something as truly delicious. *Taihen* or *totemo* or *monosugoku oishī* means really, truly and marvelously delicious. The other term that is frequently heard is *umai*. *Umai* means delicious and historically it was the preferred term, employed more by men than women, to describe food that tasted very good. However, there is another side to this rather complex word even more difficult to translate – *umami*. The Umami Information Center in Tokyo defines *umami* as "the fifth taste," the anchor in the relay race of the first four tastes of sweet, sour, salty and bitter.

Over the centuries Japanese cuisine had employed two main ingredients to make food more palatable: *konbu* and *katsuobushi*, both of which made meals more savory or heartier – bringing out the embedded natural taste out and making it more easily recognized by the tongue. These ingredients are filled with an amino acid called glutamine, which adds a richness to flavor. *Konbu* is kelp, a thick, leafy type of seaweed with a distinctive taste but is rarely eaten on its own. It is boiled in water to make a stock that is then used for seasoning. *Katsuobushi* is the flesh of the bonito fish, first boiled or steamed, then dried in the sun, or smoked and flaked. It is frequently added to create a savory broth or to "thicken" foods, to give the flavor some depth.

The best way to explain *umami* as a taste is to think about the four tastes in a kind of three-dimensional pyramid with flavors along the bottom axes and one at the top point. *Umami* is the culmination or the pinnacle along these flavor axes – neither sweet nor salty but a bit of both, and halfway between bitter and sour. It thus sits exactly in the middle of the three dimensional pyramid. *Umami* is, in a sense, all flavors combined at the same time and that makes it an extremely savory taste. And yet the flavor does not really have a taste unto itself. *Umami* enhances naturally occurring flavors.[3]

Ajinomoto, "the essence of taste," was the first company to produce monosodium glutamate (MSG), the food additive that creates the flavor of *umami*, invented by Professor Ikeda Kikunae from Tokyo University. The company began operations in 1908 and soon produced the additive on an industrial scale. The patent holders intended the MSG additive to be mixed into food to enhance its natural flavor. It could be made into a broth, or *dashi* in Japanese, and served as soup, or added as gravy to create a savory taste. In short, MSG makes food more pleasant tasting and adds richness to the natural taste. Contrary to popular belief, however, MSG has no taste nor is it salty even though its scientific name sounds as if it should be. The additive creates the sensation of *umami*, that fifth taste.

What is fascinating is why people crave the *umami* flavor. Ikeda hypothesized that "the taste of glutamate is closely associated with animal food" with the result that people are drawn to the flavor almost physically because it leads to an intake of "nutritive foods."[4] American chemists and food industry leaders were impressed. Their tests revealed that when glutamate was added to foods it stimulated a "tingling feeling in the mouth and the taste sensation persists." American researchers added that "this glutamate sensation, independent of true taste, has been described as a 'feeling of satisfaction.'"[5] It is hard now to imagine the dramatic impact this invention had on the market, with our gourmet television shows and manufactured food products available in local stores, but the appearance of MSG was an epoch-making moment for the food industry. The additive held the power to make bland and not necessarily pleasant food palatable and tasty.

Ikeda was an excellent chemist who had completed advanced research in Germany, like many of his academically gifted Japanese counterparts; but he was not a businessman. The "essence of taste" product succeeded only because of Ikeda's association with Suzuki Saburō. The two took out a patent together and started to produce MSG on a large scale by isolating glutamine acid from wheat. It had previously been expensive and time-consuming for chefs to make their own *dashi*, or soup stock. With MSG, what used to take hours of preparation could be achieved quickly with a few sprinkles and this had serious implications for small, family-run food-stands and the home kitchen. MSG was an industrial-sized revolution in cuisine. Ajinomoto would also prove itself a prescient company in terms of advertising.

Most people today, and perhaps especially in contemporary Japan, use a variety of spices and industrially produced flavors in our kitchens, but this was not the case in the early twentieth century. The Japanese were not convinced that such products were necessary, nor did they quite understand their use. The infant Ajinomoto Company had to teach the public to appreciate the idea of convenience and how to make use of the new product. Several anti-seasoning campaigns at the time spread rumors that hinted the additive was made from snake and at first people avoided using it.[6] To attract customers, Ajinomoto placed an advertisement in the *Asahi Newspaper* in May 1909, using a geisha posed in an apron as the model. The company also handed out thousands of leaflets on the street. When this campaign failed the company resorted to public tastings and paying *chindon* performers to march around the country praising the new product. *Chindon* performers wore elaborately costumed street musicians during the 1920-30s and were paid to parade around towns drawing attention to a particular brand or object.[7] These activities helped to raise awareness of the seasoning, and sales rose – but only slowly at first, because pharmacies stocked the product in a glass bottle that looked like it should contain medicine.[8] Sales increased rapidly once Ajinomoto marketed MSG as a spice and additive for cooking. The company concentrated its efforts in Osaka, where a *konbu*-heavy cuisine was favored. Initially, seventy percent of its sales were in this region. The media appeared to understand the fantastic potential of MSG. One Japanese magazine in July 1909 unapologetically announced that the arrival of MSG "provided a huge thunderclap of good fortune to our world of Japanese cooking."[9] A savory flavor also complemented the noodle and wheat dishes slowly being imported from China, being adapted for the tastes of Japanese consumers during the 1910s and 1920s. The newly born clamor for a savory taste was an essential consumer demand that helped initiate the birth of ramen and formed a large basis for its popularity.

In many ways MSG was the archetypal colonial food product. Japan required massive amounts of soy, rice and other cereals to feed the nation and imported a larger quantity each year from China and its colonies of Taiwan and Korea. The Chinese had also tried to discover the chemical composition of savory flavors and many entrepreneurs and chemists spent countless hours trying to match Japanese industrial know-how. Wu Yunchu succeeded. In the 1920s, he managed through experimentation to manufacture the Japanese product MSG that was proving so popular with Shanghai restaurants and patrons. He labeled his product "*weijing*," a Chinese term similar to the Japanese label of "the essential taste," and applied for a patent. By the mid-1920s, Chinese in Shanghai and other modernizing cities in China spent one million US dollars annually to enjoy the extra flavor MSG brought out in food.[10] Ajinomoto accused Wu of patent infringement but the plants kept producing and by 1928 domestically produced Chinese MSG had outstripped imports from Japan.

As the famous Japanese novelist Natsume Sōseki wrote in his novel *Sore Kara* (*And then*), the speed with which Japan was changing was flabbergasting to the older generation still accustomed to the patterns of life in rural Meiji. But "to live by the ethic of the past among the hourly demands of the modern life was to 'wage war against oneself,'" Sōseki keenly observed.[11] As Japan continued to industrialize during the 1910s those hourly demands on life and labor would only increase, as did consumer demand for convenience and nutrition, all at a reasonable price of course. Sōseki was probably one of a very few sounding a note of caution about the breakneck speed of modernization; most Japanese eagerly championed the new and convenient. The biggest issue in improving life-style was that of time, one author wrote in a women's magazine. Japanese daily life required systemic change to advance, which meant people needed "to calibrate all the clocks of the house so that they tell the same time," he recommended. After all, he wrote, "Westerners observe time" – the implication being that Japanese did not and this was to their own detriment.[12] The new mass media developing during this era, with more consumer magazines and aggressively marketed advertising campaigns, also led to many changes in concepts and expectations concerning Japanese cuisine.

Food and Excrement

Even as the Japanese were adapting to new food products and trying new additives that improved taste, searching for more nutritious and tasty ways to modernize, prejudices about smell and hygiene still caused some people to avoid Chinese cuisine. The laboring classes slowly adopted cuisines from countries within Japan's growing empire but the intelligentsia and elites initially hesitated to try Chinese cooking. Through the 1910s, they still associated Chinese cuisine with a backward culture, quite different to the West, with which Japan was trying to identify. National cuisine and hygiene were markers of civilization. In the words of one historian of medical science, advanced nations became obsessed with what he terms “excremental colonialism.”[13] Colonized areas were not seen as just socially and politically backward: what they ate was bad and their methods of sewage disposal were even worse.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, many Japanese experienced China and Korea directly for the first time through travel, and their findings proved enlightening but shocking. Their negative experiences increased their regard for Japan and denigration of their Asian brothers across the sea. Japanese travel books, which appeared in great numbers during the early years of the twentieth century, frequently described the backwardness of Korean society. One book, Okita Kinjō’s, *The Backside of Korea*, lambasted the small huts Koreans lived in as pigsties and said that the Korean way of defecating everywhere made Seoul the “shit capital” of the world, with a corresponding stench.[14] Okita held an even lower opinion of Korean cuisine. “There are people who imagine pig, dog, it’s all the same in Korean food…it more or less seems like you are picking up horse dung and eating it, but that would be judging it too quickly because we know they are, after all, a rice-eating people.”[15] Arakawa Gorō, in his travelogue *Contemporary Korea*, was similarly displeased: everything was so dirty, he complained, that Koreans could not distinguish *miso* (a fermented paste used to make Japanese soup) from *kuso*, or *miso* from shit.[16]

Japanese obsession with the relationship of bowel movements and the food of East Asia did not necessarily mean that their general perceptions of these countries were all negative. Japan was, after all, still largely agricultural and night soil (human waste) as a fertilizer was a topic of great concern to most farmers. In addition, the topic of toilet activity ranked very highly in all sorts of intellectual and popular literature. A 1908 newspaper article entitled “A Consideration of Urine” castigated Tokyo women for no longer peeing as they had used to – an obvious sign of urban decline. The anonymous article noted that in previous times women urinated by standing and sort of leaning back a little. (How this was accomplished was not explained in the article, nor were diagrams provided.) “Now, they squat,” the anonymous writer bemoaned, considering this unladylike.[17] One early-twentieth century article on bowel movements demonstrated the extent to which Japan looked down on other East Asian nations, since even Western excrement was considered of a higher class. This article, penned by an aristocrat and art history professor, explained that the Japanese consumed a lot of indigestible food, so when they defecated they expelled a lot of gas. Westerners ate more easily digestible foods so they excreted less, and the professor waxed poetic about the quality. Western excrement “comes out ‘phew’ like the stroke of a paint brush, long and thin with both ends tapered, similar to a piece of rope,” he elegantly described.[18]

The Japanese were not alone in their obsession with hygiene as a marker of the level of the civilization; it was a common colonial trait. The finicky French in the Indochinese colonies were perturbed to have natives cooking food for their meals; supposedly this rendered the process unclean and threatened colonial health and welfare. Bakers in the French colonies advertised the “cleanliness” of their products, intending to assure customers that they were prepared by French hands. This mark of hygiene meant that, although the ingredients might not have French provenance, the artisan was French and his product was of French quality, not cooked by someone presumed to be racially inferior and hygienically questionable.[19]

Raising the Standard

The real sticking point for bureaucrats bent on modernizing Japan and rendering it the most advanced country in Asia remained kitchen hygiene. Since Japan was the modernizer of Asia, it needed to look the part. Many authorities felt that traditional kitchens were symptomatic of a larger national problem. The population obsessed over what it termed "cultured living," or *bunka seikatsu*, a kind of forerunner to the Martha Stewart movement in the United States during the early twenty-first century. Cultured living required hygiene and convenience. During the pre-World War I era, a mix of rice and grains was often the mainstay of the Japanese diet, but bread offered an easier and quicker way to prepare and eat breakfast for the growing urban sectors of society. This idea of convenience would contribute to the later appeal of ramen – eating without the long preparation necessary for most Japanese dining. The *jochū*, maid, or matron of the home if there were no servants, had to get up two hours before breakfast to cook rice and make miso soup. Bread was a massive time-saver: you just cut a slice, slapped butter on it, drank some coffee and walked out the door to work. One woman wrote in an April 1913 women's magazine, *Housewife's Companion* (*Shufu no tomo*), that in her kitchen she only had a frying pan and one pot – having bread at her disposal reduced the hours she had to spend in the kitchen because she only had to cook rice once a day.[20] There were no electric kettles or rice-cookers in those days so rice was made by boiling water over a small coal stove that required repeated fueling, constant attention while cooking and then maintenance while cooling down.[21] If rice were eaten at night as well, the same time-consuming processes had to be repeated, new fuel for the fire collected and the old ashes disposed of.

Maids were an indispensable part of nineteenth and early-twentieth-century cooking. Cheap labor in urban areas was readily available and food preparation took an inordinate amount of time when one had to make everything from scratch. One Japanese manual, entitled "Renovating Kitchens," explained in great detail how to extract the most work from your maid for the smallest amount of money. Clearly, treating one's servants with respect and on equal terms with other laborers was not foremost on readers' minds. The chapter on hiring maids suggested that you ask them straight out: "Do you have any kitchen experience?" If the answer was "No," the manual recommended that you paid them less. The book also suggested that if they claimed that they had experience you could then make them produce written proof from a previous employer and use it as the basis for their hourly wage.[22]

Not only were ways of cooking Japanese food changing in the kitchen but new tools and new products were coming onto the market. Advances in Japanese food science and tremendous progress in general science characterized the 1910-20s as well. New inventions, such as the production of MSG, **a**llowed tastes to reach a much wider audience than ever before and food science products changed the face of East Asian food. The Meiji Restoration was more than just a political reconstruction of Japan; it reformed deep social structures encompassing science, technology and popular attitudes. The new science of food also introduced exciting new treats to Japan, such as milk chocolate bars that proved immediately popular, fermented yoghurt drinks sold as health tonics (the soft drink *Calpis)*, sweet lemonade drinks known as *ramune*, chewy caramels and other sugary snacks.[23] The public's desire for the exotic and the new was met with a deluge of products, initially tied to the West but later derived or sourced from China and East Asia. The Japanese mass media played a fundamental role in changing the way people cooked. Women's magazines such as *Ladies' Companion* (*Fujin no tomo*) now focused on food and cooking with renewed attention to hygiene, nutrition, economy, convenience and novelty.[24] Chinese food was gaining ground in restaurants and slowly proving popular in the home as well. Japanese Tastes had changed in a fundamental way.

The kitchen, hygiene, personal health and the stability of the family were all tied together around the time of World War I (1914–1918) into an important symbol of a modern, civilized and advanced country. One male writer in a Japanese women's magazine, *Housewife's Companion*, explained the situation in the following way. "Currently in this war," he said, "Germany is fighting many other countries – England, the US, France and Russia. The men have left for the front and the women are taking care of the house and working away from home." He explained: "The home is the center of a nation's society. An orderly home with no waste assists national security. The first priority of business is to improve the economy of the home and the structure itself. We need to do away with rooms we don't need and put in Western-style doors so we are safe when we leave." "Of second order are Japanese kitchens: they are dark and very unhygienic. We really must improve this situation. Kitchens are like people's stomachs, the place for providing nutrition and thus a most important space," he said.[25]

To many Japanese in the early twentieth century, Chinese kitchens were equally abhorrent and the country itself was like a museum of Asian history. Japanese were ambivalent about Chinese cuisine but happy to import ingredients. China, or *Shina* as it was then frequently referred to in Japan, was seen as backward. Kodama Kagai expressed this disdain in a 1911 Tokyo guide when he wrote about the cramped housing and small entertainment venues and restaurants squashed together in the Chinese quarters in the city. "There were many Chinese restaurants – *Shina ryōriya*," he wrote. "They are covered in a kind of great rodent-colored patina of dirt. When you opened the door smoke billowed out with the stench of pig fat and you got the feeling it was a sad and decrepit place. Pork is tasty but it's the food of an indolent and withering people."[26]

Despite its sense of superiority, Japan was far from a utopia for the majority of its population. The working conditions for laborers, even after the passage of The Factory Act in 1916, were not ideal. The legal working day was twelve hours long in organizations that employed more than fifteen persons. Women and children were guaranteed two holidays a month and a half hour's rest after a half-day of labor.[27] In 1917, Suzuki Bunji, a leader of Japan's labor rights movement, described mines that employed 70,000 women where "they work in the bowels of the earth, naked like the men, wearing only a little breech-clout…. They are so like animals they can hardly be called human."[28] The 1918 rice riots, led mostly by women, "stand out as a sign of women's frustration and rage in the economic and political realms, capitalism, which made leaps during the war, and changed the face of urban life…."[29] Even by 1921, only 10% of the population could be classified as middle class.

Ramen Debuts on the Japanese Stage

It was amidst this swirling vortex of new food technology, a growing Chinese presence, and the gap between extreme wealth and downtrodden penury, that ramen (noodle soup) emerged into the Japanese food market – albeit in a still less than complete form. Ramen was not immediately chic; it did not sell hundreds of thousands of bowls per day as it does now; nor did it necessarily represent Japanese cuisine. This was, after all, only the beginning. What ramen did offer was a full stomach and a cheap, nutritious alternative to a rice-based diet. What is more, ramen was a national phenomenon, sold not just in Tokyo or the international city of Yokohama, as so many products were. Ramen had neither royal nor common provenance. It was so new that no one could be sure how the savory noodle soup had come about or gotten its name.

During the first decades of the twentieth century Japan grew into an empire that was home to more and more non-native Japanese. The expanding heterogeneity of the population and the consequent merging of food preferences, combined with a changing landscape of consumer demands, produced some unusual results. In 1911, the Takeya Cafeteria in Sapporo began offering a small amount of Chinese food to its mixed clientele. The cafeteria served many of the students flooding into the newly established imperial Hokkaido University, which had one hundred and eighty Chinese exchange students. One day a Chinese worker, Wang Wencai, who had worked in the Soviet Far East, stopped in to eat. The proprietor Ōhisa Masaji soon hired Wang as a short-order cook, changing his menu to feature "Chinese food." This may have been for economic reasons; it is possible that Ōhisa had heard of restaurants in other regions attracting new customers in this way. Wang made numerous meat noodle dishes and a particularly popular one was called "*Shina soba*," Chinese noodles. The noodles were not like any other noodles with which the Japanese were familiar. Unlike *soba* noodles, which break easily and *udon* noodles, which are thick and slippery, Wang's noodles had a springy consistency and he bathed them in a meaty broth. The springy noodles he crafted were made with alkaline water because he used a bit of carbonate of soda in the dough.[30] Wang made several varieties of meat soup with a chicken base, vegetables and salt broth. They were an instant hit.

The exact geographical provenance of the ramen noodle soup and how it gained the name *ramen* remain unclear. There are various theories but many just called it "Chinese noodles" or *Shina soba*. Until just after World War II, peddlers on carts around urban and rural areas would call out in the late afternoons and early evenings, announcing their arrival with a mournful toot on a tiny trumpet and a tuneful refrain referring to *Shina soba* or Chinese noodles: "Chinese Noodles! Hey There, Chinese Noodles for Sale!" Many of the peddlers were Chinese, and "Chinese noodles" implied something different from ordinary Japanese noodles. Takeya Cafeteria customers rarely asked for "Chinese noodles," though, but merely barked, "Gimme some of that 'chinky' soup." One theory suggests that Ōhisa's wife had the idea of calling the noodle dish *ryūmen*, after the willow trees across the street from their shop; *ryū* is a Japanese reading for the Chinese character for willow and *men* means noodles in Japanese. Noodle stalls in late-nineteenth-century

Yokohama had been called *ryūmen* stalls (written with different characters but the same pronunciation) so it is possible that the label just traveled north to Hokkaido. Another possibility often considered is that, when Wang was done making his dish he would yell to the front in Chinese, "*hao le!"* ("Ready!") but with his northeastern Chinese pronunciation it sounded more like "*hao la!"* Wang had an accent that was perceived as harsh by the Japanese, who would have focused on the harder "*la*" sound, which could also have been heard as "*ra*." The term for noodle in the Chinese and Japanese languages uses a similar reading for the same character, *mian* in Chinese and *men* in Japanese. So, uncouth customers might joke and demand some of the "*la – men*," or "*la* noodles." This term, combined with the fact that in Chinese the actual word for pulled noodles is "*la-mian*," might have led to the term being written as "*la men*" on the Sapporo menu. The storeowners used katakana instead of the Chinese characters on the menu and gradually over time clients began to order the noodle dish by name.[31] Thus, it was that a new dish was born: "*ra-men*," since the Japanese language does not distinguish between the pronunciation of "l" and "r."

The Spread of Ramen

In addition to the establishment described above, there are quite a few other shops that vie for the position of the birthplace of ramen, owing perhaps to the startling simultaneity with which ramen appeared, suddenly, all over the country. In 1910, in the Asakusa section of Tokyo, a new store opened called *Rairaiken*, which might translate best as the "C'mon Shop." The shop served "Chinese noodles," *wontons* and *shūmai*, a Japanese style of wrapped and steamed Chinese pork dumpling. Dining was cheap and you could fill your stomach with a single serving. The man who started this new venture was Ozaki Kanichi, a former tax bureaucrat in Yokohama who retired at fifty-two and opened a Chinese restaurant.[32] It is important that Ozaki came from Yokohama because he would have experienced Chinese food there and seen the popularity of Chinese noodles in a city built specifically for foreigners to reside in. The sign above the store, which remained in business until 1943, announced "Nutritious Chinese Cooking – Noodles and Dumplings 7 sen." (A *sen* was a small unit of Japanese currency and until just after World War II one yen equaled 100 sen.)[33] A few years later in 1925, in the city of Kitakata in Fukushima Prefecture, another ramen shop appeared. The story of how Kitakata became the nation's ramen capital is intriguing and it illustrates the way in which regional identity and marketing played a role in the explosion of ramen shops. In 1925 a Chinese traveler from Zhejiang province, Fan Qinxing, arrived in Kitakata and opened a noodle shop. Unlike Japanese merchants, Ban managed his own shop, which he called *Genraiken*, or "The Original Come and Get it Shop," an obvious homage to the *Rairaiken* in Tokyo and a play on the popular name.[34] He located his shop in the rougher area of town near the railway station and his business flourished. Regardless of origin, it is virtually impossible to peg down one single explanation that substantiates the appearance and naming of similar dishes all over the country at almost the same time.

While Japanese urban areas modernized and Tokyo became one of the most advanced cities in East Asia, most people in Japan continued to eat a fairly poor diet. The Ministry of Home Affair's Bureau of Hygiene completed a survey in 1918 examining the constituents of the people's daily diet. In rural areas, people still did not consume very much rice, or indeed very much of anything.[35] The reason a majority of farmers ate such crude meals was purely economic; it made sense to produce millet to eat at home and sell the more expensive rice crop for cash. Traditional farmers before World War II ate pure white rice and *mochi* (sticky rice cakes) only a couple of times a year, if at all.[36] In the early 1910s Japan started having to import more to provide enough food for its people; during the same period, prices for most goods began to rise. Between 1903 and 1933, the amount of rice imported from Taiwan quadrupled and that from Korea rose about twenty-one times. Laborers, an important element in the transformation of urban cuisine due to their demand for cheap and filling meals, started to clamor for better wages and a greater share of the economic pie. This was not a full-fledged political revolution but a social campaign for equality and a higher standard of living.

The numbers of workers who earned money as day laborers in urban areas grew enormously throughout the 1910s and 1920s and these individuals often experienced economically rough times. Restaurants aimed specifically at the working poor, called "one-meal stands," *ichizen meshiya*, began to proliferate in areas where these people congregated. They were a slight improvement over the mid-Meiji "leftover food stalls," *zanpanya*, because the food was made fresh to order. At these stands you could order a bowl of rice topped with a sprinkling of vegetables or some other topping for a slightly higher price. On the days when it rained and there was no work, people would buy cheap bottles of alcohol or make do with water, abstaining from food as they waited for the next opportunity to work, earn a wage and eat. These "one-meal stands," combined with Tokyo's history as a Mecca for noodles and an urban population clamoring for inexpensive and tasty meals, were fundamental factors in the Japanese push toward ramen.[37]

Night-time Dining, Students and Erotic, Grotesque Nonsense

With an increasing population pouring into the cities and more avenues for pleasure and entertainment opening up in urban areas, the popularity of noodle dishes rose. Rickshaw-pullers, laborers going to work, playboys coming home after late nights – they all ate at the expanding number of food stalls. For those who could afford to eat well noodles were not usually a main meal; ramen was a snack to consume after carousing, or as a way to relax on the way home. For those who lived on the streets, toiled in day jobs or were factory or manual workers, ramen might sometimes serve as the main meal, like a form of fast food. Students increasingly also met their economic and nutritional needs with ramen. In the early 1920s, ramen became a symbol of the nocturnal passions of the evening as well as the meals of students and the working classes. The dish served many purposes.

But who staffed the noodle carts? Judging from advertisements, many companies looked for workers among impoverished customers, the unemployed and students from the hinterland known as the "*kugakusei*" or "hardship students." *Kugaku* was a late-Meiji era term used to describe students who wanted passionately to move up in the world, and who had to work to pay for the education necessary for social advancement. Publishing consortiums produced numerous guides explaining in detail how students could acquire skills to succeed, a keen goal during the 1920s. One manual offered suggestions for possible jobs to pay for a student's studies: running an *oden* stand (selling seasoned boiled vegetables and tofu), running an *udon* noodle stand and being a rickshaw-puller were all listed as lucrative employment opportunities.[38]

The rapid proliferation of ramen during the pre-WWII era suggests that the popularity of instant ramen today draws on a historical accretion of "noodle traditions" dating back to the mid-19th century and before. One factor that enabled ramen to infiltrate daily life was its link to the entertainment districts, known as *sakariba* in Japanese. Ramen was the repast of choice for those enjoying themselves in bawdy districts of the city, which grew during this period. Ramen grew in popularity in parallel with an increase in transport, bars, brothels and movie theaters. In 1929, the international sociologist Isomura Eiichi conducted a survey of working hours in Tokyo and found that for those who worked in the food industry (in restaurants, servicing food stalls and transporting food) it was normal to work from dawn until midnight. This meant that transport had to be available and places of business open during the dark hours. It was said that the smell of Chinese food wafted through the area. Chinese cuisine, especially dishes like "Chinese noodles," gradually appeared in these amusement quarters, to be eaten in the late evening or even early morning. Eating ramen itself became an act of pleasure or entertainment, part of the evening's fun. Whether working late or going to a play, movie or vaudeville cabaret, finishing the evening off with a bowl of ramen became *de rigueur* for a night out.

So what kind of image did people have of "*Shina soba*," what ramen was still being called up through the late 1940s? Mostly it was considered *ikagawashī*, or unseemly, a bit dirty perhaps. And precisely because it was a bit low-class, it was the perfect meal to enjoy in the entertainment districts. For youth, it was also a way of rebelling, as famed Japanese postwar novelist Ōoka Shōhei described. For him, sneaking out to eat forbidden Chinese noodles in an off-limits area of town provided a thrill in an otherwise staid adolescent life.[39] Japanese attitudes toward Chinese culture were still disparaging, mixing superiority, myth and perhaps a sneaking feeling of inferiority. It was not uncommon for ruffians, hoodlums and youths to eat at Chinese late-night establishments and then run away or start fights; both the cuisine and the shops were always a bit away from the mainstream and off the radar of the authorities.[40] However, the most important point about ramen was that it was eaten away from home – you specifically ate it at a stall or restaurant, or ordered it to be delivered. By the late 1920s, the noodle soup had become a meal for the lower classes and laborers as an addition to their regular three meals a day, as well as a late-night or other form of treat. Ramen had thoroughly infiltrated Japanese daily life.

Such an entrance into Japanese daily life took a bit longer for the upper classes. Venerated novelist of prewar Japan, Tanizaki Junichirō, praised Chinese food long before it became socially acceptable to do so. In a 1919 newspaper article in the *Asahi Newspaper,* Tanizaki said that since childhood he had always felt that Chinese cuisine was tastier than Western food and that his favorite restaurant in Shenyang (a city in the northern China region) was better than anything Tokyo could offer.[41] Tanizaki did not, however, appreciate all aspects of Chinese cuisine. "I like Chinese food and garlic is ok," he wrote, "but I don't appreciate the way the day after I eat it, it makes my piss stink. It's a bit annoying."[42] Even by the 1920s, with a prosperous Taisho life-style, the Japanese still ate a fairly bland diet and were disturbed by the pungent scent of garlic. Many Japanese intellectuals during the 1920s began to feel that Japan had turned its collective head away from its past and lost its true nature.[43] These intellectuals (and consumers) sought to replace what they believed lost with exotic Chinese or other foreign products. This is one explanation for the China boom of the late 1920s and early 1930s when Japanese consumers began to exoticize and favor Chinese-themed goods. This rise in Japanese consumption of "foreign" products included goods from the southern islands, including Taiwan; it was a way to return to a mythical but cherished "Asian" past. One historian labeled this Japanese social and consumer phenomenon an "adoration for foreign lands." Eating ramen became part of this pattern.

The evolution of this hybrid Japanese society that was churning up tradition and incorporating Chinese elements was loathed by some and welcomed by others. It was a mixing and matching of styles, high and low, which melded into something historian Miriam Silverberg has labeled the "grotesquerie" of Japan's mass culture by the late 1920s. The carnival atmosphere of theater, cinema, shopping and temple worship, as depicted at the playground of Asakusa, Tokyo, included "the celebration of food, the peep shows… where tourists 'up from the country' prayed and bought trinkets at the Asakusa Kannon, factory workers on their days off went to the moving pictures and where everyone, including the beggars, ate a panoply of foods from East and West."[44]

The Rise of "Nutrition"

With the rise of the consumption of Chinese noodle soups in shops, stalls and markets, the 1920s also witnessed a rise in awareness of the importance of nutrition; it was now more than merely a military matter. During this era the nation established its first national nutrition research center, the Imperial Government Institute for Nutrition, headed by Saeki Tadasu. Saeki, a noted scientist and founding father of Japanese diet research, had received his doctorate from Yale University. He wrote a book about the role that nutrition played in society and offered charts and diagrams explaining how the body acquired vitamins that allowed humans to thrive. The first page of his book displayed the music and lyrics to the *Nutrition Anthem*. The song explained, to a rather monotonous and marching rhythm, how nutrition kept one healthy and free of illness, provided strength and assisted in keeping one warm and cool as necessary during the year.[45] Saeki repeated what had come to be common knowledge by the mid-1920s, that "people and nations are built on food."[46] Following World War I, the military even made an effort to introduce Chinese food dishes, popular because they were flavored with soy sauce and even sugar.[47] War and the expanding knowledge of science all had an impact on the development of Japanese consumer preferences and the rise of ramen.

As Japanese preferences for heartier tastes evolved and began to incorporate Chinese cuisine, Japanese scientific and political colonial projects in Korea and

Taiwan began to receive Western acclaim. As an extension of these results and as a small effort against the German outpost on the Shandong peninsula in China during World War I, Japan took over the mandate of the Marshal islands (Micronesia). During an exchange of League of Nations officers, a British Foreign Affairs official noted in his report on hygiene conditions in the Far East, that Koreans "as a race are fine in physique and have capable brains but they are indolent people and require rousing to action."[48] "Until the country came under Japanese influence," he added, "there was practically no sanitation."[49] The glossy magazine *Trans-Pacific* applauded Japan's colonial regime in Taiwan and its accomplishments in what was considered by most to be a malarial swampland. The article quoted Mr. Poultney Bigelow, a well-known American publicist: "Japan is now a competitor in the colonial race…. if Japan can succeed here [Taiwan], she can succeed anywhere. And in my opinion, Japan has achieved in Taiwan a brilliant Colonial triumph."[50]

As it had done years earlier in Korea, in 1925 the Japanese government investigated the food situation in Taiwan. The investigation noted that the food situation in Taiwan was not totally dire, unlike Korea. Rice was found in abundance in numerous markets, as were fresh vegetables and fruit not previously obtainable in the home islands of Japan.[51] Nowadays, we tend to think of bananas as a common fruit but during the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) bananas were occasionally available to the upper echelons of society: wealthy people would present them as special gifts to the shogun. In the modern era bananas first became available to the average consumer in 1903 – imported from Taiwan, Japan's new colony.[52]

The experiences of a young Japanese who elected to go and work in Taiwan as a policeman in the mid-1920s illustrate the seemingly contradictory state of Japanese public opinion toward colonial cuisine. Before he went to Taiwan, while Aoki Setsuzō was serving his mandatory military service in the Japanese imperial military, a fellow soldier performed a skit about life on the island where he had grown up. "Taiwan is warm, rice is harvested twice a year and there is lots of food." And, he added one can wear summer clothes all year round. The young Aoki recalled that his friend's comments were persuasive – prospects for employment sounded better in Taiwan than in Japan. Things were tough after discharge from the army; his friends were applying for simple patrol jobs and other low wage positions. Somehow it seemed like a good idea to go to Taiwan but the difference in food culture proved a difficult obstacle to overcome. In his recollections about early colonial life in Taiwan, Aoki obsessed about odor and food. He admitted that garlic was healthy and full of vitamins but wrote, "I can't stand the smell but the people who eat it can't smell themselves." "Because of that," he added, "when you enter a Taiwanese house here there is some indescribable stench. It's really a huge problem." The first time he entered a villager's house and was assailed by the smell of garlic he thought he was going to vomit.[53]

Tokugawa Started the Process, Meiji Promoted and Taisho Finalized

While the Tokugawa era laid the foundation for Japanese cuisine, the late Meiji (1868-1912) and early Taisho eras (1912-1926) helped to create modern Japanese taste and diet by embracing Chinese cuisine. The culmination of this was a product that we now recognize as ramen. One important ingredient in this process was the new urban working class, which demanded fattier foods. The Chinese food boom of the 1920s was due in part to increased numbers of wage earners living in urban areas. This ethnically mixed, blue-collar population accepted the more proletarian ideal of Chinese food, which emphasized taste over presentation, in contrast to “traditional” Japanese cuisine. We should remember that as late as 1915 Chinese laborers made up the largest foreign population in Japan.[54] By the 1920s, some Japanese appreciated Western food but many more enjoyed Chinese food, which was eaten with rice like Japanese cuisine and provided a more easily digestible combination. By 1923, there were about 20,000 eating and drinking establishments in Tokyo, including around 1,000 Chinese restaurants.[55]

Twentieth-century Tokyo witnessed three distinct eras of urban landscape and most existed in a garlic-free zone. There was the pre-1923 traditional Tokyo, which had arisen in a higgledy-piggledy, organic fashion out of Edo and Meiji times, densely packed with premodern and modern features that competed with each other until the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 reduced the city to rubble. Then there was the post-1923 city, an imperial capital struggling to rebuild itself, where a new cuisine for workers and the wealthy emerged as the city worked to prepare itself for the planned 1940 Olympics. Finally, there was post-World War II Tokyo, as we know it today.

In the versions of Tokyo before the great 1923 earthquake, noodle-sellers could be found not just in major cities but all around the country, in every region and town. They were mostly Chinese (or assumed to be) and they announced their wares by blowing melancholy little tunes on a *charumela*, or “little trumpet” (the word is a Portuguese loan word).[56] Chinese food, as the military discovered when it delighted soldiers by incorporating Chinese dishes into the official menu, was growing in acceptability. Japan’s empire increased in parallel with its interest in Chinese continental culture as is revealed in the 1930 diary of Matsuzaki Tenmin, a journalist and later publisher of a well-known epicurean magazine. Like many other urban intellectuals, he appreciated Chinese cuisine because “it gave off the hybrid character of an acculturated mix of Eastern and Western.”[57] Li Hong-en, a former imperial cook at the forbidden palace of the Qing court wrote a book on Chinese cooking with a military translator Honda Kiyohito, entitled “Easy Dishes for Chinese Cooking.” Yamada Masahei‘s newspaper columns on Chinese food in the magazine *Housewife’s Companion* also became a book and bestseller between 1931 and 1932.[58]

From the ashes of the Great Kanto Earthquake arose new department stores, complete with mass-market restaurants for eating and drinking. At these establishments you could shop and eat, all under one roof. In a sense, the 1923 Great Earthquake eradicated so much of old Tokyo that businessmen and stores could break free from the past and invent new tastes and places for consumption. Rail transport was on the move and taste was no longer locally confined. Kansai tastes, the flavor of Osaka and the Kyoto basin, began to float upriver and ride north on steel tracks to compete in the new and open market in flourishing Tokyo, creating an entirely different, more homogenized national taste.[59]

Radio, introduced in 1925, also helped to advance cuisine. In 1926 in Nagoya, a home cooking show was launched, creating a new image of the family. These broadcasts were later published as a book, "'Four Seasons of Cooking' Radio Broadcasts." Efforts to render daily life more hygienic and cultural were part of the larger "Life Improvement Campaign" that rationalized and scientifically calculated values for women's household chores. This focus on women's domestic industry spurred a market in *sokuseki* (instant) foods, including curry and instant seasoning with MSG. By the middle to late 1920s, instant food products and ingredients were on sale, allowing some housewives or those servants who normally did the cooking to make tasty and nutritious meals for their families without spending hours in a hot dark kitchen.[60]

The pre-WWII era introduced less change to Japan than did the Meiji era or postwar period. In 1926, at the start of the new imperial Showa reign, many household activities remained the same as they had been since traditional times. You still made your own fire in the kitchen and hauled your own water into the same area to cook. Around 1930, some sinks started to have faucets, but plumbing in Japan spread slowly – only 29.1% of the population had installed indoor plumbing in kitchens by 1935.[61] People were also starting to dine out more, especially those who lived near expanding urban markets. By the 1930s, there were 800 cafes and 10,000 waitresses in Osaka alone; in 1936, there were 12,000 young ladies offering hot beverages. At first, these new dining and socializing facilities served mainly middle class and intellectual men. The waitresses wore kimono with an apron and chatted with customers as they served. These women were an enormous social phenomenon, simultaneously lauded and demonized in the press and tabloid magazines, as well as novels.[62] The women worked mostly for tips at the cafes and so were beholden to their male customers.[63] They frequently accompanied men after hours to sweet shops and noodle restaurants. It was not just female employment that expanded into the food business. By the 1930s, people in the urban areas were eating out more in restaurants or at simple street side stalls often run by fringe members of the Japanese imperial expansion – Chinese, Manchurians, Koreans, or Taiwanese.

By the time Japan began to mobilize for war in China, the Chinese had been working in the country for years and Japanese cuisine was already a hybrid, with hearty noodle soups as a preferred selection. In September 1931, the Japanese Kwantung Army initiated a strategy outside the city of Shenyang and used an exchange of gunfire with the Chinese military as the pretext to mobilize thousands more troops to subjugate large parts of Manchuria. Within a year, Japanese airplanes would be bombing Shanghai and Japan's aggressive inroads into China would begin full-scale. Japan's preparation for war and empire stunted the spread of Chinese cuisine and the full effect of prewar culinary exchange would not be felt until the close of the American occupation in 1952. The 1910s had set the stage for a real food revolution in the Japanese diet but this was obstructed by the militarism of the 1930-40s. Not until the mid-1950s would hybrid foods like ramen return to any significant extent. For the immediate future, what worried most inhabitants of the empire was less where they could get a good bowl of noodle soup and more the increasing likelihood of being called up to fight in a distant land and die for one's country.

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[2] "Yellow Peril," *New York Times*, April 18, 1905.
[3] Kawamura Yōjirō, *Umami mikaku to shoku kōdō*, p. 5.
[4] Kikunae Ikeda, "New Seasonings," (translated by Yoko Ogiwara and Yuzo Ninomiya) *Journal of the Chemical Society of Tokyo*, no. 30, pp. 820-836, 1909) in *Chemical Senses* 27, 2002, pp. 847-849. See also Jordan Sand, "A short history of MSG: Good science, bad science and taste cultures," *Gastronomica* 5, no. 4, 2005, pp. 38-49.
[5] Daniel Melnick, "Monosodium Glutamate – Improver of Natural Food Flavors," *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 70, No. 3., March, 1950, p. 202.
[6] Ema Tsutomu, *Tabemono no konjaku*, p. 210.
[7] Ingrid Fritsch, "Chindonya Today – Japanese Street Performers in Commercial Advertising," *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 60, No. 1, 2001, pp. 51-54.
[8] Ōtsuka Tsutomu, editor, *Shokuseikatsu kindaishi*, p. 111.
[9] *Meiji nyūsu jiten*, vol. 8, July 22, 1909, p. 6.
[10] James Reardon-Anderson, "Chemical Industry in China, 1860-1949," *Osiris*, 2nd Series, vol. 2, 1986, pp. 188-189.
[11] As quoted in Fred Notehelfer, "On Idealism and Realism in the Thought of Okakura Tenshin," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 16, No. 2, Summer 1990, p. 346.
[12] Tamura Kikujirō, "Seikatsu kaizen no dai ippo wa nani zoya," pp. 218-221, originally published in 1920, reprinted in Maruoka Hideko and Yamaguchi Mieko, eds., Nihon fujin mondai shiryō shūsei, vol. 7, *Seikatsu*, p. 219.
[13] Warwick Anderson, "Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 21, No. 3., Spring 1995, pp. 640-669.
[14] As quoted in Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1912*, pp. 401-403.
[15] Orita Kinjō, *Rimen no kankoku*, p. 76.
[16] As quoted in Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1912*, p. 403; Arakawa Gorō, *Saikin Chosen jijō*, p. 89.
[17] March 20, 1908, *Kokkei shinbun*, reprinted in Koishikawa Zenji, ed., *Kawaya to haisetu no minzokugaku*, pp. 36-37.
[18] Iwamura Tōru, "Nihon no fun to seiyō no fun," in December 1911 *Niko Niko*, reprinted in Koishikawa Zenji, ed., *Kawaya to haisetu no minzokugaku*, pp. 64-66. See also David Howell, "Fecal Matters: Prolegomenon to a History of Shit in Japan," in Ian J. Miller, Julia Adney Thomas, and Brett L. Walker, eds., *Japan at Nature's Edge: The Environment of a Global Power*.
[19] Erica Peters, "National Preferences and Colonial Cuisine: Seeking the Familiar in French Vietnam," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, vol. 27, 1999, pp. 152-153.
[20] Shōwa joshi daigaku shokumotsu kenkyūshitsu, editors, *Kindai nihon shokumotsushi*, p. 443.
[21] Nakano Yoshiko and Ō Kōka, *Onaji kama no meshi: nashonaru suihanki wa jinkō roppyaku hachijūman no honkon de naze happyakumandai ureta ka*.
[22] Amano Seisei, *Daidokoro kairyō*, p. 177.
[23] For more on the growth of sweets in Japanese food culture see Barak Kushner, "Sweetness and Empire: Sugar Consumption in Imperial Japan," in Janet Hunter and Penelope Francks,

eds., *The Historical Consumer: Consumption and Everyday Life in Japan, 1850-2000*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 127-150.

[24] Katarzyna J. Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine – Food, Power and National Identity*, pp. 99-100.

[25] Yamawaki Gen, "Katei seikatsu no keizaitekini kairyō seyo," pp. 179-181, reprinted in Maruoka Hideko and Yamaguchi Mieko, eds., Nihon fujin mondai shiryō shūsei, vol. 7, *Seikatsu*.

[26] Kodama Kagai, *Tōkyō inshōki*, p. 80.

[27] Herbert H. Gowen, "Living Conditions in Japan," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* vol. 122, The Far East, November 1925, pp. 161-162.

[28] Herbert H. Gowen, "Living Conditions in Japan," pp. 162-163. See also Iwaya Saori, "Work and Life as a Coal Miner: the life history of a woman miner," in Wakita Haruko, Anne Bouchy and Ueno Chizuko, eds., *Gender and Japanese History*, vol. 2: The Subject and Expression/Work and Life, pp. 413-448.

[29] Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*, p. 30.

[30] Okuyama Tadamasa, *Bunka menruigaku rāmenhen*, p. 56.

[31] Ibid., p. 57.

[32] Okada Tetsu, *Rāmen no tanjō*, pp. 91-92.

[33] Ibid., p. 93.

[34] Ibid., p. 97.

[35] Segawa Kiyoko, Nihon no shokubunka taikei, vol. 1, *Shokuseikatsushi*, p. 18.

[36] Ibid., pp. 24-26.

[37] Shōwa joshi daigaku shokumotsu kenkyūshitsu, editors, *Kindai nihon shokumotsushi*, pp. 391-392.

[38] Chikamori Takaaki, "Roji ura no yashokushi," in Nishimura Hiroshi, ed., *Yashoku no bunkashi*, p. 79-90. On the *kugaku* phenomenon see Shimanuki Hyōdayū, *Shinkugakuhō*.

[39] As cited in Migita Hiroki, "Rāmenshi o yoru kara yomu – sakariba demae charume to senzen no Tōkyōjin," in Nishimura Hiroshi, ed., *Yashoku no bunkashi*, p. 127.

[40] Migita Hiroki, "Rāmenshi o yoru kara yomu – sakariba demae charume to senzen no Tōkyōjin,"
pp. 110-160.

[41] Tanizaki Junichirō, "Shina no ryōri," *Tanizaki Junichirō zenshū*, vol. 22, pp. 78-83.

[42] Chinba Junji, ed., *Tanizaki Junichirō, Shanhai kōyūki*, p. 43.

[43] Kawamoto Saburō, *Taishō genei*, p. 175 and p. 196. Many of these issues concerning the split between Meiji and Taisho generations are also detailed in J. Thomas Rimer, ed., *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*.

[44] Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic, Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*, p. 205.

[45] Saeki Tadasu, *Eiyō*, p. 1.

[46] Ibid., p. 215. Such a belief was mirrored in Japanese internal military and government reports. See Rikugun chōsa, "Heishoku oyobi sono heisotsu no nōritsu," January 30, 1922, (2A-036-00 *in* 137-100, Reel 008100), National Archives, Tokyo, Japan.

[47] Katarzyna J. Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine – Food, Power and National Identity*, p. 79.

[48] A.R. Wellington, *Hygiene and Public Health in Japan, Chosen and Manchuria*, p. 39.

[49] A.R. Wellington. *Hygiene and Public Health in Japan, Chosen and Manchuria*, p. 40.

[50] February-March 1923, special issue on Taiwan, Sagataro Kaku, superintendent of General Affairs of Governor general of Taiwan, "Taiwan Vastly Benefited by Japanese Rule," *The Trans-Pacific*, p. 77.
[51] Aiai Ryō, Shi Qian, *Kojiki shakai no seikatsu*, pp. 157-158.
[52] Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, *Banana to nihonjin: firipin nōen to shokutaku no aida*, p. 1.
[53] Aoki Setsuzō, *Harukanaru toki Taiwan: senjūmin shakai ni ikita aru nihonjin keisatsukan no kiroku*, p. 84.
[54] Andrea Vasishth, "A model Minority – Chinese community in Japan," in Michael Weiner, ed., *Japan's Minorities – The illusion of homogeneity*, p. 108
[55] Ibid., p. 643.
[56] Yonezawa mengyō kumiai kyūjūnenshi kankō īnkai edited, *Yonezawa mengyōshi*, p. 86. Ujima Eishun, *Ame to ame uri no bunkashi*, p. 55.
[57] Minami Hiroshi, ed., *Kindai shomin seikatsushi*, vol. 6, p. 174.
[58] Shōwa joshi daigaku shokumotsu kenkyūshitsu, editors, *Kindai nihon shokumotsushi*, pp. 782-83.
[59] Ibid., p. 711.
[60] Ibid., pp. 713-715.
[61] Nihon shokuryō shinbunsha, *Shōwa to Nihonjin no ibukuro*, pp. 194-195.
[62] Miriam Silverberg, "The Café Waitress Serving Modern Japan," in Stephen Vlastos, edited, *Mirror of modernity: invented traditions of modern Japan*, p. 213.
[63] Ibid., p. 221.