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博士論文 (要約)

**Japanese Commodities and Formation of Japan
Imagery in Colonial Indonesia:
The Case Study of Jintan Pills and Its
Trademark**

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Summary of the Dissertation

1. The Analytical Points and Finding of the Dissertation

This dissertation indicates that during the colonial period, Indonesians had a positive perception of Japan and the Japanese. This positive perception was built upon the positive images displayed by Japanese products at that time. This dissertation shows that during the period of 1910-1940, Indonesia was flooded by Japanese products. The consumption and purchase of Japanese products from *toko Jepang* (literally means Japanese store, actual meaning: Japanese owned *toko/store*) became a lifestyle trend of the (Indonesian) society at that time. Japanese products such as Japanese textiles, cotton, daily/everyday necessities, bicycles and their parts, patent medicines, and chemical products such as mosquito coils, were very popular. These products were sold at a very cheap price and were easily found in the *toko Jepang* that had spread all over the country.

There are several reasons why the Japanese were liked by the people. One reason is that Japanese stores provided excellent service in which the staff were friendly to everyone, including to the indigenous people. This was different from the service given by Europeans where their salesclerks looked down upon the indigenous people. This is one reason why the Japanese stores and their products were favorites of the locals.

Psychologically, the indigenous people tended to choose Japanese products as they were an alternative to other products sold. Products that were sold by the Chinese were disliked by the costumers as it was deemed that Chinese stores were often dishonest in their trading. On the other hand, products and other items sold by the Europeans tended to be more expensive. Buying European/Dutch products also gave

an image of supporting the (Dutch) colonial powers. Japanese products were bought as a symbol of resistance against the Dutch.

This dissertation is a continuation of Goto Kenichi's theory about how the Japanese community in the late colonial period influenced Indonesian independence movements. This dissertation is also a development of Goto Kenichi's previous works. Meanwhile, this dissertation indicates that the anti-colonist attitude was influenced and strengthened by the relations between indigenous people and purchasing Japanese products. Japanese products and their positive images were symbols of resistance against colonial supremacy. The use of Japanese products was a reflection on the effort of finding a national identity and it was reflected in the resistance and struggles of Indonesia.

Among other Japanese products, Jintan pills were the most popular among citizens and they had a specific and unique role. Jintan was the only Japanese branded product in the Netherlands East Indies which would indirectly become a symbol of the nationalist movement, as well as the aspiration of the indigenous people. The visualization of Jintan and the "Jintan imagery" was taken as a symbol that Japan and its "military" supported the Indonesian nationalist movements.

This Jintan propaganda was not design to support the Indonesian nationalist movements. Jintan's trademark designs were not specifically made to propagandize Japan's military to the indigenous people. The trademark was actually made as a reflection of the euphoria of the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 and also of Japan's modernization which was eager in exceeding the West. The symbol of Western modernization was inspired by the German figure Otto von Bismarck, side by side with the symbol for strength and unity of Japan, Emperor Meiji. Jintan's trademark had nothing to do with Japanese military support for the

Indonesian nationalist movements. Even so, there is evidence that the Djintan Company (the name of the Netherlands East Indies branch office of Morishita Hiroshi Yakubo Company (1905-1936) which would come to be known as Morishita Jintan Company) unintentionally fought for Indonesian nationalists (or their organization), which is discussed in the dissertation, specifically *Sarekat Islam* (English: Islamic Association, the first nationalist political party in Indonesia). This organization was founded in 1912. Formerly, *Sarekat Dagang Islam* was an association of Muslim merchants who wanted to advance their economic interests in relation to Chinese merchants in Java, but the association became political. It quickly gained mass support and started working for the self-government of the Netherlands East Indies.

This dissertation found that in its development, Jintan did not only act as an economical commodity, but it also had a role as a political product. This was a result of the interpretation of Jintan's trademark and symbols displayed by Jintan in its packaging and advertisements. For this reason, this dissertation was able to conclude that prior to the occupation of the Netherlands East Indies by the Japanese military government in 1942, the role of Jintan was to show support for Indonesian independence movements through the visualization and imagery of Jintan as a symbol of Japanese/Japan's "military" assistance.

When the Japanese landed and entered the Netherlands East Indies in the beginning of 1942, many Indonesians shouted, "*Hidup Dai Nippon*," (Long Life *Dai Nippon*) and, "*Banzai Dai Nippon*" as was told by Pramudya Ananta Toer, the most famous Indonesian writer. It was based on his experiences during his teenage years in Blora and was written in his memoirs titled *Nyanyian Sunyi Seorang Bisu* (The Mute's Soliloquy: a Memoir).

This study shows that Jintan, as a Japanese “political” product, corrects the historian’s perspective regarding the smooth transition of power from the Dutch colonial government to the Japanese military government. The common argument was that the smooth transition of power was the result of deliberate activities of “Japanese military propaganda”. Nationalists who were part of the elite also admired the Japanese, symbolizing them as the strength of the East that defeated the Russians, a symbol of Western colonial power. In fact, the imagery of Jintan could even pierce the minds of common/lay people, *orang kecil*.

The acceptance of the Japanese military by the common people was rooted in the existence of Japanese products, especially Jintan pills, in their everyday lives. Japanese products, which were popular and loved by the natives, in great part helped by the visualization/symbolization/imagery of Jintan, were effective in spreading a positive image of Japan as being supportive of Indonesia’s independence movements. In short, the acceptance of the Japanese military would not have been smooth had there not been a positive image of Japan beforehand. This is in addition to the wide belief towards the Joyoboyo prophecy that was supported through the visualization of Jintan.

Nevertheless, after a period of time, many groups, elites, politicians, and regular people who were pro-Japan became frustrated as they felt cheated by the fantasy of the Japanese’s friendliness and friendship. The authority of the Japanese military during the three and a half years of occupation would create a lot of lasting trauma for the Indonesian people.

2. The structure of the dissertation

The structure of the dissertation is as follows:

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3. THE DETAILED SUMMARY OF EACH CHAPTER OF THE DISSERTATION

This part explains in detail the contents of each chapter in this dissertation.

1. Introduction

The introduction is made up of six parts. In the first part, the main theme of this dissertation will be explained. The theme of this dissertation is the Japanese business expansions and the penetration of Japanese products into pre-war Indonesia. In this dissertation, consideration will be made on how and why the Japanese commodity came to put a strong influence in the hearts of indigenous people through a detailed analysis on its distribution routes, marketing strategies, products' physical appearance, packaging, and advertisements, etc.

The writer will take the case of Jintan pills produced by the Morishita Jintan Company as an example of the most famous and popular Japanese product in those days. Jintan helped to form a positive image of Japan. The Jintan trademark was often associated with an image of powerful Japan that might help Asian people to fight against colonial powers.

In the second part, the research setting and location will be explained. The location of this study is Java, a very important island in Indonesia, or the Netherlands

East Indies as it was previously known. The island was the political and economical center of the colony and had a large population. It was one of the most densely populated areas of the world at that time. Therefore, the crowded population also encompassed high demands of Japanese imported commodities compared to other islands.

The period researched in this dissertation is between 1905 and 1942. The year 1905 marked the end of the Russo-Japanese War in which the Japanese enjoyed a dramatic victory. On the other hand, the year 1942 was the year in which the Japanese communities returned to Japan and the start of the Pacific War marked by the arrival of Japanese troops in Indonesia.

The fourth part briefly covers a summary of each chapter, including the relations between one chapter and the other. This part also explains previous studies relevant to this dissertation. Previous studies related to this issue can be categorized into three parts: (1) General history of the Japanese expansion into Southeast Asia; (2) Studies focusing on Japanese commercial activities and the influence of Japanese products towards Southeast Asian societies; and (3) studies focusing on Jintan.

The fifth part explains the uniqueness of the dissertation topic. Given the description of previous studies, this dissertation tries to fill the vacancy that has not been thoroughly discussed or studied, namely the expansion of Jintan among indigenous Indonesians during the colonial period and its role on forming a positive image in their hearts. An essential key to the success of the Morishita Jintan Company was the application of its marketing strategies, especially in their global marketing, promotion, and advertisement strategies.

The sixth part discusses the sources of this dissertation. This part explains the collected data for this dissertation including original printed documents from the

Netherlands, Japan, and Indonesia. The sources consisted of official documents from the national archives and vernacular newspapers published in the Netherlands East Indies and Japan. The newspapers were published in Dutch, Japanese, and Malay languages from the 1890s to 1942. Besides newspapers, other printed documents were collected including various newsletters, bulletins, and reports from the actual time.

The dissertation also used both primary and secondary sources. Relevant published and unpublished materials were collected from various places, especially from Tokyo (National Diet Library), Jakarta (Indonesian National Library), the Hague, the Netherlands (Bibliotheek Central, mostly through digital sources from Delpher), and The Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) in Leiden which holds abundant publications published during the Dutch colonial period. Sources were also taken from some parts of Yogyakarta (advertisement collection of Javanese magazines at the Tembi Library).

2. Chapter I: The Japanese Trader Community in the Netherlands East Indies

In Chapter I, the historical background of the Japanese migrants to the Netherlands East Indies is discussed. Therefore, brief attention will be paid to the history of the Japanese who went to the Netherlands East Indies. This chapter is divided into four parts: 1) Historical Background, 2) Population Analysis, 3) Business Strategies and Lifestyles, and 4) The Spies (?)

Chapter I begins with the background of Japan ending its seclusion. 1868 an important point for the start of this dissertation as it was also the start of Japanese migration into the Netherlands East Indies. After 1899 the citizen status of Japanese residents was legally elevated; they were categorized as equal to the status of

Europeans. It described the origins of Japanese immigration and then shows how Japanese business communities developed by focusing on trade activities. In addition, the characteristics of the Japanese migrant communities in the Netherlands East Indies are discussed. Chapter I highlights that although the Japanese had a unique and good strategy for doing business, they also had gained a negative image as spies (*mata-mata*). This negative image was due, in great part, because to the indigenous people, and especially for the Netherlands East Indies government, they were too awkward and too eye-catching in their white suits carrying cameras and maps, especially compared to the Chinese and Europeans.

In the sub-chapter *Japanese Population Analysis (in the Netherlands East Indies)*, there are five parts. The first part compares the number and difference in status of Japanese citizens with other foreign nationalities in the Netherlands East Indies. The discussion begins with an explanation of the number of the Japanese population in the Netherlands East Indies. In another part, the relations between the Japanese and other foreign populations including the European, Chinese, Arabian, and others are discussed. The number of Japanese in the Netherlands East Indies were not significant in number compared with other foreign nationalities, such as the Chinese and Europeans. Second, the development of Japanese communities in the Netherlands East Indies is analyzed. The third part discusses the forerunner of Japanese citizens, the *karayuki-san*, who were of significance during the years 1900-1910s, a period dominated by female prostitutes. The fourth part explains the development of the Japanese population which was dominated by peddler groups who ran and owned *toko Jepang*. Lastly, in the final part, an explanation is given regarding the final years of the Japanese in the Netherlands East Indies who were quietly evacuated by the Japanese government.

The next sub-chapter is *Business Strategies and Lifestyle*. In this section, a highlight of how the typical Japanese citizen conducted business in the Netherlands East Indies will be given. This is an important part of the dissertation as it explains the development of how the Japanese conducted their businesses from time to time in the Netherlands East Indies which is tightly tied to how the Japanese products were marketed in the NEI. This chapter is made up of four sub-chapters which are 1) The Peddlers, 2) Japanese Medicine Peddlers, 3) *Toko Jepang*, and finally, 4) Shipping.

The first generation of the Japanese trader community mostly started their businesses by acting as peddlers, especially Japanese medicine traders. The appearance of Japanese peddlers was more eye catching compared to those of other ethnicities as they looked more “European” and “modern.” With their striking appearances, Japanese peddlers often became a target of suspicion. Another unique characteristic only attributed to the Japanese peddlers, bringing a map and a camera, is explained in this section. It seemed that the maps and cameras were standard equipment for peddlers as they might also work as mobile photography studios. Photo studios owned by the Japanese also became the source of suspicion for the alleged espionage activities. These maps and cameras raised suspicion for the colonial police.

The next level of characteristics of the Japanese who distributed commodities/products in the Netherlands East Indies was as shop owners or shop keepers/assistants of *toko Jepang*. Generally, after several hard years of peddling and wandering to sell their merchandise, they would open small retail stores (locally called *toko Jepang*, literally means “Japanese shop” in Indonesian) all over the Netherlands East Indies. However, the category as small-scale commerce was dominant. This community is almost interpreted as starting their businesses with little capital, very diligent, hard workers, and sometimes even awkward because of their

business lifestyle. There was a shift of trend in regard to the working status of Japanese emigrants to the Netherlands East Indies since 1917. The number of medicine peddlers started to decrease in the 1920s.

Since then, their profession became either as owners or staff members of a *toko Jepang* or engaging in other forms of businesses such as being managers of plantations or staff members at Japanese export-import trading companies. The number of peddlers declined drastically. By the end of the *toko Jepang* period, the final group, which was referred to as the *chuzai-in* category, grew. This group is similar to expatriates or company workers. Normally, the offices of those companies are based in Japan. The workers of those companies were then sent to the Netherlands East Indies. During the final years, these groups of *chuzai-in* would dominate the Japanese population in the Netherlands East Indies in number, resulting in a shift in the influence of the Japanese population which was once usually held by successful Japanese store owners.

The next section discusses shipping. In the history of Japanese community business in the Netherlands East Indies, this is one important factor. This is caused by other large business groups, such as the Chinese and Europeans, who did not concentrate their focus on the utilization of shipping at that time. Since the beginning of the 1900s, Japan, as well as its trade communities, studied a shipping system which was able to bring products to isolated locations in the Netherlands East Indies. On the other hand, due to their different and unique methods, suspicion towards the Japanese rose, especially from the Netherlands East Indies government who suspected that the formation of these shipping lanes was a Japanese strategy to take over the market and to dominate shipping lanes in order to penetrate or to colonize the Netherlands East Indies.

The stigma of a spy (or *mata-mata* in the Indonesian language) was given towards the Japanese population, especially by the government of the Netherlands East Indies due to sentiments towards the Japanese which had grown since 1899 when the Japanese were legally given equal status as the Europeans. The rumors that the Japanese were spies grew in the 1900s even though there was not enough evidence to prove this myth.

The myth and spy stigma continued to grow until the 1930s, mostly caused by aggressive Japanese military expansions into China. The myth was also believed by the indigenous population. This was caused by the business strategies and lifestyle of the Japanese population which was deemed strange and unique, or uncommon. For these reasons, the subchapter *The Spies (?): Threat and Fear from the North* discusses the root and history of how the spy myth stuck to the Japanese in the pre-war era.

The analysis begins with how the suspicion that the Japanese population consisted of spies began in the eyes of the indigenous population and the colonial government. In the final analysis, a data archive from the Netherlands that shows the suspicion towards the arrival of Japanese medicine peddlers in the 1910s was used.

3. Chapter IV: The Business Expansion of the Morishita Jintan Company in the Netherlands East Indies (1916-1942)

Chapter IV focuses on the analysis of the Morishita Jintan Company business expansions in the Netherlands East Indies. This chapter is divided into six sub-chapters; 1) Djintan Pills in the Netherlands East Indies, 2) The Role of Tsutsumibayashi Kazue and Ogawa Rihachiro, 3) Methods and Strategies of Advertising Jintan including the sub chapters Global strategies, local adaptation,

Advertising to the Indigenous Society: *Pribumisasi* (Indigenization), and Modernization, 4) Advertising Jintan in *Kaoem Moeda* Newspaper, 5) Signboards and Outdoor Advertising, and 6) Jintan Influences on the Formation of Japan and Japanese Imagery in Indonesian History divided into The Acronym and the Prophecy, Djintan, Thamrin, and the *Volksraad*, The Fantasy of “Jintan Imagery.”

This chapter illustrates the history of how Morishita Hiroshi Yakubo (former name for the Morishita Jintan Company), as Djintan Company, established branch offices in the Netherlands East Indies. It explains that Jintan was greeted warmly in several places in Asia, including the Netherlands East Indies.

Morishita Hiroshi Yakubo started the business in the Netherlands East Indies through contact with Tsutsumibayashi Kazue, a leader of the Japanese trader community who owned Nan’yo Shokai based in Semarang. Seeing the prospect for business in the region, in 1916 a contract was signed with Tsutsumibayashi which represented three companies; Nichiran Boeki, Nan’yo Shokai, and R. Ogawa Company. Jintan pills would be sold in *toko Jepang*. Indigenous and Chinese stores would then become resellers of Jintan. Jintan became popular as it was promoted through advertisements in public places and in local newspapers.

One of the key successes of the Morishita Jintan Company was its unique conceptual idea of advertising, especially in advertising in local newspapers. Its advertisements highlighted a modern and healthy family life orientation; a similar concept was applied to its advertisements in newspapers in Japan, Taiwan, and China. Chapter IV also discusses the strategies of the Morishita Jintan Company in expanding its products to the global market and the integral use of advertisements.

Close examination of advertisements in vernacular newspapers, especially in *Kaoem Moeda*, was made. This chapter shows that the *pribumisasi* part was an

important part of the marketing strategy. The differences in Jintan advertisements from the Netherlands East Indies and other countries such as Taiwan, China, and Japan are discussed, especially in identifying the different characteristics in Jintan advertisements in the Netherlands East Indies. Advertisements in the Netherlands East Indies added local elements within the advertisements. For example, using illustrations of a male noble adapted from famous figures at that time such as the triad of Ernest Douwes Dekker, Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo, and Ki Hajar Dewantara, who established the *Indische Partij*, the first political party in the Dutch Indies.

In the indigenous newspapers, especially *Kaoem Moeda*, advertisements, *wayang* (Indonesian traditional shadow-puppet) and Indonesian traditional clothes such as *kebaya*, *blangkon*, and batik, were also used. Advertisements in the Netherlands East Indies were also more simple as compared to those in Japan. Advertisements in Taiwan often campaigned Japanese propaganda. In the Netherlands East Indies however, there were no indications of Japanese military campaigns.

Jintan advertisements in the Netherlands East Indies were not only published in newspapers. There are indications from Dutch newspapers that many large Jintan signboards were set up along rail lines in large cities in Java, such as Bandung and Semarang. Jintan advertisements were also displayed in Japanese stores throughout the Netherlands East Indies where the pills were sold.

Other than in newspapers and signboards, poster advertisements were also often found in public places. It is known that these Jintan posters were often displayed on station walls and on large rocks, as well. The Djintan Company also advertised Jintan pills through parades. These parades were done by marching from village to village. Jintan pill samples were also given out to the public during the parades. Through effective promotions and advertisements, Jintan succeeded in gaining the

love of the people of the Netherlands East Indies. What's more is that Jintan also succeeded in influencing the political view of the people of the Netherlands East Indies.

The significance of the influence of Jintan and its visualization became a topic for rumor and heated discussion within the Indonesian elite and lower classes. Thamrin popularized the acronym for DJINTAN (*Djenderal Ini Nanti Tolong Anak Negeri* means this general will help the children of Nation), which was a unique advertisement of Jintan pills to the Netherlands East Indies in front of *Volksraad* (the Netherlands East Indies' People's Council)

In this way, Jintan's effect on Indonesian society was covered. This chapter answers the question that there was NO indication that the Japanese government was involved in Jintan's propaganda in the Netherlands East Indies. This chapter shows that Japanese imageries were formed by Jintan's visualization among Indonesian society. The most important part of this chapter shows that Jintan significantly impacted and stimulated Indonesian anti-colonial sentiments. It indicated that there was a connection between Jintan's (read: Japan's) imagery and Indonesian society.

4. Conclusion

In the Conclusion, there are three parts. In the first sub-chapter, titled *Jintan as a Catalyst*, Jintan is shown as a Japanese political product. This argument corrects the historian's perspective regarding the smooth transition of power from the Dutch colonial government to the Japanese military government. The common argument was that the smooth transition of power was the result of deliberate activities of "Japanese military propaganda." Nationalists who were part of the elite also admired

the Japanese, symbolizing them as the strength of the East that defeated the Russians, a symbol of Western colonial power. In fact, the imagery of Jintan could pierce the minds of common/lay people, *orang kecil*.

However, the acceptance of the Japanese military by the common people was rooted in the existence of Japanese products, especially Jintan pills, in their everyday lives. Japanese products, which were popular and loved by the natives in great part helped by the visualization/symbolization/imagery of Jintan, were effective in spreading a positive image of Japan as being supportive of Indonesia's independence movements. In short, the acceptance of the Japanese military would not have been smooth had there not been a positive image of Japan beforehand. This is in addition to the wide belief towards the Joyoboyo prophecy that was supported through the visualization of Jintan.

The second part consists of a summary of the entire dissertation. In the third part, the writer relates a personal experience of growing up with Japanese products which would become a part of her everyday life.

Thus is history, which is always colored by two phenomenons which are opposites but will continuously walk side by side: change and continuity. Of course, a rise and fall in relations between Japan and Indonesia politically and economically had previously occurred. From all these changes and dynamics, there is something that will continuously give a feeling of déjà vu to the writer; the inevitability that Japanese products – in small or large numbers, depending on the current dynamics – will keep adding to the lifestyle of Indonesians.