

ASIAN CROSSINGS

Travel Writing on China, Japan and Southeast Asia

Edited by

Steve Clark and Paul Smethurst



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— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

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Introduction

Steve Clark

Within an Anglo-American context, the academic study of travel writing coincides fairly precisely with the emergence of postcolonial studies, for which the genre serves as a convenient paradigm of cross-cultural encounter, inevitably inscribed with the dynamics of power relations between centre and periphery.¹ The study of travelogue thus both enlarges the traditional literary canon and challenges any residual ideal of the classic text as aesthetically self-contained and autonomous. However, the applicability of such postcolonial models of reading may immediately be queried in an Eastern Asian context, whose primary geographical focus is China and Japan, expanding to include the somewhat amorphous zone of Southeast Asia.²

Edward Said's initial thesis of a monolithic Western will-to-power is almost entirely based on the Near East, with little consideration of the markedly different practices of British colonialism in India, let alone the complex and diverse European relations with Eastern Asia. The mercantile integration of the region may be traced back through the millennium-long evolution of the Silk Road trade route, and certainly predates significant European intervention by several centuries.³ The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have undoubtedly seen a shift in the global balance of power back to Asia.⁴ Whether or not one accepts the Oriental globalisation thesis in its strong form, it cannot be disputed that many technological innovations originated from China in particular (the calendar, compass, gunpowder, print and paper).⁵ Recent revisionist histories of the industrial revolution indicate that, in the seventeenth century, methods of production and means of transport in China, India and

Japan for goods such as porcelain and textiles were much more advanced than in the West. In the course of the eighteenth century, Europe began to compete in an aggressive way, developing rival manufacturing systems and copying Asian goods in order to appeal to the consumerist appetite of a rapidly expanding new middle class.⁶

The case for China as a world centre to rival and surpass the West can be found not only in its famous ‘firsts’, but also in its massive one-way trade with America and Europe which at the end of the eighteenth century was worth close to \$50 million a year, nearly all paid for in bullion due to restrictions on foreigners selling their wares into China. The introduction of opium would change all of this. But China’s image of itself as the only true empire in a world of tribute-bearing barbarians (as any non-Confucian culture would be categorised) remained unshaken until the First Opium War (1839–42). Even up to the end of the eighteenth century (as demonstrated by the Macartney embassy [1793]), China felt no reason to treat the King of Great Britain’s ambassador any differently from any other supplicant emissary. Even partial acceptance of such a viewpoint requires a move away from an Atlanticist emphasis in narratives of world history: Columbus after all accidentally encountered America while intending to voyage to Cathay; Marco Polo was travelling to, rather than from, what he knew to be the dominant imperial centre in China.⁷

Said’s claim that Britain was in ‘an imperial class by itself, bigger, grander and more imposing than any other’ pales into insignificance against the *longue durée* of China’s imperium.⁸ Its inability to resist the superior firepower of the British gunboats in the First Opium War, and vulnerability to subsequent foreign incursions, though hugely damaging to Chinese prestige and still smarting in the Chinese psyche, may be regarded as a comparatively self-contained period, nicely bracketed by the colonial history of Hong Kong, ceded to the British in the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 and resuming Chinese sovereignty in 1997. This interlude is fairly brief compared to, for example, the collapse of the state for three centuries from AD 317 to 589 or the Mongol occupation from AD 1215 to 1368. *China: The Long-lived Empire* with its vast internal market, demographic strength and rapid industrialisation, is likely to assert its regional sovereignty ever more vigorously throughout the coming century.⁹

Japan has never been colonised, with the arguable exception of post-war US occupation, though any credence to claims of cultural exceptionalism (*nihonjinron*) must be qualified by its early dependence on Chinese and Korean culture.¹⁰ From the Meiji era onwards, it has sought to establish itself as a latecomer empire modelled on European powers; the goal of control of raw

materials, envisaged in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, has been largely achieved after the Great Pacific War through economic neo-colonialism rather than military conquest.

With the Portuguese and Dutch holding parts of Indonesia, the French in Vietnam and Cambodia, and the British notably reluctant to acquire territory beyond what was necessary to secure trade routes, no colonial power possessed clear ascendancy in the region. It was possible to play regimes off against one another and retain sovereignty, as King Mongkur (1851–68) and Chulalongkorn (1868–1910) succeeded in doing in Siam. The tensions internal to the region should also not be underestimated, as well as the capacity for a variety of nations within the area to regard themselves self-consciously as empire-builders in their own right, from the Angkor regime in northern Cambodia through to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.¹¹

Furthermore, the recent economic resurgence of the region may be seen as founded to a considerable extent on the perpetuation of colonial infrastructures, education systems and administrative elites, in contrast to the majority of African and Caribbean states. The respective economic fortunes of Jamaica and Singapore, both granted independence in the early 1960s, make a striking and painful contrast. Japan was never formally colonised; recent debate on modernisation, however, has emphasised that the necessary infrastructures must have been already at least partially in place to account for the speed of subsequent transformation in the Meiji era.

Imperial-gaze models derived from Mary Louise Pratt are difficult to apply to travel writing about a region that has always contained many of the world's great urban centres. The original moment of contact involves a relationship of comparative parity and at times outright subordination: Magellan, for example, was enlisted into and eventually killed fighting local wars. There is no equivalent to the eighteenth-century South Sea voyages, or to Cook's power of naming supposed *terra incognita*.¹² Tokyo was the world's biggest city between 1600 and 1800; when the Macartney embassy arrived in 1793, Beijing was hugely more populous and imposing than contemporary European capitals; and since their foundation, Singapore, Hong Kong, Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok have all served as dynamic and highly cosmopolitan international entrepôts.¹³

Asians are travellers too, sometimes in forms inviting comparison with those of Europe, sometimes in distinctive regional traditions. The impact of the Chinese diaspora, travel without return, may be seen throughout the world; and within the country itself there have regularly been large-scale internal migrations due to the implosion of population vacuums or periodic bouts of political coercion (such as the exodus of intellectuals [*zhiqing*] to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution). In Japan, tribute missions to China

are prominent from an early date (seventeen between AD 607 and 838–39, the final one recorded in the diary of the monk Ennin); even during the period of self-imposed seclusion (*sakoku*), with the practice of *sankin kotai*, the aristocracy were obliged to maintain a residence in the capital to pay tribute to the shogun and to visit their family members obliged to live in the Imperial Palace as hostages (*hitojichi*); and the process of late nineteenth-century technology transfer produced a host of memoirs of returnees (*ken'ou shisetu dan*) recounting their often traumatic encounters with Western modernity.¹⁴

The essays in this volume continually negotiate the vexed question of how far it is possible to transpose generic norms and developmental sequences based on European travelogue, whose multiple variants include pilgrimage, voyage literature, Grand Tour, natural history, picturesque sightseeing, and whose participants include colonial administrator, journalist-spy and post-modern pasticheur.

In both European and Asian traditions, the journey necessarily encodes ideology (what James Clifford in *Routes* terms its 'historical taintedness'), religious crusade, mercantile prospectus, mercenary campaign, imperial expedition and missionary indoctrination.¹⁵ Similarly, there are the negative variants of diverse forms of captivity narrative such as exile, hostage, migrant and slave, and the distinctive female subcategories of not merely accompanying wife, but also of concubine and domestic worker. Yet even apparent similarity may be deceptive. In pilgrimage-narrative, for example, how far can the Buddhist concept of bodhisattva be mapped on to Christian models of expulsion from and continued desire for paradise, and a Biblical typology of interminable expiation (the motivating force of Mandeville)?¹⁶ From the perspective of global homogenisation, pilgrimage may be seen as operating on the same schema as tourism. Asian populations become travellers when they reach a sufficient level of affluence, similarly besotted by sacred sites and souvenir relics.¹⁷ (The Chinese have allegedly visited Japan primarily for Tokyo Disneyland, an attraction now likely to diminish subsequent to the opening of a version in Hong Kong.)

Prior to the emergence of postcolonial studies, narratives of the development of the genre of travelogue in a European context tended to concentrate on crossovers with the rise of the novel. In Japan, however, the genealogy of literary traditions is different. The *Tale of Genji*, a female-authored chronicle of considerable psychological complexity, predates other forms. There is no equivalent to the European evolution from romance to realist conventions, in particular the style of notation of particulars common to Dampier and Defoe; rather a reverse movement occurs from a highly self-conscious form of introspective lyricism to more directly referential description of the physical environment.

In Europe, the first classical tour-guide was Pausanias (c. AD 200), though Herodotus or even Caesar might also be nominated as proto-travelogues. However, as a distinctive combination of testimony, reflection, and narrativised anecdote, it would be uncontentious to regard the form as predominantly post-Renaissance (even granted medieval precedents such as Mandeville, Marco Polo and Columbus). However travel writing appears as a literary genre (*nikki bungaku*) much earlier in Japan (934–35) than in Europe, where it rapidly becomes a highly sophisticated and aestheticised form, as Robert F. Wittkamp argues in ‘Between Topos and Topography: Japanese Early Modern Travel Literature’. The Japanese tradition is initially defined by concepts such as *jōshu* (mood, feeling, taste) and *hyohaku* (desire to wander), recognisable by its short narrative sequences, sentimental reflections and obligatory mention of place names. These seldom identify new locations, preferring instead to refer to what has always already been cited. There is a reverse sequence of the European development from cartographic survey to dramatisation of interior subjectivity. Instead the exquisite lyricism of Basho’s *Narrow Road to the Interior* (1694) gives way to the information model represented by the copious writings of Sugae Masumi (d. 1829).

The question of equivalence is raised by Wittkamp’s essay — the extent to which the Kinsei period in Japan (early seventeenth to late nineteenth century) can be mapped on to the European Middle Ages or early Modern Period. The aesthetics of the British picturesque are seemingly compatible with (and may well owe much to) Chinese-Japanese landscape art, but are bound up with the development of internal tourism during the Napoleonic wars, with its dependence on an expanded class-base and improved infrastructure of transportation. It also perhaps lacks the immediate political dimension of exclusion from the power-centre of the court which is a powerful and inescapable subtext not only in Basho but also in his Chinese precursors such as Li Po or Li Bai.

Trade Missions to China

The relative balance of power between Europe and Asia at the end of the eighteenth century is made brutally apparent in the reception of the Macartney embassy (1792–94). This is mediated through the multiple and competing narratives of Aeneas Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China* (1795) and John Barrow, *Travels in China: a Narrative of the British Embassy to China* (1805) — with an additional text by George Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of*

China (1797), supplemented by the publication of Macartney's own original notes in 1962. Joe Sample's essay "'The First Appearance of This Celebrated Capital"; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Chinaman' may be regarded as a test case for generic mutation through the stages of letter, archive and published narrative; and for travelogue as diplomacy, with specific political consequences, a high degree of cultural visibility, and an editing out of the highly collaborative nature of the endeavour (the legation was over 3000-strong). Barrow is better known for his South African travelogue, made famous by Mary Louise Pratt's exposition of the model of 'contact zone'.¹⁸ At the moment of arrival at Beijing, however, the imposition of the imperial gaze does not prefigure subsequent conquest, but instead meets with an emphatic snub. The failure of the mission may be attributed to the lack of comprehension of the necessary rituals of self-prostration. Alternatively, China's refusal to deal with other nation states with anything like parity, and the insistence on tribute, kowtowing and draconian measures to protect trade (foreigners being afforded no rights whatsoever in the only port they were permitted, with all trade handled by Chinese middlemen) were the cause not only of this specific diplomatic fiasco but also ultimately of the Opium Wars. This is travelogue as humiliation, a cruel comedy of presumptuousness and mis-recognition. The mission arrives as vagabonds, paupers, almost ludicrously bedraggled, as Anderson wincingly acknowledges. Prior accounts of China had inevitably been mediated by the encomiums delivered by Jesuit missionaries and a mythical chinoiserie becoming ever more tangible in the form of export of consumer goods. These initial impulses of curiosity and wonder, evident in Anderson's emphasis on the carnivalesque, are punctured by the vengefully deflating observations of Barrow, instrumental in establishing a new rhetoric of China as inferior copy, stagnant, impotent and requiring prising open for both trade and missionary endeavour.

The impact of the Ship Amherst voyage and subsequent narrations is analysed by Ting Man Tsao, in 'A Reading of Readings: English Travel Books, Audiences, and Modern Chinese History, c.1832 to the Present'. The original journey involved a compact between Hugh Lindsay and Charles Gutzlaff, an alliance of British East India Company and missionary zeal. Both were motivated by the desire for the opening up of China to free trade and faith. The generic template for their self-presentation alludes back to the piratical heroes of Hakluyt, whose impetuous individualistic actions are to be celebrated over the pragmatic circumspection of state or apathetic complacency of monopoly. Even in the home culture, however, there was no unitary Orientalist reception. The cost of books and periodicals determines various strata of readership, each with different expectations and concerns. The incursion was

frequently seen as reckless and incendiary, endangering rather than promoting both economic and religious interests. Female-oriented periodicals stressed the liberation of Chinese and Indian women (poor sisters) emphasising the potential role for female missionaries. Those directed to working-class constituencies were appealing to conservative values, sceptical of both trade and missionary proselytising, and intent on conveying an apparently apolitical knowledge. From a Chinese perspective, the incident has come to exemplify the humiliation of a weak and corrupt Qing regime in its failure to retaliate against foreign provocation. It, therefore, incorporates an imperial perspective into its own historiographic tradition. Yet there is no necessary linkage between the outcome of the later Opium Wars and the voyage itself, of which contemporary Chinese testimony was largely dismissive.

In 'Travel and Business: The First Colombian in China', Jacinto Fombona investigates Nicolás Tanco Armero as an exemplar of a Latin American cultural elite, simultaneously critical of and complicit in imperial exploitation. Armero's outspoken denunciation of British involvement in the opium trade (providing first-hand testimony of the Opium Wars and diagnosis of the weakness of cohesion that permitted such incursion) combines with an economic rationale of providing indentured labour to Cuba to replace slavery (it is a noteworthy feature of the Chinese diaspora that there was already a sizeable population present in Cuba). His scruples did not, however, prevent him from utilising opium clippers (as did Gutzlaff), or from eventually abandoning his supposedly invaluable native informant Achuy. His travelogue presents an overlay of Latin American and European perspectives, of new nation and old empire, whose audience is an imagined community exemplary of an early form of political modernity. The narrative itself is somewhat oddly prefaced by an introduction which denounces both the desire and performance of travel, resulting in a stylistic paradox of the journey being justified by often highly ornate disparagements of adornment of style. In Armero's text, China is crystallised (to use Herder's term) into a form notably more vivid and resonant in the Latin American cultural imaginary than actual Spanish colonies such as the Philippines. This is travel as loss and diminishment rather than as an enhancement of power, in which a utopian commitment to both secular progress and religious eschatology is counterbalanced by strategies of sombre remembrance.

The Travels of Isabella Bird in China, Japan and Southeast Asia

The next three essays offer versions of Isabella Bird (described by contemporaries, accurately enough, as 'Samson abroad'). Her oeuvre provides

a usefully problematic exception to attempts to define an autonomous sphere or tradition of female travelogue. The first woman member of the Royal Geographical Society prefers robust taxonomy to empathetic phenomenology. If Bird deserves to be regarded as hero, it is for more traditional reasons than a dialogic openness to alterity.

Bird laments the Meiji project of modernisation that her own presence confirms: the more Japan resembles an advanced industrial culture, the more it is disparaged for vulgar imitation and loss of a putative authenticity. Shizen Ozawa, in 'Erasing Footsteps: On Some Differences between the First and Popular Editions of Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*' analyses the political implications of the revisions made to this hugely influential text. The idealisation of the Ainu people, the culminating northern point of her journey, itself consigns them to historical defeat, victims of the racial struggle for existence. The composition of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* goes through several stages: familiar epistle to sister, expansive first edition, revised and contracted popular version. Each has a different implied readership, though who precisely controlled each stage remains tantalisingly elusive. There is a progressive heightening of authority, by downgrading the mediation of native informants (the continual business negotiation of the 'squeeze' or commission), not acknowledging dependence on other authorities (notably Sir Ernest Satow), and a whittling down of the comedy of cross-cultural encounter at her own expense. Particularly noteworthy is the changing role of missionaries, praised for their introduction of modern medicine and methods of schooling and so agents of progress, but also seen as ambivalent intruders: a Christian education making it more difficult, if not impossible, for girls to find husbands. There is an ultimate admission of the impossibility of converting Japan at the same time as acknowledging its impressively self-fulfilled task of modernisation to prevent colonisation by the West.

Isabella Bird's *The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither* (1883) immediately invites comparison with two other near contemporary female travelogues, Emily Innes's *The Chersonese with the Gilding Off* (1885) and Florence Caddy's *To Siam and Malaya in the Duke of Sutherland's Yacht 'Sans Peur'* (1889). Eddie Tay, in 'Discourses of Difference: The Malaya of Isabella Bird, Emily Innes and Florence Caddy', examines both resemblances and divergences within these texts. Bird offers a form of mercantile taxonomy: in an unexpected reversal it is the British colonial officials such as Hugh Clifford who are feminised, as proponents of cross-cultural empathy. Her primary antagonism is towards the Portuguese and Dutch ('little better than buccaneers'). The history of colonisation prior to European intervention in the area is alluded to but passed over. Innes, as wife of a minor colonial official, shows rancorous

envy towards Bird as an interloper, for whom travel serves as an aristocratic pursuit and leisure activity rather than as a form of incarceration. There are intermittent outbursts of paranoia, demonising both devious natives and the harsh environment; and the insights into the practical workings and inequalities of empire are articulated through self-pity for the suffering of the colonist (or in this case, more specifically, his wife). She can present herself as slave sympathising with other slaves, but in the course of criticising empire, favours a policy of outright annexation of Malaya rather than continuing its indeterminate protectorate status. Caddy embodies the onset of luxury tourism in the region, with colonial power structures reduplicated in the partitioning of space on the yacht in which she travels (the guest of the Duke of Sutherland, en route to bidding for a railway construction project). She does, however, show unexpected admiration for the industry of the Chinese in both Malaya and Singapore — wealth-generation centred on a non-European culture (though contrasted with the sloth of the Malays themselves). All three women are seen as not merely complicit but active in the promotion of colonisation. It is argued that rather than displaying greater nuance or openness, their narratives do not reject or subvert but rather reinforce both imperial and domestic ideology.

Julia Kuehn's essay, 'China of the Tourists: Women and the Grand Tour of the Middle Kingdom, 1878–1923', identifies a first generation of women's travel in China exemplified in Isabella Bird's *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond* (1899) and Constance Gordon Cumming's *Wanderings in China* (1888). Bird adopts a traditional masculine mode of travel as ordeal, Herculean physical endeavour, whereas Cumming perhaps may be categorised as a proto-modern consumerist sightseer. (The stylistic difference was mirrored in a personal relationship of mutual detestation.) The process of selection and evaluation of primary sites to visit establishes a reiterative structure of pre-recognition, seeing what has been seen before, with the final destination inevitably the urban centre of Peking. Tourist infrastructure had been established early after 1879: China was an already highly developed state, though with limited transport connections to the interior. The second generation of female travellers become more concerned with epiphanies of alterity, recognising parallels with Asian women who themselves are capable of reverse journeying to the West (as in the case of Mrs. Soong Ching Ling). The porous boundaries between travelogue and guidebook are demonstrated in Eliza Scidmore's *Westward to the Far East: A Guide to the Principal Cities of China and Japan* (1892); there is a growing overlap with popular novelistic representations (such as those of Pearl Buck) and also an unexpected degree of internationalisation. As Ellen Newbold LaMotte remarks in *Peking Dust* (1919), 'Fifth Avenue has nothing compared to Peking department stores'.

Confounding the Imperial Gaze in Southeast Asia

Douglas Kerr's essay, 'Ruins in the Jungle: Nature and Narrative', positions the reflective colonial traveller in the perplexing space of the jungle. Hugh Clifford reappears, this time in the guise of novelist and short story writer alongside Leonard Woolf as specimens of fin-de-siècle/late imperial travelogue. This is the colonial administrator as traveller, aware that the material benefits of modernity come at the cost of the inevitable erasure of native cultures and habitats, an encroachment personified by the very act of testimony and representation. The text displays not feminine empathy, but a masculine pathology of erotic engulfment, which may be seen as signifying a death-drive yearning for annihilation on both the individual and cultural level. The West has no jungle, the material and symbolic realm which entraps within a futile, endless and ultimately lethal circulation. Such Gothic and apocalyptic motifs have a distant ancestry in Caesar's representations of the Gallic barbarians and offer a prolepsis of an ultimate termination of empire (glimpsed in Kipling's 'Recessional'). Rather than being mastered by the imperial gaze, the landscape becomes an object for an elusive but all-powerful sublime experience of the jungle. Historical impasse is resolved by the mythologising of geographical specificity, with the final dissolution of the division between nature and culture in the recurrent image of the ruined and abandoned city (most vividly exemplified by Angkor Wat in Cambodia).

An Odd Couple in East Asia

Maureen Mulligan's essay focuses on two accounts of the same trans-Asian journey through China, India and Tibet: Peter Fleming's *News from Tartary* (1936) and Ella Maillart's *Forbidden Journey; from Peking to Kashmir* (1937). There is divergence of both gender and national viewpoint: Fleming, brisk, pragmatic, alert to the complexities of the Great Game, possibly already attached to the Intelligence Services (as were Freya Stark and Rebecca West); and Maillart, experienced journalist, stoic, resilient, durable, showing a Swiss neutrality and an attraction to Eastern spirituality. The journey for her is both literal and introspective: physical return cannot be reconciled with narrative closure. Their respective travelogues may be seen as exemplifying Fussell's thesis of the 1930s as the golden age of genuine travel thereafter supplanted by mere tourism;¹⁹ equally, the couple may be seen as exemplifying generic features of the 1930s Hollywood screwball scripts as they 'act in a comedy' of banter, parity and vivacity. Both texts refuse the convention of romantic

consummation, though what Fleming's fiancée in England made of their physical proximity remains an open question. The traditional motifs of forbidden journey and disguise as metamorphosis are combined with a redefinition of the traveller-hero, loyal companion, and also dwelling-in-travel, construction of an ideal residence while in motion.

Travels in and out of Japan

Post-1880 Japan as a latecomer empire may be regarded as simultaneously periphery with regard to Europe and America, and centre of its own emergent regional hegemony over such territories as Taiwan. Sympathy for countries under colonial rule (e.g. the Philippines annexed first by Spain, then by the United States) was by no means incompatible with Japan's own imperial ambitions. This paradoxical status at times resulted in a self-conscious process of mimicry, regarding cultural identity as a commodity that may be faked for international circulation, as Yukari Yoshihara demonstrates in her essay, 'Kawakami Otojiro's Trip to the West and Taiwan at the Turn of the Twentieth Century'. What is striking is not only the peripatetic globetrotting of the impresario's company, but the extent of the Japanese diaspora, with emigrant communities both eager for representations of their home culture and protesting at the self-caricature offered by Kawakami's shows. There are no actresses used in traditional Japanese drama; but as foreign audiences demanded a geisha, one was provided: Sado Yacco, the first Japanese actress was born in the United States.

Kawakami Otojiro is thus positioned as both a subversive outsider with regard to Japanese theatrical traditions and as a cynical agent of imperial expansion, utilising extravagant shows rather than highbrow art. *The Sino-Japanese War* becomes a pageant but one that must be played out in traditional costume rather than with contemporary weaponry, for American audiences whose fascination with the exotic combines with unease at the actualities of Meiji modernisation. The Japanese troupe displayed no scruples about pandering to American jingoism in the wake of the 1898 war with Spain ('Hooray Dewey'). Shakespearean texts are shown as capable of being deployed in the service of Asiatic imperialism, through the staging of *Othello* during a period of native Taiwanese uprisings against Japanese occupation. The structure of demonisation of and fascination with indigenous culture evident in Kawakami Otojiro's adaptation is equally apparent in the human zoos on display at international expositions during the period. Japan stages itself for Western consumption, but also insists on a strict racial hierarchy for

other groups subject to its internal and external colonial dominance such as Taiwanese and Ainu.

David Taylor's essay, 'Shaking the Buddhas: Lafcadio Hearn in Japan (1890–1904)', explores this curious figure who may be seen as an early cultural hybrid and product of proto-globalisation: Greek-Irish origin, raised in Ireland and England, working as a journalist in the United States and the West Indies before settling in Japan (assuming both citizenship and the name of Yakumo Koizumi). Hearn's attempted acculturation is undercut by the limitations of his linguistic competence and consequent dependence on both his wife and native informants (underplayed if not altogether elided out of his travelogues). His nostalgia for an authentic Japan may be seen as a form of repression of the accelerated process of modernisation that the culture was undergoing. The fin-de-siècle exquisiteness of his prose, alternating a curious stasis with periodic vivid movement, may be read as simultaneous appropriation and attentiveness. As a parallel to Otojiro, his work offers the phenomenon of a version of japonaiserie originally addressed (and sold) to foreign audiences, mediated through the projection of such elements as Gothic and folktale, which is then re-imported to offer a seemingly authentic form of national identity by the Japanese themselves (among whom Hearn's reputation remains much higher than abroad).

Katy Hindson's essay, "'Chambres d'Asie, chambres d'ailleurs": Nicole-Lise Bernheim's Vertical Travels in Asia', compares two of the French writer's *récits de voyage* : *Chambres d'ailleurs* (1986), and *Saisons japonaises* (1999). In contrast to a French tradition of travelogues on Japan composed almost entirely by men, these are preoccupied with rooms, homes and shelters, as opposed to the non-places of postmodernity. These may be seen as corresponding to what Clifford terms 'dwelling-in-travelling',²⁰ and offering (as with Maillart) an alternative phenomenology of travel which involves a reconstitution rather than abandonment of home; a form of microscopic observation involving deceleration and inertia rather than continual movement. This mode of burrowing down ('nid douillet') attempts to negotiate and reclaim the archetypal, if not stereotypical, identification of the female with the domestic sphere. In Bernheim's first narrative, the relationship with her lover takes precedence over engagement with the native population, who are restricted to mere functional and instrumental roles; in the second, a greater length of duration and emphasis on the banal, anecdotal and everyday allows her to establish dialogic bonds with a surrogate family. The melancholy lyricism of self-performance generates an illusion of vulnerability, which may however be regarded as ultimately as manipulative and governed by ulterior motives as more traditional forms of representation. Certainly this would be indicated by

the anger displayed by the host family at Bernheim taking photographs for commercial purposes. There remains the risk of yearning for reciprocity resulting in reification of a purely fantasy other and an idealisation of the state of ignorance (evident in the manifest lack of any linguistic competence). One might relate this to Bernheim's avoidance of specific sites of French colonial incursion, most obviously Vietnam, and also to a more general tendency to avoid questions of guilt and reparation in recent French *récits de voyages*.

Mark Meli's essay, 'World Journey of My Heart and Homestay in the World: Travel Programming and Contemporary Japanese Culture', focuses on two specific shows: *Sekai wa ga kokoro no tabi/World Journey of My Heart* (running for 463 shows between 1993 and 2003); and *Sekai ururun taizaiki/Homestay in the World*. This raises the issue of generic mutation within televisual conventions: the persona fronting, the scripting and editing techniques, the inevitably collaborative status of the production, and the influence of advertising and revenue concerns. Such programming may seem to offer primarily a vicarious mode of satisfaction, but the centrality of travel in Japan was noted by Kaempfer as early as 1691. More recently, distinctive groups such as parasite singles and affluent retirees have emerged as particularly itinerant; international travel also serves more generally as status commodity. *World Journey* offers a sophisticated exploration of the relation of individual and collective memory by allowing a temporal regression into early memories, family roots and formative encounters, introduced by an unusually wide range of (ethnically mixed) presenters. Historical links with Holland and Portugal are explored, as well as the frequently taboo memory of war in Asia. *Homestay in the World* stresses travel as residence but heavily mediated in this case through the influence of idol-making machinery, with glamorous young presenters selected as representative individuals (in contrast to the group tourism often associated with Japanese travellers). These are incongruously matched with supposedly authentic host families, acknowledging parity to Europe but flaunting their superiority over the developing world. (Designer clothes are worn in defiance of official government advice not to display excessive wealth abroad because of potential risk.) Each programme must conclude with *Ururun* (the sound of weeping) and appropriately hyperbolic displays of affection, which may be interpreted as simultaneously a placating of anxiety about Japan's international status and mode of appropriation. The Japanese term, *Sekai*, regards the world as defined by a binary opposition to Japan rather than within a part/whole relation, so the genre may be seen as both dissolving the boundaries between inside and outside as part of the process of global homogenisation and reinstating the *nihonjinron* claim to cultural uniqueness.

Meli's essay may seem to support the thesis of global homogenisation, as proposed in the bland and depthless travelogues of Pico Iyer. There are no Asiatic mysteries: any idealisation of a spurious essence is a form of repression; it is pointless to lament a postmodernity which is the precondition of international travel as consumerist lifestyle choice. Steve Clark's essay, 'After the Bubble: Post-Imperial Tokyo', seeks to restore a historicist dimension by emphasising the specific determinants of the urban phenomenology characteristic of recent representations of Tokyo, in particular the curious mixture of *schadenfreude* and supplication that characterises recent travelogues dealing with the mega-city.

The essays that follow are unified geographically and historically, but are not governed by a single overarching thesis. They do, however, share the emphasis of newer imperial history on cultural dispersal, multiple sources and resistance to teleological narratives of empire. After more than two decades of the near-undisputed ascendancy of postcolonial theorising, they represent above all a return to a more context-specific, empirically-grounded and formally-nuanced approach to the genre of travel writing.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 Most influentially in Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), and Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- 2 The term is a coinage from the Second World War as a field command, which became further established after the Vietnam War. The Chinese/Japanese term for the area is Nanyang, the South Seas. See Susan Morgan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books about Southeast Asia* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 4.
- 3 See Colin Thubron, *The Shadow of the Silk Road* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2006).
- 4 See *An East Asia Renaissance: Ideas for Economic Growth* (World Bank, 2006).
- 5 Influential examples of this now extensive body of academic work include: Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony The World System AD 1250–1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); K. N. Chauduri, *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Andre G. Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1998); Geoffrey C. Gunn, *First Globalisation: The Eurasian Exchange 1500–1800* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); John M. Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2002); and Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- 6 On luxury commodities, see Anne Bermingham and John Brewer (eds), *The Consumption of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995) and Maxine Berg, *Consumers and Luxury* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).
- 7 See Susan Whitfield, *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2003).
- 8 Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1993), 22.
- 9 The title of Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore's *China: The Long-Lived Empire* (New York: The Century Co., 1900).
- 10 On early relations between Japan and China, and also their complex triangulations

- with Korea, see W. G. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian: Japanese Travellers in America and Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 1–16.
- 11 For the impact of Chinese colonisation on Tibet, see Robert Barnett, *Lhasa: Streets with Memories* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006). On the recent Chinese presence in Central Asia, see Thubron, *The Shadow of the Silk Road*, especially ‘Kashgar’, 138–50.
 - 12 On naming in Cook, see Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: an Essay in Spatial History* (London: Faber, 1987).
 - 13 See Madeleine Yue Dong, *Republican Beijing: The City and its Histories* (Berkeley: California University Press, 2006).
 - 14 On early tribute missions, see Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin’s Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955). Beasley stresses the priority given to weaponry (particularly naval), industrial technology, and business expertise, and the variable reception which returnees received (178–99) but pays comparatively little attention to the generic form of the memoir or diplomatic report.
 - 15 James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 39.
 - 16 See Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991).
 - 17 See Akinori Kato, ‘Package Tours, Pilgrimages and Pleasure Trips’, in Atsushi Ueda (ed.), *The Electric Geisha: Exploring Japan’s Popular Culture* (Tokyo: Kodansha 1994), 51–9; and John Clammer, ‘Sites and Sights: The Consuming Eye and the Arts of the Imagination in Japanese Tourism’ in *Contemporary Urban Japan: A Sociology of Consumption* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 135–51.
 - 18 Pratt, ‘Scratches on the Face of the Landscape, or What Mr Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen’, *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985), 119–43.
 - 19 Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
 - 20 Clifford, ‘Spatial Practices’, in *Routes*, 52–91.

Chapter 1

- 1 Its popularity is evident in the number of reprints, its significance in the history of Japanese literature, the huge number of books connected to it (e.g. impressions and photography from people who travelled the same route), and last, by the many translations.
- 2 For other dimensions of the *Oku no hosomichi*, in particular as a masterpiece of *haikai* prose (*haibun*), see Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams. Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 212–53.

- 3 Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* [1962] (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1970).
- 4 What I am referring to with the concept of the Middle Ages is the Japanese term ‘*chūsei*’, but in a much broader than the usual political sense, which is determined by questions of political power and movements of the capital (that would be from 1185 to about 1600). Some aspects of these Middle Ages will be shown in the text.
- 5 German: Luhmann speaks from ‘funktionale Differenzierung des Gesellschaftssystems’ (functional differentiation of the system of society) and ‘Ausdifferenzierung einzelner Funktionssysteme’ (differentiation of single function-systems); see Niklas Luhmann, *Die Kunst der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt AM: Suhrkamp, 1997), 115.
- 6 Gerhard Sauder, ‘Formen gegenwärtiger Reiseliteratur’, in Anne Fuchs and Thomas Harden (eds), *Reisen im Diskurs. Modelle der literarischen Fremderfahrung von den Pilgerberichten bis zur Postmoderne* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1995), 552–73 (553).
- 7 See, for example, Tōzō Suzuki, *Kinsei kikō bungaku nōto* (Tōkyō: Tōkyōtō shuppan, 1974); Yukihiko Nakamura, *Nakamura Yukihiko chojutsushū*, Vol. 6 (Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1982); Kenji Watanabe, ‘Kinsei kikō bungaku no saihyōka’, in *Kokubungaku, kaishaku to kanshō: Kinsei bungaku to tabi*, 55, 3 (1990), 147–53; Yōko Itasaka, *Edo no tabi to bungaku* (Tōkyō: Perikansha, 1993) or ‘Kinsei no kikō’, in ‘Jidaibetsu Nihon bungakushi Jiten Henshu Iinkai’ (ed.) *Nihon bungakushi jiten* (Tōkyō: Tōkyōtō shuppan, 1997); and other works by Itasaka. For useful observations and discussions of some travel diaries in English, see Donald Keene, *Travelers of a Hundred Ages* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1989), 323–94.
- 8 Watanabe, ‘Kinsei kikō bungaku’, 147.
- 9 See Yukihiko Nakamura, *Nakamura Yukihiko chojutsushū*, Vol. 13 [1984] (Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1991), 303, and Keene, *Travelers*, 325.
- 10 Itasaka, *Edo*, 85.
- 11 For the epistemology of the Middle Ages, see Robert F. Wittkamp, *Japans frühmoderne Reiseliteratur. Leben und Werk von Sugae Masumi (1754–1829)* (Hamburg: OAG, 2001), 31–7.
- 12 Translated by Nobuyuki Yuasa, *Bashō. The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches* [1966] (Middlesex, Baltimore, Ringwood: Penguin Books, 1968), 97.
- 13 Keene, *Travelers*, 324.
- 14 Yuasa, *Bashō*, 110.
- 15 Bashō worked over and polished this piece of *haikai* prose presumably until its publication in 1694.
- 16 Yuasa, *Bashō*, 105.
- 17 ———, 114. To be fair, one has to admit that there is no grammatical subject in the original text so it could also mean ‘we’. But even if Bashō’s intention was a

- ‘we’, this would only show how far the English translation is guided by the old paradigm (Yasuda is translating the whole travel sketch using ‘I’ where in theory ‘we’ could be meant just as well).
- 18 For further discussion of the history of *hyōhaku*-mentality (‘strong desire to wander’) in the context of religious studies, literary and folk studies (*minzokugaku*), see Robert F. Wittkamp, ‘Hyōhaku — das stete Getriebenwerden. Beitrag zu einer Mentalitätsgeschichte des Mittelalters’, in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, 173–4 (2003), 155–82 (159).
- 19 For Li Bo (Jap: Rihaku), see Nōichi Imoto, Hori Nobuo and Muramatsu Tomotsugu (eds), *Matsuo Bashō-shū (Nihon koten bungaku zenshū)* 41 (Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 1972), 341.
- 20 A field of research developed in France at the beginning of the twentieth century; see Wittkamp, ‘Hyōhaku’, 157.
- 21 See Haruo Shirane, ‘Matsuo Bashō’s *Oku no hosomichi* and the Anxiety of Influence’, in Amy Vladeck Heinrich (ed.), *Currents in Japanese Culture: Translations and Transformations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 171–83, and *Traces of Dreams*, 230–41. Shirane describes the *Oku no hosomichi* as *haikai* prose (*haibun*), which ‘remapped the cultural landscape of the Interior’ in *Traces of Dreams*, 212.
- 22 Yuasa, *Bashō*, 115–6.
- 23 Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 220–1.
- 24 See Wittkamp, *Japans frühmoderne Reiseliteratur*, 37–43.
- 25 See Keene, *Travelers*, 324, who is referring to the *Seihoku kikō* (Journey to the Northwest), the ‘earliest Japanese diary I have read that contains not a single poem by the author’. The diary was written by Kaibara Ekiken in 1689, the same year in which Bashō made his journey along the *Narrow Road of Oku (Oku no hosomichi)*.
- 26 See Wittkamp, *Japans frühmoderne Reiseliteratur*, 1–12.
- 27 This is the case in the works of Koshōken and Nankei too; see Harold Bolitho, ‘Traveler’s Tales: Three Eighteenth-Century Travel Journals’, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 50, 2 (1990), 485–504 (489).
- 28 See Tsune’ichi Miyamoto, *Tabibitotachi no rekishi*, Vol. 2 (Tōkyō: Miraisha), 29–40.
- 29 Kōjin Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* [1993] (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994), 22; original: *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen* (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1980).
- 30 See Karatani, *Origins*, 19. The original notion of ‘landscape as landscape’ (*fūkei toshite no fūkei*) is translated with ‘landscapes as such’.
- 31 My translation; see Karatani, *Origins*, 20.
- 32 Karatani, *Origins*, 21 and 24.
- 33 For a sceptical view of Karatani’s ‘postmodern discourse on landscape’, see Robert F. Wittkamp, ‘Die Anti-Landschaft bei Bashō. Ergänzungen zur Kritik am postmodernen Landschaftsdiskurs’, *Die Deutsche Literatur (Doitsu bungaku)*, 48 (2004): 107–26, 107–9, and ‘Konstruktivismus, Wahrnehmung und Gedächtnis:

- Ein Plädoyer für einen konstruktivistischen Landschaftsdiskurs’, in Andreas Moerke and Andrea Germer (eds), *Grenzgänge (De-Konstruktion kollektiver Identitäten in Japan)* (München: Iudicium, 2004 [Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien: Japanstudien, 16]) 239–56 (241 footnote 9).
- 34 My translation.
- 35 For Ekiken, see Keene, *Travelers*, 323–9.
- 36 For a development of a concept of landscape as an anthropological matter, a question of theory of perception, and as an epistemology based on (radical *and* cultural) constructivism, see Wittkamp, ‘Konstruktivismus, Wahrnehmung und Gedächtnis’.
- 37 *Kikō bunshū* (1930), in *Shōwa-han teikoku bunko* (1928–30). For the *Kikō bunshū*, see also Karatani, *Origins*, 52.
- 38 For a short comparison of Koshōken, Nankei and Masumi, see Bolitho, ‘Traveler’s Tales’.
- 39 See Karatani, *Origins*, 52, quoting Yanagita: ‘The first consists of a string of poems and lyrical essays; the second consists exclusively of description, narrated by a traveller who simply is a discreet presence hidden in the shadows of the actual scene’.
- 40 See Tōzō Suzuki, *Kinsei kikō bungei nōto* (Tōkyō: Tōkyōtō shuppan, 1974), 28.
- 41 Karatani, *Origins*, 32.
- 42 ———, *Origins*, 33; for Chapter 5, see 114–35.
- 43 Yuasa, *Bashō*, 120.
- 44 Bolitho, ‘Traveler’s Tales’, 491.
- 45 Itasaka, *Edo no tabi*, 10.
- 46 See Masaki Taguchi, *Sugae Masumi dokuhon* (Akita: Mumeisha, 1994), 168–87, where he puts many of Masumi’s descriptions together. For Niklas Luhmann’s ‘the observation [...] of children is now observed’ (‘das Beobachten des Kindes wird jetzt beobachtet’), see his ‘Kontingenz als Eigenwert der modernen Gesellschaft’, in *Beobachtungen der Moderne* (Opladen: Verlag der Sozialwissenschaften, 1992), 93–128 (124).
- 47 Karatani, *Origins*, 40–1.
- 48 See Itasaka, *Edo no tabi*, 242–76; she identifies about six hundred titles connected to Hokkaidō and more than sixty works including the name ‘*kikō*’ (travel literature) in their title.
- 49 The expression ‘synchronical intertextuality’ (quoting, complementing, correcting, criticising, etc.) is intended not to stress the relationships of these texts to the literature of the Middle Ages but to newer or contemporary literature.
- 50 Translated by Richard A. Jambor, ‘Waga kokoro by Sugae Masumi (I)’, in *Shōin joshi gakuin daigaku kenkyū kiyō* (Shōin Literary Review), 37 (1996), 1–22, and ‘Waga kokoro by Sugae Masumi (II)’, in *Shōin joshi gakuin daigaku kenkyū kiyō* (Shōin Literary Review), 38 (1997), 1–20; page numbers are taken from the offprints respectively.
- 51 The following *waka* poem is omitted; see Jambor, ‘Waga kokoro (I)’, 8.
- 52 Jambor, ‘Waga kokoro (I)’, 13.

- 53 ———, ‘Waga kokoro (II)’, 1–2.
- 54 ———, ‘Waga kokoro (II)’, 11.
- 55 See Yuasa, *Bashō*, 73 (*Oi no kobumi: The Records of a Travel-worn Satchel*). A more appropriate translation of the last two lines would be ‘unless there are the freshness of [the Chinese poet] Su and the arresting elements of [the Chinese poet] Huang in them’.
- 56 For Japanese texts by Masumi, see Takeshi Uchida and Tsune’ichi Miyamoto (eds), *Sugae Masumi yūranki*, 5 vols (Tōkyō: Heibonsha [*Tōyō bunko*, translation into modern Japanese], 1965–68) and *Sugae Masumi zenshū*, 12 vols (Tōkyō: Miraisha, 1971–81). For translations of two travel diaries into German, see Wittkamp, *Japans frühmoderne Reiseliteratur*, 205–60.

Chapter 2

- 1 Samuel Holmes, *The Journal of Samuel Holmes*, 133.
- 2 Pratt’s ‘Scratches on the Face of the Country; or What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen’ first appeared as a chapter in *Race, Writing, and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986a), and was later revised and included in *Imperial Eyes*. The full title of Barrow’s Africa journal is *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davis, 1801–04).
- 3 *A Delicate Inquiry* is a thirty-one-page booklet published in 1818, two years after a second failed English embassy to China led by Lord Amherst.
- 4 Brief descriptions of each of the Macartney texts can be found in Cranmer-Byng, 342–52.
- 5 On this day, the embassy was to travel through the Chinese capital to the famous Summer Palace where they would stay for several days before some members would proceed to the emperor’s residence north of the capital. The Summer Palace and surrounding gardens were well known in England, and the anticipation of seeing the capital was no doubt matched by the excitement of staying at the ‘Garden of Gardens’. The name ‘Garden of Gardens’ (Cranmer-Byng, *An Embassy to China*, 95) appears in Macartney’s journal. Cranmer-Byng explains that the ‘name literally means “round bright garden” and has the connotation garden of perfect brightness, or “the garden *par excellence*”, 359.

The embassy travelled through the suburbs of Peking for about fifteen minutes before they reached the gates to the city, and then they only spent about two hours in the capital before heading to the Summer Palace. The Summer Palace was in such a state of disrepair that it was deemed ‘unworthy the residence of the representative of a great monarch’ (Anderson, *A Narrative*, 111). Therefore, the embassy (except for Barrow and several others who stayed to supervise the handling of the gifts that were stored at the palace) left the imperial residence after only three days and returned to Peking where they stayed at an estate (supposedly built

by a merchant from Canton using bribes he received from English, or at least foreign, traders). On 2 September, eleven members of the embassy then proceeded to Rehe for the celebrated audience with the emperor.

6 Cranmer-Byng, *An Embassy to China*, 351.

7 ———, *An Embassy to China* 219.

8 Appleton, *A Cycle of Cathay*, 121.

9 Barrow tells the story of a near revolt that took place in Madrid when the monarchy ordered the construction of ‘proper places of retirement’ to be attached to houses in order to prevent the inhabitants from ‘emptying their nocturnal machines out of the windows into the streets’. The inhabitants considered their rights violated before the doctors, who for financial reasons were opposed to the measure in the first place, managed to convince the citizens ‘that if human excrement was no longer to be accumulated in the streets, to attract the putrescent particles floating in the air, they would find their way into the human body, and a pestilential sickness would be the inevitable consequence’ (67).

Chapter 3

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2 *Ship Amherst. Return to an Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, Dated 17 June 1833 . . .* (London: House of Commons 1833; reprinted in *Irish University Press Area Studies Series, British Parliamentary Papers: China*, Vol. 39, 127–233 [reprint page numbers]), 3 [original page number]. All future references are to page numbers of the original edition, not to reprint page numbers.

3 Hugh Hamilton Lindsay and Charles Gutzlaff, *Report of Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China in the Ship Lord Amherst* (London: B. Fellowes, 1833).

4 Charles Gutzlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, & 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands*, intro. William Ellis (London: F. Westley and A. H. Davis, 1834). Subsequent references abbreviated to *Journal*.

5 John Barrow, ‘Free Trade to China’, *Quarterly Review*, 50 (1833–34), 430–67 (449).

6 Nan Mu, ‘Ya pian zhan zheng yi qian Ying chuan A Mei Shi De Hao zai Zhongguo yan hai de zhen cha huo dong’ [The British *Ship Amherst*’s reconnaissances in

- China's coastal waters before the Opium War], *Jin Bu Ri Bao* [The progressive daily], 13 September 1952, 2. All excerpts and quotations from Chinese sources such as this article are my translations.
- 7 See Kathleen Wilson, 'Introduction: Histories, Empires, and Modernities', in Wilson (ed.), *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–26.
 - 8 Historians and literary critics who have treated travel books as primary sources include: P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: British Perceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: Dent, 1982); Colin Mackerras, *Western Images of China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* [1978] (New York: Random-Vintage Books, 1979); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); and recently, Terence Bowers, 'Robert Curzon, Orientalism and the *Ars Peregrinationis*', *Political Matters*, special issue of *Victorians Institute Journal*, 33 (2005), 117–47.
 - 9 Barrow, 'Free Trade', 431, original emphasis.
 - 10 Marshall Broomhall, *Robert Morrison: A Master-BUILDER* (London: Livingstone Press, 1924), 194–5.
 - 11 'Voyage of the *Amherst* to Northern China', *Eclectic Review*, 3rd series, 10 (1833): 326–43 (326); 'Gutzlaff's *Three Voyages, &c.*', *Eclectic Review* 3rd series, 11 (1834), 369–92 (369).
 - 12 John Crawford, 'Voyage of *Ship Amherst*', *Westminster Review*, 20 (1834), 22–47 (47), emphasis added.
 - 13 Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* [1957], 2nd edn with a foreword by Jonathan Rose (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 276.
 - 14 J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, 'Introduction', in Vann and VanArsdel (eds), *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 3–8 (3).
 - 15 Barrow, 'Free Trade', 441.
 - 16 Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 319.
 - 17 Barrow, 'Free Trade', 431.
 - 18 ———, 'Free Trade', 448, original emphasis.
 - 19 Crawford, 'Voyage,' 40–1.
 - 20 ———, 'Voyage', 41.
 - 21 John Barrow, 'Gutzlaff's *Voyages along the Coast of China*', *Quarterly Review*, 51 (1834), 468–81 (468).
 - 22 'China', *Missionary Register* (1834), 268–70 (269), original emphasis.
 - 23 'Gutzlaff's *Journal*', *Quarterly Christian Spectator*, 5 (1833), 610–1.
 - 24 George Borrow, 'To the Rev. J. Jowett', 13 October 1834, letter 17 of *Letters of George Borrow to the British and Foreign Bible Society*, World Wide School Library: <http://www.worldwideschool.org/about.html> (accessed 17 March, 2006).
 - 25 'British Connexion with China', *Gentlemen's Magazine* [Wason Collection of

- Cornell University Kroch Library, Containing Articles Relating to China and the Chinese Only], 5 [Wason's Vol. no.] (1834), 123–30 (127).
- 26 Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), 47–70.
- 27 John Crawford, 'Chinese Empire and Trade', *Westminster Review*, 21 (1834), 221–56 (221).
- 28 Quoted in Herman Schlyter, *Der China-Missionar Karl Gützlaff und Seine Heimatbasis* (Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1976), 28.
- 29 ———, *Der China*, 28.
- 30 Peter Ward Fay, *The Opium War, 1840–1842* [1975] (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1976), 58.
- 31 Charlotte Elizabeth, 'Introduction', *Christian Lady's Magazine*, 1 (1834), 1–6 (6).
- 32 Charlotte Elizabeth, 'Politics', *Christian Lady's Magazine*, 1 (1834), 73–80 (74).
- 33 ———, 'Politics', 74.
- 34 Charlotte Elizabeth, 'China, India, and the East', *Christian Lady's Magazine*, 3 (1835), 540–2 (540).
- 35 ———, 'China', 540.
- 36 ———, 'China', 541.
- 37 ———, 'China', 541.
- 38 ———, 'China', 541.
- 39 ———, 'China', 542.
- 40 For a list of the Society's members and contributors, see Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India and the East, *Appeal* (London: E. Suter, Printer, 1835), front page and 9–16.
- 41 Elizabeth, 'China', 542.
- 42 Lydia, 'China, India, and the East,' *Christian Lady's Magazine*, 6 (1836), 498–502 (501).
- 43 J. S., 'China, India, and the East,' *Christian Lady's Magazine* 7 (1837), 540–3 (540–1).
- 44 ———, 'China', 540–1.
- 45 ———, 'China', 541.
- 46 Charles Knight, 'A Postscript to Our First Readers', *Penny Magazine*, 1 (1832), 8. The *Penny Magazine* cost six pence.
- 47 Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 338.
- 48 Quoted in Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 337, original emphasis.
- 49 Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 'Committee', *Penny Cyclopaedia*, Vol. 11 (London: Charles Knight, 1838), no page.
- 50 'The East India Company', *Penny Magazine*, 3 (1834), 84–6.
- 51 'Chinese Inhabitants of Boats,' *Penny Magazine*, 3 (1834): 371; 'Chinese Women,' *Penny Magazine*, 3 (1834): 371; 'Opium,' *Penny Magazine*, 3 (1834), 397–99.
- 52 'Tea', *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* [Wason Collection of Cornell University Kroch Library, Containing Articles Relating to China and the Chinese Only], 2 [Wason's Vol. no.] (1832–40), 220–1.

- 53 'Siamese Barbarities', *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* [Wason Collection of Cornell University Kroch Library, Containing Articles Relating to China and the Chinese Only], 2 [Wason's Vol. no.] (1832–40), 365–6.
- 54 'Terrific Fire,' *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* [Wason Collection of Cornell University Kroch Library, Containing Articles Relating to China and the Chinese Only], 2 [Wason's Vol. no.] (1832–40), 366–7.
- 55 Homi K. Bhabha, 'Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817', *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985), 144–65; Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).
- 56 See my article: Ting Man Tsao, 'Representing "Great England" to Qing China in the Age of Free Trade Imperialism: The Circulation of a Tract by Charles Marjoribanks on the China Coast', *Political Matters*, special issue of *Victorians Institute Journal*, 33 (2005), 179–95. See also Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank (eds), *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1985).
- 57 For a brief introduction to the influence of Western knowledge on late Qing China, see Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839–1923, with a New Preface* [1954, 1979] (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1982).
- 58 Carl T. Smith, 'Commissioner Lin's Translators', *Chung Chi Bulletin*, 38 (1965), 14–20; Teng and Fairbank, *China's Response*, 23–35; Jane Kate Leonard, *Wei Yuan and China's Rediscovery of the Maritime World* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1984), particularly Chapter 4.
- 59 For instance, Wei Yuan, *Hai guo tu zhi* [Illustrated gazetteer of the maritime kingdoms]. This influential geography book has several editions: 1844 (50 juan), 1847 (60 juan), 1852 (100 juan). It also has a Japanese edition.
- 60 Ying Baoshi, and Yu Yue, *Jiangsu sheng: Shanghai xian zhi (san)* [Jiangsu province: Gazetteer of Shanghai county (Vol. 3)] [1872], *Zhongguo fang zhi cong shu, hua zhong di fang, di 169 hao* [Collection of Chinese local gazetteers, Hua zhong region, no. 169] (Taibei Shi: Zheng wen chu ban she you xian gong si, [1975]) juan 11, 31; Zhou Kai, 'Daogong xia men zhi' [Daogong xiamen gazetteer], in Qi Sihe, Lin Shuhui, and Shou Jiyu (eds), *Ya pian zhan zheng* [The Opium War] [1955, second edn], Vol. 4 ([Shanghai]: Shi ji chu ban ji tuan, Shanghai ren min chu ban she, 2000), 349–56; Dong Pei, 'Guangxu yin xian zhi' [Guangxu yin xian gazetteer], Qi, *Ya pian*, Vol. 4, 403–13.
- 61 Zhang Dechang, 'Hu Xia Mi huo chuan lai Hua jing guo ji qi ying xiang' [The voyage of Hu Xai Mi's cargo ship to China and its impact], *Zhongguo jin dai jing ji shi yan jiu ji kan* [Studies in Modern Economic History of China], 1, 1 (1932), 60–79, reprinted in *Zhongguo she hui jing ji shi ji kan* [Studies in Social and Economic History of China] (Xianggang: Long men shu dian, 1968), juan 1, 2 (Vol. 1).
- 62 See advertisements in *Zhongguo jin dai jing ji shi yan jiu ji kan* 2, 1 (1933), reprinted in *Zhongguo she hui jing ji shi ji kan* [Studies in Social and Economic History of

- China*] (Xianggang: Long men shu dian, 1968), juan 1, 2 (Vol. 1).
- 63 See Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1979), 162–7.
- 64 Pan Guangzhe, 'Zhongguo jin da shi de shu xie wen ti: guan yu zhongguo jin da shi zhi shi de sheng chan fang shi de yi xie si kao' [The problem of writing modern Chinese history: Thoughts on the production modes of modern Chinese historical knowledge], *Paradigm Shifts in the Study of Modern China Forum, Rethinking Modern Chinese History: An International Conference to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Modern History*, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, 29 June 2005, Academia Sinica, <<http://www.mh.sinica.edu.tw/eng/download/abstract/abstract2-1-1.pdf>>, 7 (accessed 19 March 2006).
- 65 See, for instance, Guo Tingyi (ed.), *Jin dai Zhongguo shi* [Modern Chinese history] (Changsha: Shang wu yin shu guan, Min guo, 29–30 [1940–41]), particularly the foreword. For the importance of Qing archives in the writing of modern Chinese history in Republican China, I rely on Pan, 'Zhongguo jin da shi', 5–13.
- 66 'Journals of Messrs. Lindsay and Gutzlaff', *Chinese Repository*, 2nd edn, 2 (1834), 529–53.
- 67 Charles Gutzlaff, *A Sketch of Chinese History, Ancient and Modern . . .*, 2 vols (London: Smith Elder, 1834), Vol. 2, Chapter 21.
- 68 Xu Dishan (ed.), *Da zhong ji*: [*Ya pian zhan zheng qian Zhong Ying jiao she shi liao*] [A collection of historical documents related to the intercourse between China and Britain before the Opium War] [1931] ([Taipei Xian Yonghe zhen]: Wen hai chu ban she, [1974]).
- 69 Zhang, 'Hu Xia Mi', 61.
- 70 ———, 'Hu Xia Mi', 66.
- 71 ———, 'Hu Xia Mi', 72.
- 72 ———, 'Hu Xia Mi', 72.
- 73 ———, 'Hu Xia Mi', 73.
- 74 These dynamic interactions were recoverable from the Qing archival sources tapped by Zhang: Xu, *Da zhong ji*.
- 75 For a critique of nationalist history writing, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for "Indian" Pasts?' *Representations*, 37 (1992), 1–26. Cf. Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
- 76 Fang Hanqi (ed.), et al, '*Da Gong Bao*' *bai nian shi, 1902-06-17–2002-06-17* [A hundred year history of *Da Gong Bao*] (Beijing: Zhongguo ren min da xue chu ban she, 2004), 328.
- 77 Tianjin shi shi zi yun dong wei yuan hui [Tianjian City Literacy Movement Committee], 'Tianjin shi shi zi yun dong xun su kai zhan de yuan yin ji mu qian cun zai de wen ti' [The reasons for the rapid development of Tianjian City's literacy movement and currently existing problems], *Jin Bu Ri Bao* [The progressive daily], 13 September 1952, 2. Cf. Rawski, *Education*, 20 and 167–80.

- 78 Fang, ‘*Da Gong Bao*’ *bai nian shi*, 328.
- 79 See, for instance, ‘Xu yan’ [Foreword], Qi, *Ya pian*, Vol. 1, 1–4.
- 80 Nan Mu, ‘Ya pian zhan zheng’, 2.
- 81 See Tsao, ‘Representing “Great England” to Qing China’.
- 82 Nan’s article was republished in Lie Dao (ed.), *Ya pian zhan zheng shi lun wen zhuan ji* [Collection of articles on the Opium War] (Beijing : Sheng huo, du shu, xin zhi san lian shu dian, 1958), 105–12.
- 83 Zhang’s article, on the other hand, was referenced by a Chinese-American historian: Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, ‘The Secret Mission of the Lord Amherst on the China Coast, 1832’, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 17 (1954), 231–52.
- 84 For example, Gu Changsheng, *Chuan jiao shi yu jin dai Zhongguo* [Missionaries and modern China], di 2 ban [second edition] (Shanghai: Shanghai ren min chu ban she: Xin hua shu dian Shanghai fa xing suo jing xiao, 1991), 22–46. See also Gu’s *Cong Malixun dao Situ Leideng: lai Hua xin jiao chuan jiao shi ping zhuan* [From Robert Morrison to John Leighton Start: a critical biography of protestant missionaries in China] (Shanghai: Shanghai shu dian, 2005), the chapter on Gutzlaff.
- 85 Fujian Shi fan da xue [Fujian teachers’ university], *Ya pian zhan zheng zai Min, Tai shi liao xuan bian* [Selection of historical sources on the Opium War in Min and Tai] (Fuzhou: Fujian ren min chu ban she : Fujian sheng xin hua shu dian fa xing, 1982), 26–116.
- 86 For example, Nan’s article is reprinted in the CCP’s official website <<http://military.china.com>>. It is cited in ‘Chuan jiao shi, ya pian fan, jian die — guo shi li’ [Missionary, opium seller, spy — Gutzlaff], *Zhongguo qing shao nian ji suan ji xin xi fu wu wang* [China youth computer information service web], 19 March 2006 <http://cyc6.cycnet.com:8090/xuezhu/his_data/content.jsp?n_id=6340&page no=1>.

Chapter 4

- 1 Nicolás Tanco Armero, *Viaje de Nueva Granada a China y de China a Francia*. The translations throughout this article are my own.
- 2 See ‘Of Travel’ by Francis Bacon.
- 3 Colonel Jackson’s book, first published in Paris, in 1822, under the title *Guide du voyage*, appeared in English in several editions from 1841 under the title *What to Observe, or, The Traveller’s Remembrancer*. I quote from the third (1861) edition, revised by Dr. Norton Shaw.
- 4 *Recuerdos de mis últimos viajes, Japón* (Madrid: Est. Tip. Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1888).
- 5 Reinaldo Arenas’ sonnet in *Inferno* (1971), ‘De modo que Cervantes era manco’, plays with statements of the obvious: Cervantes lost a hand, Beethoven was deaf, Virginia Woolf drowned, etc. to go on and list homosexual authors in history, an issue for Arenas at a time when the Cuban regime was turning against its former

permissive policies. Aside from the sought rhyme (with ‘manco’), the sonnet also reflects the circulation of studies on Tanco Armero’s role in the island’s racial history.

- 6 See Ángel Rama, *La ciudad letrada*, 23–30.
- 7 José María Cordovez Moure, a chronicler of nineteenth-century Bogotá, writes about a soiree hosted by the Tanco Armero family to welcome back the traveller in 1860. On such an occasion, pieces acquired while travelling were displayed for the guests, who ‘could not decide what to admire most, since among those objects, just a single chess set had cost the intrepid traveller more than 2.000 pesos’, *Reminiscencias*, Chapter III. Juan Pérez de la Riva in *El barracón*; an oft-cited study of slavery in Cuba, writes a reproachful portrayal of Tanco Armero as a ‘capitalist’, and points to the immense fortune he amassed, 98ff.
- 8 Frank Safford quotes a letter of Tanco Armero to a fellow Colombian exile in New York requesting an apprenticeship position for one of his nephews.
- 9 See Bourdieu’s discussion in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 267–82.
- 10 See *The Cuba Commission Report: The Hidden History of the Chinese in Cuba*. It must be pointed out, however, that the coolie trade in Cuba is not the origin of the sizable colony of Chinese, also from Southern China, that settled in the island throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- 11 Félix Tanco, Nicolás Tanco Armero’s uncle, who established himself in Cuba and was active in an influential abolitionist group is the author of a novel with an anti-slavery theme, *Petrona y Rosalía* (1838).
- 12 Alexis de Gabriac, *Promenade à travers l’Amérique du sud: Nouvelle-Grenade, Équateur, Pérou, Bresil* (Paris: 1868). Gabriac, a painter and naturalist, is an example of the numerous European (mostly French) travel writers in post-independence South America.
- 13 Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784–91). As Anthony Pagden has noted, discussing the notion of incommensurability in cultural encounters, Herder’s view posed the possibility that ‘the very concept of a single human genus became, if not impossible to conceive, at least culturally meaningless’, cited in Pagden, 180.
- 14 Bartolomé de las Casas (1484–1566) was a Spanish friar and historian who denounced the abuse against, and the plight of, the indigenous people of America under the ‘encomienda’ regime. Himself an ‘encomendero’, his defence of the native peoples led him to propose that Africans be brought to alleviate their burden. For a discussion on the epistemological meaning of las Casas’s attitude, see for example the work of Tzvetan Todorov, *Conquest of America*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Harper & Row, 1984).
- 15 See Maurice Collins, *Foreign Mud: An Account of the Opium War*, 269–74.
- 16 That a century later this is the case with his native Colombia and cocaine seems a sad twist.

- 17 See John K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy in the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854*.
- 18 See for example the discussion of the role of these concessions in the context of the rise of Chinese nationalism in Henrietta Harrison, *China*, 64.
- 19 See Fairbank, 19. Also quoted in Harrison, 58–9.

Chapter 5

- 1 I thank Maria Noelle Ng and Mark Meli for their constructive criticism. I also thank my colleague Michael Gardiner for extensively commenting on an earlier draft of this essay.
- 2 Ainu is the usual term — Bird herself refers to the ‘Ainos’.
- 3 Isabella Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels in the Interior Including Visits to Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrine of Nikko* [1885] (London: John Murray, 1893), 242. All further references to this work, abbreviated ‘popular edn’, will be included in the text. The quote also appears in its first edition, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels in the Interior, Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikko and Ise*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1880), 2, 59. For this edition, I will use the one reprinted in Volumes 4 and 5 of *Collected Travel Writings of Isabella Bird* (Bristol: Ganesha, 1997). All further references to this edition, abbreviated ‘1st edn.’, will be included in the text. When quoted passages appear in both texts, their respective page references will be indicated.
- 4 For bibliographical information, see Shigetoshi Kusuya, ‘Ba-do Nihon Kiko Kaisetsu’, in Isabella Lucy Bird, *Ba-do Nihon Kiko* (Tokyo: Ushodo, 2002), 333–76. Bird also published a new, one-volume version of the first edition in 1900, which includes substantial geographical essays and reflections on victory over China in 1895.
- 5 This difference is reflected in the full titles of the travelogue. While the first edition is subtitled as ‘An Account of Travels in the Interior, Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikko and Ise’, the reference to Ise is omitted in the popular edition’s full title.
- 6 Anna M. Stoddart, *The Life of Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop)* (London: John Murray, 1908), 168.
- 7 Shigetoshi Kusuya, ‘Ba-do Nihon Kiko Kaisetsu’, 374.
- 8 Evelyn Bach, ‘A Traveller in Skirts: Quest and Conquest in the Travel Narratives of Isabella Bird’, *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 22, 3–4 (1995), 587–600 (592).
- 9 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 78–9.
- 10 As is well known, Bird’s early writings are based upon the letters she sent to Henrietta during her trip. As Kay Chubbuck points out in her edition, it was the

travel writer's routine to 'excise a mass of personal detail, while adding in its place intellectual gravitas' once she returned home. See *Letters to Henrietta* (By Isabella Bird) (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002), 12. Unfortunately, the original letters Bird sent from Japan do not appear to be extant (Chubbuck, *Letters*, 205).

- 11 Olive Checkland, *Isabella Bird and 'A Woman's Right to Do What She Can Do Well'* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996), 57.
- 12 For instance, the description of the 'Foreign Concession' in Tokyo (1st edn, 1, 32–3) is cut out in the popular edition.
- 13 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 6.
- 14 The first edition's more frequent description of her visit to Western-style hospitals could be read in a similar light. Maria Noelle Ng concisely discusses how Bird's visit to hospitals during her trip reflects her social settings at home. See *Three Exotic Views of Southeast Asia: The Travel Narratives of Isabella Bird, Max Dauthendey, and Ai Wu, 1850–1930* (Norwalk: Eastbridge, 2002), 53.
- 15 Kusuya, 'Ba-do Nihon Kiko Kaisetsu', 374.
- 16 For instance, at the beginning of her journey, the narrator-traveller notices the sweeping rice fields (1st edn, 1, 84; popular edn, 36). In the first edition, the narrative then explains in detail how to raise the crop. The explanation is excised in the popular edition.
- 17 Maria Ng discusses in detail how such views Bird held are culturally determined, and therefore resonate with those of her contemporaries. See Ng, *Three Exotic Views*, 41–7.
- 18 Checkland, *Isabella Bird*, xv.
- 19 ———, *Isabella Bird*, 168.

Chapter 6

- 1 John Gullick, 'Florence Caddy: A Biographical Note', in Florence Caddy, *To Siam and Malaya in the Duke of Sutherland's Yacht 'Sans Peur'* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1992), v–xiv (xi).
- 2 Susan Morgan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Books about Southeast Asia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 168.
- 3 Emily Innes, *The Chersonese with the Gilding Off*, Vols. I and II [1885] (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993), in II, 233. Further volume and page references will be given parenthetically in the text.
- 4 Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), 3.
- 5 Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 1.
- 6 Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, *A History of Malaysia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001) [1982], 164–5.

- 7 Isabella Bird, *The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither* [1883] (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1967), 270. Further page references will be given parenthetically in the text.
- 8 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'The Rani of Sirmur', in Francis Barker et al. (eds), *Europe and Its Others, Volume One: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature, July 1984* (Colchester: University of Essex Press, 1985), 128–51 (133).
- 9 Frank Swettenham, *British Malaya: An Account of the Origin and Progress of British Influence in Malaya* [1906] (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1948), 197.
- 10 Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, 58.
- 11 ———, *A History of Malaysia*, 40.
- 12 Morgan, *Place Matters*, 159.
- 13 ———, *Place Matters*, 153.
- 14 ———, *Place Matters*, 150.
- 15 ———, *Place Matters*, 151.
- 16 ———, *Place Matters*, 147.
- 17 Isabella Bird, *Letters to Henrietta*, ed. Kay Chubbuck (London: John Murray, 2002), 305.
- 18 Bird, *Letters to Henrietta*, 267–8.
- 19 ———, *Letters to Henrietta*, 268.
- 20 Gullick, 'Florence Caddy', vii.
- 21 ———, 'Florence Caddy', viii.
- 22 Florence Caddy, *To Siam and Malaya in the Duke of Sutherland's Yacht 'Sans Peur'*, [1889] (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1992), 278. Further page references will be given parenthetically in the text.
- 23 Gullick, 'Florence Caddy', xi.
- 24 ———, 'Florence Caddy', xi.
- 25 Maria H. Frawley, *A Wider Range: Travel Writing by Women in Victorian England* (London: Associated University Press, 1994), 27.

Chapter 7

- 1 Eunice Tietjens, *Profiles from China: Sketches in Free Verse of People and Things Seen in the Interior* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1919), 63.
- 2 'The collection is primarily composed of works first published in the nineteenth century, but, where appropriate, important works of the late eighteenth century and early twentieth century are also included. The principal guide for selection is Henri Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Paris, 1904–07 and Supplement, 1921. This is complemented by both rare and renowned material from the holdings of the British Library, primarily the Oriental and India Office Collections' < <http://c19.chadwyck.co.uk/html/noframes/moreinfo/china.htm> > (accessed 9 August 2006).

- 3 Robert Coltman, *The Chinese, Their Present and Future: Medical, Political, and Social* (Philadelphia: Davis, 1891); Archibald R. Colquhoun, *China in Transformation* (London: Harper, 1898); Robert L. Jefferson, *China and the Present Crisis* (London: G. W. Bacon, 1900); Arnold Henry Savage Landor, *China and the Allies* (London: Heinemann, 1901); Arthur Henderson Smith, *China in Convulsion* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1901); William A. P. Martin, *The Awakening of China* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907); Joseph King Goodrich, *The Coming China* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co, 1911); John Stuart Thompson, *China Revolutionized* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1913).
- 4 This can also be seen in the above bibliography. See also the following: Colin Mackerras, *Western Images of China* [1987], rev. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), particularly Part I (i.e. Chapters 2–5).
- 5 Ellen Newbold LaMotte, *Peking Dust* (New York: The Century Co., 1919), 3.
- 6 See Isabella Bird Bishop, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond: An Account of China, Chiefly in the Province of Sze Chuan and among the Man-Tze of the Somo Territory* [1899]. In *ibid.*, *Collected Travel Writings*, 12 vols (Bristol: Ganesha Publishing, 1997), Vol. 11, and C. F. [Constance Frederica] Gordon Cumming, *Wanderings in China*, new edn, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1888).
- 7 Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, *Westward to the Far East: A Guide to the Principal Cities of China and Japan* [1892], 2nd edn (Montreal): The Canadian Railway Company, 1892.
- 8 Throughout this chapter, I have adopted the Pinyin spelling for place names, which varies from the (erratic) Victorian conventions our women travellers use. I have included the non-Pinyin place name in brackets where necessary for clarification.
- 9 ‘The invalid at home, and the Samson abroad’. See A. Stodart Walker, *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, 16 (1904), 383. Cited by Olive Checkland, ‘Collected Travel Writings of Isabella Bird’ (1998) <www.ganesha-publishing.com/bird_intro.htm> (accessed 9 August 2006).
- 10 See Isabella Bird Bishop, *The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither* [1883]. In *ibid.*, *Collected Travel Writings*, 12 vols (Bristol: Ganesha Publishing, 1997), vol. 6.
- 11 See Marion Tinling’s biographical outline of Bird in *Women into the Unknown: A Sourcebook on Women Explorers and Travelers* (New York: Greenwood Publishing, 1989), 47–55; Dorothy Middleton, *Victorian Lady Travellers* [1965], with a New Introduction (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1982, rpt. 1993), 19–53; Alexandra Allen, *Travelling Ladies* (London: Jupiter, 1980), 225–66.
- 12 Middleton, 50, 53.
- 13 Isabella Bird, ‘A Journey in Western Sze-Chuan’, *The Geographical Society*, 10, 1 (July 1897), 19–50 (22–3).
- 14 Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, ‘Mrs Bishop’s “The Yangtze Valley and Beyond”’, *National Geographic Magazine*, 11 (Jan/ Dec 1900), 366–9 (368, emphasis added).
- 15 Bird, *The Yangtze Valley*, 390.
- 16 ———, *The Yangtze Valley*, 390.

- 17 ———, *The Yangtze Valley*, 393.
- 18 I refer to the concise travel account ‘Ningpo and the Buddhist Temples’, reprinted in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 29 (May/Oct. 1882), 726–39 (726). A fuller, more detailed version of Cumming’s stay in Ningbo is described in Chapters 22–28 of her *Wanderings in China* (276–350), which presents a wealth of material left out in the journal article, which, however, would have been the more popular version.
- 19 Cumming, ‘Ningbo’, 727, 729ff, 733ff.
- 20 ———, ‘Ningbo’, 737.
- 21 See Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, *China: The Long-Lived Empire* (New York: The Century Co., 1900), and her many independently published articles, which include ‘The River of Tea’, *Century Magazine*, 58 (May/Oct. 1899), 547–9; ‘Cruising up the Yangtze’, *Century Magazine*, 58 (May/Oct. 1899), 668–79; ‘The Streets of Peking’, *Century Magazine*, 58 (May/Oct. 1899), 859–73; ‘The Greatest Wonder in the Chinese World: The Marvelous Bore of Hang-Chau’, *Century Magazine*, 59 (Nov./ Apr. 1899–1900), 852–9. The articles were then republished, with only very slight revisions, in *China: The Long-Lived Empire*.
- 22 In *Westward*, Scidmore remains vague about the number of the stops on her own trip to Hong Kong. The map at the back of her guidebook gives two alternative routes from Shanghai to Hong Kong — one non-stop and one pausing on the way in Ningbo, Wenzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen [Amoy] and Shantou. In her travel description, Scidmore briefly explains the main attractions in Fuzhou and Xiamen, which suggests that she actually went there. Fuzhou, she writes, is picturesquely hilly but largely devoid of shopping opportunities, and Amoy presents a colourful harbour site and is famous for its delicious pomeloes (37).
- 23 Cumming, II, 206.
- 24 ———, II, 209.
- 25 ———, II, 207 and 208.
- 26 ———, II, 211.
- 27 ———, II, 257.
- 28 ———, II, 162.
- 29 ———, II, 208.
- 30 ———, II, 265.
- 31 Scidmore, *Westward*, 41.
- 32 ———, *Westward*, 41.
- 33 ———, *Westward*, 42.
- 34 Scidmore, *China*, 83.
- 35 ———, *China*, 87.
- 36 Cumming, II, 263. The heading reads: ‘shopping descriptions’ (263–6).
- 37 Scidmore, *China*, 193–200.
- 38 ———, *China*, 200.
- 39 See Scidmore, *China*, 227–49 (The Great Wall) and 250–9 (Ming Tombs). See Mary Gaunt, *A Woman in China* (London: Werner Laurie, 1914), 113ff and

- 122–7. LaMotte acknowledges these places as familiar tourist destinations and writes: ‘Day before yesterday four of us went up to see the Ming tombs and the Great Wall. Everything is so exciting in Peking that we could hardly bear to absent ourselves from it even for two days; having come all the way out to China, it seemed as if we really ought to see the Great Wall. I won’t describe our trip. You can read descriptions of the wall in any book; all I can say is that it took two days to get there and back, and that we set off on the expedition most reluctantly’, 86–7. See also Grace Thompson Seton, *Chinese Lanterns* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1924), 350. Seton remains vague about the dates of her visit to the Ming Tombs, but mentions seeing *another* Ming Tomb at Nanking, 340.
- 40 Gaunt, 117.
- 41 See Scidmore, *China*, Chapters XXIII–XXVI, 333–429.
- 42 See Mrs. Archibald [i.e. Alicia] Little, ‘In the Wild West of China’, *The Nineteenth Century*, 39 (Jan/June 1896), 58–64; ‘A Summer Trip to Chinese Thibet’, *Cornhill Magazine*, ser. 3, issue 6 (1899), 213–29 and ‘A Journey of Surprises: Through Yunnan from the Yangtse’, *The Cornhill Magazine*, 3, issue 20 (1906), 476–91.
- 43 For Mrs. Archibald Little’s travel writing see, for example, *My Diary in a Chinese Farm* (Shanghai, Hongkong, Singapore and Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh, 1894); *Guide to Peking* (Tientsin: Tientsin Press, 1904); *Intimate China: The Chinese As I Have Seen Them* (London: Hutchinson, 1899); and *Round About My Peking Garden* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905).
- 44 See Elizabeth Crump Enders, *Temple Bells and Silver Sails* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1925), from Chapter XIV. Elizabeth Kendall, *A Wayfarer in China: Impressions of a Trip Across West China and Mongolia* (London: Constable, 1913).
- 45 Tietjens, 33–4.
- 46 See Elizabeth Crump Enders, *Swinging Lanterns* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1923), 83, 153. LaMotte, 30ff, particularly 32.
- 47 In Shanghai, Enders and her husband Pierre employ — out of pity, it says — an amah for Elizabeth and a rickshaw boy, and they also pay for the room boys in their accommodation. In Beijing, where they settle down, the couple learn a little Chinese to communicate with their servants and their new friends (*Swinging Lanterns*, 10–11, 151). LaMotte and her travel companion also employ rickshaw boys for the month and they are ‘much attached to them’ (56). LaMotte even breaks up a fight in which her boy Kwong is involved, later using her Western identity to protect her servant when the police come (60).
- 48 Enders, *Swinging Lanterns*, 217ff.
- 49 LaMotte, 167.
- 50 Scidmore, *China*, 167–79.
- 51 ———, *China*, 179, and Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd rev. edn, trans. rev. by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York: Continuum, 1997), 388.
- 52 Seton, ix.

- 53 For Seton's biography, see Lucinda H. MacKethan, 'The Setons at Home: Organizing a Family Biography' at <<http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us:8080/biography/mackethan.htm>> (accessed 9 August 2006).
- 54 Seton, 174.

Chapter 8

- 1 W. Somerset Maugham, *The Gentleman in the Parlour: A Record of a Journey from Rangoon to Haiphong* (London: Heinemann, 1930), 83.
- 2 Hugh Clifford, 'The Quest of the Golden Fleece', *Malayan Monochromes* (London: John Murray, 1913), 197.
- 3 Letter to Lytton Strachey, 2nd October 1908. *Letters of Leonard Woolf*, ed. Frederic Spotts (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1989), 137.
- 4 Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War*, with an English translation by H. J. Edwards, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917), Book VI.
- 5 Leonard Woolf, *Growing: An Autobiography of the Years 1904–1911* (London: Hogarth Press, 1961), 212.
- 6 Maugham, *Ah King and Other Stories* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986 [1990]), 269–339.
- 7 Leonard Woolf, *The Village in the Jungle* [1913] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 179.
- 8 Rudyard Kipling, 'Kaa's Hunting', *The Jungle Book* [1894], ed. W. W. Robson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 22–47.
- 9 Kipling, 'The King's Ankus', *The Second Jungle Book* [1895], ed. W. W. Robson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 104.
- 10 The phrase 'imperial Gothic' was coined by Patrick Brantlinger in his *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism 1830–1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 227–54.
- 11 Hugh Clifford, 'A Dying Kingdom', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 86 (May/October 1902), 110.
- 12 Clifford, *Malayan Monochromes* (London: John Murray, 1913), 233.
- 13 Pierre Loti, *Un Pèlerin d'Angkor* (Paris: Calmann-Lévi, 1912), 118.
- 14 *Ibid.* 'So there it is, this sanctuary which once haunted my childish imagination, and which I have attained only after so much wandering the earth, when the evening of my wayward life has already come!'
- 15 Maugham, *The Gentleman in the Parlour*, 209, 213–4. Such is the pervasive power of junglification, in Maugham's account, that not only the vegetation but also the ruins themselves have become tangled.
- 16 There is no agreement among historians on a single main cause for the decline and fall of Angkor, and no doubt a variety of factors — economic, political, cultural and environmental — were involved. See Ian Mabbett and David Chandler, *The*

- Khmers* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 204–17. For other recent accounts, see, for example: Claude Jacques, *Angkor: Cities and Temples* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997); Charles Higham, *The Civilization of Angkor* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001); and David Snellgrove, *Khmer Civilization and Angkor* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2001).
- 17 Hugh Clifford, *Malayan Monochromes*, 245–6.
 - 18 Clifford, *Further India: Being the Story of Exploration from the Earliest Times in Burma, Malaya, Siam, and Indo-China* (London: Alston Rivers, 1905), 161–2.
 - 19 See J. A. MacGillivray, *Minotaur: Sir Arthur Evans and the Archaeology of the Minoan Myth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000).
 - 20 Hugh Clifford, *The Downfall of the Gods* (London: John Murray, 1911), 335, 336.
 - 21 Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgement* (1790), trans. with Analytical Indexes by James Creed Meredith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), 111.
 - 22 Hugh Clifford, ‘A Dying Kingdom’, 108.
 - 23 See Harry A. Gailey, *Clifford: Imperial Proconsul* (London: Rex Collings, 1982), and Kathryn Tidrick, ‘Hugh Clifford, Administrator’, *Empire and the English Character* (London: Taurus, 1992), 88–129.
 - 24 Philip Holden, *Orienting Masculinity, Orienting Nation: W. Somerset Maugham’s Exotic Fiction* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 96.
 - 25 Hugh Clifford, ‘Mankind and the Jungle’, *Living Age*, 278 (July/September 1913), 162.
 - 26 *Rudyard Kipling’s Verse; Definitive Edition* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940), 487. ‘Cities and Thrones and Powers’ first appeared in *Puck of Pook’s Hill* (1906).
 - 27 The scientific and literary debate about civilisation, nature and progress is the topic of Brian Shaffer’s study *The Blinding Torch: Modern British Fiction and the Discourse of Civilization* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993).
 - 28 T. H. Huxley, ‘Evolution and Ethics’, *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* (New York: Appleton, 1911), 45. This bleak future is visited by the Time Traveller in *The Time Machine* by Huxley’s pupil, H. G. Wells, published the following year (1895), and a reversion to the State of Nature also overtakes *The Island of Dr Moreau* (1896).

Chapter 9

- 1 Translated from the French ‘Oases Interdites’ by Thomas McGreevy.
- 2 Philip Krummich discusses the depth of their relationship in his unpublished article ‘She/He Wrote: Two Accounts of a Crossing of Asia’ (thanks to Dr Krummich of Moorehead University, USA).
- 3 See Izzard, Freya Stark *A Biography* (1993), 194, and Glendinning, Rebecca West *A Life* (1998), 161, for examples of the connection between these writers and government interests.

Chapter 10

- 1 Ayako Kano, *Acting Like a Woman: Theater, Gender and Nationalism* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 99. Studies on Otojiro and Sadayakko in English include: Yoko Chiba, ‘Sadayakko and Kawakami’, *Modern Drama*, 35, 35–52; Shelley C. Berg, ‘Sadayakko in London and Paris, 1900’, *Dance Chronicle*, 18, 3 (1995), 343–404; and Leslie Downer, *Madame Sadayakko: A Geisha Who Bewitched the West* (New York: Gotham Books, 2003).
- 2 Otojiro also produced a variety of ‘travel plays’ including *Oshi ryoko* (Dumb Travel 1908) that Kano examines (104) and *Seiban tobatsu* (Conquering Indigenous Taiwanese 1911), both of which represent the ‘twisted double vision’.
- 3 Even though Otojiro himself did not write about his travels, we can read interviews with him and his wife reproduced in several books, including Sotetsu Fujii (ed.), *Jiden Otojiro Sadayakko* [Autobiographies of Otojiro and Sadayakko] (Tokyo: San-ichi Syobo, 1984) and Tanejiro Kaneo (ed.), *Otojiro Sadayakko Manyu-ki* [Globe-trotting of Otojiro and Sadayakko] (Tokyo: Kaneo Bunshin-do, 1901). All translation from Japanese is mine.
- 4 Fujii (ed.), 58.
- 5 *Jiji Shimpō*, 21 December 1900.
- 6 *San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 March 1899.
- 7 ———, 22 May 1899.
- 8 ———, 10 June 1899.
- 9 Brian Miller, *The Life of Admiral George Dewey* <<http://www.spanamwar.com/dewey.htm>> (accessed 11 June 2006).
- 10 Goyo Narita, ‘Japanese writings on Jose Rizal’ <<http://members.jcom.home.ne.jp/goyo/RIZAL/jasturiz.htm>>.
- 11 *San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 June 1899.
- 12 ‘Interview with Kawakami Otojiro’, *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpō*, 5 December 1900.
- 13 Onitaro, ‘Haiyu Gassen (Wars of actors)’, *Engei Sekai*, August 1903.
- 14 Nyozeikan Hasegawa, ‘News from Anglo-Japan Exposition,’ *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, 8 July 1910.
- 15 ‘If the Japanese Portrayed Us,’ *St. Louis Globe Democrat* (4 December 1904). Quoted by Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 87.
- 16 Fujii, 76.
- 17 Baron Suematsu, *The Risen Sun* [3rd impression] (London: Archibald Constable, 1895), 132–42.
- 18 ‘On *Othello* at the Meiji-za Theatre in February,’ *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 3 February 1903. This scene of the Taiwanese people singing in praise of Japanese colonial rule is not in Emi Sui’in’s script (Emi Sui’in, *Othello*, *The Bungei Kurabu*, February 1903). ‘The natives’ in the above quotation refer to the indigenous Taiwanese, distinct from Taiwanese with Chinese ancestry.
- 19 *Miyako Shimbun*, 21 December 1902.

- 20 The *Taiwan Nichi-Nichi*, a newspaper published in Japanese in Taipei, reports famine in the Penghu Islands just before Otojiro's visit to Taiwan. See *Taiwan Nichi-Nichi*, 5 December 1902.
- 21 Emi Sui'in, *Othello*, Act 3.
- 22 Kaneo (ed.), 32ff.
- 23 *Eta*, or the *burakumin*, are the largest discriminated-against population in Japan. They are generally recognised as descendants of a caste ostracised since feudal times. When the social status system was established in the seventeenth century in the form of three classes (warrior, peasant, townsfolk), placed at the bottom of the society were *eta* (extreme filth) and *hinin* (non-human) classes. The *burakumin* are one of the main minority groups in Japan, along with the Ainu of Hokkaido and residents of Korean and Chinese descent. Their place in Japanese society is often compared to the Dalits, or *Untouchables*, in the culture of India. See Headquarters of Buraku Liberation League <<http://www.bll.gr.jp/eng.html>> (accessed 11 June 2006).
- 24 *Ryukyu Shimpo*, 21 May 1903.
- 25 *Ryukyu Shimpo*, 25 April 1903.
- 26 *Osaka Mainichi*, 9 February 1903.
- 27 For 'human showcases' and imperialism, see Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 112–41.
- 28 Carol Ann Christ, '“The Sole Guardians of the Art Inheritance of Asia”: Japan and China at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair', *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, 8, 3 (2000), 676–7.
- 29 *Daily News*, 2 November 1910, cited in Hiroyuki Mitsu (ed.), *The British Press and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910* (Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, 2001: originally printed in London 1910 and Tokyo 1911), 180–1.
- 30 *Taiyo Special Issue on the Anglo-Japan Exposition* (Tokyo: Hakubun-sha, 1908), 26.
- 31 Hasegawa, *ibid.*

Chapter 11

- 1 Unless otherwise stated, all references are to *The Writings of Lafcadio Hearn* [16 vols] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922). This edition's standardisation of Hearn's eccentric punctuation is followed throughout. Texts omitted from this edition will be separately cited.
- 2 *Heimin*: a term loosely denoting 'citizen' after Meiji, but in the Tokugawa period broadly designating the caste of merchants, artisans and peasantry below the samurai.
- 3 Paul Murray contests the tradition in Hearn studies which typifies the elderly widow, Sarah Brenane, as an intimidating Catholic zealot of 'fierce and prudish beliefs' (Dawson, 7), believing instead that she gave the young Hearn 'a life of cultured

- leisure with, critically, untrammled access to books of all sorts' (Murray, 16). Murray also attributes Brenane's misrepresentation in part to Hearn himself and 'the legend he was propagating' (Murray, 247).
- 4 See 'The New Orleans Exposition: The Japanese Exhibit', first published in *Harper's Weekly*, 31 January 1885.
 - 5 Accompanying the frequent sense of déjà vu in reading Hearn's Japan texts are the surprise insertions of previous travel experience. *Exotics and Retrospectives* (1898) effortlessly switches its focus from Japan to the West Indies and back to Japan. Similarly, the penultimate story, 'Hi-Mawari' of the supernatural tales of *Kwaidan* (1904), witnesses Hearn substitute Japanese goblins for the more distantly remembered goblins of Wales, and where the singing voice of the ugly Welsh harper ('a quivering tenderness indescribable' [XI: 260]) is reworked in *Kokoro's* 'A Street Singer' as that of the equally ugly blind samisen player ('A tenderness invisible seemed to gather and quiver about us' [VII, 295]).
 - 6 Stevenson, 197, quoted from Edward L. Tinker's *Lafcadio Hearn's American Days* (New York: Dodds, Mead & Co, 1924), 328–9. Stevenson records Hearn's pleasure when he was mistakenly accepted as an 'Ainoku' — a half Japanese (265).
 - 7 Hirakawa, 1997, 2–3.
 - 8 Yuzo Ota's essay 'Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's Problematic Interpreter' states that Hearn's writing gained fresh appeal in the 1930s, as it was perceived to be 'in harmony with the conservative nationalisms which were becoming more and more dominant' (Hirakawa, 215–6). However, the 1920s saw the steady publication of Hearn's work in Tokyo, including the nine-volume complete translation into Japanese (1920–1923), and editions of Hearn's letters (Tanabe, 1921), (Ichikawa, 1925), literary criticism and literary history (Tanabe and Ochiai, 1927), and annotated selections in translation (Hagiwara, 1929).
 - 9 Reading Hearn at length, stock words such as 'ghost', 'vapor' and 'glide' become [all too] familiar presences.
 - 10 See George Hughes's authoritative overview, 'Lafcadio Hearn and the Fin de Siècle', which considers in detail the issue of indebtedness to Poe, Loti, Kipling, Gautier and Pater, whose rendition of the Mona Lisa is shown to be the origin of Hearn's Japanese farmer in 'The Stone Buddha' from *Out of the East* ('He himself is older, incomparably older, than his attire. The earth he tills has indeed swallowed him up a thousand times a thousand times' [VII, 126]). Hughes observes the 'equality' Hearn demonstrates between the high Western and Japanese traditions of visual art as achieved '[w]ithout forcing overt confrontation' (In Sukehiro Hirakawa [ed.], *Rediscovering Lafcadio Hearn* (Kent: Global, 1997), 93–94.
 - 11 Hearn is able to stand back and undermine his conceit at this point ('Hackneyed to the degree of provocation this statement no doubt is' [V, 10]), while instituting a favourite shorthand for referring to the Japanese. Cf. 'The fairy mistress' hotelier in 'The Dream of a Summer Day' from *Out of the East* (VII, 12).
 - 12 Cf. 'Hyogo, this morning . . . Forms remain sharply outlined, but are almost idealized by faint colors not belonging to them; and the great hills behind the town aspire

- into a cloudless splendor of tint that seems the ghost of azure rather than azure itself (VII, 330). The ideal light here seems to have its origins in symboliste ‘azure’ as much as in perceived phenomena. The frequent merging of the visual and the visionary evokes Hearn’s biographically poor eyesight due to congenital myopia, and the hapless blinding of his left eye in school.
- 13 Matthew Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature*, original lecture given 26 May 1866, republished in *Lectures and Essays on Criticism*, ed. R. H. Super (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1970), 291–86.
 - 14 Letter to Ellwood Hendrick of 7 October 1891, quoted in Stevenson, 239.
 - 15 The issue of Hearn’s linguistic ability remains controversial, with judgements ranging from Murray, ‘[a]ll sources agree Hearn’s Japanese was poor’ (Murray, 253) to Hirakawa, ‘he had a very good understanding of spoken Japanese’ (Hirakawa, 41). As Hearn’s wife had no English, Hirakawa recounts the necessity of a competence able to transcribe and refashion in English the oral versions read to Hearn from the Japanese and Chinese written sources.
 - 16 Setsuko Hearn, ‘Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn’, in *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 1918, 346–7. Translated from the Japanese by Paul Kiyoshi Hisada and Frederick Johnson.
 - 17 Bisland, *Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, 341.
 - 18 *Some New Letters and Writings of Lafcadio Hearn*, Ichikawa, 203.
 - 19 Letter to Basil Hall Chamberlain, 17 January 1893, in *The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, ed. Elizabeth Bisland (London: Constable, 1911) 35, 38.
 - 20 After a visit to the local community of outcasts — the yama-no-mono — Hearn had a letter published in the ‘Japan Mail’ of 13 June 1891 in which he signalled an unequivocal (liberal journalist’s) compassion for the ‘victims of a prejudice so ancient that its origin is no longer known’ (*Kokoro*, Appendix to the Tuttle edition, 334). Hearn later lectured on the subject at the Asiatic Society of Japan on 17 October 1894.
 - 21 In stark contrast to his travelogue’s popular manga images, Peter Carey illustrates his discovery of the Edo samurai Eiko Ikegami’s diary account of blade testing on condemned prisoners with a period diagram of the cuts valued by sword appraisers (‘Bunzaemon was excited about cutting into a human body, something he believed every true samurai should experience’). *Wrong About Japan* (Sydney: Random House, 2004), 26, 42–3.
 - 22 For example, in ‘The Role of the Samurai in the Development of Modern Banking in Japan’, Kozo Yamamura demonstrates that both the heimin and former samurai classes were competitively involved in the formation of the Meiji [financial] system. *Journal of Economic History*, 27, 2 (1967), 198–220.
 - 23 Louis Allen’s detailed account of Hearn’s time at Ushaw College notes the ‘Tyne . . . the home of the Armstrong shipyards, where were built many of the ships of the Japanese fleet which defeated the Russians at the Battle of Tsushima in 1905’ (Zenimoto, 79).
 - 24 Isabella Bird’s preface to the 1900 edition of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, after

empirical assessment of Japan's progressing war machine ('the Government is preparing for eventualities by doubling the army') acknowledges the arrival of a 'brilliant and successful Empire' now 'on equal terms in the family of civilised nations, the only Oriental power to which this intimate relationship has been conceded.' Isabella J. Bird aka Mrs. J. F. Bishop, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (London: Newnes [1880] 1900, new edn), VI, vii.

- 25 The origins of the Zouaves can be traced to the *Zouaoua*, a Kabyle tribe living in Algeria and Morocco. In 1830 a number of Zouaoua joined the French colonial army, and were organised into two battalions of auxiliaries.

Chapter 12

- 1 This is not to suggest that travel is always inevitably fragmentary, but rather that this particular mode of travel is frequently interrupted, both in terms of geographical progression and in the way that the remembered journey is presented stylistically.
- 2 Marc Augé, *Non-Lieux. Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité* (Paris: Seuil, 1992). In this text, Augé explores the possibilities of 'anonymous' spaces such as airports, trains, supermarkets and chain hotels. Bernheim's *chambres* are infused with meaning and personal associations and so can never be termed anonymous.
- 3 James Clifford, 'Traveling Cultures', in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 17–46 (26). Clifford cites the example of a Hawaiian family's preservation of their 'Hawaiianess' during years of constant interaction with different cultures. He asks how 'in transient, hybrid environments, did they preserve and invent a sense of Hawaiian "home"?' Bernheim's approach to what we might call 'dwelling-in-travel' can be seen to go some way towards providing some possible answers to this question.
- 4 Simone Fullagar remarks upon the complexity of the notion of home in her 'Narratives of Travel: Desire and the Movement of Feminine Subjectivity', *Leisure Studies*, 21 (2002), 57–74 (69). She writes: 'Travel is, indeed, a paradoxical space, an elsewhere that is at once leaving home and encountering the multiple ways of being at home in the world that are as much temporal as spatial relations.'
- 5 For further critical exploration of this, see Michael Cronin, *Across the Lines: Travel, Language and Translation* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000) and Charles Forsdick, *Travels in 20th Century French and Francophone Culture: The Persistence of Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). For further examples of microscopic travel, see Jacques Lacarrière, *Le pays sous l'écorce* (Paris: Seuil, 1980), Paul Fournel, *Poils de Cairote* (Paris: Seuil, 2004) and Nicolas Bouvier, *Le Poisson-Scorpion* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996).
- 6 Whether or not these modes of travel were a conscious choice on the part of the traveller is debatable. It is possible that instead these particular types of travel were a product of travelling in an unfamiliar culture which initially seems

impenetrable to the traveller. In *Chambres d'ailleurs*, Bernheim turns inwards, towards her companion, and so the *chambres* become a focus and a place of partial familiarity. In contrast, the narrator's solitude in *Saisons japonaises* necessitates the creation of a sense of stability through dwelling-in-travel and by imagining a home away from home, rather than constantly changing location.

- 7 This investment of time and money betrays her as a professional journalist with proto-anthropological pretensions.
- 8 Nicole-Lise Bernheim, *Saisons japonaises* (Paris: Payot, 1999), 13. Please note that all translations in this article are my own. 'Je suis solitaire, intriguée, disponible et heureuse de divaguer dans les ruelles bordées de temples et dans la nécropole. Ne parlant pas la langue, je deviens ici analphabète et sourde. C'est comme si je venais de naître — je ne sais plus ni parler, ni lire, ni écrire. Seulement absorber, comme une éponge.'
- 9 Cronin, *Across the Lines*. See Chapter 2, 'The Changeling', 39–67.
- 10 Cronin, *Across the Lines*, 41.
- 11 *Chambres d'ailleurs* narrates travel around Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka whereas *Saisons japonaises* focuses exclusively on one town in one country.
- 12 Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 67. These, often hazily defined, geographical areas, that Holland and Huggan identify as 'the Tropics', 'the Orient', 'the South Seas' and 'the Arctic', are argued to be complex textual zones which repeatedly draw the attentions of contemporary Western travel writers. They stress the conservative nature of travel to these areas and write 'even when it strives to communicate change or fresh perception, the contemporary traveller's account will at best supplement earlier versions'.
- 13 Such a personalised approach to travel, where the emphasis is as much upon the traveller as upon the place, can be seen to challenge *fin de siècle* notions in France of an imminent *fin des voyages* (see Julia Przybos, 'Voyage du pessimisme et pessimisme du voyage', *Romantisme*, 61 [1988], 67–74). If the traveller is as important to travel literature as place, then the possibilities for difference in travel accounts are seemingly infinite.
- 14 For an introduction to the complexity of French-Asian transcultural exchange, see Charles Forsdick, 'Introduction', *Modern & Contemporary France*, 14.1 (2006), 1–4. Forsdick writes: 'the France/Asias encounter cannot be understood as taking place between two whole, fixed and finished entities. Throughout, the question must be asked: which "Asia" for which "France"?' As this extract suggests, there is no one form of French-Asian intercultural contact, just as the notion of a singular Asia is inherently problematic. Concepts of place, identity and interchange are constantly evolving.
- 15 Forsdick suggests that such a silence is indicative of contemporary French resistance to postcolonial thought, in 'Viator in Fabula: Jean-Didier Urbain and the Cultures of Travel in Contemporary France', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 4 (2000), 126–40.

- It is possible to argue that, here, Bernheim's avoidance of postcolonial issues is motivated by a solipstic desire to use elsewhere as a screen upon which to project the self.
- 16 Although it was, of course, occupied for a period of time after World War II.
- 17 As Akane Kawakami notes in her text *Traveller's Visions: French Literary Encounters with Japan, 1881–2004* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2005), 1: 'Japan had been, over the years, a privileged object of the French gaze'. This particular interest in Japan, described by Kawakami in terms of literary interest, indicates how French travellers' approach to Japan is, to some extent, determined or coloured by their associations.
- 18 For further discussion of Iyer's experience of Nara as one of his several homes, see Chapter 7, 'The Alien Home', 269–98 in *The Global Soul: Jet-lag, Shopping Malls and the Search for Home* (London: Bloomsbury, 2001).
- 19 Holland and Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters*, 81.
- 20 Nicole-Lise Bernheim, *Chambres d'ailleurs* (Paris: Payot, 1999) [1986], 191. 'Quand on est longtemps ailleurs, on ne peut vivre constamment en curiosité. On arrive à oublier qu'on est un étranger à l'étranger. Parfois nous ne sortons pas sauf pour aller manger ou encore nous pique-niquons face à face dans la chambre, notre chambre. Quatre murs, clos. On pourrait aussi bien être à Paris et regarder la télé. Si l'on voyage à deux, la quotidienneté est plus forte que l'exotisme. Il faut pouvoir respirer sans penser à rien, se reposer sans admirer, s'occuper de soi, de l'autre, recoudre son linge, le nettoyer.'
- 21 Bernheim, *Chambres d'ailleurs*, 11. 'Je suis à Tokyo, au bout du monde et je suis avec toi.'
- 22 Bernheim, *Chambres d'ailleurs*, 41–2. 'Écrire au lieu d'être avec toi. Écrire, c'est me lever sans entendre tes jambes dans les miennes, c'est prendre la liberté de les faire se mouvoir seules [. . .]. Écrire, c'est oublier que tu conduis à mon côté [. . .]. Écrire, écrire vraiment, pour soi et les autres, c'est aimer. Insupportable désir d'aimer ailleurs que toi, trahison — je le refoule donc.'
- 23 René De Ceccatty, 'Le Japon intérieur de Nicole-Lise Bernheim', *Le Monde*, 21 May 1999. (Available online at www.lemonde.fr). 'Chambres d'ailleurs, qui aurait pu s'intituler Chambres de soi, un soi démultiplié par l'amour, l'amour d'un homme et l'amour des hommes'.
- 24 Bernheim, *Chambres d'ailleurs*, 216. 'Nous nous allongeons près du mur en briques rouges. De l'encens se consume quelque part, ça sent bon. La lune brille, les étoiles scintillent. La présence de Farida et d'Hussein me trouble, vont-ils s'aimer ? Allons-nous, en douce . . . Tu me caresses, j'essaie de ne pas rire. Peut-être fait-il de même, le douanier.'
- 25 Even when there is a lack of interpersonal contact in travel, it can still be suggested that intercultural contact may occur through systems of signs, TV, etc. Although this is not particularly in evidence in *Chambres d'ailleurs*, it is noticeable in other travel narratives about Japan such as in Roland Barthes, *L'Empire des Signes* (Paris: Seuil, 1970).

- 26 Jean-Xavier Ridon, 'Pour une poétique du voyage comme disparition', in Christian Albert, Nadine Laporte and Jean-Yves Pouilloux (eds.), *Autour de Nicolas Bouvier: Résonances* (Geneva: Zoé, 2002), 120–35.
- 27 Bernheim, *Saisons japonaises*, 219. '[J]'ai la chance d'avoir pu le côtoyer, d'y avoir créé des liens alors que les *gaijin* (strangers) prétendent souvent que c'est impossible, que le Japon est toujours fermé aux étrangers. En bon *baku* (mythical creature capable of swallowing nightmares), j'espère avoir détruit, avalé ces clichés.'
- 28 Sidonie Smith, *Moving Lives: 20th Century Women's Travel Writing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), x.
- 29 Bernheim, *Chambres d'ailleurs*, 16. 'Le lit . . . deux matelas, les futons, plies dans le placard, on les étale ou le coeur vous en dit [. . .]. Le thé et deux tasses attendent sur un plateau [. . .]. Je m'enroule dans le futon chaud et confortable. [. . .] Je suis bien.'
- 30 Yet, perhaps clinging to Western modes of home-making is precisely what prevents the traveller from experiencing the other culture to a greater degree.
- 31 Bernheim, *Saisons japonaises*, 96–7. 'Comme je les raconte, comme je les vis, mes relations avec les Japonais semblent aisées. Mais rien ne m'a été donné d'emblée. A Koyasan, j'ai d'abord logé dans plusieurs temples, erré de ci, de là. Les échanges avec les Imai se sont faits avec lenteur, il a fallu que je prouve mon intérêt, ma sincérité, « de cœur à cœur », comme ils disent. J'ai dû montrer ma vérité. Ils savent désormais qu'ils peuvent compter sur moi, que je fais ce que je promets de faire. A partir de là, je l'ignore pas, les portes que j'ai ouvertes le resteront pour la vie. [. . .] La famille qui m'a adoptée, je l'ai moi aussi peu à peu adoptée. Notre amitié s'est fondée sur le respect réciproque, l'indispensable politesse, sans intrusion non voulue.'
- 32 See Steve Clark, "'Bang at its Moral Centre": Ideologies of Genre in Butor, Fussell, and Raban', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 4 (2000), 106–25, for a discussion of the recurrent disguising of material circumstances behind the production of travel literature.
- 33 Bernheim, *Saisons japonaises*, 13.
- 34 Clifford, *Routes*, 20.
- 35 Bernheim, *Saisons japonaises*, 89. 'Onsen avec les Imai. Les salles de bains ont rendu presque inutiles les bains publics traditionnels mais n'ont pas démodé les stations balnéaires, souvent fréquentées par des habitués. Hommes d'un côté, femmes de l'autre. Eau à 50°, vapeur. Maman Imai, Ikuyo et Sawako sont nues avec moi dans la profonde piscine des femmes. Pour l'instant, personne d'autre. Elles ont la peau assez foncée, de petits seins à très petites aréoles brunes et sont très minces. Je me sens géante à cote d'elles. Ikuyo, la plus jeune, décide de me prendre en charge, me montre comment je dois m'accroupir pour me laver, en prenant vraiment mon temps.'
- 36 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters* (London: Virago, 1994) [1861].
- 37 Fullagar, *Narratives of Travel*, 71.

- 38 Holland and Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters*, 68 write: ‘Travel writers today, like most of their predecessors, tend to share with professional ethnographers the yearning to establish a reciprocity with the people and places they visit and about which they write. Yet in most cases, the traveller-writer mobilises fantasies, as much collective as personal, that are always entangled in the myths and experiential categories of the zone. [. . .] in Japan, the desire for a poetised eroticism seeks experience of the feminised Orient. [. . .] Thus, while travel writing sustains the allure of exchange and acquisition, it often ends up by collapsing back onto the reserves of previous journeys.’
- 39 Bernheim, *Saisons japonaises*, 103. ‘Un jour, Etsuko-san m’a reproché de faire des photos de sa famille. J’ai eu droit moi aussi à un interminable discours, traduit par Ikuyo. Ça a duré, duré. Elle m’a expliqué que, pour eux, je suis une amie. Qu’elle oublie que je suis journaliste, écrivain, et que ces photos la dérangent. Qu’allais-je en faire? Avec mon tout petit appareil, je ne suis pas professionnelle et je n’ai rien d’un paparazzo. [. . .] Je lui promets de la tenir au courant. Elle se calme, m’invite à déjeuner. Mais elle a dénoué notre lien. Je ne m’y attendais pas et cela m’empêche d’écrire pendant plusieurs semaines.’
- 40 Robyn Davidson, *Tracks* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1980).
- 41 François Maspero, *Les Passagers du Roissy-Express* (Paris: Seuil, 1990), 127. In this episode the Malian men remark upon the issue of respect and authorisation, indicating that to take a photograph without permission shows a fundamental lack of courtesy.
- 42 Nicolas Bouvier, *Journal d’Aran et d’autres lieux* (Paris: Payot, 2001) [1990].
- 43 Ella Maillart, *Ti-Puss* (Paris: Payot, 2002) [1951].
- 44 Carole Pither, *Un Camion dans la tête* (Paris: Payot, 2003).
- 45 Jenny Diski, *Skating to Antarctica* (London: Granta Books, 1997).
- 46 Julio Cortázar and Carol Dunlop, *Les Autonautes de la cosmoroute ou un voyage intemporal Paris-Marseille* (Paris: Gallimard, 1983).

Chapter 13

- 1 The social, political and economic conditions surrounding travel conditions in Japan have been exhaustively treated by Constantine N. Vapori in *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- 2 The true weight of this figure is felt when one tries to imagine a contemporary Anglophone equivalent. In comparison, Bill Bryson has written fewer than ten travel books, Paul Theroux fourteen, and Colin Thubron about twenty.
- 3 There were sixty volumes in this series, which was divided into two groups. The main portion of fifty volumes dealt with Japan and other places in Asia, and the second series of ten was subtitled ‘The European-American Series’. This division seems to imply that countries in Asia share the same cultural sphere with Japan

- and therefore deserve to be included in the main, un-subtitled group. Information about the serial (in Japanese) can be found at <<http://www.kaidou.net/>>.
- 4 Interestingly enough, there is a new genre of travel writing emerging, consistent with the greying of the population, that is written by retirees and focuses on cultural items usually ignored by the fashion-conscious, or language-studying, younger set. See, for example, Kanai Shige, *Nenkin fūbō Shige san no chikyū hoihoi kenbunroku* (Pension Vagabond Shige's Record of Things Seen and Heard) or Yamada Fusako, *65 sai bakkupakkaa sekai hitori aruki* (65-Year-old Backpacker Walking the World Alone). Dozens of books have also been published that give concrete advice to retirees who are hoping to travel or even live overseas. As far as I know, this theme has yet to be taken up specifically on television.
 - 5 While known for the intellectual content of its programming, NHK is often also associated with a conservative slant, which should come as no surprise as it has been under the control of the Liberal Democratic Party during nearly all of its existence. NHK was much in the news in 2005 on account of a series of scandals, one of which involved well-supported allegations that news items that might have been seen as critical of the emperor were withheld from programming at the urging of ruling LDP party politicians.
 - 6 It was only when the traveller was non-Japanese that the pain caused by Japanese imperialism to other peoples was actually dealt with (4 November, 1995). In the more numerous cases when a Japanese travelled through the former empire, the content was focused on the pain felt either by Japanese soldiers who fought there, or (more commonly) civilians who were left behind there after the end of the war (14 October 1995; 12 December 1998; 15 January, 2000; 5 May, 2002; 4 August, 2002).
 - 7 To give just a few examples, singer Shirai Yoshiko (14 November 1993), blues musician Shirai Eiichi (21 December 1996), baseball pitcher Murakami Masanori (16 May 1998), and singer Sawada Kenji (30 September 2001).
 - 8 From the 'What's Ururun?' page on <www.ururun.com>.
 - 9 After taking students abroad where they also experienced homestays, I have heard several of them explain that when parting from their host families at the airport, they had mustered up tears they did not themselves 'feel', because this was the response they thought appropriate.
 - 10 This notion was perhaps best emphasised by a chapter in one of the several *Sekai Ururun taizaiki* books that have been published. These generally report in more detail on the experiences of certain travellers on the show. Actor Harada Ryūji here reflects upon his experience teaching at an elementary school in rural Laos (*Sekai Ururun Taizaiki*, 15–32).
 - 11 For a recent and very thorough discussion of *nihonjinron*, see Harumi Befu, *The Hegemony of Homogeneity*, (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2001).
 - 12 In the past hundred years, much has been written about Bashō and Saigyō as travel writers, and much also has been done in relation to travel in the *Man'yōshū*, the first anthology of Japanese poetry, compiled in 759. There is also a reasonable

amount of research dealing with medieval travel diaries. More recently, a number of scholars, led by Itasaka Yōko, have been opening up the immense volume of travel writing of the Edo period (1600–1867) for closer inspection. Very little has been done with work after that. One outstanding exception is Joshua Fogel's work *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

Chapter 14

- 1 This and other details of urban topography are taken from the standard two-volume history of the city, Edward Seidensticker, *Low City, High City* and *Tokyo Rising* (both New York: Tuttle, 1983).
- 2 Paolo Soleri, 'Arcology: The City in the Image of Man' and 'The Characteristics of Arcology' (originally 1969); Constantin Doxiadis, 'Ecumenopolis, World City of Tomorrow' (also 1969): both in 'The Future of the City' section of Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout (eds) *The City Reader* (London: Routledge, 1996) 453–57, 458–67.
- 3 Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising*, 313–4.
- 4 Isabella J. Bird aka Mrs. J. F. Bishop, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (London: Newnes [1880], 1900), new edn, Letter II, 18.
- 5 See Kevin Lynch, 'The City Image and its Elements' (1960), also in *The City Reader* 98–103; the terminology was popularised by Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke UP, 1991), 51–2, 415–7.
- 6 Richie, 'Walking in Tokyo', *A Lateral View: Essays on Contemporary Japan* (Japan Times: Tokyo, 1987; rev. 1991), 53–61 (58–9).
- 7 Harriet Sergeant, *The Old Sow in the Back Room: An Englishwoman in Japan* (London: John Murray, 1994), 22–3.
- 8 Eisler also prides himself on spatial verifiability: 'With two exceptions, I have depicted the Tokyo in this book as accurately as I could. Tokyoites familiar with Shibuya will know there is no Higashimura fruit store midway up Dogenzaka. The real fruit store is at the bottom of the street, closer to the station': *Rainfall* (New York: Signet, 2002), 366. There are now numerous sequels including *Hard Rain* (2003), *Rain Storm* (2004), *Killing Rain* (2005) and *The Last Assassin* (2006).
- 9 Donald Richie regards the phenomenon of urban impermanence as part of a more general aesthetic of transience, which may be contrasted with the Western city's function of preserving collective memory: *Tokyo: A View of the City* (London: Reaktion, 1999), 44–51.
- 10 David Mitchell, *no9dream* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1999), 8.
- 11 Donald Richie, 'Attitudes to Tokyo on Film', *A Lateral View*, 185–95 (196).
- 12 'Venice of Japan', Seidensticker, *Low City*, 19.

- 13 *Lost in Translation*, starring Bill Murray and Scarlett Johansson, directed by Sofia Coppola: American Zoetrope / Elemental Films (2003): for further details see <www.lost-in-translation.com>.
- 14 Joe Joseph notes that ‘Eddie Murphy was paid \$3 million dollars for making his eyes pop out at the sight of a new Toyota saloon, although they may have been popping out at the sight of the cheque’, *The Japanese: Strange But Not Strangers* (London: Penguin, 1993), 111.
- 15 Similarly in *number9dream*, Eiji can only escape from Tokyo by heading to the southernmost point of Japan, to be finally liberated only when an earthquake devastates the capital.
- 16 Where the English DVD includes an extended interview with Sofia Coppola, the Japanese version of *Lost in Translation* includes a pull-out map identifying a specific location for each of the twenty-four narrative segments of the film.
- 17 Alexander Kojève, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel* ([1934]1959), footnote added to second edn, 161–2, cited in *Postmodernism and Japan*, eds Masao Miyoshi and H. D. Harootunian (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989), xii–xiii. Francis Fukuyama’s 1989 essay, ‘The End of History’ was expanded into *The Last Man and the End of History* (1992; reprinted New York: Free Press, 2006).
- 18 Pico Iyer, *Video Night in Kathmandu; and Other Reports from the Not-so-far East* (New York: Vintage, 1989).
- 19 Alex Kerr, *Lost Japan* (Footscray: Lonely Planet, 1996: originally Utsukushi Nippon no Zanzo (Shincho-sha: Tokyo, 1993); *Dogs and Demons: Tales from the Dark Side of Japan* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).
- 20 Karel van Wolferen, *The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation* (New York: Vintage, 1987, 1993), 34–5.
- 21 For the Nakamoto building, see Michael Crichton, *Rising Sun* (Ballantine Books: New York, 1992), 22–3; strikingly conveyed in the film’s opening sequences (1993: directed by Philip Kaufman, starring Sean Connery and Wesley Snipes).
- 22 ‘Center City, Empty Center’, *Empire of Signs*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux 1970, 1982), 30–3.
- 23 Seidenstecker, *Low City*, 154; *Tokyo Rising*, 3, 313–4.
- 24 Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, 4; ‘The Writing of Violence’, 103–6. Compare the Sword Polisher in Christopher Ross, *Mishima’s Sword: Travels in Search of a Samurai Legend* (London: Harper 2006): ‘There was a climate of violence and it seemed a watershed in retrospect — but at the time it seemed like revolution was possible, even likely. It was all about the US Security Treaty. And about Vietnam. Really I suppose it was about perceived American imperialism’ (179).

Within a specifically Japanese genealogy, one might compare the political dimension of the Kyoto school’s metaphysics of nothingness, with the celebration of the imperial household as ultimate place of absence by its leading theoretician, Nishida Kitaro.

- 25 See Kerr, ‘The Bubble; Looking Back’, *Dogs and Demons*, 51–76; Richard MacGregor, ‘Beyond the Bubble’, *Japan Swings: Politics, Culture and Sex in the*

- New Japan* (New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 1996), 18–37; Joe Joseph, *The Japanese: Strange but not Strangers* (London: Penguin, 1994), 246–50.
- 26 Peregrine Hodson, *A Circle around the Sun: A Foreigner in Japan Inc* (New York: Knopf, 1993).
- 27 Sergeant claims independent cultural access by minimising her role in maternal care. Much is made of the amorality of Tokyo nightlife (36ff) though no hint of marital impropriety is given. Yet if ‘in order to practice my Japanese, I decided to become a hostess’, to what extent would this involve fraternising intimately with her clients (63)?
- 28 Kerr, *Lost Japan*, 151–3.
- 29 ———, *Dogs and Demons*, 177, 14.
- 30 Richie, *The Japan Journals 1947–2004* (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2004), 211.
- 31 Will Ferguson, *Hokkaido Highway Blues* (New York: Soho Press, 1998), 18.
- 32 Peter Carey, *Wrong about Japan* (New York: Borzoi/ Knopf, 2004). The economic relation may be seen as formally codified in the Friendship Treaty signed with then prime minister and formerly indicted class 1 war criminal Nobusuke Kishi in 1957: McGregor, 201.
- 33 McGregor, 198.
- 34 Donald Richie, *The Inland Sea* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1970, 1993); for a selection of subsequent cultural commentary, see *The Donald Richie Reader: 50 years of Writing on Japan*, ed. Arturo Silva (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2001).
- 35 *The Inland Sea*, 34–40.
- 36 *Hokkaido Highway Blues* (1996), 16.
- 37 On Bird, see Ozawa elsewhere in this volume; on Hearn, see Taylor.
- 38 For preliminary thank-yous, see Joseph, xi–xii; MacGregor, vii.
- 39 The supposedly ‘enormous amount of research and conceptualization’ (*Dogs and Demons*, ix) comes from trawling websites, whose lack of detail is berated compared to those provided by the United States military engineering corps: ‘This book is filled with statistics that I cannot verify’ (*Lost Japan*, 128, 126).
- 40 *Kill Bill*, directed by Quentin Tarantino, starring Uma Thurman and Keith Carradine, part I (2003), where this scene occurs: part II (2004).
- 41 ‘Mostly Japan starts life as a monolithic entity with individuals only hazily visible through their thickly coated Japaneseness’ (MacGregor, 2)
- 42 For detailed discussion of autopsy, see Francois Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, trans. J. Lloyd (Berkeley: California University Press, 1988).
- 43 On the paradoxical power of ignorance, see Eve K. Sedgwick *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1990), 4.
- 44 Even this is governed by the basic fallacy that non-naturalistic forms must inevitably give deeper insight into Japanese culture. Compare Kerr, *Dogs and Demons*, ‘only manga could do justice to the bizarre reality of modern Japan’, 11.
- 45 In the entertainment district, of whose nature the teenager is all too well aware, irony is spared ‘on a subject which he could not possibly comprehend’, 35; in the

- pleasure quarters, it is ‘judged . . . best to withhold these fascinating details’, 71; there are ‘views of otakus [as perverts] that I had not shared with my son’, 107, in which case why is Charley allowed to consort with the hitherto unknown Takashi?
- 46 Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
- 47 Nor can they pass beyond a radius of twenty-five miles from the treaty ports without a “passport” of formal permission from the government’ (Bird, 8).
- 48 As further examples of erasure of place, in *Lost Japan*, Alex Kerr gives details of locations in Iya and Kyoto, but none anywhere in Tokyo; Josie Dew’s garrulous *A Ride in the Neon Sun: A Gaijin in Japan* (New York: Time Warner, 1999) abruptly ends after 431 pages on the outskirts of Tokyo; in *Wrong about Japan*, Peter Carey hugely exaggerates the distance of a short subway ride from Akasuka down to Akihabara; in *Kill Bill*, the shot of the plane flying over Ginza is impossible (international flights would go to Narita, or possibly if from Okinawa to Haneda on the bay).
- 49 Richie observes that ‘unlike all other major cities, Tokyo is very rarely seen on film. Location-work in Tokyo is very rare. If one sees a crew in the street one may be fairly certain it is TV’: ‘Attitudes towards Tokyo on Film’, *A Lateral View*, 185–95 (193–4).
- 50 Sergeant’s husband’s salary places her, as she does not hesitate frequently to point out, among ‘Tokyo’s wealthiest’, 10.
- 51 ‘The retention of employees forms part of the programme of progress: “Japan for the Japanese” is the motto of Japanese patriotism; the “Barbarians” are to be used and dispensed with as soon as possible’ (10); ‘It is no part of the plan of the able men who lead the new Japanese movement to keep up a permanent foreign staff’ (28).
- 52 As Barthes says, ‘The city can only be known by activity of an ethnographic kind; you must orient yourself in it not by book, by address, but by walking by sight by habit experience’ (*Empire of Signs*, 36).

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