Of Friendship and Hospitality:

Victorian Women's Travel Writing on Meiji Japan

Tomoe Kumojima
Oriel College
University of Oxford

Doctor of Philosophy
Michaelmas Term 2012

ABSTRACT

Of Friendship and Hospitality: Victorian Women's Travel Writing on Meiji Japan
Tomoe Kumojima Doctor of Philosophy
Oriel College Michaelmas Term 2012

This thesis explores the possibility and challenges of international/interracial female friendship and anti-communitarian hospitality through writings of Victorian female travellers to Meiji Japan between 1854 and 1918. It features three travellers, viz. Isabella Bird, Mary Crawford Fraser, and Marie Stopes.

The introduction delineates the context of key events in the Anglo-Japanese relationship and explores the representation of Japan in Victorian travelogues and literary works.

Chapter I considers the philosophical dialogue between Jean-Luc Nancy, Maurice Blanchot, and Jacques Derrida on community, friendship, and hospitality. It demonstrates the potential of applying their thinking, notwithstanding its occasional complicity, to an analysis of the place of hitherto marginalised groups, women and foreigners, in Western philosophical models.

Chapter II examines relationships between Bird and Japanese natives, especially her interpreter, Ito in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880) in terms of questions of stable identity and translation. It further undertakes a comparative study between the travelogue and *Itō no koi* (2005) by Nakajima Kyōko. I explore the afterlife of Bird in Japanese literature.

Chapter III investigates friendships in Fraser's *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan* (1898). It uncovers her connection with Japanese female writers in oblivion, Yei Theodra Ozaki and Wakamatsu Shizuko. I discuss the influence her friendships had on Fraser's fictional works such as *The Stolen Emperor* (1903), especially on the fair portrayals of Japanese women.

Chapter IV explores friendships between the sexes in Stopes' *A Journal from Japan* (1910) and articulates its relationship with *Love-Letters of a Japanese* (1911) and *Plays of Old Japan* (1913). I examine Stopes' romantic relationship with Fujī Kenjirō and its influence on her career in sexology. It also investigates Stopes' collaboration with Sakurai Jōji on Nō translation and exposes complex gender, racial, and linguistic politics.

The conclusion explores three Japanese female travellers to Victorian Britain, focusing on their contact with local women. It considers Tsuda Umeko's *Journal in London*, Yasui Tetsu's *Wakakihi no ato*, and Yosano Akiko's *Pari yori* (1914).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been a long and bumpy road, but I have never been alone. There have always been friendly hands around me.

First and foremost, my heartfelt thanks go to my amazing supervisor, Dr Ankhi Mukherjee, for her unflagging encouragement and support. Without her guidance, I could not have come this far. She has lit up a path at the darkest corners. Not only has she given me practical advice on how to conduct academic research but also taught me to believe in myself and have strength to push forward, which will always be a valuable lesson for the rest of my life.

My thanks also go to Nara Women's University, especially Professor Yokoyama Shigeo and Ms Miyamae Manami, for giving me this great opportunity to study at Oxford. I cannot thank them enough for their infinite patience with me.

Thanks are equally due to the staff of the Japanese Bodleian Library, Ms Izumi Tytler, Ms Yuki Kissick, Ms Rie Williams, and Ms Hitomi Hall. They always offered me their expert help and encouraged me with their genuine interest in my work. I appreciate every kind word they have given me in the library.

Besides onerous challenges, Oxford offered me amazing friends whom I hardly consider I deserve. Susan Valladares has shown me the love for literature and reminded me of the sheer pleasure of reading. Aoife Kelly, Yuki Kawaguchi, Hwasung Lee, Malgorzata Skibinska, and Mila Vihrenova Yearley always accepted me as who I was

and forgave me at my most selfish. Johanna Vogel, Nesrine Abdel Sattar, and Hazra Medica gave me home in Oxford. Matsuzaki Mana and Yūichirō, Rosanne Jones, Charley and James Ballinger, and Antonia and Thierry Richards always believed in me and prayed for me at times when I myself could not. Elizabeth Bruton, Sarah Mann, and Charlotta Salmi offered me practical help upon my urgent request. There are other friends who do not receive special mention here due to the lack of space; I will forever feel indebted to them.

Last but not least, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my parents, Kumojima Etsurō and Toshie, for their unfailing love and support for me for all through these years. This thesis is for them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS vi

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS viii

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ix

A NOTE ON JAPANESE NAMES x

INTRODUCTION 1

1. Anglo-Japanese Relations between 1854 and 1918 7

2. Victorian Travel Literature on Meiji Japan 16

3. Japan in Victorian Literature 54

Conclusion 64

CHAPTER I

Hospitable Friendship:

Nancy, Blanchot, and Derrida on Community, Hospitality, and Friendship 71

CHAPTER II

Our Porous Being and the Survival of the Feminine:

Isabella Bird and *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* 112

1. Hospitality and Friendship's Afterlife 116

2. Isabella Bird and Japan 123

Identity Destabilised 126

Feminine Survival 153

Conclusion 162

CHAPTER III

Death in the Two Empires:

Mary Crawford Fraser and *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan* 168

1. Feminine Friendship and Death 170

2. Mary Crawford Fraser and Japan 174

Friendships in *Letters* 175

Friendship Fictionalised 195

Conclusion 212

CHAPTER IV

Love, Sexuality, and Race:

Marie Stopes and *A Journal from Japan* 215

1. Lovers 217

2. Marie Stopes and Japan 222

The Community of Lovers: Marie Stopes and Fujī Kenjirō 227

The Literary Community: Marie Stopes and Sakurai Jōji 255

Conclusion 269

CONCLUSION 271

BIBLIOGRAPHY 295

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1 Illustration from Henry Norman, *The Real Japan* (1892), which appears in the chapter, 'Japanese Jinks.' Henry Norman, *The Real Japan: Studies of Contemporary Japanese Manners, Morals, Administration, and Politics* (London: Unwin, 1892; 203). 26

Fig. 2 Isabella Bird, 'Fujisan.' Isabella L. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels in the Interior, Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé* (London: Murray, 1880; 1: 13). 138

Fig. 3 Isabella Bird, 'Fujisan, From a Village on the Tokaido.' Isabella L. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels in the Interior, Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé* (London: Murray, 1880; 2: 307). 138

Fig. 4 Portrait of the author from Marie Stopes, *A Journal from Japan: A Daily Record of Life as Seen by a Scientist* (1910). Marie Carmichael Stopes, *A Journal from Japan: A Daily Record of Life as Seen by a Scientist* (London: Blackie, 1910; ii). 224

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEL:	*Adieu: To Emmanuel Levinas*
'DTDB'	'Des Tours de Babel'
IC:	*The Inoperative Community*
MO:	*Monolingualism of the Other; or, The Prosthesis of Origin*
OH:	*Of Hospitality*
POF:	*The Politics of Friendship*
UC:	*The Unavowable Community*

A NOTE ON JAPANESE NAMES

Japanese names in this thesis are romanised according to the Revised Hepburn system. A macron indicates long voweNRMANNORls (e.g. Jōji), and an apostrophe notes the separation of phonemes (e.g. Kan'in'nomiya).

Japanese personal names are written with the family name first and the first name second according to the Japanese custom. Exceptions are made, however, for those Japanese writers who published in the West and are known by their pen-names (e.g. Yone Noguchi). This also applies to Japanese characters in English novels.

Japanese place names are transliterated according to the same system, except for those which now have wide currency in English such as Tokyo and Kyoto.

INTRODUCTION

> In fact the whole of Japan is a pure invention. There is no such country, there are no such people. (Wilde, 'The Decay of Lying' 46)

There is an old patriotic joke I remember from my childhood. My hometown, Hikoshima (Hiko Island; an island which constitutes a part of Shimonoseki) might have been ceded to Britain and named Hikotland, a silly pun on Scotland, after the Bombardment of Shimonoseki in 1864 if bold Chōshū *samurais*, leading politicians-to-be in Meiji Japan, had not defied a demand from British imperialists and impressed them with their audacity.[1] This seemingly innocent joke, however, contains characteristics of the complex psychology and politics of Japanese modernity which is marked by great national pride dented by radical negation of its own past and a fierce rivalry with the West. It is manifested in the efforts made by Japanese reformers to narrate a history in their own favour and on their own terms.

Despite this susceptibility to Western imperialism, Japan has been largely left out of contemporary academic discussions about the British Empire. This scholarly amnesia stems not only from the nominal independence Japan maintained but also its resistance to easy categorisation according to conventional binarisms of West/East and coloniser/colonised. Karl Marx in *Capital* (1867) complicates a simple geographical classification by drawing a close analogy between Japan and medieval Europe, and by

[1] Chōshū was the feudal name for the present-day Yamaguchi prefecture, which contains Shimonoseki. Meiji is a Japanese name of the era between 8 September 1868 and 30 July 1912 when the Emperor Meiji reigned.

exempting the country from the 'Asiatic' category (Leupp 75-76). This confusion was inherited by Post-Cold War American scholars in their polarisation of 'zones of peace,' comprising the West and Japan, and 'zones of turmoil', the rest of the world (Huntington 32); and it was obviously a mind-boggling task for Samuel P. Huntington to tag Japan when he clumsily maps the country as 'Japanese civilization' in his controversial model of *The Clash of Civilizations* (1996), being unable to find any overarching term fitting to merge Japan with its neighbouring countries (26-27).[2] This academic negligence is unfortunate given the subversiveness of the peculiar position Japan occupies in modern world history. The semi-colonial status allocated to Japan in its initial phase of modern diplomacy with the West spurred its efforts for modernisation *qua* Westernisation in order to free the country from the humiliation of its sub-colonial status and to immunise it against colonial threat. The consequence of these efforts was that Japan managed to prevent official colonisation by the West even in the heyday of the late nineteenth-century 'new imperialism' (Peattie 3). Subsequently, Japan became the only non-Western state which succeeded not only in industrialising itself but also in acquiring the status of a latecomer empire, as based on the Western model. Ensuring national security against Western imperial powers as well as reforming the entirety of Asia was a pretext for its pan-Asian expansionist policy (Peattie 9). Britain played a

[2] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak also discusses the unique position Japan occupies in the Western imagination and elaborates on Japan as 'the other place' as follows: 'It is as if, in the European imaginary, Narcissus at his pool had escaped from the Hegelian trajectory of Oedipus, and guarded in Japan the fantasmatic place of the specular. As Malcolm McLaren [. . .] opined: "Japan was for so long an isolated island that it has never got over its hunger for the status of ideas"' (*Critique* 344).

guiding role in the early period of Japanese modernisation and became an ally during its remarkable rise as an imperial power. It was a sad course of history, therefore, that this old pupil-friend turned into a foe over the supremacy in the Southeast Asia during the Second World War, which is beyond the purview of this thesis.

Japan's categorical ambiguity has also contributed to its absence from academic discourse on female travel writing. Lorraine Sterry, who has undertook the only systematic and comprehensive study currently available on Victorian female travel writing about Japan, points out that compared to other regions such as India, Africa and Middle East, very little interest has been expressed in Japan among researchers of women's travel writing despite the continuing popularity of the genre since the 1980s (6-7). For example, although Isabella Bird's extraordinary journeys and career have attracted a large audience worldwide for generations and have generated widespread interest both in the artistic and academic worlds, Bird's travel in Japan has occupied a secondary position amongst her oeuvre in the field of literary studies except its local popularity as Sterry rightly claims (239).[3] Sterry attributes this negligence to the investment in the colonial infrastructure of the British Empire among scholars (8). In the literary academy, feminism and postcolonialism were the two key players in the

[3] Bird appears as one of the five historic women at Marlene's dinner table in a popular play *Top Girls* (1982) by Caryl Churchill. Despite her widespread popularity, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* is downplayed by scholars such as Kay Chubbuck, whose painstaking effort to compile a vast body of Bird's unpublished letters to her sister following extensive archival research is truly remarkable. Quoting merely the traveller's earlier letters, Chubbuck hastily concludes that 'Isabella was unable to enjoy Japan' (*Letters to Henrietta* 205), when a more careful investigation reveals a rather complicated story about her relationship with the country as we will see later in Chapter II.

re-evaluation of female travel writing. The initial enthusiasm for the reprint and re-evaluation of women's travelogues was sparked by feminist presses and critics in an attempt to revive intrepid female non-conformists, or what Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak would call 'the female individualist' (*Critique* 116). Sara Mills reinforced this trend with her seminal *Discourses of Difference* whereby she set out to explore the discursive complexity specific to women's travel writing at the nexus of feminist and postcolonial critique, applying Foucauldian discourse analysis and Saidian Orientalist criticism with a feminist twist.[4] Many researchers shared her interest and, as a result, strategic negotiations with textual constraints placed by the discourses of femininity and colonialism in the travelogues became a focal point of later scholarship. This has further contributed to the marginalisation of Japan with regard to scholarship in this field. Reasons for this marginalisation include political considerations—Japan was outside the British colonial infrastructure in a strict sense—and also geographical—Japan's mild climate and urbane nature did not offer an exciting setting for independent adventuresses. Hence, a consideration of Victorian female travelogues about Meiji Japan will provide a refreshingly different perspective on and understanding of both the British Empire and women's travel writing.

In her analysis of Victorian female travelogues about colonial countries, Mills

[4] Spivak, in *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, draws our attention to the exclusion of 'native subaltern female' in the discourse of nineteenth-century feminist individualism and proposes an alternative reading to a prevailing metropolis-centred explanation of feminist writing as 'the psychobiography of the militant female subject' (116-17).

further points to a significant difference between their writings and those by their male counterparts:

> The discourses of 'femininity' determine that women writers are more likely to describe their interactions with people rather than solely relating these accounts of the country to larger colonial issues or strategies. I am not suggesting that women's writing should therefore be considered better than men's writing, or that it escapes imperialist ideology, but rather that elements of women's travel writing are more heterogeneous and that these elements may act as a critique of the colonialist enterprise since there is a stress on personal involvement and investment on the part of the narrator. This stress on people from other countries as individuals is in marked contrast to much Orientalist work, where the divide between 'us' and 'them' is carefully policed. It is this lack of demarcation in women's writing which constitutes the point at which colonial discourse is most unstable, and which women's writing helps to expose. (106)

Mills suggests that the interactive leaning in female travel writing, which the discourse of femininity prescribes, destabilises the rigid binary between the coloniser/colonised which the colonial discourse strives to maintain. This subversive encounter between female travellers and colonised others is also marked by Simon Gikandi as a rupture in an ostensibly monolithic structure of imperial narratives:

> Reading women in the culture of colonialism and in the service of empire demands, then, that we renounce the binary opposition—between self and other—promoted by the dominant (masculinist) narrative and see imperial femininity as an invitation to us to read colonialism's culture in its contradictions and complicities, as a chiasmus in which the polarities that define domination and subordination shift with localities, genders, cultures, and even periods. (124)

Gikandi attributes this feminine ready affiliation with others to the unique placement of imperial women in metropolitan society which helps them 'to understand the ways in which alterity was constitutive of identity' (121). Despite their active interest in the

textual manifestation of the affective bonding between imperial female travellers and locals, this aspect of female travel writing is still underdeveloped. In Gikandi's examination of Mary Kingsley and her African travelogue in *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Centre of Colonialism* (1996), host Africans remain anonymous in their relation to the imperial female traveller. Monica Anderson in *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914* (2006) misses the opportunity to extend her research farther and tackle this mass anonymity, focussing primarily on the agency of the female traveller although she briefly explores the relationship between travellers and local people (25). This critical impasse seems to stem out of the fundamental incompatibility between the quest for secure female subjectivity and the exploration of relationality. In the Victorian female travelogues about Meiji Japan, however, the rhetoric of friendship appears to serve to figure the affective bonding between female travellers and Japanese people.

This introductory chapter will first provide an overview of Anglo-Japanese relations between 1854 and 1918 in order to provide a historical context of the thesis. Then I will move on to examine Victorian travel writings by both male and female travellers to Meiji Japan during this period. It has been some time since Gikandi marked the bafflement among colonial and postcolonial scholars on the treatment of women, both the coloniser and the colonised, as subjects within the modern imperial scheme and proposed to study them as 'subjects in their own right,' criticising poststructuralist and

postmodernist critics who objectified women (121-22). There is literature on female imperial travel writing in abundance now which investigates female subjectivity and agency within the highly-gendered Victorian discursive frameworks and observes the specificities of women's writing. In this chapter, I will analyse discursive constraints and negotiations general relating to women's colonial travelogues as well as specific to Japanese cases. Although, strictly speaking, the scope of this thesis stretches beyond the reigns of Queen Victoria and Emperor Meiji, the continuity in the relationship between these two empires is a defining feature of this study. Finally, I will examine fictional representations of Japan in Victorian literature and theatre. Despite Oscar Wilde's claim of Japan as 'a pure invention' as expressed in the epigraph, there was an on-going dialogue between travel writing and fictive genres. Nonetheless, his insight should not be dismissed lightly in that the imagination of some Victorian writers surely re-invented Japan as metaphor of Oriental esotericism and femininity. The section will consider some aspects of this literary invention of Japan.

1. Anglo-Japanese Relations between 1854 and 1918

On 8 July 1853, an American squadron of four large black ships appeared off the coast of Uraga, a peaceful fishing village near Yedo, present-day Tokyo. The squadron was under the command of Commodore Matthew C. Perry, who carried presidential letters demanding the opening up of the country and the negotiation of a political and

commercial treaty. The unexpected arrival of Western visitors threw Japan into turmoil, frightening people amidst rumours of 'hairy barbarians' (Barr, *Coming* 21).[5] On their second visit in the following spring, the Kanagawa Treaty was signed on 31 March 1854. It required the opening up of two ports, Shimoda and Hakodate, in the following year and the installation of a U.S. consulate in the former. Their next visit brought Townsend Harris, the first American Consul-General in Japan, to Shimoda on 21 August 1856 with his secretary-interpreter and a Dutch immigrant, Henricus Conradus Joannes Heusken, and they finalised the Trading Treaty with Japan on 29 July 1858. This opened up four more ports, Nagasaki, Kanagawa, Nīgata and Hyōgo, while closing Shimoda. This marked the beginning of Japanese modern diplomacy after two-hundred years of self-imposed national seclusion which kept Japan isolated from the Western world with the exception of the Netherlands.[6]

These American expeditions to Japan were by no means unknown to Britain. At the height of imperialist competition, Britain was well aware of the potential of Japan as colony and kept a vigilant eye on American diplomacy in this area. *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* printed an article titled 'Things Talked of in London' which mentioned the American expedition to Japan as early as in May 1852. 'Should [. . .] the

[5] In fact, this was not really an 'unexpected' visit. The Dutch Embassy suggested the American expedition to the Tokugawa shogunate in the previous year (Barr, *Coming* 26). Visual representations of Commodore Matthew C. Perry and the squadron are worth examining. There are several *ukiyo-e*—Japanese popular woodblock prints during the Edo period—of them, in one of which Perry is depicted like a demon, and the ships like monsters with human faces.

[6] For general historical background, see Barr, *Coming*; Checkland, *Britain's* 3-18; Cortazzi, *Victorians*; Hirakawa; Hoare, 1-17; Nish, *Anglo-Japanese*; Yokoyama, 1-5.

United States' expedition to Japan produce the effect anticipated,' the contributor predicted, 'the vast solitudes of the Pacific will be erelong continually echoing with the beat of paddle-wheels and the roar of steam' (350). Here the U.S. expedition is discussed alongside a British expedition led by Captain Denham in search of the best route between the Isthmus of Panama and Sydney with the Pacific Ocean offering the best potential for such a route. Although Japan was never officially colonised, it is evident that the West considered it as such, for the anonymous writer of the article speculates 'as is said, Japan is to become to the Americans what India is to us' (350). The writer clearly perceived the American action as one with colonial intentions. Rather suggestively he comments: 'It will be an interesting event should England, America, and Russia some day meet on the Asiatic continent' (350). The Far East gradually became the site of Western colonial interests. *The Examiner* and the *Illustrated London News* also covered the expedition on 17 April 1852 and on 7 May 1853 respectively, prior to the American arrival in Japan. Informed of the American success in gunboat diplomacy, Britain followed the same course immediately. Rear-Admiral Sir John Stirling concluded the Anglo-Japanese Convention on 14 October 1854 in Nagasaki, which gave British ships access to Nagasaki and Hakodate. The British government regarded this as unsatisfactory and sent James Bruce, the eighth earl of Elgin, high commissioner and plenipotentiary in China and the Far East, swiftly to Japan. Despite a lengthy diplomatic delay in China, he successfully concluded the Yedo Treaty on 26

August 1858, three weeks after his arrival. This resumed Anglo-Japanese relations after the considerable lapse of time since William Adams had served the first Tokugawa shogun in the early seventeenth century. Russia, the Netherlands, and France subsequently entered into similar agreements with Japan.

These treaties between Japan and Western powers were unequal; they granted the latter countries extraterritorial rights and denied the former tariff autonomy. Japanese intellectuals considered this state of affairs as 'semi-colonialism,' and these unequal treaties stirred up violent political agitation (Checkland, *Britain's* xiv). Indignant samurais who lost patience with the shogunate's inability to fend off foreigners undertook xenophobic activities on behalf of the emperor who decreed the foreigners' expulsion. These assaults led to two serious armed conflicts between Japan and Britain. The Namamugi incident, the murder of a British national Charles Lennox Richardson in 1862 by Satsuma retinue led to the Anglo-Satsuma War in 1863. The Bombardment of Shimonoseki by joint naval forces of Britain, America, France, and the Netherlands in 1864 was the result of repeated attacks on their vessels at Shimonoseki Strait by the Chōshū clan. These two feudal domains learned Western military excellence the hard way and, as a result, sent students to Britain to study advanced science and technology. The two domains eventually formed an alliance in 1866 and stood at the vanguard of the anti-shogunate movement and became a driving force behind the Meiji Restoration, the restoration of imperial rule, in 1868. Britain provided them with moral and material

support for their revolutionary activities.[7]

The Meiji Era is characterised by three slogans: '*fukoku kyōhei* (enrich the country, strengthen the military),' '*bunmei kaika* (civilisation and enlightenment),' and '*jōyaku kaisei* (treaty revision).' In order to overtake the West and revise the unequal treaties, the Meiji central government, consisting largely of those Satsuma and Chōshū *samurais* who fought for the restoration, pursued rapid Westernisation. They encouraged modern industries, formed a modern military, adopted a constitution, reformed legislation, set up the parliamentary system, abolished the caste system, and introduced compulsory education. The government employed many Westerners to achieve swift modernisation, the majority of which were British engineers and educators (Checkland, *Britain's* xiv). Added to this influx, the nineteenth century saw a rise in tourism in Britain. Peace in Continental Europe after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the riches brought about by the Industrial Revolution sent an increasing number of tourists abroad, and the opening of the trans-continental railway in the United States and the Suez Canal in Egypt in 1869 brought Japan closer (Sillitoe 2; Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan 17-18). These British residents and travellers provided the Victorian readership with vivid accounts of the country and its transformation into a modern nation-state.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Europe took a keen interest in the

[7] France, on the other hand, backed the Tokugawa shogunate. It is important to note the intentions of the two major imperial powers over hegemony in Japan.

newly-opened country which for so long had been shrouded in mystery. This resulted in the emergence of a movement called "*Japonisme*." Artists in Britain and France were captivated by Japan's unique style. Japanese woodblock prints famously influenced groups of impressionist and *fin-de-siècle* artists on both side of the Channel including Claude Monet, Edgar Degas, James McNeill Whistler, Vincent van Gogh, and Aubrey Beardsley, to name but a few.[8] Japanese artefacts were displayed in a series of International Exhibitions beginning with the 1862 International Exhibition in London. Japanese ceramics and lacquerware were much sought after by the general public and entered into the Victorian household through the rise of Art Nouveau and the Art and Crafts Movement. Arthur Lasenby Liberty, the founder of Liberty & Co., played a significant role in marketing Japanese and *Japanesque* products.[9] In addition to household goods, Liberty launched a dress department in 1884 (A. Ono 1-40). This decision seems to suggest a gendered consumer market and a high female consumption of Japanese products. Middle-class women, empowered by a recent development of mass consumerism, thronged Victorian shops (Checkland, *Japan* 185). Still, public reception of Japan was tinged with Orientalist curiosity and a sense of their own

[8] Favoured by *Japonisme* in the Western art scene, a few Japanese artists moved to London and enjoyed the fame. Makino Yoshio (1869-1956), aka Yoshio Markino, was a writer and an artist who lived in London between 1897 and 1942. Blessed with friendship with Douglas Brooke Wheelton Sladen, who published a number of Japan-related books including *The Japs at Home* (1892) and *Queer Things about Japan* (1903), he enchanted his British viewers with paintings of foggy London. For more details, see the pioneering study on this obscure artist by William S. Rodner, *Edwardian London through Japanese Eyes*. Noguchi Yonejirō (1875-1947), aka Yone Noguchi, who started his international career as a poet in the United States, also stayed in London in 1903. I discuss him further in Chapter IV.

[9] For the Japanese influence on Victorian decorative arts and manufactures, see Aslin, 74-81.

superiority. John Burley Waring in *Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International Exhibition, 1862* described Japanese specimens as 'grotesque' while highly praising their craftsmanship for their taste, ingenuity, and skilful perfection and pressing his case for valuable lessons British manufacturers should draw from them (267). Japan was, after all, another colony in the Victorian mind as Isabella Bird reports on popular misconceptions about Japan (*Unbeaten* 1: 1-2).

As a result of strenuous efforts to Westernise the country, Japan began to emerge as a new world power in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, the treaty revision issue finally reached a turning point at the end of a long and hard road. The process of modern nation-state building under the slogan '*wakon yōsai* (Japanese Spirit, Western Technology)' gave rise to modern nationalism and public discontent with its diplomacy became uncontainable (Hirakawa 195). One outcome was a series of terrorist attacks on high officials by right-wing nationalist groups, which Mary Crawford Fraser witnessed during her residence in Japan. Britain, which was increasingly vigilant of Russian expansionism in the Far East, became more keen to negotiate their original treaties with the Japanese. The Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty signed on 16 July 1894 declared the removal of extraterritoriality and the recovery of tariff autonomy. This paved the way for renegotiations with other countries. A fledgling imperialist, Japan's foreign policy had created a clash of interests with China over Korea. In 1894-95, Japan fought the Sino-Japanese War, which, contrary to

international expectations, went the way of Japan. Japan acquired the Liaotung peninsula by the Treaty of Shimonoseki, but Russian intervention with Germany and France (the Triple Intervention) forced its retrocession. Subsequent Russian advance in the peninsula in 1898, therefore, humiliated Japan and public anti-Russian sentiments grew. Japan was to find an ally in Britain, which faced isolation in Europe for the Fashoda incident and the Second Boer War and furthermore was threatened by Russia's growing influence in East Asia. Following their joint action to suppress the anti-Western Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900, Britain and Japan signed the Anglo-Japanese alliance on 30 January 1902. This marked a departure from Britain's policy of isolation during the long nineteenth century. Under this alliance, Japan waged the Russo-Japanese War between 1904 and 1905, which resulted in Japan's victory (Nish, *Anglo-Japanese* 1-297). It was during this period that Fraser published a line of her Japanese-themed works and that Marie Stopes met Fujī Kenjirō in Munich and they fell in love with each other in London.

Japan's military triumphs altered Western perception of the country drastically. Japan's colonial ambitions in Asia provoked growing alarm in the West. Following the Sino-Japanese War, aka 'The Yellow War,' the German Kaiser Wilhelm II publicised his engraving entitled *The Yellow Peril* in 1895; he wrote to the Russian Tsar in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War and said 'remember my picture, [. . .] it's coming true!' (Keevak 126-28). Britain was not immune to this switch in Western discourse

about the Japanese despite their political alliance. Thomas Crosland in *The Truth about Japan* (1904) portrayed the Japanese not as a widely-received 'dearly-loved Little Jap' but as a 'stunted, lymphatic, yellow-faced heathen, with [. . .] a cruel heart, and the conceit of the devil' (1). These racial representations sparked off an adverse reaction from the Japanese. At the turn of the twentieth century and in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War, Tokutomi Sohō, one of the leading Meiji Japanese journalists, began a discourse on the 'Yellow Man's burden,' Japan's responsibility to lead decolonisation movements in Asia. This was in direct reference and opposition to 'The White Man's Burden' (1899) trumpeted by Kipling (Hirakawa 322-24). In *The Awakening of Japan* (1905), Okakura Kakuzō, referring to Western imperialist and military threats, declared: 'To most Eastern nations the advent of the West has been by no means an unmixed blessing. [. . .] If the guilty conscience of some European nations has conjured up the spectre of a Yellow Peril, may not the suffering soul of Asia wail over the realities of the White Disaster' (95). The racial tension between Japan and the West culminated in Japan's Racial Equality Proposal at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, an attempt to secure a position free from racial discrimination in the League of Nations as the only non-white power. The outcome was a bitter rejection due to strong objections from Britain, Australia, and the United States. These countries were afraid of ramifications concerning their domestic policies, which were racist in nature (Shimazu 164-70). As a result, the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which was renewed twice in 1905 and

1911 and survived the First World War, was officially terminated in 1923. Subsequently relations between the two countries descended into hostility over clashes of interest in China and the Pacific region (Nish, *Alliance* 1-14, 383-97). These events provide a historical context to the period in which Marie Stopes experienced Japan first-hand and developed her relationship with the Japanese people.

It was during this dramatic span of seventy years that Victorian women travellers visited Japan and recorded their observations.

2. Victorian Travel Literature on Meiji Japan

After the opening up of the country in 1853, Japan gradually entered Western knowledge through first-hand accounts. During the early phase of Anglo-Japanese encounters, the reports were mainly from political figures, merchants, and government employees. Revolutionary developments in transport in the late 1860s, represented by the launch of the regular trans-Pacific steamship service between San Francisco and Hong Kong via Yokohama by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company in 1867 and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, however, boosted global tourism in the 1870s. As a result, a growing number of travellers including globetrotters thronged to Japan to visit the country which had only recently become available to them. For example, *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873) by Jules Verne includes Yokohama on its itinerary. Foreign access was initially formally restricted within the treaty limits surrounding the

treaty ports with only occasional exceptions. However, introduction of the passport system under The Regulations on Foreigners' Travels outside the Treaty Ports in 1875 allowed foreigners access to the interior on a number of conditions including 'benefit of health' and 'scientific investigation' (Satow and Hawes 16).[10] Through a number of amendments, the system survived until The Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty came into force in1899, having been signed five years earlier in 1894. The increased number of travellers to Japan necessitated guidebooks. The first edition of the prestigious Murray's *Handbook for Japan* was published in 1881. Many travellers wrote and published about their experiences following their return, and Victorian Britain saw a plethora of books about Japan, which thereupon formed an intertextual network and collectively constructed the Victorian image of Meiji Japan (Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan 17-44).[11]

As early as the 1850s, two important travelogues about Japan were printed by Scottish publisher, William Blackwood and Sons. These travelogues were an outcome of Lord Elgin's mission in 1858 amid great political uproar. *A Cruise in Japan Waters*

[10] These treaty ports are those opened under the treaties discussed above, viz. Hakodate, Nagasaki, Kanagawa, Nīgata and Hyōgo.

[11] Basil Hall Chamberlain, a Victorian authoritative Japanologist, wrote in the section 'Books on Japan' in the second edition of his *Things Japanese* (1891) that '[i]n fact, *not* to have written a book about Japan is fast becoming a title to distinction,' referring to this superfluity (*Things* 57). Chamberlain substantiates his claim by quoting the number of Japan-related books in a bibliography compiled in 1859 by Léon Pagès, which counted 'seven hundred and fifteen works' (*Things* 57). This number grows to 'a great many thousands of entries' in the revised fifth edition of the same book published in 1905, in which Chamberlain refers to Von Wenckstern's *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* (64). Enumerating all varieties of topics available, he continued: 'and there are the books of travel. Some of the latter possess great value, as photographing Japanese manners for us at certain periods. Others are at the ordinary low level of globe-trotting literature—twaddle enlivened by statistics at second-hand' (*Things* 58). This illustrates the over-abundance of travel writings about Japan during the Victorian period.

(1859) by Sherard Osborn, Captain of one of the flotilla on the mission, was published in a book form following the first appearance of a series of his ten accounts of the journey in the popular *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* between December 1858 and May 1859. The book proved a commercial success, selling approximately 2,600 copies after a reprint of the second edition. *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in 1857, 58 and 59* (1859) by Laurence Oliphant, private secretary to Lord Elgin on the mission, appeared in two substantial volumes. Japan constitutes the main subject of the first twelve chapters of the second volume, which featured maps, tables, and gorgeous coloured lithographs, some of these from sketches and photographs by members of the mission and others based upon original native prints. The former is of historical interest as a visual record of very early encounters between Britain and Japan filtered through the eyes of Victorian travellers. The first edition of 3,150 copies sold well although the sales of the second edition of 2117 copies slumped (Yokoyama 21-45). These early publications set the tone of Victorian representations of Japan through fresh eyewitness accounts.

The initial interest of the publisher, Blackwood, in Japan was stimulated by a lengthy three-column article on Lord Elgin's mission which appeared in *The Times* on 2 November 1858 (Yokoyama 21-22). 'Lord Elgin in Japan' by an anonymous correspondent in Shanghai paints Japan in extremely flattering colours. Of particular note are the arrival scenes, to which Mary Louise Pratt attaches special importance in

reading travel writing because of their function in framing relations of contacts and setting the terms of representation (77). Pratt's reading guides our analyses here. The writer reports on the scenery of Nagasaki that '[n]othing can exceed in picturesque beauty the bay of Nagasaki,' and the port of Shimoda is described as 'a fairy land to look upon' to his eyes (7). Regretting the shortage of space to expound on 'an empire [. . .] which presents probably a greater variety of interesting and curious matter to the stranger than any other part of the world,' he concludes admiringly (7):

> Suffice it to be recorded as our general impression that, in its climate, its fertility, and its picturesque beauty, Japan is not equalled by any country on the face of the globe; while, as if to harmonize with its surpassing natural endowments, it is peopled by a race whose qualities are of the most amiable and winning description, and whose material prosperity has been so equalized as to insure happiness and contentment to all classes. (7)

His fanciful depictions of the country, however, stand in sharp contrast to the forceful entrance to Yedo and the military ostentation of the British delegation:

> Lord Elgin seemed determined not to lose an opportunity of establishing a precedent likely to be so important in our future intercourse with Japan, and, to the astonishment of both Russians and Japanese, the British ships deliberately passed the sacred limit without communicating with the shore [. . .]. The arrival of the British squadron in waters which the Japanese had sedulously represented as being too shallow to admit of the approach of large ships filled them with dismay and astonishment. (7)

The article shows a strange combination of romantic poetics and violent politics. Blackwood's scepticism over its factual accuracy spurred the publication of the two travelogues.

This original intention of the publisher Blackwood to question the article's

factuality notwithstanding, the two publications ended up endorsing the anonymous reporter by repeating his utopian image of Japan. Having set his Japanese narrative in the fantastic tale of Zipangue by Marco Polo, Osborn relates their excitement at the first glimpse of a Japanese 'picturesque' islet as 'it was evident we were determined to be pleased' (15-16). He appears insensible to the irony of his imperious, serpentine ingress into his 'Japanese paradise' when ignoring an injunction of a Japanese officer and making a joke of his possible punitive suicide that '[h]e had only to perform Haki-kari [*sic*; hara-kiri] or disembowelment' (24-25). Oliphant anticipates a 'dreamland' even before seeing Japan (2: 2). By contrast, Oliphant dramatises their arrival scene at the port of Nagasaki through the use of tension and by alluding to the local history of brutal Christian persecution, thereby projecting their mission as a hazardous operation of virile crusaders, but he later draws on the same history to attest to the high level of cultivation of Japanese people manifest in their aptitude for a religious conversion (2: 5, 25). Oliphant repeatedly commends Japanese civilisation. Oliphant's sympathy with the Japanese people goes as far as inanimate things, with examples including shrubs in a backyard appearing to 'invite him to extend his investigations' (2: 17-18). Thus, the overall picture of Japan Oliphant presents is that of a welcoming 'fairyland' (2: 71).

Behind these enchanted representations were ulterior political and commercial motives. Checkland attributes these to Lord Elgin, who, in contrast to the serious diplomatic difficulties he experienced with China, found Japan to be an 'earthly

paradise' (*Japan* 159). Toshio Yokoyama has uncovered the aristocrat's personal involvement in the editorial process of Oliphant's travelogue (35-36). It is illuminating of this connection to examine the difference in tone between Osborn and Oliphant in their descriptions of the same scenes, in particular the approach to Yedo. Whereas the novelistic style of the former well depicts an air of imperial triumphalism among the crew, the latter is more diplomatic and understates the overpowering militarism of the proceedings. Oliphant might well have attended to Lord Elgins' instructions. Yokoyama further considers the consumers' demand and the publisher's marketing strategy (42-49). There existed a desire among the Victorian educated class for a friendly encounter with Japan against the backdrop of growing anxiety about the tragic outcomes of the British imperial policy in the East during the late 1850s following the Opium Wars (1839-42, 1856-60) and the Indian Mutiny (1857-59). Japan's desirability was further enhanced by a contrast with the undesirability of China. Moreover, a decline in the sales of the second edition of Oliphant's book imposed on Blackwood a marketing shift towards readers' preference, which further encouraged the glamorisation of Japan in place of realism. The complicity of these multiple influences resulted in a presentation of a utopian Japan.

Importantly, the desirability of a yielding Japan became quickly associated with feminine hospitality. The above article in *The Times* reported on a tea house, which was set up as 'a national characteristic of Japan' that '[t]he traveller, wearied with the

noonday heat, need never be at a loss to find rest and refreshment; [. . .] he resigns himself to the ministrations of a bevy of fair damsels, who glide rapidly and noiselessly about, the most zealous and skilful of attendants' (7). Yokoyama suggests that the country itself was represented symbolically as a 'charming damsel' in Victorian male discourse (49). The epithets employed by Osborn and Oliphant to describe Japan are of the feminine register: fairy-like, dreamland, charms, and so forth. Although myriads of accounts by long-term residents, which were more culturally informed, appeared after these early records, they did little to shift this emphasis. Rutherford Alcock, the first British Consul-General in Japan between 1858 and 1864 published *The Capital of the Tycoon* (1863). Its preface remarks that '[t]he narrative I have given would have a certain interest, I conceive, if all other were wanting, as a contrast to the pleasant and amusing account furnished by Mr. Oliphant of Lord Elgin's mission' (*Capital* 1: xvi). He explicates the disillusionment he had to suffer as a successor to the early negotiators exultant at their easy success and declares his hostility towards Japan: 'And if we fall into active antagonism, of which there has been a constant danger, [. . .] there can be just as little doubt that the Japanese would be over-matched and vanquished' (*Capital* 1: xix). His narrative contains numerous accounts of xenophobic activities by the Japanese armed classes, including the famous night attack on the British Legation in 1861, thereby revealing Japanese brutality. Alcock constantly designates Japan as Eastern, without a contrast to China, thereby indicating the Orientalist polarisation in the Saidean

sense, which is pervasive in his logic; unlike his predecessors he refuses to favour Japan. Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford, second secretary to the British Legation in Japan between 1866 and 1869, published *Tales of Old Japan* (1871), whose sympathetic point of view led to the popularisation in the West of the 'The Forty-seven Rônins.' This was a story of revenge by loyal *samurais* on their master's enemy in the eighteenth century. These masculine attributes of Japan were to be resuscitated and returned in profusion as the country of *samurais* from the writings of both native and British writers around the turn of the twentieth century when Japan impressed the Western World through their engagement in modern international warfare. However, the image repeatedly replicated by travellers and enthusiastically received by the Victorian domestic audience was that of a romantic, feminine Japan. This image was transplanted and reinforced in the fictional genre through male erotic fantasy, something I will discuss in the coming section.

Rudyard Kipling was one of the travellers who reproduced the Japan of dolls and tea-house maidens. He visited Japan twice—once in 1889 and once 1892. In 1889 he visited for four weeks as a fully-fledged journalist in India and in 1892 he visited for two months as a famous writer. The records of his first journey were published in an epistolary style in a newspaper *The Pioneer* in India, and records of his second visit were published in *The Times.* Both of these reports have been consigned to relative obscurity in the academic community. Though the passage was discreetly edited out in

the newspaper, Kipling opens his first letter in 1889 by challenging Wilde's depiction of Japan in 'The Decay of Lying' by claiming that 'Mister Oscar Wilde of the *Nineteenth Century* is a long-toothed liar! [. . .] Rock and tree and boat made a panel from a Japanese screen, and I saw that the land was not a lie' (35). Hence, Kipling repeats the hackneyed impressions of Japan by numerous tourists with his sprightly pen. He visited a tea-house in Nagasaki and flirted with women there *à la mode*: 'They went away, but not empty handed, for thou, oh, O-Toyo, didst take away my heart [. . .]. O-Toyo, ebon-haired, rosy-cheeked, and made throughout of delicate porcelain [. . .]. I would be a Japanese—always with O-Toyo of course—in a cabinet-work house on a camphor-scented hillside' (43-44). Kipling was impressed by the civility and cleanliness of the people and country, and expresses a sense of loss, 'feeling for the first time that I was a barbarian, and no true *sahib*' (40). Kipling is puzzled by the Orientalist dichotomy: 'the Japanese isn't a native, and he isn't a sahib either. What is it?' (54). He describes Japan as a land of children affectionately, but it seems rather patronising when this infantilisation extends to Japanese men and soldiers: 'I peeped into the Quarter-Guard at Osaka fort and withdrew oppressed by laughter. [. . .] they waddled and rolled and slouched and skipped about the gutters, and waved their white cotton gloves around like babies, [. . .]. The Japanese makes a trim little blue-jacket, but he does not understand soldiering' (74). The following remark epitomises his opinion about the country:

> Verily Japan is a great people. Her masons play with stone, her carpenters with wood, her smiths with iron, and her artists with life, death, and all the eye can take in. Mercifully she has been denied the last touch of firmness in her character which would enable her to play with the whole round world. We possess that—we, the nation of the glass flower-shade, the pink worsted mat, the red and green china puppy dog, and the poisonous Brussels carpet. It is our compensation . . . (92)

Kipling ultimately deprives Japan of the masculine virility necessary to compete in the international political arena and reduces it to a feminine land of artists where Western *sahibs* can enjoy many beautiful things including its women. The following dialogue between Kipling and his companion, Professor S. A. Hill, manifests the contemporary imperialist attitude:

> 'It would pay us,' said the Professor, [. . .] "it would pay us to establish an international suzerainty over Japan to take away any fear of invasion or annexation, and pay the country as much as ever it chose, on condition that it simply sat still and went on making beautiful things while our men learned. It would pay us to put the whole Empire in a glass case and mark it, *Hors Concours*, Exhibit A.'
>
> 'H'mm,' said I. 'Who's us?'
>
> 'Oh, we generally—the *sahib-log* all the world over.' (56)

Within the logic of us/them, Japan is translated into an aesthetic object under the protection of the Western masculine owner. This approach was perpetuated by Henry Norman, who published *The Real Japan* (1892), an outcome of his investigations for several months in Japan during his world tour.[12] The section titled 'Japanese women' opens with a gushing admiration that '[t]he Japanese woman is the crown of the charm of Japan' (177). The illustrations which adorn his travelogue include photographs he

[12] Sir Henry Norman (1858-1939) was a leading journalist and politician. He worked for the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *New York Times* at the zenith of the new journalism. He set sail on a world tour in 1887 and visited Canada, Siberia, the Philippines, Siam and Japan whence he wrote articles for various newspapers (French).

took of a young Japanese woman posing with sensual nuance.[13] Contrary to this laudation is his patronising attitude towards the country which is manifested in the final chapter where he predicts its future: 'In the family of nations [. . .] Japan is the child of the world's old age. And the children of the aged are commonly spoiled. [. . .] Are we not perhaps spoiling her by our unvarying eulogy?' (337). Thus infantilised, Japan is represented as a feeble woman without any real political autonomy.



Fig. 1. Illustration from Henry Norman, *The Real Japan* (1892), which appears in the chapter, 'Japanese Jinks.'

[13] A photograph on page 203 shows a Japanese woman standing beside the wall pushing one arm against it above her with her bare upper limb completely exposed (see fig. 1). Her attire suggests that she possibly poses as a *yūjo*, a courtesan in that her sash is tied on her front, not on her back which was the common practice. It is also interesting to juxtapose this photograph with a portrait of a Japanese upper-class lady whose production anecdote Fraser relates. She reports on the consternation it caused to the lady when an English artist painted her with her hands outside her sleeves. The lady reproached that only peasant women showed their hands (*Letters* 1: 256-57).

It is in this context of a narrative convention of emasculating Japan that Victorian women travellers published their experiences of Japan. Sara Mills expounds on the discursive constraints Victorian female travel writers faced to negotiate on the textual production and reception of their work in virtue of contemporary gender and colonial politics, to which she attributes marked differences between female and male travelogues. Most extensive and thorough as her investigation is, it is not until the concluding chapter that Mills elaborates upon the heterogeneity of texts arising from specificities of each colonial context. Furthermore, Mills does not consider the Anglo-Japanese case. Unlike colonial India or Africa, Japan was a sovereign state with treaty limits and, as such, did not offer rich cultural and geographical diversity or perilous adventures in the wild for the Victorian masculine colonialist explorer-hero to conquer and to write into knowledge for the sake of the British Empire (Sterry 8-12). Exactly for these reasons, however, the country as a fairy-land in eternal spring with its doll-like, artistic residents became a safe and therefore feminine destination which still awaited as a blank space on the imperial map with the potential to be mapped at its early contact with Victorian Britain. These early women travellers approached the hyper-feminised country which not only enhanced but also questioned and even challenged their femininity. Moreover, the perception of Japan went through an amazing transformation into a masculine comrade around the turn of the century which in turn imposed on female travellers rhetorical renegotiations at the intersection of

imperial masculinity, racial superiority, and feminine propriety.

Casual critical indifference to the subject of Victorian female travel writing about Japan in the current academic community notwithstanding, a fair number of Victorian women travelled to Meiji Japan and produced an extensive and colourful body of records on the people and the nation. Categorising these travellers is no simple task because social markers such as class, age, religion, education, finances, occupations, and purposes are inextricably intertwined, creating a complex hierarchy within and among them. In *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan*, Sterry categorises female travellers to Meiji Japan into two groups, 'travellers-by-intent' and 'travellers-by-default' (16). These categories were created for the purpose of contextualising their multifarious narratives and develops a fuller picture of Meiji Japan by integrating their observations on the quotidian minutiae which evaded attention in mainstream narratives of the country by male Japanologists and travellers (14-16). Taking Sterry's categorisations into consideration and adapting them for the purpose of my study, I have divided travellers broadly into two groups: short-term travellers and long-term residents. Those who resided in the country over a long period of time had a better chance of becoming friends and acquaintances with natives and of immersing themselves into the host culture. The former group visited the country for sightseeing or academic research without having a stable address in Japan. The latter group resided in Japan for various reasons; some stayed on ambassadorial assignments, such as the wives

of diplomats, others for educational and professional purposes such as governesses, researchers, journalists and artists. Among the short-term travellers were Anna D'A, Alice M. Frere, L.D.S., Anna Brassey, Isabella L. Bird, F.D. Bridges, Sara H. Dunn, and Catherine Bond. Among the long-term residents were Mrs Christopher Pemberton Hodgson, Mary Crawford Fraser, Kate Lawson, Marie Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, Baroness Albert d'Anethan, Ethel Howard, and Elizabeth Keith.[14]

Most of these travellers have now been consigned to oblivion. Apart from the few, select exceptions such as Bird and Stopes, who are the subject of a number of biographies and scholarly books, Brassey, who has an entry in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* and Keith, who has a collection of her artworks published, biographical sources about these travellers are limited to their own writings, and for many of the short-term travellers, their travelogues were their sole publications. For those who have enjoyed relative fame, their connection with Japan has escaped recognition. Anna D'A, or Anna d'Almeida, was the wife of a diplomat and visited Japan in May 1862 at the end of her husband's term in Java for a two-month trip around treaty ports (Sterry 202). D'Almeida published *A Lady's Visit to Manilla and Japan* (1863). Alice M. Frere arrived in Japan in August 1866 and stayed for a few weeks

[14] This is by no means a comprehensive list. Not all Victorian female travellers to Meiji Japan published travelogues; Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan (Yokohama Archives of History) holds a beautiful journal with illustrations and coloured photographs by Mrs Rae, who made a round-the-world tour with her husband between 1881 and 1882 on which she visited Japan. Nor have I managed to peruse all of those which were published. Nonetheless, it is possible to present a general picture of the travellers.

during her circuitous journey from Bombay to England with her civil servant father. Her travels including her short visit to Japan were published in *The Antipodes and Round the World; or, Travels in Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, China, Japan, and California* (1870). L. D. S., or Lilias Dunlop Swainson, was a two-and-a half-year resident in Fuzhou, China for her husband, H.'s teaching post at the Imperial Arsenal.[15] In October 1872, she came to Japan with her husband and stayed for two months before their return to Britain. Swainson visited Kōbe, Yokoyama, Tokyo, Kamakura and Nagasaki and published *Letters from China and Japan* (1875). According to E. H. Marshall, Mrs Thomas Brassey, or Anna Brassey was already a famous traveller when she sailed on a round-the-world voyage for eleven months in her husband's three-mast, topsail schooner *Sunbeam* with her family, friends and servants on 6 July 1876. On 29 January 1877 after a long sail across the Pacific Ocean from Honolulu, they reached Yokohama, Japan. *A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam': Our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months* (1878) became a best-seller, reaching its ninth edition in 1896 and being translated into five European languages. Isabella L. Bird visited Japan in 1878 for about half a year and explored northern Japan extensively under a special passport. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels in the Interior, Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé* (1880) is one of the few titles among the entire corpus

[15] We can find a name; H. G. Swainson registered as a professor of navigation at the Imperial Arsenal, Foochow (an old spelling for Fuzhou) in *The Chronicle & Directory for China, Japan, & the Philippines, for the Year 1872* (148). Although L. D. S. blots out the year on her letters from Japan to mystify her identity, we can confirm it as 1872 from her account of the opening of a railway between Yokohama and Tokyo (177).

of travel literature about Meiji Japan which went through several reprints and has enjoyed worldwide readership up to the present day. F. D. Bridges arrived in Yokohama in February 1880 on her round-the-world tour with her husband. Bridges spent about four months visiting Tokyo, Hyōgo, Kōbe, Kyoto, Osaka, Nara, and Nikkō and published *Journal of a Lady's Travels Round the World* (1883).[16] Mrs Archibald Dunn, or Sara H. Dunn, published *The World's Highway, with Some First Impressions whilst Journeying along It* (1894). This is a journal of her travels around the world with her husband. Her itinerary was similar to that of Bridges; she sailed into Nagasaki eastbound from Hong Kong in April 1893 and stayed in Japan for about six weeks before sailing across the Pacific. Catherine Bond, who published *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums: Notes of Travel in Australia and Japan* (1898), visited Japan in October 1896 for two months with a male companion initialled as F. Her itinerary in western Japan was more inclusive. Unlike her predecessors, Bond travelled beyond the treaty limits, an opportunity made possible due to the simplification of the passport application procedures for British nationals in the interim of the treaty revision between 1894 and 1899 (Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan 26).

The first long-term resident whose records of Japan have survived is Mrs Christopher Pemberton Hodgson. She was the wife of a British consul in Nagasaki and

[16] Bridges does not explicitly state the years covered by her travelogue, but we can identify her visit to Japan as being in 1880 from the facts that the Easter Sunday fell on 28 March and that it was two years since the assassination of an important minister, presumably Ōkubo Toshimichi, who died on 14 May 1878.

later Hakodate between 18 June 1859 and March 1861 (Moriarty). Two of her letters to her mother were included in *A Residence at Nagasaki and Hakodate in 1859-1860: With an account of Japan Generally* (1861), written by her husband. Mrs Hugh Fraser, or Mary Crawford Fraser was the wife of a minister at the British Legation in Tokyo between April 1889 and June 1894. She was a prolific writer and published numerous books including a group of Japan-related fictional works and *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan: Letters from Home to Home* (1898). Marie Charlotte Carmichael Stopes visited Japan for eighteen months between 1907 and 1909 for palaeobotanical research funded by the Royal Society. Stopes established her base at the University of Tokyo, and travelled across the country. *A Journal from Japan: A Daily Record of Life as Seen by a Scientist* (1910) recorded her daily life in Japan as a rare female scientist. Lady Lawson, or Kate Lawson, was a journalist and moved to Japan on business after working as a correspondent in India for two years. She published *Highways and Homes of Japan* (1910), based upon her two extended stays in the country in 1905 and 1910.[17] Baroness Albert d'Anethan, or Eleanora Mary d'Anethan was the English wife of a Belgian diplomat in Tokyo between October 1893 and March 1906. She published *Fourteen Years of Diplomatic Life in Japan* (1912) as well as a number of literary works set in Japan. Ethel Howard visited Japan to serve as a governess to Prince Shimadzu

[17] Lawson does not state the time and length of her stays in Japan. However, an article 'A Japanese Song of the Hour' she contributed to the September 1905 issue of the *Musical Herald* suggests her service in Japan in that year. Moreover, the last photograph in the book titled 'Ascent of the Dirigible Balloon, The *Yamada Kiyu* [*sic*], Near Tōkyō' indicates that she was in Japan in early September 1910 as the *Asahi Shimbun* on 13 September 1910 reports its early trial flights in Tokyo.

Tadashige and his four brothers in Tokyo for seven years between 1901 and 1908. *Japanese Memories* (1918) describes her harmonious relationships with the boys and the Japanese people surrounding them. Elizabeth Keith came to Japan in 1915 solely for the purpose of visiting her sister in Tokyo, where, in a great artistic inspiration, she became an artist and ended up staying for nine years (Salaman 1-3). Keith travelled extensively in the Far East and published *Eastern Windows: An Artist's Notes of Travel in Japan, Hokkaido, Korea, China and the Philippines* (1928), which provides a glimpse at the Japanese colonial infrastructure.[18]

The disappearance of publications by short-term travellers after 1900 is conspicuous. By this time, Japan was no longer considered an obscure faraway country. Instead, Japan had revealed all the complexities of a modern nation in the international political arena and was a growing influence on British foreign affairs. As a result, the British public demanded more substantial documents by well-informed writers. Representations of Japan shifted from that of an ineffectual woman to that of a valiant warrior. This rhetorical shift and the resulting rhetorical renegotiation were beyond the capabilities of mere holidaymakers and travellers. The women's social advancement in Britain also contributed to the drop. With the exception of Bird, the early female

[18] Keith also published *Grin and Bear It: Caricatures* (1917), a book containing sixty-three caricatures of high-profile Japanese and foreign politicians and diplomats in Japan for charity purposes during the First World War. Those caricatures were on exhibition in the Peer's Club in Tokyo between 22 and 24 November 1917. It reflects an interesting change in Japanese society which then accepted a Western female caricaturist ridiculing male celebrities in public although it still would have been impossible for Japanese women.

travellers to Japan were accompanied by their male relatives and visited Japan only for a short period of time. In contrast, most of the post-1900 female travellers visited Japan alone to work for a long term and travelled widely. The latter group of travellers could provide more accurate and vivid accounts of the county which appealed to the readership. Political instability in the Far East was an additional factor. These led to the notable decrease in the publication of travelogues by short-term travellers.

As for the formal and stylistic aspects of the travelogues mentioned above, most took the form of letters, journals or diaries. This concurs with the general characteristics of women's travel writing during the period between 1850 and 1930, which Sara Mills has mapped out. Mills claims that these characteristics result from 'discourses of femininity,' that is 'discursive structures [which] lay out for women a range of behaviour patterns concerning sexuality, morality, their relations with others' which women travellers had to negotiate in writing travelogues (94). According to Victorian middle- and upper-class gender norms, women were mostly defined and constrained through their domestic role. As a result, the public act of authoring was to be avoided; and if not, those confessional genres which were rooted in the private dimension and did not appear artistically elaborate, such as diaries, letters and autobiographies, were recommended as suitable feminine styles and formats (Mills 41-42, 96, 103-04).[19]

[19] I am aware of the importance of taking into account the differences between women. I am discussing the general conditions of Victorian women above the middle class in that those women who visited Meiji Japan were either sufficiently well-off to afford the long journey or had the privilege of access to good education which subsequently gave them the opportunity to travel to

Sterry even suggests the possibility of rearrangement of narratives in the epistolary form by some travellers (35). Against the masculinist narrative conventions of travel writing, female writers sought recourse to various textual devices. Concerning those Japan travelogues mentioned above, most of the titles clearly indicate the nature of the work by stating letters, notes, or journals. They were claimed to have been addressed to their female relatives and friends, hence the original gender asymmetry in the target audience. Brassey only managed to publish the more scientific *Natural History of a Voyage in the 'Sunbeam'* (1878) as a separate pamphlet of twenty-two pages. Interestingly, some travellers considered the letter form to have a unique advantage in arousing curiosity and eliciting sympathy from their readers. Bird wrote:

> It was with some reluctance that I decided that it should consist mainly of letters written on the spot [. . .]; but, on the other hand, it places the reader in the position of the traveller, and makes him share the vicissitudes of travel, discomfort, difficulty, and tedium, as well as novelty and enjoyment. (*Unbeaten* 1: x)

Frere made a similar claim about her choice of the epistolary form:

> At the same time, I wished to leave the substance of these letters, as much as possible, in the original form, so as to fulfil the original intent, viz. to convey to the mind of the reader the impression left upon that of the writer, by things seen, heard, and felt, in the course of short visits paid to comparatively unknown parts of the world. (2)

These writers carefully established their narrative in the emotional realm which was bestowed a feminine attribute. Exceptions were made for those works published after 1900. Lawson arranged her book into individually-themed chapters, which reflects her

---

Japan and write travelogues.

confidence as a professional journalist as well as the social shift in Britain which became more tolerant of female professional writers. Still, diehard customs persisted. Howard, who also chose the structure of a chaptered monograph, explained in the forward that she retrospectively organised her 'personal experiences [. . .] gleaned from jottings in my diary,' thus illuminating its genesis in the private sphere (1). The title of her book foregrounds the autobiographical nature of this text.[20]

The preface also serves as a useful locus to underpin femininity. It explains in an apologetic tone the motives behind publication and the writer's ineptitude at writing. This deprecatory voice was echoed in the majority of the prefaces to these travelogues. Mills identifies this as another textual constraint on women's travel writing and considers the example of Mary Henrietta Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* (1897) (39, 171).[21] The original lack of intention for publication and encouragement from family and friends were among the common features of the preface. Swainson provides a perfect illustration:

---

[20] Children's literature was another genre many Victorian female travellers took recourse to. A large group of people called *o yatoi gaikokujin* (employed foreigners) flooded into Japan to promote modernisation after the opening up of the country at the early stage of Meiji era. Among them was William Edward Ayrton who got a job as professor of physics and telegraphy at the Imperial Engineering College in Tokyo. Ayrton came to Japan with his wife Matilda Charlotte Ayrton in 1873. She was an outstandingly talented woman and had been known as a member of the Edinburgh Seven, the first female students to matriculate at a modern British university and fight against Edinburgh University in order to have the right to graduate. She opened a midwifery school for local students in Japan, and she herself seems to have given birth to her only daughter Edith in the country (Elston). Her experience there resulted in *Child-Life in Japan, and Japanese Child-Stories* (1879) in which her warm affection for both Japanese and British children is expressed.

[21] Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900) is one of the most celebrated Victorian female travellers. According to D. J. Birkett, Kingsley journeyed to West Africa in 1893 and 1894. Her second extensive lone journey into the interior brought her great fame as well as resulted in two books: *Travels in West Africa, Congo Français, Corisco and Cameroons* (1897) and the more scientific and political *West African Studies* (1899). She championed economic imperialism and conservation of African native culture at the same time. She died of typhoid in South Africa in 1900.

> It is with much diffidence that I venture to present the following pages to the Public. Had I seriously contemplated the possibility of being induced to *write a book*, while we were yet resident in China, I should certainly have taken more care in collecting materials to make it an interesting one. [. . .]; and the oft-repeated question—"Why don't you write a book?"—resulted in the publication of the Letters for whose appearance I am now apologising.
>
> They are simply those written to my relatives at home, divested of all personal matter not absolutely necessary for carrying on the narrative. (v)

Swainson uses a passive form and italics in 'being induced to *write a book*.' This evasiveness denotes her negative attitude towards authorship. This tone was shared by most of the travellers, which suggests its conventionality at the time. Frere mocks this tradition by announcing that '[t]he conventional apology, so mercilessly treated by critics and reviewers, for publishing "what was never intended for publication," I do not attempt to offer' (3), only to reinforce the veracity of her own apology. Even a decade after 1900, Stopes, a professional scientist and one of the few better-educated women in contemporary Britain, was still forced to repeat a similar, clichéd apology. Bird made a bold move by claiming that her work was 'an attempt to contribute something to the sum of knowledge of the present condition of the country,' which shows her confidence derived from the popular success she enjoyed resulting from her previous publication (*Unbeaten* 1: vii). Still, she expressed her contrition that 'I am painfully conscious of the defects of these volumes' (*Unbeaten* 1: x). Lawson appears bolder in that she negated the necessity of an apology, boasting that '[t]he future of the British Empire, with its great Asiatic possessions, is so intimately associated with Japan, that any literature which may help to make the people of the Sunrise Land better understood by

my countrymen at home and abroad needs little or no apology for its appearance in book form'; however, she could not help but immediately continue that 'I naturally feel somewhat diffident in placing the work of a comparatively inexperienced writer before a public which can take its choice among the works of world-renowned travellers and authors' (5). Prefaces or introductions contributed by male relatives, her husband in Brassey's case, or by high-profile male figures, the then Japanese ambassador in London in case of d'Anethan, equipped them with male approval. Dedications to female aristocrats, Lady Parkes in case of Bird, or to deceased husbands, in case of both Fraser and d'Anethan, enabled them to assume feminine propriety. The use of anonymity or pseudonyms was also a common tactic for preserving femininity among women writers (Mills 41). Many of the female travellers to Japan used their initials rather than their full names, which seriously hinders identification of these writers. Feminine titles such as Mrs, Lady, and Baroness displayed on the cover valorised the personal over the professional or public self. Even Lawson, the most progressive among the travellers, chose to engrave 'Lady Lawson' on the cover.

Although diverse publishers worked with the travellers, there were a select few active in the publication of female travel writing about Japan. As Blackwood played a significant role in publishing early male travelogues about Japan, so did John Murray in publishing works by Bird. Bridges also had her work published by Murray. Given the firm's internationally-renowned guidebook series, it was little wonder that it took the

active role. However, these publishers remained under the prevailing influences of Victorian gender norms. For example, the second, one-volume edition of Bird's travelogue dropped parts of a more scholarly nature largely from the first two-volume edition according to Murray's plan to make 'a book of travel and adventure' (Stoddart 168). This illuminates the publisher's marketing strategy which took advantage of the discursive constraints on female travellers in order to arouse public interest. This was paired with its conformity to prevailing gender norms resulting in the erasure and omission of more masculine, objective, lengthy ethnographic notes. It is also interesting to observe the way publication reflected contemporary political circumstances. In Howard's case, there was a considerable gap of ten years between her return to England in 1908 and the publication of her travelogue in 1918. Interestingly, Howard had published another travelogue *Potsdam Princes* (1916), which was based on the diary she kept a decade earlier while working as an English governess to the sons of the German Kaiser Wilhelm II from 1895 to 1898. This was the role she held before taking up a similar post in Japan thereafter. There was an obvious link between the publication of these two narratives and the First World War in which Britain and Japan fought together against Germany. Howard was in the unique position of being able to give first-hand accounts of the personalities of leading figures of both the ally and the adversary during their adolescence. In her writings, she compared the two empires in favour of Japan: 'We can see all through the Russo-Japanese war the wide difference

between the Japanese code of honour and their humane treatment of prisoners and the vile brutality of the Germans of to-day' (288).[22] In quoting her Japanese pupil as likening Germans to 'ants' for 'invading the country and consuming everything as they went,' she criticised the British domestic policy concerning German expatriates through her observations in Germany (288):

> It is very rarely indeed [. . .] that his naturalization in other countries is more than skin deep. Love of the Fatherland is imbued in the German baby from the cradle upwards.
>
> [. . .]
>
> It is because of the innate love of Fatherland in the German that I view with concern in these war times a certain laxity in dealing with the naturalized Teutons at home and elsewhere. One cannot be sufficiently on one's guard. Teuton psychology makes it impossible to imagine him going against his country under any conditions. (284-85)

Regarding nationalist sentiments as intrinsic to Germans, Howard cautioned her government against German immigrants. In these passages, her travelogue essentially became propaganda. Its chapter organisation, contrary to feminine conventions, might have been targeted at male audience with political interests as she addresses her audience using the masculine pronoun in the foreword. Thus, the timing and design of the publication speaks of the intention of the editorial board.

Language affected the travellers' experiences on different levels. The basic principle of British life in Meiji Japan was separatism. Residential segregation was practised in the treaty areas, and the general condescending attitude towards local

[22] This judgement on Japanese humanitarianism is compelling in the light of the Tokyo International Military Tribunal after the Second World War and its accusations of crimes against POWs. See Boister and Cryer, 196-201.

people and culture prevented foreigners from learning the Japanese language with the rare exceptions of missionaries, foreign employees, and diplomatic personnel. Instead, pidgin Japanese locally called "Yokohama dialect" was largely resorted to. Even allowing for the difficulty of the language, the linguistic integration of foreigners was so disastrous that the *Japan Mail* in 1886 estimated the number of businessmen in Yokohama with a good working knowledge of Japanese at less than six (Hoare 26-27). It is no wonder, then, that few women travellers possessed a good command of Japanese. For short-term travellers, ignorance of the local language was a source of pleasure as well as difficulty. The 1884 edition of Murray's handbook advises that '[t]ravellers will find it convenient to acquire a slight knowledge of the words and phrases in common use, without much difficulty or expenditure of time, by the aid of recent works on colloquial Japanese' in the section on language (Satow and Hawes 15). Its 1907 edition, with reservation, still repeats the advice that '[t]he Japanese language, though extremely difficult to learn correctly, is easy to acquire a smattering of; and even a smattering will add immensely to the pleasure of a tour in the country, [. . .]' (Chamberlain and Mason 16). D'Almeida enjoyed the unfamiliar language. She wrote: 'I often longed very much to be able to speak the Japanese language, which I thought rather a pretty one. The natives, too, whom I met, who were always very affable, seemed particularly pleased when I endeavoured to put a few of their words together' (272-73). Swainson also enjoyed the linguistic differences and wrote: 'Were we remaining here, I should think it

no hardship to be obliged to learn Japanese; it is very easy, and a soft, musical language' (181). Frere, on the contrary, expressed her frustration at not being able to negotiate in Japanese, which thwarted her ambition to ascend Mt Fuji, and she voiced her scepticism towards the Japanese people who impeded her (472-73). This scepticism directed towards the locals, especially about overcharging, is a common feature of travelogues written by short-term travellers. Overall, however, language did not pose a serious problem for them as long as they remained on the beaten track.

In contrast, language imparted a totally different experience for long-term residents. This was ascribable to its role as an essential building block for human relationships. Life in Japan for long-term residents was largely reliant upon harmonious coexistence with the Japanese people. Howard mentioned that '[t]he fact also of not speaking Japanese made my work very difficult' (42). It also affected their welfare as Howard expressed her homesickness and the strain caused by her ignorance of the language (49). It was not only Howard but also the Japanese people who were to blame for communication difficulties. Howard noticed 'a strange reticence' among Japanese intellectuals who consciously avoided speaking English: 'This reluctance to converse in English was, I imagine, caused by a natural sensitiveness against displaying their learning, and it brought me into trouble on more than one occasion' (258). Swainson in 1872 predicted the future linguistic condition in Japan would be, in a form of linguistic imperialism, dominated by the English language. However, in reality this was never

fulfilled. English hegemony was never achieved in non-colonial Japan due to a nationalist backlash against radical Westernisation.[23] Japanese reticence, both verbal and non-verbal, captured Victorian imagination, and many travellers describe the expressionless face of the Japanese upper class as an enigma. Nevertheless, Howard, who repeatedly mentioned Japanese silence and reserve, found the key to the mysterious Japanese inner self, that is writing:

> It was a great help at the beginning to write notes to the Prince in the house, and as we found this a much easier method than speaking, it became a means of our better understanding of one another. I did the same later on with some of his school friends, who were naturally silent and reserved, indeed, I believe it would have been almost impossible to get into touch with them had it not have been for these notes. (67)

This was a path only open to long-term residents. Stopes, whose massive correspondence with Fujī and Sakurai is held by the British Library, averred that:

> The almost inhuman coldness which is so often attributed to the Japanese is not at all truly characteristic of them. Their reserve appears to us to be reserve only because we do not know how to read the signs of their expression [. . .]. The apparently immobile face is immobile only because we ourselves are not alive to its subtle changes. (*Journal* 274)

Stopes criticises a hasty judgement made by ill-informed travellers about Japanese people and demonstrates the deeper knowledge she acquired by dint of her long-term residence and her close relationships with her Japanese friends. Thus, a deep familiarity

---

[23] Swainson writes: 'Ere many years are over however, it seems as if all national peculiarities, good, bad, and indifferent, would disappear [. . .]. Schools are being established all over the country to teach the people English. [. . .] courts of judicature, it is said, are to be established on the model of those in England, and it is even added that the English language alone, is to be used in all legal cases' (208). Bridges, who visited Japan eight years after Swainson, already reports the government's abortive attempts to anglicise the Japanese language: 'The Government had some idea of introducing the Roman alphabet instead of the cumbersome Chinese character, but this was found impracticable' (285).

with cultural signs, developed in a close contact with local people, authenticated travelogues.

Native informants used as translators played a decisive role in promoting cultural understanding and increasing the literacy of the travellers. Drawing critical attention to the salience of language and translation in studying travel writing, Michael Cronin points out the influence of the social position of interpreters and their proficiency in the target language upon their reliability. Cronin also notes a hierarchical relationship between travellers and interpreters and imperial scepticism (4). These politics of translation manifested themselves in women's Meiji-Japan travelogues. Bird's relationship with the interpreter she hired for three months is more prone to suspicion and condescension reflective of the contemporary semi-colonial status of Japan than of the relationship between Stopes and her Japanese colleagues who shared scientific judgements and mutual confidence cultivated over time against a political backdrop of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Cultural differences further complicated the issue. Reticence and the ensuing miscommunication were amplified by the medium of translators due to untranslatability arising from a different code of behaviour and the dynamics between the traveller, the translator, and the Japanese interlocutor. Howard wrote:

> As regards my interpreters, my heart does not go out in gratitude to them all; some added greatly to my difficulties at times. In the first place, it was contrary to their national characteristics to speak one's mind openly, regardless of whom it might hurt or offend. I often saw a look of horror on

> my interpreter's face when I had any unpleasant matter to discuss; and I noticed that after speaking long and animated sentences to be interpreted the result would be summed up in two or three Japanese words. One felt completely in their power and at their mercy. [. . .] Most of the interpreters seemed afraid of the attendants, and from the very beginning of our interviews I generally felt that they put themselves on the side of these gentlemen against myself and my views. (48)

This anecdote cautions against the perils of translation, especially when the two parties involved were unequal in power and were cultural adversaries. Translators as native informants were at liberty to control the information travellers obtained as well as passed on. Only mutual trust would lead to a better understanding of Japanese people and society.

Gender differences in travel writing have been a focal point in the feminist discussion of women's travel writing. Parting from those early studies which celebrated prototypical feminist travellers and their essential differences from their male counterparts, the focus for the last two decades shifted towards discursive differences engendered by the asymmetry in the established gender norms. This was a result of an increasing dialogue with postcolonial studies. Variances in details aside, scholars generally agree that there are differences between male and female travel writing due to different sets of gender norms. Each woman traveller negotiated patriarchal discourse in her own way. Furthermore, their negotiation generated oppositional moments against colonial discourse which raised the possibilities for the alterity. Nevertheless, they remained under the influence of the same colonial mentality as their male

contemporaries.[24]

These principles applied equally to female travelogues about Meiji Japan. As with male travellers, female travellers, through their imperial gaze, wrote about the 'strange,' 'singular,' 'quaint,' 'picturesque,' 'grotesque,' 'uncanny' and 'curious' country of 'little' fairies, dolls, fans and porcelain which had long been guarded against their contact but now became accessible to them. Following the opening up of the country, Japan became rapidly inscribed into the Western Orientalist discourse. The Asiatic Society of Japan and the German Asiatic Society, founded in 1872 in Yokohama and in 1873 in Tokyo respectively, operated as authorities on Japan and exercised their 'referential power' over women travellers in conjunction with preceding male travellers (Said 20). Bird, for instance, acknowledged in her preface support from these institutions and their eminent Japanologists, namely Earnest Mason Satow and Basil Hall Chamberlain, and highlighted the agreement between her notes and those of Heinrich Von Siebold as an assurance about the accuracy of her data which she extracted from 'a mass of rubbish' she had gathered from native informants (*Unbeaten* 1: viii-ix). Under this developing system of knowledge of Japan, women travellers discussed the motifs of national character, race, religion, customs, history, education, botany and so forth through only in so far as it was appropriate for them according to contemporary notions of femininity.

---

[24] For example besides Sara Mills and Simon Gikandi above mentioned, see Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Feminine Gaze* and Monica Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914* to name but a few.

The Japanese landscape was punctuated with semi-colonial Western names, which helped the travellers to incorporate the scene as their imperial territories epistemologically. In early travelogues from pre-1870, natives were described as 'semi-barbarous' 'demi-savages' (Frere 476; Hodgson 100). Their bodies were observed as 'hideous' racial 'specimens' and positioned low in the racial hierarchy according to 'Social Darwinism' which formed the scientific backbone of the British expansionism (Hughes 43): 'They certainly are not a handsome race, [. . .] and if the Darwinian theory be correct, I should say they must be several generations nearer the parent monkey than we are' (Swainson 205-06). Lack of morality was generalised as an Oriental characteristic: 'I am afraid there are few of them who do not possess the usual attributes of Eastern nations; viz., a tendency to lie and steal wherever they get a chance' (Frere 396). These pseudo-scientific derogatory remarks decreased as Japan developed into a modern nation. Still, the fantasy of the other's monstrosity survived into the twentieth century and was articulated through a fear of leprosy and deformity. On her arrival, Howard was 'terrified' and 'sickened' by the sight of a Japanese man who appeared armless to her because of her ignorance of the local winter attire (14-15).

Japanese eclecticism in adopting Western knowledge and technology without its religion and philosophy, whose attitude was epitomised in a popular slogan '*wakon yōsai* (Japanese Spirit, Western Learning)' among Meiji Japanese modernisers, was unanimously criticised (Hirakawa 195). The dissolution of the feudal "Old Japan" in the

face of the fallacious, Westernised "New Japan" was deplored. Swainson commented that the beautiful national dress was 'spoilt' by European attire which made Japanese men look like 'well-grown monkeys' (169, 86). Japanese Westernisation was condemned as superficial in that it was not 'organic,' not 'spring[ing] from the inner life' of Western philosophy, morality and Christianity (Dunn 254). Yokoyama attributed this Victorian admiration for Old Japan in conjunction with the contempt for Westernised New Japan to their self-criticism of European modernity (162). However, it also operated to emphasise the inherent difference between Britain and Japan, in the way of "othering," and demonstrated what Johannes Fabian explicates as 'denial of coevalness' (Pratt 63). The dissimilarity between the two countries was accentuated by temporally relegating the authentic Japan to the past and maintaining the Western monopoly on modernity. Behind this was a fear of the threat posed to the unique English identity by Japan's rapid Westernisation.

Simultaneously, Japan's non-colonial position gave rise to a discourse specific to Japan. The early explorers' favourable view of Japan proliferated at the expense of China due to the diplomatic difficulties with the latter during this era. Cleanliness, politeness, and the affability of Japan were repeatedly commented upon, in particular and marked comparison with China. Japanese art was highly acclaimed as superior despite its Chinese derivation. These qualities were exaggerated to the extent to draw comparison with Britain itself. Frere highly commended the manner of a Japanese

gentleman through analogy with an English gentleman: 'Indeed, his manner more nearly approached my idea of perfection, in the combination of courtly politeness and stately cordiality, than any I have ever seen, except, now and then, in an old English gentleman' (398). This favouritism extended its influence over Western racial discourse upon Japanese people. The whiteness of the Japanese race featured strongly in popular discussions of its level of civilisation until the 1920s (Keevak 135-37). Chamberlain in his popular encyclopaedic *Things Japanese* (1890) gave a quick summary of the debate under the heading of 'Race':

> There has been much strife among the learned on this question: to which race do the Japanese belong? Not scientific considerations only, but religious and other prejudices have been imported into the discussion. One pious member of the Scotch Kirk derives the Japanese from the Lost Tribes of Israel. An enthusiastic German professor, on the other hand, Dr. Wernich, takes up the cudgels to defend so charming a nation against "the reproach of Mongolism"—whatever that may be. The two greatest authorities on the subject, Baelz and Rein, say, purely and simply, that the Japanese are Mongols. (365-66)

This indecision about the Japanese race illuminated the political make-up of the ostensibly scientific racial discourse. Early female travellers frequently alluded to Jewish or Greek links with the Japanese nation (Brassey 341-42; Bridges 307, 27). Japanese extreme civility and cleanliness prompted travellers to see themselves as barbarians. Kipling wrote of 'feeling for the first time that I was a barbarian, and no true *sahib*' in Japan; he reported his dismay jokingly, thereby deflecting potential criticism from home readers, that 'they left us alone in this paradise of cleanliness and beauty,

and being only a shameless Englishman without his boots—a white man is always degraded when he goes barefoot' (Kipling 40, 43). Despite their duty as a model of Western civilisation, female travellers also joked about their own barbarousness in comparison with Japanese people ('a crowd of natives, [. . .] surrounded the house, staring with astonishment at the barbarous customs of their uncivilized visitors'), which was appropriate due to Japan's non-colonial status (Frere 466).

There was, however, a theme which became quintessentially Japanese among male travellers but which female travellers could not readily appropriate: Japanese women. The entry on 'Women (Status of)' in Chamberlain's work introduces them as 'most womanly—kind, gentle, pretty' (*Things* 451). In the entry on 'Japanese people (Characteristics of the),' Chamberlain found it important to give additional information: 'The Japanese women are, on the whole, handsomer than the men, and have, besides, pretty manners and charming voices' (*Things* 229). Another entry on 'Singing-Girls' explicates that '[t]he charms of the Japanese singing-girl have been dwelt on so often that we gladly leave them to her more ardent admirers,' which indicates the prevalence of the topic in Western narratives (Chamberlain, *Things* 389). This male admiration for Japanese women by virtue of their femininity was perceived as a threat by some female travellers, in particular during the last two decades of the nineteenth century which saw women's advancement in British society and the emergence of the "New Woman," which divided the public (Arata 60-62). The idea of traditional femininity was in the

process of a radical redefinition. Male admiration for Japanese women mirrored their disfavour of this shift at home. Swainson saw fit to depreciate Japanese women, expressing her disagreement: 'I cannot understand how some people admire them [Japanese women] so much' (184). Frere simply reduced them to an anthropological object: 'The damsels who were attending us were very fair specimens of their class' (444). Japanese women frequently appear in Victorian male travelogues in a titillating manner as an object of desire. Apart from tea houses, a frequent motif among male travellers was public bathing. Osborn reports upon witnessing the outdoor bathing of 'ladies' in Nagasaki in a quixotic comic style (57). To his male companion who was appreciating the landscape, Kipling impatiently suggested: 'Let us go and watch girls bathing and say nothing about it' (134). There was no equivalent to the male erotic gaze in the attitudes showcased by female travelogues. Women travellers took a number of different approaches. Some travellers condemned the custom altogether :'they reminded me forcibly of a representation of souls in purgatory' (D'Almeida 209). Other women travellers de-aestheticised the scene to make it less obnoxious: 'the costume of Eden is not becoming to fat middle-aged ladies' (Bridges 328). Some travellers naturalised it completely: 'The *al-fresco* ablutions,—the hearing of which so horrifies those who have never been out of Europe,—are by no means startling'(Frere 391).

Hand in hand with the aestheticisation of Japanese women by European men was also their dehumanisation. Its political implications were correctly perceived by Itō

Hirobumi, a prominent Meiji politician, when he gave the following response to Erwin Baelz, a German physician and educator, concerning his strong disapproval of the Europeanisation of the dress code at the Japanese court: ‘‘‘My dear Baelz, you don’t in the least understand the requirements of high politics. All that you say may be perfectly sound, but so long as our ladies continue to appear in Japanese dress they will be regarded as mere dolls or bric-à-brac’’’ (Baelz 239).[25] The correct recognition of Japanese women and, by extension, Japan and its people, assumed political significance for the purpose of revising the unequal treaties and establishing a diplomatic relationship with the West on equal terms. Their colonial complicity notwithstanding, women’s travelogues contain counter-moments of self-criticism. Travellers, long-term residents who could afford time for closer observation in particular, corrected their preceding misconceptions, which the loose epistolary organisation facilitated. Hodgson, who referred to the Japanese people as ‘demi-savages’ and ‘brutes’ in her early contact, revised her opinion and wrote: ‘Altogether my first impressions, which were far from favourable to the Japanese, have undergone a considerable change; and I hope when I

[25] Itō Hirobumi (16 October 1841-26 October 1909) was a low-ranking *samurai* in the Chōshū domain which was in the vanguard of the xenophobic movement during the last years of the Tokugawa shogunate. Itō was one of the pupils at Shōkason Juku and was under the instructions of Yoshida Shōin, who became the subject of Robert Louis Stevenson’s biographical sketch. Itō was actively involved in nationalist activities such as an arson attack on the British legation in January 1863 while, only five months later, he smuggled himself into Britain, at the age of twenty-one, to study at University College London. He became the first and four-time prime minister of Meiji Japan, and was the chief designer of the Meiji Constitution. He died in an assassination by a Korean nationalist in Harbin, China. For further details on Itō’s connection to Britain as a fledging young reformer, see Cobbing.

Erwin Baelz (13 January 1849-31 August 1913) visited Japan in 1876 in the employment of the Japanese government. He authored countless monographs on Japanese physiology, pathology, and society (Baelz 3-7). Mary Crawford Fraser, who is the subject of Chapter III of this thesis, was under the care of Baelz during her residence in Japan and mentions him in her travelogue.

know more of them I shall like them still better' (120). This affective bond with the natives, which constitutes a salient characteristic of female travel writing, was easily channelled into criticism of their domestic imperial culture. Frere showed her sympathy with Japanese people and disapproval of English imperiousness: 'I fear [. . .] that our own countrymen, in many instances, do great harm by insisting, John Bull-like, that there cannot be such a fine fellow in the world as an Englishman, and treating the Japanese, who probably think much the same of themselves, as inferiors, and as a conquered people' (396). Expressing her indignation at Europeans who scorn Japanese people as monkeys, Howard undermined "Social Darwinism" by subscribing to the local perspective:

> I used to hear that these Europeans remind the Japanese of the native monkeys with red faces, which might have surprised me more had I not somewhat the same experiences.
>
> After having lived entirely among the Japanese for some months I went down one day to the sea-front at Kamakura, where I met some foreigners who were bathing in cotton kimonos. The extraordinary blueness of their eyes and their huge features and red faces made me for the moment think of the red monkeys! (132-33)

Female travelogues record close contact between women which is notably absent from male travelogues. D'Almeida and Brassey reported their experiences of being touched by Japanese women (Brassey 366; D'Almeida 192). Female travellers intimidated Japanese women less than their male counterparts by virtue of their femininity, which allowed the travellers to observe Japanese women in close proximity. Diplomats' wives including Fraser and d'Anethan enjoyed the privilege of entering the closed society of

Japanese upper-class women. Their accounts provide variegated portraits of Japanese women which are absent from male narratives. Finally, women travellers restored masculinity to Japanese men effectively, whose representation had hitherto suffered an unsexing in the hands of the male travellers. Interracial friendships and romances between Japanese men and Western women described by Stopes began a new approach in the popular representation of Japan. Ironically, this retrieved masculinity turned into aggressive expansionism towards neighbouring countries in turn, whose victims Keith extended sympathy to. Thus, female travelogues of Meiji Japan add heterogeneity to the masculine Orientalist discourse, which opens up possibilities to represent the racial other more fairly and justly.

3. Japan in Victorian Literature

One of the earliest surviving records of Japan and its people in Europe is a travelogue *Il Milione* by Marco Polo, a thirteenth-century Venetian traveller who travelled through Central Asia and China. Polo never visited Japan himself but gave us an account of what he heard about the country and described Japan as a kingdom of white civilisation with inexhaustible gold and pearls. This fantastic image of Japan survived well into the Victorian period, when *The Travels of Marco Polo* (1871), a new translation and edition of the travelogue by Henry Yule, which was supplemented with scholarly notes informed by the latest understandings of the country, revived the exoticism and fantasy

and inspired literary imagination. Polo's utopian Japan exercised decisive influence on literary representation of the country for centuries. An example appears in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) by Jonathan Swift. Japan often serves as a reference point for the cartographical locations of imaginary lands Gulliver visits and as their ally. Ambiguity about the country's existence among the Georgian readership fit well in the story, anchoring the fictional travelogue in the interstice between the imaginary and the real. A Japanese pirate captain and a Japanese emperor (who, historically speaking, should be a shogun) are represented as heathens of morals in contrast to Dutch characters, whose image suffer severely as immoral Christians. Robert Louis Stevenson in 'Yoshida-Torajiro' fashions Japan into the setting for masculine heroism and adventures. The sketch is based on the story of Yoshida Shōin (1830-59), a charismatic reformer during the Bakumatsu era, which Masaki Taizō (1846-96), Yoshida's pupil, related to Stevenson.[26] Stevenson describes the work in correspondence to his close friend, Edmund Gosse, on 23 January 1880 as 'a paper on a Japanese hero who will warm your blood' (*Letters* 53). He emphasises the medievalism of the setting ('Thus, he travelled through the Middle Ages on his voyage of discovery into the nineteenth century' ('Yoshida-Torajiro' 178)), thereby enhancing the romanticism of Yoshida's life to satisfy the expectations of the Victorian readership. The comparison between Yoshida's exploit with that of Ulysses rather than that of John Franklin further pushes the story

[26] The Bakumatsu era is the final years of the Tokugawa shogunate before the beginning of the Meiji period in September 1868.

into the realm of fantasy, not the coeval reality: ‘The descent of Ulysses into hell is a parallel more near the case than the boldest expedition in the Polar circles’ ('Yoshida-Torajiro' 181). These steps, nonetheless, make a transition in the concluding paragraphs more significant, where Stevenson makes a landing in his contemporary Britain and shows an affinity with the Japanese revolutionists by remarking that ‘[i]t is exhilarating to have lived in the same days with these great-hearted gentlemen’ ('Yoshida-Torajiro' 190). He also marks the spatial closeness between Japan and Britain by way of putting the distance as ‘[o]nly a few miles from us, to speak by the proportion of the universe’ ('Yoshida-Torajiro' 190). The change from the time of Swift is ascribable to the increase in first-hand accounts by Victorian travellers of Japan and the arrival of Japanese native informants in Victorian Britain after the end of seclusion. Stevenson favourably depicts these Japanese travellers in Britain as ‘brisk intelligent students, with their strange foreign air’ ('Yoshida-Torajiro' 190). Stevenson represents Japan on a firmer factual basis while retaining the age-old air of Xanadu surrounding it.

The Victorian fad for Japan which exerted a far-reaching impact on diverse cultural domains flourished in the spheres of opera and musicals. The exoticism and romance the country could offer visually and musically were well-suited to these genres. *The Mikado; or, the Town of Titipu* (1885) by William S. Gilbert and Sir Arthur S. Sullivan is a two-act comic opera set in Japan which recounts a love story between Nanki-Poo, a crown prince in disguise as a wandering minstrel, and Yum-Yum in a fuss

over an imperial decree forbidding flirtation under penalty of decapitation. Gilbert found some inspiration in a contemporary exhibition of a Japanese village in Knightsbridge. The opera had its premiere on 14 March 1885 at the Savoy Theatre and proved to be an instant success with a record 672 performances during its initial run. Its translation into different European languages suggests an ubiquitous attraction of Japanese themes in late nineteenth-century Europe (Simpson and Jones v-vi). The opera was conceived as a satire of English society and therefore of doubtful factual accuracy. There is an obvious confusion of a mikado with a shogun, and exotic names of the place and the characters are by no means Japanese. The opening chorus of 'If You Want to Know Who We Are' has a stage direction, 'Japanese nobles discovered standing and sitting in attitudes suggested by native drawings,' and sings 'If you want to know who we are/ We are gentlemen of Japan:/ On many a vase and jar,/ On many a screen and fan,/ We figure in lively paint,/ Our attitudes queer and quaint/ You're wrong if you think it ain't' (38-43). The aim of the librettist was certainly not to produce a faithful representation of the foreign land but to mis-appropriate the exotic setting to appeal to popular taste.[27]

It was this Victorian craze for things *à la japonaise* that Oscar Wilde makes

[27] Tsuda Umeko expressed her indignation at the travesty of Japan, particularly the emperor, in *The Mikado*. She insightfully attributed this to Japan's political weakness towards the West and their inability to protest (Oba 184). Yone Noguchi also showed his resentment about the Japanese-themed comic operas he attended in the United States, writing: 'The vogue of the *Mikado* or the *Geisha*, a comic opera, at that time made my true Japanese heart pained, as I thought it was a blasphemy against Japan; how often I wished to shout from the pit or gallery on its absurdity' (*Story* 16).

reference to in ‘The Decay of Lying: An Observation’ (1891). He reduces the depictive presentation of Japanese people in arts to a ‘mode of style’ of artists, hence a ‘Japanese effect’ without physical resemblance ('Decay' 46). For him, Japanese people in the Victorian mind are ‘the deliberate self-conscious creation’ of artists ('Decay' 46). It is in this context that he claims: ‘In fact the whole of Japan is a pure invention. There is no such country, there are no such people’ ('Decay' 46). Wilde criticises the public infatuation for fantastic and grotesque Japan by remarking that ‘[t]he actual people who live in Japan are not unlike the general run of English people; [. . .] they are extremely commonplace, and have nothing curious or extraordinary about them,’ thereby highlighting commonalities between two peoples. Interestingly, Wilde puts his artistic theory of ‘Japanese effect’ into practice in the literary form in the second paragraph of the opening chapter of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891):

> From the corner of the divan of Persian saddlebags on which he was lying, smoking, as was his custom, innumerable cigarettes, Lord Henry Wotton could just catch the gleam of the honey-sweet and honey-coloured blossoms of laburnum, whose tremulous branches seemed hardly able to bear the burden of a beauty so flame-like as theirs; and now and then the fantastic shadows of birds in flight flitted across the long tussore-silk curtains that were stretched in front of the huge window, producing a kind of momentary *Japanese effect*, and making him think of those pallid jade-faced painters of Tokio who, through the medium of an art that is necessarily immobile, seek to convey the sense of swiftness and motion. The sullen murmur of the bees shouldering their way through the long unmown grass, or circling with monotonous insistence round the dusty gilt horns of the straggling woodbine, seemed to make the stillness more oppressive. The dim roar of London was like the bourdon note of a distant organ. (5; emphasis added)

Together with a ‘divan of Persian saddlebags’ and ‘tussore-silk curtains,’ the Japanese

reference contributes to setting up the decadent exoticism of the scene and the isolation of the room from the outside world of modern London in time and space.[28] Furthermore, Wilde elaborates the aesthetic of Japanese effect which remains obscure in the aforementioned essay. The creation of movements in the immobile painting which Wilde suggests is a style that Japanese artists aim at recalls the techniques of Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831-89), whose 'rapid, forcible and graceful touch, and a power of realising action' as William Anderson put it, inspired Mortimer Menpes (A. Ono 109).[29] The idea of life-capturing paintings seems to foretell the secret of the novel.

The problem of misappropriation also took on a clear gender dimension. After the pan-European success of *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887) by Pierre Loti arguably determined Western perceptions of Japan for subsequent decades, interracial romance with Japanese women became a central motif in Western male imagination of the country and produced numerous imitations of the fantasy (Reed 1). The novel was an autobiographical story of a French naval officer who entered into a temporary marriage with a Japanese *geisha* in Nagasaki.[30] It is much to be lamented that the prototype of

---

[28] The 'House Beautiful,' designed by E.W. Godwin for the Wildes in Chelsea in 1884 was strongly influenced by the Anglo-Japanese style (A. Ono 32-33).

[29] Wilde knew Menpes and his influence. He visited the latter's Japanese exhibition at the Dowdeswells Galleries in 1887 (A. Ono 112-13).

[30] *Madame Chrysanthème* went into reprint 222 times before the author's death in 1923 and translation in every major European language. An English translation by Laura Ensor was available a mere two years after its release in 1889 (Reed 1).

Preceding *Madame Chrysanthème*, a largely forgotten work, *Le Japon pittoresque* by Maurice Dubard was published in Paris in 1879 and in London in 1886 in an English translation by William Conn under the title *Japanese Life, Love, and Legend: A Visit to the Empire of the "Rising Sun"*, which reflects prevalent interest in Japan in mid- nineteenth-century Europe. It is a tale of passionate but unfulfilled love between Marcel, a French officer and O-Hana, a daughter of a Japanese merchant, and is set in Yokohama. Despite its subscription to the stereotype of Japanese

Japanese women Loti presented to the West was a coquettish *mousmé* on sale. In a distinctively Orientalist manner, Loti poetically but derogatively depicts his temporary wife, Chrysanthème, as a thoughtless doll or a heartless plaything. He aestheticizes her in sleep as a dead fairy or a pinned dragon-fly and deplores: 'What a pity this little Chrysanthème cannot always be asleep; she is really extremely decorative seen in this manner,—and like this, at least, she does not bore me' (121). This morbid aesthetic, which was concurrent with Edgar Allan Poe's infamous poetics of the death of a beautiful woman and John Everett Millais's dying *Ophelia*, further characterises the heroine as a mere ornamental object without animate personality.[31] The name, Chrysanthème—a literal translation of the heroine's true name, Kiku—which the narrator calls her persistently is a perfect illustration of this objectification. His lingering suspicion about an affair between his colleague, Yves, and Chrysanthème exhibits sensuality and his voyeuristic pleasure. Chrysanthème here serves as their common property to strengthen the bond of brotherhood. Loti dedicated the novel to a French duchesse as an equivalent of 'some quaint bit of pottery, some grotesquely carved ivory idol, or some preposterous trifle brought back for you from this singular fatherland of

---

child-women, it markedly diverged from Loti's Japan in its positive view of the country, which was in fact the mainstream, and its characterisation of the Japanese heroine as a human with intense feelings. Dubard criticises a false conception of Japanese women based on casual observations by travellers in Europe as 'women who never say "no"' (47), which was to be reinforced by Loti when he claimed that 'no matter where one goes, in houses one enters for the first time, one is quite at liberty to kiss any mousmé who may be present, without any notice being taken of it' (273-74). It is unfortunate that it was Loti's version instead of Dubard's which achieved wider popularity.

[31] Edgar Allan Poe claimed in 'The Philosophy of Composition' (1846) that 'the death [. . .] of a beautiful woman is, unquestionably, the most poetical topic in the world' (19).

all preposterousness' (6). Against his veneration towards the Western noblewoman, Chrysanthème, or Japanese women, is reduced to a curio, and her sexual exploitation to a harmless story adequate for female consumption. The brief concluding chapter where Loti jocularly pleads with a Japanese pagan goddess to cleanse him of 'this little marriage' highlights the inconsequentiality of the marriage and his impenitence (335). It is as if he considers Chrysanthème as dirt to be washed off.

The gross injustice inflicted upon Japanese women by Loti in popularising their image as a disposable doll was replicated in countless works. 'The Jap' (1893), a comic song successfully performed by a leading Victorian music hall comedian, Dan Leno, goes, in part, as follows: 'Not long ago I visited Japan;/ That's where I became a married man; [. . .]/ My Japanesy wifie gives me nothing else but ching chang' (Morton and Le Brunn 2-4). These lyrics mock the popular theme of Japanese marriage along with cultural preposterousness. *The Geisha; A Story of a Tea House: A Japanese Musical Play* (1896) by a composer, Sidney Jones, a librettist, Owen Hall and a lyricist, Harry Greenbank has blatant lyrics that explicitly state: 'Great big English sailor men! [. . .]/ Marry little English Miss,/ Flirt with pretty Japanese!' (5), and that 'Though the tar couldn't speak Japanese,/ Yet in English he asked her to marry;/ Then she crept to his side,/ And her fan opened wide,/ As she murmured. "*Hai! Kashikomari!* [Yes, I will!]"' (7).[32] 'Mimosa! My Flower in Japan' (1905) by Frank Clifford Harris and

[32] Japan provided an attractive setting for a couple of other musical comedies including *The White*

James William Tate is another song about an English officer flirting with a Japanese *geisha*. The epitome of this Orientalist fantasy of Japanese women lies in an opera, *Madame Butterfly* (1904) by Giacomo Puccini. The opus is based on a short story, 'Madame Butterfly' (1898) by John Luther Long and its dramatisation, whose performance in London in 1900 captivated the composer (Groos 174). The story is set in contemporary Nagasaki and famously narrates a tragic love story between an American naval officer, Pinkerton and a Japanese girl, Cho-Cho-San. The work was a critical response to Loti. Nonetheless, the heroine is still eroticised through the male gaze of not only her husband but also of the American consul in Nagasaki, Sharpless. Furthermore, she is infantilised through her distorted utterances in poor English. She is exchanged like a mere object between Pinkerton and her relatives through a Japanese marriage-broker and is eventually deserted by her American husband and separated from her baby, which prompts her attempted suicide. After the historic fiasco of its premiere in Milan on 17 February 1904, a revised version was performed at Covent Garden in London on 17 July 1905 and achieved great success. Outside the theatre, prolific writers such as Clive Holland, Edwin Arnold and Lafcadio Hearn published a body of Japan-related books and contributed to the construction of the Japanese woman in Britain, which I will examine in greater detail in Chapter III.

It is indeed astonishing to notice the longevity this fantasy enjoyed. *A Bachelor in*

Chrysanthemum (1905) by Howard Talbot and *The Mousmé* (1911) by Lionel Monckton and Talbot.

Japan by Eric Erskine Wood, which came out in London in 1916, is not altogether dissimilar from its predecessors. The novel follows earlier examples and takes the style of the pseudo-travel narrative by a first-person Englishman. An aristocratic Londoner who owns a flat in St. James's, weary of his contemporary life in the fast-changing metropolis, sails to Japan, which he fantasises as 'the land of blossoms' (12). Wood's Japan is anachronistic due to its narrator's traditionalism and nostalgia which is intensified by horrible military affairs in Europe which Japan was, in fact, no stranger to. Its intertextuality with *Madame Chrysanthème* and *Madame Butterfly* becomes evident from the name of the heroine which is identical to that of the heroine in the former and the narrator's direct reference to the latter whose heroine the protagonist obviously adores. His romance with Kiku San, whom he considers 'delicately beautiful' and seductive but 'eminently childish,' satisfies his male chauvinism by shaping her into his pupil of love to be saved from an arranged marriage (54). Although a plot of a temporary marriage disappears and the parity between the two countries is marked in an alliance's terms, the sexual fantasy of an easily available Japanese child-women is still very much alive. '"Every Englishman leaves a girl in Japan—it's part of the fun"' (97), a remark by his fellow-traveller in the final chapter, seems to support this.

The image of a fragile Japanese woman that captured the Victorian male imagination also gained wide currency in English literature. Consequently, *kimonos* assumed a metonymic valence for femininity and innocence. In *Pygmalion* (1912),

George Bernard Shaw clothes Eliza in a *kimono* after her initial transformation into '*a dainty and exquisitely clean young Japanese lady in a simple blue cotton kimono printed cunningly with small white jasmine blossoms*,' thereby foregrounding the heroine's innate femininity and delicacy which she is going to materialise (713). In *In Memory of Eva Gore-Booth and Con Markiewicz* (1927), William Butler Yeats twice repeats the lines: 'Two girls in silk kimonos, both/ Beautiful, one a gazelle' (*Poems* 347). The silk *kimonos* serve not only as an indicator of the privileged social class to which the two sisters belonged but also enhance the romantic beauty and feminine innocence of the subject matters, removing them far from the real-life politics the two women later engaged in. Thus, the Japan of the Victorian imagination was thoroughly gendered by a line of writers and dramatists in the language of feminine sensuality and elegance. It was this male fantasy which some female travellers thought fit to write against—in the name of friendship.

Conclusion

It is ironic that the unequal treaties which Japan was forced into with Western countries were termed after friendship: the US-Japan Treaty of Amity and Friendship (1854), the Anglo-Japanese Friendship Treaty (1854), and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce (1858). Defining human rights of equality as not only that within a single country but also one of universal equality across nations regardless of power and wealth,

Fukuzawa Yukichi cites his distressed colleague in *Bunmeiron no gairyaku* (*An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*) (1875):

> at the time we first let Admiral Perry bring his squadron of warships into our waters, the gist of the argument given to persuade us into trade relations was that all men on this earth are brothers, sharing the same sky above and the same earth beneath, that if we turn a man away and refuse to deal with him we are sinners against Heaven, and so, even if it means fighting, trade relations must be opened. How beautiful Perry's words, and how unseemly his deeds! His speech and conduct were diametrically opposed. To put it bluntly, he was saying, 'If you don't do business with me, you'll be doing business with the undertaker.' (183)

These Japanese thinkers clearly perceived the hypocrisy of friendship and brotherhood inherent in the Western imperial politics. It adds to the irony, then, that the same Japanese philosopher advocated Japan's divorce from Asia in his *Datsu-A ron* (*On Saying Goodbye to Asia*) (1885) in the name of modern enlightenment and social advancement, and declared that '[w]e simply erase from our minds our bad friends in Asia' (qtd. in Bharucha xvii).[33] Thus, the language of friendship became highly politicised in a historical context of new imperialism and lost its ethical valence in its usage as an opportunistic term.

This unreliability of the rhetorical use of friendship in politics notwithstanding, Victorian female travelogues about Meiji Japan offer fascinating examples of harmonious relationships between the travellers and the Japanese people. This is

[33] There was another Japanese philosopher who experienced otherwise and instead espoused a high ideal of universal friendship. Yokoi Shōnan, on his return from a voyage to the United States in 1860 for the purpose of revising unequal treaties with the country, wrote: 'Their cordiality was deep indeed. By extending this meaning [of friends] to all people in the world, and not just to those in Japan, they are all our friends' (qtd. in Hirakawa 74). This was, however, an elusive goal in Meiji Japanese society which was built on the primacy of the house and exclusivist in nature to the extent to think fit to reject the universal equality between individuals in the civil code (Hirakawa 92).

attributable to a tendency among Victorian women travellers for the affective alignment with local people, for which Mills coined the term ‘going native’ (98). The question that arises then is as follows: how does the friendship between European women travellers and racial others affect the politically-charged discourse of friendship, which constructs itself as homosocial and homogeneous through the exclusion of women and foreigners? What political horizon does this open? What is the specificity of Japan in this feminine resistance against patriarchal imperial discourse? Like Mills, I will not argue for an essentialist understanding of sexual difference or the ethical superiority of women over men. I would rather be interested in examining the textual manifestation of the affective bonding between imperial female travellers and Japanese people fostered by different gender expectations between the sexes and the discord cross-cultural affinity brings into the politicised discourse of friendship.

Chapter I will set up the theoretical questions that the following chapters address or challenge. It will follow the philosophical dialogue between Jacques Derrida, Maurice Blanchot and Jean-Luc Nancy on the subject of ethics and alterity, and it will examine in particular the Derridean discussion of friendship and hospitality as a response to the idea of community and the ontology of singular plurality elaborated by the other thinkers. It will also highlight the historical marginalisation of women and foreigners inflicted by the phallogocentric primacy of brotherhood and consanguinity in the Western philosophical understanding of friendship, as exposed by Derridean

deconstructive readings. Finally, it will consider issues of gender and a new language of hospitality that can be extended to those occluded by Western metaphysics.

Chapter II will examine the relationship between Isabella Bird and local people, particularly her Japanese interpreter, Ito, narrated in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. It will also address the question of translation and illustrate their intimacy enhanced by her dependence on him as a medium to make sense of the outside world. It will simultaneously underline the concomitant complexity of the politics between traveller and interpreter which arises from the power asymmetry of the master-servant and the informant-recipient relationships. It will illuminate the impact of their relationship upon Bird's receptivity towards the Japanese alterity. It will further explore the afterlives of Bird and her relationship with Ito in contemporary Japanese literature and discuss issues surrounding the retelling of travel writing in terms of translation.

Chapter III will investigate international/interracial female friendships and the literary community in *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan* by Mary Crawford Fraser and her Japan-related fiction. It will examine the representation of her friendships with Japanese women in the travelogue and uncover her connection with a circle of Japanese female writers in oblivion, particularly Yei Theodra Ozaki and Wakamatsu Shizuko, who wrote about Japanese women for a Western audience. The chapter will supplement Fraser's travel accounts with historical sources on the two writers and their unpublished correspondence. Hence, I will discuss the influence of these friendships upon Fraser's

fictional works, especially on the fair and accurate portrayals of Japanese women, which was, in fact, one of the literary aims of this circle of friends.

Chapter IV will explore friendships between the sexes in *A Journal from Japan* by Marie Stopes and articulate its relationship with her other Japan-centred works. It will examine the different representations of love and friendship, and the implications of such a difference on women's rights. I will closely examine Stopes' romantic relationship with Fujī Kenjirō as a living challenge to this dichotomy. The chapter will raise the issue of miscegenation, and examine how this close physical relationship informed her later sexological work. The chapter will conclude with an examination of Stopes' collaboration with Sakurai Jōji and the complex politics of friendship at the nexus of gender, race and language through their co-translated Japanese Nō drama, which was a precursor of Nō adaptations by Ezra Pound and W.B. Yeats.

The concluding chapter will reverse the paradigm and explore travel writings by three Japanese women in Victorian Britain, namely Tsuda Umeko, Yasui Tetsu, and Yosano Akiko. It will feature *Wakakihi no ato* (*Traces of My Youth)*, a compilation of letters by Yasui Tetsu, a Japanese student in Britain between 1897 and 1900, to Noguchi Yuka, her female friend in Japan. It will chart the ordeal Yasui went through as a racial and cultural other in Britain, which is embodied as bitter tears in her letters. These letters capture the cultural relativist viewpoint Yasui acquired through her encounter with the Western alterity. The chapter will examine her friendship with

Elizabeth Phillips Hughes, a famous Victorian female educationalist. This relationship had far-reaching implications: Yasui made a substantial contribution to the field of female education in Japan, with which Hughes assisted during her visit to Japan in 1902. It will foreground the intersection of race and nationality with the act of travelling and scores the gains of cultural translation and contact.

This thesis casts new light on Victorian women's travel writing about non-Western countries by concentrating on the geopolitical reality of Meiji Japan and its historical specificity in the conceptualisation of a putative East, which opens a new discursive space outside a simplistic colonial framework where conventional binarisms of Europe/Other and the coloniser/colonised dissolve. Previous studies on imperial female travelogues carried out by such scholars as Mary Louise Pratt, Sara Mills, Simon Gikandi, Indira Ghose and Monica Anderson have focused on European travellers in terms of their subjectivity, agency and gaze within the colonial infrastructure, thereby obscuring the role of hosts and the relational aspect of the act of travelling. This thesis foregrounds the affective interchange between travellers and hosts, which was facilitated in the non-colonial space of Japan. It also rewrites the androcentric accounts of the Anglo-Japanese relationship before 1918 by investigating travel narratives about Meiji Japan by Victorian women and their cross-cultural affinity with Japanese people. It inserts a gender axis into discussions of Victorian representations of Meiji Japan and the political affiliation between the two countries, which is conspicuously absent in

major studies on Anglo-Japanese history by Yokoyama Toshio, Hirakawa Sukehiro, Ian H. Nish and so forth. This thesis exposes the gendered and raced politics of friendship underlying Western democratic discourses and emphasises the ethical exigency of hospitality. It illustrates the chance travelling opens up for mutual recognition. It also elucidates the significant role literature plays for female travel writers in challenging this exclusivist politics.

CHAPTER I

Hospitable Friendship:

Nancy, Blanchot, and Derrida on Community, Hospitality, and Friendship

> Is it possible to open up to the 'come' of a certain democracy which is no longer an insult to the friendship we have striven to think beyond the homo-fraternal and phallogocentric schema?
>
> When will we be ready for an experience of freedom and equality that is capable of respectfully experiencing that friendship, which would at last be just, just beyond law, and measured up against its measurelessness?
>
> O my democratic friends . . . (Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship* 306)

France during the 1980s and 90s—the country was divided over the contentious issues of French national identity and acceptance of immigrants. High unemployment due to an economic downturn since the 1970s increased the number of violent incidents between the police and a younger generation of immigrants and caused social insecurity while the sudden rise of the extreme-right party, Front National, brought the immigration question to the centre of the political table. Against this backdrop, the majority of intellectuals and politicians chose to discuss integration rather than ethnic diversity for the sake of French Republicanism (Hargreaves 9-10, 170-200). Simultaneously, there emerged a number of antiracist organisations, such as the Marche pour l'Egalité and SOS-Racisme, with the latter achieving a significant impact on the divided society under the slogan 'Touche pas à mon pote' ('Hands off my pal'), thus invoking friendship (Lloyd 219-22).

In this socio-political context, a group of philosophers responded to this burning question. Jean-Luc Nancy contributed his article 'The Inoperative Community' to a magazine *Aléa* in 1983, which was later published in book form under the same title of *The Inoperative Community* (*IC*), bound with two other corresponding articles in 1986 and re-edited with two more articles in 1990. This article, which gave a radical reinterpretation of George Bataille, induced a response from Maurice Blanchot, who enjoyed a lifelong friendship with Bataille. *The Unavowable Community* (*UC*) came out by the end of the same year of 1983, in which Blanchot launches his philosophical rumination on community with a direct reference to Nancy and his recent work. Their dialogue was set in a wider cultural and intellectual context of profound disillusionment with 'real communism' *qua* 'totalitarianism,' as opposed to 'the communist idea or ideal,' in the West after 1968, which was catalysed by writings of such political exiles as Zinoviev and Solzhenitsyn, and Nancy and Blanchot attempted to think of the possibility of community beyond this communist calamity in reality (Nancy 1-3). Their works have an intrinsic conceptual connection as Nancy owes Blanchot his critical term 'inoperative (*désoeuvrée*),' which is variously translated into such English words as 'unworking' and 'workless,' whereby he maintains the radical irreconcilability of his inoperative community which one experiences with those in human history, viz. communist states, fascist states during World War II, etc., which one produces and completes as a '*work*' from one's 'objectifiable' and 'producible' common being

(Nancy 31). Blanchot, on the other hand, concludes his meditation by locating the possibility of community 'between what we call work, *oeuvre*, and what we call unworking, *désoeuvrement*,' thereby indicating an essential correspondence between their thoughts (*UC* 56). Blanchot's community is termed 'unavowable,' for one has yet to find words with which to describe it against its double reticence:

> *The unavowable community*: does that mean that it does not acknowledge itself or that it is such that no avowal may reveal it, given that each time we have talked about its way of being, one has had the feeling that one grasped only what makes it exist by default? So, would it have been better to have remained silent? [. . .] [O]ne has to talk in order to remain silent. But with what kinds of words? That is one of the questions this little book entrusts to others [. . .]. (*UC* 56)

The impossibility of determining a descriptive language for the community is passed on unresolved to us, the reader.

Whereas Nancy and Blanchot addressed the urgent political problem through the concept of community, Jacques Derrida approached it through an alternative route: the idea of friendship.[1] *The Politics of Friendship* (*POF*), which was published in 1994 after his series of seminars on the subject in 1988-89, critically deconstructs

[1] We could add to this list of philosophers of community Giorgio Agamben and his *The Coming Community* (*CC*) (1990). He starts his argument by defining the 'coming being' as '*quodlibet ens*' or 'whatever being' in the sense that 'being such that it always matters' (*CC* 1). He, then, links this concept of whatever being to love arguing that '[l]ove is never directed toward this or that property of the loved one (being blond, being small, being tender, being lame), but neither does it neglect the properties in favor of an insipid generality (universal love): The lover wants the loved one *with all of its predicates*, its being such as it is. The lover desires the *as* only insofar as it is *such*—this is the lover's particular fetishism' (*CC* 2). He seems to align himself with Nancy in relation to this association between community and love. Agamben also published an article 'Friendship' (2004), which marks the extension of his interest in the connection between community and friendship. His concept of 'con-division' suggests the influence of Nancean compearance ('Friendship' 6), and his ontological understanding of friendship as a condition for future democracy is in line with Derridean friendship. Interestingly, the article mentions an attempted collaboration with Nancy on the subject of friendship as well as his discussion with Derrida on the same subject during the preparation for *POF*, thereby attesting to the friendship between these three philosophers.

politico-philosophical discourse on friendship and explores the political possibility of the concept for future democracy. Despite a relatively long gap of over a decade between this work and that of its predecessors, it is clear that this book marks Derrida's response to the question of community. Derrida repeatedly makes reference to the concept, along with the names of the two thinkers in his discussion. He analyses their works in some detail and deplores the persistent rhetoric of brotherhood which underlies their thoughts and marginalises women. Then, Derrida published *Of Hospitality* (*OH*) in 1997, which originated as scripts for Derrida's seminars in 1995-96. Derrida also published *Adieu: To Emmanuel Levinas* (*AEL*) in 1997, which was a compilation of his funeral speech for the named philosopher in 1995 and his opening lecture at the commemorative conference in 1996. In these books, Derrida discusses the concept of hospitality to re-engage with the immigration issue. Derrida develops further his thoughts on the politics and ethics of relationship with others across national, cultural, and sexual differences. In this chapter, I will first explore the idea of community according to Nancy and Blanchot, and consider criticisms levelled at them by Derrida, which will then be followed by the examination of two Derridean concepts of friendship and hospitality. Thereby, I will develop my understanding of intricate ethical human relationships, which I want to call "hospitable friendship," and will establish the theoretical framework within which I will analyse travelogues in the subsequent chapters.

Derrida refers to Nancy and Blanchot along with their texts in a note in *POF* as 'those thinkers and texts to which I am bound without ever being their equal'; then, after a brief commentary on their works, he calls them 'friends' (47). Thus, Derrida engages with the two philosophers in the name of friendship. In *IC*, Nancy attempts to touch on the limit of community through communication with Bataille and his experiences, thereby letting community emerge between them, rather than simply attempting a straightforward critique of Bataille's theories (25). Nancy criticises the conventional Western conception of community as fusional 'unity' or 'communion' of indivisible individual-subjects (objects) who are established on the shaky ground of impossible absolute individualism (3-9). This community is fashioned as a 'work' of 'the continuous identity of atoms' to effect 'the essence of humanness,' which is an 'absolute immanence,' or 'the absolutely detached for-itself, taken as origin and as certainty' without relation; this results in 'totalitarianism,' or what Nancy calls 'immanentism' (2-12). It is worth noting that this critique of totalitarian immanentism is directed not only at so-called communist societies and regimes but also at 'the general horizon of our time, encompassing both democracies and their fragile juridical parapets' (Nancy 3). Instead, Nancy presents the 'compearance of finitude' as 'the essence of community' (29). He writes:

> In place of such a communion, there is communication. Which is to say, in very precise terms, that finitude itself *is* nothing; it is neither a ground, nor an essence, nor a substance. But it appears, it presents itself, it exposes itself, and thus it *exists* as communication. In order to designate this singular mode

> of appearing, this specific phenomenality, which is no doubt more originary than any other (for it could be that the world appears to the community, not to the individual), we would need to be able to say that finitude *co-appears* or *compears* (*com-paraît*) and can only *compear*: in this formulation we would need to hear that finite being always presents itself "together," hence severally; for finitude always presents itself in being-in-common and as this being itself, and it always presents itself at a *hearing* and before the judgment of the law of community, or, more originarily, before the judgment of community as law. (28)

'Communication,' in Nancy's terms, has to be understood as 'consist[ing] before all else in this sharing and in this compearance (*com-paruition*) of finitude: that is, in the dislocation and in the interpellation that reveal themselves to be constitutive of being-in-common,' and therefore, is 'prior to any address in language,' being 'its first condition of possibility' (29). It is not an 'intersubjective' 'bond' which 'emerge[s] among already given subjects (objects)' but 'a more originary order' of 'the appearance of the *between* as such'—between each singularity—which Nancy formulates simply as '*you shares me* ("*toi partage moi*")' (29). Thus, Nancy's notions of 'compearance' and 'communication' suggest a collective composition of finite selves.

Of significant importance is the subversive possibility of this community. Nancy's concept of community, which is 'a community *of* finitude' (27), is defined by Nancy as being 'resistance itself: namely, resistance to immanence,' which is 'transcendence' without sacredness (35). Nancy suggests:

> At bottom, it is impossible for us to lose community. [. . .] We cannot not compear. Only the fascist masses tend to annihilate community in the delirium of an incarnated communion. Symmetrically, the concentration camp—and the extermination camp, the camp of exterminating concentration—is in essence the will to destroy community. But even in the

> camp itself, undoubtedly, community never entirely ceases to resist this will. Community is, in a sense, resistance itself: namely, resistance to immanence. Consequently, community is transcendence: but "transcendence," which no longer has any "sacred" meaning, signifying precisely a resistance to immanence (resistance to the communion of everyone or to the exclusive passion of one or several: to all the forms and all the violences of subjectivity). (35)

This community fights against a totalitarian desire for self-sameness and the exclusion of others. It is an ethical community in that it takes into account dissymmetry and non-reciprocality. To think of and seek for this community to come is an ethical act itself. Thus, Nancy criticises the traditional notion of community which regulates democratic societies even today and instead suggests the ethical possibility of community of compearance.

In response to Nancy, Blanchot also considered the idea of community alongside the work of his lifelong friend, Bataille in *UC*. Blanchot emphasises the political immediacy of the question of community in the present time which 'open[s] unknown spaces of freedom' (56). According to Blanchot, Bataille is the one who endeavoured to 'fulfill the exigency of community' and 'find himself [. . .] exposed to a community of absence,' which Nancy elaborates upon in *IC*, in an attempt to realise 'another form of society which one would hardly dare call "a community"' (*UC* 3). This Bataillean community opposes communist and individualist idea of human relationships as 'that of the Same with the Same' and 'introduces the Other as irreducible' and, as a consequence, achieves 'a completely different relationship' (*UC* 3). Hence, the

community contemplated by Bataille is an ethical community which is immune to the totalitarian and exclusive logic of others.

With gratitude and respect towards his philosopher friends, Derrida still disapproves of the phallogocentrism persistent throughout their arguments. He points out that '[t]here is still perhaps some brotherhood in Bataille, Blanchot and Nancy, and I wonder, in the innermost recess of my admiring friendship, if it does not deserve a little loosening up, and if it should still guide the thinking of the community, be it a community without community, or a brotherhood without brotherhood' (*POF* 48). It is certain that their texts are dubiously gendered and possibly androcentric when, apart from the examples Derrida presents, Nancy cannot help but parenthetically add that 'it is thus that the woman serves as an example, or limit [. . .] of community' in recycling the Bataillean figurative usage of the female vagina to illustrate compearance as the exposure of the inside to the outside (30). This sexualised figuration is predicated upon heteronormativity and male homosociality whose interrelation Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick theorised with the help of Gayle Rubin's influential reading of Lévi-Strauss's theories of kinship built on 'obligatory heterosexuality' (Rubin 782).

It is also interesting to closely consider Blanchot's move towards the concept of friendship. Despite Nancy himself making little use of the term, Blanchot suggests that 'friendship [. . .] is the very form of the "unworking community" Jean-Luc Nancy has asked us to reflect upon,' which seems to indicate an agreement between their

communal thoughts and the Derridean concept of friendship (*UC* 23). With relevance to this study, Derrida introduces *UC* as 'another book on friendship, in particular friendship according to Bataille' besides *Friendship* (1971), and proclaims he could have used its passage concerning friendship as an epigraph for *POF* (*POF* 47). Indeed, Derrida's discussion is guided by Blanchot who once designated friendship as a relation in '*estrangement*'(*Friendship* 291). Blanchot's concept of friendship, however, remains under the sway of brotherhood, possibly affected by the concept of community. In addition to the expression 'the heart of brotherhood: the heart or the law' which Derrida draws upon (*POF* 48), Blanchot states:

> Thus the actionless action-committees' difficulty of being, or that of the circles of friends who disavowed their previous friendship in order to call upon *friendship* (camaraderie without preliminaries) vehiculated by the requirement of being there, not as a person or subject, but as the demonstrators of a movement *fraternally* anonymous and impersonal. (*UC* 32; second emphasis mine)

The ultimate translation of friendship into fraternity attests his adherence to brotherhood. This passage also shows negative implications of the fraternal collectivity which the idea of community implies in that it reduces its participants to the state of anonymity and impersonality. Blanchot also writes, without noticing the contentious slippage from community to brotherhood, that: 'what mattered was to let a possibility manifest itself, the possibility—beyond any utilitarian gain—of a *being-together* that gave back to all the right to equality in fraternity through a freedom of speech that elated everyone' (*UC* 30). This juxtaposition of community, friendship, and brotherhood in relation to

democratic equality and freedom influences the marginalisation of women in Blanchot's political discourse. Although his close reading of Marguerite Duras in the second half of his book appears to be a welcome gesture of including women in his discussion, the conspicuous absence of references to friendship, and a divergence towards the concept of love instead, betrays the ultimate incompatibility between friendship and women for Blanchot despite his crucial insights on the link between friendship and the democratic community to come. This unfortunately reinforces the age-old opposition between the masculine political and the feminine personal spheres. In short, the critical reflections upon ethical community by Nancy and Blanchot betray its male homosociality when they reveal that their arguments are based on their own friendships, or, as Derrida put it, brotherhood.

In contrast, Derrida is more cautious about the question of phallogocentrism. In *POF*, he considers the political possibility of the rhetoric of friendship for non-identitarian and inclusive democracy to come. While deconstructing a rich history of Western philosophical discourse on friendship from Aristotle via Nietzsche to Blanchot through various interpretations of a famous aphorism, 'O my friends, there is no friend,' attributed to Aristotle, Derrida reveals the hidden discriminatory mechanism on grounds of species, nationality, race, religion, and gender. Female exclusion is one of the continuous threads Derrida carefully traces in a body of accounts of friendship dating from antiquity to modernity which rests on the logic of self-sameness reified as

the figure of brotherhood. A symptom of this male homosocial desire is detected by Derrida even in Nietzsche, who otherwise introduced a radical discontinuity into the discourse through his concept of distance in friendship. Nietzsche is quoted as writing that '[i]n woman, a slave and a tyrant have all too long been concealed. For that reason, woman is not yet capable of friendship: she knows only love,' thus prefiguring a split between masculine friendship and feminine love in Blanchot (*POF* 282). Nietzsche valorises the freedom of respecting the enemy in friendship, which he maintains that women have yet to achieve, for they are only capable of love, which he deems inferior to friendship in hierarchy (*POF* 282). Nietzsche even condemns women as being 'still cats and birds' or 'at best, cows' for their ineptitude at friendship (*POF* 283). It must be stressed that it is not only friendships with men which Nietzsche denies to women by addressing his brothers-friends here; it is friendship *per se*. Derrida finds politics responsible for this deprivation and dehumanisation of women by Nietzsche and indeed the entire philosophical canon. Derrida writes:

> The *double exclusion* of the feminine would not be unrelated to the movement that has always 'politicized' the friendship model at the very moment when one strives to rescue it from thoroughgoing politicization. The tension is here on the inside of the political itself. It is at work in all the discourses that reserve politics and public space to man, domestic and private space to woman. (*POF* 281)

'The *double exclusion*' refers to the exclusion of friendship between women as well as that between a man and a woman (*POF* 278-79). Women are excluded from the political sphere because they are denied freedom and equality which are essential for

democratic involvement figured by friendship. Through this political manoeuvre, friendship is replaced by fraternity or brotherhood as 'another name' for it (*POF* 238). Thus, Derridean deconstructive reading reveals 'phallogocentrism'—or rather 'phratrocentrism' in this context (*POF* 278)—in Western philosophical discourses on friendship.

This replacement of friends by brothers facilitates the exclusion of another group: foreigners. Derrida elaborates 'fraternization' as a 'renaturalization' of the fiction of a blood tie of brotherhood (*POF* 93). The problem of this renaturalizing work of fraternization is that it can provide a rationale for nationalism and xenophobia as it revalues the union by birth, viz. the ideology of blood and soil, in a political unit. Derrida argues:

> Everything called democracy here (or aristo-democracy) founds the social bond, the community, the equality, the friendship of brothers, *identification qua fraternization*, and so forth, in the link between this isonomic and the isogonic tie, the natural bond between *nómos* and *phúsis*, if you like, the bond between the political and autochthonous consanguinity. This is also a bond between a (theoretical or ontological) report and a performative commitment (promise, oath, fidelity to dead ancestors, and so forth). [. . .] It is the place of fraternization as the symbolic bond alleging the repetition of a generic tie. [. . .]. Such a bond between two structurally heterogeneous ties will always remain obscure, mystical, essentially foreign to rationality—which does not mean simply irrational, in the equally modern sense of the term. It will always be exposed, to say the least, to the 'sophistications', mystifications, and perversions of rhetoric. Sometimes to the worst symptoms of nationalism, ethnocentrism, populism, even xenophobia. (*POF* 99-100)

Derrida exposes a constitutive flaw in democracy which arises from its rhetorical

dependency on a symbolic brotherhood which in turn draws unproblematically on a literal one in an effort to found legal equality as necessity. The rhetoric of brotherhood as a natural and necessary bond, in turn, ostracises foreigners by endorsing a fantasised essential tie and political consanguinity of a group.[2] Thus, democracy *qua* fraternization entails potential threats of xenophobia and totalitarianism alongside misogyny.

Here lies the reason why Derrida, unlike Nancy and Blanchot, is particularly careful about the use of the term, 'community.' He writes that '[a]ffirmed, negated or neutralized, these "communitarian" or "communal" values always risk bringing a brother back. Perhaps this risk must be assumed in order to keep the question of the "who" from being politically enframed by the schema of being-common or being-in-common, even when it is neutralized, in a question of identity (individual, subjective, ethnic, national, state, etc.)' (*POF* 298-99). This is Derrida's direct response to the terms such as 'inoperative' or 'unavowable' community. Derrida suggests the possibility that friendship which is awaited 'would have nothing to do, with regard to what is essential in that which is called friendship, with the slightest reference to community, whether positive, negative, or neutral' (*POF* 298). This might explain why Blanchot and Nancy, despite themselves, align themselves with the phallogocentric tradition in their discussions of community, and why Leela Gandhi does not explore the

[2] Benedict Anderson also delineates this rhetorical power of kinship and home to naturalise the communal tie of a linguistically-constructed nation in the context of patriotism and racism (143).

issue of gender thoroughly in *Affective Communities* (2006) despite her occasional crucial references to female involvement in anti-exclusivist politics.[3]

Fraternisation and the ensuing exclusions of women and foreigners in traditional phallogocentric discourses on friendship and community poses a serious challenge to female travellers in their contacts with locals as well as to the ethical possibility of anti-communitarian politics discussed by Nancy, Blanchot and Derrida.[4] Hence it is necessary to look to different relationality which does not discriminate on grounds of gender or nationality, one which welcomes subjects irrespective of gender. Here,

---

[3] Gandhi's usage of the feminine personal pronoun for the postmodern ethical agent of anti-communitarian communitarianism as well as her theoretical alignment with such feminist thinkers as Judith Butler and Donna Haraway, however, seems to suggest her critical sensibility to the gender issue (Gandhi 31).

[4] Derridean critique of phratrocentrism in the Western discourses of friendship has an equal validity outside of its original target. Complex translation issues set aside, Japanese dictionary, *Kōjien* defines friendship (友愛: *yūai*) as 'love for one's brothers' and 'affection (親愛: *shin'ai*) towards one's friends.' According to *Kanjigen*, Chinese characters 友 (*yū*: friend) and 親 (*shin*: familiar) both imply physical propinquity. Thus, a quick etymological study already suggests that the concept of friendship in Japanese is imbued with brotherhood, kinship, and proximity. Friendship constitutes a central part of Confucianism which underpins communitarian ideology in East and Southeast Asia as 'Asian Values' and was controversially mobilised to oppose Western liberal individualism in the 1990s (Chua 11). It is ironic, then, that Confucianism, which became to signify the Asian identity and the region's radical difference from the West, possesses a similar phratrocentrism. Confucianism counts friendship among the five vital human relationships: parent and child, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, friend and friend, and ruler and subject (Oldstone-Moore 53). The absence of sisters in this list signals phallogocentrism inherent in the philosophical system. Despite some recent Confucian feminist vindication such as one made by Li-Hsiang Lisa Rosenlee, Confucianism has long been criticised for its sexist tendencies. The male homosocial texts mostly consumed by an elite male readership endorse separate gender roles and the patriarchal hierarchy between sexes (Rainey 201). Its chief moral virtue of *ren* (仁: benevolence) originally represented manliness, and Confucius cautions his disciples against female beauty as an impediment to morality (Rainey 34-35). In this context, Confucian moral friends are shaped into male friends, thereby effacing female friends. Moreover, the Confucian teaching of *shikaikeitei* (四海兄弟: universal fraternity) notwithstanding, foreigners are still liable to expulsion from fraternity when Xunzi, a later Confucius philosopher, advocates a punishment for confusing linguistic meanings which creates social disorder (Rainey 113). It is true that Confucian friendship has subversive potential for democracy against the authoritarian state as the only non-hierarchical relationship among the five (Kutcher 1616). However, given its phratrocentrism as well as the fact that Confucianism in Japan gained in misogyny in favour of masculine valour during the Tokugawa reign and had its influence well into the twentieth century (Rainey 156-57), Confucian communitarian values and friendship presumably had adverse effects on relationships between Victorian women and Japanese people. It is, therefore, relevant and worth discussing international female friendship in Meiji Japanese context from a Derridean perspective.

friendship calls on hospitality. Derrida in *POF* already hints at a connection between the two concepts by invoking hospitality in relation to its disruptive potency for fraternal democracy:

> Truth, freedom, necessity, and equality come together in this politics of fraternity. One can hardly see how a *perhaps* could ever stand a chance in such a politics, the chance of an absolute housebreak or hospitality, an unpredictable decision or *arrivance*. (100)

POF also refers to an etymological study on *phílos* by Emile Benveniste, which is linked to both friendship and hospitality (98). René Schérer, in *Zeus hospitalier* (1993), briefly considers Athenian associations between them in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* in his counsel on moderation as well as in Plato's *Laws*, in particular his discussion on the divine law of hospitality without impunity towards foreigners away from their parents and friends (15-16). Gandhi opposes Epicurean philoxenic model of friendship to Aristotelian politics of similitude in her theoretical elaboration of postcolonial politics of anti-communitarian communitarianism (28-30).[5] Hence, friendship and hospitality show a clear internal connection in the long European tradition. *OH* holds a powerful moment of an urgent appeal:

> Let us say yes *to who or what turns up*, before any determination, before any anticipation, before any *identification*, whether or not it has to do with a foreigner, an immigrant, an invited guest, or an unexpected visitor, whether or not the new arrival is the citizen of another country, a human, animal, or divine creature, a living or dead thing, male or female. (77)

Derrida enjoins us to think beyond the current exclusivist politics for a truly ethical

[5] Gandhi advocates an anti-nativist model of friendship in line with Epicurean philoxenia. Gandhi sees in this mode of communitarianism the possibility for trans-national and cross-cultural ethical collaboration.

relationship with others, regardless of nationality or gender. This open-ended model of hospitality allows us further insight into Derridean ethical friendship.

Before moving on to a discussion of Derridean hospitality, let us briefly attend to feminist elaboration and critique of the themes of community and friendship. Luce Irigaray's 'The Eternal Irony of the Community' is a feminist interpretation of the Hegelian thesis on women and community after which she titled her essay. In reading a mythical tragedy of Antigone, Irigaray uncovers the ultimate reduction of women to nature without their own feminine subjective position in patriarchy whereby men establish the masculine community of the self-same through a powerful desire for assimilation. In *Between East and West: From Singularity to Community*, Irigaray criticises constant appropriation of the Other and inability to appreciate alterity in the Western culture and warns of problems they pose in contemporary multicultural society. Then, taking a mixed family as a discursive model for non-identitarian community of differences in that it contains cultural and ethnic differences as well as sexual and generational differences—the last two are universal axes of differences for Irigaray—the final chapter discusses the future construction of an inclusive society. Irigaray's community appears to show a close analogy with Nancy's since she argues for relationality as an ontological basis. While Irigaray's ideas are restrained by the paradigmatic use of heterosexual couples, Judith Butler, in *Antigone's Claim*, aspires to a more progressive gender and sexual politics by disclosing heteronormativity in the

Western philosophical and psychological discourses of kinship through her deconstructive reading of the tragedy of Antigone and its various interpretations. Butler develops her feminist anti-statism for a more heterogeneous society in *Who Sings the Nation-State?* and underlines, in her critique of the nation-state and nationalism, Hannah Arendt's insight about the danger of expulsion of national minorities by the nation-state and the importance of the non-communitarian governance. Similarly, Marilyn Friedman remodels communitarian political theories with a feminist approach in 'Feminism and Modern Friendship: Dislocating the Community.' She spotlights a latent exclusivist mechanism towards ethnic and sexual minorities, which is implicated in female oppression in traditional identitarian communities, and advances modern friendship and urban community which are established by choice as a feminist model with subversive possibilities. The only flaw in her otherwise exciting essay in the light of Nancean and Derridean discussions is that her community of choice remains that of the self-same, 'a community of people who share a common oppression' (301). This community does not possess the power to unite people across differences which is crucial for a more inclusive society and a larger political impact. Despite some obvious deficiencies, these feminist contributions to the academic debate in relation to community and friendship are of significance in relation to their focus on the private sphere as a nursery for social changes and how this can blur the border between the personal and the political.

In *OH*, Derrida suggests two modes of hospitality. One is 'absolute or unconditional hospitality' to which he attaches the critical importance, and the other is 'conditional hospitality' which has been set out repeatedly in a long Western tradition, in particular in the history of political philosophy (*OH* 25, 77). Derrida explicates that the former, which is championed in the excerpt above, is offered to beings not only among but also outside us: it gives welcome to whoever and whatever comes—even to 'the absolute, unknown, anonymous other'—'without asking of them either reciprocity (entering into a pact) or even their names' (*OH* 25). Derrida categorises this elsewhere as 'the hospitality of visitation' ('Hospitality' 14).[6] On the other hand, 'conditional hospitality' is extended only to 'a foreigner "as a family",' that is, those who have 'a right' to it (*OH* 23), which is 'the hospitality of invitation' ('Hospitality' 14). The issue of consanguinity again surfaces as a matter of importance in hospitality as in friendship, and A. J. P. Thomson juxtaposes conditional hospitality with fraternal friendship (92). The two kinds of hospitality are, according to Derrida, not in a dualistic relationship but rather in a complementary—and simultaneously hierarchical—one. Their relationship is dynamic and mutually dependent: while absolute hospitality needs conditional hospitality for its existence even though it is under constant threat of 'pervertibility' from the latter, the latter needs guidance from the former for its 'perfectibility' (Derrida

[6] There is a debate over the desirability of absolute hospitality among Derridean scholars. Martin Hägglund calls it 'the nonethical opening of ethics' and criticises scholars such as Robert Bernasconi, Simon Critchley and Drucilla Cornell, who discuss it as an ethical ideal, in his *Radical Atheism* (105). Against Hägglund, Derek Attridge underlines Derrida's approval for the ideal, arguing that 'ethics, for Derrida (as for Levinas), is not a matter of calculation' (279).

OH 79). Importantly, absolute hospitality remains structurally impossible, being the 'very impossibility' itself, which we are enjoined to practise or attempt to practise nevertheless (*OH* 75); or else, it amounts to what Martin Hägglund calls 'a complete indifference' (103), and the irresponsible 'application of a programme' without decision (Derrida 'Hospitality, Justice and Responsibility' 66). Hence the Derridean ethical friendship to come requires absolute hospitality which guides conditional hospitality towards its perfection in order to defy the phratrocentric desire for the self-same and to welcome others.

Language is of critical importance for ethical hospitality. For instance, the issue of language invariably accompanies the immigration question.[7] The subject of language and linguistic activity occupies a prominent place for both Blanchot and Nancy in their thinking of community. Nancy describes speech, or verbal communication, as 'not a *means* of communication but communication itself, an exposure' (31). For Nancy, dialogue is not the intersubjective transmission of a message but that in which we hear 'an essential archi-articulation of the voice and voices, which constitutes the being *in* common itself'(76). Thus, dialogue signals community *per se* in Nancean sense as that which marks the communication of singularities at their limit. This 'sharing of voices'

[7] In *Who Sings the Nation-State?*, Judith Butler refers to '[t]he monolingual requirement of the nation' in relation to a comment made by the then American President George W. Bush in 2006 that 'the national anthem can only be sung in English' on the rare occasion where illegal immigrants sung the US national anthem in Spanish during demonstrations for their citizenship (Butler and Spivak 58-60). This monolingual requirement also echoes in a recent speech by the German chancellor, Angela Merkel on the country's failed multiculturalism. See Weaver.

in dialogue is further attributed to writing, or what he designates 'literature' (77), and Nancy—invoking Bataille as stating 'language alone indicates, at the limit, the sovereign moment where it is no longer current'—argues for our responsibility to write about community because 'only a discourse of community, exhausting itself, can indicate to the community the sovereignty of its sharing' (26). This consciousness is clearly shared by Blanchot in the concluding paragraph of *UC*, where he appears to echo Nancy concerning the responsibility for writing. Underplayed against their all-enrapturing interpretations of communication, however, are differences between existent languages and real difficulties entailed in translation.

Fundamental faith in language and an apparent ignorance of the significant impact of differences between languages upon actual human contact in Nancy and Blanchot provide a striking contrast to Derrida's engagement with linguistic otherness, which is presumably owing to his personal, complex relationship with the French language in colonial Algeria. As in his other writings, language remains a central issue for Derrida in his ruminations on the issue of hospitality in *OH*. Studying Plato's *Sophist*, the first figure of the foreigner he invokes is that of a sophist, the one 'who doesn't speak like the rest, someone who speaks an odd sort of language' (*OH* 5). Language is further extended to denote 'the ensemble of culture, it is the values, the norms, the meanings that inhabit the language' or '*ethos*' (*OH* 133). Then, Derrida later proclaims that the 'question of language, [. . .] we would always find implicated, in

endless ways, in the experience of hospitality' and encapsulates the point in an aphoristic quote from Levinas, 'language *is* hospitality,' whereby highlighting the interrelationship between the two (*OH* 133, 35).

One of the linguistic aspects *OH* particularly focuses on is the significance of the mother tongue. Derrida discusses 'two nostalgias' of 'displaced persons' such as exiles—nostalgias for 'their dead ones and their language' (*OH* 87).[8] The latter, or the mother tongue, gives them a sense of 'home' which is their ultimate condition of belonging because it is im-mobile—both mobile and immobile simultaneously—and is carried with them 'from birth to death' as if it were their 'second skin' (*OH* 89). Derrida relentlessly deconstructs what he calls this '*fantasy* of property' we have about the maternal language (*OH* 89). The first step he takes is to call the ownership of the language into question. Derrida declares: 'What is called the "mother" tongue is already "the other's language"' (*OH* 89). The language becomes 'a metaphor for "being-at-home in the other"' for him (Dufourmantelle 92). This argument is further developed in his preceding semi-autobiographical study *Monolingualism of the Other; or, The Prosthesis of Origin* (*MO*), a philosophical enquiry into linguistic politics and identity in colonial context, where he denies the ostensible belonging of language to colonial masters.[9] He gives a strong statement on colonial oppression and linguistic

[8] Anderson points to the interlinkage between these two objects of nostalgias when he argues that 'nothing connects us affectively to the dead more than language' (145).

[9] Derrida anticipates the writing of *OH* in *MO*, which attests to the sequence of the two works. He writes: 'One day it will be necessary to devote another colloquium to language, nationality, and

control as follows: 'For contrary to what one is often most tempted to believe, the master is nothing' (*MO* 23). Derrida dispels the colonial illusion about colonisers' natural right to their language and discloses its strategy of mastery through linguistic imposition. Thus, he condemns the appropriation of language by any hegemonic group:

> And he [the master] does not have exclusive possession of anything. Because the master does not possess exclusively, and *naturally*, what he calls his language, because, whatever he wants or does, he cannot maintain any relations of property or identity that are natural, national, congenital, or ontological, with it, because he can give substance to and articulate [*dire*] this appropriation only in the course of an unnatural process of politico-phantasmatic constructions, because language is not his natural possession, he can, thanks to that very fact, pretend historically, through the rape of a cultural usurpation, which means always essentially colonial, to appropriate it in order to impose it as "his own." (*MO* 23)[10]

The severance of a link between one's birth and ownership of language is urgent in that it could conspire with nationalist and xenophobic ideology as well as give impetus to colonial domination by allowing masters a false monopoly of language as observed above. What underpins this tie is a persistent association between language and land. Derrida refers to Arendt with regard to the exile's nostalgia for their language. Derrida quotes her as saying that 'she no longer felt German except in language' (*OH*

---

cultural belonging, by death this time around, by sepulture, and to begin with the secret of Oedipus at Colonus: [. . .].' (*MO* 13).

[10] This fantasy of natural belonging of a language to a specific group is effectively historicised in *Imagined Communities* by Anderson in relationship to rising nationalism. It is intriguing to notice the theme of fraternity sneak into his discussion of language and community. Anderson explains:

> The lexicographic revolution in Europe, however, created and gradually spread, the conviction that languages (in Europe at least) were, so to speak, the personal property of quite specific groups—their daily speakers and readers—and moreover that these groups, imagined as communities, were entitled to their autonomous place in a *fraternity* of equals. (84; emphasis added)

The myth of exclusive right to a language served to consolidate its speakers as brothers—which is another myth of consanguinity—a cytokinesis of myth—in the course of modern nation-building.

89). Arendt's response exemplifies a strong connection between language and national identity as fully expounded by Benedict Anderson. Derrida deconstructs this construction of national identity through language. He asks: '[w]hat is identity, this concept of which the transparent identity to itself is always dogmatically presupposed by so many debates on monoculturalism or multiculturalism, nationality, citizenship, and in general, belonging?' (*MO* 14). Contrary to this general presupposition, he advances a distinction between '*identification'* and 'identity,' and asserts that 'an identity is never given, received, or attained; only the interminable and indefinitely phantasmatic process of identification endures' (*MO* 28). This mode of thinking of identity as identification is the key to the cross-cultural, non-biological affiliations between travellers and locals. Derrida pursues this subject in terms of language here. Concerning the identification process, Derrida argues that regardless of the manner of identity construction, 'it is always imagined that the one who writes should know how to say *I*. At any rate, the *identificatory modality* must already or henceforth be assured of language and in its language' (*MO* 28). This evokes Arendt's nostalgia for the German language and leads us to seriously consider how the unification of national language serves the consolidation of national identity through a shared linguistic construction of personal identity and simultaneously serves nationalist purposes. Importantly, Derrida points out: 'At bottom, brothers, the mother tongue, and so forth pose the same problem' (*MO* 34). He demands that we examine the mother tongue in

conjunction with wider issues of brotherhood which has haunted the discourse of community through reverence for consanguinity. The mother tongue endorses the idea of the self-same and unity of the community through its unfortunate association with the native land in the same way as the rhetoric of brotherhood does and, as a result, contributes to the exclusion of foreigners. Derrida makes a determined attempt to free language of the charge by dissociating it from the exclusive logic of the self-same. This is why he quotes Levinas as writing that '[t]he essence of language is friendship and hospitality' (Dufourmantelle 98); turning to the philosopher for whom 'language was an acquired, not a maternal acquisition,' Derrida explicates: 'Against the sacredness of the earth as radically founding meaning, defended by Arendt, Levinas or Rosenzweig set the sacredness of the law' (Dufourmantelle 98, 100). Thus, he opens up language towards the alterity.

Derrida goes further with his critical analysis of language and identity, and tackles the myth of personal identity. He notes: 'that which doesn't leave me in this way, language, is also, *in reality*, *in necessity*, beyond the fantasy, that which never ceases to depart from me' (*OH* 91). Then, he sets forth his idea of the '"auto-affection" of hearing-yourself-speaking-yourself' (*OH* 91). He adds, in relation to this idea, that 'we think we are carrying it [language] away, as we say, with each step, on the soles of our shoes. But always while being separated from oneself like this, while never being quits with that which, leaving oneself, by the same step never stops quitting its place of origin'

(*OH* 91, 93). According to Leonard Lawlor, what Derrida attempts to demonstrate with the concept of 'auto-affection' is that 'auto-affection is hetero-affection' (3). Lawlor elaborates:

> In other words, in the very moment, when silently I speak to myself, it must be the case that there is a miniscule hiatus differentiating me into the speaker and into the hearer. There must be a hiatus that differentiates me from myself, a hiatus or gap without which I would not be a hearer as well as a speaker. (3)

This necessary hiatus of the subject is carefully traced in diverse cultural milieus by Homi Bhabha as a 'split in the performative present' of '*enunciation'* (51). The idea of auto-affection as hetero-affection, or a split of the subject in enunciation in Bhabha's terms, reminds us that our trust in the complete unity of the self is, in fact, a fantasy, and that the totality of the self as such is always inevitably disturbed by the (be)coming of the other. Derrida singles out the fantasy of hearing-oneself-speak as 'the privileged figure' of auto-affection, or 'auto-nomy' and asks: 'Is there hospitality without at least the fantasy of this auto-nomy?' (*OH* 137). Here, the theme of hospitality intersects with the issue of personal identity in language. Derrida writes about auto-affection that '[i]f autoposition, the *automonstrative autotely* of the "I," even in the human, implies the "I" to be an other that must welcome within itself some irreducible hetero-affection [. . .], then this autonomy of the "I" can be neither pure nor rigorous' (*The Animal That Therefore I Am* 95).

This argument invokes the notion of hospitality ('welcome') with regard to the

other within oneself. Derrida explicitly asserts in 'Hospitality' that '[t]he question of hospitality is also the question of ipseity' (15). He explicates the knot of the two concepts by referring to an etymological study on hospitality by Émile Benveniste, which states that the word *hospitality* derives from the Latin word *hospes* which is composed of *hosti-pet-s* signifying 'the guest-master' and that between two elements *hostis* and *potis* which form the word, the former primarily means 'not a stranger in general' but 'he who stands in a compensatory relationship' whereas the latter is traced back to those words which mean 'oneself' as well as 'master' (Benveniste 72-79). Derrida elaborates upon this in order to demonstrate that conditional hospitality, which has always defined the institution in the West, requires 'inviolable immunity' of 'home,' or, for the subject, 'the very integrity of the self, of ipseity' (*OH* 51, 53); that is to say, it necessitates the host being master of home and of oneself. Derrida calls this 'paradoxical' in that this hospitality places 'self-limitation' at its very beginning—'on the threshold'—by declaring the host's absolute sovereignty over his place, himself and, simultaneously, the guest. As a result, 'it remains forever on the threshold of itself,' and '[i]t becomes the threshold' ('Hospitality' 14). On the contrary, absolute, unconditional hospitality whose exigency Derrida emphasises 'can only take place beyond hospitality, in deciding to let it come, overcoming the hospitality that paralyzes itself on the threshold which it is' ('Hospitality' 14). Derrida seeks recourse to the ambiguity of a French word *hôte* which signifies both host and guest in order to argue that absolute

hospitality demands that '[t]he guest (*hôte*) becomes the host (*hôte*) of the host (*hôte*)' (*OH* 125). He writes that the guest 'is not only someone to whom you say "come," but "enter," [. . .] "come inside," "come within me," not only toward me, but within me: occupy me, take place in me, which means, by the same token, also take my place [. . .]' (*OH* 123). In other words, absolute hospitality commands that the host should relinquish his imaginary unity of ipseity—imaginary, as proven by impossible auto-nomy—and welcome the guest as his host. In this sense, Derrida describes the guest as 'a liberator' who emancipates the host who has been taken 'prisoner of his place and his power, of his ipseity, of his subjectivity' (*OH* 123).

Julia Kristeva explores this subject on the psychological level as 'foreignness in ourselves' and raises this psychoanalytical recognition of our inner alterity to the political possibility of an ethical cosmopolitanism-to-come in that it teaches us 'the ultimate condition of our being *with* others' (191-92). The recognition of the foreign within oneself is the first step, though not the ultimate solution, to ethical hospitality. Absolute hospitality inevitably entails the autocratic subject realising one's essentially heteronomous and heterogeneous being and opening up oneself to the alterity, whereby becoming the hospitable being as one fundamentally is. For auto-nomy to mature into hospitality, without degenerating into a narcissistic repression, it is crucial that the self recognises its own foreignness and experiences the hospitality offered to it. Travelling gives rise to this awareness. "I" realises its otherness in a foreign environment and goes

through its translation into others' language unless it resists this operation and wields its mastery over the others. It is not a coincidence that Ricoeur in *History and Truth* addresses the question of the possibility of an ethical encounter with others with an illustration of travelling and translation (282). Victorian female travellers to Meiji Japan experienced this hospitality and translation. Their marginalised position within their own society as the feminine other also helped them to be open to this experience of the foreign and facilitated the process of translation in lack of mastery.

In our postcolonial world, further questions must be raised here: Is it possible to be hospitable to the invader? What happens when the guest is not a begging stranger but an arch European coloniser? There is always a threat that the one who arrives is a merciless conqueror rather than a welcome liberator. First, we have to recall that absolute, unconditional hospitality, for Derrida, remains impossible, 'inaccessible for the structural reasons' (*OH* 149). It is in an antinomical and hierarchical relationship with conditional laws of hospitality, guiding them in perfectibility in ethical and political application while being under threat of corrupting influence from them. As Hägglund points out, welcoming everyone and everything without any consideration means 'a complete indifference,' rather than being ethically responsible (103). Absolute hospitality calls for something *more* hospitable and *less* exclusive each time we make difficult decisions to condition hospitality. Secondly, absolute peace is neither possible nor desirable to achieve. According to Derrida, we are all subject to 'the spacing

(*espacement*) of time,' or '*différance*,' which is 'the minimal condition for life to resist death in a movement of survival' and which 'opens the chance for everything that is desired and the threat of everything that is feared' (Hägglund 1-2). Without openness to this radical unpredictability by virtue of ceaseless temporality, nothing—both good and bad—can happen, which is the state of death. Complete immunity from violence which seems desirable at first glance is, for Derrida, absolute violence, for '[t]he only way to secure an absolute peace would be to extinguish everything that could possibly break the peace and thereby extinguish the undecidable time to come that is the condition for anything to happen' (Hägglund 106). To live on, we cannot help but remain open to an unpredictable to-come despite a possible menace, and hospitality denotes this essential openness.

The ontological insight of Derrida as to our heteronomous, hospitable being susceptible to otherness recalls Nancy and his description of community as 'sharing' and 'compearance' where not 'individuals' that are 'the absolute for-itself' but 'singularities' that are 'being-in-common' are 'exposed' to each other (Nancy 4-29). Nancy attributes Bataillean limitation in the thinking of community to the dominance of 'the theme of the sovereignty of a *subject*,' and explicitly asserts that 'a thinking of the subject thwarts a thinking of community' (23). In addition, Derrida by no means fails to discern the logic of 'the domestic' such as 'law of the household, domestic lineage, family' governing the Indo-European history of hospitality, which prescribes 'social

unities' extending from a family to the state ('Hospitality' 13). This observation brings an obscure analogy between the themes of hospitality, community, and friendship to light: the law of consanguinity and the self-same governing them. This is why Derrida warns us of the danger of 'familialist reaction' including ethnocentrism, nationalism and xenophobia for the sake of the security of 'home' which lies in conditional hospitality (*OH* 53). Ranjana Khanna's remark in her postcolonial study on Derridean hospitality could guide us here. She suggests that '[t]hinking about the supplemented frame through the example of the foreigner allows for theorization of a postcolonial anticommunitarian and anti-identitarian responsibility open to others' (15). The question of hospitality towards the foreigner challenges the rhetoric of consanguinity and identity used in traditional discourses on community, friendship and hospitality, and generates discussions on ethical relationship with others.

The issue of translation seems extremely relevant to the question of hospitality towards the foreigner in that it concerns both language and identity, which are inextricably interwoven and have significant role in the wider discussion on hospitality.[11] Unfortunately, despite his keen interest in the subject as shown by his remark that '[n]othing is more serious than a translation' ('DTDB' 184), Derrida does not explore the role of translation and translators in relation to the concept of hospitality

[11] Paul Ricoeur highlights the relationship between translation and hospitality by calling translation 'linguistic hospitality' which serves as 'the model for other forms of hospitality' ('The Paradigm of Translation' 116).

in *OH* with the exception of his passing condemnation of translation as 'the first act of violence' inflicted on foreigners by conditional hospitality, in particular in the judicial context (15).[12] It is, however, indisputable that translation was a crucial aspect of the question of hospitality for Derrida as he underlines a close affinity between them, declaring that 'the question of translation is always the question of hospitality' ('Hospitality' 11). In *MO*, Derrida talks about the 'absolute translation, a translation without a pole of reference, without an originary language, and without a source language' that he, a monolingual, is thrown into (61). This personal experience nevertheless takes on a universality in that 'it represents or reflects a type of originary "alienation" that institutes every language as a language of the other: the impossible property of a language' (*MO* 63). In other words, one's language is implicated in the (m)other's language (let us remember that Derrida's focus in *MO* is the mother tongue), and makes one a stranger to oneself. At the first moment when one enters the symbolic system by welcoming the other's language, one is immediately thrown into absolute translation. Derrida writes:

> [I]n any case we speak only one language—and that we do not own it. We only ever speak one language—and, since it returns to the other, it exists asymmetrically, always for the other, from the other, kept by the other. Coming from the other, remaining with the other, and returning to the other. (*MO* 40)

This asymmetry shows the universal absence of the language of origin and the

[12] Judith Butler also discusses this issue in connection with freedom in Arendt's terms. She points out that the imposition of their language by a linguistic majority on minorities involves the exclusion of the latter groups from legislative processes and the restriction of their freedom as a consequence in that freedom is exercised through acts of language (Butler and Spivak 59-60).

impossible property of a language. It is important to emphasise this fact in order to resist the desire for appropriation which induces nationalism and mono-cultural hegemony (*MO* 64). Thus, translation and hospitality are bound tightly together at the fundamental level of one's subjectivity and impede a move for homogenisation.

One of the significant steps Derrida takes in *MO* is that he calls out to translators for transnational, translinguistic, and transsubjective solidarity: 'Compatriots of every country, translator-poets, rebel against patriotism! Do you hear me! Each time I write a word, a word that I love and love to write; in the time of this word, at the instant of a single syllable, the song of this new International awakens in me' (57). Translators are those who are true to our linguistic being, continually offering hospitality to languages of the others while estranging their own. Then, an old Italian proverb "*Traduttore*, *traditore* (Translator, traitor)," which is commonly interpreted as the translator's relationship with the original text, gains a new resonance in relation to E. M. Forster in *Two Cheers for Democracy*, who is repeatedly quoted for his anti-communitarian communitarianist manifesto by Gandhi in *Affective Communities* as writing: 'if I had to choose between betraying my country and betraying my friend I hope I should have the guts to betray my country' (Gandhi 30). Derrida interpellates translators not as traitors but as accomplices in that he sees in translation the possibility of non-xenophobic, non-identitarian relationships with the other. Besides, if Benedict Anderson is right in his parenthetical remark about a possible violent reaction sparked off by the

inaccessibility of the other's language ('In the longer run, the only responses to the vast privacy of the language of the oppressed are retreat or further massacre' (148)), the role occupied by translators in the international political arena could be more vital than previously considered. Furthermore, in her discussion on feminist translation, Spivak advocates learning the mother tongue of the other, which translators clearly do, as a means of fostering solidarity and preparing for cultural translation ('Politics' 379).

Now we face another aspect of translation: non-linguistic translation. Derrida suggests silence as a mode of language for absolute hospitality:

> we have come to wonder whether absolute, hyperbolical, unconditional hospitality doesn't consist in suspending language, a particular determinate language, and even the address to the other. (*OH* 135)

For him, silence is 'already a modality of possible speaking' (*OH* 135). In a similar vein, Nancy claims that '[t]his is why speech—including silence—is not a *means* of communication but communication itself, an exposure' (30-31). Silence as an act of hospitality is contentious, nevertheless. Akane Kawakami in her study on French representations of Japan between 1881 and 2004 by male literary authors and travellers considers travellers' efforts to speak the local language to be a sympathetic, therefore positive, attitude (3-4). Michael Cronin describes a conversation in a local language as 'an act of courtesy,' by which '[t]he traveller returns the hospitality of welcome with the tentative gift of the language of the host' (52). An attempt by locals to speak to travellers in their language or even in their own language also appears to be an act of

friendship and hospitality. Thus, the verbal exchange seems to be a symbolic act of sympathy and friendship, and silence is apparently detrimental to developing a relationship. However, travelogues show some scenes of deeper mutual understanding under a suspension of language. Differences in communication styles epitomised by Japanese silence and suppressed facial expressions caused frustration and suspicion among Westerners in Meiji Japan. It is of particular interest to examine how some travellers interpreted the apparent absence of verbal and visual signs and built friendships with Japanese people. It was mediated by their cultural translation encouraged by their friendships and hospitality towards the other people and culture.

Translation is a double-edged sword. Its complicity in colonialist and nationalist enterprise is indisputable while it promises possible solidarity despite linguistic and cultural differences. Translation is a continuous theme which runs through all the chapters of this thesis. Three travellers were constantly in translation, both linguistically and culturally, at the level of cultural contact as well as in the process of textual production. Bird travelled with her interpreter and translated Japanese culture for British readership. This simultaneously gave rise to the translation of herself and her own culture. Her travelogue was also translated into fictional form by a twenty-first-century Japanese writer. Fraser's circle of female friends included pioneering translators who devoted themselves to a deeper mutual understanding between the two empires through translation. Stopes set out to accomplish a daunting task of translating a mediaeval

Japanese Nō drama into English in collaboration with her Japanese friend. Moreover, Meiji Japan was in the zenith of translation when the country devoured a mass of Western texts in Japanese which in turn affected Japanese cultural and literary norms. Simultaneously, the West looked to Japan for a fresh artistic inspiration, of which fin-de-siècle *Japonisme* and Stope's interest in the Nō are good examples. Thus, translation took place reciprocally at both individual and national levels. The issue of translation will guide us in our exploration of travelogues in the following chapters.

As a search for missing female friends drives Derrida's philosophical investigation in *POF*, so is the female host/guest a recurring motif in *OH*. Phallogocentrism remains a major problem in hospitality as well as in friendship. Derrida questions 'who is the foreign woman?' (*OH* 43). He invokes Antigone as a figure of a foreign woman. She is the one who 'weeps' for the impossible and the one who 'asks' for the impossible (*OH* 111-17). She is excluded from a pact between her father and his foreign host, and, as a result, is deprived of her right to mourn her father's death. This impossible mourning is of gravity in the Hegelian context where, in interpreting Antigone, the burial of a dead male relative is characterised as a feminine work in order to save the singularity of his consciousness and humanity from nature's decomposing work and animality and to return him in his consanguinity to his community as its member (Derrida, *Glas* 144-45). On the contrary, women do not properly belong to the community but attain this pseudo-status through the mourning of

their male relatives. Antigone, a foreign woman, debarred from her feminine task of mourning her father-brother and repatriating him to his own community, which secondarily grants her membership, emerges as stateless across multiple levels. She, therefore, weeps, complains and demands the impossible, that is to say, asks her dead, blind father to see her tears. Antigone represents a foreign woman who stands at the threshold of conditional hospitality and dares to cry for the impossible, absolute hospitality, which would bestow upon the stateless woman the right to hospitality. Furthermore, at the end of *OH*, Derrida announces that:

> All the examples we have chosen up till now bring out the same *predominance* in the structure of the right to hospitality and of the relationship with the foreigner, be he or she guest or enemy. This is a conjugal model, paternal and phallogocentric. (149)

Here, Derrida considers the moral dilemma between the two kinds of ethical commands: laws of hospitality and gender equality. The two biblical examples he draws upon bear witness to the willingness of male hosts to sacrifice their female relatives in place of male guests (*OH* 149-55). The phallogocentric laws of hospitality are placed above the rights of women. This echoes *Roberte ce soir* (1954), a psychosexual novel by Pierre Klossowski, which Derrida repeatedly returns to in his discussion on hospitality. Female sacrifice at these scenes of hospitality seems to stem from the sublimation of women to the idea of hospitality *per se* rather than to its agents in the traditional androcentric framework of the concept which ironically turns women into its tool.[13] This

[13] In *Derrida and Hospitality*, Judith Still attempts to develop a feminist model of hospitality in

philosophical process is exemplified in Derrida's discussion on Levinasian ethical hospitality as the 'Woman' (*AEL* 36). Derrida voices certain reservations regarding fraternity in Levinasian hospitality in the same way as he criticises brotherhood in the Nancean and Blanchotian concepts of community in *POF* (*AEL* 67, 144-45). Schérer, who also refers to Klossowski's novel for its motif of hospitality, concludes his examination of the issue of female host with a discussion of brotherhood, thereby revealing the phallogocentrism of the story (171-96). We here come back to the theme of brotherhood. For the male homosocial desire, women emerge as a mediator of conditional hospitality which keeps them only tangential to its pact and forms brotherhood between men. It would not be coincidental that Kristeva shows a wariness to set her argument concerning the recognition of our inner alterity in a different terrain from solidarity of brotherhood ('Here we are far removed from a call to *brotherhood*' (192; emphasis added)). Kristeva as feminist shares with Derrida the consciousness of social exclusivism as an effect of the rhetoric of brothers. Thus, women are marginalised in the phratrocentric discourses on hospitality in the similar way as in those discourses on friendship. Bringing them back to the central focus by examining them as female guests in travelogues will open a possible new approach to this tradition.

Interestingly, Derrida points to literature as a possible locus of hospitable

---

place of the patriarchal model of hospitality with female sacrifice, following Derridean criticism against phallogocentrism and French feminist theorisation of the maternal body by Irigaray and Cixous. Importantly, she alerts us to how easily the maternal is integrated and exploited by the virile model of hospitality (132).

friendship. At the end of *POF*, Derrida argues that literature plays a pivotal role in the possibility of friendship and democracy, as literature is still the only locus of speech where we can challenge authority:

> this collapse of the friendship concept will perhaps be a chance, [. . .] and there is nothing fortuitous in the fact that the sudden burst of this chance at the heart of the ruin is still linked, in what in our time is most untimely, to literature, to the 'literary community', of which *The Unavowable Community* also speaks. (Is not literature today, in the saturation of a geopolitical process of a becoming-worldwide [mondialité], the very thing which remains intolerable to the intolerance of the theological-political systems for which, the idea of democracy having no unconditional virtue, no speech can elude the space of theological-political authority? (302-03)

In an interview with Derek Attridge in 1989, Derrida already calls literature 'this institution of fiction which gives *in principle* the power to say everything,' which is free from traditional rules to invent something new, and hence 'what calls forth a democracy, in the most open (and doubtless itself to come) sense of democracy,' thus highlighting the interrelatedness of literature and democracy (*Acts* 37). Nancy pays similar attention to the literary with the term 'literary communism' (26). For Nancy, literature is 'not only, or even primarily, a matter of amorous or "literary" literature' but 'all unworked "communication"' (39). After clearing its alignment with ideas of communism and literature except a necessary homage, Nancy sums up: '"Literary communism" indicates at least the following: that community, in its infinite resistance to everything that would bring it to completion [. . .], signifies an irrepressible political exigency, and that this exigency in its turn demands something of "literature," the inscription of our infinite

resistance' (80-81). Both Derrida and Nancy see in literature an opening to the alterity outside of the authoritative politics and tradition intolerant of changes and differences. Victorian female travellers to Meiji Japan challenge patriarchy and phallogocentrism by inserting themselves into the male-dominated genre of travel writing and hence bring about literary moments of possible subversion through their contacts with Japanese people. Tracing these moments carefully in their writings will throw a new light on considerations of friendship, community, and hospitality.

It is not a coincidence that the subject Blanchot chiefly discusses in a section entitled 'The Literary Community' in *UC* is friendship. The themes of literature, community, and friendship are inextricably entangled with one another. Blanchot describes the community as 'the ideal community of literary communication', and relates this communication to friendship from which 'reading—the unworking labor of the work—is not absent' (21-22). This literary friendship is formed between the writer and the reader. What is unusual about this friendship, or the writer-reader relationship, however, is that this is '*Friendship for the unknown without friends*' (24): they by no means personally know each other. According to Blanchot, the writer writes for 'the unknown,' not for one's personal friends, and hence 'the anonymity of the book [. . .] initiates what George Bataille (at least once) will call "the negative community: the community of those who have no community"' (24). On the part of the reader in this community, he

> *is not a simple reader*, free in regard to what he reads. He is desired, loved and perhaps intolerable. He cannot know what he knows, and he knows more than he knows. He is a companion who gives himself over to abandonment, who is himself lost and who at the same time remains at the edge of the road the better to disentangle what is happening and which therefore escapes him. (23)

With reservations concerning phratrocentrism in these passages (viz. the masculine subject), this idea of literary community is applicable to writings by female travellers. Although most of them produced the original texts ostensibly for the sake of their personal friends, the publication of those texts was intended to transfer to wider audience their understanding of and sympathy towards Japanese people and culture, and to promote friendship between the two nations. To consider the ethical possibility of literary community through travelogues, we need to examine the moments when the traveller, the locals, and the reader share each other in resistance to the regimes of self-sameness and exclusion.

To conclude, it is certainly not my intention to apply these highly theoretical discussions on anti-communitarian community and democratic friendship of absolute hospitality blindly to Victorian female travel writing about Japan. We have to be reminded that the views of the thinkers we consulted in this chapter are all bounded by postmodernity in the West and not directly transferable to the socio-politico-historical context of Victorian women travellers to the East in its own modernity. Nevertheless, the theories of friendship have an opening to the other that helps us conceptualise the cross-cultural relationships we will look at in the following chapters. I will highlight the

dysfluencies and aporias of these theorisations in relation to real life instances of cultural exchange and congress in a non-Western context while confirming a certain relevance in dialogue with these theoretical implications. Putting literature and philosophy in contrast will expose the false universality of the latter—this will allow us to deepen our theoretical understanding as well as help us realise the uniqueness of each cultural instance.

CHAPTER II

Our Porous Being and the Survival of the Feminine:

Isabella Bird and *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*

> I went with the house-master, Ito, to his disgust, not being invited, and his absence was like the loss of one of my senses, as I could not get any explanations till afterwards. (Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* 1: 317-18)

Featured alongside such remarkable figures as Queen Victoria and Florence Nightingale in Reginald Horsley's *Women of Worth in the Victorian Era* (1912) is a Victorian female traveller, Isabella Lucy Bird. The short biography introduced her as '*the* famous traveller,' which attests to the great fame she achieved in her own time (iii; emphasis added). Bird was born on 15 October 1831 in Yorkshire, and until her death on 7 October 1904 at her home in Edinburgh, she travelled widely to every corner of the world, from the United States, Canada, Hawaii, Australia, New Zealand to Japan, China, Korea, Southeast Asian countries, India, Tibet, Persia and Morocco, from which she produced a group of highly successful travel books. Her excellence in accurate observation and vivid portrayal of areas previously unfrequented by Westerners, despite their accruing strategic importance for the British Empire, gained her accession to the prestigious, male-dominated Royal Geographical Society as one of its first female Fellows in 1892.

Bird's first visit to Japan, the first of her series of journeys to the Far East outside

a sphere of strong British influence, which were later to establish her as an authority on the region, was in May 1878. She carried out a seven-month extensive journey on a packed horse, in a palanquin, in a *kuruma*, on foot and by boat from such popular destinations as Yokohama, Tokyo, and Nikkō in Eastern Japan as well as Kyoto, Nara, Osaka, Kōbe, Tsu, and Ise in Western Japan to the interior beyond treaty limits, covering Fukushima, Nīgata, Yamagata, Akita, Aomori and Hokkaidō. All of these travels, in particular those beyond the treaty limits, were achieved with the aid of a passport specially obtained by Sir Harry Parkes, the then minister at the British Legation in Japan. The passport enabled her to travel without restrictions on different routes around Japan. All of the stops along her route were incorporated into *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels in the Interior, Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé* (*Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*), a fitting title for the ambitious journey, initially published in two volumes from John Murray in 1880. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* achieved critical as well as commercial success. *The Quarterly Review* raved that 'Miss Bird is a born traveller, fearless, enthusiastic, patient, instructed, knowing as well what as how to describe. [. . .] Miss Bird, though dealing with a now well-worn subject, has broken entirely new ground' ('Art. I.' 320-21). Rutherford Alcock, the former British consul in Japan, reviewed it as 'better than many books of a more pretentious kind' ('Old' 830). The favourable reception from her contemporaries developed Bird's confidence, and Bird wrote of the

work that '[i]t is not only the record of honest and earnest work, but it vindicates the right of a woman to do anything which she can do well' (Stoddart 139). In response to the immense popularity of the first edition, a new, abridged one-volume edition, which was centred on her more venturesome journey to Northern Japan, was published in 1885.

What distinguishes Bird from other short-term female travellers to Meiji Japan is her ambitious inland journey beyond the established contact zone which culminated in an ethnographic achievement underpinned by close interaction with the local people and their culture. Bird travelled for three months, off the beaten tracks (at least by contemporary Western standards), solely in the company of a single Japanese interpreter-guide Ito with the exceptions of occasional short stays at British missionaries' houses in large towns, thus 'liv[ing] among the Japanese, and s[eeing] their mode of living, in regions unaffected by European contact' as she claims (*Unbeaten* 1: vii). Similarly, this set her apart from her male predecessors who were in Japan on official duties. Bird as a private traveller could explore more thoroughly the everyday life of the country in direct communication with people, freer from temporal and spatial limitations. Thus she developed an alternative model of cultural contact and presented a new picture of Japan to Western readers, circumventing gender constraints and fostering a liminal existence between the public and the private.

Bird's embeddedness in the other culture and her relationships with the other

people, however, have so far avoided critical attention in the literary field, overshadowed by an almost exclusive interest in the production and consumption of her gendered texts in the colonial metropolis. This has marginalised the locals—both Japanese and Ainu people—from the discussion of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, and hence the absence of mutuality in historical appraisals of Bird. This chapter will, therefore, bring the travelogue to new light by scrutinising textual manifestations of intimacy between Bird and Japanese people, particularly her interpreter-guide Ito. The relationship between Bird and Ito is noteworthy due to the primary place occupied by the issue of language when considering hospitality and community in an intercultural context. Their relationship offers up interesting examples with regard to an elaboration of the concept of 'sharing'—the sharing of time, space, movement and language. Their relationship illustrates reciprocal hospitality towards this alterity. In this chapter, I introduce a specific line of argument from Derrida concerning the themes of hospitality, identity, language, translation, and survival, relevant to Bird and Ito's mutual representation of their relationship. Then, the following section carries out a textual analysis of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* and *Itō no koi* (*Itō's Romance*), a retelling of Bird's journey from Ito's perspective by a contemporary Japanese writer, Nakajima Kyōko. Furthermore, I interrogate the fallacy of stable identity upon which imperialist ideology is predicated and its dissolution in a specific location of Meiji Japan. This section reveals the complexity of the politics between the traveller and hosts as well as

Bird's exceptional openness towards the alterity of Japanese culture. The examination of the Japanese novel in terms of literary community and survival allows me to argue that Bird, together with the minority voices of Japanese women, has survived in literature through feminine friendship. Furthermore, their survival presents a thorough critique of the traditional phratrocentric paradigm of survival and friendship as well as a consideration of the more exciting possibilities of literature.

1. Hospitality and Friendship's Afterlife

The previous chapter discussed the precedence of language in the study of the concept of community by examining its associations with identity, both national and personal. Derrida's exceptional sensibility to linguistic differences exposes our fantastic ownership of language, especially mother tongue, which for its native speakers cultivates a fraternal bond rooted in the common belief in *mother*land and hence can foster nationalism and xenophobia. Derrida opens up possibilities for language as a form of friendship and hospitality by foregrounding the process of identification through language, rather than presenting the dubious notion of static identity. He further pursues this deconstruction of identity at the individual level. Uncovering the hetero-affective split in hearing-oneself-speaking-oneself that underpins the fantasy of auto-affection of the autonomous subject brings to light the essential alterity within the self and absolute hospitality necessary for the self's survival amid the operation of

'*différance*' which 'unconditionally' applies to everyone (Hägglund 2). Our being as hospitality throws ipseity, or the power of *I,* into question by exposing the master-subject as the object in fact. The ambiguity of the word *hôte* which signifies both a host and a guest in French exemplifies this point. The recognition of the foreign within oneself is the first step to ethical hospitality which entails the autocratic subject realising his essentially heteronomous and heterogeneous being and opening up himself to the alterity as a hospitable being. Foreign travel promotes this process for the traveller who is ready to let go of his own mastery; it reveals to the subject his own foreignness amongst the racial and cultural others and puts him through the experience of translation of his subjectivity to the others' language and of hospitality offered to him. Translation becomes highly relevant here in relation to the question of linguistic hospitality and identity. Derrida calls translators agents of transnational, translinguistic and transsubjective solidarity who are true to one's hospitable being.

Bird's relationship with her guide-interpreter Ito offers an interesting locus to explore these interlaced issues of hospitality, identity, and translation. They share language by translation, language in both broad and narrow senses—the linguistic system as well as an ethos (Derrida, *OH* 131, 33). Ito translates the Japanese language for Bird as if he were her prosthetic ear and mouth, so that she can comprehend the world constructed in a language foreign to her. This way, Ito offers Bird hospitality proper at the same time as he shakes her ipseity, 'the power of an "I can"' (Derrida, *MO*

14). Bird, in her turn, is transformed through the acceptance of her essential heteronomy in a foreign country, translating the other culture as well as being translated into the other's symbolic system. They thus exist in a hospitable community of travellers. Moreover, Bird's journey in the contact zone exposed her colonial identity to alterity, thereby betraying the fundamental porosity of racial and cultural boundaries to her contemporary readers who believed in radical differences between races and the innate superiority of Western culture over the rest of the world. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* bears witness to Bird's hospitality to the other people and culture, which was undoubtedly radical and pioneering for its time.

The theme of translation contains another significant question for Derrida: the possibility of survival. Derrida studies Walter Benjamin's thesis on translation in pursuit of this theme. In his famous essay 'The Task of the Translator,' Benjamin urges us to consider the notion of the life of artworks 'with an entirely unmetaphorical objectivity,' and proclaims that during 'their potentially eternal afterlife in succeeding generations' translations 'come into being,' whereby the life of the original works 'attains in them to its ever-renewed latest and most abundant flowering' (76-77). Critical as he was of such hierarchical polarities as the original/translation and the signified/signifier with the former of the pairs always having the impervious identity as well as of a teleological view of translation which persist in Benjamian metaphysics, the

concept of survival gripped Derrida.[1] 'Des Tours de Babel' ('DTDB'), which is Derridean 'interpretation' or 'translation' (Derrida's own thought-provoking rewording of the preceding word) of Benjamin's work (191), deconstructs the latter's thesis while allowing it to live on 'in mutation' (183). This is a vital point: sur-vival of the original in translation, according to Derridean reading of Benjamin, depends not on 'restitution' or 'representation' but on 'transformation' or 'postmaturation' (183). Hägglund identifies the notion of sur-vival as the main weft running through Derridean whole corpus and elaborates it with the structure of the 'trace' and the concept of 'autoimmunity' which entails 'mutability, corruptibility, and violability' on the understanding that life is 'essentially mortal' and 'inherently divided by time' (1-9). That is to say, Derridean survival by no means requires the close identity between the original and the translation. This makes it possible to examine a retelling of a literary work alongside the sur-vival in translation.

The question arises, then, as to what is that which is to survive in translation. In his critique of Benjamin, Derrida brings to light that it is '[t]he sur-vival of works,' or more precisely 'the sur-vival of authors' names and of signatures, but not of authors' that is at stake in Benjamin's theory of translation ('DTDB' 179). It is in this context that he reminds us of the story of 'Babel'—which he calls elsewhere 'an introduction to all the so-called theoretical problems of translation' (175)—and the question of the proper

[1] Derrida picks up the theme of survival in translation again in his later work. See Derrida, 'What Is a "Relevant" Translation?' 199-200.

noun:

> The question of proper names is essential here. Where the act of the living mortal seems to count less than the sur-vival of the text in the *translation*—translated and translating—it is quite necessary that the signature of the proper noun be distinguished and not be so easily effaced from the contract or from the debt. Let us not forget that Babel names a struggle for the sur-vival of the name, the tongue or the lips. (183)

Here, Derrida expresses his deepest concern about the survival of the author and translator in translation through their proper name or signature. It is crucial to note in the last sentence his strategic move of translating the symbolic 'name' into physical 'tongue' and 'lips' which compose synecdochally the mortal body of the author and the translator, whereby he re-inserts into his discussion the survival of the human agents which is made secondary to that of texts by Benjamin.[2] Derrida subsequently restates that it is 'not [. . .] living subjects but names at the edge of the language or, more rigorously, the trait which contracts the relation of the aforementioned living subjects to his name, insofar as the latter keeps to the edge of the language' that constitutes the trait of 'the to-be-translated from one language to the other, from this edge to the other of the proper name' (185). That is to say, proper names, which inscribe the mortal author and translator into the language system at its margin, are that which is to survive in translation, consequentially enabling the human mortals to survive and embody the singularity of the translated/translating texts thus. As Derrida suggests, 'a proper noun does and does not belong, [. . .] to the language' (185), and this way is able to keep its

[2] Derrida mentions the figurative equivalence of 'tongue' (French) and 'lips' (Hebrew) for 'language,' hence the argument ('DTDB' 167-68).

singularity as well as that of its bearer in translation so as for them to survive despite the all-pervading work of *différance* in language. Derrida repeatedly names Benjamin and Maurice de Gandillac, his French translator, whose translation Derrida declares he also re-translates, in his thesis; thus, Derrida promises their survival.

Derrida further discusses the name and survival in the context of friendship in *The Politics of Friendship* (*POF*). He reveals the hidden mechanism of mourning for brothers by name in the philosophical canon of friendship and formulates the dependency of friendship on the survival of the name as follows: 'Owing to the name, friendship begins prior to friendship; owing to the name, friendship survives friendship; friendship always begins by surviving' (291). Derrida never overlooks gender asymmetry in this friendship discourse; subsequently, he points out the slimmer chance of survival for women because of phratrocentric filtration inevitably entailed in the process of the name's survival:

> Concerning what is of import to us here, the two features of the name must undoubtedly be held together. On the one hand, the name constitutes the very structure of the testamentary survival stance, hence of a certain spectrality: the name survives a priori, if this can be said, its bearer and the person to be called, before and afterwards, beyond presence. But this general and structural feature is also enframed [*arraisonné*], in a *certain* history, as the chance of filiation, of the *inherited* name, as well as of *renown* (and Montaigne speaks as often of the proper name as of the renown which brings this legendary name to the cognizance of the friend to come, thereby giving birth to friendship). Under the two forms of this enframing (inheritance of the name and social renown) *this* history leaves *less* chance to the woman, to the daughter, to the sister. (292)

Western androcentric legal and social customs surrounding name and fame have

privileged the man, the son, and the brother and promoted their affiliation by facilitating passing down and making their names while producing adverse results for their female counterparts. It is important to note in these passages the Derridean insight that the name and its survival offer friendship the possibility of forming 'beyond presence,' that is, without physical encounter between friends. This has further contributed to a long history of homo-social brotherhood over temporal and spatial boundaries. On the other hand, this same scheme has marginalised countless female friends, denying them the chance of survival.

In this context, the lasting fame Bird and her travelogue have achieved in Japan offers a fascinating example. Bird has gained in popularity over the last couple of decades in Japan. Two TV programmes were broadcast in commemoration of the 120th anniversary of Bird's visit to Japan in 1998, which reintroduced her to the modern general public (Kusuya 372-74); The NHK showed another programme on her as recently as in January 2012. Thus, her unique adventure and singular interaction with local people surely have been remembered by the Japanese audience. The retelling of Bird's travelogue in *Itō no koi* also assumes a special significance in that her name, and hence her singularity, acquires a new life in it. Furthermore, as it is reworked by a female author, it announces an emerging friendship between two women—the traveller and the adaptor—without a single physical encounter. This friendship also resuscitates hidden narratives of Japanese women in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. The literary

community of unknown friends which opens up between a writer, characters, and readers through literature is precisely what is activated in the retelling of Bird's travel writing.

2. Isabella Bird and Japan

Unbeaten Tracks in Japan is Isabella Bird's fourth travelogue published by John Murray, following *The Englishwoman in America* (1856), *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands* (1875), *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (1879), and the first of her three books on East Asia, including *Korea and her Neighbours* (1898) and *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond* (1899). Her image as an adventuress popularised through her prior works has so far contributed to the low-profile of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* among literary scholarship. Early feminist interest in advanced women travellers drove them towards the more sensational writings such as her journey in the Rocky Mountains, and even when it attracted passing glances, critical enquiry into her subjectivity from a feminist perspective pushed the specificity of the country and individual persons she encountered into the background. The work unfortunately fell outside the scope of the investigation by postcolonialist scholars, despite the special attention to travel writing among them. While its intrinsic, localised appeal encouraged Japanese scholars across disciplines to enrich the context for understanding Bird's Japanese travel, these studies are inclined to read the work as a historical document for a better understanding of the

past, and a close textual analysis of the human interaction between the traveller and local people still remains undone.

There are, however, a couple of critics who have shifted the focus onto the dynamic interrelationship at work between Bird and the locals, especially, Ito, her interpreter-guide in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*.[3] Eva-Marie Kröller analyses the dialogic interaction between text and index and argues how the latter serves to preserve Bird's imperialist identity by successfully managing Ito under impersonal, systematic categories while his intrusive presence in the main text makes her authoritative subject-position insecure (89-93). Andrew Elliott also examines the mutually influential textual relationship between Bird and Ito, applying such postcolonialist concepts as 'the contact zone' by Mary Louise Pratt and 'hybridity' and 'mimicry' by Homi Bhabha. Rephrasing the latter, Elliott coins his own critical term 'a silent-speaker' who is 'always there, *but not quite*,' to describe Ito's unique position as an interpreter-guide whose voice is strategically silenced in the text by the authorial voice of the traveller-author. Hence, he demonstrates the way the term brings into question the traveller's authority which is commonly asserted through performative utterances in the

[3] A thorough study on Ito by Kanasaka Kiyonori in 2000 identified him as Itō Tsurukichi (伊藤鶴吉; 1859-1913) and fleshed out the well-nigh fictional figure with substantial biographical details as a successful businessperson. Ito, 'the pioneer guide in Japan' as stated by his contemporary in *the Japan Gazette* (qtd. inKanasaka 24), became a founder member of Kaiyūsha, the first licensed guides' association in Japan, and acted as a guide for such celebrities as Sayaji Rao III, maharaja of Baroda and Edward Henry Harriman, an American railway magnate. His death from stomach cancer was reported in five local papers in both English and Japanese. This indicates his professional achievements as a pioneer in an emerging trade whose infancy *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* narrates vividly. His photograph is available among famous politicians and intellectuals in a National Diet Library digital archive, 'Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures' on their website, accompanied by the caption about his trip with Bird, for which he is best remembered today.

textual space by reminding us of the traveller's actual incompetence in the language. Floriane Reviron discusses an imperialist confrontation with Ito as one of the contributory factors to the heterogeneous voices in Bird's narrative in conjunction with the restrictions from discourses of femininity and colonialism. The problem with these readings, however, is that despite the tactful avoidance of the master/slave binary, their logic is still governed by an antagonistic opposition between the coloniser and the colonised insofar as they centre on the power struggle between Bird and Ito, and Ito is continuously referred to by such terms as 'challenge,' 'threat' and 'menace' to Bird. Becoming a representative of each country, they remain ossified in their national identities, and the translational character of their encounter is overlooked.

Unbeaten Tracks in Japan records exceptional moments when this persistent colonial Manichaeanism between different national groups is momentarily dissolved and a fleeting communication, or anti-communitarian friendship, emerges. Bird's representations of the other people, country, and culture are tainted with the imperial mindset shared by the majority of Victorian travellers. Nevertheless, we find her responses changing gradually. These moments are more frequent in the original edition where unifying editorial intention on her publisher's part to make 'a book of travel and adventure' works more loosely (Stoddart 168). We will, therefore, make use of this edition in the following analyses so as to retrieve those instances which were edited out from the later edition.

Identity Destabilised

Unbeaten Tracks in Japan shows Bird's adventurism and deviation from normative femininity. As the title clearly signals, the Japan which Bird aspires to present is a 'real' Japan which is different from a civilised, fairy land hitherto popularised by such early male travellers as Laurence Oliphant and also replicated by myriads of lady travellers. The preface betrays her scientific ambition to 'contribute something to the sum of knowledge' as 'the first European lady' who travelled 'in regions unaffected by European contact' (1: vii). The introduction, which was omitted entirely from the popular single-volume edition, points out the general confusion about the country, which Bird addresses with detailed data in a systematic manner. Her rivalry with male adventurers surfaces when she gloats over a failure of the Austrian expedition she predicted, which simultaneously epitomises the European imperial competition and reveals her unfeminine involvement in masculine political activities. Bird's determination to produce a new, realistic representation is embodied in her arrival scene. This scene depicts Japan as trapped in inertia with such epithets as 'pale,' 'like a phantom galley,' 'ghastly,' and 'sleeping Asia,' and is packed with derogatory remarks about its inhabitants, dehumanising them as 'small, ugly, kindly-looking, shrivelled, bandy-legged, round-shouldered, concave-chested, poor-looking beings' and 'the mannikin' (1: 12-17). The sombre tone of the opening effectively sets the stage for a masculine adventure romance, and Bird's attention to detail is an overt indicator of her

ethnographic interest. Bird's Japan provides a stark contrast with Oliphant's glossy 'dreamland' of deep blue and verdure with fishermen of 'stalwart figures,' against which she writes (2: 1-4).[4]

However, Bird carefully camouflages this contentious masculine narrative within her feminine discourse. The first device she seeks recourse to is the dedication. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* is dedicated to Lady Parkes at the British Legation in Tokyo. This emphasises Bird's connection with the nobility and her securing of upper-class patronage for her journey. The apologetic preface, a common practice among Victorian women travellers, also serves to support her femininity by marking her invalidity and incompetence. It is further reinforced by the persistence of the epistolary form as in her previous works along with her choice of addressees. The preface claims that the travelogue, which compiles fifty-nine letters in the original two-volume edition (excluding the introductory chapter and occasional informative notes) and forty-four letters in the one-volume edition, is based on Bird's actual correspondence with her sister, Henrietta, and close friends which she sent while on the road (1: viii).[5] The preface defends her choice of this style despite its artistic defects and egotism and states that 'it places the reader in the position of the traveller' (1: viii), which reflects the

[4] It is also likely that Bird's negative perception was informed by her missionary zeal—which is conspicuously present in the original edition—to cultivate a new ground.

[5] Chubbuck, however, confirms that there are no surviving letters to Henrietta from this journey except a few ripped diary pages on her Kansai trip and questions the actual existence of the original letters (*Letters to Henrietta* 205). Instead, she entertains the possibility of an extensive re-shaping of letters by Bird sisters ('Introduction' 13-14).

feminine inclination for empathy. The passive voice she deploys ('the first European lady who had *been seen*' (1: vii; emphasis added)) produces a feminine effect, and her special attention to the life of Japanese women and children in the letters reflects the selection of suitable feminine topics. Many scholars argue that frequent references to her articles of clothing underline her regard to the Victorian gendered dress code and hence advocate her femininity.[6] Distancing herself from a growing feminist and New Woman movement was a vital task.[7] In addition, Bird's affective affiliation with the Japanese people and culture is observable. This emotional bond between female travellers and the local people is singled out by Sara Mills as a feminine discursive strategy and termed 'going native' (96-99). These narrative strategies indicate Bird's effort to comply with the social requirements for self-effacing femininity, and this conformity to the feminine convention allows Bird to cunningly appropriate a masculine role of an intrepid, aspiring scientific traveller.

To examine *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* as feminist ethnography gives us illuminating insights into 'being-in-common' and the heteronomous subject (Nancy 29). Lila Marz Harper, whose study focuses on a scientific aspect of Bird's career and her

---

[6] Philippe Perrot discusses clothing as a social act in the sense that 'values and constraints such as custom, cost, taste, and propriety prescribe or proscribe certain practices and tolerate or encourage certain behaviors' (6). Evelyn Bach argues that Bird's careful choice of a travelling outfit to conform to the social norms of femininity facilitated her departure from the same norms by travelling with impunity (590).

[7] Bird made an additional note to the second edition of *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* in response to the false assumption of reviewers of *The Times* and *The Saturday Review* that the Hawaiian riding-dress she wore during her journey was a male costume (Stoddart 114). This episode tells of her extra care of the dress code.

political involvement in British imperial enterprise as an ethnographer, locates in its publication a preliminary shift in her writings from the feminine narrative of personal liberation to the masculine narrative of exploration and science (142). Interestingly, the affective alignment of female travellers with local people constitutes an essential part of postmodern ethnography. Heewon Chang discusses the dialogic 'I-Thou' model as opposed to the 'I-It' model in Martin Buber's terms and '*verstehen*'—empathic understanding—in Max Weber's terms as the key to 'genuine encounter' with others which brings good cultural understanding (27). Here, we touch on the issue of ethical ethnography of truth-telling. Despite its limitations against the Levinasian incommensurability of the other and the power equilibrium between different cultures, this dialogic approach shows good ethical consciousness. Perhaps more importantly, it agrees more with relation-orientated writings by female travellers than with their contemporary male ethnography which habitually distanced the observer from the observed, thereby objectifying and dehumanising natives. Chang further states that the genuine cross-cultural encounter is mutually transformational, which guides us towards the autoethnographic aspect of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (29). It inscribes changes effected on Bird herself in close contact with Japanese people and culture in that the experience gives her a chance of self-reflection in a different cultural context. Autoethnographic introspection gives rise to the author's awareness of her own embeddedness in particular sociocultural meanings and to the narrative reconstruction

of self with critical eyes (Ellingson and Ellis 454-55). This inscription is facilitated by her choice of the epistolary style compelled by the discourses of femininity for its confessional and private nature. Thus, the synthesis of Bird's ethnographic ambition and the specific constraints for femininity makes *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* a unique and ethically-advanced ethnographic account of cross-cultural human interaction and relationality.

The sensitivity to the subjectivity of the other introduces heterogeneity into the ethnographer's identity. Its salience in ethnography is elaborated upon at length by Claude Lévi-Strauss. He defies a rigid dichotomy between the subject and the object in the ethnographic practice. Lévi-Strauss defines ethnography as a field in which 'the object of study [. . .] is object and subject both at once,' and writes that ethnography requires a social fact to 'be grasped *totally*, that is, from outside, like a thing; but like a thing which comprises within itself the subjective understanding [. . .] that we would have of it, if [. . .] we were living the fact as indigenous people instead of observing it as ethnographers' (29-31). Subsequently, this understanding must undergo translation into the outsider's symbolic system. The success of the ethnographic observation, therefore, lies in 'the subject's capacity for indefinite self-objectification, that is to say (without ever quite abolishing itself as subject) for projecting outside itself ever-diminishing fractions of itself' (32). Importantly, Bhabha finds this paradigmatic of his concept of the subject split in that 'ethnography demands that the subject has to split itself into

object and subject in the process of identifying its field of knowledge' (215). The narrative split in the ethnographic subject emerges between the subject narrated in a constative statement on the object of study which consists of multiple fragments of itself and the subject narrating the object for the outsider's grasp in the latter's language, thereby destabilising the uninterrupted, self-same identity of the subject with its essential heterogeneity and heteronomy. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* as an ethnographic travelogue creates the splitting of the travelling subject and calls into question the pure autonomy of the Western colonial subject. Consequently, it contains subversive moments of Bird's affective affiliation with Japanese others as well as moments of self-estrangement and self-transformation.

Bird's sense of insecurity and vulnerability in Japan is projected to the physical space. Her first night in *yadoya* (a Japanese inn) presents a serious disruption to her Western conception of personal space:

> the lack of privacy was fearful, and I have not yet sufficient trust in my fellow-creatures to be comfortable without locks, walls, or doors! Eyes were constantly applied to the sides of the room, [. . .] and the new noises were perfectly bewildering. [. . .] the house was full of talking and splashing, drums and tom-toms were beaten outside; there were street cries innumerable [. . .]. Ito told me that the well was badly contaminated, the odours were fearful; illness was to be feared as well as robbery! (1: 90-91)

Traditional Japanese architecture does not provide her with desirable protection against various kinds of intrusions. Paper doors without locks are easily slid open and yield to a

gentle poke of a wet finger so as to give curious Japanese inhabitants a glimpse at her.[8] Their gaze on Bird, which objectifies her as curio, discloses her own strangeness and promotes her auto-ethnographic self-reflection through self-objectification. Her privacy is also violated acoustically by uncanny sounds within and without the inn as well as osmically by polluted water, which further poses a risk of internal contagion. The Western ingenuity of a travelling bed which is supposed to keep her intact reveals its farcical inadequacy:

> My bed is merely a piece of canvas nailed to two wooden bars. When I lay down the canvas burst away from the lower row of nails with a series of cracks, and sank gradually till I found myself lying on a sharp-edged pole which connects the two pair of trestles, and the helpless victim of fleas and mosquitoes. (1: 91)

The equipment turns in favour of her attackers by trapping her immobile, thereby exposing her to indirect contiguity with local people via insect bites. These illustrate the unattainable segregation in a contact zone.

Clothes mark Bird's receptivity towards the other culture. Cautious as she was about presenting herself with propriety to her English readers, she enjoys trying local clothes every now and then. Bird attends a Buddhist funeral of a wealthy merchant in a Japanese woman's dress (1: 290-91). She writes that 'I always sleep in a Japanese *kimono* to be ready for emergencies,' which suggests her habitual use of the native attire in Japan (1: 342). Bird adapts herself not only by putting on the foreign marker (a

[8] *Washi*, Japanese traditional paper used for paper doors (*shōji*), becomes flimsy when it is wet, and it is a Japanese custom to make a peephole in a paper door with a wet finger as it can be carried out noiselessly thus.

Japanese *kimono*) but also by taking off her own cultural marker: 'I went out in my *kimono*, and without my hat, and in this disguise altogether escaped recognition as a foreigner' (1: 371). The casual manner in which she gives this account is surprising given the fact that a hat was an important article of clothing for Victorian women; all the more so because she by no means hesitates to blend in with Japanese locals here. Bird's wit and humour help her to break away from the rigid social conventions of Victorian Britain. Simultaneously, this statement underlines the fact that differences between Bird and the Japanese are not essential but external. The issue of cross-cultural dressing is worth pursuing in relation to the role of Victorian women travellers in the British colonial enterprise. Englishwomen in colonies travelled on the 'civilizing mission' to preserve 'English ideals' away from home in the contiguity of other cultures (Mackay and Thane 203). Monica Anderson notes that the Western outfit of female coloniser-travellers serves 'as a cultural marker, a badge of authority to be displayed whenever and wherever possible, perhaps in evoking such ideological forces as "national pride" or "Britishness",' and that the cataloguing of native clothes through traveller's imperial eyes functions 'to maintain racial as well as national distinctions' at the same time as to stimulate the desire for colonial expansion (207-08). Anderson illustrates this colonial anxiety for the immune national-racial identity with a strong admonition against cross-cultural dressing from Gertrude Lowthian Bell to other female travellers:

> The European . . . will be the wiser if he does not seek to ingratiate himself with Orientals by trying to ape their habits, [. . .]. For a woman this rule is of the first importance, since a woman can never disguise herself effectually. (qtd. in M. Anderson 217-18).

Put in this context, Bird's adoption of local clothing was indeed a brave move.[9] In fact, Bird counts a Japanese hat among her equipments for reasons of its practicality in comparison with its English counterpart.[10]

The adoption of Japanese items also demonstrates Bird's compliance with the local dress code. In the course of her journey into the Japanese interior, Bird was often mistaken for a man by Japanese people, which was an experience shared by other Victorian women in Japan. At an inn in Takahata, girls take flight at the sight of Bird because, she explains, 'I wear a hat, which is a thing only worn by women in the fields as a protection from sun and rain, my eyebrows are unshaven, and my teeth are unblackened, so these girls supposed me to be a foreign man' (1: 158). Susan Ballard, an English missionary and author of *Fairy Tales from Far Japan* (1898) whose preface Bird contributed to, also writes about her ambiguous gender according to Japanese eyes, such that 'in this country, where the women always go bareheaded, though the men often wear hats, the very fact of seeing something on my head makes them think that I am a man' (30). A hat, a sign for feminine propriety in one culture, signifies masculinity

[9] There is a famous portrait of Bird in Manchu dress (Stoddart 350). Her eccentric clothes during her later stay in Japan in 1895 were captured by Honda Masujirō. He expressed his impression of her as 'strangely dressed (*kisō*) in Chinese bodice, English skirt, and a Japanese Kurumaya's big hat' (qtd. in Takahata 'Isabella Bird's Taking Part in Japan after *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*' 47).

[10] This highlights her remarkable cultural relativism and pragmatism which are comparable to Mary Kingsley's attitude to African clothing discussed by Simon Gikandi.

in another. By wearing a *kimono*, which is also gender-specific to the locals, and removing a hat, Bird acquires the local signifiers of femininity despite the fact that this same act would be seen as gender subversion to readers back home. The use of local clothes when faced with two paradoxical choices testifies to Bird's openness to the other culture.

This constant exposure to the other people and culture led Bird to question her national identity and pride. She highlights her difference from other foreigners in Japan. She reports a comment on her by a house-master's wife at one inn that she is 'very polite—for a foreigner' because of her obeisance to the Japanese customs (1: 189). In fact, she was so receptive to the other culture that she wrote: 'I no longer care to meet Europeans, indeed I should go far out of my way to avoid them. I have become quite used to Japanese life' (1: 309). This identity osmosis culminated in one night when Bird joined people at *yadoya* to watch children playing *I-ro-ha garuta*, a Japanese traditional card game, which was completely omitted from the popular one-volume edition:

> Then tea was handed round, and I gave sweetmeats to all the children. Then Ito made a rough translation of many of the proverbs, some of which, partly from the odd language into which he put them, and partly from their resemblance to our own, made me laugh uncontrollably, and my mirth, or my unsuccessful efforts to restrain it, proving contagious, it ended in twenty people laughing themselves into a state of exhaustion! I feel much better for it, and thoroughly enjoyed the evening. (1: 366-67)

What is striking in this passage is a triple transgression of racial-cultural boundaries. Bird is not just a passing observer here; she actively participates in this group by

drinking the same tea and serving sweets to children. Her casual consumption of Japanese food during the journey is indeed quite exceptional while most travellers dramatise sampling of it as a peculiar event. She caricatures foreign residents who make a fuss about 'the "Food Question"' and advises travellers against burdening themselves with European provisions (1: 53). She also notes the similarities in ideas between two countries and ponders: 'Is it not strange to find the same ideas gathered up into recognisably similar forms in Japan as in England, and cast into these forms at a date when our ancestors were clothed in paint and skins?' (1: 367). This musing on shared ancestry is significant given the increasingly influential theory of polygenism in the nineteenth century which bolstered white supremacy (Keevak 71-72). Moreover, her 'contagious' laughter breaks down the language barrier and bonds her to all the Japanese participants. Thus, she upsets segregationist tendencies physically and culturally in order to show the impossibility of absolute separation and the racial-cultural hierarchy which contributed to the ideological bases of Orientalism.

Illustrations offer a visual proof of the perspectival conversion Bird underwent in close proximity of cultural others. Both the first and the last letters of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* include her sketches of Mt Fuji. Oddly enough, we find a substantial difference between the two. An early sketch depicts a steep mountain which slopes down gently from the halfway point ('Fujisan' in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:13; see fig. 2). Kröller points out its resemblance to the Matterhorn and foregrounds the

naturalizing process of the unfamiliar by incorporating it into the pre-existent system of the familiar which is in progress in the arrival scene (90). It is worth taking into account that Bird had prior knowledge of Mt Fuji as she 'looked in vain for Fujisan' among ecstatic crowd on the deck long before she finally caught the first glimpse of it (1:13). This passage demonstrates the wide currency Mt Fuji had gained in contemporary Western discourse as a symbol of Japan and suggests that Bird was familiar with some sort of visual representations of the mountain through her reading beforehand. Notwithstanding, she sketched the mountain against certain artistic traditions, which signals her determination to be an original, scientific, unbiased reporter. However, a later drawing of the same mountain stands in stark contrast to this early sketch. It shows a mountain which fans out gracefully towards the bottom, just like those we find in famous *ukiyo-e* by Katsushika Hokusai ('Fujisan, From a Village on the Tokaido' in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 2: 307; see fig. 3). This exemplifies her acceptance of the local perception and the openness towards the other she cultivated through close contact during her seven-month journey.[11]

[11] The illustration of Mt Fuji in the opening scene is altered in the shape of the mountain in posthumous editions.



Fig. 2. Isabella Bird, 'Fujisan.'



Fig. 3. Isabella Bird, 'Fujisan, From a Village on the Tokaido.'

Bird's deep immersion in Japanese culture is epitomised in her relationship with her interpreter-guide, Ito. Stoddart extols Bird as an independent traveller who '*nearly* always conquered her territories alone' (vi; emphasis added). The italicised adverb, however, ironically insinuates that she was, in fact, never truly alone. The truth was Ito accompanied her all along on her journey to Hokkaidō. Soon after her arrival, Bird

complains that

> I am suffering mainly from complete mental confusion, owing to the rapidity with which new sights and ideas are crowding upon me. My reading of books on Japan, and the persistent pumping of my Japanese fellow-voyagers for the last three weeks, might nearly as well have been omitted, for the country presents itself to me as a complete blur, or a page covered with hieroglyphs to which I have no key. (1: 23)

The inaccessibility of Japan, both in terms of space and time, is made evident here in Bird's use of the metaphor of an Egyptian language, hence the necessity of a translator. Ito serves as the 'key' to help Bird approach the country and its people in contemporaneity. Their relationship develops dramatically from their meeting to their parting. Her first impression of him is scattered with derogatory terms such as 'bandy-legged,' 'the heavy droop of his eyelids [that] almost caricatures the usual Japanese peculiarity' and 'the most stupid-looking' (1: 49). It was language that secured a chance to their relationship against her initial dislike: 'I [. . .] disliked the boy. However, he understood my English and I his, and being very anxious to begin my travels, I engaged him' (1: 49). This makes a striking contrast to her later remark that 'I always miss Ito when we are cooking the stirabout over the *hibachi*' (2: 256). This feeling was reciprocal as Pat Barr notes that 'twenty years later, tourists record that they were shown round the Nikko temples by "Miss Bird's companion in the wilderness"—so presumably he [Ito] never stopped talking about her' (*Deer* 99). Sharing a language while travelling together forged a special bond between Ito and Bird. Ito, the interpreter-guide, who speaks the language of Bird as guest-other embodies the

quintessence of hospitality. He occupies a crucial role of a chiasmatic character between two languages and cultures, translating one into the other. Bird-master, on the other hand, delegates her authority-autonomy to Ito-servant through her linguistic dependency, which is another mode of hospitality that Derrida elaborates upon. Ito contributes to Bird's gradual conversion, and Bird's receptivity accelerates the process as the following passage demonstrates amply:

> He is very anxious about my good behaviour, and as I am equally anxious to be courteous everywhere in Japanese fashion, and not to violate the general rules of Japanese etiquette, I take his suggestions as to what I ought to do and avoid in very good part, and my bows are growing more profound every day! (1: 155-56)

The merry interaction with the fellow sojourners over the card game would have been impossible without Ito's mediation. Bird did not self-consciously change in Japan. Her thorough ethnographic engagement with local people and culture, which was conducted by Ito, changed her. Her immersion and susceptibility in Japan encouraged through her intense relationship with Ito distinguish Bird from other short-term travellers.

What makes their relationship truly unique is Bird's open linguistic dependence on Ito. It is almost as if he were her mouth in Japan, as Elliott figures him as 'a silent-speaker': it is, in fact, Ito who speaks the intelligible language and communicates with locals on behalf of Bird whenever she reports her interactions with Japanese people on the journey.[12] Bird's performative utterances never functioned without him, and so

[12] Learning the Japanese language for ethnographic purposes does not seem to have been an option for Bird because of the difficulties of the language and her personal linguistic incompetence. In *Things Japanese*, Chamberlain describes the mastering of the language as 'almost Herculean' while

her agency was seriously hampered. It is this subtle and hard-to-perceive power relation between the traveller and the interpreter which has led to misinterpretations of the interpreter's role in colonial travel writing and the relative neglect of the relationship of the traveller with language among its scholars.[13] Despite the emotional and moral risks, Bird openly admits her complete reliance on Ito: 'You will observe that I am entirely dependent on Ito, not only for travelling arrangements, but for making inquiries, gaining information, and even for companionship, such as it is' (1: 156). The loss of a language capability gives Bird a sense of insecurity when Ito is not around: 'Ito was long away, and the coolies kept addressing me in Japanese, which made me feel helpless and solitary' (1: 102). This dependence makes a significant impact on her sense of totality. On one occasion when she was invited to a wedding ceremony without Ito's company, she writes: 'his absence was like the loss of one of my senses, as I could not get any explanations till afterwards' (1: 318). Not knowing the language also affected her comprehension of her surroundings seriously, which would have subsequently hindered her production of the text as a travel writer if it had not been for an interpreter.

Although he serves as her mouth as well as ear, it proves impossible for Bird to appropriate Ito. His intense patriotism is repeatedly marked, and language is the only thing he shows willingness to learn from Bird. She corrected slang expressions he

---

a smattering of it is easily acquired (*Things* 257). In *The Hawaiian Archipelago* (1875), Bird writes that '[y]ou know how stupid I am about languages,' which attests to her inadequacy (*Hawaiian* 104). Ito as a translator was indispensable for Bird's Japan trip.

[13] Michael Cronin in his impressive *Across the Lines: Travel, Language, Translation* tackles this problem from various angles.

picked up at Yokohama port into the proper English he was anxious to speak in order to fashion himself as well-educated. This would give him an advantage in his later career as a professional interpreter-guide. As a result, his English assimilated to hers. He starts saying 'a beautiful day' instead of 'a devilish fine day' and learns different registers and the gender of words (1: 312-13). This process of moulding his language fosters her illusion of mastery over him as if he were her prosthetic mouth, which is, unfortunately for Bird, unsustainable. The following passage illustrates this point:

> To-day he [Ito] was beating the baggage-horse unmercifully, when I rode back and interfered with some very strong language, saying, "You are a bully, and, like all bullies, a coward." Imagine my aggravation when, at our first halt, he brought out his note-book as usual, and quietly asked me the meaning of the words "bully" and "coward." *It was perfectly impossible to explain them*, so I said a bully was the worst name I could call him, and that a coward was the meanest thing a man could be. Then the provoking boy said, "Is bully a worse name than devil?" "Yes, far worse," I said, on which he seemed rather crestfallen, and he has not beaten his horse since, in my sight at least. (2: 137-38; emphasis added)

Bird's aggravation and inability to explain the words deserve close examination. The sudden realisation that her speech does not immediately exert the desired effect upon the one on whose language she believes she has a grip upsets her. She makes an unnecessarily emotional and aggressive response, thereby dispiriting him. This scene provides an ironic parallel with her criticism of a Japanese custom of brutal horse-breaking, which obviously influenced Ito's abuse of the animal and how it leaves the horse 'effectually spirit-broken' (2: 122). These occurred at an impasse of linguistic communication which resulted in physical abuse in one case and verbal abuse in the

other. This episode exposes the fundamental impossibility for Bird to appropriate Ito's language; rather, it is Ito who counter-appropriates his mistress's language, which is a type of what Pratt calls 'transculturation' (7). The sharing of language by no means signifies the transparent communication by one's appropriation of the other. Mutual efforts are vital. This process strengthened the bond between Bird and Ito.

The osmosis of Bird's identity brings polyphony to *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. Bird opens up her textual space to Ito and gives him voice just as he gives her voice daily on the road. Bird as an author does not censor Ito's criticisms of foreigners, including British people. She writes that:

> Our manners, eyes, and modes of eating, appear simply odious to him. He delights in retailing stories of the bad manners of Englishmen, describes them as "roaring out *ohio* to every one on the road," frightening the tea-house nymphs, kicking or slapping their coolies, stamping over white mats in muddy boots, acting generally like ill-bred Satyrs, exciting an ill-concealed hatred in simple country districts, and bringing themselves and their country into contempt and ridicule. (1: 156)

Although she could have omitted this conversation, she kept it with a short appeasing note for the English readers that '[t]his can only be true of the behaviour of the lowest excursionists from the Treaty Ports' (1: 156). She even takes his side and adds that '[t]he people are so kind and courteous, that it is truly brutal in foreigners not to be kind and courteous to them' (1: 156). There is also a passage where Ito gives the following answer to her question about a number of legal wives in Japan: '"Only one lawful one, but as many others (*mekaké*) as he can support, just as Englishmen have"' (1: 313).

Whereas she uses direct speech in the latter example, Bird uses inverted commas only at the beginning of the former, and the two voices blend indistinguishably in the subsequent part so that readers cannot tell if it is Ito's criticism or hers. This exemplifies the auto-ethnographic aspect of the travelogue, and Bird took advantage of the voice of the other to safely criticise her countrymen. It is also possible to read this as her internalisation of the other's viewpoint resulting from the ethnographic act of indefinite self-objectification. It is true that the power struggle between Bird and Ito is ineffaceably inscribed in the text; but we can also notice in their relationship the imagined and transitory community of travellers forming across racial and national boundaries.

While extending a contact zone between Japan and Britain through her inward journey to Hokkaidō, Bird witnessed a contact zone within Japan: the one between Japanese people and indigenous Ainu people. Following the Meiji restoration in 1868, the colonisation of Hokkaidō was eagerly pursued at the initiative of the Japanese government, and the Ainu people were forced to switch from their traditional hunting-gathering lifestyle to farming. Under the control of Kaitakusho (the Colonial Office), the mass immigration of *tondenhei* (soldier-farmers) was carried out for the purpose of policing as well as guarding the Russo-Japanese frontier. Bird's first visit to Japan in 1878 coincided with the zenith of the assimilation policy of Ainu people. The government granted them Japanese citizenship and family names in 1876 and

introduced a compulsory education system in 1880 while it discouraged, or even banned, their traditions. Ainu culture was further damaged by the rapid increase of the Japanese population (Refsing 27). Travelling in Hokkaidō at the stage of this ongoing internal colonisation by Japan offered Bird a rare glimpse at the porous boundaries between Japanese and Ainu peoples as well as between Ainu people and herself. Hokkaidō introduces another structure of difference in the alterity within Japan.

Bird's Hokkaidō trip constitutes the most complex text in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. It is partly attributable to her ingenuity in complying with the discourse of femininity that she constructs the unknown north with the rhetoric of 'home' (1: 395-96). This familiarity was surely enhanced by outward resemblances of Ainu people to Europeans. The confrontation with a cultural other, who were nevertheless a racial double, further disturbed the immunity of her imperial identity, and Bird takes an ambivalent attitude towards the indigenous people. Their uncivilised state and colonial oppression by the Japanese government challenged the Victorian scientific theory of the natural superiority of the Caucasian race, and Bird's frequent use of derogatory terms such as 'savages' and 'stupid' in reference to the Ainu people suggests an emotional distance she tried to maintain from them. Her rejection of their food offer implies a barrier against physical contamination (2: 54). Still, Bird cannot forbid sympathy with them, which springs from their outward similarities. She writes: 'In complexion they resemble the peoples of Spain and Southern Italy, and the expression of the face and the

manner of showing courtesy are European rather than Asiatic' (2: 9). While it was standard Victorian practice to categorise Ainu people as whites according to their appearance, it is unique that Bird extends this comparison to attitudes. These surface correspondences lead her to muse on 'universal language' (2: 123):

> What a blessing it is that, amidst the confusion of tongues, the language of kindness and courtesy is universally understood, and that a kindly smile on a savage face is as intelligible as on that of one's own countryman!' (2: 123)

Legibility of facial signs, which she attributes to an analogy between British and Ainu peoples, removes the necessity of linguistic mediation in communication. She fantasises immediate mutual understanding without a chance of misinterpretation or deception. This illusion also brings laughter instead of frustration at miscommunication in the middle of a plight: 'being unable to communicate with my guide, the sense of the ridiculous situation was so overpowering that, even in the midst of the mishap, I was exhausted with laughter, though not a little bruised' (2: 119). The suspicion and irritation she shows towards Ito resulting from the language barrier are completely absent between Bird and Ainu people. In addition, she hints at her romance with a young Ainu, Pipichari in reporting excitedly on their encounter and his chivalrous kiss on her hand—a type of physical intimacy: 'he bowed very low and then kissed my hand!' (2: 67). It is striking how effortlessly superficial similarities diminished differences.

Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, however, marks a more fundamental moment of

sharing between Bird and Ainu people. One night, Bird nursed a sick Ainu woman:

> During the evening a man came to ask if I would go and see a woman who could hardly breathe; and I found her very ill of bronchitis, accompanied with much fever. She was lying in a coat of skins, tossing on the hard boards of her bed, with a matting-covered roll under her head, and her husband was trying to make her swallow some salt fish. I took her dry, hot hand, such a small hand, tattooed all over the back; and *it gave me a strange thrill*. (2: 68; emphasis added)

Bird is not a detached observer but a full participant in this scene. She touches the hand of the dying woman without shunning physical contact, which allows her other senses than vision to engage with the dying woman—her humidity, warmth, texture, and size. This greater exposure hits her with full realisation that the other is not a static object of study but the same living being as her. The strange thrill she felt was that of the trembling life lying before her suffering in the face of death, which was communicated through the touch. Bird experienced the sharing of life and death with the other.

Bird's proximity to Ainu women contributes to one of the signal strengths of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* as ethnography. We can find figures of 'native subaltern female' whose exclusion from the imperialist narrative of 'feminist individualism' Spivak problematises (*Critique* 116-17).[14] Bird found a rare opportunity to spend

[14] Spivak specifically mentions Ainu people (although she mistakenly locates them in Okinawa, far away from their native land of Hokkaidō) during her discussion on the invisibility of indigenous minorities in the Japanese postmodernist discourses (*Critique* 352). Yet, this is not a groundless mistake; Okinawa also has a colonial history under the Meiji Japanese government. Spivak seems familiar with minority issues in contemporary Japan.

As regards the subject of native subaltern female and Ainus, it is worth noting that a conspicuous contribution was made by Ainu women to the preservation of Ainu oral culture. Along with piles of translations and recordings of Ainu phrases and texts collected by Victorian travellers and researchers, the last century saw the publication of *Ainu Jojishi yūkara shū* (*Collection of Ainu Epics Yukar*) (1960-75), a multi-volume collection of Ainu *yukar* (epics) with translations and notes by a Japanese linguist Kindaichi Kyōsuke. It would have been impossible for him to complete this ambitious work, which earned him lasting fame, without the help of an Ainu woman Kan'nari Matsu.

considerable time alone with Ainu women and converse with them:

> I was left for some hours alone with the women, [. . .]. It turns out that two of them, though they would not divulge it before men, speak Japanese, and they prattled to Ito with great vivacity and merriment; [. . .]. I got a number of words from them, and they laughed heartily at my erroneous pronunciation. They even asked me a number of questions regarding their own sex among ourselves, but few of these would bear repetition, and they answered a number of mine. (2: 66-67)

The cheerful and lively Ainu women described here make a stark contrast with those reported by Victorian male travellers. John Batchelor, a Victorian missionary and major researcher of Ainu matters, represents them in a chapter entitled 'Ainu Women' in *The Ainu of Japan* (1892) as follows: 'The existence of Ainu women being one of such trial, sorrow, and hard work, it is not to be wondered at that many of them have a downtrodden, hopeless look.[15] They have no special joys in the present, and no bright hopes for the future' (42). The apparent discrepancy between these accounts is attributable to the patriarchy of the Ainu community and the gender difference of the authors. Male control over female contact with outsiders is noted by both Bird and Batchelor. Bird writes that '[t]he men do not like them to speak to strangers, however,

---

She transcribed ninety-two *yukar* in the Roman alphabet for him (Refsing 19). She was designated as a holder of intangible cultural properties and awarded a Purple Ribbon Medal by the Japanese government in 1956 for her extensive knowledge of Ainu oral traditions (Strong 21). Her niece and foster daughter, Chiri Yukie, who was involved in Kindaichi's project before her, produced *Ainu shinyōshū* (*Collection of Ainu Epics of the Gods*), which was published posthumously in 1923. It was the first publication about Ainu oral traditions by an ethnic Ainu. Her life and work have received critical attention both nationally and internationally since the rise of minority rights activism in Japan during the 1970s (Strong 27-44). Thus, Ainu women performed significant roles in the perpetuation of the Ainu subaltern voice.

[15] John Batchelor (1854-1944) was a British missionary in Hokkaidō who travelled around the island and studied Ainu people and culture. He published more than thirty works on the subject, which served as major reference sources for succeeding researchers. Among his achievements were a translation of the New Testament into Ainu and a publication of *An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* (Refsing 9-11).

and say that their place is to work and rear children' (2: 91-92), and Batchelor says that '[t]hey are shy, and before a stranger, particularly if the stranger is of the male sex, they fix their eyes upon the ground, and place the hand over their lips, as a sign of reverence and respect. Before women, however, they are not so shy, but will look up and talk' (35). The latter's account is so informative as to ironically expose its own weakness that male researchers were not able to hear native female voices (as their mouths are literally shut with hands); consequently, it undermines the authenticity of his reports on native women. It also unwittingly upholds the significance of Bird's observations which he clearly wrote against.[16] Albert S. Bickmore, another male reporter of the Ainu people, confesses a trouble he had in order to gain access to the Ainu women: 'As I was anxious to ascertain the height, the distance round the chest, and the length of the arm, hand, and foot of an Aino woman, my interpreter bribed the husband with a small piece of silver to make the desired measurements' (355). This episode also illustrates a tragic commodification of native women by men in a shared patriarchal mindset who traded female personal information as property. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* is valuable as an ethnographic document in that it records sides of Ainu women which it was impossible for male ethnographers to observe: their vivacity, spontaneity, curiosity and views. In this way, Bird rewrites masculine discourses of Ainu women and simultaneously

[16] Batchelor carried out his fieldwork in Biratori, where Bird also enjoyed her three-days' stay and observed Ainu life closely a year before his visit. He refers to Bird and *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* in *The Ainu of Japan* mostly to charge her with inaccuracies.

demonstrates the important contributions female ethnographers can make.

What follows the scene of feminine intimacy has further interest concerning native subaltern females and the impossible appropriation of their voice. Among the party was the chief's mother who was wary of Bird's presence in the village. Bird describes this matriarch as 'a Fate, for ever splitting and knotting bark, and petrifying me by her cold, fateful eyes' (2: 66). She was the only Ainu who did not give Bird a wholehearted welcome. Her clairvoyant eyes forbid the close observation of Bird and surpass the imperial ethnographer in authority and knowledge, returning penetrating eyes to Bird. It is impossible for her to tolerate Bird's inquisitive approach to Ainu women:

> As the merriment increased the old woman looked increasingly angry and restless, and at last rated them sharply, as I have heard since, telling them that, if they spoke another word, she should tell their husbands that they had been talking to strangers. After this not another word was spoken, [. . .]. (2: 67)

The authority and individuality she enjoys in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* is distinct among Victorian representations of Ainu women. Ernest M. Satow is under the misapprehension that they lack a name, the most typical identifying mark, which in truth they own: 'Each man appears to have a distinct name. Two, whom I got to sit for their portraits were known as Nomiranke, and Yaito. The women, according to their own account, were destitute of any such mark of individuality' (4). Ainu women are deprived of individuality only to be represented as a mass of women. They, however, had no chance to represent themselves to strangers, especially males, in order to correct

the inaccuracy due to the surveillance of their own jealous men. Consequently, their voice was misappropriated doubly by their men and Satow. On the contrary, Bird encountered direct resistance against appropriation. Though her sex allowed her to come into close contact with Ainu women, they opposed her appropriation of their voices. The silence the chief's mother imposed on herself as well as other women parallels with the abrupt departure of Christophine from the main narrative in *Wide Sargasso Sea* which Spivak interprets as a resistance against the imperialist desire to appropriate the other (*Critique* 130-31). Bird inscribes the matriarch's power and voluntary intervention to which she cannot help but succumb, thereby treating the other with respect for her subjectivity and unfathomable otherness. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* provides the native subaltern female the veto on the other's probe and the right to privacy. Revealing its own limitations thus makes the travelogue more ethical as an ethnography.

It is impossible for Bird to have shared everything with the others. Still, her travelogue reveals one's fundamental sharing of existence in the contact zone. Despite the general racial discrimination among Japanese people against Ainu people and common practice of segregation between the two groups, there existed a few mixed villages in Hokkaidō. Bird records that the Ainus were 'compelled to live at a respectful distance from the Japanese' even in these mixed villages by law (2: 35). When she visited Usu Bay, however, she met a Japanese official and his son who had lived among five hundred Ainu people for ten years and spoke their language. He tells Bird that 'the

Ainos are thoroughly honest and harmless' (2: 131). In Lebungé, she met another Japanese official who had a good opinion of the indigenous people. She remarks that '[i]f other officials entrusted with Aino concerns treat the Ainos as fraternally as those of Usu and Lebungé, there is not much to lament' (2: 143). These episodes amply illustrate how Japanese racial prejudices against Ainu people were a product of complete ignorance to which segregation law undoubtedly contributed. Ito, whose blatant discrimination against Ainu people irritated Bird intensely at first, also changed his attitude after direct contact. He admits that 'the mountain Ainos are better than he [Ito] expected' after a close contact with them for days in an Ainu village with Bird (2: 55). His conversion is parallel to that of Bird's in her attitudes towards Japanese people. The following passage during her stay among Ainu people is rich with the contemporary racist rhetoric and imperial binaries, but shows its innovative interpretive approach through this curious twist:

> eastern savagery and western civilisation met in this hut, savagery giving, and civilisation receiving, the yellow-skinned Ito the connecting-link between the two, and the representative of a civilisation to which our own is but an "infant of days." (2: 59)

Here, although she employs the derogatory term of 'savagery' to represent Ainu people in contrast to 'civilisation' of the West, the power balance between them is shifted dramatically as the former assumes a more active role of a giver. In addition to this, the privileged position of the West as civilisation is seriously challenged by its infantilisation in comparison with Japanese civilisation despite the Victorian convention

of describing others as children. Given that Ito, who is figured as the representative of the latter civilisation, also received the hospitality of the Ainu people, racial hierarchy in this passage never realises itself. Their relationship draws an endless circle. Thus, Bird's travel accounts of close racial contact exemplify the fragility of racial-national boundaries and offer early examples of cross-racial relationships.

Feminine Survival

Unbeaten Tracks in Japan is framed within feminine double mourning: Lady Parkes, an active supporter of Bird's journey in Japan to whom she dedicated the work, and her sister, Henrietta, for whom the letters were initially written and whose criticism and encouragement she acknowledged in the preface. Unfortunately for Bird, both women, who were actively involved in her travel and the publication of the travelogue, died without seeing the work. Readers are thus unwittingly invited to a realm of strong feminine bonding beyond death and survival before they actually get down to main travel accounts. The main travelogue then contains many descriptions of Japanese women and women's issues, reflecting Bird's interest and sympathy as a female traveller. These descriptions constitute what Spivak calls a 'tangent story' to Bird's adventure in Japan (*Critique* 129). This story allows Meiji Japanese women to live on when translated into another form with new life, such as *Itō no koi*, a re-translation of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*.

Itō no koi (2005) is a Japanese novel by Nakajima Kyōko. It retells *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* from Ito's perspective, thereby bringing about a dramatic shift in the narrative. Kubo Kōhei, a mediocre, secondary school history teacher in his mid-thirties, finds a copy of a memoir by Ito in an attic of his parents' house. His search for a sequel with Tanaka Shigeru, Ito's great-granddaughter (a fictional character), who is of a similar age, forms the main storyline together with their growing intimacy. The novel consists of eight chapters with a prologue and an epilogue, and a third-person narrative about the modern couple is punctuated alternately by a fictional diary of Ito. The work was critically acclaimed and shortlisted for the Yoshikawa Eiji Prize for New Writers in Japan. Focusing on the role of Ito in the novel, Kōnosu Yukiko welcomes it as the birth of 'interpreter novel' on the grounds that not only is it a rewriting from an interpreter's viewpoint, but also it recounts a relationship of the modern couple overcoming initial differences, mediated by the interpreter (351). Andrew Elliott, on the contrary, laments a persisting master-servant power imbalance between Bird and Ito and makes a more unfavourable comment that the novel is 'a missed opportunity' to create 'a truly subversive' and 'challenging' text to the original as *Wide Sargasso Sea* was to *Jane Eyre*. Elliott may be right, but the subversiveness of the text seems to lie elsewhere than in a direct opposition of the counter-narrative to the original. In fact, Nakajima's retelling of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* threatens colonial discourse of binary divisions by expanding the realm of female friendship and bonding, which is already present in

Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, and covertly associating separate groups of women with each other across space and time. As a consequence, it exposes the feminine 'literary community' which arises from Nakajima's sympathetic reading of Bird and its extension to characters who read Ito (Blanchot, *UC* 21). It brings out parallels between Bird and Japanese women both in her time and a hundred years afterwards in their concerns and desires.

We can find the most obvious parallel between Bird and Shigeru, the female protagonist of the modern plot. Shigeru is a single woman in her thirties who feels a growing anxiety about her marriage and future. She works as a writer of comic books targeted at adult males and is fairly famous and popular. Most people assume her to be a man for her name, and it is convenient for her in order to 'survive' in the male chauvinist industry in that it provides an alibi for appropriation of the masculine genre against sexist criticism and unwelcome curiosity (99; my translation).[17] Bird had been single until she married Dr John Bishop in 1881 at the age of forty-nine (Stoddart 146). Kay Chubbuck suspects that the search for a husband was the purpose of her early travels (Introduction 16), which suggests the unrelenting social pressures she had to cope with. Bird also carefully manipulated her gender to keep up the masculine genre of ethnographic travel writing. Thus, both Bird and Shigeru play with the porous gender boundaries in their profession while being disturbed by the pressure of traditional social

[17] 'Shigeru' can be both male and female name in Japanese.

values.

The analogy between Bird and Shigeru is extended to their relationships with their sisters. The intimacy between Bird and her sister, Henrietta, has been well documented by many biographers and scholars.[18] As an addressee of the letters, Henrietta constituted one of the fundamental elements in the construction of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. *Itō no koi* begins with a brief prologue by a mysterious female narrator who recounts her childhood memory of *she*. This narrator turns out to be Shigeru's English half-sister, Sally, in the epilogue where she returns as a narrator, thereby framing the main chapters by her narrative. The epilogue announces Sally's forthcoming visit to Japan to meet Shigeru and hear 'her tell a strange story' (340; my translation). Hence, Sally anchors the story both stylistically and thematically. Her narrative embeds two separate plots into one story. This is made possible by her passive role as a listener—listening to *she* and Shigeru in the prologue and the epilogue, respectively.[19] The two plots converge on her, and she receives and enjoys them in the same way as Henrietta did Bird's letters. Evelyn Bach refers to Henrietta as 'the most powerful anchor of all' for Bird (599). Both pairs of sisters are bonded across the ocean by the sharing of stories, with one being a writer/story-teller and the other being a

[18] For example, Anna M. Stoddart, the first biographer of Isabella Bird, devotes an entire chapter of the biography to Henrietta. Kay Chubbuck, editor of *Letters to Henrietta*, draws our attention to a complicated relationship of love and rivalry between them ('Introduction' 7-14).

[19] We could further discuss her passive role as a listener in terms of translation in that it is her inability to read Japanese and inevitable dependence on translation that necessitates her listening to others.

reader/listener. This sisterhood of Bird and Henrietta is projected onto that of Shigeru and Sally.

The novel opens with a sentence: 'she is reading it ardently' (7; my translation). The story indeed develops around the quest for these enigmatic *she* and *it*. *She* says that *it* is an old story about a little Japanese man in Yokohama, and *she* listens to a song 'Le petit japonais dans sa kuruma' (8). As the story unfolds, it becomes clear that *it* is a sequel to Ito's memoir and that *she* is Kadowaki Chiharu, Shigeru's mother and Ito's fictional granddaughter who deserted Shigeru at the age of two. It is also revealed that Chiharu eloped with a British man and had another daughter, Sally, in England. The influence of Bird upon the characterisation of Chiharu is palpable. Asked about Chiharu by Shigeru, her aunt gives a hostile description: 'This person was a trouble. [. . .] Young people today might not know the word "déraciné," but that is how we used to call her. It means "the rootless"; those who become that way, live without knowing who you are, and end up dying in destitution' (286-89; my translation). She tells her how unusual Chiharu was by referring to episodes such as that she married Shigeru's father at the age of twenty-eight, considered to be quite late at that time; that she saw her sewing a dress for herself, not for her baby nor her husband; and that she always looked sullen (287-89). These pejorative accounts illustrate her unfitness for her society. It was still a transitional period in the long history of *bosei ronsō* (the motherhood debate) in Japan, debates concerning motherhood and women's independence and selfhood which

originated in the late 1910s and were still on-going around 1970 when Chiharu left the country (Buckley 304).[20] Women like Chiharu were caught in a dilemma between the desire for self-realisation and pressure from society to be a sacrificing mother. It is easy to imagine how appealing Chiharu found the life of the Victorian traveller who explored Japan with her grandfather a hundred years before, free from home and social restraints, when she read grandfather's memoir. Her envy is indeed articulated by a Japanese lady Bird actually met in Osaka. She complained to Bird that 'no Japanese women could start for foreign countries alone' and told that 'she envied foreigners their greater liberty' (Bird, *Unbeaten* 2: 294). The antinomy between motherhood and womanhood is a recurrent theme in the novel. Nanae, Shigeru's best friend, talks about the duality of the mother—being a mother as well as a woman who has her own desire (249-50). Recalling a critic's comment about her works saying that she has penis envy, Shigeru expresses to Kōhei her determination to 'come to terms with a woman and a mother inside herself by learning the truth about her real mother (297-99). Thus, all female characters in the novel feel caught between the idealised motherhood and the desiring woman whom they simultaneously are in each different way.

The feminine conflict between expected gender roles and personal freedom is

[20] Japan ratified the ILO convention No. 100 on Equal Remuneration in 1967 and the first women's liberation mass demonstration took place in 1970 while controversial *boshi hokenhō* (Mother and Child Health Protection Law) was enforced in 1966 and the dismissal of married female workers for rationalisation was declared legal in 1970. Whereas *kinrō fujin fukushihō* (Working Women's Welfare Law) was enacted in 1972 and *danjo koyō kintō hōan* (Equal Employment Opportunity Bill) was submitted by Japan Socialist Party in 1978, Minister of Justice aroused public controversy by saying '*onna wa katei ni* (women should stay in the home)' in the same year (Buckley 316-21).

epitomised by another female character in the novel: Takahashi Oden, the last female criminal who was beheaded in Japan. Nakajima's ingenuity to insert the story of this woman who apparently has little to do with the main plot succeeds in bringing the tangent story in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* to the fore, thereby contextualising Bird's Japanese trip and highlighting a contrast between the Victorian British woman and her Meiji Japanese counterpart. Oden was executed on 31 January 1879—about a month after Bird's departure—for a murder committed on 27 August 1876—nine months before her arrival. She killed a man and robbed him of money to leave her profession as a prostitute and start a new life. She became infamous as '*dokufu* (poisonous wife),' and her genitalia were removed during the post-mortem examination at the army medical school to be preserved in formaldehyde (Schreiber 113-15). Japanese newspapers devoted large sections to her life, crime, and execution for days following her decapitation (*Shinbun shusei Meiji hennenshi* 21-27). The excision of her sexual organ is interpreted by Kōhei to signify the elimination of personality and the transformation of her into a symbol of bad woman for political propaganda during the course of Japanese modernisation and nationalisation of its people (194-95, 257-58). Bird shows a particular interest in the misogynistic nature of Japanese society, and the first edition of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* gives readers a detailed report on gender inequality in Japanese moral and penal codes. Bird points out the favouritism Japanese domestic laws show towards husbands and delineates that 'a husband may assault his wife as much as

he pleases [. . .], but if a wife commits a common assault on her husband, she is liable to 100 days' penal servitude, and for a husband to slay an offending wife and her paramour is no crime at all' (*Unbeaten* 2: 325). Bird also reveals the asymmetry in moral requirements, referring to a case that although a husband can divorce his wife on the basis of her infidelity, a wife 'must not be jealous of her husband if he is unfaithful to her, but must admonish him in a gentle, kind manner' as 'when she is jealous, her anger will appear in her face, and she will be disliked and abandoned by her husband' (*Unbeaten* 1:324). These examples show that Japanese modernity was partly characterised by strict control of female sexuality and the edification of women as good wife and mother whose activity is delimited to the private sphere. The tragedy of Oden reflects women's oppression in Meiji Japan. Although her sole existence has been reduced to her voiceless genitalia to become the iconic Woman, Oden retrieves her voice in the novel and offers parallels and contrasts to the British woman traveller. The belated narrative by Nakajima amplifies the half-expressed story about female sufferings in Bird's travelogue.

It is important to recall that *Itō no koi* is a retelling of the travel book. Nakajima claims that the novel is 'both a love story and a travel story' ('Travel/Trouble' 1). Travelling catalyses encounters with the others, including the others in oneself. Bird in the novel says that 'only travel makes me and the other face each other' (322; my translation). We have above examined her real-life interactive travel in Japan. In *Itō no*

koi, travel spins connections between strangers by inducing other travels: Bird's adventure with Ito in Japan, Ito's attempted pursuit of Bird to Britain, Chiharu's journey to Britain and Sally's prospective visit to Japan. This community of travellers simultaneously forms a community of readers in that the characters know each other only through reading Ito's autobiography. Even more fundamentally, the novel germinates from Nakajima's reading of Bird's travelogue. In this sense, *Itō no koi* indeed exposes the literary community, or 'the community of those who have no community' (Blanchot, *UC* 24), which arises between the author and unknown readers. Travel literature travels. It then gives rise to relationships and community on its way. Nakajima interestingly suggests: 'travel writing itself can inspire another form of travel writing. I think it is an interesting way to have intertextuality between travel journals and travel fiction because the novel is a form which contains polyphony' ('Travel Journals and Fiction' 8). Her intention to foreground a tangent story is clear here. The retelling of travel writing in the form of a novel effectively surfaces the plurality of standpoints and voices it inherently has. Nakajima's attempt to translate *Unbeaten tracks in Japan* into a fiction opens up the exciting possibility of travel writing in the field of world literature today, for, as Nakajima states, contemporary non-Western writers are able to re-write very one-sided accounts by Victorian travellers from their own perspectives ('Travel Journals and Fiction' 8). One of the upshots of *Itō no koi* is the question of female survival, with the survival of Bird's name in the novel being a

conspicuous example. What is more exciting, perhaps, is the survival of Takahashi Oden and many anonymous women who were oppressed by Japanese patriarchal society. It shows us perspectives of the social minority and gives long-forgotten native women—even though they are, in this instance, fictional—representation and voice.

Conclusion

We have above confirmed that *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* reveals the instability of individual identity in direct contact with the alterity established by the act of travelling. This is also true of the identity of a country. Japan underwent a drastic change during the last decade of the nineteenth century as a result of the end of the isolationist policy and an influx of foreign people and culture. Bird witnessed this, and the 1900 edition of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* shows her reception. Although it has not drawn much scholarly attention, she returned to Japan five times in the space of three years between February 1894 and December 1896 and spent a total of eleven months, travelling down further south and visiting such places as Kumamoto and Nagasaki (Bird, *Unbeaten 1900* v). During this period, the country served as her base for expeditions to Korea and China. Her biographers report her lifelong friendship with the Bickersteths, the Anglican bishop at Tokyo and his wife, whose place she called ‘my home’ (Bickersteth 322). She even rented a Japanese house in Ikao for two months where she prepared her

book on Korea.[21] From there she wrote to Murray 'Japan is wonderful' (Stoddart 305). Another letter she wrote to the publisher before her final departure from the Far East attests to her troubled sense of 'home': 'Indeed I am returning to England with a very bad grace. I am far more at home in Tokyo and Seoul than in any place in Britain except Tobermory, and I very much prefer life in the East to life at home. . .' (Barr, *Curious* 333). Thus, Bird had a deeper connection with Japan than has previously been conceived of in the literary studies, and leaving it without further investigation seems a significant loss for scholars of Bird as well as Anglo-Japanese history.

Unbeaten Tracks in Japan was reedited and published by George Newnes in 1900, this time together with the accounts of Bird's westward journey and some explanatory chapters which had long been omitted after the original publication.[22] It contains, along with a selection of illustrations from previous editions, new photographs taken by the author herself, thereby reflecting the technological advancements of the time as well as giving physical authenticity to her narrative.[23] This edition, which became Bird's last book during her lifetime, is worth considering in the wider context of international political relations, especially the relationship between Britain and Japan, in that the turn of the century saw a dramatic shift in relations between the two countries due to the

---

[21] Her name is frequently mentioned in both a diary and letters by Sir Ernest Mason Satow, then minister-plenipotentiary in Japan, whose support during her first Japanese travel she acknowledged in the preface for *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*.

[22] For a detailed publication history of *Unbeaten Track in Japan*, there is a painstaking comparative study of all major editions by Takahata Miyoko (Takahata 'Comparative').

[23] Bird's alteration in wording of its subtitle from 'account' into 'record' in the 1900 edition is highly suggestive in conjunction with the addition of photographs.

geopolitical importance and volatility of the Far East as detailed by Ian H. Nish. After the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95, Western imperialist activities were accelerated over their rights and interests in the latest colonial frontier. Russian southward expansion in China and Korea in pursuit of an ice-free port, in particular, became a main threat for both Japan and Britain. When the Boxer rebellion took a dire turn in Peking in 1900, Britain, which was also at war against the Boers in South Africa, saw the real necessity of a military partnership so as to maintain its presence in East Asia. Japan, on the other hand, having learned from the humiliation of the Triple Intervention in 1895 and the subsequent occupation of Port Arthur and Dairen by Russia, sought a European ally against the Franco-Russian entente. Following important steps of treaty revision and military collaboration at the Boxer rebellion during the last decade of the nineteenth century, a closer tie between Britain and Japan became less inconceivable. Thus, the anti-Russian climate shared by the two countries within historical particularities of the fin-de-siècle international relations resulted in the signing of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902.

This political state of affairs certainly affected the publishing industry in Britain. *Japan's Accession to the Comity of Nations* by Alexander von Siebold, whose preface manifests the author's awareness of 'universal attention' to Japan and his intention to celebrate its recent winning of 'international equality,' was translated from German into English by Charles Lowe in London in 1901 (v-vi). In 'Translator's Introduction,' Lowe

praises Japan for its entrance into 'the fellowship of European nations as a civilised and a constitutional State,' 'and makes reference to the active role Japan played in suppression of the Boxer rebellion (vii-ix). Their collective emphasis on Japan's achievement in civilisation and equality with European powers in return is conspicuous, and the publication of the book is indicative of an open-mindedness in British society towards Japan, which was favourable for an on-going negotiation of the bipartite alliance. Alfred Stead's *Japan, Our New Ally* (1902) was published in the same year as the formation of the alliance. It features a preface by Itō Hirobumi, multiply-elected PM and an elder statesman, and *goshin'ei*, or a photograph of the Emperor Meiji in a Western military uniform as a frontispiece.[24] Itō's preface never attempts to dissimulate his great pride in his country's civilisation he deems equal to that of Europe ('the respect due to her as *one* of the most civilised nations of the twentieth century'(vii)), and Stead takes this celebratory tone over from his preface writer and praises the freshly-formed alliance between the two nations, calling Japan '*the* great Power of the Far East' and 'a friend and ally on an equality' (224, 33). It is organised in scholarly fashion, containing twenty-two chapters, each of which deals with modern institutions in Japan, whereby introducing the New Japan as a fully-Westernised nation-state rather

[24] *Goshin'ei*, or *o shasin*, as it was officially called, not only served to publicise modern civilisation in Japan to the outside world, but also became an important device for nation-building. For example, the imperial image was paired with the 1890 imperial rescript on education which encouraged loyalty towards the emperor and the State and was distributed to all Japanese schools. The national identity of Modern Japan was thus constructed around the patriarchal authority of the emperor (Low 9-14).

than the Old Japan of Oriental, exotic, and anachronistic customs. The preface by a Japanese politician is a sign of the equality between two nations, and the fact that he wrote in the English language (in addition to the visual impact of the imperial photograph in European costume) contribute to the projection of Japan as a modern, Westernised country.

On the title page of the 1900 edition of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* is the inscription '*Dai Nippon Banzai* ("Great Japan for Ever"),' which is a small but significant addition to the new edition. It also features a special preface by Bird, whose flattering tenor is quite remarkable because of its complete absence from the original preface. She describes the Japanese social order as being 'perfect' and further underlines its distinction by writing that: 'In July 1899 this brilliant and successful Empire took her place on equal terms in the family of civilised nations, the only Oriental power to which this intimate relationship has been conceded by the European and American Governments' (*Unbeaten 1900* vi-vii). The introduction of photographs in this edition not only signals the advent of photographic technology in printing industry but also indicates the author's intention to present contemporary Japan to the readers as a modern and technological nation, in contrast to the fairy land usually presented in its name. Thus, the 1900 edition of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* is comfortably located in the politics of publication of the time. It attests to Bird's engagement with a heterogeneous 'real' Japan instead of a timeless as well as idealised

Japan, and shows how the limitations of her perspective were historically determined.

It is in this time of dramatic changes in both Britain and Japan as well as in the relationship between the two countries that our next traveller, Mary Crawford Fraser, published her Japanese-themed books.[25]

[25] Stoddart reports Bird as having read novels by Francis Marion Crawford, brother of Mary Crawford Fraser on her second journey to Japan via Canada in early 1894 (276). Bird might have expected to make the acquaintance of Fraser as the latter was the wife of the then minister of the British Legation in Tokyo, where Bird was offered generous hospitality by Sir and Lady Parkes during her first visit to the country. Their introduction never took place due to the untimely death of Hugh Fraser in June 1894. This episode, however, seems to suggest political implications of her travel as well as her strategic use of the British diplomatic body in Japan since her first visit.

CHAPTER III

Death in the Two Empires:

Mary Crawford Fraser and *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan*

> Two babes the mother bore at one rich birth,
> Twin hearts that beat to her low notes of love,
> Twin souls that leapt to each heroic call,
> As generous sword to snatch the Treasure-Trove
> Of hard-won honour. [. . .]
> Too great to rule together, worlds apart
> She set them, in the silver of the seas.
> Yet heart calls heart, as erst upon the breast
> That bore these glories, sovereign in their place,
> The Island Empires of the East and West. (Fraser, *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan* 1: vi)

'Chloe liked Olivia': Virginia Woolf in *A Room of One's Own* (1929) elaborates her idea upon female friends in literature, drawing her inspiration from the line which she states was found in a new novel entitled *Life's Adventure* by Mary Carmichael (106). This apparently simple sentence guides Woolf through the canon of English literature to reveal the absence of female affective bonds (106-08).[1] This absence of female friendship becomes particularly conspicuous in the field of interracial/national friendship. Since Woolf's revelation of the scarcity of female friendships in English literature, many scholars have worked on the subject and uncovered abundant examples

[1] Morag Shiach, an annotator of *A Room of One's Own*, notes that this obscure authoress, Mary Carmichael, is Marie Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, who is the subject of our next chapter, and that *Life's Adventure* Woolf critiques is Stopes' first novel *Love's Creation* (1928), which she published under a pseudonym, Marie Carmichael (420).

of literary female friends. The important roles these literary female friendships have played have been discussed in both feminist and queer studies.[2] However, most of the critical attention has focused on friendships between women from the same racial group, with notable exceptions of interracial relationships in American literature. As a result, the cross-racial/national aspect in Victorian literature seems to have so far escaped scholarly observation altogether.[3] This is unfortunate as it raises complex issues of gender, race, and nationality, and considering this nexus sheds new light on the issue of women and internationality, which has great resonance for the present debates in postcolonial and transnational feminism as well as the political possibility of literature.

In this literary context, a passage from *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan: Letters from Home to Home* (*Letters*) (1898) by Mary Crawford Fraser takes on a particular significance:

> "Hearts are alike in Europe and Japan," one of them said to me; "English ladies are very brave and true to their duties—that is what we admire." "You could teach us more than we can teach you on that point," I sighed, [. . .]. (2: 220)

Fraser believes in the ideal of parity in her friendships with Japanese women. Accordingly, the passage offers a touching glimpse of mutual appreciation between women across race and nationality. Her ideal further extends to the relationship between

---

[2] For example, see Cosslett, *Woman to Woman: Female Friendship in Victorian Fiction*; Todd, *Women's Friendship in Literature*; Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England*.

[3] For example, see Reames, *Women and Race in Contemporary U.S.Writing: From Faulkner to Morrison*; Monteith, *Advancing Sisterhood?: Interracial Friendships in Contemporary Southern Fiction*.

the two countries, which she personifies as twins as the epigraph shows. The dominant belief in white Western supremacy which was evident in the writings of Isabella Bird and other travellers preceding her recedes in Fraser's writings. The Japan which Fraser encountered was a country on the way to becoming a modern nation-state which demanded treaty revision for a diplomatic relationship with the West on equal terms, and the Japan Fraser represented in her fictional works was Britain's unique ally. This chapter will explore how Fraser opened up her textual space to friendships with hospitality in both her travelogues and her Japanese-related fiction, following a brief consideration of Western philosophical interventions on the topic of friendship, community, and death. It will provide examples of female friendship which are missing from mainstream Western philosophical discourse on friendship as well as introducing the subject of interracial/national female friendship, an underdeveloped resource in recent scholarship on Victorian travelogues and the culture of travel.

1. Feminine Friendship and Death

The absence of female friends in the canon is by no means confined to literary canons. The marginalisation of female bonding emerged as a phenomenon deeply rooted in the Western tradition across disciplinary boundaries. As we discussed in Chapter I, Jacques Derrida in *The Politics of Friendship* (*POF*) deconstructs the Western ethico-politico-philosophical canon on friendship to disclose an underlying mechanism

for excluding others, with special emphasis on the marginalisation of women through the 'double exclusion of the feminine,' that is 'the exclusion of friendship between women' and 'the exclusion of friendship between a man and a woman' (278-79). He ascribes this double exclusion to the work of politicization which is immanent in politics *per se* and 'reserve[s] politics and public space to man, domestic and private space to woman' within a set of conventional dichotomies such as men/women, public/private and politics/domestic (281). Moreover, he unveils a rhetorical proximity between the figures of friends and brothers in the friendship discourse, which leads to the marginalisation of another group: foreigners. Replacement of friendship with brotherhood, or '*fraternization'* of friends as Derrida put it, gives primacy to consanguinity and concomitantly makes friendship susceptible to the rhetoric of nationalism, ethnocentrism, and xenophobia (99-100). It follows, then, that female friendship across national boundaries is burdened with multiple complexities. Derrida concludes his examination with a call for democracy 'to come' which entails the arrival of friendship-to-come unaffected by the exclusive logic of brotherhood (305-06). Interestingly, he names literature as a space for this arrival:

> this collapse of the friendship concept will perhaps be a chance, [. . .], and there is nothing fortuitous in the fact that the sudden burst of this chance at the heart of the ruin is still linked, [. . .], to literature, to the 'literary community', [. . .]. (302)

For Derrida, literature is that which can evade 'theological-political authority' for which 'the idea of democracy ha[s] no unconditional virtue' (302). In other words, literature is

the locus where that which has been censored out of mainstream discourses by current theological-political, conditional democracy is to arrive. Literature allows for the possibility of international/interracial female friendship to arise.

Together with literature, death constitutes one of the key concepts in the consideration of community by Nancy and Blanchot. Nancy in *The Inoperative Community* (*IC*) maintains: 'Death is indissociable from community, for it is through death that the community reveals itself—and reciprocally' (14). Nancy perceives the paralysis of metaphysics of the subject in the face of the problematics of sociality and intersubjectivity, which he ascribes to the naked truth, which is revealed by death, that '*I* is not—*am* not—a subject' (14). Then, seeing in death the possibility for the opening to community, Nancy concludes: 'Community is revealed in the death of others; hence it is always revealed to others' (15). His further elaboration shows that community is neither the space of immortal *egos* nor a communion that incorporates *egos* into a collective '*We*' (15). Importantly, Nancy defies the consanguineous logic of community as the communion of the self-same. Nancy underlines:

> The death upon which community is calibrated does not *operate* the dead being's passage into some communal intimacy, nor does community, for its part, *operate* the transfiguration of its dead into some substance or subject—be these homeland, native soil or blood, nation, a delivered or fulfilled humanity, absolute phalanstery, family, or mystical body. (14-15)

Thus, the Nancean community of death exists beyond racial and national boundaries.

Nancy's discussion inspires Blanchot's thoughts on death and community in *The*

Unavowable Community (*UC*). After confirming the dissociation of community from communion and the essential 'insufficiency' of the self, Blanchot ruminates over that which opens one's eyes to the radical existential insufficiency in a section entitled'Someone Else's Death' (8):

> What, then, calls me into question most radically? Not my relation to myself as finite or as the consciousness of being before death or for death, but my presence for another who absents himself by dying. To remain present in the proximity of another who by dying removes himself definitively, to take upon myself another's death as the only death that concerns me, this is what puts me beside myself, this is the only separation that can open me, in its very impossibility, to the Openness of community. (9)

Blanchot further continues: 'That is what founds community. There could not be a community without the sharing of the first and last event which in everyone ceases to be able to be just that (birth, death)' (9). A later crucial step Blanchot takes is one where he establishes a connection between death and friendship. Blanchot maintains in the concluding section of his thesis on Bataille and community that:

> Now, "the basis of communication" is not necessarily speech, or even the silence that is its foundation and punctuation, but the exposure to death, no longer my own exposure, but someone else's, whose living and closest presence is already the eternal and unbearable absence, an absence that the travail of deepest mourning does not diminish. [. . .] It is with that absence [. . .] that friendship is brought into play and lost at each moment [. . .]. Such is, such would be the friendship that discovers the unknown we ourselves are, and the meeting of our own solitude which, precisely, we cannot be alone to experience [. . .]. (25)

According to Blanchot, the death, or the dying, of a friend enables one to experience a fundamental communication with others and realise the unknown of oneself. Her long residence in Japan gave Fraser not only close friendships with Japanese people but also

intimations of loss and bereavement. These intense experiences allowed Fraser insight into her community with Japanese friends as well as their affective bonding.

2. Mary Crawford Fraser and Japan

Nitobe Inazō, a prominent Meiji Japanese politician, educator and thinker wrote: '[b]etween Lafcadio Hearn and Mrs. Hugh Fraser on one side and Sir Ernest Satow and Prof. Chamberlain on the other, it is indeed discouraging to write anything Japanese in English' (vi). Today, Fraser's name is somewhat unexpected alongside these renowned Japanologists, especially considering her relative obscurity compared with the enduring fame of the others. Fraser's life and her writings have not been the subject of much scholarly attention. However, Nitobe's reference to Fraser is indicative of the fact that her Japanese contemporaries deeply appreciated her works for their profound understanding of and sympathy for Japan. Another Japanese writer, Tomita Kumasaku dedicated his book *Japanese Treasure Tales* (1906) to Fraser, writing that 'To Mrs. Hugh Fraser, who, by her writings, has done much to disseminate in England a knowledge of Japan' (Tomita and Lee ii). It was indeed her explicitly-stated desire 'to bring to-day's Japan a little nearer to the understanding and sympathy of to-day's England' when she wrote her travelogue (*Letters* 1: x). The window into Japan which Fraser offered to people in the West was by no means an unmediated representation; it was coloured by her own subject position as a woman and as a wife of a British

diplomat as well as by attitudes particular to the historical moments. Fraser's writings on Japan exhibit her complex stance towards Japanese people and culture. She never succumbs to naïve and uncritical admiration. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to notice how the gaze directed by Fraser on the other culture and people was extremely sympathetic.[4] Acting as a bridge between Japan and the West through her publication of books and magazine and newspaper articles about the Far Eastern empire at the turn of the century, Fraser opened up her writing space to the others.[5] Consequently, she enabled her readers to meet and hear Japanese people and their voices in her writings, including those of Japanese women and servants. In Fraser's writings, we can find examples of friendships between women—whose absence in the ethico-politico-philosophical history Derrida laments—across gender, class, national, and racial boundaries. This section will look at Fraser's friendships with the Japanese in *Letters* and the influence of these friendships on her fiction.

Friendships in *Letters*

According to her autobiography *A Diplomatist's Wife in Many Lands* (*Many Lands*) (1911), Mary Crawford Fraser was born on 8 April 1851 in Rome into a renowned

[4] A modern editor of Fraser's *A Diplomat's Wife in Japan*, Hugh Cortazzi comments in its preface that 'I was impressed by Mrs. Fraser's sympathetic approach to what must have been to her a very alien culture' (*Diplomat's* vii). One of the few reviewers of this latest edition, E. Patricia Tsurumi, though extremely hostile to its supposed lack of academic interest and information, also notices the author's 'sympathetic' attitude towards a very different culture (550).

[5] Fraser served as a Japanese correspondent for the *New York Times* in 1905 and contributed a series of articles on the country after the Russo-Japanese War between 1905 and 1906. She wrote on topics such as the Japanese humane treatment of Russian prisoners of war, women's war-time involvement, and the impact of the war on the Japanese theatre.

American family (29). As a child she moved around different countries both in Europe and America, and met many literary contemporaries such as Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Henry James. Her brother was a famous writer, Francis Marion Crawford. On 15 June 1874 that Mary married Hugh Fraser, a young British diplomat. This marriage took her to countries such as China, Austria, Italy, Chile and, finally Japan in April 1889 (Fraser, *Many Lands* 145-48, 395-96; Fraser, *Further* 254-57). This cosmopolitan background certainly affected her receptivity to Japanese culture. She remained in Japan for three years until the sudden death of her husband in 1894. Fraser was a prolific writer and published two novels and two collections of short stories which are related to Japan along with a travel book *Letters*. *Letters* was published in two volumes composed of forty-two chapters in 1898, and was edited and republished in one volume in 1900. Like most of the travel writings by Victorian women travellers to Japan, it takes the form of letters addressed to her family in Italy, which shows Fraser's conformity to Victorian discourse of femininity which demanded female authors to carefully avoid genres which were considered 'literary'—which was a synonym for 'unfeminine'—and chose those which were thought to belong to feminine 'emotional sphere' such as autobiographies, diaries, journals, letters and novels (Sterry 34).

Letters abounds with figures of friends, which shows Fraser's great yearning for them in a foreign country. The subject of friendship is introduced as early as the first

letter, which Fraser finishes with the following remark: 'I should like to understand a little, to love or hate, to praise discerningly or condemn dispassionately—to make a friend, in fine' (1: 3-4). Then, at the beginning of the following letter, she surprises her readers by the seemingly hasty comment that 'I think the friendship has begun' despite the fact that she has only just landed at the first port, Nagasaki, and has not made even an acquaintance yet (1: 4). Interestingly, Fraser depicts nature in the language of friendship, which accounts for her premature declaration of friendship prior to any close encounters with Japanese people. Her relationship with nature differentiates Fraser's description of the landscape from the acquisitive form of colonial gaze criticized by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes* as 'the monarch-of-all-I-survey' observer in that ownership and agency remain perpetually unattainable in Fraser (197). Fraser describes the view from the hilltop as follows:

> The Japanese scenery is often like a book of pictures. The mists rise, and show you one beauty at a time, then close in behind you. The leaf is turned, and you wonder if it was true that you saw the sun shining on a bay and little islands covered with lilies floating on its bosom. You look back, and there is only blank mist. But the scene was the truth, the mist is the illusion. (1: viii)

Here, the viewer does not see the scenery; it is shown to her by the mists. In addition, the viewer is not allowed the liberty of turning the pages. Instead, 'the leaf is turned.' The viewer is totally deprived of any agency. Moreover, the viewer is left uncertain about the veracity of her vision in that she cannot confirm it due to the mist. The presence of the 'truth' is denied to her; her panoptic perspective notwithstanding, she

has no control over the view. In accordance with her renunciation of ownership of the landscape as objects, Fraser personifies nature around her. For example, Fraser writes of trees in terms of kinship. Fraser describes a famous park in Tokyo as follows:

> the Uyeno woods are my temples of peace, where I go and spend long hours listening to the talk of the wise old trees which know so much—so much, that we can never be quiet enough to learn. I think I must have come of the tree folk originally. Oak and palm and pine—they are individual and dear as human kin to me, [. . .]. The palm is a holy pontiff; the oak a king, a ruler of men; the pine a seer, sad and faithful; [. . .]. (1: 162)

While the enumeration of the names of the trees in this passage reminds us of a naturalist description which categorises observed species in order to incorporate them into and appropriate them for the Western knowledge system, what characterises Fraser's writing is their humanisation (Pratt 31). Human characteristics, such as speech, are bestowed upon them by Fraser, which enables communication between them. Embedding herself in the woods instead of looking from above, Fraser spends hours listening to their stories. Fraser does not objectify the trees, but rather characterises herself as a passive listener. Here we find a gendered binary of activity/passivity reproduced in the relationship between Fraser and trees: the masculine scenery ('pontiff,' 'a king, a ruler') speaks to the feminine viewer/listener.

Concerning gender and the scenery, Mt Fuji serves as an interesting topos for comparing Fraser with her contemporary male traveller to Japan, Rudyard Kipling. Fraser writes that she is 'dissatisfied, and homesick as for the face of a friend' when she cannot see Mt Fuji from her windows (1: 89). She repeats in another letter that 'in Japan

one cannot think of Fuji as a thing, a mere object in the landscape; she becomes something personal, dominating, a factor in life' (2: 310). Thus, Fraser presents Mt Fuji as her friend, or more precisely her female friend. Feminisation of the mountain by the writer becomes more obvious in the way she repeatedly designates it 'the queen of mountains,' as in the following passage:

> But we hardly cared to look down, for there before us, in midday splendour rose Fujiyama, white, dazzling, a marble pyramid against a sapphire sky. Mists rolled thick round its feet, as if the mountain-goddess had but just dropped her robe that we and the sun might look on her beauty; then invisible hands seemed to be raising the airy garment higher and higher, till the veil swept over the proud white crest, and the vision was gone. (1: 264)

Fraser's personification of the mountain makes a stark contrast to the comparatively apathetic description given by Kipling. In a letter of 1889, Kipling writes of Mt Fuji as follows:

> I turned and beheld Fujiyama across a sea of upward-sloping fields and woods. This is not quite strong enough. Let us be more precise. Fujiyama is the mountain which from time immemorial has appeared on the Japanese fan, is the heart of the country, the chosen home of legend, devil, goblin and sprite, and an extinct volcano to boot. (127)

Kipling summarizes the characteristics of the mountain with such dull words as 'an extinct volcano.' Although gendering landscape has often been problematised as a covert form of colonial rhetoric, Fraser's feminisation of the mountain reflects the local respect and affection towards the mountain.[6] On the contrary, Kipling's simple objectification of the same mountain shows his indifference towards native beliefs and traditions. Fraser's friendships with Japanese people and profound cultural

[6] Fraser dedicates Chapter Twenty-Seven of *Letters* to Japanese legends of Mt Fuji.

understanding gained through them during her long residence contributed to her sympathetic view of Japanese nature. Additionally, Fraser's feminine passivity assisted her acquisition of local knowledge through attentive listening.

Fraser's reluctance to take up the position of an authoritative surveyor is also evident in her relationships with servants. Fraser appeared as if she were a voyeur. This negates Fraser's authority as a mistress and an observer, and consequently results in a shift in the power balance between mistress and servants. In describing her servants in the legation, Fraser inserts the following sentence:

> Okusama is not supposed to enter this courtyard except at stated hours; but cannot resist the pleasure of occasionally watching, through the closed blinds of an upper window, the many-sided, brightly coloured life of its inhabitants, of listening to the hum of chatter which rises from the human hive. (1: 153)

'Okusama' is the word her servants used to refer to Fraser; that is to say, narrative viewpoint is at her servants' side in this sentence, which might sound like a command issued to Fraser by servants. Moreover, from the contrast between a supposedly dark, colourless room with 'the closed blinds' and 'the many-sided, brightly coloured life,' one can perceive Fraser's yearning to become involved in human activities outside. Although she looks down from a room above, her viewpoint by no means gives her authority, and it appears as if she were confined and as if her freedom of movement were restricted by her servants. Furthermore, her looking through the 'closed blinds' suggests that it is Fraser who is afraid of being caught sight of by her servants. Again, the viewpoint takes a strange twist. In short, as a result of changes in their power

relations, servants are able to gain more agency in the textual space of *Letters*. Fraser even objectifies herself as the observed; Fraser does not exercise her authority as an observer or a mistress, but satisfies herself with a peep.

Fraser's feminine abstention from authority helped her to approach to Japanese people. Fraser's interracial/national female friendships with Japanese women are of special interest in that female friendship across national borders is a relatively untouched area in both philosophical and literary studies. Fraser's accounts of friendships with Japanese women are singular in their descriptions of individual Japanese women unlike generalised views on *the* Japanese woman presented by most travellers. Fraser's social position allowed rare access to a circle of Japanese upper-class women, and she made frequent visits to Japanese ladies and left vivid accounts of those who have usually been overshadowed by their husbands and obliterated from the centre stage of Japanese history.[7] Fraser's first encounter with the Empress reveals a very personal face, which it is difficult to find in the official records.[8] The Empress asked Fraser about her two sons whom she had to leave behind in England and expressed her deep sympathy for Fraser, who makes the following observation:

---

[7] For example, in *Japan: A Record in Colour* (1901) by Mortimer Menpes, one of the chapters is headed 'The Geisha' along with such others as 'Children' and 'Workers' despite the fact that the chapter also included a few descriptions about the wives. In addition, he used expressions 'a/the Japanese woman' in that chapter, giving readers the distorted impression that the *geisha* (in the singular) represented all Japanese women.

[8] Empress Meiji, or Ichijō Haruko was born into one of the most revered aristocratic families in Japan. She married the Emperor Meiji in 1868 at the age of eighteen. Iwamoto Kashi, aka Wakamatsu Shizuko, who we will see below, introduced the Empress as a maternal figure of the nation and a patron of female education who was also accomplished in Japanese classical literature (Iwamoto 345-49). The Empress played a strategic role in the process of modern nation-building in Japan and Japanese nationalism.

> Her eyes lighted up, and then took on rather a wistful expression as she spoke of my children. The heir to the throne is not her son, for she has never had children of her own, and has, I believe, felt the deprivation keenly; [. . .]. (1: 31)

Fraser does not fail to catch the slightest change in the Empress's facial expression and read into it her sorrow as a childless woman.[9] This is also expressed indirectly in Fraser's account of the Empress's reaction to an attempted assassination of the Russian cesarévitch by a Japanese fanatic in 1891. The Empress is reported to have thought of nothing along the lines of national shame but only of the cesarévitch and the czarina, weeping that '"The poor mother, the poor mother! [. . .] She cannot see her boy! She will not believe he is safe! Poor mother! how can I comfort you?"' (2: 296). The Empress's strong desire for motherhood made her identify more strongly with the mother across the sea than with her own nation. Here, Fraser succeeded in capturing a poignant moment of international female bonding. The episode of Countess Kuroda is humorous. Her jealous husband, Count Kuroda Kiyotaka, would not approve of the countess' portrait being painted by a European male artist, so the countess asked Fraser to become a chaperone:

> How would it be, she shyly suggested, if she said that she was spending the day with the English Koshi Sama[British Minister]'s Okusama? Her husband would be sure that she was quite safe if she was with Mrs. Fraser [. . .]. (1: 255)

This suggests that Count and Countess Kuroda both trusted Fraser and that she built a

[9] In an entry for 1 January 1896 in his private diary, Ernest Satow, then British Minister in Tokyo, wrote that the Empress asked him about Fraser along with the Queen during the audience and that 'she [the Empress] appears to preserve a very kindly memory [of Fraser]' (50). It had been a year and half since Fraser left Japan. This episode suggests a close personal rapport that Fraser managed to establish with the Empress.

deep friendship with the latter to the extent that they made a secret plan together. *Letters* thus, reveals to its readers a private face and hidden voice of Japanese upper-class women.

Not all European women in Japan made good friends with Japanese aristocratic women and so the rare nature of Fraser's encounters with them must be underlined. Fraser observes the negative attitude of European ladies towards their Japanese counterparts:

> It has sometimes happened to me to wish that the Japanese ladies understood less than I imagine they do of foreign languages; for some of our colleagues' wives affect an almost brutal rudeness towards them, speaking of them in their presence with sublime contempt, and complaining loudly of an official visit, which perhaps has broken up a more amusing conversation. When, horror-struck, I have expostulated, the reply has been, "Bah, elles n'y comprennent rien ['they understand nothing of it']!" (1: 215-216)

In the same letter, Fraser reports that 'for the first time in my life I blushed at being a European,' and directs the following bitter criticism against these European ladies (1: 216):

> Kindness and modesty, a wakeful, real consideration for the feelings of others—surely these make up for a little unwilling ignorance of the higher subjects which most interest us, and which, to tell the truth, are hardly better known to the "smart" European with her social preoccupations and her rattle of "chaff," than they are to the little hothouse ladies of the Palace. (1: 217)

Here, Fraser expresses her opinion that Japanese women outshine European women in feminine affective fields. Moreover, although Fraser uses hierarchical terms to describe interests in culture and world affairs among European women as 'the higher subjects,' she declares that European women hardly know them any better than Japanese women

despite their professed belief to the contrary. Fraser is consistently on the side of Japanese women, and neither consanguinity nor compatriotism, which are the underlying logic behind imperialism and nationalism are of importance to Fraser.

Fraser's respect for Japanese women and their excellence resulted in the foundation of a reading society. A letter dated February 1891, from Tokyo, in Chapter XXXI of *Letters* reports a reading society Fraser established, which it is crucial to investigate so as to discuss female friendships in Fraser's works:

> The universal epidemic has broken up some little readings in which I had been much interested from two points of view—a selfish one and an unselfish one. [. . .]. [S]eeing how shut off from intellectual amusement is the life of the Japanese lady, a friend and I put our heads together to see if we could not provide some little entertainment for these dear women, who have shown us such endless kindness since we came.
>
> Now for the other motive, the selfish one. I want to be brought nearer to the lives of these Japanese women, both from the interest and sympathy I feel for them, and because, although on some points my knowledge is wider and more accurate than theirs, yet there are many others where I am glad to learn from them. (2: 214-16)

Despite its underlying colonial sense of duty to enlighten the East, this passage reflects Fraser's passion for a better comprehension of and respect for Japanese women.[10] A letter from Fraser to Ōkuma Ayako, wife of a prominent Meiji politician Ōkuma Shigenobu, inviting her for an English language reading, documents the actuality of this

[10] This reading society which Fraser started continued into 1900 although it lapsed for several years after her departure. According to d'Anethan, the society was called the *Getsuyō kai*, or the Monday Club, and had its relaunching meeting at the British Legation on 30 October 1899, where Satow gave a lecture on the queen (209-10). D'Anethan records another of its meeting at the American Legation, where she read a paper on Frances Burney and Jane Austen (276). Thus, Fraser's reading society served well to unite Japanese and foreign women in Meiji Japan.

society.[11] This bonding through literature contributed enormously to Fraser's fictional works by evoking her deeper sympathy for Japanese women and their values. Fraser mentions an English missionary lady and a Japanese female translator who co-organised the reading society in *Letters*. Following their traces brings back a significant circle of women in Meiji Japan. Fraser informs her readers that the English lady, who she calls her friend in the excerpt above, was 'spending all her time, money, and strength on helping the Japanese ladies' and was called 'Dear Mrs. K—' by those who were learning English and English modes of thought from her, including Princess Sanjō and her daughter. She and Fraser teased each other about their faith and the former called the latter 'a bigoted Catholic' (2: 214-15). This 'Mrs. K—' was most likely Caroline Kirkes, who was sent by the Ladies' Association, a branch of an Anglican missionary organisation, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to 'take charge of an Institute intended for the daughters of nobles' as her correspondence in British Foreign Office collection reveals.[12] An unpublished journal of the Sanjō family in 1889 recorded the frequent visits of Sanjō Chieko, daughter of Prince Sanjō Sanetomi and future wife of an Imperial Prince Kan'in'nomiya Kotohito, to Kirkes in Nagata-chō.[13] The address written in unpublished letters from Kirkes to the Ladies'

[11] Mary Crawford Fraser, letter to Ōkuma Ayako, 15 Oct. 1890, *Ōkuma bunsho* (1977): Reel 164, Microfilm 258.
[12] Caroline Kirkes, letter to Francis Napier, 19 Jan. 1888, *British Foreign Office. Japan Correspondence 1856-1940* (1974): Reel 217, Text Vol. 384.
[13] *Sanjō-ke bunsho*. Supplement 17. National Diet Lib., Tokyo.

Association confirms her residence in Nagata-chō.[14] According to *Tokyo Jogakkan hyakunenshi* (*Tokyo Jogakkan Centenary History*), Kirkes took up a residence in an estate owned by Ōyama Iwao and held weekly receptions for upper-class ladies to learn English social customs (84-85). Ōyama's wife, Ōyama Sutematsu, was one of the five girls who were sent to the United States in 1871 by the Japanese government with a view to promote female education in Japan and became the first Japanese graduate of Vassar College. It seems highly plausible that Sutematsu helped Kirkes with the promotion of female education in Japan.

This identification of Kirkes prompts a further, somewhat exciting, speculation over the identity of the Japanese female translator who served for Fraser's reading society. Fraser describes the translator as follows:

> [T]he business of finding a proper translator brought me into contact with my first friend of the professor class in Japan—a woman so cultivated and modest and charming, that I shall always feel the richer for having known her. Her husband is a professor in one of the colleges; and she has had a very modern education, and writes for Japanese reviews and magazines (how funny it sounds!), of which more are published here than foreigners imagine. She had long desired to be of use in cheering the rather monotonous lives of her country women, and, while deploring, as in (Japanese) duty bound, her own worthiness, yet set about the task of translation with great enthusiasm. (2: 217)

In 1891, Kirkes contributed two articles to *Jogaku zasshi* (female education magazine), one of the leading Meiji women's magazines. The then editor of the magazine was Iwamoto Yoshiharu, who was also a professor of Meiji Jogakkō (girls' school), and his

[14] Caroline Kirkes, letter to Miss Bullock, 23 Nov. 1889, *USPG/ CWW/ 185: Copies of Letters Received (India, Japan, Burma, North China, Syria)*, MS. 1890. Rhodes House Lib., Oxford.

wife was Iwamoto Kashiko, aka Wakamatsu Shizuko, a key translator in Japanese modern literary history. She contributed to the vernacular movement and modernisation of Japanese literature through the translation of English literature (Yamaguchi 131-32). It is quite probable that she was the translator who served for Fraser's reading society, especially considering a close correspondence between the description above and her biographical facts: she contributed quite a few articles and literary translations to *Jogaku zasshi* and other magazines and taught at Meiji Jogakkō; she was the first graduate of Ferris Jogakuin (Ferris Girls' shool), which was founded by an American missionary, and received a Western education; she was passionate about the social advancement of Japanese women. In addition, she was originally from the same feudal domain, Aizu, as Ōyama Sutematsu; she submitted a report 'The Condition of Women in Japan' to Vassar College, the latter's Alma Mater, at the request of the college in 1887. It is very likely that Wakamatsu and Ōyama were acquainted with each other. Their connection might have put Wakamatsu in touch with Kirkes and Fraser. Before her premature death at the age of thirty-one, Wakamatsu was actively involved in writing English articles for a Christian paper, the *Japan Evangelist*, as an editor of its section entitled 'Woman's Department,' and in particular reported on Japanese women and their activities in society, thereby showing the world that Japanese women were capable of logical thinking and critical writing.[15] She worked hard to give Western

[15] For biographical details of Wakamatsu Shizuko, see Ozaki, *Wakamatsu Shizuko: Reimeiki wo*

readership a true picture of Japanese women.

Letters expresses Fraser's acknowledgement to her 'two Japanese friends, Miss O'Yei Ozaki and Mr. Yasuoka' for giving her 'many a quaint legend or detail of etiquette and family life' (1: xi). Tracing this friendship between Fraser and Miss O'Yei Ozaki also brings to light another interesting piece of the female literary circle which informed Fraser's fictional works. The full name of O'Yei Ozaki is Yei Theodora Ozaki. She was a daughter of Baron Ozaki Saburō, one of the first Japanese men who studied in Britain, and his English wife. Yei Theodora Ozaki authored several books and articles on Japan, one of which, *Warriors of Old Japan and Other Stories* (1909), was accompanied by her biography, written by Fraser. There, Fraser explains why Ozaki wrote her Japanese stories: 'Indeed it was in the interests of Japanese womanhood that she first took up her pen, resolved to dispel the hopeless misconceptions which existed in regard to it in western minds' ('Madame' xix). For this purpose, Ozaki's Japanese tales introduced famous female figures in Japanese history who are loyal and brave. These two literary women, Wakamatsu and Ozaki, who were passionately engaged in giving the West truer portrayals of Japanese women, as well as her close contacts with Japanese women, had a conspicuous influence on Fraser's fiction. This is most evident in a sharp contrast between Japanese female characters in Fraser's works and those in works by her male contemporaries. I will further explore this point in the following

---

kakenuketa josei; Yamaguchi *Tokuto ware wo mitamae: Wakamatsu Shizuko no shogai*.

section.

Fraser extended her female friendships outside the privileged classes, including her female servants. The following passage in *Letters* recounts an episode between Fraser and her servant, Toki, who had been compelled to emigrate to Hawaii:

> The next interview I had was with her [Toki]. I told her that no power on earth should take her away if she wanted to stay; [. . .]. She cried bitterly, poor soul; but said [. . .] that Okusama was too kind, too much kind (oh dear! Oh dear! and more floods of tears), but she would sail on the 17th. (2: 367-68)

Before this interview, Fraser had another interview with O'Matsu, her female head servant, because rumour had it that O'Matsu decided that Toki had to move to Hawaii, although this rumour turned out later to be false. After Toki sailed to Hawaii, O'Matsu 'was in black disgrace for a month afterwards, during which she too wept copiously over the missing of the headstrong Toki and Okusama's unkind suspicions' (2: 368). This episode between Fraser and two female servants shows rich group dynamics among women with intimacy. Both servants can express their emotions to Fraser, which attests to their trust in Fraser, given the Japanese reticence. O'Matsu can even imply her feelings of anger against her mistress. This seems to become possible only on the basis of considerable reliance upon each other. Bruce Robbins in *The Servant's Hand* (1986) discusses the literary tradition of marginalising and caricaturing servants in nineteenth-century English novels (4). Servants in *Letters* take centre stage and are capable of meaningful human interaction though this is in a Japanese rather than a

European context. Fraser presents a more realistic or sympathetic picture of servants than those of her contemporary realist novelists. The emotions and voices of female servants Fraser experienced were to find their place again in Fraser's fictional works.

All of these friendships helped Fraser better understand Japanese people and culture, and indeed, affected her writing. Her evasive attitude towards authority, or author-ity, combined with her physical condition which did not allow her to travel as widely as Isabella Bird, resulted in the appearance of many friends as informants in *Letters*.[16] Fraser characterises herself as a listener rather than as a viewer, which necessarily entails more interaction with Japanese people. It is clear from the very beginning of *Letters* that she wanted to see things differently from other travellers: 'But I am a little afraid of Japan! I would rather not have a host of first impressions of the ordinary kind, which, as it seems to me, satisfy meagre minds, and prevent their ever really understanding new places and races' (1: 3).[17] Instead of skating on the surface and misreading cultural signs, she simply listens to her friends. Ogita, her male servant, often appears as an important storyteller in *Letters*. The reading group with Japanese

[16] Seija Jalagin, in her study on the representation of Japanese women by Western women, writes that Fraser 'was well informed, travelled broadly and acquired all-inclusive information of the Japanese society' (30). However, this is partly mistaken in that *Letters* attests that Fraser did not travel extensively: 'Ill health and many ties of duty generally put very long journeys out of question' (*Letters* 1: x). Fraser reports her rheumatism in her private letter to her half-sister on 13 October 1894, about four months after her departure from Japan, which means her illness must be regarded as genuine, not as a result of conformity to Victorian femininity. See Mary Crawford Fraser, letter to Margaret Terry Chanler, 13 Oct. 1894, Margaret Terry Chanler Family Papers, Houghton Lib., Harvard U, Cambridge.

[17] Fraser's first account of Japan stands in marked contrast to that of Lafcadio Hearn's in 'My First Day in the Orient' in *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (1894). Whereas Fraser makes observations about Japanese people, Hearn appears more interested in the city plan and architecture, and Japanese and Chinese scripts in particular. As a consequence, his depiction of Yokohama gives readers a strange impression of an uninhabited, metaphysical town.

female aristocrats was clearly of great importance. Fraser also acknowledges the information on Japanese folklore and customs she gained from her Japanese friends in the introduction (1: xi). By attending intensely to her local friends Fraser deepened her special understanding of the inner life of Japanese people, which ordinary travellers were denied access to. *Letters* continually echoes with her friends' voices. Speaking of the famous Victorian traveller Mary Kingsley, Simon Gikandi argues that Kingsley differs from her male counterparts in her cultural relativism, shown in the way that 'she is respectful of native modes of knowledge and cognition and always considers Africans to be important informants' (150). This also applies to Fraser's attitude towards her Japanese interlocutors. This becomes more noticeable when we compare Fraser with Isabella Bird, who in the preface to *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, claims as follows:

> In Northern Japan, in the absence of all other sources of information, I had to learn everything from the people themselves, through an interpreter, and every fact had to be disinterred by careful labour from amidst a mass of rubbish. The Ainos supplied the information which is given concerning their customs, habits, and religion; but I had an opportunity of comparing my notes with some taken about the same time by Mr. Heinrich Von Siebold of the Austrian Legation, and of finding a most satisfactory agreement on all points. (1: viii)

Bird is deeply distrustful of information given by locals and describes it as 'a mass of rubbish.' Instead, she cites a male European authority and asserts the accuracy of her writing due to its consistency with his observations. This attitude is characterised by what Michael Cronin calls 'imperial suspicions' of native informants (4). Margery Wolf discusses the possibility and responsibility of 'share[ing] voice/ authority/ authorship

with informants' from the perspective of a feminist anthropologist (117). By introducing her friends as informants in her writing, Fraser gives them a voice and authority, and shares authorship.

This reliance of Fraser's on local knowledge demonstrates her hospitality towards the Japanese people. This can be seen in her openness to the Japanese concept of death most clearly. Fraser closed her *Further Reminiscences of a Diplomatist's Wife* (1912) by depicting Japan as follows: 'a home gladdened by much sunshine and destined, as all true homes are, I think, to be hallowed with tears' (367). The enigmatic 'tears' refers to her mourning of dead friends in Japan. In *Letters*, Fraser announces the deaths of some of her Japanese friends, namely, Prince Sanjō, Ogita, and Toki. Moreover, her residence in Japan came to an abrupt end with the unexpected death of her husband. Her personal experiences of the death of friends her long residence in Japan afforded her gave Fraser intuitions about the local religious system and beliefs about death. As a result, *Letters* is unconsciously haunted with death and the dead. Fraser shows a keen interest in Japanese hospitality to the dead. In the entry on a call on Count and Countess Saigo, Fraser observes the way they mourn their dead son and remarks that: 'It is some years since the boy died; but from every meal partaken of in the great house his share has been set aside—he is not forgotten' (*Letters* 2: 202). This prolonged mourning for the dead in Japan seemed to deeply impress Fraser. Fraser wrote on a different occasion that

> I have heard the reproach of heartlessness again and again made to the Japanese, on account of the calm and cheerful countenances with which they

> accompany their dead to the grave. But their long and tender remembrance of the dead surely exonerates them from the accusation. (2: 241)

In *Many Lands*, Fraser wrote about a traumatic memory of her childhood when she was told by her nurse never to mention her father's name in her prayers again after his death because 'it would be dreadful wickedness to do so,' and she also talked of how he came back to her year after year in her dreams (136). It is possible that this haunting memory gave Fraser a greater sympathy with the Japanese Buddhist custom despite her own ardent Catholicism.

Fraser's relationship with her servant Ogita constitutes the most private, and perhaps the most touching, episode in *Letters* which relates to his deathbed:

> In the bare little house on the worn mats lay my poor friend, too weak to speak, but with a light of welcome always shining for me in his eyes. [. . .] The children were greatly on his mind; but when their future was provided for to his satisfaction, he was quite content to die, and said to me once or twice, "Okusama is very kind; I would get well if I could; but I can never travel with her any more, and I am too tired to live." To the very last his two hands always went up to his brow when I entered, even after he could not speak; [. . .]. (2: 248-49)

Here, Fraser describes her relationship with Ogita in the language of friendship. The passage reveals their reciprocal feelings of affection. Ogita clearly appreciated his relationship with Fraser until the very last minute of his life. In the same letter, Fraser makes the following remark:

> Do you wonder that I tell you so much about a mere servant [Ogita], a Chancery writer? He has been so helpful and faithful, has carried out all my whims with such gentle patience, has piloted me through so many journeys, taught me so many quaint stories, that a part of my Japanese life has died with him. (2: 248)

Fraser likens Ogita's death to her own death. This reminds us of the description of the community of death by Nancy and Blanchot. The painful experience of seeing a dying friend gave Fraser a rare glimpse of her fundamental connection with others which transcends racial, national, and class differences.

A letter concerning the death of Prince Sanjō illuminates Fraser's exceptional ability to read Japanese subtle expressions, which she acquired by virtue of her friendships. Prince Sanjō was one of those Japanese politicians whom Fraser felt particularly close to.[18] At the funeral of Prince Sanjō, Fraser noticed Princess Sanjō's absence because she was 'too prostrated by grief to appear' (2: 244). Fraser also observed the Prince's eldest daughter's hand 'trembled pitifully' when she made an offering to her father's coffin despite the fact that there was not 'a single change of expression' on her face (2: 246). Fraser's intimacy with the family helped her read absence and extremely subtle signs of their grief, which would easily have escaped observations otherwise. This episode provides a sharp contrast to Isabella Bird's thoroughly detached account of a Buddhist funeral she was allowed to attend where she reported that she could not find 'any signs of grief' (*Unbeaten* 1: 301).

[18] Fraser describes him as follows: 'Prince Sanjo [. . .] falls to my lot at many of the big entertainment, and is always so kind and amiable that I like to have him for a neighbour, although he speaks no foreign tongue. We smile over bouquets and *menus*; he tells me the Japanese names for all the rare fruits and flowers; [. . .]' (*Letters* 1: 249). Their friendship did not necessarily need verbal communication. They both accepted that the other cannot speak his/her language. This acceptance is noteworthy in that some travellers to Japan complain of the apparent linguistic inability of Japanese people and their inevitable silence. Another Victorian female traveller to Meiji Japan, Ethel Howard, once complained about the 'an awful silence' at her audience with Prince and Princes Arisugawa and a 'strange custom of pretending to be unable to speak a foreign language' (259-60). What underlies Howard's complaint is the linguistic dominance of the English language at the zenith of the British Empire.

Thus, Fraser opens up the textual space of *Letters* to her friends across racial and national differences. These friendships helped Fraser to be receptive to Japanese ideas of death and their hospitality towards the dead.

Friendship Fictionalised

Echoing Edward Said's claim in *Orientalism*, Sterry states that in the male tradition of representing eroticized oriental women in the nineteenth century, Japanese women were almost invariably 'portrayed as childlike, undemanding, naïve and sexually available,' as in the popular fictions of Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* and Giacomo Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* (11). Reading other Japanese-themed fiction by contemporary male authors gives us further examples of this simultaneous infantilisation and eroticisation of Japanese women. This section will compare Fraser's Japan-related fiction with novels by a contemporary male author, Clive Holland, and examine the way Fraser resists eroticised representations of Japanese women and presents an alternative narrative instead, which draws on her actual friendships with Japanese women.

My Japanese Wife: A Japanese Idyl by Clive Holland was first published in London in 1895. The book appears to have been a huge commercial success, considering its numerous editions and reprints.[19] The novel is set in Nagasaki in the late

[19] The novel reached its twenty-first revised edition in 1916, and Holland, in its preface, calculates its global circulation by the twentieth edition as more than 420,000 copies and refers to its translations into several languages, including French (*My 1916* 7-8).

nineteenth century and relates a romance between an English man, Cyril, and a Japanese woman, Miss Hyacinth, or Mūsmé, as the heroine is mostly called. What is noticeable throughout the story is her continually sexualised representation and childish behaviour. The opening passage plays a decisive role in setting this tone:

> MŪSMÉ is leaning over me as I write. Mūsmé, a butterfly from a far Eastern land, her dress of apricot silk, with a magenta satin *obi* (sash), a blot of bright colour in the dullness of my English study. My Mūsmé! with Dresden-china tinted cheeks, and tiny ways; playing at life, as it always seems to me, with the dainty grace of Japan, that idealized doll's-house land. Mūsmé, who goes with me everywhere, whose *bizarre* clothing attracts notice to her even when the delicately pretty face of a child-woman, with innocent, soft eyes and finely-arched brows, is hidden behind the ever-present fan, which she draws from the ample folds of her *obi*. (11-12)

In the very first sentence, Mūsmé disturbs the first-person narrator by physical contact which suggests her sexual forwardness and childish manner. Her mindlessness is shown by her 'playing at life,' and 'go[ing] with me everywhere' infantilises her; she is even directly named as 'a child-woman.' It is also interesting to note that she almost emerges as a curio through the narrator's gaze which fixes on her outward alterity. This passage describes her appearance through such words as 'butterfly,' 'silk,' '*obi*,' 'china,' doll's-house land' and 'fan' which are all heavily imbued with the Victorian discourse on exotic, even '*bizarre'* Japan, and the narrator enjoys drawing people's attention to his precious possession by taking her everywhere as if she were a marker of his financial wealth.

Cyril's exclusive interest in her outward form contrasts sharply with his

indifference to her inward immaturity. He ‘fell in love with her at first sight’ (32), and her naïve question about the presence of the moon in Britain during their following conversation, which creates an almost farcical effect along with her proud statement about her education, does not deter him (34-35). Later in the book, although he confesses that she has an ‘untutored mind,’ her ‘quaint little figure’ still delights him (128). Thus, the novel depicts the Japanese female protagonist as a sexualised object whose value lies merely in her exoticism.

This objectification of the Japanese heroine is crystallized in the way she is exchanged between her mother and the male protagonist. Kotmasu, Cyril’s Japanese friend who goes between them, says that ‘“Her people are rich, but still they *might* be induced to sell her”’ (51). Following his advice, Cyril gives her mother ‘various handsome presents’ (66), and then ‘[t]he marriage can be very easily contracted’ (66-67). Here Mūsmé turns into an exchangeable commodity. When Cyril decides to go back to England with Mūsmé, her mother is unwilling to give her consent at first on her understanding that the marriage contract is temporary; however, after his ‘hinting that there will be “handsome presents,”’ she raises ‘no further objection’ (199). Her anxiety about her daughter going abroad instantly disappears. After all, Mūsmé is considered by all parties to the transaction as just property and goods in the exchange economy.

The most unfortunate result of this commodification of the heroine is her isolation from her native society. Treated like a commercial product by her mother and

countryman, she has no one to rely on but the English protagonist. On the other hand, Cyril, who has little liking for her relatives, intentionally distances her from her family, thinking that 'no doubt matters can be so arranged that my domestic peace will not be too frequently broken in upon' (58), and that 'if a man mustn't marry his grandmother, neither is he obliged, so to speak, to marry his wife's relations' (60), even though he has a full knowledge of the importance of family ties in Japan. His calling her little brother, Aki 'a scrap of yellow humanity' enunciates a haughty disdain for the whole Japanese race as well as for his wife's immediate family (60). Consequently, Mūsmé is excluded from society by both her own people and her foreign husband.

Mūsmé's isolation is further enhanced by her internalisation of Western identity by marriage. She, being 'so naïvely proud of her "English sir,"' shows him off to other women at the festival (112). She even argues that 'What you say well enough; but I Engleesh now, you know" in her broken English, when warned of her bad manners by Kotmasu (113). She alienates herself from Japanese society by assuming self-importance due to the imagined upward mobility brought about by her marriage and fancies that she is now racially superior to Japanese people.[20]

This results in a rift between the women: the heroine is separated from her own mother and her countrywomen. The heroine is separated from her own mother and

[20] Frantz Fanon discusses a fantasy among black women of racial mobility by means of a relationship with white men in 'The Woman of Color and the White Man' in *Black Skin, White Masks*.

countrywomen by Cyril's dislike for her mother and her internalised and imagined superiority over them. Moreover, the novel sets sharp divisions not only among Japanese women but also between Japanese women and British women. Cyril anticipates his sister Lou's strong objections against his marriage to 'a yellow-faced, painted scrap of a woman,' as he imagines Lou describing Mūsmé (82). The following passage where he defends Mūsmé's ignorance is also extremely revealing:

> She is a graduate in the art of pleasing. She knows nothing further of astronomy than to suspect that the stars are really big diamonds, nor of mathematics than what generally enables her to make a good bargain for an *obi*, dress or hairpin. All this ignorance is very stupid, no doubt, to you. I can well imagine the smile of the Girton girl or "superior person" which will reward my confession of Mūsmé's ignorance, [. . .]. (137-138)

He pictures well-educated British women being condescending towards Mūsmé. Despite her self-identification with English people, Mūsmé still cannot be a part of them, or of her 'superior' British sisters because of her poor education. Thus, the story emphasises what seems to be an insuperable gulf between women across races and nations.

In the wake of the considerable success of *My Japanese Wife*, Holland published its sequel, *Mousmé* in 1901, which elaborates upon the female relationship between the sisters-in-law. Lou, who initially stated strong objections against her brother's marriage to Mūsmé, completely changes her attitude on seeing Mūsmé's popularity in her society. Lou tells Cyril that: 'Mousmé is rather charming, and I'm not sure that you have made so egregious a mistake after all. She may be quite useful to you in Society [. . .]' (52-53).

Lou treats Mūsmé as if she were a useful tool. This shows a clear hierarchy between the English lady and the Japanese girl. Under the daily stress of English society, Mūsmé falls ill. Just as Kotmasu, their go-between predicted that '[i]t will certainly not be possible to transplant Mousmé to England successfully,' Cyril and Mūsmé eventually return to Japan (14). Mousmé is depicted as an exotic, delicate specimen who can only grow in its native climate of Japan, which is similarly described as insignificant as its product: 'The East, that fair land set in an azure sea where life was small as yet, like my little wife' (264). It is worth noting that the reputation of Japanese men suffers terribly behind the romanticisation of Japanese women. Lou expresses: 'I never remember seeing a Japanese man I could honestly admire' (335). Thus, throughout the series, Mūsmé, a representative of a desirable Japanese woman, is depicted as a valuable curio.

In another Japanese-related novel, *A Japanese Romance*, which Holland published in 1904, he deals with a slightly different theme: Western male disillusionment with Japanese women. The novel is about a romance between an English artist, Leslie Somerville and an Englishwoman, Violet Desborough, who meet on board a ship on a voyage to Japan. Although they ultimately become united, Somerville falls in love with a Japanese maid, Mio-San during his stay in Nagasaki, and marries her in order to save her from her jealous mistress. A difference between this novel and Holland's previous novels is the eventual failure of this interracial romance. Somerville's passion for Mio-San wanes when the novelty of the exotic girl wears off:

'It was on the third day of *Bommatsuri* (the Festival of the Dead) that Somerville suddenly became aware that Mio-San failed to interest him as formerly' (224). This realisation comes when Somerville compares Desborough and Mio-San, reading a letter from the former:

> [A]s he picked one up and read it through his mind seemed instinctively to follow up a train of thought which was chiefly concerned with the difference that existed between the writer and Mio-San. The latter he knew had little in common with the former, and alas! little in common with him. This sudden realisation by him of the unbridgeable chasm which lay between Mio-San and himself seized hold of him with an acute stab of painful knowledge' (224).

Importantly, this difference between the English and the Japanese is reduced to intellectual incompatibility, and it is the latter who are judged inept: 'Little defects of intelligence, little habits which at first pleasing him by reason of their novelty had of late become almost tiresome' (225). To this realisation, Somerville wishes that Mio-San were a mere curio, thinking that '[h]ad it been a vase for which he no longer cared, it could be broken, or if valuable sold or given away' (225). The apparent intellectual discrepancy between them leads Somerville to conclude that Mio-San lacks sensitivity, and hence humanity. On the advice of his Japanese friend, Yumoto, Somerville leaves Japan for Europe with a yearning for Desborough, giving Mio-San an empty promise of a future return. On Somerville's departure, Mio-San is forced into an arranged marriage to a Japanese man against her will, which she escapes by drowning herself in delirium. Mio-San's death is little mourned by her English husband and his Japanese accomplice.

Yumoto registers her death as a fortunate disappearance of 'a source of embarrassment to his honourable friend Somerville' (324). At the news of Mio-San's death from Yumoto, Somerville feels 'the regret and the small measure of self-condemnation' but 'for the first few days,' for 'he was too honest to seek to delude himself by simulated sorrow' (329). After all, Mio-San is an aesthetic object to entertain a Western male subject, and when he grows tired of it, its value falls. Similar to *Madame Butterfly*, the Japanese heroine is portrayed as an easy victim of an interracial romance.

In a sharp contrast to these male-fantasies of an infantile Japanese woman, Yei Theodora Ozaki's writings introduce Western readers to Japanese historical female figures who are brave and loyal, such as Aoyagi, Kesa Gozen and Tomoye Gozen. It was Ozaki's strong desire to 'dispel the hopeless misconceptions which existed in regard to it [Japanese womanhood] in western minds' (Fraser 'Madame' xix).[21] 'Aoyagi (Green Willow)' (1905) is a story of a heroic wife of a *samurai* from the seventeenth century who committed suicide in order not to shake her husband's determination to die in a battle for the sake of his master. Ozaki carefully portrays the intricate psychology of the Japanese heroine who faces a conflict between love and duty. Significantly, Ozaki introduces this medieval example in a contemporary context of Japan's triumph

[21] In an unpublished letter to a Japanese prominent politician, Inoue Kaoru, Ozaki wrote about her works on Japanese heroines that '[t]hey were all written with the patriotic desire to show to the West what the best of Japanese women stand for in life honour, loyalty and love.' Her private letters hint at the particular difficulties Ozaki had to deal with as an Anglo-Japanese child living in increasingly nationalist society of Meiji Japan. She had to prove her genuine identification with the country. See Yei Theodora Ozaki, letter to Inoue Kaoru, 18 October 1914, Inoue Kaoru Papers, National Diet Lib., Tokyo.

in the Russo-Japanese War. She finds it attributable to the Japanese sense of fierce patriotism and loyalty which Aoyagi embodies, thus illuminating the female contribution to the country's recent military success. 'The Tragedy of Kesa Gozen' (1906) narrates the sacrificial death of Kesa Gozen in the twelfth century in order to protect her husband from the hands of a ferocious *samurai*, Endō Morito, who is infatuated with her. Edwin Arnold also adapted this tragedy into a play, *Adzuma; or, the Japanese Wife* (1893). An interesting difference between the two writers is that while Arnold characterises Kesa Gozen as a representative Japanese wife (Adzuma, the name of the heroine, means 'my wife' in classical Japanese) and romanticises her as '[t]he gentle, patient, faithful Nippon [i.e. Japan] wife' (v), Ozaki represents her as an individual who has her own passions. Ozaki relates how she enjoyed the story with her female friend and how the two girls fancied that Kesa Gozen was, in fact, secretly in love with Endo and, tormented by her immoral feelings, chose to die by the sword of her lover ('Tragedy ' 126). The divergence of Ozaki from her contemporary male authors is also evident in Fraser's fictional works. Together with her friend, Fraser tries to dispel the myth of easily available, child-like Japanese women by representing strong-willed, loyal Japanese women with intelligence.

The plots of Fraser's fiction introduce subtle antitheses to the Orientalist plot of a harmless temporary romance with a doll-like Japanese woman. 'In Tokyo,' which is included in *The Custom of the Country: Tales of New Japan* (1899), the first

Japanese-themed fictional book by Fraser, is a short story of a temporary marriage between a young Scottish engineer, Randall Johnson, and a Japanese servant girl, O Matsu. In spite of his virtual married life with O Matsu, Johnson becomes engaged to an English girl who is soon coming to Japan. A radical difference between this short story and Holland's *Japanese Romance*, which concludes with the English male protagonist's passion for the English girl and the death of the Japanese heroine, is the death of Johnson, not O Matsu, in the end. Johnson dies of a serious disease on the day before his English fiancée arrives in Japan. Fraser reverses the customary victimization of the Japanese heroine which traditionally concludes the story with her death. Another significant twist Fraser added to this story is the representation of interracial/national female bond. Laura Nisbet, an American female character in the story, supports O Matsu while other Westerners are against the relationship between O Matsu and Johnson and hostile towards O Matsu. Informed of Johnson's engagement, Laura grumbles that '"He would have done better to marry O Matsu"' (10). In addition, it is Laura that Johnson asks to speak for O Matsu on his deathbed: '"And you tell the minister, Mrs. Nisbet, [. . .] be sure you tell the minister that Mats is a guid [*sic*] honest lass, and I will not hear a word contrary to that"' (18). Johnson knows that apart from him, only Laura appreciates O Matsu's good qualities without any racial or religious bias. Thus, in this context, Fraser presents the Western woman as an understanding friend of the Japanese woman rather than as a hostile enemy.

The Stolen Emperor: A Tale of Old Japan (1903) is Fraser's first full-length Japanese-themed novel. As the title suggests, in contrast to *The Custom of the Country*, it is a historical novel set in the area around Kyoto, the old Japanese capital, in the thirteenth century. The story is an interesting mixture of historical facts and the author's imagination, and the former suggests Fraser's deep interest and great learning in Japanese history. However, it is the latter which has greater significance in relation to the issue of female friendship. Fraser ingeniously transforms an extremely androcentric Japanese medieval his-tory into her-story by an incorporation of female characters and their union. The story uses the history of the eighty-seventh Japanese emperor, the Emperor Shijo, who came to the throne at an early age, and the then regent, Yasutoke [Yasutoki] Hojo. An abduction—presumably fictional—of the infant emperor along with his mother by a rising samurai, Kashima, and the consequent pursuit and rescue by the regent are the main events of this novel, which thereby assumes a political character. However, it is the female characters and their intellect, devotion to, and cooperation with each other that make the story evolve. To start with, Fraser characterises the emperor's mother as a brave and intelligent woman. Although it is historically inaccurate, the author names her Jito after an ancient Japanese empress who was famous for her successful reign. In the story, she laments over her weak husband that '"Could the gods not have made me the ruler man, and him the subject woman? Why dress weakness in armour and strength in painted robes?"' thereby manifesting her brave and

independent disposition (30). She exercises her intellect and tries every possible means in her captivity to save her infant son.

Moreover, Jito is greatly assisted by other women characters with their loyalty and ingenuity. Kita, Jito's favourite maid in whom she puts her complete trust, knowing that 'here, at least, was a heart that would always be hers,' remains faithful to her mistress and supports her in her predicament (44). Their intimate relationship, with a hint of sensuality, is described when they 'wandered hand in hand, two loving women in gentle converse of all their hearts loved best' (93). Sudzu, a peasant girl whom Jito meets in prison, sacrifices her life to save the mother and child. Stematz, another peasant girl who is a friend of Sudzu's, temporarily takes care of the little emperor for Jito. The key moment with regards to female friendship comes when Kita makes the following statement to the regent about Sudzu, who is wrongly accused of having killed the emperor: '"We women know each other, my Lord, and that poor creature had a brave and faithful heart! I would stake my life on her fidelity!"' (309). The most significant aspect of this female bond is that it unites women beyond class divisions. Thus, Fraser rewrites patriarchal political history as a story of female friendships.[22] Moreover, her work represents a sharp antithesis to the European male myth of frail,

[22] Fraser adapted *The Stolen Emperor* into a blank verse epic of 10,000 words in 1905 and renamed it *The Stolen Prince*. The epic verse was performed at the Belasco Theatre, New York on 12 May 1905 in a charity event which Fraser organised for Japanese war widows and orphans during the Russo-Japanese War. The performance opened with a recital of the poem by Fraser, which was followed by the story told in living pictures. The cast list shows that many women, both Western and Japanese, were involved in this event (Fraser *The Stolen Prince;* Littlefield E7). The work united women across differences in real life.

dependent, and easy Japanese women who are ostracized by their own society. Hence, her works correspond with those of Ozaki and Wakamatsu with regard to their literary aim of providing an alternative portrayal of Japanese women. They also reflect her experience of close contact with Japanese women through literature, in that her works convey the moral values of Japanese women Fraser learned about in the reading society. Thus, in the literary works by Fraser there arises a literary community of women across national/racial boundaries. This community suggests the possibility of literature as a utopian space for female solidarity where voices of those marginalised from major discourses echo.

Fictional writing provided Fraser with a space to explore delicate topics which she could not write upon in her more personal travelogue. *The Heart of Geisha* (1908) is one such story. It is a beautiful book, delicately decorated on every page in three pastel colours of yellow, green and blue with gold leaf applied on the edge and packed in an embellished white box like a gift. It conveys the feminine elegance British readers associated with Japanese *geishas* and appealed especially to women, who were Fraser's target readership. The story is set in the final years of the Tokugawa shogunate, a time of bloody civil war between revolutionary *samurais* who fought for the demise of the shogunate and return of the imperial reign and those loyalists who supported the shogunate. It narrates a romance between a young Japanese *samurai*, Tatsu Morinaga, and a *geisha*, Shinayé, and tells the tale of Shinayé's courage and devotion to him.

Morinaga is a fervent royalist, and loyalist *samurais* seek to end his life. Morinaga plans to sail for England with his fellow *samurais*, despite the prohibition against travelling abroad under the shogunate, in order to gain knowledge about building a modern nation-state and remodel Japan as such under the reign of the emperor. Shinayé, in order to get Morinaga out of Kyoto safely, designs a self-sacrificing scheme. It is based on a true story of a Meiji Japanese politician, Itō Hirobumi, and his wife, who was a former *geisha*. The novel ends with a scene of an official party in Tokyo twenty-five years later where two European women are gossiping about Morinaga, who has now become a senior politician, and his wife, Shinayé. Not knowing of Shinayé's devotion to Morinaga, one of the gossiping women contemptuously reveals that '[t]hat is his wife—the pale woman in Japanese dress. She was a geisha, my dear,—and he married her! The things men will do!' (165). In *Letters*, Fraser refers to marriage between prominent politicians and former *geishas* in Japan:

> It is quite distinct from the apprenticing of girls to masters who train them as *geisha* (or dancing-girls). These are highly educated according to Japanese ideas, and are not necessarily disreputable. Their training is extremely severe, and every gift of mind and body is developed to the highest point. Many have married men in prominent positions, and those whom I have known, although not warmly welcomed by Japanese ladies, have shown great sense and dignity in the conduct of social and domestic affairs. (2: 229)

Interestingly, Fraser chose to leave this vindication of *geishas* aside as a note. The topic seemed too scandalous to be treated in the main text according to Victorian morality and femininity. *The Heart of Geisha* is a more overt defence of *geishas* by contrast. Through

the theme of love and loyalty to a husband, Fraser attempts to establish an affective bond between Japanese *geishas* and British female readers. The unfavourable depiction of two gossiping European women at the end serves as a criticism of their blind denigration and aloofness. Besides, faithfulness of *geishas* in Fraser's work provides a counterexample of those frivolous *geishas* popularised by Pierre Loti and Western male travellers to Japan.

The Slaking of the Sword: Tales of the Far East (1904) is Fraser's second compilation of Japanese-themed short and medium-length stories. 'Himé' is the last story out of five in the book and treats the theme of miscegenation and mixed children and is full of controversial issues of race and class disparities. It is set in Enoshima and narrates a romance between Himé, a poor shell-gatherer, and an aspiring young English writer, Charles Barrington. Himé is a child of intermarriage between an English sailor and a poor Japanese orphan girl, Haru, who drowned herself after her unfaithful English husband leaves her. Their separation offers a stark contrast to that of *Madame Chrysanthème*. Haru returns to her husband the money he left for her on his departure while Chrysanthème shrewdly tests the authenticity of the silver dollars a Western male protagonist paid her with a little mallet. What is truly original in Fraser's treatment of the theme, however, is that the story features a child of intermarriage rather than the tragedy of a couple, and that it has a happy ending for the offspring. Despite all personal and social difficulties, Himé marries Barrington in the end and leaves for England with

him to live there happily ever after. In *Letters*, Fraser mentions children of Euro-Japanese intermarriage several times and once writes briefly of students at a boarding school run by Catholic nuns in Tokyo: 'Two or three of the girls are, alas! children who have been abandoned by European fathers when they found it convenient to leave Japan' (1: 94). Although Fraser gives no further exploration to the subject here, it became one of her main concerns during her residence in Japan through her personal friendships with Yei Theodora Ozaki, a child of Anglo-Japanese marriage, and the Aokis, a Germano-Japanese intermarried couple with a daughter. Fraser was intimately familiar with the mental sufferings Ozaki endured because of the discrimination against mixed children in Japanese society. The friendship between Fraser and Ozaki started when the former decided to employ the latter as 'secretary and companion' with determination to 'do all in my [Fraser's] power to make her [Ozaki's] life a happy one,' as Fraser expressed in a letter to Ozaki's father.[23] Ozaki describes her background in her private letter as 'a very unfortunate one.'[24] Fraser's empathy with Ozaki and intermarried couples and their children gave voice to the marginalised group in her fiction, thereby giving us a picture of the unfamiliar Meiji Japan which her

[23] Mary Crawford Fraser, letter to Ozaki Saburō, 19 October 1891, Ozaki Saburō Papers, National Diet Lib., Tokyo.

[24] Yei Theodora Ozaki, letter to Inoue Kaoru, 7 September 1914, Inoue Kaoru Papers, National Diet Lib., Tokyo. In this poignant letter, Ozaki reveals with surprising honesty her past mental torment, writing: 'As you know, my history is a very unfortunate one and many people have said that our marriage was detrimental to my husband's career. When I heard this I suffered very keenly. At that time I thought that it might be best to bury the past and myself in a monastery.' The letter is a powerful testimony to the minority experience of being a person of mixed race in exclusive society of Meiji Japan.

contemporaries did not depict. The happy ending manifests Fraser's hearty wishes for her friends.

Fraser's hospitality towards Japanese ideas about death is also reflected more clearly in her fiction. Wolf states, concerning the use of a fictional form in feminist ethnography, that despite its relative inefficiency at giving information, fiction 'can evoke a setting, a social context, an involvement of all the senses in ways that enhance understanding' (59). Fraser's fictional pieces are highly evocative and deft in their handling such potentially-sensitive topics as death and the dead as well as deepening the understanding of readers. Western discourse on the topic of death and the Japanese has often taken the form of a morbid curiosity with Japanese rituals of suicide. Customs of *hara-kiri* and *shinju* ('double suicide') shocked Victorian travellers to Japan. Fraser herself deals with incidents of suicide several times in *Letters*. 'The Reclaiming of Kokichi,' which is also included in *The Slaking of the Sword* is the shortest of her Japanese fiction, but of particular interest because it shows the writer's acceptance of the Japanese custom of suicide. It is a story of an old woman Shiwo who visits a famous shrine, Nikkō, to pray for the reclamation of her naughty grandson Kokichi. She commits suicide there because it has been her wish since her childhood to die in this beautiful place. Fraser narrates this rather shocking story without overdramatizing it. Shiwo's suicide is described calmly and concisely as '[h]er penknife was on the stone beside her, and there were no ugly marks, only a tiny stab in her throat' (117). Her death

is depicted as a peaceful one. The story closes with a remark by a neighbour that Shiwo 'was a good woman!' (117). Fraser by no means criticises her deed or the singular custom. The application of an objective narrative style of reportage allows Fraser to eschew subjective interpretation and judgment. It is remarkable that Fraser rises above her Christian beliefs in her understanding of this culturally-specific act of self-harm. Fraser was sympathetic to the Japanese idea of death to the extent that she could approve of suicide in spite of her own religious beliefs. This, in turn, signifies Fraser's endless openness to the alterity and difficult translatability of the Japanese people and culture.

Conclusion

Fraser fondly recalls Japan, writing: 'my two real homes, Japan and South Italy' (*Further* 211). Alison Blunt calls for further research on 'the imagined geographies of "home" in travel writing' and argues (28): '[t]he significance of such a dialectical relationship between "home" and away for imperial women travel writers lay in their own perceptions of "home" and how they were perceived by others on their return' (114). Britain was not a home for Fraser, and she was not bound by society in the same way as other British female travellers: after leaving Japan, she sailed back to Italy. Japan as her imagined home enhanced her sympathetic attitude towards its people and culture. However, her receptiveness to the other culture simultaneously made her more

susceptible to the surge of Japanese nationalism. Her residence in Japan coincided with the zenith of the treaty revision movement and a fresh rise of patriotism against anti-foreign sentiment. It is difficult to overlook the underlying nationalist propaganda in the discourse of loyalty and bravery of Japanese women which influences Fraser's representation of Japanese women. It is arguable that the pro-Japanese discourse Fraser helped to propagate stimulated the process of forming a political alliance between Britain and Japan during the critical period when the two countries could have become estranged.[25]

These specific political affiliations notwithstanding, the intimate friendships Fraser formed with Japanese women and their mutual recognition are exceptional and noteworthy. In her works, we witness determined attempts of a woman to cross the cultural and racial boundaries towards others in the heyday of late nineteenth-century imperialism and the international solidarity of women mediated through literature. Fraser formed warm friendships with Japanese people, especially with Japanese women, at the turn of the century despite contemporary philosophical discourses against female friendship. These friendships between women across nations and races directed Fraser to write charming stories animated by cross-racial/national/class bonds which have usually been overlooked in literary studies. Moreover, her understanding of other people

[25] According to a biographical sketch by Hugh Cortazzi, Hugh Fraser, Fraser's husband, was never popular with the British expatriate community in Japan because of his realistic approach to the subject of treaty revision, impervious to their emotional and reactionary protest against it ('Hugh Fraser' 47-48). His diplomatic stance might have some impact on Fraser's favourable attitude towards Japan in her writings.

and cultures is reflected in her extraordinary hospitality and openness towards religiously-controversial customs of suicide and mourning in her texts. We should also not forget that behind this cultural encounter there was the hospitality which Japanese people offered to Fraser. Her narratives are inescapably influenced by colonial and racial discourses at that time, to be sure; but her warm friendships with Japanese people in her works suggest a possibility of fruitful cultural interaction beyond geopolitical boundaries and racial differences.

The final sentence of *Letters* makes a stark contrast to the aesthetic and gracious Japan Fraser mostly foregrounds: 'The ninth day of the third month of the twenty-seventh year of Meiji [i.e. 1894 $_{AD}$], the Period of Enlightened Peace, is over, and the curtain of To-day has fallen, grey and tangible, over the dreamy splendours of the Past' (2: 438-39). Fraser here announces in a prophetic language not only the end of the particular day but also the end of an era. The shift hardly looks auspicious as Fraser pictures the new epoch as substantial reality in leaden colour as opposed to the peaceful, dazzling, and dreamlike past. Japan was on its way to imperialist militarism, and it was in August of the same year that it declared a war against China, the Sino-Japanese War, which Fraser retrospectively knew at the time of the publication of *Letters*. This is the historical backdrop against which our next traveller, Marie Stopes, sailed to Japan, full of hope and expectation for her passionate love for one Japanese man.

CHAPTER IV

Love, Sexuality, and Race:

Marie Stopes and *A Journal from Japan*

> My Lords,
>
> I speak to you in the name of God. You are His Priests. I am His Prophet.
>
> I speak to you of the mysteries of the union of man and woman. (Stopes, *A New Gospel to All Peoples* 9)

'Are you late?' began the half-a-minute TV commercial for Marie Stopes International which was broadcast on Channel 4 in May 2010, proving once again that more than half a century after her death, Marie Stopes and her ideas still attract major public attention.[1] Marie Charlotte Carmichael Stopes (15 October 1880—2 October 1958) is now remembered mostly for her achievements in the field of sexology and birth control.[2] Overshadowed by her distinguished career as a pioneering activist for contraception are her days as an aspiring doctoral student in palaeobotany in Germany and a newly fledged young researcher in Japan when she made an intimate connection with Japanese

---

[1] This TV commercial for Marie Stopes International which was first broadcast on Channel 4 on Monday 24 May 2010 commanded considerable media attention as the first UK TV advertisement for abortion services and provoked a heated discussion between the organisation and the anti-abortion campaign group, Life.

[2] Marie Stopes International, an international non-profit organisation for sexual and reproductive health is named after Stopes. Stopes published her best-seller, *Married Love* in 1918, in which she explored female sexuality and sexual pleasure. Marie Stopes International, which has evolved from the Mothers' Clinic Stopes established in London in 1921, currently has its affiliated bodies in 42 countries around the world. It was Britain's first family planning clinic. See 'History.' *Marie Stopes International* <http://www.mariestopes.org/about-us/history>.

people and culture.[3] This extraordinary woman, who on one occasion dared to prophesy a gospel of birth control and sexual pleasure at an assembly of Catholic Bishops, developed a romantic relationship with a Japanese Buddhist professor, Fujī Kenjirō, as well as a lifelong friendship with another, Sakurai Jōji. This chapter will explore Stopes' relationships with these two Japanese men through her three published Japanese-related works—namely, *A Journal from Japan: A Daily Record of Life as Seen by a Scientist* (*Journal*) (1910), *Love-Letters of a Japanese* (*Love-Letters*) (1911) and *Plays of Old*

[3] There are five biographies of Marie Stopes. Overall, their focus is on her later life as a famous/infamous birth-control activist, and little of her connection with Japan has been explored except for her dramatic relationship with Fujī. The first biography *The Authorized Life of Marie C. Stopes* by Aylmer Maude was published as early as in 1924 when Stopes was still in her mid-forties. Her second biography by the same biographer *Marie Stopes: Her Works and Play* was brought out in 1933 and was practically the same book with additional materials. Since Maude was a close friend—possibly more than a friend—of Stopes' and that the first biography came out in Stopes' defence after her loss in the Stopes vs. Sutherland court case over a libel, it displays flattering and propagandist tendencies. Moreover, the two never explore her personal relationships with the two Japanese men. The third biography *Marie Stopes: A Biography* (1962) by Keith Briant was the first posthumous biography of Stopes and made reference to her romantic relationship with Fujī. Nevertheless, the scope of the book remains decidedly limited to her literary contacts due to the biographer's personal interest. In addition, as Briant was also close to Stopes—he was Stopes' young lover—and that only four years had elapsed since Stopes' death before its publication, the biography left some information intentionally untouched. The fourth biography *Marie Stopes: A Biography* (1977) by Ruth Hall is the most comprehensive to date and utilises the vast Marie Stopes Papers, three hundred and twenty-four volumes of manuscripts held by the British Library. Hall even conducted interviews with Fujī's bereaved family and acquaintances in Japan. However, its focus concerning her relationship with Japan is exclusively on her romance with Fujī. The latest biography *Marie Stopes: And the Sexual Revolution* (1992) by June Rose is still restricted in its interests to Stopes' dramatic personal life and fails to deal with other aspects of her time in Japan.

Carmen Blacker in her paper 'Marie Stopes and Japan' points out the relative obscurity of Stopes' connection to Japan despite the strong link between Stopes' Japanese-related experiences and her later works on sexology. Her paper provides an overview of Stopes' biographical details, concentrating on her Japanese connections through her published works and unpublished correspondence. However, Blacker carries out no in-depth text analysis unless there are some interesting biographical findings. Lorraine Sterry also criticises the lack of critical attention towards Stopes' travel to Japan except her romantic relationship with Fujī in *Victorian Women Travellers in Japan: Discovering a 'New' Land*. Although Sterry examines *Journal* closely, her goal is to put Stopes' representation of Japan in a wider context of discourse on the country by Victorian female travellers, and therefore she devotes her attention solely to depictions of Japan by Stopes and the similarities and differences between her and other female travellers. Sterry never goes into the analysis of *Love-Letters* and *Plays*, and her study is by no means literary, nor does it consider the relationships between Stopes and Japanese people. Thus, no comprehensive literary research has been conducted on the integral body of Stopes' Japan works in academia, and no sustained effort has been made to explain the salience of these works in her textual corpus as a whole.

Japan: The 'Nō' (*Plays*) (1913)—along with her unpublished manuscripts and correspondence held by the British Library. I will unveil a long-forgotten, stormy relationship and a warm friendship between the sexes, whose deliberate exclusion from the mainstream discourse of Western philosophy and politics Jacques Derrida denounces. Furthermore, I will explore the concepts of the community of lovers and the literary community that are elucidated in the works of Maurice Blanchot and Jean-Luc Nancy. The Japan that Stopes encountered was a masculine country of valiant *samurais* resuscitated through a dramatic course of events in international politics within a mere decade around the turn of the century. This chapter will consider the gender complexities Stopes addressed through the textual construction of her intimacy with racial others against the rigid imperial ideology and the Victorian notion of femininity. I will argue that Stopes' Japan oeuvre draws the trajectory of her desperate attempts to understand Japanese people at a deeper psychical level by virtue of her own experience of interracial love.

1. Lovers

Along with the problematic entanglement of figures of friends and brothers, one of the fundamental questions Derrida addresses in *The Politics of Friendship* is about the 'double exclusion of the feminine' in philosophical discourses on friendship, which gives the concept 'the essential and essentially sublime figure of virile homosexuality'

(279). After confirming a strong association between the friend-brother figure and such qualities as virtue, justice and moral and political reason in the major philosophical discourses on friendship, Derrida enquires:

> The principal question would rightly concern the hegemony of a philosophical canon in this domain: how has it prevailed? Whence derives its force? How has it been able to exclude the feminine or heterosexuality, friendship between women or friendship between men and women? Why can an essential inventory not be made of feminine or heterosexual experiences of friendship? Why this heterogeneity between *érōs* and *philía*? (277)

The significance of this enquiry lies in the fact that it addresses two key questions. First, there is the question about male homosociality of philosophical discourses on friendship. Secondly, there is the question about the arbitrariness of the rigid separation between love and friendship. Derrida suggests these two questions guide us to the two crucial questions of deconstruction, that is, 'the question of the history of concepts' and 'the question of phallogocentrism' or, in this context more specifically 'phratrocentrism,' which is the privileging of brothers (278). Derrida ascribes the double exclusion of the feminine to the work of politicization which is immanent in politics *per se* and has imposed a close connection between the binary oppositions of men/women, public/private and politics/domestic (281). From this perspective, Derrida throws a critical light on the hierarchical division between love and friendship and its politics, taking Nietzschean discourses as example, where friendship is placed above love and where the former is a masculine attribute while the latter is feminine (282). These Derridean insights point to the interrelation between a patriarchal conspiracy to

marginalise women in the political sphere and the division between love and friendship in Western ethico-politico-philosophical discourses. Derrida maintains that '[b]eyond all ulterior frontiers between love and friendship, but also between the passive and active voices, between the loving and the being-loved, what is at stake is "lovence" [*aimance*]' (7). Lovence is the word which Derrida describes as being 'indispensable for the naming of a third or first voice, the so-called middle voice, on the near or far side of loving (friendship or love), of activity or passivity, decision or passion' (25). Lovence, which crushes the opposition between love and friendship, will lead to the dissolution of other correlative dichotomies and pose a radical challenge to the phratrocentric discourses on friendship.[4]

The issues of love and lovers explored by Nancy and Blanchot in relation to community show us the way to the breaking-up of the love/friendship division and the restoration of love, or lovence, in the friendship discourse. In 'The Inoperative Community,' Nancy explains community not in traditional terms of a unity and communion of separate individuals into a common being, which ultimately lead to the exclusive logic of totalitarianism and nationalism, but as a space of communication where singular, finite beings appear together, or '*compears*,*'* and are exposed to each other to share their being (28). He formulates this mode of community simply as '*you*

[4] A note by Thomas Keenan, one of the early translators of Derrida's 'Politics of Friendship,' is highly indicative of the inexorable thematic connection between friendship and love in Derridean thesis. Keenan informs us of the fact that 'Politics of Friendship' was given as a seminar which later moved on to study the phrase 'I love you' (390).

shares me' (29). After delineating his thinking on community, Nancy reminds us that '[f]or Bataille, community was first and finally the community of lovers' (36). After expressing certain reservations regarding the residual dichotomy between the public and the private and the theme of communion in Bataillean arguments, he demands to 'think otherwise' about 'another articulation both of love and of community' (36-38). He claims:

> Love does not *complete* community [. . .]: in that case it would be its work, or it would put it to work. On the contrary, love, provided it is not itself conceived on the basis of the politico-subjective model of communion in one, exposes the unworking and therefore the incessant *incompletion* of community. It exposes community as its limit. (38)

In other words, it breaks the bonds of consanguinity that underlines imaginative community formation. He continues that lovers are 'at the extremity of sharing,' or 'compearance,' and 'form the extreme though not external limit of community' (38). Nancy contrasts lovers with men in the city as a political unit twice during his argument. He writes '[l]overs touch each other, unlike fellow citizens' (38). 'Touching,' he elaborates, 'is the limit,' and in the joyous instant of touching the limit and sharing, lovers expose compearance to community (39).

This brings us to a passage in *The Unavowable Community* by Blanchot where he expands his idea about the community of lovers arising from his reading of *La maladie de la mort* (1982) by Marguerite Duras. Blanchot writes in the section titled 'The Absolutely Feminine' that ' she accepts everything from him, without ceasing to lock

him in his male closure, having relationships only with other men, something she tends to designate as his "malady" or as one of the forms of that malady which in itself is much vaster' (51). Here, Blanchot suggests the pathology of male homosociality and exclusion of the other, the feminine. Despite certain reservations regarding the apparent remaining phallogocentrism and heteronormativity in Blanchot, this suggestion is well worth considering in that it uncovers the limitation of phratrocentrism and the possibility of the figure of lovers to break through it. Thus, love, which is deemed inferior to friendship in the phratrocentric discourses, instead reveals itself as what exposes inoperative or unavowable community, and lovers denote the ultimacy of compearance, or being-in-common, which condemns the androcentric desire for the self-same. Besides, this love, which overcomes the phratrocentrism of traditional friendship and the dichotomy between men and women and which never completes union, seems akin to lovence. Lovence, which indicates indeterminacy and perhaps 'the *between* as such,' enables the sharing, or compearance, of the lovers (Nancy 29).

Stopes stepped into a male-dominated area of science as one of the first female scientists; she publicised the private issue of conjugal life; she praised her friendships with men and foreigners, whose marginalisation in philosophical discourses on friendship by virtue of the privileged consanguinity is also criticised by Derrida; she even loved a Japanese man passionately. This subversive figure enables us to think beyond the traditional boundaries of the Victorian period and to consider the possibility

of lovence through her heterosexual friendship across the racial divide.

2. Marie Stopes and Japan

Journal records the everyday life of Stopes during her residence in Japan between her arrival on 6 August 1907 and her departure on 24 January 1909. The ostensible purpose of Stopes' travel to Japan was to carry out palaeobotanical research on Japanese coal mines at the then University of Tokyo, funded by the Royal Society. This suggests her complicity in the British imperial enterprise in that Japan's location and its rich coal mines had a geopolitical significance for Britain in its maritime management of colonies in the South Seas, which Alfred Stead illustrated in support of the Anglo-Japanese alliance (227). *Journal*, which was published in 1910 in London by Blackie & Son, is calculated to balance this masculine activity as a scientist with more feminine attributes. Its preface claims that it is based on the journal which Stopes sent to her family and friends in Britain instead of letters and that it was published by popular demand despite the fact that, on the author's part, there were no intentions to publish.[5] It retains a diary

[5] Although the actual manuscript of *Journal* is not found among Stopes Papers in the British Library, a letter to her friends dated 12 July 1907 instructing the circulation of the original journal and several extant entries she wrote on-board her voyage to Japan evidence the existence of the journal and support the reason for its creation cited by Stopes in the preface. The correspondence between Stopes and her publishers also documents her initial lack of intention to publish the journal. A letter from William Leonard Courtney, the then editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, to Stopes' mother on 26 January 1909 asks her to encourage Stopes to send any materials they think suitable for the magazine, writing that '[i]ndeed, her recent experiences must be something like a romance,' which points to the publisher's interest in her Japanese experiences as well as her mother's, rather than Stopes', intention to publish her journal. Part of *Journal* relating her trips in the Western part of Japan came out in its issue in July 1909. The magazine assesses *Journal*'s qualities as a record, 'full of human interest,' of 'fact[s] and actual incident[s]' rather than 'fantasies' about Japan, which was 'grievously misrepresented by the average writer of books' by the writer who was '[o]ften the first woman, sometimes the first European, in some of the remoter parts she visited,' and was 'trained in science' (Stopes 'Expedition' 93). A letter to Stopes from a publisher, Walter M. Blackie, on 30 July 1909

form, and Stopes renounces any literary quality in it. Its frontispiece is a romantic portrait of the author in a pale, lacy dress with a rose corsage on her bosom (see fig. 4). Bare-headed with loosely tied-up hair and bare-necked, Stopes embodies an alternative femininity free from the Victorian praxis. A two-stanza ode 'To Japan' which adorns the opening of *Journal* comprises the first stanza extolling the feminine 'Dreamland of Beauty' with flowers and the second stanza lamenting its loss for its transformation as a masculine 'armed' country touched by Western modernity (v). With her ultimate sympathy towards the feminine depiction of Japan, the piece serves to enhance the author's femininity. Two reviewers also highlight the work's feminine quality by praising 'Miss'—not 'Dr'—Stopes' sensibility of 'a girl' which they consider uncharacteristic of scientists while noting its peculiar androgyny.

---

expresses his interest in publishing *Journal* in book form, praising it as 'a bright and fresh account of a journey in odd by-ways of Japan which few of our home people have been privileged to tread.' On the other hand, a letter from the *Manchester Guardian* to Stopes on 21 January 1908 announces the receipt of a number of her articles, one of which on a Japanese coal mine they accepted for publication in their issue on 23 January 1908. This letter indicates Stopes' own ambition to publish her Japanese experiences. See Marie Stopes, letter to family and friends, 12 July 1907, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London; William Leonard Courtney, letter to Charlotte Brown Carmichael Stopes, 26 Jan. 1909, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London; Walter M. Blackie, letter to Marie Stopes, 30 July 1909, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London; Manchester Guardian, letter to Marie Stopes, 21 Jan. 1908, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.



4. Portrait of the author from Marie Stopes, *A Journal from Japan: A Daily Record of Life as ı by a Scientist* (1910).

With very regular entries and its introductory and concluding chapters, which are somewhat unusual for a diary, *Journal* might well be regarded as a study on Japanese people. What is remarkable is Stopes' relativism and self-reflection. Stopes recognised the necessity of appreciating Japan on its own terms, not hers. She opines that she was 'handicapped' by European traditions in understanding Japanese people (xiii). She even realises that English books about Japan by Japanese intellectuals are 'a translation of their traditions in the terms of ours,' hence the need to 'unlearn' their writings in order to reach the truth (xiii). In her effort to understand Japanese people, Stopes not only observes them but also turns around the gaze and sees herself from a Japanese perspective. She confesses her regret about refusing a request from a college principal

for a lecture, thinking that '[t]heir curiosity and interest about me was as natural as my curiosity and interest about their coal mine' and that '[t]hey may well be led to conclude [. . .] that European scientists are in a hurry, and are selfish and lacking in personal sympathy' (xii-xiii). Stopes does not adopt a stance of an aloof observer detached from his research subjects but an embedded interlocutor with her turn to be judged. Her genuine sympathy with Japanese culture reaches so far as to overcome the Victorian discrimination against Japanese heresy which defined most travellers:

> According to Japanese ideas, the spirit of the departed inhabits this dwelling [i.e. a little family shrine] and needs the love and attention of his kindred, and takes part in their life. Is Christianity more consoling to the bereaved than this? (249)

Stopes acknowledges her friendships with Japanese men for their guidance in her cultural exploration. *Journal* can be adequately described as a praise of friendship. Stopes concludes both the introduction and conclusion with a discussion of friendship as if it were the topic of the utmost importance for her. For instance, the concluding chapter closes with the following remark:

> Sometimes carelessly, sometimes sadly, it has often been said that there can be no true understanding, no deep friendship between the East and the West. [. . .] In the hearts of some Japanese I have found friendship, tested by circumstance, true, and generous, and sweet. (272-274)

Interestingly, she discusses friendship between the sexes exclusively. In the introductory chapter, she claims:

> There is further a quality in a pure and intellectual friendship which comes to it only when the friends are man and woman, a quality not necessarily better than, but different from other friendships, and one which reveals much of the individual character and the national character of those who form the tie. The

man and woman who are true friends give each other of their very best. (xiv)

This statement assumes historical significance given the social context of contemporary Britain. Victor Luftig, in *Seeing Together: Friendship between the Sexes in English Writing, from Mill to Woolf,* which is a thorough examination of literary representations of heterosexual friendships and idiomatic struggles of Victorian writers, suggests that post-Victorian intellectuals and writers 'make it more possible to place "friendship" among a full range of gender-related possibilities' (10). According to Luftig, whereas the extramarital friendship was desexualised cautiously by mid-Victorian writers due to constant social pressures, it became 'legitimate and authentic' as 'a necessary daily fact' by the end of the century owing to the influx of bourgeois women into the workplace and the rise of New Woman, and even incorporated sexual relationships (93-95). Stopes' discussion of friendship apparently reflects this new social awareness of cross-gender friendship. The subversive possibilities Luftig sees in heterosexual friendship, however, are multiplied by Stopes in that her friendships with Japanese men challenge not only the conventional gender relations but also the commonplace racial ideologies. Stopes' view disagrees with the ethico-politico-philosophical discourses on the concept of friendship with its problematic exclusion of the feminine and foreign. Stopes by no means employs the rhetoric of friends out of naivety. *Journal* narrates various incidents of mistrust of Japanese people Stopes had to go through. Nevertheless, what made her retain her faith in friendship was her enduring passion for Fujī Kenjirō and intellectual

companionship with Sakurai Jōji.

The Community of Lovers: Marie Stopes and Fujī Kenjirō

Despite an emphasis on the scholarly purposes of her visit in *Journal*'s introduction, it was, in fact, prompted by Stopes' passionate affair with Fujī. Stopes met Fujī in Munich, Germany, where she was working for her PhD in botany. He was fourteen years her senior and already an assistant professor—and married—in Japan. *Love-Letters*, which testifies their relationship in full, was published in 1911 by Stanley Paul & Co in London. It consists of personal correspondence between Stopes and Fujī which lasted till their relationship broke up. This book takes the epistolary form, which reminds readers of eighteenth-century Romantic novels, reflecting Stopes' literary taste and romantic temperament, and was edited by Marie Stopes herself under the pseudonym of G. N. Mortlake. The letters between the two lovers—Stopes and Fujī posing as Mertyl Meredith and Kenrio Watanabe, respectively—are punctuated with occasional editor's notes explaining external circumstances and the lovers' internal thoughts. The introductory chapter named 'In Explanation' opens with the editor's declaration that 'These letters are real,' which serves to enhance the realism of the book along with its choice of letter form (7). This claim of the authenticity of the letters is justified by their close identity with the original letters between Stopes and Fujī preserved in the British Library Department of Manuscripts.

Contrary to the considerable optimism about friendship between the sexes in *Journal*, *Love-Letters* foregrounds the complexity of cross-gender friendship. The apparent insanity of publishing the genuine letters of her unrequited love becomes explicable in the light of 'In Explanation' in two ways: for her personal desire and public interests. Although the letters are authentic, Stopes carried out a single but significant modification to the reality and fictionalised the background of the letters. Stopes presented the letters as posthumous. Stopes prefaces the letters with the following statement:

> Both the writers of these letters have passed away, and the love may seem scarcely to have been real, [. . .].
>
> It is true that this love had no physical consummation; but love so vivid and so deep has eternal life. The conditions surrounding it have, in this case, an interest which lends its spirit a material monument for a little space in human time. (8)

In her desolation at the loss of her love, Stopes surely wished for death; in the introduction she contributed to the second edition of *Love-Letters* under her real name (although she maintained the precaution of editing the letters under a pseudonym), Stopes describes Martyl's death as 'merciful' (Introduction 10). Yet, Stopes also designs it to romanticise their love with the fictional deaths of the lovers whereby she idealises it, almost to the extent of worship. It seems that she tried to make her hopeless love eternal by publishing the love letters as a piece of literature and representing her and Fujī as if they were legendary lovers. A seemingly minor alteration of the correspondents' occupations from scientists to artists also reveals Stopes' ambition to

give the work literary quality in order to prolong its life. She introduces the two letter-writers as 'at heart two poets' (7). This desire of Stopes' to immortalise their love in a work of art reminds us of what Nancy calls 'an *operative* immortality,' as opposed to his inoperative community of compearance, as well as the 'death of lovers' as 'one of the mythico-literary figures of [the] logic of communion in immanence,' or a 'community of death' (3, 12-13). Unfortunately for Stopes, this operation is negated or unworked by the very fact that the death of the lovers is fictitious in *Love-Letters*. Their immortal communion which Stopes desired was never to be completed.

Widespread interest in Japan and its people among the general public facilitated the publication of *Love-Letters*.[6] Added to this, the early twentieth century, when the book was published, witnessed the increasing popularity of psychology as a new science. Stopes claims that:

> Patterning this web is a design, a revelation, of Japanese character and Japanese inner life. The man is a native of Japan, cultured, thoughtful, and with the power of expressing himself, and he portrays not only his own personality, but a side of his nation's character which the West has not often seen.
>
> This revelation of the psychology of the Japanese mind holds a thousand interests which need no exposition by an editor. (7)

There was a plethora of books on Japan by the time Stopes published *Love-Letters*, and she herself remarks on this in the preface of *Journal* saying that 'I vowed that I would

[6] In a letter on 24 December 1905, Stopes encouraged Fujī to write an article on Japan immediately in that 'much is being written now about Japan and it becomes more difficult to write originally' and that 'people will not always be so keenly interested as they are now when the whole Western view of Japan is one rather of astonishment and curiosity' (Mortlake 185-86). This letter substantiates the strong interest in Japan among Western countries at that time.

not add to the already excessive number of books written on Japan' (vii). This saturation on the market notwithstanding, what differentiates *Love-Letters* from other Japanese-related books and thereby gives it the consequent import as a publication is the intimacy with its Japanese subject. Unlike other travelogues and academic monographs by foreign travellers or Japanese authors, one half of the text in *Love-Letters* was written by a Japanese man in the most intimate language of love without any intention of publishing it. This allows the book to uncover the intimate life of the Japanese subject which would usually be kept private. In addition, the title choice suggests that the central focus of the book is on the Japanese subject rather than on the two lovers, which presents the book as a study of the Japanese character. This title was designed chiefly to appeal to the intended readership, but it might also hint at Stopes' hope to understand the inner self of her unfaithful lover by reading through his love letters again. This partly explains why she made no alteration to Fujī's letters or to his language. Stopes herself needed to listen to his authentic voice; or rather, she was unable to speak in his voice because, after all, she did not know it. On the surface, the commodification and objectification of the Japanese other by Stopes appear an unethical move towards its appropriation in order to comprehend and subsequently annihilate the alterity. This attempt fails, nevertheless. *Love-Letters* by no means manages to succeed in showing Fujī in his totality, due to the fragmentary nature of the epistolary form which allows him to elude our comprehension. Added to this is the distortion of textual fluidity

caused by a time lag between dispatch and receipt of letters at the time. As a consequence, *Love-Letters* hardly achieves unity. This failure, however, reveals the community of lovers which is not communion but exposition.

The concept of friendship serves a crucial role in *Love-Letters*. It acts as an idiom simultaneously to indicate proximity and distance in relation to the ambivalent bond between Stopes and Fujī. Stopes prefaces the love letters with the following statement on friendship: 'It was known to every one that he [Fujī] was married, and that fact alone—at that period of her life—seemed to Mertyl sufficient guarantee of the stability of the foundation of their friendship' (9). Stopes also adds that she by no means envisaged that 'any further development of tenderness was to be expected in the friendship' (10). These remarks disclose the underlying assumption about friendship between the sexes as part of the wider spectrum of relationship where romantic love stands at one end as a potential goal. Stopes makes desperate efforts to demarcate friendship from love and desexualise her relationship with Fujī at the early stage of their correspondence, whereby she refutes any sexual intimacy between them. Stopes as editor notes that while their friendship 'ripened' (43), and became 'deeper and more personal' (46), 'it would never enter the borderlands of love,' because 'Mertyl was at that time singularly unconscious of her sex' (47). Within this precarious realm of friendship, Stopes and Fujī build and exalt their relationship in a passionate language. Fujī suggests that their friendship, which is of 'so-called [. . .] *real* friends,' is nameless,

for such a friendship is ‘little known or only half-known’ (21).

As their friendship turns into love, friendship serves as a name under which Stopes and Fujī express their love. They start addressing each other as ‘dear’ and ‘child’ (47-48), and their language becomes more romantic. Fujī, imagining her college room where a stool ‘sits lonely’ and a door hook ‘has the cape you [Stopes] left, but no coat,’ writes that he sympathises with them (48). He even goes further and finishes the letter with a line that says ‘[w]hen I thought I touched, it was my own hand’ (48). In another letter, he laments that her picture is so beautiful that it makes him feel sad (50). Despite the sensual allusion to physical contact and romantic reference to physical beauty above, they remain reliant on the language of friendship in order to categorise their relationship. Stopes notes that Fujī assured her of the harmlessness of using tender words ‘in high friendship’ (47), and she talks of their friendship ‘which will grow to be a tree, “living and never finished”’ instead of being ‘embalmed as mere memory’ (49). Fujī replies to this that ‘[i]s our Friendship real or ideal? Ideal, real—ideal. Dear, I never experienced such a beautiful thing before’ (51).

Interestingly enough, even after they start expressing their love openly subsequent to Fujī’s confession of his wife’s affair and his prospective divorce, Stopes and Fujī continue to use the figure of friends to describe their relationship. Idioms of friendship are juxtaposed with idioms of romance. Nevertheless, an apparent discrepancy emerges in the idea of friendship between Stopes and Fujī at this stage. An undated letter from

Stopes to Fujī epitomises the difference. She writes on a recent courtship by her fellow student that:

> Dear, I am afraid that men always love women if they have friendship at all, even if it is so little that I hardly call it friendship. You see, sweetest, even you did not remain my friend, even though at the beginning of our friendship you swore solemnly that you would never fall in love with me. (112)

This passage exhibits Stopes' distress over the difficulty of keeping friendship *per se* with her male friends: this was of serious concern to a pioneering female scientist like Stopes, who had to work among male colleagues. This divergence between the genders as to the idea of friendship is also well reflected in the love letters between Stopes and Fujī. Whereas the former depicts their relation simply as 'comrades, colleagues from the first and to the last' (105), the latter cannot help but make a full list such as 'we met from the first as specialists in the same branch of knowledge, as comrades, friends, colleague, [. . .], and then we will be wife and husband' (149). Friendship with Fujī has intrinsic value for Stopes; on the contrary, it is not entirely satisfactory without added extras for Fujī. The phratrocentric logic of friendship is at work here in order to exclude women from the public realm of friendship and work and keep them in the private realm of love and marriage. Besides, their cultural difference also contributes to their divergent understanding. Fujī writes that friendship between the sexes is still a rarity in Japan and that Japanese men have learned the idea in Europe (243). And yet, his learning betrays a defect when he describes his wife's extramarital affair as 'a deep friendship' (180). Thus, friendship presents itself as an opportunistically-used concept

throughout *Love-Letters*. The language of friendship used by the lovers demonstrates the instability of a rigid separation between love and friendship and its arbitrariness as a consequence, thereby guiding our thinking towards lovence. Stopes ploughs through the ambiguous area only to find herself rejected by the main phratrocentric discourse.

Besides the issue of gender, racial difference also contributes to the instability of the relationship between Stopes and Fujī. Stopes notes bluntly that 'Mertyl still felt the strong, British dislike of any thought of love between an English woman and a foreigner' in the early stage of their relationship (32). It is worth observing that fears of miscegenation between British women and foreign men are described as a collective form of 'British' rather than as individual in this passage. This xenophobic view is repeatedly voiced throughout *Love-Letters* by describing the marriage to Fujī with such terms as 'unthinkable' and 'horrible' (52, 225). Her anticipation had biological as well as psychological grounds. A letter on 20 November 1906 relates Stopes' visit to a doctor with regard to interracial marriage and reports on a reassurance given by the doctor that 'there was no reason to fear dreadful things because we were of different nationalities' (321). Apparently Stopes was anxious about possible medical consequences of miscegenation. It is rather shocking to find out this fallacious knowledge about racial differences shared by a highly-educated scientist like Stopes.[7] It

[7] Biological degeneration as a result of miscegenation was a fairly common belief among Victorians. Herbert Spencer in 1892 advised a Japanese politician that '[r]especting the intermarriage of foreigners and Japanese . . . it should be positively forbidden . . . There is abundant proof, alike furnished by the intermarriages of human races and by the interbreeding of animals, that when the

is necessary to examine this issue of race at the nexus of politics and gender. It is illuminating of this interconnection to take the specificity of Japan and Anglo-Japanese political relations into account and investigate how they influence the racial discourse. A letter from Stopes to Fujī dated August 21, probably 1905, relates the occasions when she asked her friends for their opinions on interracial marriage between the English to the Japanese:

> However, fortunately, the fact that you are Japanese will not matter so much in the eyes of the people as I feared. Few people who matter at all will object to it and it will not make me lose as much as I thought at first. I am truly glad. (115)

Contrary to her expectation, the idea of marriage to a Japanese person was to stir up little controversy among her British friends. This makes a stark contrast to her experience in Germany, where the pairing of Stopes and Fujī attracted caustic comments mocking the Anglo-Japanese alliance (R. Hall 48). This is noteworthy in the Victorian social context of white superiority on grounds of social Darwinism and the consequent concern for racial purity (Leupp 159). There is no doubt that mainstream discourse on the Japanese in Britain and the bilateral political relation between the two countries had a positive effect on this. The following letter from Stopes to Fujī dated 8 April, probably 1906, is of particular interest with regard to this aspect. She writes:

> I am awfully glad that the political situation is so good for us. I think that had the position been that of ten years ago, I could not have dared to marry you, no matter how much I loved you. It is an astonishment to Europeans how

---

varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree *the result is inevitably a bad one* in the long run' (qtd. in Leupp 183).

> quickly your nation has become practically a European one, in power and ways, I mean, [. . .]. (259-60)

Stopes maintains that the strong political bond between their countries and the swift Europeanization of Japan were a necessary condition for their marriage. The two countries forged the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902, and the letter was written approximately half a year after the end of the Russo-Japanese War, whose outcome astonished the Western world. The political dynamics surrounding the couple had been completely transformed since Herbert Spencer exhorted a Japanese politician to introduce a ban on interracial marriage in Japan in 1892 (Leupp 183). Japan's rise to power, equal to European countries, was favourable for the marriage between Stopes and Fujī at the time when Eurocentrism went unchecked as the passage amply illustrates.

Nevertheless, Japan's international status as a growing world power simultaneously caused specific complications to the relationship between Stopes and Fujī. According to Rotem Kowner, Japan's phenomenal military success in the war against Russia produced a sea change in Western racial discourse on the country. The pendulum swung from 'a childish, immature, fun-loving, and good-humoured people' to 'aggressive, insolent, and even dangerous imperialists' (Kowner 130). Soon after the armistice, the German Kaiser Wilhelm II warned his chancellor that Japan was 'the yellow peril, the greatest danger threatening the white race, Christianity, and our entire culture' (Kowner 129). Britain was no exception to this radical shift. It was in 1904 that

Thomas Hodgson Crosland published his *The Truth about Japan* in London with a shocking opening passage which gives a vivid description of a devil-like Japanese man (Kowner 130). This newly-arising hostility against Japan demonstrates its influence in the private sphere through the relationship between Stopes and Fujī. A letter dated 22 November 1905 voices Fujī's anger, which is rather uncharacteristic of him. It is over a letter to the editor published in *The Times* of London on the subject of the national character of the Japanese. Fujī regards it as a move against the marriage between English women and Japanese men (165). The letter, entitled 'The Character of the Japanese people,' written by Bishop William Awdry appeared in the issue of 2 October 1905. It began with an address that 'It may be timely to say something about Western misapprehensions of Japanese character,' and while expressing his affection and respect for the people by way of a preamble, the bishop inveighs against the unsteadiness and inevitable untrustworthiness of Japanese people. Then, acknowledging that '[i]t is true that the Japanese in Rome does as Rome does,' he continues as follows:

> I would deprecate with all the force possible the marriage of an English girl to a Japanese. In this letter I have avoided all reference to Christianity, nor have I in mind the difference of race, though this also may reasonably be taken into account apart from any invidious questions of "higher" or "lower" races. But simply an English girl who meets a Japanese living in England like an Englishman can have no possible means of forming a judgment of what he will prove to be when he lives as a Japanese in Japan. [. . .] His very conformity in England may prove to be evidence, so far as it goes, that he will conform to custom also in Japan; [. . .]. (4)

Leaving aside his casual reference to the racial issue, which makes us realise the

contemporary prevalence of the subject, it is worth noting the way he abruptly introduces the public topic of the Japanese national character into the private realm of marriage and the way his argument is gendered. The devious Japan is embodied by a masculine figure, as opposed to an amicable Japan of submissive maiden, who takes advantage of an innocent English girl. The imperial discourse which always constructed the West as masculine could not incorporate this. The virile Japan became a potential enemy. Stopes witnessed this gender asymmetry in the intermarriage debate: 'although there is no social ban on mixed marriages in the best society in Tokio, the world has looked on and either wondered or scoffed. Many times in my own experience I have heard Europeans say, "How *could* she have married a Japanese?"' (Introduction 3).[8]

These public opinions had an apparent effect on Stopes. She had to steel herself and state in the letter on 25 January 1906 that '[t]here will be much more to face when I marry you, for you are Japanese. [. . .]; the result will be worth a little sacrifice. Only it is so easy to be led by what "people think" and to become stupid and weak' (211). Simultaneously, this letter shows a strong determination on the part of Stopes to live for love despite social and political adversities. Stopes offers *Love-Letters* as 'a vindication'

[8] Gender bias in Japanese matrimonial law also contributed to this prejudice against intermarriage between Western women and Japanese men. Decree No. 103 issued in 1873 stipulated that foreign wives of Japanese men renounced their native nationality and adopted Japanese nationality (Koyama 384). Stopes expresses her considerable distress over the idea of losing her British nationality through her marriage to Fujī: 'I fear very much that I may have to be naturalised Japanese if I am to marry you legally. Please find out if that will be the absolute necessity, for it will be very hard, almost impossible for me to do that. I am English and I *cannot* throw that off. It is my pride, and the pride of every English-born person to be English—' (260). Stopes mentions here the English pride, which indicates the wide sphere of influence English nationalism gained over personal affairs of marriage.

of interracial marriages between Japanese men and European women through an attempt to 'show [. . .] how comprehensible is the position of an English woman who loves a Japanese man' (Introduction 3, 9). For this purpose, Stopes submits the hypersensibility of Japanese men, contrary to the popular belief of Japanese apathy.[9] She argues:

> Above all things a woman longs to be understood, to have her slightest action noted, to have her thoughts felt before they are expressed. The men of the Japanese nation, so long trained to grasp subtleties of expression, are in many respects unusually qualified to give this understanding to a companion with whom they are intimate. The outcry of denial which this statement of mine is likely to raise is due to the fact that most Europeans, meeting Japanese, are in the position of children stirring up pools on the shore in which sea-anemones are living. The children do not see the starry, radiating tentacles of violet and green because the stillness in which alone they will expand is disturbed by them. (Introduction 5)

This passage gives an interesting twist to mainstream Victorian discourse on Japan. It bestows on Japanese men an exceptional perception of human subtleties which makes them excellent companions for women instead of their established image as misogynistic, patriarchal tyrants as found in Isabella Bird's accounts. It further infantilises Europeans for their insensitivity in the face of Japanese people against the imperial habit of infantilising natives. However, Stopes' vindication of Japanese men also shows a peculiar gender twist. Stopes writes: 'Watanabe's [Fujī's] letters show him to be full of feminine intuitions and delicacies, which the manly strength of men usually

[9] Stopes reported in her letter to Fujī on 6 April 1906 on her friend's impression of his emotionlessness: 'I am very amused with Miss Lucy the other day; she was talking about you, and she asked me if I could imagine you with any feelings! She said she thought you seemed so cold and impersonal that she believed you could never love, or hate, or be angry' (256). This must have reminded Stopes of her privileged access to Japanese sentiments through her relationship with Fujī.

crushes out of them' (Introduction 4). Stopes feminises Japanese men and commends them for their feminine quality, not their masculinity. This effectively makes Japanese men and, consequently their relationship with Western women, innocuous in the imperial logic by desexualising it. Stopes repeats that their relationship was unconsummated and maintains that they 'love[d] comprehensively rather than sexually' (Introduction 3). Reviewers of *Love-Letters* debate the authenticity of the correspondence, partly due to the example of *An Englishwoman's Love-Letters* (1900) by Laurence Housman and a disappointing revelation of its fictionality, but mainly due to the propriety of the interracial affair publicised by the work. They incline towards its fictionality, and one reviewer maintains that '[i]f they are genuine, they constitute a heinous breach of good taste, and it is difficult to see the excuse for their publication' ('Book Review' 267). Desexualisation of their relationship was inevitable in order to publicly defend it under the strict censorship of interracial as well as extramarital intimacy.

Exploration of their interracial relationship from Fujī's point of view contrastingly illuminates a different aspect of the early twentieth-century racial politics. Even though Fujī writes that '[n]ationality, tradition, vanished in the light of love,' their racial difference plays an equally significant part in their relationship for him too (89). He often expresses his admiration—which sometimes seems to amount even to adulation or flattery—for Western people and their culture embodied by Stopes in

Love-Letters. Fujī confesses that he 'fancied an imaginary friendship with a noble-minded, learned lady' which was realised as that with Stopes (114), and makes a fawning comment that 'people will say it was a great luck to lose its own stupid mother and get a noble English mother to build its character,' apropos his suggestion that Stopes takes care of his Japanese child (303). He even promises his submission to her custom following their marriage, requesting that 'you will be so kind to your husband as to point out that my act is impolite and explain your custom—I will be grateful for that and follow yours,' which was utterly inconceivable in Japan where husbands demanded absolute obedience from their wives (222). Moreover, Fujī writes that his daughter is not pretty. Although modesty is one of the chief virtues and it is customary to belittle one's relations in Japan, Fujī ascribes his view to the fact that he became 'accustomed to see lovely little child with very white skin and with lovelier appearance in Europe' (228). This attitude of Fujī's truly exemplifies the inferiority complex Japanese intellectuals had towards Westerners and their desire to become white through their relationships with Western women. Fukuzawa Yukichi showed off his photograph with a white girl to his fellow passengers in 1860 (Leupp 137). Mori Arinori, a leading Meiji politician reportedly exhorted Japanese students in America to intermarry with the local white women so as 'to improve the race' and 'advance our country [Japan] to the heights of civilization and enlightenment,' and Mori himself considered such a marriage in the early 1870s (I. P. Hall 185-86). Their aspiration is analogous to the

psychoneurosis of Black male expatriates in a metropolis which Frantz Fanon examined. In 'The Man of Color and the White Woman,' Fanon illustrates their desire for 'deracialization' through their relationships with white women (52).

This desire for white women among Japanese intellectuals found expression in the Japanese imagination. Some Meiji Japanese literary works represent Japanese male fantasies about Western women. Mori Ōgai, a pre-eminent Japanese writer who was sent to Germany by the government to study military hygiene for four years, provides illustrative examples.[10] Mori produced a series of short stories known as the German trilogy, namely *Maihime* (The Dancing Girl) (1890), *Utakata no Ki* (Evanescent Note) (1890) and *Fumizukai* (The Courier) (1891), based on his experiences in Europe. *Maihime* is usually read as a Bildungsroman of Ōta Toyotarō, a young Japanese student in Germany whose relationship with a poor local dancer, Elis, fails in the conflict between European individualism and the rigid social conventions of Meiji Japan (Bowring 171-72). However, the story is construed as a European version of *Madame Butterfly* when reconstructed from Elis's standpoint. Ōta falls in love at first sight with Elis, mesmerized by her innocent beauty, but he decides to sail back to Japan, leaving Elis pregnant and mad in Berlin in the end. *Utakata no Ki* and *Fumizukai* also depict beautiful Western heroines and their relationships with Japanese male protagonists in a

[10] Mori Ōgai is one of the representative writers of Meiji Japan. Besides his own creative writings, Mori translated many pieces of Western literature into Japanese, thereby contributing to modernisation of Japanese literature. Scholars discuss autobiographical elements of *Maihime*. His sister records great consternation caused among his family by a visit of a German girl with whom Mori had an affair in Germany after his return to Japan (Bowring 167-70).

romantic and idealistic language. In *Utakata no Ki*, Marie, a beautiful model in Munich, falls in love with Kose, a Japanese painter, for the simple kindness she received from him as a child. The scene where she gives him a kiss on the brow is subtly eroticised by spilt beer soaking her dress and running over a table 'in snakelike rivulet' and her 'burning hands' touching his ears, reminding readers of ejaculation (251). In *Fumizukai*, Ida, an aristocratic daughter in Dresden escapes an unwanted marriage to a German officer with a chivalrous help of Kobayashi, a visiting officer from Japan. The story finishes with a fetishistic description of the moment of parting with a passing physical contact of a finger of her right hand on his lips (114). These works give voice to the admiration and hidden desire for Western women among Japanese male intellectuals. The fantasy of meeting a beautiful white woman and possessing her allowed them to feign the coveted Western identity.

The neurotic desire of Japanese men to deracialise themselves through a catalyst of Western women found sordid outlets equally outside the imaginary realm, which took its toll on women on both ends of the Eurasian continent.[11] A letter from Fujī to Stopes on 2 February 1906 reports a scandalous case of intermarriage between a

[11] We can find numerous examples of Meiji male public figures who lived abroad and married white women, some of whose marriages led to unfortunate consequences. Stopes relates a popular prejudice against interracial marriage in both Japan and Britain due to the prevalence of marriages and affairs between Japanese men and European women, or she specifies as 'their landladies' daughters in Europe,' which seems to suggest its public recognition as a social phenomenon ('Introduction' 2). Among such cases was that of Saburō Ozaki, father of Yei Theodora Ozaki, who married his private tutor's daughter, Bathia Catherine Morrison, in London in 1869 and had three daughters. Their marriage ended in divorce in 1881 after Ozaki returned to Japan in 1873 and married a Japanese woman (Koyama 385-89).

Japanese man and a Western woman during his foreign residence which ended in the divorce of his Japanese wife (223). Life in the West and intimate relationships with local women put them under hypnosis and helped them acquire an alternative identity. Fujī states that he has never become homesick in Europe and feels 'more at ease, and more leisured' than in Japan' (29-30). This indicates his impressive assimilation into Western society, and Stopes certainly contributed to this. The problem is that this identity is illusory. The final letter from Fujī to Stopes in *Love-Letters* on 28 September 1907 announces his disillusionment with the Western idea of love:

> Dear Miss Meredith,
> I hope that you will have happy time in future, and marry some nice Englishman. [. . .]
>
> When I was in Europe I wished to experience all things after European fashion. I did not intended however to have love with any lady, but you were so sweet I smoothed into it unawares, and according to my Europeanised thought it was so delicious. [. . .]. But becoming more returned to my original state, among Japanese, and also with work, the idea of love changed. [. . .] I think I told you in earlier times that love is thought to be immoral with us. And now I know that it is really so, if it had such a strong power over me, against my natural habit.
>
> It is different with Europeans, for you place love as of first importance. I hope you will marry some nice Englishman. (345-347)

Beginning with the formal and distant address, Fujī confesses his past desire for Europeanness but emphasises his full realisation of an unbridgeable chasm between Europe and Japan. He claims that he was not his true self when he was in love with Stopes in Europe, and that he had recovered himself since his return to Japan. Ironically, this dramatic alteration justifies Bishop Awdry's view on Japanese instability at which

he was indignant. Behind Fujī's transformation was a shift in racial discourse in contemporary Japan. At the height of nationalism after a backlash against Westernisation in the 1880s and a series of tremendous military successes, Social Darwinism was translated in Japan to endorse the racial superiority of the nation (Leupp 183). One Japanese polemicist, Tamura Naomi attached the utmost importance in marriage among the Japanese educated class to the preservation of the ancestral line, condemning marriage for love as immoral. His argument slips into the trope of racial purity concerning miscegenation: 'We keep our blood as pure as possible. Among your people we see families where three or four nationalities may be mingled. [. . .] With us the family is not a cosmopolitan affair, but rather a walled castle' (2-4). Within this discursive context, intermarriage with Stopes appeared a daunting prospect to Fujī. Despite Stopes' clear determination to cross the racial boundary for the sake of love, Fujī, in the end, chose to remain in the world of the self-same. Stopes thus became one of the white Madame Butterflies victimised by the psychological complex about the West among Meiji Japanese men.

As letters from Fujī become increasingly infrequent towards the end of *Love-Letters*, we read more angry, desperate and anxious letters from Stopes. Fujī keeps suggesting postponing her visit to Japan and Stopes becomes irritated by his reluctance. It was within two months after her arrival that Stopes received the break-up letter above.

What sustained her in this disillusionment was some hope of changing Fujī's mind.[12] *Journal* evidences Stopes' frantic efforts to understand the Japanese when read in the light of *Love-Letters* and her other unpublished correspondence. *Love-Letters* enables us to read hidden streams of sentiments and personal notes flowing through *Journal*. Stopes' quest for true Japan was fuelled by a personal motive of the utmost urgency, unlike other travellers to Japan. Stopes explores Japan in its complexity, unsatisfied with ready-made theories and generalisations. Stopes recurrently uses expressions such as 'true Japan' and 'real Japan,' as opposed to the country adapted for the West, throughout *Journal*. She lives on Japanese food and admires its philosophy and efficiency (88-89). She wears a native *kimono* in public despite the unkind look of an English lady tourist (208). Her appreciation of the country reaches beyond the mere objectivity and shows affective understanding. On the first day in Tokyo, Stopes sheds tears over the beauty and charm of the view of the Imperial Palace and the sight of marching regiments and their calls, the latter of which earlier travellers would turn into objects of derision (2). Her sentimental reaction to Japan which is somewhat analogous to nostalgia despite its actual unfamiliarity to her becomes explicable alongside one letter she sent to Fujī before her arrival in which she predicts that 'Dear, I think when we meet first, the summer after next, that I shall be horrid and cry, if it makes me only

[12] Apparently Stopes held on to the idea of marrying Fujī long after she had the parting letter from him. On 21 May 1908 she drafted a letter marked 'Private' to Professor Frederick Ernest Weiss, her senior colleague at Manchester University stating that she was in love and was thinking of marrying Fujī. See Marie Stopes, letter to Frederick Ernest Weiss, 21 May 1908, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.

cry to think of it!'(Mortlake 138). It is not just the objective beauty of Japanese scenery but also Stopes' prolonged yearning for Fujī and her imaginary identification with him which triggered the emotional reaction. The serenity and haunting beauty of a great statue of Buddha in Kamakura also moves Stopes to tears (87); the heretic symbol does not repel her. Private discussions on Japanese religion and philosophy with Fujī had prepared Stopes for sympathetic comprehension. Stopes was an outsider who was willing to assimilate into Japanese society.

Stopes' interest is naturally drawn to intermarried couples and their offspring. As a consequence, *Journal* gives a rare account of the Euro-Asian community and their reception in the early twentieth-century Tokyo. Stopes reports her conversation with a Japanese lady who told her about the amiability of the Westerners who had Japanese spouses because 'the different customs ma[de] their characters patient and charming' (91). The beauty of Eurasian children pleases Stopes, which she even turns into a metaphor: 'like a black-eyed rosy-cheeked Eurasian, who sparkles with the beauty of both the parent countries' (251). Stopes' positive descriptions of Euro-Japanese intermarriage and Eurasians reflect her desire to make the topic acceptable to her friends and, by extension, to the general readership, as well as to embolden herself for the prospect of marrying a Japanese man. On the advice of Basil Hall Chamberlain, Stopes sought acquaintance with Mrs Lafcadio Hearn, Koizumi Setsu.[13] Lafcadio Hearn was

[13] See Basil Hall Chamberlain, letter to Marie Stopes, 21 Nov. 1907, Stopes Papers, British Lib.,

one of the most influential figures in terms of Stopes' relationship with Japan. He served as a reference point for Stopes in seeking a true understanding of Japanese culture and Japanese people as an outsider. A letter from Stopes to Fujī on 5 February 1906 relates her reading of a 'beautiful' and 'curious' book by an author born with an Irish father and a Greek mother and naturalised in Japan (Mortlake 224). This is Hearn beyond doubt. Stopes held him in high regard prior to her arrival in Japan. She was extremely excited about the prospect of meeting his widowed Japanese wife. The acquaintance with Koizumi offered Stopes a perfect opportunity to receive a first-hand account of intermarriage, which was of the utmost concern to her in relation to her study of Japan.

Arranging this exciting meeting put Stopes in contact with another intermarried couple. In a journal entry on 25 November 1908, Stopes writes of Mrs. *N*—, an American wife of a Japanese journalist who introduced her to Koizumi (*Journal* 240-42). Among the Stopes Papers in the British Library, we can find a letter from Leonie Gilmour, the wife of the Japanese poet, Yone Noguchi, or Noguchi Yonejirō and

---

London. It is exciting to discover a private voice of the famous Japanologist as Chamberlain concludes his letter to Stopes with an appeal to 'consider it *strictly private*.' He writes that the Japanese are essentially the same with other peoples and that they feel distrust of foreigners owing to their experiences over the past decades. He insists that 'an intense enthusiasm for everything foreign & a genuine feeling of self-depreciation' among the Japanese in the seventies had been replaced by a sense of moral superiority since the early nineties, and suggests that 'genuine liking & trust become difficult even between individuals' in this state of affairs. Chamberlain also mentions 'the tremendous barriers of language' as an obstacle for mutual understanding between the Japanese and foreigners. Yet, his second letter on 4 December 1907 advises Stopes not to waste time on the language because of its difficulty and limited usefulness. Thus, the issue of language difference was still big for this leading Japanologist. It also shows that for him, mutual understanding with the Japanese was by no means high on the agenda. See Basil Hall Chamberlain, letter to Marie Stopes, 4 Dec. 1907, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.

the mother of the internationally acclaimed artist, Noguchi Isamu, to Stopes.[14] The letter clearly shows that it was Gilmour who introduced Stopes to Koizumi, for Gilmour writes: 'If you wish to meet Mrs. Hearn I daresay it would not be difficult to arrange.'[15] Gilmour was an English tutor of Hearn's eldest son. Stopes expresses her considerable sympathy for Gilmour in that they are both caught in the same difficulties between disparate cultures and ideologies as white Western women in love with Japanese men who turned out to be unfaithful to them. Stopes records her impressions of Gilmour as follows: 'Mrs. *N*— was dressed in grey: perhaps it was the shadow of the lamplight, but I received the impression that her life was in grey shadows' (241-42). A week before Stopes left Japan, she visited this 'grey lady' again and wrote that: 'The grey lady is revealing herself a little—I am sorry I must go, and so will not see her again; people who really interest one are not too many on this earth' (261). Their friendship was consolidated through mutual distress. Despite her original intention to gain a better understanding about Euro-Japanese intermarriage so as to find a solution to her strained

[14] According to a biographer, Masayo Duus, Gilmour met Noguchi in America as an editorial assistant and revised his English works for publication. Noguchi set off for Japan on 3 August 1904, leaving Gilmour pregnant. Gilmour gave birth to their son, Isamu on 17 November 1904 in Los Angeles. Although Gilmour had intended to raise Isamu by herself, she decided to sail to Japan for Isamu's future in early 1907 when anti-Japanese sentiment was on the rise in America after the Russo-Japanese War. When they arrived in Japan, Noguchi had already married a Japanese woman, and the relationship between Gilmour and Noguchi became fragile (20-50). A biographical film entitled *Leonie* by a Japanese female director, Matsui Hisako came out in November 2010 (http://www.leoniethemovie.com/). The film finally drew due attention to this exceptional figure who has been so far overshadowed by the fame of her husband and son. Stopes reveals that '[s]he [Gilmour] lies behind the poetry of that Japanese poet who wrote in English, and was so praised by Rossetti, the *N*— of American fame, if I am not much mistaken, though she does not tell one so consciously' (*Journal* 261). This remark is of significance in that it brings to light female contribution to the international success of the Meiji Japanese poet which demands inevitable re-evaluation of literary history.

[15] Leonie Gilmour, letter to Marie Stopes, 27 June 1908, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.

relationship with Fujī, Stopes' contact with Gilmour actually confronted her with its grim reality.

Stopes states that her introduction to the second edition of *Love-Letters* is a vindication of intermarriage between Japanese men and Western women for the sake of three European wives in Tokyo 'whose lives touched mine [Stopes']' (Introduction 1-3). The Western public was less tolerant of these women than of their male counterparts. Their marriage meant the relinquishment of their native nationality under Japanese civil law, which made them virtually traitors in the eyes of their countrymen. The Japanese reception of these women was not favourable, either. The poignant anecdote below, presumably of Gilmour and her son, accounts for the minority position foreign wives were placed in and the racial discrimination they suffered in an increasingly nationalistic Japan:

> One woman I knew, married to a Japanese man who was both suitable socially and an intellectual equal, had a little son four years old. He was a delicious child—beautiful, merry, sunny-hearted, and clever. One day he said to her that he hoped she would not come to a children's party to which he was going. "Why?" she said. "Oh, your hair is different from a nice Japanese mamma's. Theirs is all smooth and black like ebony, yours is brown and un-smooth. There are no little boys who have mammas with hair like that. I like you at home, but not at parties." My heart ached for all that was to follow and to cut like knives into that mother's heart. (Stopes, Introduction 10)

Stopes witnessed their adversities with genuine sympathy and gave voice to them. A beautiful relationship founded on a genuine mutual understanding between Europeans and the Japanese which Hearn made Stopes dream of establishing with Fujī was less

available to women due to social and legal bias. A letter from Yone Noguchi to Stopes on 16 February 1914 in Stopes Papers contains a rare account of his relationship with Gilmour by the poet himself. From the defensive tone of his voice, it can be surmised that Stopes had enquired about his treatment of Gilmour in her preceding letter. Stopes remained concerned about Gilmour after her return to Britain. We can only imagine how hollow the language of friendship sounded to Stopes when she read Noguchi describing his relationship with Gilmour as 'good friends and all that.'[16]

Love-Letters opens with an epigraph of cinquain by Stopes *qua* Mertyl:

When my friend doth speak,
    I hear the echo ever,
Of a mountain peak
    Whose rocks and snows together
    Utter a mighty silence (5)

Its five-line form as well as its concision, pictorialness and reliance on synaesthesia between vision and sound are under the influence of classical Japanese poetry, *tanka* (short song), showing a close affinity with the imagist movement. *Love-Letters* includes discussions about Japanese poetry between Stopes and Fujī. Stopes expresses her keen interest while Fujī shows his eagerness to teach (13-15, 28). The poem was Stopes' experiment with the Japanese expression of innermost feelings. It is a *sōmonka*, a love song, which constitutes one of the chief genres in Japanese classical poetry. Its poignancy derives from the sense of absence. All 'I' hear of the speech of a friend is its mere echo whose source turns out to be the impenetrable silence of mountain rocks and

[16] Yone Noguchi, letter to Marie Stopes, 16 Feb. 1914, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.

snow. The real voice of the friend is forever unreachable to 'I.' Here both 'friend' and 'mountain' denote Fujī. A close resemblance in sound between Mt Fuji and Fujī allows Stopes to make an association between the two and express her clandestine yearning for him in the form of the mountain in *Journal*.[17] Stopes' endeavour to discover the truth about him met with outright rejection. In defence of her friendships with Japanese men against a popular claim of Japanese unfathomableness, Stopes asserts: 'When you know a Japanese face it is as eloquent as that of a sensitive English girl' (*Journal* 274). That face might have been mirroring her own shadow although Stopes dismisses the speculation that Fujī simply copied her language of romance in *Love-Letters* (Introduction 6).

Stopes' biographers are unanimous in assuming that Stopes never got over Fujī. Ruth Hall attributes her subsequent career to her negotiation with the trauma (77); Keith Briant sees a connection between her prolonged sexual frustration over Fujī and her sexological work (69-70); June Rose considers the broken romance to be responsible for her ensuing chauvinistic views (77-78).[18] In *Married Love* (1918), Stopes shows her insight about innate sexual desire in women despite persisting Victorian coyness about

[17] Stopes sent Fujī a telegram on his seventieth birthday in 1936 that '[m]ay the glow of immortal life burn beneath the snow capped peak of Fujii's seventy epochs,' thus punning on Mt Fuji for Fujī (R. Hall 77). The last scene Stopes describes on her departure from Japan in *Journal* is Mt Fuji. Stopes writes: 'Then, just before we sailed, I saw a gleam of what looked like Fuji mountain. Was she going to forget her cruelty and coyness and show herself to me over the water at last, at the last possible moment?' (264). Despite the use of feminine pronouns, this passage is highly suggestive of Fujī's ill-treatment of Stopes and her lingering hope for his repentence.

[18] Stopes exhorts in her unpublished comedy, 'The Two Japans': 'Oh British maids: to British men/ Betroth yourselves, if love you must./ All other love will turn to dust' (qtd. in Rose 78). Here Stopes echoes the last letter to her from Fujī in *Love-Letters*.

female sexuality in society and advances her theory about 'the Law of Periodicity of Recurrence of desire in women' in advocacy of the experiences of 'most women who would rather die than own that they *do* at times feel a physical yearning indescribable, but as profound as hunger for food' (61-64). A letter from Stopes to Fujī on 1 August 1905 records her bold expression of her sexuality:

> Dear, you don't know yet how fiercely I love you. Sweet, I long so for the physical touch of your hands on mine, and to look into our eyes. To be kissed. I sometimes long so much that I take a girdle and bind it tightly, so tightly that I can hardly breathe, round my waist, and then close my eyes a little and dream that it is your arm around me. It gives me almost the feeling. You know I never have worn corsets. I have always been scornful of women who did. But do you know, dear, this teaches me that this is why so many women like to have them very tight. Of course this is nonsense, but it is curious how one's feeling changes, and how one's own love brings sympathy for all sorts of unexpected things in life. (Mortlake 104)

Troubled romance with Fujī opened the way for Stopes to explore her own femininity and sexuality, which aroused her sympathy with womanhood and inspired her work as sexologist.

Stopes' study of Japan in *Journal* was motivated by her desire to understand her unfaithful Japanese lover. It demonstrates her desperate efforts to establish the community of lovers in vain, which is destined to remain incomplete. *Journal* and *Love-Letters* show us Stopes in a fight with such borders as gender, race and the public/private due to her love for Fujī. On the contrary, Fujī, his initial desire to cross them notwithstanding, ends up simply redrawing and reinforcing the traditional boundaries. Just as the female protagonist diagnoses the male protagonist with the

malady of death, which is the withdrawal in the world of the self-same, in the novel by Duras, so Stopes' courage and passion to go beyond expose Fujī's cowardice and patriarchal homosociality (Blanchot, *UC* 51). Fujī is a chief character in *Journal*, and even trivial details are recorded about him. The first entry conveys Stopes' excitement at seeing him: 'my guardian angel (in the shape of Professor *F*—) turned up and rescued me' (4). A year later, his elusiveness tormented her emotionally and physically: 'Absolutely alone all day. The engine and fossil boy and Professor *F*— are all ill again, and the other people are not visible. I felt more than a little ill myself, [. . .] A very grey day—and in the evening torrents of rain fell from the heavens, and I began to feel inclined to weep also, [. . .]' (185). Accordingly, Stopes' disillusionment with Japan and its people became palpable: 'Oh, ye who stop at home and dream your dream about Japan! Stay there' (113); 'I really grieve that it is so utterly impossible to trust the Japanese' (134). It is quite astonishing that Stopes could encapsulate her experiences in Japan in a eulogy to friendship between the sexes when what awaited her in Japan was her lover's betrayal. It is further perplexing to learn from their correspondence in the British Library that their communication lasted over forty years after she returned to Britain. The following section will explore Stopes' friendship with Sakurai Jōji, which will explain her positive views on heterosexual friendship with Japanese men.

The Literary Community: Marie Stopes and Sakurai Jōji

In contrast to her stormy relationship with Fujī, Stopes' friendship with Sakurai Jōji, a British-educated professor of Chemistry at the University of Tokyo, appears to have been firm and stable. It suggests the possibility of friendship between the sexes without a hint of heterosexual love. *Journal* allows us to trace the development of their harmonious relationship and to reveal her views on him. Stopes records her first impression of Sakurai as 'friendly' and 'charming' (60). They frequently went out together as well as invited each other to parties at their places. Together they formed the London University Union in Japan. Their unpublished correspondence in the British Library, which lasted well over Sakurai's death, taken over by his son, gives us more intimate details of their friendship from Sakurai's perspective. On her research trip to Chiba in July 1908, Stopes entrusted Sakurai, not Fujī, as her custodian with two sealed letters in case of her emergency or death.[19] They had their own habit of addressing each other as 'Rose' and 'Noble' respectively, which was started by Stopes. Stopes chose his nickname in honour of Sakurai's honourable qualities, and in return, he gave her a name of the flower he loved the best.[20] Stopes kept him informed about such special occasions as her engagement, marriage, divorce, childbirth, and stillbirth, and Sakurai appreciated her 'confidence' in him as 'a rare and precious gift, the highest & most

[19] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 26 July 1908, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.
[20] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 10 Mar. 1909, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.

genuine reward which one may hope to get from his friend.'[21] On the death of Sakurai, Stopes contributed an obituary to *Nature*, describing him as 'a most faithful friend' ('Baron Joji Sakurai' 471). Indeed, Stopes' positive view on friendship with Japanese men is attributable to her relationship with Sakurai. Their lifelong friendship resulted in Stopes' last Japanese-related book *Plays*, which Sakurai co-authored, and their attempted activism for birth control in Japan. In his study on cross-gender friendship, Luftig suggests the redefinition of friendship between the sexes in terms of 'cooperative actions,' which he links to subversive possibility, in lieu of the unstable relationship (222). The joint efforts by Stopes and Sakurai challenge the Orientalist hierarchical dichotomy between the East and West in Britain and the patriarchal consecration of reproduction as a feminine duty in Japan. This section will examine the politics and strategies of their joint translation of Japanese drama and the promotion of birth control in Japan.

Plays was published in 1913 in London and includes complete translations of three Nō scripts—'The Maiden's Tomb,' 'Kagekiyo' and 'The Sumida River'—and one synopsis—'Tamura'—together with an explanatory introduction to the Nō drama on topics ranging from the theatre to the audience by Stopes. The inception of the project is unknown, but it was already well begun by mid-1909, a few months after Stopes' return to Britain in that a letter from Sakurai to Stopes on May-June 1909 discusses the

[21] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 20 Mar. 1911, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.

difficulties of translation and the choice of Nō pieces from his perspective.[22] The choice was made by Sakurai at the request of Stopes for 'the most tragical [*sic*] piece—one relating to hopeless love or hopeless wrong,' and Sakurai roughly translated the pieces from classical Japanese into modern English in prose before Stopes polished them up.[23] They chiefly collaborated by mail, which is documented in piles of their correspondence held by the British Library, with the only exception of one meeting when Sakurai visited London for an international conference and they could work together.[24] Stopes completed the final draft of the entire work by November 1912, and Sakurai commended Stopes for her strong determination and outstanding achievements.[25] Taking the inefficient communication due to the geographical distance into consideration, a lapse of four years between the first letter in 1909 and publication in 1913 suggests the Herculean nature of the task. Their efforts were, however, rewarded. *The Athenaeum* published an extended review which praised their remarkable success in 'communicat[ing] the incommunicable,' that is a 'spirit of the *Nō*' through 'vivid and imaginative sympathy' despite some poetic defects in terms of rhythms, expressions, and vocabulary ('Literature' 198). The reviewer marks Stopes with her

[22] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, May-June 1909, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.
[23] Interestingly, Sakurai replied to Stopes' request that 'I myself would have made a similar choice, but unfortunately (or fortunately?) hopeless love or hopeless wrong is to be but scantily found in the *No* literature.' This suggests a cultural difference in the concept of love, to which Fujī ascribes their break-up, and its manifestation in literature. Sakurai's initial suggestions were 'Sumidagawa (The Sumida River)' and 'Koi no omoni (The burden of love),' which did not make it into the published book.
[24] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 21 Jan. 1910, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London; Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 28 Aug. 1910, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London; Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 16 Sept. 1912, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.
[25] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 29 Nov. 1912, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.

academic title of 'Dr.,' which shows his respect for the thoroughness of her scholarly attention in *Plays* as well as a difference in the reception of *Plays* from *Journal*. The operatic adaptation of 'The Sumida River' in 1917 and the reprint of the second edition of *Plays* in 1927 indicate the relative popularity their work achieved.

Their motive for the task was to promote understanding of Japanese people among the British public. The introduction of *Plays* opens with a sentence: 'Their poetry is the expressed essence of the Japanese' (1). The claim is further specified as 'the *Nō* dramas represent[s] the old spirit of Japan' (1). Enumerating the merits of the drama and the language barrier which blocks out the English-speaking audience with the exception of scholars, Stopes claims that '[i]t is clearly some one's duty to translate, not merely the words of these plays, but their meaning and spirit, so that the Western public may have partial access at least to the source that delights, and has delighted for centuries, the best minds of our Allies in the East' (2). This last epithet well reflects a political shift in the Anglo-Japanese relationship, which facilitated public discussions by Stopes on the intrinsic value of Japanese culture and the importance of advancing understanding about Japan in Britain. The Anglo-Japanese alliance, signed in 1902, placed the two countries on an equal political platform, though nominally. In this context, the first impressions of the Nō by Stopes and Isabella Bird stand in significant contrast. *Journal* records Stopes' first visit to a Nō theatre on 3 November 1907: 'Dr. *H*— took me to a *Nō* performance. [. . .] As the Japanese themselves do not fully

understand it without years of study, I could not expect to, but was most interested nevertheless' (64-65). This is quite a different response from that of Isabella Bird, who reported on her Nō theatregoing with Chamberlain in Tokyo on 7 June 1878 that 'Mr Chamberlain, [. . .] tried to rouse me to some enthusiasm about this ancient lyric drama; but in spite of his explanations, the splendour of the dresses, and the antique dignity of the actors, I found it most tedious, and the strumming, squatting, mewing, and stamping by which the traditional posturings are accompanied, are to a stranger absolutely exasperating' (*Unbeaten* 1: 60-61). This contrast should not be simply reduced to the difference in individual tastes of the two travellers. The dramatic rise of Japan as a modernised nation and the ostensible equality between the two empires helped Stopes appreciate Japanese culture with a relativist view, free from the Orientalist Eurocentrism shown by Bird. Stopes ascribes the disparagement of the Nō by some Westerners being due not to its fundamental flaws but to their ignorance which can be avoided through sympathy: 'It may appear to us a useless artificiality that such minutiae should be observed so strictly, but I am convinced that this is principally because we are incapable of appreciating the full meaning and suggestion of it all. The performances have an increasing power to hold and impress a sympathetic westerner, even ignorant as he must inevitably be' ('A Japanese Mediaeval Drama' 155). For Stopes, Japanese culture which reflects the essence of Japanese people is of equal worth to Western culture in its own right.

Concerning the difficulties in translating Nō plays, Stopes points out the linguistic remoteness of the two languages and the hermeneutic ambiguity of the original medieval texts together with peculiar rhetorical devices in Japanese poetry such as 'pillow words' and 'pivot words,' which make poetic literal translation practically impossible (26-27). Consequently, Stopes and Sakurai venture on to the translation of the spirit while attending, to some extent, to the poetic quality in English by loosely versifying lines (28-33). By the translation of the spirit, they mean the transference of psychological effects of the *Nō* to the audience. What distinguishes Stopes' introduction from others of a similar kind is its unique study of the emotive impact of music, script, acting, and the stage design in a section entitled 'Concerning the Effect of the *Nō* on the Audience and on me' (19-22). Stopes studies herself here in order to explore the translatability of the spirit. The advancement of mutual understanding via sympathy aroused by literary works was their strategy on translation, thereby contributing to closer relations between the two peoples. Stopes closes her introduction with an account that

> [t]hat I have caught perhaps an echo of their spirit I am encouraged to think, because on the two occasions when one or other of these translations have been read to audiences it has been reported to me that several of those who heard them were in tears. That strikes the right note. For with all their literary richness and their descriptions of beautiful scenes and of heroic deeds, the ground note of the Nō is human tragedy. (34)

This passage affords us a glimpse of the literary community which *Plays* gave rise to between the British and Japanese public. A cultural bridge between East and West built

by *Plays* through the collaboration between Stopes and Sakurai brought two countries together to a momentary compearance via literary communication.

The singular strength of *Plays* in its strategic focus on the translation of spirit lies in the collaboration between Stopes and Sakurai. The two were ideally suited for this project since they were both well acquainted with each other's culture and people and could simultaneously serve as "native informants." Their emphasis on emotion originates in Sakurai's suggestion in his first letter concerning the Nō that 'it is well for us to bear in mind, namely the fact that a *No* [Nō] drama is always very simple in its plot, and it is chiefly its peculiar construction and ring which appeal so much to our emotion and which give all the charm it possesses.[26] Stopes developed her interest in the Nō during her residence in Japan, directly observing its significance for the people. *Journal* records her enjoyment from casual recitations of Nō songs by her colleagues at dinner parties (179, 233).[27] A poetic episode in the introduction of *Plays* contains Stopes on her balcony in the evenings listening to a neighbouring young Japanese student chanting Nō songs to the moon with Mt Fuji in view. This beautifully delineates Stopes' daily exposure to the dramatic sensibilities in its native context, and she finds this cultural immersion accountable 'for the deeper love and understanding of the *Nō* which have come to me than to the foreigners who hear only a few performances in a

[26] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, May-June 1909, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.
[27] Two unpublished letters from Sakurai to Stopes on 18 and 21 September 1908 show that they were planning to watch a special Nō performance in Tokyo.

theatre' (18-19). Stopes' appreciation of Japanese poetry was of great use for the project.[28] Sakurai's extensive knowledge of the West which he had acquired during his six-year residence in Victorian Britain also contributed to their work.

Their mutual insight into the other's poetics characterises *Plays* as a faithful representation of the native voice. Unpublished letters documents Sakurai's criticisms against translations by Chamberlain and Ezra Pound. Sakurai describes Chamberlain's as 'more of a paraphrase or adaptation than a true translation' and comments on Pound's that '[t]he comparison of Pound's rendering of a part of Kagekiyo's soliloquy with our own is interesting and shows how poor *his* rendering is.'[29] The passage in question in *Plays* is: 'And as I landed the Gen warriors/ Did dash towards me to destroy my life' (67). Pound translates this as: 'So he [. . .] led a party against the shore, and all the men of Genji rushed on them' (Fenollosa and Pound 186).[30] It is evident that Pound had no knowledge of the Japanese language or literature. He mistranslates Kagekiyo's heroic solo act as a group effort, thereby belittling his valour. Pound also makes a grave error of translating Hitomaru (Kagekiyo's daughter)'s line in the closing chorus to the completely opposite effect: Instead of 'I go,' he puts 'I will stay' in accordance with his Western understanding of filial piety, thereby missing the Japanese pathos altogether

---

[28] Journal records a reception Stopes held in her place for a mixed group of Japanese intellectuals and foreigners where they discussed Japanese poetry (*Journal* 160). Sakurai was among the guests.
[29] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 15 Oct. 1909, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London; Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 27 July. 1917, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.
[30] The passage in original Japanese is '教経に最期の暇乞ひ、陸にあがれば源氏の兵、あますまじとて駆け向ふ' (Nogami 4: 516).

(Fenollosa and Pound 188). It is true that the subject and the object of the sentence are ambiguous in the Japanese language since they are frequently omitted to be guessed from the context. However, Pound could have sought assistance if he had taken his responsibility towards the original more seriously.[31] *Plays*, on the other hand, has a sound basis in the original by virtue of Sakurai's collaboration. Stopes acknowledges in the introduction that 'my collaborator, Prof. Sakurai, has held the rein on me at times when I would have liked to run away with some poetical conceits, and it is owing entirely to his tireless exertions that the result has a fair degree of accuracy' (32). His influence becomes conspicuous through the significant differences between the unpublished transcript and the published work. In a letter on 29 November 1912, Sakurai expressed his dissatisfaction with Stopes' rendering of the opening verses of 'the Sumida River,' writing frankly that 'I cannot help thinking it a great pity that the value of the whole work is very much deteriorated by the first part of the Mother's particularly touching opening song being so incorrectly represented.'[32] Stopes'

[31] In fact, this is what Pound did: he consulted Stopes. Briant notes that Stopes 'conducted a not uninteresting correspondence with Ezra Pound' on the work (257). Unfortunately, the letters in question are not found among Stopes Papers at the British Library. According to Ishibashi Hiro, Stopes mentioned Pound in her letter on 14 March 1956 in reply to Ishibashi's enquiry about *Plays* that: 'At that time Ezra Pound invited himself to see me, asking me to collaborate with him in doing some Nō plays. I talked with him and found he knew nothing whatever about the subject or the language, or the really fundamental ideas in the plays, and I refused as he was merely trying to sponge on me in my opinion' (180). Pound's ignorance of Japan as of 1911 is pronounced by himself in his letter to Yone Noguchi dated 2 September 1911. Pound wrote: 'Of your country I know almost nothing—surely if the east & the west are ever to understand each other that understanding must come slowly & come first through the arts' (211). In her letter to Ishibashi, Stopes also mentioned Yeats and wrote: 'Yeats, of course, was quite a different matter. He was a real poet, but I feel that his attempts at English Nō Plays are very artificial' (180).

[32] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 29 Nov. 1912, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.

retranslation of the passage shows more literalness and subtlety.[33] This presence of the native voice distinguishes *Plays* from numerous other English Nō translations as an ethical work.[34]

Stopes' ethical engagement with the others' culture is further accentuated when put in contrast with G.B. Sansom's article, 'Translations from the "Nō"' (1911). Sansom contributed this article as a direct criticism of Stopes' paper 'A Japanese Mediaeval Drama' delivered to the Royal Society of Literature on 24 November 1909 and appearing in their transactions. Sansom considered this something which 'ought not to pass unchallenged' (125). He argues:

> It is a commonplace of literary history that critics are often in danger of overpraising works in a language foreign to them. They do not realize their imperfections, and they see their beauties veiled, distorted, and sometimes magnified in a mist of incomplete understanding. In this present case the danger is increased by more than usual divergence of language and customs,

---

[33] The passage in question reads in an unpublished typescript as follows: 'While still a child remains/ No parent's heart can know/ The blackest depths of woe,/ (But they stole mine from me.)/ And now the bitter pains/ Of harsh uncertainty/ Do hourly torture me/ Where ever I may be' (J. Sakurai 'The Sumida River' 89). The same passage is translated in a published book as: 'Darkness entire can never hold its sway/ Within a mother's heart, and yet for love/ Of her sweet child she is a wanderer./ Ah! painfully I know for the first time/ The bitter truth contained within these words' (80). Stopes notes in *Plays* that '[t]his is a particularly difficult passage. I had previously rendered the lines more freely than the rest of the translation, in an endeavour to construct a consecutive verse which might keep the attention of an English reader. In its present form the verse is perhaps nearer the original, but no entirely *literal* translation is possible of a passage so full of the essentially Japanese "pillow" and "pivot" words. At the outset the Mother quotes a few words from an old poem' (100-01). This episode clearly illustrates a difficulty in translating connotations and underlying cultural knowledge.

[34] The unpublished typescript of the introduction to *Plays* shows another example of the influence of Sakurai's critical voice over Stopes. The introduction includes a derogatory remark on the Japanese audience as follows: 'In a common theatre the audience talks, eats, and even plays games, while the play is going on, and only becomes really attentive during a murder or a very realistic hara-kiri when the blood trickles in life-like fashion out of the actor's mouth as he writhes for half an hour in his death agonies with a crimson gash across his middle' (19-20). Sakurai scribbles his comment on this in the margin of the typescript that '[n]ot correct. The audience is of a higher quality.' Although his marginal voice did not arrive in time for publication, this shows the fair say Sakurai had in their collaboration. See Jōji Sakurai, 'The Ancient Lyric Drama of Japan', National Museum of Nature and Science, Tokyo.

> by wider difference of time and space. (125)

As this extract shows, Sansom has a low opinion of the Nō, and his critical lexicon of the genre consists of such words as ‘sterilizing’ and ‘plagiarism’ (127). ‘[T]hough it is sometimes urged that any one literature must be a law unto itself, and that its achievements must be judged by their approach to its ideals’; here, he raises the issue of relativism, which he continues to denounce in the following terms: ‘[t]his is to deny the existence of absolute standards of taste, and I know of no warrant for assuming that beauty is a question of geography’ (131). Sansom emphasises the existence of ‘an orderly evolution in art and letters,’ and according to this, assesses the Nō as at ‘an early stage of progress’ (131). He comments on the view of a Japanese man who taught him the Nō that ‘[i]t speaks, they say, not to the ear, but to the heart [. . .]. In theory this is excellent [. . .]; but here I mistrust the genuineness of much of the sensation evoked’ (128-29). About Stopes’ personal estimation, Sansom states boldly that: ‘there must have been something outside the Nō which held Dr. Stopes’ attention—the comparative novelty, the exotic speech and surrounding, the mystery of the half-revealed? Frankly, I must admit I never heard the ring of fire and splendour, nor did I discover any perfect expression of the poetry of life’ (130). He concludes his essay with the following pejorative remark: ‘A little more interest in the modern theatre door and a little less attachment to the productions of a mediaeval priesthood, would perhaps help to raise the Japanese stage to its proper place as a power in the national life’ (132). In contrast to

Sansom's patronising attitude, Stopes in *Plays* shows her respect to native judgement, writing that '[a]s the Japanese for so long have been consistent in their admiration of the literary construction of the *Nō,* I am content in that matter to accept their verdict' (4). Stopes also asserts, probably with Sansom's criticism in mind, that '[t]hose who find the *Nō* plays prosy and of mediocre merit, have but partially comprehend them through having been too intent upon the "letter of the law"' (22). These passages again attest to Stopes' extraordinary relativism and empathy for Japanese culture.

Stopes' exceptional empathy allies her to the Japanese nationalist discourse, though unconsciously. Andrew Gordon suggests that the emergence of the nationalist movement in Japan in the 1880s involved the invention of 'Japanese-ness' through the reshaping of older cultural forms including the Nō, which enjoyed state support as a Japanese equivalent of Western opera (109). The preface to *Plays* by Katō Takaaki, the then Japanese Ambassador in London, confirms this point. He maintains that the Nō saw a great revival under a new regime (v). Stopes quotes in order to support a highly nationalistic sentiment expressed by Tanaka Shōhei, whom Sansom criticises, that 'the *Nō* represents the national spirit, and is complete in every respect' (6). Importantly, the national spirit, or Japanese-ness which was being reinvented and propagated through Nō plays was the masculine Japan of *samurais*. Both Katō and Stopes mark a traditional association between the drama and the Japanese warrior class (v, 17-18). The first decade of the twentieth century saw the radical rewriting of Japan in the West from a

feminine second-class county to a masculine world power through efforts of Japanese writers themselves, which Japan's military success in the Russo-Japanese War and a consequent Western curiosity about the country's soldiery facilitated. Nitobe Inazō published *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* in 1900, and *Human Bullets: A Soldier's Story of Port Arthur* (1906) by Sakurai Tadayoshi, a novel based on the author's own experience in the war against Russia, was translated into English by Honda Masujirō in 1907. Western writers also contributed to this shift. F. S. Brereton published *A Soldier of Japan: A Tale of the Russo-Japanese War* in 1906. This was a crucial step for Japan in its course of modern nation-building and its rise as a colonial power which equalled Western imperialist countries.[35] It is ironic that Stopes unwittingly played a part in this process in that she was against Japan's insidious expansionist activities in Korea and in sympathy with Korean people (*Journal* 181-82). Stopes was unaware of the complicity between politics and culture. As she felt sympathetic towards colonised Koreans under Japanese colonial oppression, so did she towards Japanese male intellectuals who tackled the Western dismissal of their country's masculinity.

Carmen Blacker states succinctly that there is no evidence that Stopes made any attempt to work on birth control in Japan and that there are no records connecting

[35] It is of particular interest to note a strong link between nationalism and the Nō. William Butler Yeats evaluates a potential usefulness of Nō drama in relation to Irish Nationalism. Yeats discusses such practical points as a low cost for one production, performability in a sitting-room, a few props possibly camouflaged as room ornaments as well as its dramatic features such as stories of legendary heroes, pantomimic dance and symbolism ('Certain' I-II). These were all extremely advantageous in order to perform nationalist plays under British surveillance.

Stopes to Ishimoto Shizue, a leading birth-control campaigner in Japan (222).[36] Unpublished correspondence, however, relates a different story. Sakurai writes to Stopes on 6 May 1922 that '[i]n my letter written a few days ago, I quite forgot to give you the address of Baron and Baroness Ishimoto.'[37] This Baroness Ishimoto is Ishimoto Shizue herself, and this letter shows Sakurai's attempt to bridge the two women. Although Sakurai initially seemed half-hearted about the introduction of birth control in Japan, he later expressed his growing interest in the issue and provided increasing support for Stopes' ambition in Japan despite the strong conservatism of the country. Sakurai gave Stopes useful contacts and, on one occasion, even criticised the silence of Japanese male medical doctors about birth control:

> It is true that most people in this country, as no doubt in other countries also, hesitate in touching upon the question of B.C., but to me it appears that such an attitude on the part of medical men is quite erroneous. In view of the national and international importance of the question, these men who care really competent to judge should step out and study the whole question from scientific point of view, instead of shrinking from it. I shall see if I can improve the situation [. . .].[38]

Sakurai also engaged in the selection of a Japanese translator and publisher for *Married Love* despite legal difficulties in publishing the book in Japan and discussed the question of sexuality with Stopes with surprising honesty.[39] His friendship with Stopes helped Sakurai cross the gender boundary and align himself with feminist causes of

---

[36] Ishimoto Shizue, or later Katō Shizue (2 March 1897-22 December 2001) is a Japanese prominent feminist, a social reformer and a birth-control activist. She is one of the first female Members of Parliament in Japan. She arranged Margaret Higgins Sanger's visit to Japan in 1922.
[37] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 6 May 1922, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.
[38] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 21 June 1923, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.
[39] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 6 May 1922, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London; Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 16 Oct. 1922, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.

birth control and female sexual pleasures in a highly patriarchal society. Sakurai's last letter to Stopes was dated 16 September 1937, and in this he refers to Japan's recent military operations in China and the incipient threat of a conflict with Russia.[40] Japan was running its course towards World War II. It was probably fortunate that Sakurai died on 28 January 1939 while the two countries he loved—Japan and Britain—were still friends.

Conclusion

Stopes is best described as a person crossing boundaries. She was a pioneering woman in academia and in the field of birth control and female sexology. In addition, she also ventured into international friendship between the sexes in the post-Victorian period, when the world experienced the rapid globalisation and disappearance of a rigid line between feminine private sphere and masculine public sphere. Records of her relationships with Japanese men are unique in her realistic representations of experiences and emotions, which were inaccessible to the majority of Western women at that time. With lovence, which eliminates binary oppositions, Stopes revealed the community of lovers and the literary community, which emerged fleetingly at the busy intersection of friendship and love with gender, race and politics. Despite the context of Japanese militarisation and accompanying demonisation of the people in the West as well as her personal, painful experiences of break-up, Stopes championed friendships

[40] Jōji Sakurai, letter to Marie Stopes, 16 Sept. 1937, Stopes Papers, British Lib., London.

with Japanese people. Her determined efforts to know the people and culture resulted in her deep understanding of both, which contributed in turn to her own self-analysis and self-development, while testifying to a rich history of complex intercultural contact and exchange.

CONCLUSION

> 男もすなる日記といふものを女もしてみむとてするなり。
> It is generally a man who writes what is called a Diary, but now a woman will see what she can do. (Ki no Tsurayuki, *Tosa nikki* 12-13)

It was as early as 935 $_{AD}$ when Ki no Tsurayuki, a renowned poet, writer and courtier, recorded his journey from Tosa to Kyoto in *Tosa nikki* (*The Tosa Diary*), wherein he played with gender conventions and ventured to write the masculine genre of diary in a female voice with the usage of *kana*, the feminine writing system. This allowed him to imbue the genre of diary, usually of an official nature, with personal reflections and sentiments. This gender appropriation contributed to the rise of a group of female diary writers and the consequent influence of female voices in the Heian classics.[1] The turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw the composition of two important travel diaries by actual women, namely *Izayoi nikki* (*The Diary of the Waning Moon*; c1283) and *Towazu-gatari* (*The Confessions of Lady Nijō*; c1307), which indicates considerable mobility and a strong tradition of travel narratives among Japanese women. In the previous chapters, we have investigated the lives and texts of three British female travellers so as to discover their interracial and cross-cultural relationships with Japanese people. This discovery leads to a wider examination of the gender and racial politics implicit in Western discourse about Japan in Victorian Britain. This concluding chapter will reverse this perspective and explore travel writings of contemporary

[1] Heian is a Japanese name of the period between 794 and 1185 when the Japanese capital was Kyoto and called Heian-kyō.

Japanese women who sailed to Britain. It will focus on the writings of three Japanese women—namely, Tsuda Umeko, Yasui Tetsu, and Yosano Akiko—with diverse backgrounds and purposes. It will pick up the unclaimed testimony of travelling women in Japan who encountered other peoples and cultures and narrated their stories.

Bakumatsu Meiji kaigai tokōsha sōran (*Bakumatsu Meiji Comprehensive List of People Going Overseas*) counts no more than nine women among the total number of 1,173 voyagers who visited Britain during Bakumatsu-Meiji period (1853-1912) (Tezuka 3: 42-49).[2] Although this number is by no means comprehensive despite the title's claim, it suffices to suggest the rarity of Japanese women who travelled out of the country at this early stage of its advance into the international arena. Those women consisted almost entirely of students in subjects such as home economics, education, literature, and nursing, and they played active roles in educational and medical fields following their return to the home country (Tezuka 1:119-20, 51, 74; 2:77, 60, 98, 99-200, 368, 422). This was against the backdrop of determined efforts by the Japanese to rapidly modernise their country according to the Western model in order to immunise it against external imperial threats. Watanabe Minoru attributes successful modernisation/Westernisation during Meiji Japan to the major role those repatriates who studied abroad (mostly in the West) took in the process (16). His study on the history of Japanese students overseas highlights their foreign education as a national

[2] These nine women are: Inoue Takeko, Uemura Tamaki, Ōe Sumi, Tsuji Matsu, Nasu Sei, Haishi Yoshine, Hagiwara Take, Mitani Tamiko, and Yasui Tetsu.

project under such slogans as '*shokusan kōgyō* (encouragement of new industry)' and '*fukoku kyōhei* (prosperous country and strong army)' (221). As for women, the promulgation of an imperial mandate in 22 October 1871, which encouraged women to study abroad, gave rise to new opportunities, and female students were sent overseas, though it was still men who were given greater incentives to travel (Watanabe 272).

Tsuda Umeko (1865-1929) was one of the first five girls—among whom she was the youngest, aged six—who were sent by the Japanese government to the United States in 1872 with a view to promote female education in Japan. Under this scheme, Japan would produce wise mothers who could, in return, reproduce fine citizens for the future nation. Behind this was Kuroda Kiyotaka, the deputy head of the Hokkaidō Kaitakushi (the Hokkaidō Colonisation Board). His acquaintance with educated women in the West during his two visits to America in the previous year suggested this idea to him. Tsuda remained in the host country for eleven years until she completed her secondary education. Today she is famous in Japan as a pioneer in women's higher education as she founded Joshi Eigaku Juku (Women's Institute of English Studies), now known as Tsuda Juku Daigaku (Tsuda College), in 1900. It was the first academic institution to offer women further education in Japan. This was the result of the collective efforts of a number of aspiring women across the Pacific who were closely tied up with ambition and friendship, including Ōyama Sutematsu, another of the five girls sent to the States, and Alice Bacon, daughter of Ōyama's American host family. Furuki Yoshiko writes in

approval: 'what they achieved on both sides of the ocean was enough to embarrass Japanese men, whose pet topic of discussion was, and still is, *men's* friendships and dreams (*roman*). These women showed that they too were capable of fast friendship and could transform dreams into reality' (103). The present-day success of Tsuda's school manifests the power of the international female friendship and collaboration.[3]

Although it is little known, this female bonding reached further across the Atlantic. Tsuda was invited to England in 1898 by a group of influential women while she was visiting America in order to attend the international convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs as a Japanese delegate (Furuki 92-93). She sailed from New York and arrived at London on 12 November 1898 to remain in the country for five months until the end of April 1899. She travelled widely in England together with a short trip to Paris, and stayed in Oxford for two months, taking up residence at St. Hilda's College and attending lectures on English literature and language, ethics, and history. This visit afforded her a glimpse of the educational system in the UK as well as acquaintances with high-profile figures such as Florence Nightingale and the archbishop of York. Tsuda kept a journal of this entire journey in English; *Journal in London* is included in her complete works. As it was written as a letter without a view to publication to her female host in America who played a maternal role for young Tsuda—although a number put at the end of the title in manuscript hints at her intention

[3] For the biographical details in this paragraph, see Furuki.

of altering it for some unknown purpose—the journal gives us a personal and candid voice.

The invitation Tsuda received itself holds particular interest for this study: among the signatures of eighteen prominent women at the end of the invitation letter is that of Isabella L. Bishop, or Bird.[4] A description which follows her name attaches to it the importance she had acquired as a distinguished traveller: 'Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.' The chief addresser of the letter is Marion Bickersteth, wife of the late Edward Bickersteth, the former Bishop of the Church of England in Japan, with whom Bird developed a firm friendship during her repeated visits to Japan. In the letter, Bickersteth introduces those eighteen women as 'representations of woman's education' in Britain and expresses their interest in female education in Japan. Bird also appears in Tsuda's journal. It reports their encounter in Cambridge, where Bird gave talks on "zenana" work in India and the work in China (*Writings* 270-71); by then, Bird had become a British specialist in Asia. They seem to have enjoyed casual conversations, and Tsuda wore a Japanese *kimono* at Bird's request. These episodes attest to Bird's enduring interest in Japan and lifelong involvement in the work there, especially in the field of female education and welfare, which were beyond the bounds of her published travel narrative. The eighteen ladies also included Dorothea Beale, whose engagement

[4] A copy of this invitation letter is archived at Tsuda Umeko Shiryōshitsu, Tsuda College. I would like to express my special thanks to Professor Hayakawa Atsuko at Tsuda College for bringing this letter to my attention.

guaranteed Tsuda's residence in Oxford and inspection of Cheltenham Ladies' College.[5] Her achievement gave Tsuda inspiration and encouragement as the latter writes: 'Miss Beale first began her school there, and it has grown up from a little beginning into this great institution. It is encouraging to see how education has progressed in England, for we are at a stage in Japan no worse than when Miss Beale began her life-long work' (*Writings* 287). She also met Elizabeth Phillips Hughes, another great Victorian female educationalist, in Cambridge, and Tsuda had useful discussions on different educational systems in England and America with her (Tsuda, *Writings* 278).[6] It is imperative to retrieve the record of these neglected relationships between the Japanese pioneering educationalist and these Victorian women, and further examine their contribution to the development of Japanese women's education at its dawn.

Tsuda's journal attests to her complex national identity. As a representative of Japanese women, she gave special talks on Japan and Japanese women on several occasions. Her lecture at St. Hilda's College attracted a large audience, almost seventy people including members and non-members of the college alike (Tsuda, *Writings* 330-34). The country and its women were also the chief topic of conversation between her and Florence Nightingale (Tsuda, *Writings* 336). Thus, Tsuda worked as a "native

[5] Dorothea Beale (1831-1906), a Victorian female educationist. She became principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College in 1858. She was also a founder of St Hilda's College, Oxford (Beaumont).

[6] Elizabeth Phillips Hughes (1851-1925), a Victorian female educationist. She was the first principal of Cambridge Training College, which is currently called Hughes Hall in her honour. She also played a major role in education in Wales and became the only female committee member for drafting the charter for the University of Wales (May).

informant" during her stay in Britain. However, a closer look makes one realise the tentative nature of her nativeness. This becomes especially noticeable in her relationship with language. Owing to her unusual upbringing of eleven years in a foreign country, she had lost her native tongue on her return to Japan. In her letters to her American friend, she described learning Japanese as 'as hard for me as for a foreigner' (*Attic* 31), and comparing her circumstance with that of the other girls who went to the United States with her, lamented that '*I*, and *I* alone, with a foreign tongue in the midst of Japanese, not able to understand' as if she were a foreigner in her own country (*Attic* 32). To British ears, she sounded American (Tsuda, *Writings* 274). Consequently, she had to rely on *kimono* as a visual marker to secure her Japanese-ness. She wrote: 'At night there were many guests to dinner, and I put on my Japanese dress to entertain them. They seemed to like it very much indeed' (*Writings* 294). This sounds as if she were performing her national identity. She never fails to add how people appreciated her *kimono* to every journal entry on the national dress, which suggests the significance of correct reception and recognition of her Japanese-ness by English others. She is simultaneously concerned about American reputation in Britain. She takes satisfaction from good opinions on American women and objects to unfavourable opinions about American men. This is certainly attributable to the fact that the journal was intended for her American reader. However, it is still interesting to gauge her sympathy and identification with the latter. Her complex standpoint as regards nationality is

epitomised by the following remark: 'It is very odd, but I can always hear both sides, as they do not hesitate to criticize Americans before me, as I am a Japanese' (*Writings* 320). Faced with a second—non-Japanese and non-American—other in Britain, Tsuda is forced to re-negotiate her national identity.

Observations on the other people and culture made by this culturally displaced subject naturally offer an interesting comparative study. The following excerpt draws a comparison between the national characters of these three countries:

> I am constantly comparing English people and manners to American. I must say [the] English are stiffer, as is so often said of them. Americans are more warm and cordial—a surface thing it may be, but certainly pleasant. Of course not all English are the same, and some of them like Lady Pearson are exceedingly sweet, but they are not so warm and sympathetic. I do admire the strength and the sturdy qualities they have, and after all their conservatism is their strength. The Japanese are too progressive, too ready to change and too emotional—there is no doubt at all. (*Writings* 281-82)

Tsuda's apparent favouritism towards American people is again ascribed to her background as well as courtesy to her American addressee, and it betrays her loyalty to her foster country rather than her native land, which adds to the question of her national identity. In addition to Tsuda's allegiance to American values and manners, one cannot overlook the banality of her impression of English people in contrast to her unique reproof of Japanese emotionalism. She also criticises English women for their lack of social skills in favour of their American counterparts: 'But I do think English women and English girls have less of the savoir-faire than Americans. They are more reserved and shy and cold—not less in feeling but apparently so, and they do not know how to

entertain and talk as the American women do' (*Writings* 320). It is, however, interesting to note a change in her attitude towards the English later during her short stay in Oxford. She regretfully writes that 'I wish I were going to be here longer. One needs to be in a place settled for a while to really enjoy the people' (*Writings* 331), and concludes her residence with a remark that 'I shall be very very sorry to leave Oxford, and to think my stay here is over. Everyone has been so very kind to me' (*Writings* 334). This endorses the advantage of a long-term residence over a temporary visit in terms of forming an unprejudiced judgement about the other people as Tsuda herself makes clear. Her time in Oxford was blessed with close acquaintances, and her journal mentions many proper names, those of women in particular. It bears witness to the warm hospitality and opportunities of cultural exchange offered to a Japanese woman by Victorian women.

Tsuda's recollections of Britain stand in stark contrast to those of Yasui Tetsu (1870-1945). This seems only natural given fundamental differences in their backgrounds. While Tsuda grew up in America, immersed in Western culture, and travelled internationally even after her return to Japan, Yasui had never been abroad until she came to Britain in 1897 at the age of twenty seven. The former did not have any major language issues whereas language posed a long-standing problem for the latter and she struggled to adapt to the new country. In addition, while the former was not on a mission during her stay, the latter was a student sent by the Japanese government and felt burdened with this heavy responsibility. Consequently, there is an

obvious discrepancy in tone between their works despite the fact that both of them wrote their travelogues without any specific plans for publication. Yasui's writings are more introverted, pathos-filled and serious while Tsuda's is objective, cheerful, and enjoyable to read. Examining Yasui's text for factors which affected her during her foreign residence will reveal more complicated aspects of an individual at the intersection of international politics, national ideologies, and personal relationships with others.

Yasui was one of the first graduates of the Teacher's College for Women in Tokyo, which was the sole institution available for further education of Japanese women at that time, and was teaching at her Alma Mater when she was ordered by the government in 1896 to study home economics and education in Britain. She left Yokohama in January 1897 and arrived at London in March of the same year. She studied at several places, including the Cambridge Training College under the instruction by Elizabeth Phillips Hughes from October 1897 to April 1899. This encounter with Hughes, which developed into an intimate, long-standing friendship, was a turning point in her troubled relationship with the West. While she left Britain in April 1900 after her initial three years of residence, she revisited the country in May 1907 to study at the University of Wales, where Hughes had a strong connection.[7] Sources which relate her journey to us today are a body of her personal letters Yasui

[7] For the biographical details in this paragraph, see Aoyama.

wrote during her two stays to Noguchi Yuka, her close friend in Japan, supplemented by a journal she kept on board and for the first couple of months of her first stay in Britain, both of which are published posthumously in *Wakaki hi no ato* (*Traces of My Youth*) (1965). Her writings not only constitute a strong counter-voice to Western representation of Japanese women but also bear witness to the possibility of international female friendship.

Yasui's letters consist mostly of her critical reflections and resolutions rather than descriptions of events and surroundings. They convey a strikingly honest voice because of the private nature of the correspondence and offer a rare glimpse of the psychology of a Meiji female intellectual who had first-hand experience of the West. Her surprising frankness has something to do with the intimacy she shared with Noguchi, the recipient. She addresses her as *aneue* (big sister) and reveals her inner turmoil, expressed through her frequent tears. Interestingly, the rhetorics of consanguinity, love, and friendship merge in her letters. She confesses that 'I could never have expected, even of my ideal best friend, affection as great as this, [. . .]. Oh, my dear sister, I do not see the necessity to have another *love* [or '*lover'* in Yasui's own term] in this world, indeed; for I believe there is nobody else who could empathize with me as you do' (*Wakaki* 32; my translation). This is a rare glimpse into the culture of same-sex passion and bonding among Meiji Japanese women, which correspond with what Adrienne Rich called 'the lesbian continuum,' inherited by generations of Japanese women, and as fictionalised in

the works of Yoshiya Nobuko in Taishō Japan and *yuri* manga in contemporary Japan.[8] These emotions were often hidden from the untrained eyes of Western travellers even after a considerable length of residence in Japan. Susan Ballard, a missionary who authored *Fairy Tales from Far Japan* (1898) and was in a position of introducing the country and its people to the British public, accompanied Yasui to England for a home leave after four years of work in Tokyo. Yasui's letter reports an occasion where Ballard described her as 'brave, serious, never laughed,' and Yasui disapprovingly asks Noguchi for her opinion of this fallacious assessment (*Wakaki* 59; my translation). Thus, Yasui's correspondence uncovers an intimate friendship between Japanese women and the intensity of their private selves, which seemed to be largely overlooked in Western accounts and largely inaccessible but through an actual close friendship, like the one between Yasui and Hughes, which I will examine later.

The bond between Yasui and Noguchi seems reinforced by their spinsterhood in a Japanese society where the majority of women married young. The subjects of marriage and spinsterhood frequently come up in Yasui's letters, which shows that it was a

---

[8] Yoshiya Nobuko (1896-1973), was a Japanese popular writer. Her *Hanamonogatari* (*Flower Tales*) (1916-1926) became a sensational success, and she became a leading figure in so-called S (Sister) culture, which featured a strong bonding between girls. *Yaneura no nishojo* (*Two Virgins in the Attic*) (1920), which is autobiographical, is regarded as one of the first lesbian novels in Japan. She was in a life-long relationship with Monma Chiyo. Her works have long been obsolete, but re-reading has been carried out in the field of feminist critique since the 1990s. See Dollase 10-18 and Nagaike.

Taishō is a Japanese name of the era between 30 July 1912 and 25 December 1926 when the Emperor Taishō reigned.

Yuri manga is a popular subgenre in Japan which treats female same-sex romantic and erotic relationships. *Yuri* is a Japanese word for lilies. For its contemporary consumption and reception as well as its socio-cultural implication, see Nagaike.

source of constant anxiety. She was 'shocked by the great number of old maids' in England and imagined her sisters who grumbled about their single status would find company or consolation here (*Wakaki* 47; my translation). Her troubled eyes were naturally drawn to her English counterparts. As this minority voice has no representation in Western travel accounts about Japanese women, where they are mostly *geisha*, *musumé* or wives and mothers, Yasui's travelogue constitutes an interesting outlet for their forgotten passion. What sustained Yasui in her personal anguish was a fierce patriotism and a strong sense of responsibility for the future of Japanese women. She writes:

> I do not understand why the unmarried are a nuisance to society. It benefits the country if a few remain single and work for women. I think the position of our women would hardly advance if everyone got married to enjoy nothing but her personal pleasure and if it were not for those who devote themselves to womanhood. (*Wakaki* 128; my translation)

This self-sacrificing patriotism is clearly articulated in her letters as she declares: 'I have devoted myself to my country; I will risk my life and exert myself' (*Wakaki* 25; my translation). Her resolution resonates with her Meiji male contemporaries and their nationalist discourses. It is, however, crucial to recall the way the modern nation-state has nationalised its people differently according to gender. Muta Kazue detects an ideological shift in the major discourses in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), when, with the emergence of the concept of *katei* (home), the reactionary society moved emphasis away from gender equality back to a traditional, Confucian female role as mother and

wife, which, interestingly, coincided with the two bilateral wars and the rise of Japanese nationalism (62-72). Ueno Chizuko locates modern warfare as a topos to visualise gender asymmetry in a process of nationalisation which hierarchically produced and divided citizens into those who were privileged to die for the nation and those who were not, and points out that in case of Japan, women were cast in the reproducing role of mother and wife as the second-class citizens (27, 34-36, 68-72). Thus, denied access to the privilege of dying for the country as the first-class (male) citizens by the gender-specific working of biopower, women could not help but have recourse to the role of reproducing future citizens. This is why some Japanese liberal feminists at that time turned to the rhetoric of motherhood to gain civil and political rights (Muta 123-27). It was in this socio-historical context that Yasui proclaimed her patriotism. Public discourse on female duties was in direct conflict with her personal marital status and willingness for self-sacrifice. Yasui was caught in a thorny dilemma.

This patriotism further tormented Yasui during her stay in England. Coming from a former *samurai* family and spending her adolescence in a society which struggled for treaty revision with the West, she deeply internalised a sharp feeling of rivalry toward the West. This is clearly expressed in her criticism against Britain and its women and stress on Japanese superiority, which provides a counter-narrative to the Orientalist discourse by Victorian travellers. Yasui mocks the fallacies Ballard has made about Japan and claims that Western women talk of insignificant things (*Wakaki* 34-35).

Yasui further claims that English women are good at learning by rote and 'parroting' but cannot think systematically, which makes a striking parallel to a general critique of Japanese women by Western women, as evidenced in Fraser's *Letters* (*Wakaki* 67; my translation). Her national pride is fuelled by British attention to Japan as a rising power. She mentions the advantage of being Japanese, which has gained her many distinguished acquaintances (*Wakaki* 68). Nevertheless, Yasui seems to suffer from the inferiority complex in relation to Westerners, widely prevalent among Meiji intellectuals. She writes:

> The Easterner is not yet considered to be a friend of the Westerner; they speak highly of Japan, but only as the Oriental and the Mongoloid. (*Wakaki* 84; my translation)

Yasui does not overlook racism directed against her as 'the Oriental' and 'the Mongloid' in Victorian society. Her frustration and resentment are articulated well. Yasui feels excluded in Western society as a racially inferior other and denied friendship on equal terms, just as her country was denied equal treaties four decades before. A statement like this is absent in the works of Fraser and Stopes, which indicates that race and nationality affected hospitality and friendship in a foreign country differently. Yasui's view shows the extension of the signification of a nation into the geographical East and Mongolian race. This identification with East and Asia caused her sympathy for Chinese people under British rule in Hong Kong, where Yasui visited on her outgoing voyage (*Wakaki* 27, 256-57). This was linked to her belief in the leadership of Japanese

women for the Oriental womanhood (*Wakaki* 129). Japanese imperial expansionism finds expression here, and her country's growing aspiration for supremacy in Asia and membership of a circle of fully-modernised, Western countries further complicates Yasui's subject position. Thus, Yasui's travel accounts pose a multifaceted, and ambivalent relationship between modern Japanese woman and Britain in the crucible of Japan's ardent nationalism, rising imperialism and a residual Eastern inferiority complex.

What brought positive dynamics to Yasui's life in Britain, however, were her friendships with a few British women she established in her quest for genuine friends across race. An episode of her visiting the grave of a friend's mother who had died recently illustrates the consolidating power death and touch can have on human intimacy. '[W]hen I offered flowers, etc. at the grave in consolation, my friend cried and kissed me, which brought me to spontaneous tears; I noticed that foreigners were not different from us in terms of sentiments,' Yasui writes (*Wakaki* 83; my translation). It looks as if tears were contagious here: Yasui's sympathetic act of offering to the dead evoked tears from her bereft friend, whose responsive kiss triggered tears in Yasui in return. Although a kiss was by no means a typical gesture of affection in Japan, the physical contact communicated feelings more eloquently than language and helped Yasui to understand the other better despite linguistic and cultural differences. Sharing strong emotions through the intimate experience of mourning strengthened their bond,

which challenged Yasui's preconceived prejudices against the West and Westerners.

The most significant friendship Yasui formed in Britain was that with Elizabeth Phillips Hughes. As principal of Cambridge Training College, which was intended to prepare women to teach in girls' secondary schools, Hughes guided Yasui as a 'teacher-friend' (Yasui, *Wakaki* 75; my translation). Both women dedicated themselves to female education and shared their mission in life, which was possibly why they bonded with each other far more closely than on teacher-student terms. Yasui wrote to Noguchi that 'I have never felt this loved before' as Hughes treated her kindly like 'her own child'—again the analogy to blood relation for intimacy—and that 'you should know that she is indeed an extraordinary person in that she made the one like me who absolutely loathes the West into such an ardent admirer of her' (*Wakaki* 64; my translation). Hughes took Yasui with her to her parents' house in Wales for Christmas, and they travelled together to Switzerland for seven weeks. They even shared the most private issues. Hughes confessed her insomnia to Yasui while her pride prevented her from revealing it to anyone else, and Yasui worried about her as a real child would do about her parent (Yasui, *Wakaki* 83). Yasui, on her part, wrote to Hughes about despair and self-hatred which made her wish death (Yasui, *Wakaki* 99). Literature plays an active role in mediating their friendship. Yasui quoted Alexander Pope's 'The Quiet Life' and asked Noguchi to learn it by heart. The poem was originally given to Yasui to learn by Hughes so that their spirits would become united when she read it (Yasui,

Wakaki 84-88). The subject matter of the poem is a happy life of satisfaction, self-sufficiency, and piety. Yasui and Hughes shared their ideals through the poem. It is worth noticing here the extension of intimate friendship between women across race. After Yasui left Britain, Hughes visited her in Japan between October 1901 and November 1902 and lived in a two-storey house in Tokyo with Yasui and Noguchi, together with several Japanese students (Aoyama 100).[9] They formed a small community—or family—of women who shared a strong sense of mission, and were related through ideological consanguinity.

Although Yasui never changed in her disapproval of Western individualism, which to her was synonymous with egoism, she later published many articles in which she often drew examples from Britain and its people, women in particular, and made favourable comments on them. In one of them, Yasui described British women as follows:

> In general, English women are blunt and make little effort to be pleasant. However, they are enjoyable to talk with because they are unpretentious, sympathetic and highly reliable (*Hisakata-Machi* 86; my translation).

Her attitude towards them underwent a radical change which was catalysed by her actual friendships with Hughes and some others, despite Yasui's intense patriotism and initial xenophobia. Her conversion points to the importance of real human interaction and the possibility for international friendship to overcome nationalist politics and ideologies.

---

[9] For more details on Hughes' visit to Japan, see N. Ono.

It was in 1912, the last year of the Meiji period, that another Japanese woman, this time a famous poetess, visited England. Her name was Yosano Akiko (1878-1942). She was one of the leading feminists in Meiji Japan and an ardent advocate of female financial independence, which led to a famous debate with Hiratsuka Raichō (1886-1971), a prominent Japanese feminist, on motherhood protection in 1918-19.[10] She was an unconventional woman and challenged traditional social boundaries in many ways. She eloped with a married man at the age of twenty two. *Midaregami* (*Tangled Hair*) (1901), her first publication of collected *tanka* poetry, was a bold expression of burning female sexuality. She published a long pacifist poem *Kimi shinitamau koto nakare* (*My Brother, You Must Not Die*) (1904) during the Russo-Japanese War, in which she dared to criticise, however implicitly, the Emperor Meiji, despite the nationalist fervour centred around emperor worship.[11] The circumstances surrounding her journey to Europe were also unusual: she went over to see her husband in Paris, leaving her children behind, in a time when motherhood was believed to be the primary duty for women. Her accounts of a short trip to London during her stay in Europe are included in a travelogue *Pari yori* (*From Paris*) (1914). Although this fleeting journey did not afford her the chance to develop as intimate relationships with local people as the two women above, she managed to observe

[10] In this debate, Yosano insisted on the importance of women's full independence for their empowerment whereas Hiratsuka advocated state protection for motherhood (Ueno 44-45).
[11] For the biographical details in this paragraph, see Bardsley 246-248 and Yosano 14: 390-402.

English women with keen feminist eyes which were naturally drawn to them. She writes:

> Things I notice in London are [. . .] that a lot of young girls are active and go out freely. [. . .] English women lack chic beauty as Parisiennes have, but they look very affectionate and intelligent. [. . .] The chief cause of the rise of the women's suffrage question here, along with other diverse complicated ones, is [. . .] that more and more women have begun to contemplate themselves as a result of the spread of female education. [. . .] I believe that women's movement launched by steady English people will not end in vain. (108-10; my translation)

Yosano took great encouragement and inspiration from English women. The warm hospitality her hostess in London offered deeply moved Yosano. On her departure, the hostess took Yosano's hand through a car window with her eyes full of tears. This scene left a long-lasting impression on the poetess. Yosano notes that 'I will picture her face as the first thing whenever I think of England hereafter' (115; my translation). It seems as if the physical contact of hands, which was not common in Japan, together with the visual sign of tears, communicated affection effectively and connected the two women across different races, nationalities, and languages. Touch and tears translate the untranslatable.

In 1911, Yosano contributed a poem 'Sozorogoto' ('Rambling Thoughts') to the first issue of a magazine *Seitō* (*Bluestocking*). Its publication was of special significance in Japanese feminist history in that it was a women's magazine solely created by women, and the magazine became a symbol of '*atarashii onna* (New Woman)' in Japan (Bardsley 1-3). Yosano's poem was the opening piece of the issue and conveyed

exciting energy of the event, calling out that 'The day when mountains move has come./ [. . .]/ all the women who were sleeping/ are awake now and moving' (Bardsley 253-54). The seventh stanza subsequently entitled '*Onna*' ('Woman') reads as follows:

> "Do not forget your whip!"
> said Zarathustra.
> Women are oxen, they are sheep.
> Maybe I should add,
> "Let them run to the wilds!" (Bardsley 255)

The verse leads us back to the passage where Jacques Derrida discusses the double exclusion of the feminine from friendship in Nietzsche. Nietzsche branded women incapable of friendship in that they are non-human: 'Woman is not yet capable of friendship: women are still cats and birds. Or, at best, cows' (Derrida, *POF* 283). The above stanza sounds like an answer to him from Japanese women who were depicted as butterflies in Western male fantasy, a well-known representative of which was *Madame Butterfly*. It issues orders forcibly to release them, challenging the patriarchal view of women and commanding men to see what they are capable of.[12] Yosano once criticised Western male travellers for misrepresenting Japanese women by generalising about *geisha* and *mousmé* and reporting a commodified obedience as it were of those women as their common trait (263). Not all women in Meiji Japan were resigned to be pinned down submissively like collected butterflies. They had real passion, and flew abroad and enjoyed international affective bonding, which was judged impossible by the philosopher. The experiences of the three women in this chapter have amply illustrated

[12] The original verb of the last line Yosano used is '*hanateyo*' which signifies to release.

this:

> But it was not as enjoyable as being with Miss Hughes. When I returned on the following day, the Principal [Hughes] was so happy that she said she would like to kiss me, which was her sincere feeling, not outward politeness. Indeed, I will never love and respect anyone else again for the rest of my life as I do this teacher. (Yasui, *Wakaki* 62-63)

In conclusion this thesis has examined the gendered construction of Meiji Japan in Victorian travel discourse. When, in the mid-nineteenth century, Japan opened itself up to the West, it unwittingly earned feminine attributes, largely due perhaps to the Victorian patriarchal desire to represent a harmonious encounter with the country on a conjugal model of a suitable husband and a welcoming wife and against the backdrop of contemporary political turmoil throughout the British Empire. In this process, Japanese women became representative of the desirable Japan for Western male suitors while Japanese men were deprived of their masculinity and national pride. However, Japan's success in terms of its rapid modernisation and its rise as a new imperial power in the wake of military triumphs against China and Russia around the turn of the century brought a shift in Western discourse about Japan, changing from a feminine dream-land of *mousmés* to a masculine land of valiant *samurais*. This discursive shift was partly promoted by Japanese intellectuals themselves. The changes in the country's representation had discernible effects on travelogues by female travellers.

The thesis has also exposed the gendered and raced politics of friendship and community underlying Western democratic discourses and emphasised the ethical

exigency of hospitality, following the politico-philosophical discussions by Jacques Derrida, Jean-Luc Nancy and Maurice Blanchot. Phallogocentric politicisation of the discourse around friendship cautiously immunised it against women and foreigners by constructing it in the figures of consanguine brothers. This thesis has elucidated the significant role literature played for the female travel writers in challenging this exclusivist politics of friendship.

The thesis has, finally, presented three case studies to consider how the theoretical modes of the politics of friendship and the conceptions of community were complicated and contradicted by female travellers in their writings and in relation to cultural encounters between British women and Japanese people. It has illustrated the chance that travelling opens up for mutual recognition. Bird's close relationship with her guide-interpreter, Ito, illuminated the myth of the stable national, racial, and linguistic identity of the master in the colonial discourse and the feminine hospitality towards the alterity assisted by the marginalised position of women as the feminine other in Victorian society. Fraser revised the Orientalist representation of Japanese women as a pretty but silly, harmless child-woman for the sake of her friendships with Japanese women. This, in effect, posed a challenge to the male acquisitive narrative of territorial expansion which represents the other land as a desirable and available female. Stopes' friendships with Japanese men brought in the asymmetry to friendship discourse which is traditionally predicated upon the law of parity. This caused disturbance to the

colonial racial discourse, thereby elucidating the reason for strict homosociality in the politicised discourse of friendship. The encounter of three Japanese women to British others attested to the reciprocality of the affective bonding between Victorian women and Meiji women and a pan-feminist alliance on issues of women's education and civil rights arising from it. This thesis has identified a serious gap in the models of friendship and community developed by Derrida, Nancy, and Blanchot, who did not adequately address the question of interracial and cross-cultural relationships. The affective community of Victorian female travellers and their Japanese friends I have discussed in this thesis have opened up a discussion on specific challenges and exciting possibilities those relationships faced and gave rise to. My aim, from start to finish, has been to articulate the voice (as well as what Spivak calls the 'voice-consciousness' ('Can' 285)) of both Victorian female travellers to Meiji Japan and the Meiji Japanese they interacted with and bring back into cultural circulation the forgotten affective relationships described in the uncut pages of those travelogues I befriended.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary

(a) Manuscripts

Blackie, Walter M. Letter to Marie Stopes. 30 July 1909. MS. Stopes Papers 58524 f. 3-4. British Lib., London.

Chamberlain, Basil Hall. Letter to Marie Stopes. 4 Dec. 1907. MS. Stopes Papers 58681 f.47-48. British Lib., London.

---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 21 Nov. 1907. MS. Stopes Papers 58681 f.40-42. British Lib., London.

Courtney, William Leonard. Letter to Charlotte Brown Carmichael Stopes. 26 Jan. 1909. MS. Stopes Papers 58454 f. 81. British Lib., London.

Fraser, Mary Crawford. Letter to Margaret Terry Chanler. 13 Oct. 1894. MS. Margaret Terry Chanler Family Papers. Am 1595. 1186. Houghton Lib., Harvard U, Cambridge.

---. Letter to Ōkuma Ayako. 15 Oct. 1890. *Ōkuma bunsho* (1977): Reel 164, Microfilm 258.

---. Letter to Ozaki Saburō. 19 Oct. 1891. MS. Ozaki Saburō Papers, Letters, 110. National Diet Lib., Tokyo.

Gilmour, Leonie. Letter to Marie Stopes. 27 June 1908. MS Stopes Papers 58681 f. 86-87. British Lib., London.

Kirkes, Caroline. Letter to Francis Napier. 19 Jan. 1888. British Foreign Office. Japan Correspondence 1856-1940 (1974): Reel 217, Text Vol. 384.

---. Letter to Miss Bullock. 23 Nov. 1889. MS. 1890. *USPG/ CWW/ 185: Copies of Letters Received (India, Japan, Burma, North China, Syria)*. Rhodes House Lib., Oxford.

Manchester Guardian. Letter to Marie Stopes. 21 Jan. 1908. MS. Stopes Papers 58477 f.7. British Lib., London.

Noguchi, Yone. Letter to Marie Stopes. 16 Feb. 1914. MS Stopes Papers 58683 f.11-12. British Lib., London.

Ozaki, Yei Theodora. Letter to Inoue Kaoru. 7 Sept., 1914. MS. Inoue Kaoru Papers: Letters GB5-43 179. National Diet Lib,. Tokyo.

---. Letter to Inoue Kaoru. 18 Oct. 1914. MS. Inoue Kaoru Papers: Letters GB5-43 179. National Diet Lib., Tokyo.

Sakurai, Jōji. ‘The Ancient Lyric Drama of Japan.’ TS. National Museum of Nature and Science, Tokyo.

---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 6 May 1922. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 103-104. British Lib., London.

---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 10 Mar. 1909. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 38-39. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 15 Oct. 1909. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 48-49. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 16 Oct. 1922. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 111. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 16 Sept. 1912. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 57-58. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 16 Sept. 1937. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 163. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 18 Sept. 1908. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 23-24. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 21 Jan. 1910. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 50-51. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 21 June 1923. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 113. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 21 Sept. 1908. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 25-26. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 26 July 1908. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 21-22. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 27 July 1917. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 77-79. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 28 Aug. 1910. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 53-54. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. 29 Nov. 1912. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 59. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Marie Stopes. May-June 1909. MS. Stopes Papers 58467 f. 42-43. British Lib., London.
---. 'The Sumida River.' TS. National Museum of Nature and Science, Tokyo.
Sanjō-ke bunsho. MS. Supplement 17. National Diet Lib., Tokyo.
Stopes, Marie Carmichael. Journal to Family and Friends. 12 July 1907. MS. Stopes Papers 58743 f. 6-7. British Lib., London.
---. Letter to Frederick Ernest Weiss. 21 May 1908. MS. Stopes Paper 58470 f.112-113. British Lib., London.

(b) Printed Works

Ballard, Susan. *Fairy Tales from Far Japan*. London: Religious, 1898.
Bird, Isabella L. *The Hawaiian Archipelago: Six Months among the Palm Groves, Coral Reefs, and Volcanoes of the Sandwich Islands*. London: Murray, 1875.
---. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: A Record of Travels in the Interior, Including Visits to*

the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé. New ed. London: Newnes, 1900.

---. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels in the Interior, Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé*. 2 vols. London: Murray, 1880.

Brassey, Annie. *A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam': Our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months*. 2nd ed. London: Longmans, 1878.

Bridges, F. D. *Journal of a Lady's Travels Round the World*. London: Murray, 1883.

D'Almeida, Anna. *A Lady's Visit to Manilla and Japan*. London: Hurst, 1863.

D'Anethan, Eleanora Mary *Fourteen Years of Diplomatic Life in Japan: Leaves from the Diary of Baroness Albert d'Anethan*. London: Paul, 1912.

Dunn, Sara H. *The World's Highway, with Some First Impressions Whilst Journeying Along It*. London: Gay & Bird, 1894.

Fraser, Mary Crawford. *The Custom of the Country: Tales of New Japan*. New York: Macmillan, 1899.

---. *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan: Letters from Home to Home*. 2 vols. London: Hutchinson, 1899.

---. *A Diplomatist's Wife in Many Lands*. 2 vols. London: Hutchinson, 1911.

---. *Further Reminiscences of a Diplomatist's Wife*. London: Hutchinson, 1912.

---. *The Heart of a Geisha*. London: Putnam's, 1908.

---. 'Madame Yukio Ozaki: A Biographical Sketch.' *Warriors of Old Japan and Other Stories*. London: Constable, 1909. xiii-xxviii.

---. *The Slaking of the Sword*. London: Methuen, 1904.

---. *The Stolen Emperor: A Tale of Old Japan*. London: Long, 1903.

---. *The Stolen Prince: A Legend of Old Japan*. New York: Alexander, 1905.

Frere, Alice M. *The Antipodes and Round the World; or, Travels in Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, China, Japan, and California*. London: Hatchards, 1870.

Hodgson, C. Pemberton. *A Residence at Nagasaki and Hakodate in 1859-1860: With an Account of Japan Generally*. London: Bentley, 1861.

Howard, Ethel. *Japanese Memories*. London: Hutchinson, 1918.

Lawson, Kate. 'A Japanese Song of the Hour.' *The Musical herald* 690 (1905): 262.

---. *Highways and Homes of Japan*. London: Unwin, 1910.

Mortlake, G. N. *Love-Letters of a Japanese*. London: Paul, 1911.

Nakajima, Kyōko. *Itō no koi*. 2005. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2008. Print.

---. 'Travel Journals and Fiction.' Workshop on Travel Writing: Practice, Pegagogy and Theory. National University of Singapore. 24 Feb. 2011.

---. 'Travel/Trouble.' Iowa City Public Library Panel Series. U of Iowa.

Stopes, Marie Carmichael. 'Baron Joji Sakurai.' *Nature* 144.3645 (1939): 471.

---. 'An Expedition to the Southern Coal Mines.' *Fortnightly Review* 86.511 (1909): 93-107.

---. Introduction. *Love-Letters of a Japanese*. Ed. G. N. Mortlake. 2nd ed. London: Paul, 1912.

---. 'A Japanese Mediaeval Drama.' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* 29.3 (1909): 153-78.

---. *A Journal from Japan: A Daily Record of Life as Seen by a Scientist*. London: Blackie, 1910.

---. *Married Love: A New Contribution to the Solution of Sex Difficulties*. 1918. 29th ed. London: Gollancz, 1995.

---. *A New Gospel to All Peoples*. London: Humphreys, 1922.

Stopes, Marie Carmichael, and Joji Sakurai. *Plays of Old Japan: The 'Nō'*. London: Heinemann, 1913.

Swainson, Lilias Dunlop. *Letters from China & Japan*. London: King, 1875.

Tsuda, Umeko. *The Attic Letters: Ume Tsuda's Correspondence to Her American Mother*. Eds. Yoshiko Furuki, et al. New York: Weatherhill, 1991.

---. *The Writings of Umeko Tsuda*. Eds. Yoshiko Furuki, Akiko Ueda and Mary E. Althaus. Tokyo: Tsudajuku, 1984.

Yasui, Tetsu. *Hisakata-machi nite* 1915. Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1995. Print.

---. *Wakaki hi no ato: Yasui Tetsu shokans shū*. Ed. Nao Aoyama. Tokyo: Botsugo, 1965.

Yosano, Akiko. *Yosano Akiko Zenshū*. Vol. 9. Tokyo: Bunsendō, 1976.

2. Secondary

(a) Contemporary Works

Alcock, Rutherford. *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan*. 2 vols. London: Longman, 1863.

---. 'Old and New Japan: A Decade of Japanese Progress.' *Contemorary Review* 38 (1880): 827-50.

'The American Expedition to Japan.' *Examiner* 2307 (1852): 242.

Arnold, Edwin. *Adzuma; or, the Japanese Wife*. London: Longmans, 1893.

'Art. I.'. Rev. of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, by Isabella Bird. *The Quarterly Review* 150.300 (1880): 305-36.

Awdry, William. 'The Character of the Japanese People.' *Times* 2 Oct. 1905: 4.

Batchelor, John. *The Ainu of Japan: The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan*. London: Religious, 1892.

Bickersteth, Samuel. *Life and Letters of Edward Bickersteth, Bishop of South Tokyo*. 1899. 2nd ed. London: Sampson, 1901.

Bickmore, Albert S. *The Ainos, or Hairy Men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands*. New Haven: Tuttle, 1868.

'Book Review.' Rev. of *Love-Letters of a Japanese*, by G. N. Mortlake. *The*

Athenaeum.4375 (1911): 267.

Brereton, F. S. *A Soldier of Japan: A Tale of the Russo-Japanese War*. London: Blackie, 1906.

Briant, Keith. *Marie Stopes, a Biography*. London: Hogarth, 1962.

Chamberlain, Basil Hall. *Things Japanese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan for the Use of Travellers and Others*. 2nd ed. London: Paul, 1891.

---. *Things Japanese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan for the Use of Travellers and Others*. 5th ed. London: Murray, 1905.

Chamberlain, Basil Hall, and W. B. Mason. *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan: Including the Whole Empire from Saghalien to Formosa*. 8th ed. London: Murray, 1907.

The Chronicle & Directory for China, Japan & the Philippines, for the Year 1872. Hong Kong: Daily, 1872.

Crosland, Thomas William H. *The Truth About Japan*. London: Grant Richards, 1904.

Dubard, Maurice *Japanese Life, Love, and Legend: A Visit to the Empire of the "Rising Sun."*. Trans. William Conn. London: Ward, 1886. Trans. of *Le Japon pittoresque*. Paris: Plon, 1879.

Fenollosa, Ernest, and Ezra Pound. *'Noh' or Accomplishment: A Study of the Classical Stage of Japan*. London: Macmillan, 1916.

Fukuzawa, Yukichi. *Fukuzawa Yukichi's an Outline of a Theory of Civilization*. Trans. David A. Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst. Tokyo: Sophia U, 1973. Trans. of *Bunmeiron no gairyaku*. Tokyo: Fukuzawa, 1875.

Harris, Frank Clifford, and James William Tate. *Mimosa! My Flower of Japan*. London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 1905.

Hearn, Lafcadio. *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*. 2 vols. London: Osgood, 1894.

'Hikōsen kembutsu.' *Asahi shimbun* 13 Sept. 1910: 5.

Holland, Clive. *A Japanese Romance*. London: Hodder, 1904.

---. *Mousmé*. London: Pearson, 1901.

---. *My Japanese Wife: A Japanese Idyl*. 1895. 12th ed. London: Everett, 1903.

---. *My Japanese Wife: An Idyll of Japan*. 1895. 21st ed. London: Robert Scott, 1916.

Horsley, Reginald. *Women of Worth in the Victorian Era: Biographies of Queen Victoria, Florence Nightingale and Isabella Bird*. London: Chambers, 1912.

Itō, Hirobumi. Preface. *Japan, Our New Ally*. London: Unwin, 1902.

Iwamoto, Kashi. 'Our Beloved Empress.' *Japan Evangelist* Aug. 1895, Woman's Department sec.: 345-49.

Jones, Sidney, Owen Hall, and Harry Greenbank. *The Geisha; a Story of a Tea House: A Japanese Musical Play*. London: Hopwood, 1896.

Kipling, Rudyard. *Kipling's Japan: Collected Writings*. Eds. Hugh Cortazzi and George Webb. London: Athlone, 1988.

Kōnosu, Yukiko. Afterword. *Itō no koi*. 2005. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2008. 343-51. Print.

‘Literature.’ Rev. of *Plays of Old Japan: The Nō*. *The Athenaeum*.4479 (1913): 197-98.

Littlefield, Walter. ‘A Diplomat’s Wife’ Told Life’s Story.’ *New York Times* 6 May 1923: E7.

‘Lord Elgin in Japan.’ *Times* 2 Nov. 1858: 7.

Loti, Pierre. *Japan: Madam Chrysanthemum*. Trans. Laura Ensor. London: KPI, 1985. Trans. of *Madame chrysanthème*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1887.

Lowe, Charles. ‘Translator’s Introduction.’ *Japan’s Accession to the Comity of Nations*. London: Paul, 1901. vii-xiii.

Maude, Aylmer. *The Authorized Life of Marie C. Stopes*. London: Williams, 1924.

---. *Marie Stopes: Her Work and Play*. London: Davies, 1933.

Menpes, Mortimer. *Japan: A Record in Colour*. London: Black, 1901.

Mitford, Algernon Bertram Freeman. *Tales of Old Japan*. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1871.

Mori, Ōgai. ‘Fumizukai (the Courier).’ *Monumenta Nipponica* 26.1/2 (1971): 101-14.

---. ‘Maihime. (the Dancing Girl).’ *Monumenta Nipponica* 30.2 (1975): 151-76.

---. ‘Utakata No Ki.’ *Monumenta Nipponica* 29.3 (1974): 247-61.

Morton, Richard, and George Le Brunn. ‘The Jap.’ London: Sheard, 1893.

Nitobe, Inazō. *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*. 1900. 5th ed. Tokyo: Shōkwabō, 1901.

Noguchi, Yone. *The Story of Yone Noguchi: Told by Himself*. London: Chatto, 1914.

Norman, Henry. *The Real Japan: Studies of Contemporary Japanese Manners, Morals, Administration, and Politics*. London: Unwin, 1892.

Okakura, Kakuzo. *The Awakening of Japan*. London: Murray, 1905.

Oliphant, Laurence. *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin’s Mission to China and Japan in the Years 1857, ‘58, ‘59*. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1859.

Osborn, Sherard. *A Cruise in Japanese Waters*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1859.

Ozaki, Yei Theodora. ‘Aoyagi (Green Willow).’ *Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review* 58.343 (1905): 427-33.

---. ‘The Tragedy of Kesa Gozen.’ *Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review* 59.347 (1906): 124-34.

Poe, Edgar Allan. *Essays and Reviews*. Ed. Gary Richard Thompson. New York: Literary, 1984.

Pound, Ezra. ‘Ezra Pound to Yone Noguchi.’ *Yone Noguchi Collected English Letters*. Ed. Ikuko Atsumi. Tokyo: Noguchi, 1975. 210-11.

Sakurai, Tadayoshi. *Human Bullets: A Soldier’s Story of Port Arthur*. Trans. Masujiro Honda. Ed. Alice Mabel Bacon. Boston: Houghton, 1907.

Salaman, Malcolm C. *Elizabeth Keith*. London: Studio, 1933.

Sansom, G.B. ‘Translations from the “Nō”.’ *Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan* 38.3 (1911): 125-76.

Satow, Ernest M. ‘The Ainos of Yezo.’ *The Phoenix* 7 (1870): 3-4.

Satow, Ernest Mason. *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo*

(1895-1900): A Diplomat Returns to Japan. Eds. Ian C. Ruxton and Nigel J. Brailey. Tokyo: Synapse, 2003.

Satow, Ernest Mason, and A. G. S. Hawes. *A Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan: Being a Guide to Tōkiō, Kiōto, Ōzaka, Hakodate, Nagasaki, and Other Cities; the Most Interesting Parts of the Main Island; Ascents of the Principal Mountains; Descriptions of Temples; and Historical Notes and Legends*. 2nd ed. London: Murray, 1884.

Shaw, Bernard. *Pygmalion: A Romance in Five Acts*. *The Bodley Head Bernard Shaw: Collected Plays with Their Prefaces*. Vol. 4. London: Head, 1972.

Siebold, Alexander Freiherr von. *Japan's Accession to the Comity of Nations*. Trans. Charles Lowe. London: Paul, 1901.

Stead, Alfred. *Japan, Our New Ally*. London: Unwin, 1902.

Stevenson, Robert Louis. *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*. Eds. Bradford Allen Booth and Ernest Mehew. Vol. 3. New Haven: Yale UP, 1994.

---. 'Yoshida-Torajiro.' *Familiar Studies of Men and Books*. London: Chatto, 1882. 172-91.

Stoddart, Anna M. *The Life of Isabella Bird: (Mrs. Bishop)*. London: Murray, 1906.

Sullivan, Arthur, and W. S. Gilbert. *The Mikado: In Full Score*. Eds. Carl Simpson and Ephraim Hammett Jones. New ed. Mineola: Dover, 1999.

Tamura, Naomi. *The Japanese Bride*. New York: Harper, 1893.

'Things Talked of in London.' *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*439 (1852): 349-51.

Tomita, Kumasaku, and G. Ambrose Lee. *Japanese Treasure Tales*. London: Yamanaka, 1906.

'The United States Expedition to Japan.' *The Illustrated London News* 7 May 1853: 344.

Waring, John Burley. *Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International Exhibition, 1862*. London: Day, 1863.

Wilde, Oscar. 'The Decay of Lying.' *Intentions: The Decay of Lying. Pen, Pencil and Poison. The Critic as Artist. The Truth of Masks*. London: McIlvaine, 1894. 1-55.

---. *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Ed. Joseph Bristow. New ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006.

Wood, Eric Erskine. *A Bachelor in Japan*. London: Unwin, 1916.

Yeats, William Butler. 'Introduction.' *Certain Noble Plays of Japan: From the Manuscripts of Ernest Fenollosa, Chosen and Finished by Ezra Pound, with an Introduction by William Butler Yeats*. Churchtown: Cuala, 1916. I-XIX.

---. *Yeats's Poems*. Ed. A. Norman Jeffares. London: Macmillan, 1989.

(b) Later Studies

Agamben, Giorgio. *The Coming Community*. Trans. Michael Hardt. Minneapolis: U of

Minnesota P, 1993. Trans of *La comunità che viene*. Torino: Einaudi, 1990.

---. 'Friendship.' *Contretemps* 5 (2004): 2-7.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 1983. Revised ed. London: Verso, 2006.

Anderson, Monica. *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2006.

Aoyama, Nao. *Yasui Tetsu den: Denki Yasui Tetsu*. Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1990.

Arata, Stephen. '1897.' *A Companion to Victorian Literature & Culture*. Ed. Herbert F. Tucker. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999. 51-65.

Aslin, Elizabeth. 'Japanese Influence on Nineteenth-Centiry Decorative Arts.' *The Decorative Arts in the Victorian Period*. Ed. Susan M. Wright. London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1989. 74-81.

Attridge, Derek. 'Book Review: Martin Hägglund, *Radical Atheism*.' *Derrida Today* 2.2 (2009): 271-81.

Bach, Evelyn. 'A Traveller in Skirts: Quest and Conquest in the Travel Narratives of Isabella Bird.' *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/Revue Canadienne de Litterature Comparee* 22.3-4 (1995): 587-600.

Baelz, Erwin. *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German Doctor: Erwin Baelz*. Ed. Toku Baelz. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1974.

Bardsley, Jan. *The Bluestockings of Japan: New Woman Essays and Fiction from Seitō, 1911-16*. Ann Arbor.: U of Michigan, 2007.

Barr, Pat. *The Coming of the Barbarians: A Story of Western Settlement in Japan, 1853-1870*. London: Macmillan, 1967.

---. *A Curious Life for a Lady: The Story of Isabella Bird*. London: Macmillan, 1970.

---. *The Deer Cry Pavilion: A Story of Westerners in Japan 1868-1905*. London: Macmillan, 1968.

Beaumont, Jacqueline. 'Beale, Dorothea (1831–1906).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. May 2007. 27 Dec. 2012 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30655>.

Benjamin, Walter. 'The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens*.' Trans. Harry Zohn. *The Translation Studies: Reader*. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 1923.

Benveniste, Émile. *Indo-European Langauge and Society*. Trans. Elizabeth Palmer. London: Faber, 1973. Trans. of *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes.* Paris: Minuit, 1969.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. 1994. Abingdon: Routledge, 2004. Print.

Bharucha, Rustom. *Another Asia: Rabindranath Tagore and Okakura Tenshin*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006.

Birkett, D. J.. 'Kingsley, Mary Henrietta (1862–1900).' *Oxford Dictionary of National*

Biography. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan. 2008. 27 Dec. 2012 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15620>.

Blacker, Carmen. 'Marie Stopes and Japan.' *Collected Writings of Carmen Blacker*. Tokyo: Synapse, 2000. 214-23.

Blanchot, Maurice. *Friendship*. Trans. Elizabeth Rottenberg. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1997. Trans. of *L'Amitié*. Paris: Gallimard, 1971.

---. *The Unavowable Community*. Trans. Pierre Joris. Barrytown: Station, 1988. Trans. of' *La communauté inavouable*. Paris: Minuit, 1983.

Blunt, Alison. *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa*. London: Guilford, 1994.

Boister, Neil, and Robert Cryer. *The Tokyo International Military Tribunal: A Reappraisal*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.

Bowring, Richard. 'The Background to *Maihime*.' *Monumenta Nipponica* 30.2 (1975): 167-76.

Buckley, Sandra. *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997.

Butler, Judith. *Antigone's Claim: Kinship between Life and Death*. New York: Columbia UP, 2000.

Butler, Judith, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. *Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging*. London: Seagull, 2007.

Chang, Heewon. *Autoethnography as Method*. Walnut Creek: Left, 2008.

Checkland, Olive. *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989.

---. *Japan and Britain after 1859: Creating Cultural Bridges*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Chua, Beng Huat. 'Communitarian Politics in Asia.' *Communitarian Politics in Asia*. Ed. Beng Huat Chua. London: Routledge, 2004.

Chubbuck, Kay. Introduction. *Letters to Henrietta*. Ed. Kay Chubbuck. London: Murray, 2002.

---, ed. *Letters to Henrietta*. London: Murray, 2002.

Churchill, Caryl. *Top Girls*. London: Methuen, 1982.

Cobbing, Andrew. 'Itō Hirobumi in Britain.' *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*. Ed. James Hoare. Vol. 3. Richmond: Japan, 1999. 13-24.

Cortazzi, Hugh, ed. *A Diplomat's Wife in Japan: Sketches at the Turn of the Century*. By Mary Crawrford Fraser. New York: Weatherhill, 1982.

---. 'Hugh Fraser, 1837-1894: British Minister at Tokyo, 1889-94.' *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*. Ed. Hugh Cortazzi. Vol. IV. London: Routledge, 2002. 41-52.

---. *Victorians in Japan: In and around the Treaty Ports*. London: Athlone, 1987.

Cosslett, Tess. *Woman to Woman: Female Friendship in Victorian Fiction*. Brighton: Harvester, 1988.

Cronin, Michael. *Across the Lines: Travel, Language, Translation*. Cork: Cork UP, 2000.

Derrida, Jacques. *Acts of Literature*. Ed. Derek Attridge. New York Routledge, 1992.

---. *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas*. Trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1999.

---. *The Animal That Therefore I Am*. Trans. David Wills. Ed. Marie-Louise Mallet. New York: Fordham UP, 2008. Trans. of *L'animal que donc je suis*. Paris: Galilée, 2006.

---. 'Des Tours De Babel.' Trans. Joseph F. Graham. *Difference in Translation*. Ed. Joseph F. Graham. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985. 165-207.

---. *Glas*. Trans. John P. Leavey and Richard Rand. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1986. Trans. of *Glas*. Paris: Galilée, 1974.

---. 'Hospitality.' *Angelaki* 5.3 (2000): 3-18.

---. 'Hospitality, Justice and Responsibility: A Dialogue with Jacques Derrida.' *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy*. Eds. Richard Kearney and Mark Dooley. London: Routledge, 1999.

---. *Monolingualism of the Other; or, the Prosthesis of Origin*. Trans. Patrick Mensah. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998. Trans. of *Le monolinguisme de l'autre: ou la prothèse d'origine.* Paris: Galilée, 1996.

---. *Of Hospitality: Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jacques Derrida to Respond*. Trans. Rachel Bowlby. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2000.

---. 'Politics of Friendship.' *American Imago* 50.3 (1993): 353-91.

---. *The Politics of Friendship*. Trans. George Collins. London: Verso, 2005. Trans. of *Politiques de l'amitié*. Paris: Galileé, 1994.

---. 'What Is a "Relevant" Translation?' *Critical Inquiry* 27.2 (2001): 174-200.

Dollase, Hitomi Tsuchiya. 'Mad Girls in the Attic: Louisa May Alcott, Yoshiya Nobuko and the Development of Shōjo Culture.' UMI, 2003.

Dufourmantelle, Anne. 'Invitation.' *Of Hospitality: Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jacques Derrida to Respond*. Trans. Rachel Bowlby. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2000.

Duus, Masayo. *The Life of Isamu Noguchi: Journey without Borders*. Trans. Peter Duus. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2004. Trans. of *Isamu Noguchi: Shukumei no ekkyōsha*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000.

Ellingson, Laura L., and Carolyn Ellis. 'Autoethnography as Constructionist Project.' *Handbook of Constructionist Research*. Eds. James A. Holstein and Jaber F. Gubrium. New York: Guilford, 2008. 445-65.

Elliott, Andrew. 'Ito and Isabella in the Contact Zone: Interpretation, Mimicry and *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*.' *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese*

Studies 2008. 14 Apr. 2011 <http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/articles/2008/Elliott.html>.

Elston, M. A.. 'Ayrton, Matilda Charlotte (1846–1883).''*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. 29 Dec. 2012 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/949>.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. 1967. Trans. Charles Lam Markmann. London: Pluto, 2008. Print. Trans. of *Peau noire, masques blanc*. Paris: Seuil, *1952*.

French, Patrick. 'Norman, Sir Henry, first baronet (1858–1939).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan. 2011. 30 Oct. 2012 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61020>.

Friedman, Marilyn. 'Feminism and Modern Friendship: Dislocating the Community.' *Friendship: A Philosophical Reader*. Ed. Neera Kapur Badhwar. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993. 285-302.

Furuki, Yoshiko. *The White Plum: A Biography of Ume Tsuda: Pioneer in the Higher Education of Japanese Women*. New York: Weatherhill, 1991.

Gandhi, Leela. *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-De-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship*. Durham: Duke UP, 2006.

Ghose, Indira. *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze*. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1998.

Gikandi, Simon. *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*. New York: Columbia UP, 1996.

Gordon, Andrew. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. New York: Oxford UP, 2003.

Groos, Arthur. 'Lieutenant F. B. Pinkerton: Problems in the Genesis and Performance of Madama Butterfly.' *The Puccini Companion*. Eds. William Weaver and Simonetta Puccini. New York: Norton, 1994.

Hägglund, Martin. *Radical Atheism: Derrida and the Time of Life*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2008.

Hall, Ivan P. *Mori Arinori*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1973.

Hall, Ruth. *Marie Stopes, a Biography*. London: Deutsch, 1977.

Hargreaves, Alec G. *Multi-Ethnic France: Immigration, Politics, Culture, and Society*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Harper, Lila Marz. *Solitary Travelers: Nineteenth-Century Women's Travel Narratives and the Scientific Vocation*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2001.

Hirakawa, Sukehiro. *Japan's Love-Hate Relationship with the West*. Folkestone: Global, 2005.

Hoare, James. *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests 1858-1899*. Folkestone: Japan, 1994.

Hughes, Linda K. '1870.' *A Companion to Victorian Literature & Culture*. Ed. Herbert F. Tucker. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999. 35-50.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. London: Free, 2002.

Irigaray, Luce. *Between East and West: From Singularity to Community*. Trans. Stephen Pluháček. New York: Columbia UP, 2002. Trans. of *Entre orient et occident*. Paris: Grasset, 1999.

---. 'The Eternal Irony of the Community.' Trans. Gillian C. Gill. *Speculum of the Other Woman*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985. Trans. of *Speculum de l'autre femme*. Paris: Minuit, 1974.

Ishibashi, Hiro. 'Marie C. Stopes to Nō (1).' *The Rising Generation* 124 (1978): 180-81.

Jalagin, Seija. 'Gendered Images: Western Women on Japanese Women.' *Looking at the Other: Historical Study of Images in Theory and Practise*. Eds. Kari Alenius, Olavi K. Fält and Seija Jalagin. Oulu: Oulu UP, 2002. 12-31.

Kanasaka, Kiyonori. 'Some Discovered Materials and Views About Ito, Namely Tsurukichi Ito: As a Part of Isabella Bird Study of the Author.' *Chiiki to kankyo* 3 (2000): 21-66.

Kawakami, Akane. *Travellers' Visions: French Literary Encounters with Japan, 1881-2004*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2005.

Keevak, Michael. *Becoming Yellow: A Short History of Racial Thinking*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2011.

Khanna, Ranjana. 'Frames, Contexts, Community, Justice.' *Diacritics* 33.2 (2005): 11-41.

Ki, Tsurayuki. *The Tosa Diary*. Trans. William N. Porter. Boston: Tuttle, 2005.

Kowner, Rotem. '"Lighter Than Yellow, but Not Enough": Western Discourse on the Japanese "Race", 1854-1904.' *The Historical Journal* 43.1 (2000): 103-31.

Koyama, Noboru. 'Three Meiji Marriages between Japanese Men and English Women: Minami Teisuke & Eliza, Ozaki Saburo & Bathia Catherine, Sannomiya Yoshitane & Alethea Yayeno.' *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*. Ed. Hugh Cortazzi. Vol. IV. London: Japan, 2002. 383-96.

Kröler, Eva-Maire. 'First Impressions: Rhetorical Strategies in Travel Writing by Victorian Women.' *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 21.4 (1990): 87-99.

Kristeva, Julia. *Strangers to Ourselves*. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Harvester, 1991. Trans. of *Étrangers à nous-mêmes*. Paris: Fayard, 1988.

Kusuya, Shigetoshi. 'Bird *Nihonkiko* kaisetsu.' *Bird* Nihonkiko. Trans. Shigetoshi Kusuya, Kaoru Hashimoto and Michiko Miyazaki. Tokyo: Yūshōdō, 2002. 333-76.

Kutcher, Norman. 'The Fifth Relationship: Dangerous Friendships in the Confucian Context.' *The American Historical Review* 105.5 (2000): 1615-29.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Introduction to the Work of Marcel Mauss*. Trans. Felicity Baker. London: Routledge, 1987.

Lawlor, Leonard. 'Jacques Derrida.' *Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*. Ed. Edward N. Zalta. 2011. Summer 2011 ed. 3 June 2011 <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/derrida/>.

Leupp, Gary P. *Interracial Intimacy in Japan: Western Men and Japanese Women, 1543-1900*. London: Continuum, 2003.

Lloyd, Catherine. *Discourses of Antiracism in France*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.

Low, Morris. *Japan on Display: Photography and the Emperor*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Luftig, Victor. *Seeing Together: Friendship between the Sexes in English Writing from Mill to Woolf*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1993.

Mackay, Jane, and Pat Thane. 'The Englishwoman.' *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920*. Eds. Robert Colls and Philip Dodd. London: Croom, 1986. 191-229.

Marcus, Sharon. *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2007.

Marie Stopes International. 'History.' 8 Dec. 2012. <http://www.mariestopes.org/about-us/history>.

Marshall, E. H. 'Brassey , Anna , Lady Brassey (1839–1887).' Rev. Dorothy Middleton. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oct. 2009. 18 Oct. 2012 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3288>.

May, G. H. L. Le . 'Hughes, Elizabeth Phillips (1851–1925).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oct. 2008. 25 Jan. 2012 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37579>.

Mills, Sara. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Monteith, Sharon. *Advancing Sisterhood? Interracial Friendships in Contemporary Southern Fiction*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2000.

Moriarty, G. P. 'Hodgson, Christopher Pemberton (1821–1865).' Rev. Elizabeth Baigent. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. 11 Jan. 2013 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13434>.

Muta, Kazue. *Senryaku to shite no kazoku: Kindai Nihon no kokumin kokka keisei to josei*. Tokyo: Shin'yōsha, 1996.

Nagaike, Kazumi. 'The Sexual and Textual Politics of Japanese Lesbian Comics: Reading Romantic and Erotic Yuri Narratives.' *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies* 2010. 11 Jan. 2013 <http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/articles/2010/Nagaike.html>.

Nancy, Jean-Luc. *The Inoperative Community*. Trans. Peter Connor, et al. Ed. Peter Connor. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1991. Trans. of *La communauté désoeuvrée*. Paris: Bourgois, 1986.

National Diet Library. 'Ito, Tsurukichi (1857-1913).' 2004. *Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures*. 20 Nov. 2011 <http://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/11.html?c=0>.

Nish, Ian Hill. *Alliance in Decline: A Study in Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1908-23*. London: Athlone, 1972.

---. *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance: The Diplomacy of Two Island Empires, 1894-1907*. London: Athlone, 1966.

Nogami, Toyoichiro. *Kaichū Yōkyoku Zenshū*. Tokyo: Chū'ōkōronsha, 1935.

Oba, Minako. *Tsuda Umeko*. Tokyo: Asahi, 1990.

Oldstone-Moore, Jennifer. *Understanding Confucianism: Origins, Beliefs, Practices, Holy Texts, Sacred Places*. London: Baird, 2003.

Ono, Ayako. *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-Century Japan*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Ono, Nobutane. 'E.P.Hughes in Japan(1901-1902).' *The Annual Collection of Essays and Studies* 36 (1989): 323-46.

Ozaki, Rumi. *Wakamatsu Shizuko: Reimeiki wo kakenuketa josei*. Kamakura: Minatonohito, 2007.

Peattie, Mark R. Introduction. *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*. Eds. Ramon Hawley Myers and Mark R. Peattie. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1984.

Perrot, Philippe. *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*. Trans. Richard Bienvenu. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 1992. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2008. Print.

Rainey, Lee Dian. *Confucius & Confucianism: The Essentials*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2010.

Reames, Kelly Lynch. *Women and Race in Contemporary U.S. Writing: From Faulkner to Morrison*. New York: Macmillan, 2007.

Reed, Christopher. *The Chrysanthème Papers: The Pink Notebook of Madame Chrysanthème and Other Documents of French Japonisme*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2010.

Refsing, Kirsten. Introduction. *Early European Writings on the Ainu Language*. Ed. Kirsten Refsing. Vol. 1. London: Routledge, 1996. 1-35.

---. Introduction. *Early European Writings on Ainu Culture: Travelogues and Descriptions*. Ed. Kirsten Refsing. Vol. 1. Richmond: Curzon, 2000. 1-107.

Reviron, Floriane. 'Isabella Bird's in Japan: Unbeaten Tracks in Travel Literature.' *In-between Two Worlds: Narratives by Female Explorers and Travellers 1850-1945*. Eds. Béatrice Bijon and Gérard Gâcon. New York: Lang, 2009.

67-80.

Ricoeur, Paul. *History and Truth*. Trans. Charles A. Kelbley. Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1965.

---. 'The Paradigm of Translation.' Trans. David Pellauer. *Reflections on the Just*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2007. 106-20.

Robbins, Bruce. *The Servant's Hand: English Fiction from Below*. 1986. Durham: Duke UP, 1993. Print.

Rose, June. *Marie Stopes and the Sexual Revolution*. Stroud: Tempus, 2007.

Rosenlee, Li-Hsiang Lisa. *Confucianism and Women: A Philosophical Interpretation*. Albany: State U of New York P, 2006.

Rubin, Gayle. 'The Traffic in Women.' *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Eds. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004. 770-94.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. 1978. London: Penguin, 2003.

Schérer, R. *Zeus hospitalier: Eloge de l'hospitalité*. Paris: Table, 2005.

Schreiber, Mark. *The Dark Side: Infamous Japanese Crimes and Criminals*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York: Columbia UP, 1985.

Shiach, Morag, ed. *A Room of One's Own* and *Three Guineas*. By Virginia Woolf. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.

Shimazu, Naoko. *Japan, Race and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919*. London: Routledge, 1998.

'*Shin*.' *Kanjigen*. Eds. Akiyasu Todo, et al. Tokyo: Gakkenkyoikushuppan, 2003.

Shinbun shusei Meiji hennenshi. Eds. Yasumasa Nakayama. Vol. 4. Tokyo: Shinbun, 1934.

Sillitoe, Alan. *Leading the Blind: Century of Guidebook Travel 1815-1914*. Nottingham: Bookcase, 2004.

Simpson, Carl, and Ephraim Hammett Jones. Preface. *The Mikado: In Full Score*. New ed. Mineola: Dover, 1999. v-vii.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1988. 271-313.

---. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999.

---. 'The Politics of Translation.' *The Translation Studies Reader*. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. 2nd ed. New York Routledge, 2004.

Sterry, Lorraine. *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan: Discovering a 'New' Land*. Folkestone: Global, 2009.

Still, Judith. *Derrida and Hospitality: Theory and Practice*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2010.

Strong, Sarah Mehlhop. *Ainu Spirits Singing: The Living World of Chiri Yukie's Ainu Shin'yōshū*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2011.

Swift, Jonathan. *Gulliver's Travels*. Ed. Colin McKelvie. Belfast: Appletree, 1976.

Takahata, Miyoko. 'Comparative Bibliological Study of Variations among Four *Ante Mortem* Editions of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* by Miss Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop): The Revisions Reflecting the Lifelong Changes of Her Way of Behaviour and Modes of Thinking.' *Hirosaki Daigaku Daigakuin Chiikishakai Kenkyuka Nenpo* 7 (2010): 115-45.

---. 'Isabella Bird's (Mrs. Bishop's) Taking Part in Japan after the *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*: The Itinerary, and Contributions to John Bishop Orphanage and Other Charity Projects.' *Eigakushi kenkyu* 42 (2009): 39-64.

Tezuka, Akira. *Bakumatsu Meiji kaigai tokōsha sōran*. Ed. Kokuritsu Kyōiku Kaikan. 3 vols. Tokyo: Kashiwashobō, 1992.

Thomson, A. J. P. *Deconstruction and Democracy: Derrida's Politics of Friendship*. London: Continuum, 2005.

Todd, Janet M. *Women's Friendship in Literature*. New York: Columbia UP, 1980.

Tokyo Jogakkan hyakunenshi henshūshitsu, ed. *Tokyo Jogakkan Hyakunenshi*. Tokyo: Jogakkan, 1991.

Tsurumi, E. Patricia. Rev. of *A Diplomat's Wife in Japan: Sketches at the Turn of the Century*. By Mary Crawford Fraser. *Pacific Affairs* 56 (1983): 550-51.

Ueno, Chizuko. *Nashonarizumu to jenda (Nationalism and Gender)*. Tokyo: Seidosha, 1998.

Watanabe, Minoru *Kindai Nihon kaigai ryūgakusei shi*. Vol. 2. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977.

Weaver, Matthew. 'Angela Merkel: German Multiculturalism Has "Utterly Failed".' *Guardian*. Web. 17 Oct. 2010.

Wolf, Margery. *A Thrice-Told Tale: Feminism, Postmodernism, and Ethnographic Responsibility*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1992.

Woolf, Virginia. *A Room of One's Own* and *Three Guineas*. Ed. Morag Shiach. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.

Yamaguchi, Reiko. *Tokuto Ware Wo Mitamae: Wakamatsu Shizuko No Shōgai*. Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1980.

Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan. *Sekai man'yūkatachi no nippon: Nikki to ryokōki to gaidobukku (Japan According to Globetrotters: Diaries, Travelogues and Guidebooks)*. Yokohama: Yokohama, 1996.

Yokoyama, Toshio. *Japan in the Victorian Mind: A Study of Stereotyped Images of a Nation, 1850-80*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987.

'*Yū*.' *Kanjigen*. Eds. Akiyasu Todo, et al. Tokyo: Gakkenkyoikushuppan, 2003.

'*Yūai*.' *Kojien*. Ed. Izuru Shinmura. 5th ed. Tokyo: Iwanami, 1998.