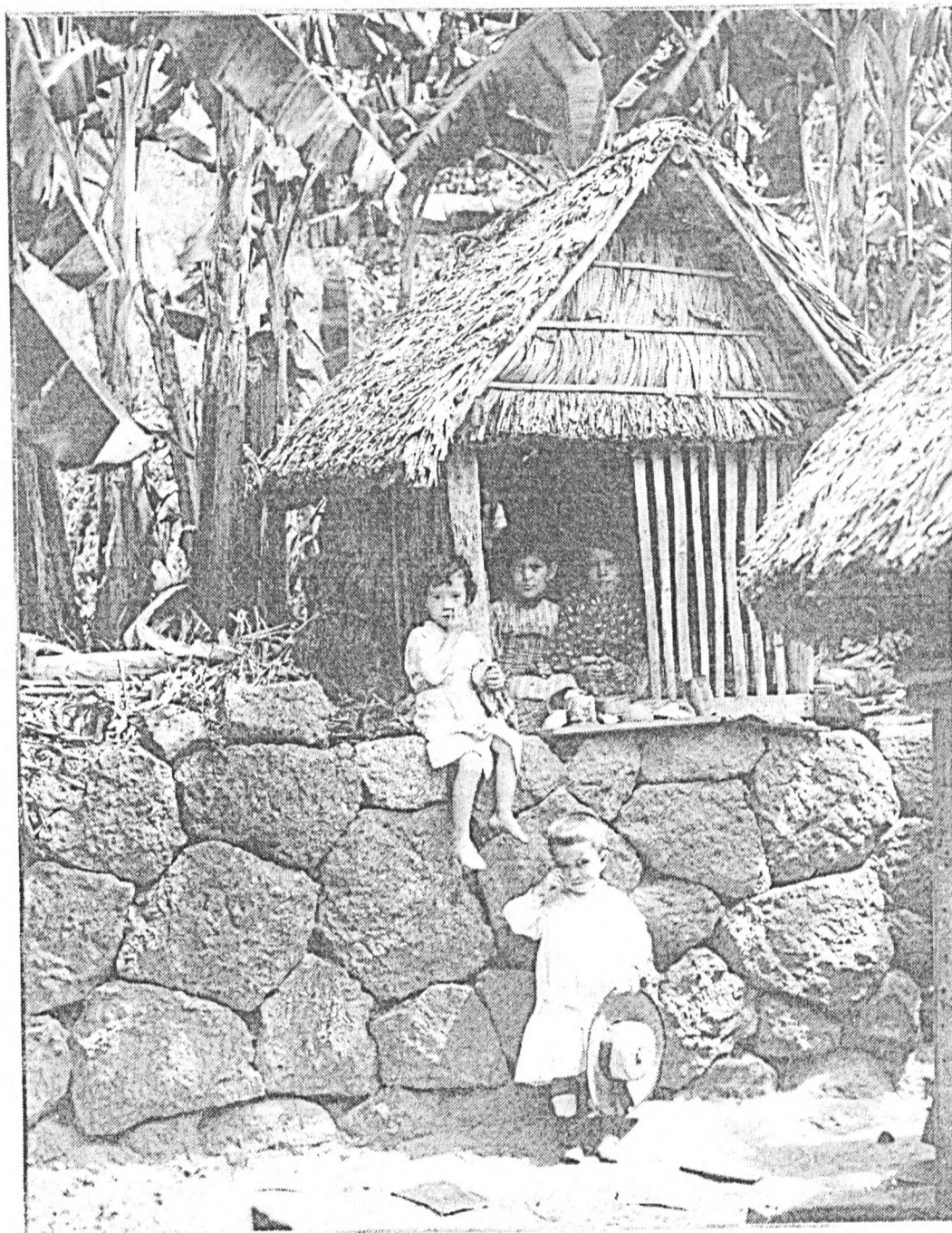


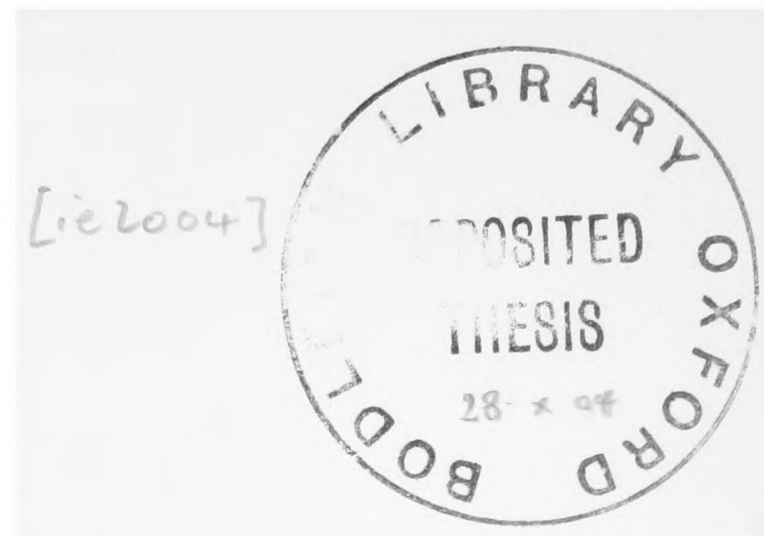
THE EDGE OF THE FIELD OF VISION:
DEFINING JAPANESENESS AND THE IMAGE ARCHIVE
OF THE OGASAWARA ISLANDS



Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Social Anthropology
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David R. Odo
St Antony's College

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COVER PHOTOGRAPH:
Photographer Unknown,
Naturalised Children, 1917-1919,
Collection of Imperial Household Agency.
Photographed on Chichi Island, Ogasawara.

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ASLIB Abstract

This thesis examines the image archive of photographs of the Ogasawara (Bonin) Islands of Japan within the framework of historically informed visual anthropology. It is argued that investigating the photography of Ogasawara, which has an ethnically diverse population of descendants of the pre-Japanese, nineteenth-century settlement, exposes the processes that have configured modern 'Japaneseness'. Towards this end, the major areas explored are early Japanese photographic practice, visual aspects of Japanese colonialism, Japanese domestic tourism and the use of photography in the creation and maintenance of ideas about Japanese culture.

Extremely rare imperial, government and commercial images, including albumen prints, *cartes de visite* and postcards, from museums, archives and private collections are examined in this study. The trajectories of these images through the 'visual economy' are traced as they are produced, circulated and gather meanings in a variety of contexts, from early colonial encounters to contemporary tourist engagements. These processes are exposed through an investigation of early Japanese photographic practice, colonial expeditions to Ogasawara, the shifting location of Islanders as 'slippery' internal others within configurations of Japaneseness, Japanese domestic tourism and the tourist discourse in contemporary Ogasawara. This has enabled the development of an alternative history of early Japanese photographic practice and a new understanding of Japanese domestic tourism.

These new ways of conceptualising photography and tourism in Japan, together with insights gained from ethnographic investigations of the Ogasawaran image archive, demonstrate that photography played a major role in the construction of modern Japaneseness, rather than merely being a by-product of modernisation. Through an examination of images from the archive of photographs of the Ogasawara Islands, one gains an understanding of modern Japan as a society more diverse than the mostly homogeneous nation it is generally represented as, and more fluid in its definitions of Japaneseness than previously thought.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the image archive of photographs of the Ogasawara Islands of Japan within the framework of historically informed visual anthropology. The Ogasawara Islands, formerly known as the Bonin Islands, are home to a diverse community of descendants of a nineteenth-century settlement of Americans, Europeans and Polynesians, and settlers from other regions of Japan. The original settlement, organised under the auspices of the British consul in Hawaii, left Honolulu in 1830 and formed the first permanent colony in the Islands. In 1875, the Japanese government took control of the Islands and by 1882, all non-Japanese Islanders were naturalised as Japanese citizens. During World War Two the Japanese government evacuated nearly all civilians to the mainland. Following Japan's defeat, American naval forces occupied the Ogasawaras, during which time descendants of American settlers and their families were allowed to live on one of the islands (Japanese settlers were not allowed to return). In 1968 the Islands were returned to Japanese control. Today, despite a physical distance of over 1,000 kilometres from Tokyo, they are politically constituted as part of the Tokyo Metropolitan Prefecture.

This thesis argues that the photography of the Ogasawara Islands as an object of study has a significant role to play in exposing the processes that have configured modern 'Japaneseness'. Towards this end, the major areas explored in this study are early Japanese photographic practice, visual aspects of Japanese colonialism, Japanese domestic tourism and the use of photography in the creation and maintenance of ideas about Japanese culture. Exploring the relationship between photography and the Ogasawara Islands allows one to connect critical events and ideas in Japanese history and society in order ultimately to be able to draw conclusions about the nature and development of 'Japaneseness'.

A variety of methodological approaches have been adopted in conducting research for this thesis. Library, archival and museum-based research was conducted beginning in 1999 in Oxford, Washington, D.C., Honolulu, Tokyo and the Ogasawara

Islands. Fieldwork was conducted in Japan (1999-2001) for approximately six months in Ogasawara and over fourteen months in Tokyo. This research included numerous interviews with informants who had personal knowledge of certain events, time periods or objects important to my research, as well as local experts with historical or contemporary knowledge of relevant subjects. Photographic images of the Ogasawara Islands produced over an almost 130-year period are considered in this project. A vertical sampling of the rich archive of images has been taken and these images used to think about Japanese encounters with the Ogasawara Islands. This 'archive' is a virtual archive, constructed from the highly scattered and fragmented collections of images of Ogasawara that I have unearthed from public and private collections, including extremely rare imperial, government and commercial images, in the form of albumen prints, *cartes de visite* and postcards. In other words, an ethnography of photography of the Ogasawara Islands has been conducted.

My examination of the image archive begins with a theoretical introduction that discusses the intellectual framework for this thesis. This framework includes adopting Deborah Poole's conceptual model of the visual economy to closely consider the image world of Ogasawaran photographs through an exploration of the products (images), production process (photographic practice) and consumption (value creation) created out of the encounters between Japanese photographers and the Ogasawara Islands and Islanders. I also draw on the scholarship of important visual theorists, material and social anthropologists and historians in order to establish an approach that, rather than considering the mere content value of images uses the images to explore social practice, photographic practice, the relationship between colonialism and photography and culturally specific ways of seeing.

In Chapter 1 a small history of the Ogasawara Islands is related, including sketches of important events such as the first human settlement of the Islands, Japanese colonisation, World War Two, the U.S. occupation of Ogasawara and post-reversion problems. The Islands have been located alternately as a frontier—both geographically and culturally—and as a boundary or buffer between 'Japan' and other nations.

The next chapter is also historical in focus. Chapter 2 discusses the development of early photographic practice in Japan and demonstrates how it was inextricably linked

to the emergence of the modern nation-state. As the modern nation of Japan took shape in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the boundaries of the nation were hotly contested and changeable. The government attempted to define these boundaries on many fronts for itself, its people and the outside world. In examining this boundary making, I argue for an alternative history of Japanese photography, one that moves beyond considerations of merely the aesthetic and into the realms of internal Japanese modernising agendas. I draw a distinction between the often-studied commercial tourist photography and the rarely-examined government photography in the first decades of the Meiji era (1868-1912), demonstrating the existence of a dual system of photographic practice that gave material form to particular ideas about Japaneseness, one system dependent on external definitions of Japan and the other on internal ones.

The government facilitated much of this early photographic practice and in Chapter 3, using this new way of conceptualising Japanese photographic practice, I examine one of the earliest Japanese government-sponsored colonial expeditions to make official use of a photographer. The collection of expedition images offers an opening for analysing the first stages of 'Japanisation' of Ogasawara and I demonstrate, through an examination of these images, how photography was used in the defining and exploration of this originally non-Japanese space. In particular, the ambiguities and confusion that existed in what was an inversion of usual colonial relations are discussed. In Ogasawara, the colonisers/image-producers were 'non-western' and the subjects—colonial and photographic—were 'western'; the colonisers simultaneously construct the 'natives' of the Islands as both 'western' and 'savage'.

As the boundaries of the Japanese nation expanded geographically and culturally in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was a corresponding expansion in the construction of internal others, a category into which the formerly non-Japanese Ogasawara Islanders would fall. Chapter 4 discusses the Islanders as internal others and how the cultural construct of remoteness has been used to render them 'non-Japanese Japanese'. The photographic material from the Ogasawara Islands studied in this chapter reveals the complexities of Japanese ideas about race, citizenship, space and physical environment and how these ideas were used to define who qualified for inclusion in the Japanese nation and who was excluded.

The final two chapters discuss domestic tourism in Japan and the Ogasawara Islands. Tourism is the main source of income for most Islanders today, and is the discourse within which the Islands are represented to the rest of the nation. Photography is intimately connected with this representation, and a strategic use of early and contemporary images has helped construct and define the place of the Islands within the contemporary nation. Chapter 5 explores early travel to the Islands, examining photographic materials produced for use in this early tourist industry, including early picture postcards of the Ogasawara Islands. I demonstrate that existing models of Japanese domestic tourism, which explain travel as primarily rooted in *furusato* (hometown or old town/village) discourses and an abhorrence of nature in the raw, do not provide an adequate framework for examining tourism in the Ogasawara Islands. I suggest that domestic tourism can be categorised as ‘artefactual’, and use this term to emphasise the material nature of Japanese tourism, with its focus on the purchase of *omiyage* (souvenirs) and way of containing and taming the ‘natural’ landscape so that it appears less empty and dangerous to the potential visitor.

Chapter 6 continues the discussion of tourism in the context of post-1968 Ogasawara, after the Islanders reverted to Japanese control. Tourism-related materials have recently begun to include both visual and textual references to First Settlers. Notably, these presentations do not make use of contemporary photographs; instead, early images represent First Settler culture. This has largely located the human culture of the Ogasawara Islands in the past, configured within the framework of *kokusaika* (internationalisation), an influential discourse in wider Japanese society. In this contemporary configuration of Japaneseness, an ‘international’ past, in which the cosmopolitan origins of Ogasawara’s people are placed in a positive, desirable category, is now employed in support of the tourist industry, the Islands’ economic mainstay. Nature, too, is reconfigured, as local government plans for marketing the Islands call for a western-style ‘ecotourism’.

Finally, the conclusion draws together the alternative history of early Japanese photographic practice and new understanding of Japanese domestic tourism developed in the thesis with insights gained from ethnographic investigations of the image archive. It is contended that photography played a major role in the construction of modern

Japaneseness, rather than merely being a by-product of modernisation. Through an examination of images from the archive of photographs of the Ogasawara Islands, one gains an understanding of modern Japan as a society more diverse than the mostly homogeneous nation it is generally represented as, and more fluid in its definitions of Japaneseness than previously thought.

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INTRODUCTION

THE SHAPE OF THE ARCHIVE

Fig. 1. Matsuzaki Shinji, *Young Pandanus Tree Presented to the Emperor for His Viewing*, 1875, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

I begin with this deceptively simple image of a young pandanus tree from the Ogasawara Islands (figure 1).

The referent of this photograph—the plant itself—was collected during the Japanese government's 1875-1876 expedition to the Ogasawara Islands and taken to Tokyo in 1876. It appears that this photograph was taken in Tokyo and is therefore probably the final photograph produced as part of the expedition. The image was made using a technology then new to the Japanese government, a frontier technology not much older than this frontier region of the nation. At first glance it might strike one as merely mundane, beneath notice. One might easily dismiss it as nothing more than a visual record of a strange or unusual plant. But by thinking with this photograph—using it as material with which to consider broad questions—it is possible to gain insight into issues not obviously connected to what the image appears to be about in evidential terms. This image reveals clues about the ways in which the formerly non-Japanese space of the Ogasawara Islands was incorporated into the nation, and the role photography played in this process.

The description written on the verso of this photograph states that pictured is a young pandanus tree, brought back from Ogasawara and shown to the Meiji emperor.¹ Although one would almost certainly be correct in assuming that it was shown to the emperor because it was exotic, it is possible to push the analysis much further than this by reconnecting the image to its original political context of 1870s Japan. In this period the country was engaged in territorial expansion and the Meiji government, having seized power away from the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1868, was anxious to legitimatise its rule, not only over what had been areas of Tokugawa control, but also over new and marginal areas of the empire.

Control of the Ogasawara Islands had been contested for many years when in 1875 an expedition was dispatched in order finally to settle the issue. Japanese control over the Islands was expressed prior to the actual expedition by diplomatic announcement and afterwards with the introduction of a Japanese settler population. When the expedition returned to Tokyo in January 1876, this particular colonial project was still in the very early stages of expressing its domination over a new territory. By taking the tree to Tokyo—the centre of power—and displaying it to the emperor, the expedition leaders were symbolically confirming the emperor's (and nation's) control of newly Japanised space.

Thinking with the image of the tree reveals this process and enables one to explore this early Japanese colonial project. Much like the pandanus tree itself, the image of the tree and the other expedition photographs were 'pieces' of the periphery brought to the centre. The images captured what was essentially non-transportable—the mountains,

the coastline, the First Settlers—on a glass plate, thus rendering them transportable. The photographs substituted for the original objects.

The pandanus was taken—in both its actual and photographic forms—from the colony to the centre of the empire. Other objects were taken only in photographic form, which allowed the imaging and transport of what would otherwise have been transportable only through written narration, drawing or painting. The expedition photographs captured within the boundaries of their frames something of the newly acquired island territory. This act of possession was made known through the sale of the photographs to the public and their use in official government reports.

The photographs functioned in this way because they were thought to be unmediated records of truth, providing the viewer with an objective copy of the real. This ‘evidential force’ (Barthes 1993) of the photograph has created a realist paradigm, which privileges its evidentiary quality. As Elizabeth Edwards has argued, “the power of the still photograph lies in its spatio-temporal dislocation of nature, and the consequent decontextualisation of those that exist within it, arrested from the flow of life and experience and transposed to other contexts” (1996: 200). The photograph comes to stand for wholes, for essences, despite its fragmenting nature, because it has an analogical relationship to its referent (Edwards 1996: 200). The images of Ogasawara could thus have come to stand for the true ‘essence’ or totality of the Islands for the viewer.

On one level, then, the photograph is of a pandanus tree, probably produced as ‘documentary’ evidence, proof of the existence of a particular kind of tree. The image carries with it a caption that informs the reader that the eyes of an unseen emperor have gazed upon the photograph in an act of consumption, imprinting imperial control over an

artefact of a formerly foreign space. That space, or something of it, has been transported to the centre of political power through the use of photographic technology. Thinking with the image of the pandanus tree, and the others produced during the expedition, helps us understand the motivations and mechanisms of the establishment and maintenance of Japanese control over the territory. As I shall discuss when I return to my exploration of the first photographs of the Ogasawara Islands in Chapter 3, the relative absence (or compartmentalisation) of representations of pre-existing Island society and the emphasizing of a Japanese presence (both historical and contemporary) in these photographs was part of the process of rendering the Ogasawara Islands as a place within the boundaries of the modern Japanese nation.

As I have demonstrated above in a small way, thinking with images can be a valuable part of an anthropological undertaking. It is the central activity of this study as a whole and frames it. This thesis aims to apply this type of analysis and create a work of anthropology based on my study of certain photographic images of the Ogasawara Islands.

The ethnographic investigation conducted for this project has considered photographic encounters that have taken place between Japanese and Ogasawaran worlds over an almost 130-year period and includes many hundreds of images. The Islands, which are now a village incorporated into the Tokyo metropolitan government, have been through drastic changes in a relatively short period of time, prompting one anthropologist to describe the Islanders as ‘pawns of power’ (Shepardson 1977).

Initially settled in 1830 by a group of Europeans, Americans and Polynesians, who departed from Honolulu hoping to strike their fortunes on an ‘isolated Pacific isle’,

the small settlement was subjected to violent attacks by sailors in its early years, colonisation at the hands of the Japanese government and a subsequent onslaught of settlers from various parts of the Japanese empire, military fortification, bloody battles in World War Two, occupation by the U.S. Navy and reversion to Japanese control. If this volatile history has brought violence and often unwanted change to Islanders' lives, it has also resulted in a rich archive of photography worthy of serious study.

Addressing a Lacuna

The significance of the Ogasawara Islands from an anthropological perspective goes far beyond the novelty of an interesting and unusual story that has yet to be widely studied. There is indeed a lacuna in the anthropological literature about the Ogasawara Islands; in fact, there has been little research about the Islands conducted outside the natural science field. Considering the historical significance of the place (about which more in Chapter 1) and the many aspects of life there that seem to be highly suitable for social scientific and historical study, the body of scholarship about the Ogasawara Islands has only very recently begun to show signs of growth. This thesis, in the first instance, hopes to contribute to this small but growing scholarly interest in Ogasawara.

Focusing my research on this relatively obscure place (to anthropology) is only the most obvious way I am attempting to make a contribution to anthropological research, however; this study also hopes to contribute to discussions in other aspects of anthropological scholarship on photography and Japan.

In the case of photography, whilst there has been virtually no scholarly attention paid to the Ogasawara Islands, much work has been produced on the photography of

Japan more generally. The body of such work, however, is small in comparison with the much larger body that exists on European and American photography. In the Japanese case, research has centred on the biographies of 'master' photographers, aesthetics and technique, establishing a 'canon' of Japanese photography but paying little attention to the historical and cultural processes that enmeshed the development of photography in Japan.

These areas of inquiry are important but they seem to have been conducted largely to the exclusion of what I would argue are highly relevant anthropological issues, such as the relationship between colonialism and photography, culturally specific ways of seeing and photographic practice in the Japanese case. Ethnographies of photographic practice, as conducted in recent years by scholars such as Elizabeth Edwards (see for example 1990; 1997; 1997; 2001), Christopher Pinney (see for example 1990; 1997), and Deborah Poole (1997), have provided models for treating photographs as objects within anthropological investigations, establishing not only the contemporary viability and relevance of using such objects as 'data' but also demonstrating ways in which the researcher can go beyond considering merely the content value of images and, instead, use them to explore social practice. Although such subjects have received increasing attention among scholars of European and American photography, non-western cases have largely been ignored in their analyses. Research to date has not adequately addressed the discursive frameworks within which Japanese photography developed. This thesis considers these frameworks through an exploration of images of the Ogasawara Islands, demonstrating how they operated and were connected to other influential aspects of Japanese society.

In terms of the study of Japan more broadly defined, I hope here also to contribute to widening the academic discussion of ‘Japaneseness’. Although there has been significant research analysing and challenging the longstanding ‘myth of Japanese uniqueness’ and demonstrating the falsity of the homogeneous model of Japanese society, this has not yet been fully explored. The ambiguities of this in relation to the Ogasawara Islands constitute another key theme here. The Islands provide an example of a community that is part of the Japanese nation but that nevertheless is composed of descendants of non-Japanese indigenous and immigrant populations, a fact that surprises even many social scientists who study Japan. It is particularly unexpected that this community can trace its roots back to the beginnings of the modern Japanese nation as opposed to the more recent groups of immigrant populations living in Japan today.

I argue in this thesis that the photography of the Ogasawara Islands as an object of study has a significant role to play in the teasing out of the different histories that coexist within the Japanese context, and can illuminate our understanding of the boundaries that have been negotiated in the defining of the Japanese nation. Exploring the relationship between photography and the Ogasawara Islands allows one to examine the connections among critical events and ideas in Japanese history and society in order ultimately to be able to draw conclusions about the processes that have come to define ‘Japaneseness’.

Ethnography of Photography

The photographs discussed in the chapters that follow have been used to think about a wide range of issues—including early Japanese colonialism, photographic practice, the construction of race and domestic tourism—that have permeated

Ogasawaran life for well over a century. These issues have been defined, to a large extent, by the nature of the images and collections I have encountered during my research. The selection of materials under consideration here, as well as the theoretical framework within which they are considered, reflect both the potential and limitations of working with photographs.

My first fieldtrip to the Ogasawara Islands was conducted during research for my MPhil dissertation in 1998–1999. I had intended from the beginning to conduct research on collections of photographs of the Islands. I had also initially planned not only to use early photographs of Ogasawara to elicit discussion from local people about local history, their family histories and specific events, but also to learn about the social role of photography in pre-World War Two Ogasawara, for example. I soon discovered that, aside from a few people interested in history, most were not particularly interested in the early photographs I had copied, at least not in the ways I had hoped. In some cases, however, I was very fortunate in receiving information about specific images and the circumstances of their production. This happened not with the earliest images I examined, which date from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but with certain images produced before World War Two and after the 1968 reversion to Japanese control. Most people told me that my research topic was ‘unusual’ (*mezurashii*) and one man even suggested that I return to Tokyo and study the Tokugawa (Edo) Period (1600–1867), saying, “We have no history here. Why don’t you study the Edo Period instead? Now that’s really interesting!”²

I had also intended to produce my own images of people, although, admittedly, I was unclear as to their ultimate purpose, except perhaps for some sort of vague

comparison with the early images I found in museum collections. After a short-lived attempt at producing my own photographs, I was dissuaded from continuing by a combination of factors. To begin with, I could not see the utility of making portraits of people simply because they were descendants of First Settlers. Everyone I met owned his or her own camera (usually one of a higher quality than the one I possessed), so there was certainly no need for me to play community photographer. And I encountered no widespread desire to be subjected to an anthropologist's camera, no matter how friendly the anthropologist was. For example, when I asked to take a photograph of a woman and her father, both of whom had been very helpful and friendly to me during my stay in Ogasawara, she jokingly admonished me that: "This picture better not end up in some magazine or book!" The photograph has ended up in my photo album but not in this thesis.

I realised that, with few exceptions, most Islanders I spoke with were interested in early photographs primarily as evidence of the past. In other words, photographs were valuable because they could show us what kinds of clothes people used to wear or what a town looked like one hundred years ago. Although I certainly agreed that this was one possible (and valuable) use of images, my academic interests in visual theory and the potential for using photographs in my anthropological research were not generally reciprocated by the people I spoke with in Ogasawara, even simply in terms of thinking about the past visually.

That is not to say, however, that they were uninterested in the past or unwilling to accommodate my work and share much about themselves and their families with me. On the contrary, in general I was welcomed very warmly by many Islanders, who seemed to

be as interested in the islands I had come from (Hawaii and Britain) as I was in Ogasawara. People were also very pleased, I think, that I had taken an interest in their home that was above and beyond its value as a tourist destination.

It also seemed that many people—and here I am speaking in particular of the community of descendants of First Settlers or so-called Western Islanders—felt comfortable with me because of the historical connection between Hawaii and Ogasawara, as well as a contemporary interest in Hawaii. I was astonished to learn that there were over eighty people who were studying hula in Ogasawara, the classes taught by a woman who had attended university in Hawaii. Hawaiian music blared from the speakers of several cafes and souvenir shops, and some new island residents (Japanese mainlanders who had ‘fled’ corporate life in Tokyo) said that they were in Ogasawara because “it’s like Hawaii but we’re still in Japan.” Western Islanders were also happy to speak a mixture of Japanese and English with me, as was common practice among cohorts of a certain age.³

Probably due to these factors, my initial encounters with potential informants were generally unproblematic, a situation that did not go unnoticed by Japanese researchers, who expressed a certain amount of envy at the relative ease with which I seemed to gain acceptance. In general, there was a certain level of unhappiness with researchers coming from the mainland to ‘study’ the locals. This has historical roots as well as contemporary manifestations, despite the relatively small amount of scholarly attention the Islands have received. At least some Islanders felt an anxiety about possibly being subjected to outside scrutiny, and were worried about outsiders stirring up ‘trouble’.

I was told a story about a Japanese resident of the Islands who was threatened with a lawsuit for publishing certain information about Western Islander families, the same story that anthropologist Midori Arima related in her PhD dissertation (1990: 17).⁴ Some people suggested to me that there was some resentment that a Japanese university had built a permanent research facility (complete with lodgings for visiting researchers) on Chichi Island, thereby depriving innkeepers from their custom and lessening the economic benefit of having these outsiders in the Islands. One man said bitterly: “All these researchers come here and take, take, take. We are left with nothing.”

This somewhat odd mixture of seeming acceptance of my presence with a kind of ‘rejection’ of my research (and indeed, of researchers more generally), forced me, like so many other anthropological researchers, to focus early on in my fieldwork on the conflict between my academic interests on the one hand, and the relevance of my work to the local population on the other. Although there was not necessarily a resolution to this problem, I tried to minimise this gap at least by giving public talks and sharing my research with all who were interested. Nevertheless, I want to acknowledge this as a factor in shaping my encounters with research materials.

My search for materials began with library research. Library research on the Ogasawara Islands was conducted in Oxford beginning in 1998 (during my MPhil degree year) and continued intermittently to 2002. I continued library- and archive-based research in Honolulu, Washington, D.C., Tokyo and Ogasawara. I also searched the collections of numerous museums in these same locations. These institutions include: Bishop Museum, Hawaii State Archives, U.S. National Archives, Library of Congress, Tokyo National Museum, Edo-Tokyo Museum, Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of

Photography, National Archives of Japan, archives of the Ogasawara Village Department of Education, Japanese Imperial Archives and University of Tokyo.

This 'fieldwork in the archives' produced the majority of my 'data'. The archive is a cultural space in its own right, constituted by its own processes, hierarchies and structures (e.g., Sekula 1986; Le Goff 1992; Schwartz 1995), through which the researcher must negotiate his or her way in order to gain ethnographic information. Archives are themselves part of the chain of meaning creation of the photographs, documents and other objects held within these institutions. The Japanese field presented particular difficulties, as libraries and archives tend to be staffed by government bureaucrats rather than specialist librarians and archivists, as is the case in British and American institutions, leaving the researcher with little guidance to accessing and understanding the collections beyond the printed or digital finding guides. This part of the chain must also be exposed in order to understand photography in relation to the discourses within which it is enmeshed.

Fieldwork in a more traditional anthropological mode was conducted in the Ogasawara Islands for approximately six months over a period of twenty months of research in Japan between 1999 and 2001. This included numerous interviews with informants who had personal knowledge of certain events, time periods, or objects important to my research, as well as local experts with historical or contemporary knowledge about various subjects including island demographics, military history and tourism trends. Interpretation of certain photographs was greatly aided by such interviews. Even in the Islands, however, archival sources and private collections, rather

than participant-observation in a religious, family or other community setting, would provide the bulk of the material under consideration in this study.

Drawing upon the work of important contributors to the fields of visual theory, material and social anthropology and Japanese studies, I have analysed photographic images of the Ogasawara Islands as part of a larger epistemic field in order to gain meaningful ethnographic detail. This has entailed going beyond (without ignoring) issues of aesthetics, image content and the lives of individual photographers. Instead, this thesis uses images to think about the photographic practices in which they are enmeshed, the conditions that fostered their production and their connection to the society that viewed and used them. Following Deborah Poole, I consider the representational content and circulation of images and collections of images as equally critical in this exploration of the photography of the Ogasawara Islands (1997: 12). Photography is taken by this study to be a social practice.

An ethnography of photography uses photographs as its primary, although by no means exclusive, material of investigation. The use of photographs, however, raises particular concerns in an attempt to construct knowledge and communicate across time and culture, as has already been hinted at above in my brief discussion of the 1876 image of a pandanus tree from the Ogasawara Islands. Photographs cannot independently fix or preserve meaning (Berger 1980: 51); they are ambiguous. This ambiguity creates a serious problem for “context seeking anthropologists who seek to construct an explanatory mesh in which potentially disruptive and overpowered images are constructed and suppressed” (Pinney 1990: 42).

It is this very ambiguity, however, that opens up new possibilities for understanding and using photographic images in anthropological research. Anthropologists can choose to recognise the ambiguous structure of the photograph as its potential and move beyond the boundaries of dominant approaches (Edwards 1997: 60), not only in contemporary presentations but also in performing critical examinations of historical images. Rather than existing as merely chemically recorded images on paper for one to see through, in search of context and meaning to look at, photographic images “are not only ‘of’ things in documentary terms . . . [they] are cultural objects in their own right with all the complexities of form, function and meaning of other kinds of material culture” (Edwards 1997: 85).

This type of analysis falls comfortably within Marcus Banks’ and Howard Morphy’s concise definition of visual anthropology as “the exploration of the visual in the process of cultural and social reproduction” (1997: 17), and allows one to merge social anthropological approaches and material culture studies in an intellectually productive way, as this thesis attempts. This exploration involves a critical engagement with the physical products of visual culture (photographic images) as well as recognition of their existence as concepts enmeshed within cultural systems. The material cultural properties and social uses of the object are as important to a critical examination of the object as are the culturally constructed ways of seeing the object and the visual systems within which all these elements are contained.

Recognising the ambiguous nature of the photographic images of the Ogasawara Islands examined in this study within the framework of visual anthropology was a first step in exposing the ambiguous and shifting nature of Japanese perceptions of the

Ogasawara Islands. Like all ethnographies, this project has of necessity (and design) been selective in its inclusion of certain images and has not attempted to present anything like a ‘total history’ of the photographic relationship between Japan and the Ogasawara Islands, nor a complete record of every image I uncovered during my research. Instead, I have taken a vertical sampling from the rich archive of Japanese photography of the Islands, using the images to think about Japanese encounters with the Ogasawara Islands in an attempt to reveal different histories.

The Shape of the Archive

An anthropological investigation that does not take into account the objects of a given society misses not only a rich source of information about areas such as style and taste but also an integral series of meanings and discourses about how human societies give form to and understand behaviour, abstractions and ideas. As Daniel Miller has argued, human beings have striven to make artefacts both “integral to and in part, definitional of, themselves” (1994: 396). This is not to say that by merely analysing the formal features of an artefact we gain any kind of complete cultural picture. We can, however, use artefacts to examine the social relations that enmesh them; to miss this opportunity is to deny the importance of *things* in the lives of human beings. We can trace the life history—perform a cultural biography—of an object and reveal the ways in which it is culturally constructed and arranged in culturally specific ways (Kopytoff 1986). To study a society’s objects, then, is to “consider the implications of the materiality of the form for the cultural process” (Miller 1994: 399), and this analysis is an important part of its ethnographic investigation.

The ‘things’ examined here are primarily photographs, most of which are now held in the collections of various museums, archives and libraries. Following Allan Sekula’s seminal discussion of the ‘archive’ of images of the body, this thesis understands the collections of the ‘things’ examined herein as comprising “subordinate, territorialized” archives of photographs, lurking within a more “generalized, inclusive archive, a *shadow archive* that encompasses an entire social terrain while positioning individuals within that terrain” (1986: 10).⁵ In the case of the photographs discussed in this study, the shadow archive is the archive of images of the Japanese nation.

This archive of images that were produced, circulated and consumed within discourses of the Japanese nation, contains within it “subordinate” archives of images specifically under study here, such as early Japanese colonial images, images of the other and tourist images. These subordinate, territorialised archives are archives in a metaphorical sense—in Sekula’s terms, an “abstract paradigmatic entity” (1989: 17)—and I use this classification as a device to discuss what has emerged during my research as critical collections of images of Ogasawara and the respective discourses within which they operate/d. I link them together, as Poole has persuasively suggested (1997:12), in order to discuss implications of their production and circulation that go beyond the content value of individual photographs and into the intersections of vision and power. Thus, it is important to recognise that what I refer to in this thesis as the ‘archive’ of images of Ogasawara is actually a construct of my research, shaped by my own selection, interpretations and understandings, rather than a unified body of photographs that physically exist in a coherent collection in a single institution.

Nevertheless, the images that I have placed in this metaphorical archive are objects that I encountered in archives (in the institutional sense) and other collections. Their existence as objects collected within the frameworks of these institutions and collections is part of their biographies and is an important component of the process through which they have acquired meaning in various contexts and must therefore be explored in this ethnography.

In analysing archival material of the Ogasawara Islands, it is necessary to understand the ways in which the people and place that constitute the Islands came to be considered an appropriate subject for Japanese photography and how this photography is connected to other discourses within Japan. Sekula's work has discussed the intricate connections between the portrait as a means of presenting the bourgeois self and the criminal other, demonstrating the 'double system' of representation that can function both honorifically and repressively. His examination of European and North American portraiture and criminal photography leads him to conclude: "Thus photography came to establish and delimit the terrain of the *other*, to define both the *generalized look*—the typology—and the *contingent instance* of deviance and social pathology" (1989: 7).

I concur with Poole's criticism of Sekula's account of "what he refers to as the 'terrain of the *other*'" (1997: 140). In her discussion of race and photography in the Andean context, Poole rightly points out that his argument completely ignores "either colonialism and its racial ideologies or the thousands of native and colonial *cartes de visite* that joined—and indeed anticipated—criminal photography" (Poole 1997: 140). In other words, like most others who have written on the history of photography, Sekula

fails to take into account colonial relations and non-European societies, a problem directly addressed by Poole.

It became clear during research conducted for this study that the image archive of the Ogasawara Islands was an especially fragmented one, owing to the changeable value the Islands have held for the 'Japanese nation'. In its relatively short history as a territory belonging to Japan, the Ogasawara Islands have existed variously as the object of extreme scrutiny and benign neglect. As will become clear in the chapters that follow, this uneven gaze resulted in a highly fragmentary archive of images that (save for the fact that all are of the Ogasawara Islands) lacks obvious unity in terms of style, subject matter, intention, production or circulation.

The fragmentary nature of the archive, which reflects something of the fragmented position the Ogasawara Islands have held in the Japanese consciousness, dictated a very broad and deep search for materials. The lack of a single, comprehensive repository of photographs necessitated that materials be collected and researched at libraries, archives, museums and private collections in Britain, the USA and Japan, as already described.

Poole's concept of a 'visual economy' is particularly helpful in attempting to understand how the photographic encounters that resulted in the archive of Ogasawaran images functioned and were rendered meaningful by their social actors. Poole contends that the term 'visual economy' is suggestive of the way images gain meaning and is preferable to the term 'visual culture' (which uses the problematic word 'culture') because it suggests a systematic organisation of the field of vision, which is immersed in

“social relationships, inequality, and power as [well as] with shared meanings and community” (1997: 8).

Poole characterises a visual economy as having at least three levels of organisation: production, circulation and value accrual (1997: 9–10). Production encompasses the individuals and technologies that create images. Circulation refers to the movement of images, taking into account the development of certain technologies that aid or hinder this movement and the systems through which the images move. These systems provide the filter through which meaning is assigned. Value accrual is the process through which meaning is imparted to images through social processes including possession and exchange. Poole uses the metaphor of an ‘image world’ to describe a realm of circulating images embroiled in “a combination of these relationships of referral and exchange among images themselves, and the social and discursive relations connecting image-makers and consumers” (1997: 7).

Poole’s model allows for a coherence of the scattered ‘archive’ that constitutes the Ogasawaran image world, from the colonial production of the first photographs of the Islands in 1875 to the touristic circulation of images produced in the late twentieth century. Thinking in terms of a visual economy of Ogasawaran images, which are linked together at the meta-level rather than in micro-economies, makes it possible to track shifting Japanese perspectives on the Ogasawara Islands over time, which in turn greatly aids an understanding of how the Islands have been located at various times within the Japanese nation.

Defining the Nation: Frontiers and Boundaries

The chapters that follow discuss selected photographic encounters between Japanese photographers and the Ogasawara Islands. In my examination of the archive of images that are the result of these encounters, I begin, in Chapter 1, with a small history of the Ogasawara Islands. Although a more detailed history of the Ogasawara Islands is beyond the scope of this thesis, I hope to provide the necessary historical context for understanding the connections between notions of the past and uses of photography in different eras in relation to the Ogasawara Islands. I demonstrate how the Islands have fallen within and beyond the Japanese field of vision, from the earliest years of Japanese awareness of the existence of Ogasawara to the beginning of the twenty-first century. The Islands have been located alternately as a frontier—both geographically and culturally—and as a boundary or buffer between ‘Japan’ and other nations.

The next chapter is also historical in focus. Chapter 2 discusses the development of early photographic practice in Japan and demonstrates how it was inextricably linked to the emergence of the modern nation-state. As the modern nation of Japan took shape in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the boundaries of the nation were hotly contested and changeable. The government attempted to define these boundaries on many fronts for itself, its people and the outside world. In examining this boundary making, I argue for an alternative history of Japanese photography, one that moves beyond considerations of the aesthetic and into the realms of internal Japanese modernising agendas. Constructing this history enables us to see how these boundaries, which included not merely the geographical but also, and importantly, the cultural, were created and reinforced by photography (working with other discourses), a role that led to

the further establishment of the technology of photography in Japanese society more generally.

The government facilitated much of this early photographic practice and in Chapter 3 I examine one of the earliest Japanese government-sponsored colonial expeditions to make official use of a photographer. This colonial expedition to the Ogasawara Islands provides the 'archive' with its first photographic images of the Islands. The collection of expedition images offers an opening for analysing the first stages of 'Japanisation' of Ogasawara and I demonstrate, through an examination of these images, how photography was used in the defining and exploration of this originally non-Japanese space.

As the boundaries of the Japanese nation expanded geographically and culturally in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was a corresponding expansion in the construction of internal others, a category into which the formerly non-Japanese Ogasawara Islanders would fall. Chapter 4 discusses the Islanders as internal others and how the cultural construct of remoteness has been used to render them 'non-Japanese Japanese'. The photographic material from the Ogasawara Islands studied in this chapter reveals the complexities of Japanese ideas about race, citizenship, space and physical environment and how these ideas were used to define who qualified for inclusion in the Japanese nation and who was excluded.

The final two chapters discuss domestic tourism in Japan and the Ogasawara Islands and the critical role of photography in this important arena. Chapter 5 explores early travel to the Ogasawara Islands in the context of the early development of domestic tourism in Japan. Photographic materials produced for use in this early tourist industry

are examined, including early picture postcards of the Ogasawara Islands. I use these postcards to plot the trajectories of changing Japanese attitudes to the First Settler community by analysing the ways in which they pictured the Islands and the Islanders within the context of an increasingly militarily powerful and colonial Japanese empire and the path these images took as they were purchased and transported by different groups of consumers.

Chapter 6 continues the discussion of tourism in the context of post-reversion Ogasawara.⁶ Tourism is the main source of income for most Islanders today, and is the discourse within which the Islands are represented to the rest of the nation. Photography is intimately connected with this representation, and a strategic use of early and contemporary images has helped construct and define the place of the Islands within the contemporary nation.

Finally, the conclusion offers thoughts on photography, the Ogasawara Islands and their location at the edge of the Japanese field of vision, drawing together the ideas developed in this study and their implications for our understanding of 'Japaneseness'.

NOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

¹ The ambiguity of the written description leaves some doubt as to whether the photograph was taken in Tokyo or Ogasawara. Judging from the background in the image (the railing visible behind the plant, for example), however, it would appear that it was not photographed in Ogasawara; it is unlikely such structures existed at the time.

² Old Edo (Tokyo) has become a popular subject in Japan in recent years, receiving lots of media attention. For an academic take on this subject, see Gluck 1998.

³ As will be discussed in the next chapter, Islanders who were resident in Ogasawara during the U.S. occupation of the Islands (1946 – 1968), particularly those who were school-aged at the time, are generally bilingual in Japanese and English and often speak a mixture of the two languages.

⁴ In fact, I was also told that this publication was so controversial that a few Islanders forced the author to collect any copies remaining in shops and burn them.

⁵ The archival paradigm in photography was initially developed by Rosalind Krauss (1982) and Alan Sekula (1983).

⁶ The Islands reverted to Japanese control after the U.S. Navy ended its occupation in 1968.

CHAPTER ONE
A SMALL HISTORY

Dubbed by one journalist “Tokyo’s south sea suburb” (Stanley 1994) the Ogasawara Islands are today incorporated as Ogasawara Village, part of the Tokyo Metropolitan District. Located about 1,000 kilometres south of Tokyo, the Islands are an archipelago comprised of some thirty islands and islets, divided into four main groups, and form not only Tokyo’s southernmost village, but indeed the nation’s southernmost point, at Okinotori Island (figure 1.1). The flat islet called Minamitori is Japan’s easternmost point and the only coral island in the otherwise volcanic archipelago. At

present, civilians inhabit only two islands in the archipelago, Chichi and Haha. Both islands are relatively small; Chichi is about 4 km x 8 km, Haha is about 2.5 km x 14.5 km.

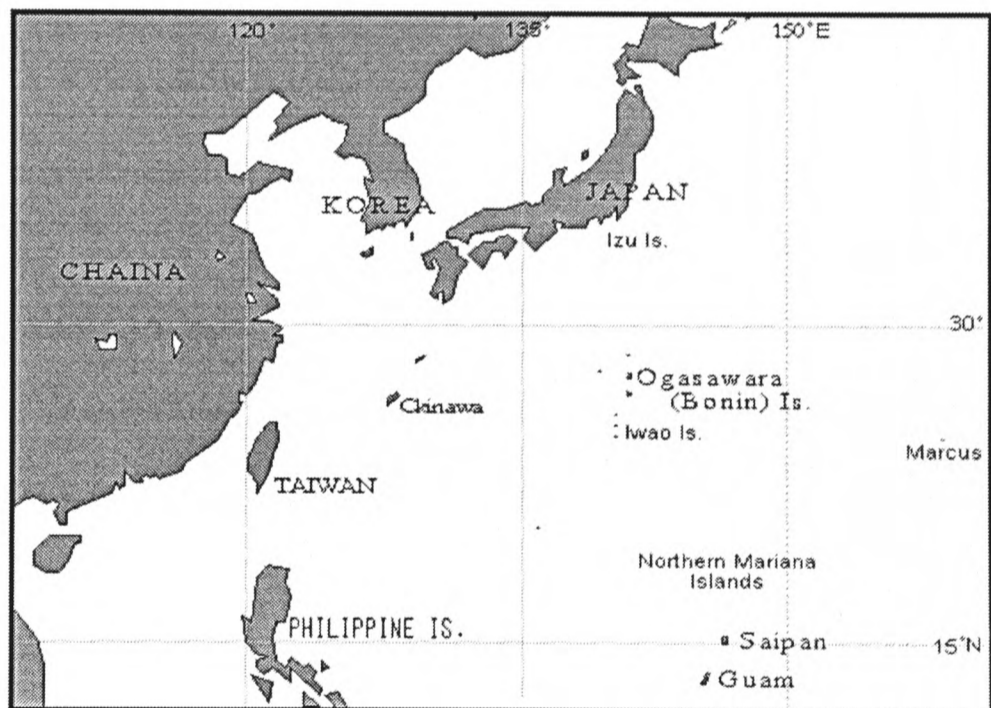


Fig. 1.1. Geological Survey Institute, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport (Japan), 1996. *Map of Ogasawara Islands in relation to Japan, Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia and Micronesia.*

The population is also small, totalling

fewer than 2,400 people. Fewer than 1,900 people live on Chichi and about 450 on Haha. Human settlement is a recent condition in the Islands. There is no conclusive evidence that there was any settlement in the Ogasawara Archipelago prior to 1830. However, prehistoric peoples in (relatively) nearby Micronesian and Polynesian islands, for

example, possessed the sea-faring technology and navigational skills to make long-distance voyages and could therefore have possibly settled the Islands at some point.¹ Inconclusive archaeological indications (such as polished stone adzes) suggest that there might have been prehistoric settlements in the Ogasawara Islands with a culture similar to that found in the relatively nearby Northern Marianas (Ogasawara Islands Archaeological Group 1989).

The small physical scale and shallow timeline of the Islands belie a rich and diverse history that is often obscured by the perception—by outsider and insider alike—of Ogasawara as remote from the rest of the nation.

Early Discoveries

Settlement of the Islands is historically a very recent phenomenon but recorded discoveries of the Ogasawara Islands date back to the seventeenth century. In 1639 two Dutch East India vessels (the *Engle* and *Graft*) sailed from Batavia (Jakarta) in search of the Islands of Gold and Silver. The mythical islands were never found, of course, but the logs from these voyages recorded a nearly accurate position for the Ogasawara Islands, making it reasonably certain that the Islands were sighted. Although they did not land, they named two of the islands after their ships. Shortly after these and one subsequent voyage, the Dutch abandoned Pacific exploration and did not return to the region. There are other possible sightings even earlier, notably by Spain's Manila galleons sailing the route between the Philippines and Mexico in the sixteenth century. Although suggestive, the evidence is inconclusive and such sightings cannot be proved (Kublin 1953: 39-40). Fishermen from the Izu Islands north of the Ogasawaras might also have sailed far

enough to the south to reach the relatively nearby islands, although this idea too is only conjecture. It is also possible that *wako* (Japanese pirates), feared throughout Asia in the twelfth to seventeenth centuries, also landed in the Ogasawara Islands.

Coincidentally, 1639, the year of the Dutch discovery of the Ogasawara Islands, was also the year that the Tokugawa Shogunate adopted the so-called *sakoku* or seclusion policy. This policy of national isolation was implemented in order to eliminate Christianity from the country and severely restrict foreign interaction with Japan. It all but prevented Japanese people from travelling outside the country.² As part of this policy, both the construction and possession of ships capable of sailing long distances were prohibited.

Seen in this light, it is not surprising that throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the only ships landing in the Islands were forced there by some type of misfortune. Many Japanese ships drifted to the Ogasawara Islands in this period, starting with a storm-damaged cargo ship that made its way to Chichi Island in 1670. The surviving crew spent two months on the island before managing to repair the ship and return to Edo (Tokyo). They reported the shipwreck and described the island to local officials, explaining that it had an abundant supply of water, fish and turtles, an excellent harbour and was uninhabited. Based on the information provided by this expedition, the government called the islands *Munin-tō* (Uninhabited Islands). This is the first recorded landing in the Ogasawara Islands.

The first Japanese government expedition was carried out in 1675, when the Tokugawa Shogunate sent a ship to survey the islands. Shimaya Ichizaemon captained a ship of his own design, departing from Shimoda and sailing to the Ogasawara Islands via

Hachijyō Island. A crew of thirty men spent over a month mapping the islands and collecting various specimens for investigation, and produced what are perhaps the earliest visual images (maps and paintings) of the Islands (about which more in Chapter 3). They named individual islands by assigning kinship terms such as Chichi (‘father’) and Haha (‘mother’) and also gave names to certain areas on the islands, some of which remain in current use.

Official interest in the Islands declined after this expedition, as the government concentrated its efforts on internal political affairs and consolidating its power base (Tanaka 1997), but there were numerous wrecks of ships in Ogasawara recorded by Japanese crews throughout the rest of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and several in the nineteenth century, including after the 1830 settlement of the Islands. Upon their return to Japan, the surviving sailors were immediately required by the Shogunate to complete reports on their journey and about the islands, which “generally depicted them in attractive terms, and evidently were widely read. Limited Japanese knowledge of the outside world gave importance to what might otherwise have been considered trivial. As a result, there were a number of Japanese who, for one reason or another, were anxious to visit the islands” (Kublin 1953: 33).

The Ogasawara Legend of Discovery

Whether motivated by financial gain, a sense of adventure or a combination of the two, there were attempts by various individuals to obtain permission from the government to explore and develop the Ogasawara Islands. The most important example of this occurred in 1728 when a masterless samurai, Miyauchi Sadahide, convinced the

Shogunate that one of his ancestors, the feudal lord Ogasawara Sadayori, had discovered the Islands and been granted claim to them in perpetuity. He claimed that Ogasawara had been ordered by the Shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, to explore the southern seas and in 1593 discovered the islands. The Shogun had supposedly named the islands after Ogasawara in appreciation of his service. In order to substantiate this claim, Miyauchi used a book called *Tatsumi Munin-tō Ki (Chronicle of the Uninhabited Islands)*, which recorded that Sadayori sailed south of Hachijyō Island in 1593 and discovered the Islands (Kublin 1953: 29-30).

Miyauchi claimed to be the great-great-grandson of Ogasawara and, as such, held that he was entitled to explore the Islands with an eye towards their development. His father, Ogasawara Nagahiro, had successfully petitioned the Shogunate for permission to visit Ogasawara using this same reasoning, but his financial backing dissolved before he could organise the expedition. In 1733 Miyauchi launched an expedition to the Islands, but the ship never returned and his request to send a second exploratory mission to the Islands was rejected. Eventually, his project was exposed as a hoax.³ He was arrested and permanently banished from the capital. In keeping with the policy of seclusion, the Shogunate decided to stop all further expeditions and forbade travel to the Islands.

In 1785, however, the geographer Hayashi Shihei published an influential work that included a section on the Ogasawara Islands. His work, *Sangoku Tsūran Zusetsu (Illustrated Outline of Three Countries)*, included a section on the Ogasawara Islands. For unknown reasons and in spite of official findings to the contrary, he credited Lord Ogasawara with the discovery of the *Munin-tō*. Hayashi also defined Japan as a single unit in his illustrations, delineating the Ryūkyū Islands (Okinawa) and Ainu territory as

foreign spaces. He discussed the climate and fertility of the Ogasawara Islands and advocated their colonisation by Japan (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 23). For political reasons his work was later censored by the Shogunate and he was imprisoned. Nonetheless, copies of his work were widely circulated and the version of discovery of the Islands he recorded became important in the nineteenth century because it served to legitimate a Japanese claim of discovery.

The *Sangoku Tsūran Zusetsu* was one of the few Japanese works to be translated and read in Europe before the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and it was also instrumental in influencing what was to become the name by which the Islands were known in Europe and America. The mistransliteration of *Munin-tō* as Bonin Islands in a widely read (among European scholars of Japan) publication of 1817 created the name by which the Islands were known outside of Japan for well over 200 years.⁴

Modern Entanglements

Although there were numerous Japanese shipwrecks in the Ogasawara Islands in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, after the last recorded eighteenth-century Japanese shipwreck in 1739 it was not until nearly a century later in the 1820s that the Islands again attracted attention, marking the beginning of the Islands' full-scale entanglements with the modern world. The renewed activity in the Ogasawara Islands was a result of the booming whaling industry in the first half of the nineteenth century, when whaling reached its peak in the Pacific. Ogasawara's rich hunting grounds attracted European and especially American whalers to the archipelago. Since then,

whaling and whales have continued—in ways that have varied over time—to be a major part of the identity of the Islands, a point to which I shall return in Chapter 5.

In the 1820s European and American whale ships sailed around Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean, stopping in Hawaii and pursuing herds in the newly (1820) discovered, whaling grounds between Hawaii and the north coast of Japan. It is almost certain that many ships would have seen and possibly even stopped at the Bonin Islands (as they were known outside of Japan), as they needed to replenish food and water supplies. There were no known ports nearer than Guam and Hawaii available to the whaling vessels sailing the north Pacific. In the 1830s and 1840s, during the height of Pacific whaling, most of the Pacific fleet was American, surpassing the former leaders, the British and Dutch. By 1850, the American fleet numbered 680 ships, with all but forty of these working Pacific waters (Arima 1990: 29). Because of the *sakoku* (seclusion policy), these ships were not allowed to call at Japanese ports for supplies. The United States resented these restrictions and this, together with the maltreatment of some shipwrecked sailors on the Japanese mainland, caused American ships to begin to call at Port Lloyd (Futami) on Peel (Chichi) Island.⁵

One early example of such a ship is the British whale ship *Transit*, which landed on Bailey (Haha) Island on 12 September 1824. The *Transit* was captained by an American, James Coffin. Coffin, captaining one of the earliest European ships to land in the Islands, named two islands after his British employers (Fisher and Kidd) and the bay after himself. This act of naming, although not equivalent to colonisation, is nevertheless implicated in the discourse of possession. He returned to the Islands the following year. There are records of three other British ships stopping at the Bonin

Islands over the next several years. One ship, the *Supply*, left a wooden board nailed to a tree stating that the ship had landed in the Islands. Another ship, the *Williams*, was wrecked in the bay on Peel (Chichi) Island and two sailors remained behind to salvage the cargo while the others were rescued by another whaling ship.

On 9 June 1827 yet another British ship arrived in the Bonins, anchoring in the bay, which the captain promptly named Port Lloyd after the Bishop of Oxford, on Peel (Chichi) Island, which he named after Britain's Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel. The HMS *Blossom*, commanded by Captain Frederick Beechey, remained in the Bonin Islands for six days, surveying and naming the islands. Working on a survey of the Pacific,⁶ Beechey positioned the Islands as part of the Pacific rather than Japan, reflecting the political division of space that had been in flux since the Islands were first known. He not only (re)named the islands, but also had a sheet of copper engraved, claiming the islands in the 'name of and on behalf of His Majesty King George', which he then nailed to a board and in turn nailed the board to a tree.⁷ In so doing, it would appear that he was attempting to preclude Japanese and Dutch claims of discovery, although he openly acknowledged the possibility of the Spanish having been the first to sight the islands, and making an effort to seize possession of the Islands for Britain.

Beechey was largely effective in claiming the Bonins for Britain. For example, when the Russian explorer Frederic Lutke arrived in the Islands aboard the warship *Seniavin* in 1828, he apparently accepted the British claim as legitimate. When he landed, he found the two sailors who had originally arrived on the island aboard the whaleship *Williams* waving a Union Jack. They accepted passage on the Russian ship in order to

leave the island. Lutke was apparently unhappy that, as the two men informed him, Beechey had already taken the islands for Britain.⁸

As these early episodes suggest, the Bonin/Ogasawara Islands have been located within different political and cultural remappings of space since human beings first landed on their shores. Once human settlement was initiated, remapping intensified. Decisions made in the metropolitan capitals of Japan, the United States, Britain and other European countries, radically transformed Island society—its language, ethnic composition, citizenship, politics and economy—multiple times in a relatively short period of time. As will become clear below and in the chapters that follow, this very disjointed and fragmented history is reflected in the fragmentary nature of the photographic archive of the Islands.

First Settlement

The first known attempt at permanent settlement in the Ogasawara Islands was not made until 1830. The settlement occurred within the context of the European and American powers' struggle for control over the Pacific in the nineteenth century, with various countries battling in order to gain and maintain control over harbours and coaling stations. Those who seized this control were able to keep lucrative trade routes in agricultural, sandalwood and other products flowing as well as regulate access to the whale hunting grounds that provided rich catches for the expanding whaling industry.

The news that the Bonin Islands offered a plentiful source of whales reached Honolulu, where the first settlement party was organised. The settlement party was organised under the auspices of the British Consul in Honolulu, Richard Charlton. He

had been approached by two British men living in Honolulu, Mazarro and Millinchamp, who had expressed their interest in settling an uninhabited Pacific island and cashing in on the lucrative Pacific trade. Charlton had learned of Captain Beechey's act of possession and recommended Peel (Chichi) Island as a suitable site. The men accepted Charlton's recommendation, hoping to take advantage of the Islands' excellent location and use them as a supply station for whale ships and other vessels.

In May 1830 Mazarro led a group of over twenty men and women, including the two British men, two American men, a Danish man and fifteen or more Polynesian men and women on the 5,300-kilometre voyage from Honolulu.⁹ Upon their arrival at Port Lloyd on Peel Island on 26 June, they hoisted the British flag they had received from Charlton.¹⁰ Descendants of some of these First Settlers live in the Islands today.¹¹

In a letter to the Earl of Aberdeen¹² dated 1 December 1831, Charlton stressed the importance to Britain of several Pacific island groups and included favourable statements about the Bonin Islands. The letter hails the Islands as being:

[F]avourably situated for opium trade with that Country [Japan] through China as arrangements might be made with the Merchants at Canton for their Junks to touch at the Bonin islands and take in a cargo of British Manufacturers for Japan and return to these Islands with the proceeds by which they would save the great Import and Export duties at Canton. They also offer an excellent place (if colonized) for the Whale Ships cruising on the coast of Japan to get supplies and for performing any repairs they might require . . .¹³

It is interesting to note that the Islands were considered by at least this British government official as suitable for a role in the opium trade, even if this was never acted upon.¹⁴ Charlton also suggests—in a scenario that was already being realised to a certain extent—that a colonised Bonin Islands would provide a good base for a supply station.

Although the British government ultimately did not colonise the Bonins, questions of British sovereignty would return in the decades that followed Charlton's early suggestion.

The settlement began to thrive as numerous whale ships called at Port Lloyd to restock their supplies of fresh water, food and other necessities. The settlers grew a wide range of agricultural products, fished and raised livestock. After about ten years the colony was firmly established and grew prosperous as it supplied whalers from various nations with provisions, including water, vegetables, fruit, turtle meat, rum and other products (Arima 1990: 34).¹⁵

Labour shortages, lawlessness, severe weather, intra-settler disagreement and violence and even piracy were also characteristic of the early decades of the colony's existence, however. One particularly notorious incident occurred in 1849 and involved the crews of two ships plundering the settlement over a period of four months. The settlers were robbed of nearly everything they owned, including money, medicine, clothing and food. The pirates also took away with them two women, including the wife of Nathaniel Savory, the most prominent member of the settlement (Cholmondeley 1915: 26-28).¹⁶

As sailors continued to arrive in the Islands aboard ships from all over the world, some jumped ship, 'retired', or stayed even after recuperating from an illness or injury, adding to the growing settler community in the Bonin Islands. The small population—originally just twenty to thirty people—increased through a rising birth rate and the arrival of new settlers over the years, despite the departure of many of the original settlers. In 1840, for example, there were about thirty-eight people; in 1876 their numbers had increased to sixty-nine settlers.

Additional information about the early years of the settlement exists in several accounts from Japanese, British and American sources. In 1840, for example, the six-man crew of a Japanese cargo ship landed in the Bonins after drifting in the open seas for over two months. After first landing at Bailey (Haha) Island, they made their way to Peel (Chichi) Island, where they were greeted and assisted by helpful island inhabitants. The report they produced for the Shogunate stated that there were thirty-eight adults (twenty-five men and thirteen women) and seven or eight children resident on the island.¹⁷ The men were apparently “white” and the women “dark and fat”. The report contained much ethnographic detail, including commentary on clothing (shirts were worn by islanders of both genders), food (potatoes were prepared by peeling, boiling and drizzling with turtle oil) and transport (Hawaiian-style outrigger canoes were used). According to the report, Islanders greeted each other by raising one hand and saying “Aroha” (aloha), and a vocabulary of about fifty words of the local language was recorded. Turtling was conducted by using a female as bait to attract males and hunting for birds and other prey was accomplished with the aid of sophisticated guns. After three months, the Japanese crew departed the Bonin Islands and returned to Japan without incident (Arima 1990: 74-77).¹⁸ The Shogunate apparently did not at that time classify the foreign settlement as a threat, despite its close proximity to Japan. The Islands were considered “beyond the domain of the empire” (Kublin 1953: 36). They were not yet considered part of the ‘nation’.

Japanese Settlement

The Japanese government's conception of the Islands as being 'beyond the domain of the empire' changed drastically in the second half of the nineteenth century. Japanese colonisation of the islands, first attempted in 1862, was not unrelated to the economic success of the Bonin Island settlement and its potential for further growth. It was, however, motivated to an even greater extent by the very issue of sovereignty that Charlton had taken for granted more than thirty years earlier. As already discussed, the Shogunate had first learnt of the existence of the islands in 1670 when a Japanese vessel drifted there after being blown off course in a severe typhoon. An expedition to explore the islands was dispatched in 1675. Although there were intermittent episodes of official interest in the islands in the eighteenth century as well, it took the relatively active interest in and settlement of the islands by foreign actors before the Shogunate finally perceived the Bonin Islands to be important enough to attempt to colonise them.

The Shogunate became aware of the 'foreign' settlement when it obtained the 1840 report concerning the Islands from the shipwrecked cargo crew, as discussed above. This seemed not to alarm the government unduly, and no immediate action was taken in response. With Commodore MC Perry's stop in the Bonins in 1853, however, the Japanese government began to take increasing notice of the small archipelago. The American naval commodore's well-known voyages to Japan (1852 – 1854) to force open Japan's ports to international trade included a lesser-known stop at the Bonin Islands. Interested in developing the China trade (especially between San Francisco and Shanghai) and harnessing the power of the steamship,¹⁹ Perry envisioned the Bonin Islands as a coaling and supply stop for transpacific steamers. He purchased land from

the unofficial leader of the settlement and fellow American Nathaniel Savory. He gave Savory an American flag to raise when ships called at port, distributed livestock and other supplies, and left the settlers with the impression that the United States would take an active interest in their welfare, with the implication that the colony might one day become an American territory.

In his report about the expedition to Japan made to the Secretary of the Navy for President Franklin Pierce, and in turn the U.S. Congress, Perry stated that:

There is no doubt that the Japanese were the first discoverers of these islands; that they were settled by them and subsequently abandoned; that the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, in their early voyages to the east may have seen them; and in later years they have been known to the Americans, English, and Russians; but neither of the European nations have, up to this day, made the slightest attempts to settle them (United States Navy Department 1855: 31).

Perry seems to have believed the legend of Japanese discovery of the Bonin Islands. At the very least, he was willing to use the legend to undermine and dismiss any possible claims of British (or other European) possession to the Islands based on discovery. The Japanese government would soon use this outside ‘legitimation’ of the legend to their colonial advantage.²⁰ Perry was confident that he could take possession of the Bonins for the United States and saw British claims of sovereignty as little more than a nuisance (United States Navy Department 1855: 22). As for the British, they were occupied with other concerns, such as the Crimean War, and were not ultimately willing to invest resources in controlling the Ogasawara Islands, although, as I shall discuss below, they did maintain a certain level of involvement until a Japanese colony was finally established there in the 1870s. The USA was likewise embroiled in its own affairs—the Civil War chief among them—and the establishment of a colony so far from its shores in what seemed to the Congress to be a relatively insignificant group of islands

was not a high priority. Ironically, Perry's success in forcing open Japanese ports further diminished whatever credibility his argument to colonise the Ogasawara Islands had once held with the American government, since whale ships could now call at these mainland locations. Although Perry continued to press for annexation of the islands until a few years before his death in 1858, the Ogasawara Islands were not to become important to the USA again until World War Two.

In 1860, when the first Japanese government mission to the United States was dispatched, the Shogunate became truly concerned about the status of the Islands. In addition to their other diplomatic duties, members of the mission investigated the motives behind Perry's Japan expedition. This was aided by President Buchanan's presentation to the mission of Perry's expedition journal, which clearly spelt out to the U.S. Congress and American public his colonial designs on the Bonins (Kublin 1951: 270).²¹

The fear of American—or indeed any foreign—encroachment on Japanese territory and possible colonisation by a western country was a driving force behind the Shogunate's 1861 decision to establish a colony in the Ogasawara Islands. The American interest in the Ogasawara Islands must have appeared to the government as strikingly similar to European and American colonial expansion in other parts of Asia and the Pacific, evidenced in such conflicts as the Opium Wars between Britain and China (1839-1843; 1856-1860). The policy of seclusion that was put into effect by the Tokugawa Shogunate in the last half of the 1630s and had severely limited foreign interaction and virtually eliminated travel outside of Japan was beginning to fail in the middle of the nineteenth century. Pressure from western powers to open Japan's ports—competing as they were among themselves for political and economic dominance in the Pacific—

culminated in the United States forcing Japan to sign the Treaty of Peace and Amity at Kanagawa in 1854. This treaty, negotiated by Commodore Perry, was the first in a series of so-called unequal treaties that placed Japan in a semicolonial status (Pyle 1978: 54).

Japan was 'semicolonial' because, although not forced to cede any territory (in contrast to China and other Asian countries under colonial rule), it was subjected to extensive restrictions on its national sovereignty (Pyle 1978: 53).²² This state of asymmetrical power relations, which had already forced the Japanese government out of its self-imposed 'seclusion', exacerbated tensions between xenophobic, conservative forces, who called simplistically for the expulsion of foreigners and sometimes committed violent acts against westerners (such as the attack on the British legation in 1861) and pro-western Japanese officials on the one hand, and, on the other, more progressive, modernising elements who called for a change in the political structure of the country in order that it might rise into the ranks of the western powers. This semicolonial status fostered a complex and highly ambivalent relationship between the emerging strains of Japanese national identity and how that identity would be located in relation to 'the West'. I shall return to this issue to discuss how photography was implicated in this process in the chapters that follow.

Within this political context, the Shogunate called its colonial project in the Ogasawara Islands a 'Recovery Venture'. The government based its claims on the legend of Lord Ogasawara's discovery of the Islands, which, as discussed above, had been given credence by European and American publications and was therefore assumed by the Shogunate to be widely believed outside of Japan. The Shogunate saw the Islands as part of a buffer zone between Japan and the outside world. The *Kanrin-maru*, a Dutch-built

warship that had also been used to transport Japan's 1860 diplomatic mission to the United States,²³ was chosen to carry an expedition group to the islands.

Notice of the government's intention to 'recover' the islands was sent to both the British and American foreign ministers in Edo (Tokyo) in late 1861. The British government did not issue a reply and the American minister demanded only that the rights of American settlers be upheld (Kublin 1951: 272). This was interpreted as acceptance of Japanese sovereignty over the islands by the Shogunate, which dispatched the *Kanrin-maru* on 3 January 1862. It landed at Port Lloyd (Futami) on Peel (Chichi) Island on 19 January 1862 in what would become Japan's first modern colonial entanglement.²⁴ The expedition sailed into the harbour flying the rising sun flag. The crew immediately went ashore and raised the Japanese flag atop a mountain (Tabohashi 1922).

The expedition leader, Mizuno Tadanori, appeared in full military dress with impressive samurai swords at his waist, received settlers in a magnificent purple tent erected on the beach and informed them that the islands belonged to Japan by right of the discovery of Ogasawara Sadayori (Kublin 1951: 275). The settlers, represented by the American Nathaniel Savory, protested that Britain had the rightful claim to the Bonins but also admitted that they had heard of the Japanese 'discovery' of the Islands. Ultimately, the settlers had no choice but to accept Japanese rule, considering the expedition had arrived aboard a fully equipped naval vessel and neither Britain nor the USA were likely to come to their defence. Mizuno informed the settlers that they would be allowed to stay, provided they agreed to abide by Japanese laws; otherwise they could leave and would be compensated for their property.²⁵

The settlers agreed to these terms and Mizuno proceeded to draw up various rules and regulations for the colony, erected a shrine, established a new monetary system based on the Mexican dollar (then the common currency in the Pacific), and surveyed the island. A stone monument recording the purpose of the four-month expedition was erected. Japanese place names were resurrected from the 1675 expedition (see above). The Islands formerly called 'Bonin' were now 'Ogasawara', Peel Island was now called 'Chichi-jima', and Port Lloyd now 'Futami-ko'. Most of the place names given during this period are still used today.

The first Japanese settlers, numbering about 40, were recruited by Mizuno from among peasants on Hachijyō Island, which had formerly served as a place of exile for political prisoners and lies between Tokyo and Ogasawara. They arrived on Chichi Island in September 1862. They built dwellings, offices and other structures for the use of the colony, remaining separate from the First Settlers. Just nine months later, however, the Shogunate terminated the project and ordered the colony to be abandoned. Without giving up their 'rights' to the Islands, the Japanese abandoned the colony, likely due to a combination of fears over possible British retaliation²⁶ and various internal political troubles.²⁷

Fear of foreign encroachment proved to be paramount, however, and in 1875 the new Meiji Restoration government launched a second, and this time successful, colonisation expedition. This fear must be understood within the context both of external pressures and domestic agendas. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the government became increasingly concerned about European and American colonialism in Asia and the Pacific. Domestic problems also loomed, including growing nationalism

and a sense of vulnerability to external military power. The Japanese government began its own imperial expansion in the years leading up to the 1875 expedition.

The Islands were successfully colonised in 1876 as the borders of the Japanese nation-state were expanding, seemingly in all directions: the Kurile Islands in the north, the Ryūkyū Islands (Okinawa), in the south-west. Later years would see Formosa (Taiwan), Korea, the former German colonies in Micronesia and other land colonised under the guise of ‘leading’ Japan’s Asian/Pacific brethren into modernity and protecting them from western imperialism. The military potential of these territories—including Ogasawara—to serve as a ring of protection around the home islands was a major part of the justification of the government’s colonial actions.

Beginning in the 1870s, for example, the Japanese government, advised by a former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture who was influential in the suppression of Native American resistance, initiated a large-scale colonisation and agricultural plan for former Ainu lands in Hokkaido (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 25). Justified not only as a ‘necessary’ means of gaining natural resources (particularly land and fisheries) this colonial project was also purported to be a mission to ‘civilise’ the Ainu, the indigenous inhabitants. In comparing the Ainu with Native Americans, the State justified its colonisation of Hokkaido, formerly Ainu territory. The Ainu were described as ‘backward aborigines in the north’, culturally remote barbarians who were unproductive, unintelligent and racially inferior to the Japanese, whose ‘duty’ it was to incorporate Hokkaido into the Japanese Empire and make ‘proper’ use of its resources.

This discussion will be amplified in Chapters 2 and 3, but here it is important to note that wherever and whenever the territories and peoples subject to Japanese

colonisation occurred, they were positioned at the inferior end of colonial dichotomies of civilised/barbarian, centre/periphery and self/other. Using these value-saturated dichotomies, Japan's colonial discourse tried to incorporate Ainu and Okinawan populations, for example, into the imagined Japanese national family, while simultaneously working to exclude them from full membership. Combining these dichotomies with the perceived need to strengthen national defence through southern expansion into the Pacific, the decades preceding World War Two saw Japan become a colonial power in Asia and the Pacific. Between 1861 and 1945, Japanese colonial territories and spheres of dominance had grown to include the Ogasawara Islands, Kuriles, Hokkaido, Okinawa, Mariana Islands, Caroline Islands, Marshall Islands, parts of China and Taiwan, Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Burma and other areas.

The colonisation of the Ogasawara Islands was an early step in the construction of a modern Japanese empire that ended with World War Two. Following an expedition at the end of 1875, during which the first photographs of the Islands were taken, a successful Japanese colony was established in Ogasawara.²⁸ Having satisfied the governments of Britain, Germany and the United States that foreigners' rights in the Islands would be protected, representatives of four Japanese government ministries, along with thirteen settlers, arrived at Port Futami on Chichi Island. It was reported that there was a total of sixty-nine settlers already resident, including two Japanese women who had married non-Japanese settlers.

In a final act of British involvement, the HMS *Curlew* was dispatched from Yokohama on 22 November by order of the British representative in Japan, Sir Harry Parkes. The ship arrived in Port Futami on 26 November, two days after the Japanese

colonisation party had arrived. They were greeted by the sight of the American flag Commodore Perry had given to the settlement, hoisted above a small dwelling situated at the mouth of the harbour (Robertson 1876: 127). On board was the British Consul in Yokohama, Russell Robertson, who inspected the condition of the settlers over the course of seven days before returning to Yokohama.

From Bonin to Ogasawara

The Japanese colony in Ogasawara developed rapidly after its establishment in 1876 and was left virtually unmolested by foreign powers for many decades. The Japanese settler population, although very small at the outset of the colonisation effort, grew consistently and even at times dramatically as the colony prospered economically. The colonisation process will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3 and subsequent chapters. It is important to note here, however, that although there were several minor diplomatic problems in establishing Japan's authority over the Ogasawara Islands, in legal and political terms, control was not seriously challenged and the Japanese government had a relatively easy time maintaining control over the 'recovered' territory.

In 1880 the Islands were placed under the jurisdiction of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. By 1882 all non-Japanese islanders had been made subjects of the Japanese Empire by entering their names into so-called family registers, incorporating the settlers into the legally defined Japanese family structure at the same time they became 'Japanese'.²⁹ Naturalisation was highly unusual at the time and this contrasted with the situation in other newly acquired territories such as Hokkaido and Okinawa, where full citizenship, indistinguishable to that of other Japanese, was not initially granted to the

native populations. The Islands and their inhabitants were politically Japanese, under the political control of the State.

This unusual act was not accidental and it was not motivated by a nineteenth-century Japanese version of multiculturalism. The government manipulated the situation in the context of the ongoing process of legitimising Japanese rule in Ogasawara, preferring to grant citizenship to foreigners in order to claim them as 'Japanese' rather than having to deal with them (legally speaking) as citizens of powerful foreign nations. By naturalising the First Settlers, the government completed the final step in 'Japanising' the Islands, attempting to erase any lingering doubts that Ogasawara had been totally integrated into the empire.

With the boundaries of the Islands clearly established, various industries began to flourish. As mentioned above, the reprovisioning of whale ships was the first industry in the Ogasawara Islands, providing the First Settlers with the opportunity for trade and economic activity. Japanese whaling did not begin in Ogasawara until 1922, after southern mainland coast whaling declined and had already shifted to grounds off the Japanese colonies of Korea, Taiwan, as well as northern Japan. Between 1935 and 1940, Ogasawara produced Japan's third largest catch (Kalland and Moeran 1992: 198). During World War Two whaling was stopped in Ogasawara but American occupation forces allowed it to resume as early as 1945 (Kalland and Moeran 1992: 89). Whaling was ended in the 1970s, when most of the Ogasawara Islands was declared a national park. Whales continue to play an important role in Island life today and have been converted from food source to objects of the tourist gaze. I shall return to this point in Chapter 6 in relation to the contemporary tourist industry.

The First Settlers raised livestock, cultivated fruits and vegetables and produced rum. After Japanese colonisation, additional crops and products were produced. Notably, sugarcane was added to the agricultural mix. Sugarcane was cultivated on large plantations, ushering in a several decades long sugar boom from 1890 until 1912, and “producing as much as 45,000 tons of unrefined sugar with a profit of 400,000 yen to 800,000 yen a year” (Arima 1990: 49). With successful sugar production came the need for increased labour. In the early 1880s the government recruited workers from other parts of Japan in order to supplement the insufficient population. Labour from a government reform school for boys, located on Chichi Island, was also exploited (see Chapter 4). In 1877 the total population stood at 999 (including First Settlers and their descendants, who numbered 72 in 1882). By 1921 it exceeded 5,000 (Arima 1990: 48). These years were the height of sugar production, which ended when prices began to drop in 1921.

The population started to decrease as farmers sought new opportunities in the expanding Japanese southern territories in Micronesia, northern territories in Hokkaido, and even went abroad to countries such as Brazil. The 1930s and 1940s were again an era of extremely high productivity for farmers in the Islands, with sales of tropical fruits and vegetables cultivated in the Islands (not otherwise available in Japan during the winter months) bringing in huge profits.³⁰ Fishing, turtling and coral harvesting brought fishermen large incomes as well, and this pre-war period was the wealthiest in the Islands’ history. When the Islands were evacuated during World War Two, nearly half of the total population of the Ogasawara Islands was engaged in the ocean and fisheries sector of the economy. Coral harvesting, for example, brought in a total of one million

yen worth of semiprecious red coral at the peak of production in 1926 alone. Over fifty ships worked in this business (Arima 1990: 50). Many of these products have been reinvented in the contemporary context and are produced today for tourists, as I discuss in Chapter 6.

The military potential of the archipelago as a defensive base against possible western advances had been clear to the Japanese state from the time the 1861 expedition was organised. This potential was realised as the Islands entered the twentieth century. In the 1910s military fortification of Chichi Island began. A naval communications centre, air base and other military installations were built, part of a pattern of military fortification throughout the Japanese-controlled Pacific. A command was established on Chichi Island in 1916 and despite attempts by the western powers to control Japan's southern expansion in the 1920s, in the 1930s heavy military fortification of Japan's Pacific colonies was underway. By the end of the decade, a naval airstrip had been built on Chichi Island in Shūzaki and soldiers had been stationed on several Ogasawaran islands, rendering nearly the entire archipelago a restricted military zone (Arima 1990: 51).

As Japan prepared its attack against the United States in 1941, militarisation of the Ogasawara Islands intensified as part of a campaign to erect a 'barrier' of protection around mainland Japan. The Islands were used mainly as a base for supplies, including food and ammunition. The population soared to about 7,800 civilians and a massive force of 50,000 military personnel. Numerous tunnels were dug out of the mountains and the harbour was dredged to accommodate large warships. In contrast to the Okinawan case, where the native population was left to face the furious onslaught of American

troops protected only by exhausted and starving Japanese forces, military authorities evacuated nearly all civilians (who were mostly Japanese) living in Ogasawara to the mainland in February 1944, when it became clear an American attack was imminent.³¹ During the evacuation, which was carried out between April and August, Japanese military authorities ordered 6,866 out of 7,711 civilians then living in the Islands to leave. The 845 remaining men were kept in the Islands in order to produce food and supply labour for the military (Arima 1990: 52).

By June U.S. forces had begun bombing Chichi Island.³² 500 American bombers hit Chichi Island on 15 June 1944. In February 1945 the Battle of Iwo Jima took place.³³ American forces suffered 26,000 casualties (with nearly 7,000 dead), whilst Japanese forces lost nearly all of their 21,000 troops. Lieutenant General Tachibana Yoshio surrendered Ogasawara to Commander John Magruder, Jr on the deck of the destroyer *Dunlop*, anchored in Port Futami, in September 1945. On 13 December, an official ceremony was held, including the surrendering of swords by Japanese officers.

Nearly all of the surviving military (about 23,000, including one First Settler descendant who had been serving in the Japanese Navy) and civilian (683, including three First Settlers) personnel had already been sent to the Japanese mainland by February 1946. Among those remaining in Ogasawara were four First Settler men, who had survived along with the other soldiers and civilians by taking shelter in caves and tunnels. They were joined on Chichi Island by an additional four First Settlers, who were brought in by the US military from Yokohama on the mainland. They served as language interpreters and assisted in the investigation of war crimes committed against American prisoners of war. War crimes trials were held in Guam in April 1946. As a result, five

Japanese officers were hanged in September 1946 and nineteen soldiers were sentenced to prison terms ranging from five years to life. They were convicted of beating, beheading or bayoneting eight American soldiers to death and eating their livers (Arima 1990: 57).

There was virtually nothing left of Ogasawara's built environment at this point, including both military and civilian structures. What little did remain of Japanese munitions and equipment was taken out to sea and exploded. The few structures that had survived the American bombing were also destroyed, save for three concrete structures.

A group representing the First Settler community petitioned the U.S. Navy to be allowed to return to Ogasawara,³⁴ citing fear of reprisals due to their roles in assisting the American military in the war crimes trials. Many people suffered discrimination on the mainland during the war and post-war period, such as being accused of spying, refused the sale of food and rental of housing, and other serious problems. Permission was granted and in October 1946, 129 First Settlers (and some Japanese spouses) landed at the once again renamed Port Lloyd and began life as wards (not citizens) of the U.S. government. Japanese nationals were strictly prohibited from visiting the Ogasawara Islands during the years of occupation by the American authorities. By contrast, occupied Okinawa was accessible.

The nearly total destruction of Ogasawara's built environment made the resettling process extremely difficult. The Navy rebuilt Chichi Island's infrastructure to its own requirements but it fell mainly to the Islanders themselves, with limited assistance from Navy personnel, to rebuild their dwellings. Former place names (English and Polynesian) were resurrected. General living conditions began to improve as the

occupation authorities addressed housing, medical and other infrastructure-related needs. Although many families used Japanese in the home, English was spoken in public. American dollars were used. Children eventually attended an American primary school (built for the children of Navy families stationed there) and were even sent to Guam for secondary school, where they lived with military families. There were marriages between sailors and Island women. Some men joined the U.S. armed forces. After the 1968 reversion of the Islands to Japanese control, periodic reunions between Island and American families (formerly stationed on Chichi) were held. Friendly communication between some Islanders and American naval families continues to this day. The Islanders I spoke with during my fieldwork all remembered the 'Navy days' very fondly, despite the difficult conditions when they first returned to the Islands from Tokyo.³⁵

Reversion and Redevelopment Plans

After a twenty-three year occupation by the U.S. Navy, the Ogasawara Islands were returned to Japanese control on 26 June 1968. The date of the reversion ceremony, chosen by the American authorities, was the 130th anniversary of the landing of the American schooner *Washington*, the ship on which the original settlers of the Islands had journeyed in order to establish their settlement.

Upon reversion, the Islands were politically reconstituted as an independent village within the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Representative offices of both the national and metropolitan governments were established on the island of Chichi. There were fewer than 300 people living on Chichi once the Japanese regained control of the Islands, including about 180 First Settlers and some Japanese spouses, about ninety

government employees and a small number Japanese Islanders who were now allowed to return home.

Top priorities for the government included resettlement of former residents, the building of basic infrastructure for daily living needs (housing, water, sewage, medical, etc.) and the facilitation of transportation and communication between the mainland and the Islands. Development of Ogasawara was planned almost entirely around the tourism potential of the Islands, in contrast to other formerly occupied areas such as Okinawa, where the government established industrialisation along the lines of the Japanese mainland as the model for post-reversion economic development (Miki 1990: 41). In support of the tourist industry, the government built scenic roads, established national and metropolitan parks and conducted research on methods of fostering tourism. Only the two islands of Chichi and Haha were developed for civilian habitation, leaving the others to military use or for nature preserves. Former residents who were prevented from reclaiming their property were compensated for their losses by the government. Agriculture and fishing were also developed, largely as support industries for tourism. Today, as planned, tourism is the most important industry in the Ogasawara Islands.

Hole in the Archive

The military build-up, ensuing battles and aftermath of World War Two in the Ogasawara Islands extracted a huge toll in human terms: death, injury and displacement affected the entire population. This trauma also left a gaping hole in the archive of photographs of the Ogasawara Islands that begins in the years building up to the War and ends at reversion. That is to say, from about the late 1930s to 1968 photographic

representation of the Ogasawara Islands is virtually non-existent. The fairly obvious reason for the absence of images is simply that the War and the U.S. military occupation of Ogasawara made it impossible for commercial or government photographers from Japan to work there.³⁶

No archive can possibly offer a 'total' history, of course, but the photographic archive of the Ogasawara Islands is particularly fragmented, as discussed in the introduction. Although the War and reversion created the largest archival gap, there are many others. Many early images had already been destroyed by climate; humidity, typhoons and other weather conditions unfavourable to the preservation of photographs characterise Ogasawara's environment. (Government and commercial images, however, which had been either safely archived in official collections, or purchased and held in private collections on the mainland, were generally spared both the hazards of war and the harshness of climate.) These gaps reflect some of the episodes related in the small history of the Islands presented in this chapter. As demonstrated above, this small group of Islands in the central north Pacific Ocean has been the focus of intense scrutiny by several powerful nations resulting in massive transformations in Islanders' lives over a relatively short time span. The images examined in this thesis were created during these periods of scrutiny, when Japanese attentions turned south to Ogasawara.

The chapters that follow explore the images, the holes and the resulting shape of the photographic archive within the historical context outlined in this chapter. The next chapter provides a specifically Japanese photographic context within which to locate the Ogasawaran archive, tracing the introduction and development of photography in Japan, with particular attention on early government photography.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 1

¹ For example, Saipan is about 1,200 km south of Ogasawara.

² There is no doubt that this extraordinary policy largely isolated the country and affected life there but there has been much debate, especially since the 1970s, on the policy's effects and the extent to which the country was truly closed. See for example Screech 1996 and Hall 1991 for discussions of this policy.

³ He was found not to have descended from the Ogasawara family and to have fabricated the entire story. Historians have since concluded that no feudal lord called Ogasawara Sadayaori ever existed (Kublin 1953:30).

⁴ Abel Remusat published a study of the Ogasawara Islands in 1817 in the French *Journal des Savans*. His study was based on Hayashi's *Sangoku Tsūran Zusetsu* and was favourably received in Europe. Hyman Kublin points out that Remusat's mistransliteration of 'munin' or 'bunin' (Japanese for 'uninhabited') to 'Bonin' was adopted by European cartographers and geographers, who were paying increasing attention to the Pacific in the nineteenth century (1953: 36). The Islands were called 'Bonin' in an English chart of the Pacific Ocean and another European scholar, Jules Klaproth, completed a translation of Hayashi's account of the Islands in 1826 and the entire *Sangoku* in 1832 (Kublin 1953: 36).

⁵ I am including here both the European/American and Japanese place names in order to reflect the dominant usage before Japanese settlement (European) as well as the present-day names (Japanese) for reference purposes.

⁶ Initially, Beechy was cooperating with the Franklin and Parry Arctic Expedition. He failed to rendezvous with the expedition and instead conducted his own survey by sailing south to the Ryūkyū Islands (Okinawa) and, eventually, the Ogasawaras (Kublin 1953:43).

⁷ This copper plaque can today be found in the collection of the National Library of Australia.

⁸ Russia never attempted to gain sovereignty over the Islands, although it was eventually to fight a war with Japan over northern territories.

⁹ The precise number, names and islands of origin of the Polynesian members of the settlement party were not recorded. The names of the American and European men are as follows: Nathaniel Savory (American), Aldin Chapin (American), John Millinchamp (British), Matteo 'Matthew' Mazarro (British but originally Italian), and Charles Johnson (Danish) (Arima 1990: 33). Scholars have assumed that the Polynesian members of the settlement party were Hawaiian but in fact they were referred to as *kanaka* in the contemporary literature. This term was applied to Pacific Islanders generally by European and American sailors throughout the Pacific without regard to island of origin. Some of the 'kanaka' members could easily have been non-Hawaiian Polynesians working in Hawaii at the time the settlement party was organised, as the booming Pacific trade encouraged great mobility throughout the region.

¹⁰ This was essentially the limit of Charlton's support for the settlement party. There is also a letter from a successor to Charlton, Acting Consul Alex Simpson (27 December 1842) of the British Consulate in Honolulu, supporting Mazarro as one of the 'original leaders' of the colonising expedition. Simpson states that the settlers should accept Mazarro as leader until an 'officer appointed by Her Britannic Majesty' arrives in the Islands. No such officer ever arrived in the Bonin Islands and Mazarro was never accepted as leader of the settlement. Instead, Nathaniel Savory, whose descendants still live in the Islands, was regarded as the unofficial leader of the settlement. The letter is archived in the British Consulate of Honolulu Papers, Hawaii State Archives.

¹¹ Although one of the Japanese terms for descendants of these settlers, as well as later non-Japanese settlers, is '*Ōbeikeijin*' (literally: person of Euro-American heritage) and is equivalent to 'Westerners', I refer to them as 'First Settlers' in this thesis to reflect the fact that not all early settlers were European or American but in fact included Polynesian, Micronesian, African and other peoples.

¹² George Hamilton Gordon, the fourth Earl of Aberdeen, was appointed Foreign Secretary in 1828, and served again under Sir Robert Peel between 1841-47.

¹³ Richard Charlton's letter is archived in the British Consulate of Honolulu Papers, Hawaii State Archives.

¹⁴ Charlton's letter to Aberdeen was written during a period of expanding British influence in China. The highly profitable but illegal opium trade had tipped the overall balance of trade between China and Britain in favour of Britain and would eventually be the cause of two wars between the nations (1839-1843, 1856-

1860), resulting in increased territorial and commercial control in China for Britain, other western countries and Japan.

¹⁵ Additional details about the early settlers can be found in Arima 1990 (see esp. 31-40), Cholmondeley 1915 and Tabata 1993.

¹⁶ The original account of this incident appeared in R.C. Collinson (1852) *The Bonin Islands in 1851*, Port Lloyd. *Nautical Magazine* March: 135-138.

¹⁷ Such reports were required by the government of all those who had ventured outside of Japan's recognised boundaries (wittingly or otherwise) during the period when the isolation policy (*sakoku*) was in effect.

¹⁸ Arima's summary of this incident was derived from Arakawa Hidetoshi's account in his *Nihonjin Hyoryuki* (1964).

¹⁹ Perry was one of the Navy's pioneers in developing steam power.

²⁰ Perry was particularly dismissive of Captain Beechey's claim on the Islands in the name of King George. In the official narrative of Commodore Perry's expedition (1852-1854), which stopped in the Ogasawara Islands for several days in 1853, Beechey's expedition is not favourably reviewed:

The islands were visited by Captain Beechey in 1827, and, with the proverbial modesty and justice of English surveyors, named by him, as if they had been then first observed. The northern cluster he called Parry's group; the middle cluster, consisting of three larger islands, respectively Peel, Buckland, and Stapleton; and the southern cluster was named by him Bailey's, utterly regardless of the fact thus stated by himself: "The southern cluster is that on which a whale ship, commanded by a Mr. Coffin, anchored in 1823 (sic), who was first to communicate its position to this country, and who bestowed his name upon the port. As the cluster was, however, left without any distinguishing appellation, I named it after Francis Bailey, esq., late President of the Astronomical Society." To the principal port of Peel Island he gave the name of Port Lloyd.

This was a pretty liberal distribution of honors by an accidental visitor in 1827, to a group of islands that had been known, and of which we have authentic accounts as early as the seventeenth century (Perry, Hawks, and Jones 1856: 197).

Partisanship and the accuracy of his interpretation of events notwithstanding, this less than flattering account of Beechey's 'visit' to Ogasawara not only illustrates the brewing conflict over control of the Islands but also points to the importance of the acts of naming and claiming. In an attempt to undermine British claims to the islands, the narrative went on to give credibility to the myth of Lord Ogasawara's discovery of the islands, something the Japanese government would use to its colonial advantage during its first settlement attempt in 1862 and again in 1875.

²¹ The 1856 narrative of Perry's expedition to Japan was published, which reported the results of his survey of the island environment, including information about geological conditions, harbour, flora, fauna and human inhabitants. Perry's plan, which called for commercially developing Ogasawara as a depot for steamers, was also discussed in detail. In 1860 the Japanese diplomatic delegation to Washington, DC received a copy of this publication from US President Buchanan. Japanese government officials understood that this commercial interest expressed in the Ogasawara Islands by an American naval commodore, openly published and presented to representatives of the Japanese government, constituted a possible threat to Japanese control over what they considered Japanese territory and was in any case less than a comfortable distance away from other Japanese islands.

²² The unequal treaties, which granted extraterritoriality to nationals of western countries and denied control of tariffs to the Japanese government contributed to this.

²³ This trip was also notable because it marked the first time that a Japanese crew had made a transpacific journey.

²⁴ Some of the crew of this ship died during the voyage to the Islands and are buried in a cemetery on Chichi. This is now a tourist attraction (see Chapter 6).

²⁵ Mizuno's interpreter for these meetings was 'John' (Nakahama) Manjiro, a man who had spent his teenage years in a Massachusetts whaling town, where he studied English and other subjects, including whaling. He was the first Japanese person to receive American schooling. He ended up in the United States after being rescued by a U.S. whaler after his fishing vessel was wrecked. He served as an

interpreter during the Shogunate's diplomatic mission to the United States in 1860 and, before that, worked on the development of Japan's modern whaling industry, including in the waters off Ogasawara.

²⁶ In March 1862 the British questioned Japan's right to colonise the Bonin Islands because "the islands had been formerly declared the property of the British Crown by Capt. Beechey in 1827" (Kublin 1951: 277).

²⁷ The government was unable to maintain the expensive colonisation effort during what turned out to be the final years of the Tokugawa regime. The Shogunate was forced to expend all its resources on managing pro- and anti-western factions within the government and among the people (Arima 1990: 45). The government fell in 1868.

²⁸ This expedition will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

²⁹ I will return to the issue of citizenship briefly in Chapter 4 and discuss the codified family structure in Meiji Japan in relation to the ideology of the family-state and emerging ideas about race.

³⁰ In 1939 and 1940, for example, farmer households averaged a higher annual income than the nation's prime minister (Arima 1990: 49, 72).

³¹ The 'sacrifice' of Okinawa civilians in World War Two by the Japanese military continues to be a source of friction between the people of Okinawa and the national government.

³² Former United States president George Bush, then a Navy Lieutenant, was shot down and rescued on 2 September 1944 during a bombing raid on a Chichi Island radio tower.

³³ An island in the Ogasawara chain, Iwo Jima was the site of some of the war's bloodiest battles. No civilians have been permitted to resume residency there.

³⁴ Japanese Islanders also petitioned the U.S. and Japanese governments to be allowed to return to Ogasawara but these requests were denied due to 'security concerns'.

³⁵ This finding is in great contrast to the ongoing local opposition to U.S. Army occupation of Okinawa.

³⁶ There is U.S. military photography in existence, however, such as aerial images made during bombing raids during the War. Later, there were family snapshots made by sailors and their families stationed on Chichi Island during the occupation. These images have not been accessioned into the Japanese archive but can instead be found quietly resting in the U.S. national archives (National Archives and Records Administration). Although outside the scope of this study, it is interesting to note the existence of these images if only to illustrate that the hole in the Japanese archive is opposed by a corresponding bulge of objects in the American archive. The producers of images of the Islands have changed as control of the Islands has changed, which points to the indissoluble links between power, image production, and the archive.

CHAPTER TWO

PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE DEFINITION OF 'JAPAN'

This portrait of Endō Matazaemon and his servants is one of five of the oldest extant photographs of Japanese subjects made in Japan (figure 2.1). They are the only five images that remain from an original set of more than 200 daguerreotypes.¹ The daguerreotypes were made by Eliphalet Brown Jr. (1816-1886), the photographer on Commodore Perry's second voyage to Japan in 1854 and were the basis for many of the lithographs used to illustrate the published narrative of the expedition (figure 2.2). As discussed in the previous chapter, Perry's expedition was dispatched from the United States in order to force Japan to open its borders to international commerce. He stopped in the Ogasawara Islands in 1853 during the first phase of the expedition.²

The circumstances of the production of this portrait indicate very clearly the inherent connection between western power and early photography in Japan. The



Fig. 2.1. Eliphalet Brown Jr., *Endō Matazaemon and His Servants*, 1854, Daguerreotype. Collection of Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography.



Fig. 2.2. T. Sinclair, *Bungo or Prefect, Hahodadi*, 1856. Lithograph. Collection of Yokohama Museum of Art. Sinclair's lithograph was based on Brown's daguerreotype of Endō.

implications of this connection are extremely far-reaching and complex and must be explored in order to understand the context within which photography was imported and developed in Japan. This chapter discusses these implications and examines the photographic discourse and practice that emerged in Japan within this context. This reveals the important but sometimes subtle links between photography and the construction of the modern Japanese nation. I am concerned here with discussing this relationship not merely because it provides a necessary context for understanding the development of Japanese photography itself, but also because it provides a crucial context for thinking about the emergence and development of ideas about 'Japaneseness'. Any understanding of the ways in which the Ogasawara Islands were incorporated into the Japanese nation is dependent upon understanding these evolving notions of what constitutes 'Japan' and 'Japanese'.

First Photography

Although photographic equipment had already been imported into the country prior to the Perry expedition, Japanese practitioners had not yet successfully produced a daguerreotype when Brown produced his portrait of Endo in 1854. Historians have not been able to agree on the precise year in which the camera first entered Japan but it was probably some time during the late 1840s, relatively soon after the invention of the daguerreotype in 1839. Many sources indicate that Ueno Shunnojoyō (1790-1851), a local merchant and father of photographer Ueno Hikoma (1838-1904),³ imported the first camera to Japan from Holland (Winkel 1991: 21). One generally accepted version of the story holds that after inspecting and sketching (but not buying) a set of photographic

equipment transported to Dejima⁴ on a Dutch ship in 1843, Ueno finally purchased a daguerreotype set (imported on another Dutch vessel) in 1848 (Yokoe 1997: 50).⁵

In 1857, approximately nine years after the importation of this photographic equipment, Ichiki Shiro (1828-1903), a scientist in the service of the lord of the Satsuma clan, Shimazu Nariakira (1809-1858), succeeded in producing a daguerreotype using the camera Shimazu had acquired from Ueno (figure 2.3).⁶ This photographic success came just three years after Brown produced his portrait of Endō Matazaemon, making it the earliest example of photographic practice in Japan (by a Japanese practitioner) and one of the earliest examples of non-western photographic practice in the world.



Fig. 2.3. Ichiki Shiro, *Portrait of Shimazu Nariakira, 1857, Daguerreotype*. Collection of Shuseikan Museum.

Photography arrived in Japan at a time when the ruling Tokugawa Shogunate was failing and foreign pressure to open the country further to American and European presence was succeeding. As discussed in the previous chapter, Japan was undergoing a frenzied modernisation process, which included the opening of treaty ports followed by the arrival of foreigners in relatively large numbers after centuries of self-imposed national seclusion. The beginnings of industrialisation and the importation of a myriad of western technologies and products further complicated the process. Photography was just one of the many technologies imported to Japan during this period and it shared in the reifying aura of power, prestige and modernity that surrounded virtually all western knowledge and material culture. As discussed in the previous chapter, this power had a wide range

of effects on the Japanese population, from inspiring obsessive devotion to learning from and 'catching up' with the west in some, to violent xenophobia in others. Once inside Japan, the power possessed by western objects and know-how was intensified by the Japanese government's interpretation of externally occurring events; the government reacted to western colonial expansion on the Asian continent by adopting an official ideology of modernisation in order to protect the country from possible colonisation.

Shashin

It was not until after 1858 when the country was officially 'opened' to foreign trade that photography began to develop as a business in Japan. Two major factors encouraged this development: the introduction of a new photographic process and the settlement of Europeans and North Americans in the treaty ports of Nagasaki, Yokohama and Hakodate.

In the 1850s Japanese photographers achieved only very limited success using the daguerreotype photographic process. Dr. J. Pompe van Meerdervort, a Dutch naval doctor in Nagasaki who also taught photography, introduced the wet collodion process to his Japanese students in the late 1850s, after which time (native) Japanese photography began to expand dramatically.⁷ The wet collodion process was developed by Frederick Scott Archer in 1851 and was the first fully practical process for creating negatives on glass.⁸ It resulted in a very high-resolution detail and clarity of print. The plate, coated with an emulsion of collodion (gun cotton, alcohol, and ether) and sensitised ('excited') in a bath of silver halide, had to be exposed whilst wet and developed immediately, hence the name (Coe and Haworth-Booth 1983: 18).

In contrast to the daguerreotype, which resulted in a high quality but single image that was not reproducible, the wet collodion process allowed for unlimited reproducibility of an image captured on a glass plate negative. Although wet collodion was a difficult and expensive process, its introduction greatly expanded commercial photography.

In spite of the considerable technical complexity and cumbersome nature involved in creating wet collodion photographs, this ability to enable a photographer to reproduce high quality images led to the dominance of the wet collodion process in the mid-nineteenth century (Edwards 1992: 265). The dominance of this process owed much to the introduction of albumen printing paper. Invented in 1850 by Désiré Blanquart-Evrard, the paper made inexpensive, high-resolution, multiple prints possible. High quality paper was coated with beaten egg whites and sensitised with a silver halide solution and then put directly into contact with the negative and exposed to light. The use of the wet collodian process with albumen 'print-out-paper' proved to be highly successful, dominating photography until about 1890 (Edwards 1992: 266-67).

Japan was no exception to its popularity, where the wet collodion process rapidly eclipsed the daguerreotype to become the standard photographic format for decades. In fact, the modern Japanese word for photograph, *shashin*, literally meaning 'true copy' or 'copy of reality', was coined in reference to images produced using the wet collodion method, not the daguerreotype (Yokoe 1997: 51). The term had historically been applied to painted portraits of humans and animals, as well as landscapes.

In the late 1850s and early 1860s foreign professional and amateur photographers began arriving in Japan, establishing photo studios as well teaching Japanese students, some of whom became professionals in their own right. The three treaty ports of

Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate, where foreigners were permitted to reside, became the centres of photographic learning in Japan. An American, Orrin E. Freeman, was operating the first professional photography studio in Japan (in the treaty port of Yokohama) as early as 1860. The first commercially produced photographs of Japan were offered for sale by J.G. Gower, a diplomatic aide with the British mission in Edo (Tokyo), in late 1861. His *Views of Japan*, published by Negretti and Zambra, apparently caused a sensation in London (Worswick 1980: 131-132). In 1863 Venetian-born Felice Beato (1825/34?–1908?), the famous expeditionary and war photographer, and the English illustrator Charles Wirgman (1835-1891) opened their studio in Yokohama.⁹

The first two successful professional Japanese photographers, Ueno Hikoma (1838-1904) and Shimo'oka Renjo (1823-1914), started their (separate) businesses in 1862. Ueno, whose father, Shunnojyō, imported the first camera to Japan, learnt the wet collodion process from van Meerdervoort (and others) in Nagasaki and opened his business in the same city. Shimo'oka learnt photography from Henry Heusken, the Dutch interpreter for the U.S. consul in Edo, Townsend Harris. Shimo'oka established his business in Yokohama.

By the 1860s Japanese photographers had created an indigenous photography industry more extensive than could be found elsewhere in Asia. There were over one hundred professional photographers working throughout Japan by the 1870s, and professional photographic associations and journals began to emerge (Dower 1980: 9, 14). By the end of the nineteenth century, Japanese photographers began to replace Europeans and Americans as producers in the business of photography, in many cases purchasing their inventories and studios (Handy 1998: 91-92).

The early years of commercial photography in Japan were almost entirely dependent upon the patronage of resident foreigners; very few Japanese people could afford the prices charged by the studios.¹⁰ There were cultural reasons as well. As was common in many places with the early introduction of photography, the process was at first considered magical and dangerous. 'Once photographed, your shadow will fade; twice photographed, your life will shorten,' held one popular saying, warning of the occult powers of the camera (Dower 1980: 7). The fear of photography reflected in this saying, coupled with economic reasons, made it nearly impossible to sell photographic services to the Japanese population in the early years of the industry. One result of this situation was that the kind of images demanded by the market for Japanese photographs was determined by foreign tastes. Foreign demand shaped the production of Japanese photography and overlapped in significant ways with demand for colonial images from other parts of Asia and indeed all over the colonised world.

Colonial Gaze

The similarities between early photography in Japan and colonial photography elsewhere in the world, as briefly outlined above, would seem to suggest that the emergence of photography in Japan could be analysed using the model of the 'colonial gaze', wherein the colonised subject is silently waiting to be created by the gaze of the coloniser in fulfilment of a voyeuristic Orientalist fantasy, victimised by a powerful conqueror (e.g., Alloula 1987).

Further similarities between colonial and Japanese photographs can be discerned. Photography began to develop in Japan during a period in which foreign

powers exerted unprecedented control over certain elements of the Japanese government. For example, as discussed in Chapter 1, the Shogunate was forced to accede to numerous demands (of the USA and other countries) in portage and trade, and was unable to prevent foreigners from residing in designated parts of Japan, where they successfully exempted themselves from Japanese laws. Although the loss of control suffered by the Japanese government was not as severe as a colony would have experienced, the power relations were clearly becoming progressively unfavourable for the Shogunate. These unequal power relations manifested themselves beyond the legal and diplomatic arenas; they were evident in Japan's image world as well.

The subject matter of most early Japanese photographs is comprised mainly of now-familiar landscape scenes, temples, cherry blossoms and, especially, geisha and other kimono-clad women or girls (figure 2.4). The images portrayed a particular vision of traditional Japanese culture that excluded anything modern. As Eleanor Hight has observed, these photographs “were produced to satisfy two primary demands: a perceived need to capture the ‘old’ Japan before it disappeared under Westernization, as well as the traveler’s more internalised desire to take home personal souvenirs” (Hight 2002: 151). Largely ignored were contemporary movements in Japanese society such as industrialisation or obviously westernised scenes, in much the same way that colonial images tended to ‘crop out’ visual evidence of colonial contact in



Fig. 2.4. Felice Beato, *Dancing Girl*, 1868, Hand-Tinted Albumen Print. Collection of Nichibunken (International Research Centre for Japanese Studies).

favour of a static, 'traditional' or 'primitive' view of the pictured subject. It could be argued that these tourist images were not 'about' modern Japan and are thus logically absent of images of modernity; however, not being 'about' modern Japan is precisely the problem with these early images. This early photography, which produced images resembling many of those produced in colonial contexts, deliberately avoided manufacturing images that did not conform to certain foreign notions of Japanese culture. Although this might have been driven by market demand, it nonetheless reflects an ideological structure that somewhat mimicked colonial relations, a structure that had no space for a vision of Japanese culture that included the 'modern'.

There was also a limited production of more 'scientific' photography of Japanese subjects of the type more often found in colonial photography. For example, this page of prints (figure 2.5) from Hamburg photographer Carl Dammann's (1819-1874) large folio size album, *Anthropologisch-Ethnologisches Album in Photographien*, produced with some cooperation by the Berlin Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte and published in 1874, shows Japanese 'racial types' in half-length format, in both full face and profile studies.¹¹ The 'specimens' were photographed in front of a neutral backdrop with most non-bodily signs of cultural context removed in order to make an 'objective' image. This format clearly indicates anthropological intention in execution, conforming to nineteenth-century standards of scientific photography.¹²

Despite these and other ideological similarities between the western photographs of Japan and colonial worlds, however, the model of an undifferentiated colonial gaze is not useful in analysing early Japanese photography. Whilst it can be said that the subjects of these early photographs are exoticised and stereotyped, and early



Fig. 2.5. Carl Dammann, *Japan*, 1874, Albumen Print, Page of Frontal and Profile 'Type' Portraits of Japanese Acrobats in *Anthropologisch-Ethnologisches Album in Photographien*. Collection of Tozzer Library, Harvard University.

photographic practice in Japan broadly resembles colonial photographs, the vast majority of images lack the kind of morally dichotomising messages found in colonial Indian or African images, for instance, where wanton women and primitive types are completely normalized.¹³ There was no project by an occupying foreign power to control, count, scientise or 'salvage' the body and customs of the Japanese as was attempted on the colonised Indian, African or Chinese body and customs.¹⁴ Nor was there a corresponding photographic subjugation of 'natives' that could have created the kind of distrust and fear of the form that existed in colonised countries. The Japanese case stands in marked contrast to most of the colonial world also in its enthusiastic and early reception of the form of photography, both in terms of popular use and professional development.

Semicolonial Photography

These extremely important distinctions, however, do not mean that these early images of Japan were somehow representative of an indigenous voice, or free from stereotyped displays; on the contrary, these early images were part of the creation of stereotypes about Japanese culture that to some extent persist to the present day. Rather than thinking of early Japanese photography as ‘colonial’, however, I would like to suggest a model of Japanese photography in this early period using Kenneth Pyle’s characterisation of Japan as ‘semicolonial’ that was discussed in Chapter 1. In so doing, however, one must be careful to recognise the influential but not overly deterministic nature of external power on Japanese society and thus, its photography. Categorising early Japanese photography as ‘semicolonial’ is useful because it provides a broad historical framework for understanding the ways in which photography emerged, and at the same time assists in identifying—without reifying—ethnographic details specific to the Japanese case.

Japanese semicolonial photography was produced within specific conditions of commercial production, which were in turn driven by external attitudes and expectations about Japan. Whilst the earliest images of Japan were indeed produced by foreigners, who enjoyed all the associations of power that their positions as westerners in Japan entailed, they were not representatives of, or protected by, a colonial government and were forced to negotiate with Japanese people—in procuring models or soliciting a limited Japanese clientele—in order to create and sometimes sell their products. This is not to say, however, that in colonial situations authorities had complete control over subjects or that subjects could offer no strategies of resistance. Colonial photographers

also had to enter into various negotiations with potential subjects in order to create their products. In fact, projects using the most dehumanising kinds of scientific photography often failed altogether or had to make use of prisoners rather than 'free' colonial subjects.

A clear distinction should be made between early photographers in Japan and photographers in colonial worlds, however. The Japanese government (first the Tokugawa Shogunate and later, the Meiji government) was able to severely restrict the freedom of movement of foreign photographers working in Japan. As a result, foreign photographers in Japan worked under far more restrictive conditions than did their counterparts in colonial environments. Levels of colonial control varied greatly over time and space, of course, and one does not want to view colonialism in a homogenised or over-determined manner.

One example of this is illustrated by the Darwinian biologist Thomas Huxley's failed 'well-considered plan', initiated in 1869, to procure, through centralised control in Britain, highly systematised, anthropological photographs produced in the colonial peripheries, despite the umbrella of colonialism under which he operated (Edwards 2001: 131-152). The photographs were to be produced in order to provide 'objective data' for use in a comparative biological analysis of human races. Although some images were indeed made according to Huxley's exacting specifications, which involved photographing unclothed subjects in several poses alongside a measuring rod and against a neutral background, these were produced in spaces of absolute colonial power, such as prisons and possibly hospitals. Outside of these spaces, colonial governors (who were assigned the task of procuring the photographs by the Colonial Office in London) were

unable to overcome the resistance of indigenous people, and in some cases, colonial officers and missionaries.

There can be no doubt, however, that as asymmetrical as power relations were between the 'West' and Japan (in diplomacy, trade, and military affairs, for instance) in the nineteenth century, foreign photographers in Japan did not have the power advantages of European photographers in European colonies. In the case of Huxley's project, although most of the images that were sent to London from the colonies did not conform to his specifications, photographers readily produced images that resonated with 'scientific reference' (Edwards 2001: 141), and were clearly implicated in the colonial system of economic and military dominance.

Unlike colonial photographers, who were directly or indirectly either agents of, or closely aligned with, colonial authorities, early foreign photographers in Japan had no such authorities on whom to depend for protection or assistance. There were no colonial government-sponsored expeditions into the 'interior' (such as occurred in European colonies) that could yield profitable images for entrepreneurial photographers. In fact, such expeditions were strictly forbidden by the Shogunate in the earliest days of photography. Even in later years after the liberalisation of travel restrictions, Japanese photographers had created an intense competition in both the production and selling of commercial photographs that eroded and ultimately virtually eliminated foreign photographers from the Japanese market. In spite of all these problems, these early foreign practitioners managed to flourish commercially for several decades. Japanese popular associations with ill health and even death did not prevent photography from

gaining acceptance at a relatively rapid pace, and the new technology became a major part of the Japanese social landscape.

The eventual acceptance and popularity of photography in Japan was facilitated by several factors. Despite its negative associations, photography benefited from a positive—that is to say, desirable—association, not with an occupying force, but with a powerful western presence, a symbol of modernity and civilization. And whilst this was not a straightforward, unproblematic relationship—the country experienced numerous, sometimes violent reactions against westernisation and modernization¹⁵—the government itself was actively pursuing a policy of ‘civilization and enlightenment’ (*bunmei kaika*), into which photography fitted well.

The government embarked upon a massive campaign to modernise the nation’s physical infrastructure and virtually all of its institutions, including schools, hospitals and even system of government.¹⁶ The Iwakura Mission of 1871 perhaps illustrates most clearly the strength of the government’s drive to ‘catch up’ with western nations. The nearly two-year-long mission involved government leaders and elite students travelling to Europe and America to observe the workings of western institutions. Their impressions and reports formed the basis of the government’s modernisation plans.

In 1872 alone, a constitution (that created an elected parliament) was promulgated, a national educational system was introduced and the nation’s first railroad was constructed. Shipping lines, telephone and telegraph systems, a European-style banking system and numerous industries (such as textiles, chemicals and glass) were developed, many of which were soon privatised. Adulation for things western was not limited to science, technology and industry, however. Western cultural products, including clothing,

food, art and architecture also became fashionable and influential in wider Japanese society.

Photography was considered “one of the seven items in the ‘standard paraphernalia of civilization and enlightenment’ (*bunmei kaika nanatsu dōgu*)—along with newspapers, the postal system, gaslights, steam engines, exhibitions, and dirigible balloons . . .” (Dower 1980: 9). Linked not only in some vague way to the notion of becoming more ‘civilised’, photography was also clearly linked to the process of industrialisation and the modern nation, as will become apparent in my examination of the governmental use of photography, which will be discussed below.

There were strong commercial incentives for the growth of early photography in Japan as well. The first Japanese photographers had no choice but to rely on the patronage of wealthy individuals in order to learn and practice their expensive craft. As far as consumption was concerned, members of the foreign community comprised the overwhelming majority of business. As European and American fascination with the formerly ‘isolated’ Japanese Empire began to grow in the 1860s and foreigners began arriving in Japan in increasing numbers after the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the establishment of the Meiji government in 1868, demand for photographs of Japan exploded in both Japan and abroad. The so-called *Yokohama Shashin* was born.

Yokohama Shashin

‘Yokohama Shashin’ (Yokohama Photograph) refers to the tourist photography that emerged in the treaty ports, particularly Yokohama, where foreign tourists began arriving after 1868 in a travel boom that intensified yearly, especially after the

liberalisation of travel rules in 1880, and lasted until about 1910. Large numbers of professional photographers in port cities competed with each other over the lucrative tourist business. Both Japanese and foreign photographers produced and sold images that appealed to a market that catered to tourists' tastes.

Much of these photographic exotica produced for western tourists (initially produced by European and American photographers for foreign consumption, rather than for a domestic audience by domestic photographers) featured stereotypical images of people that were 'portrait types'.¹⁷ These images could be read as aestheticised versions of scientific 'type' photographs (Edwards 1990: 242). 'Type' photography, a commercial form of scientific photography, was most often associated with images of colonised peoples and also with the domestic underclass in Europe and North America. Type photography translated ideas from the specific to the general, treating the subject of the photograph like a specimen trapped in a glass jar. In other words, this photography transformed an image of a person who, of course, possessed his or her own name, identity and individuality, for example, into an (often) unnamed, generalised object who comes to stand for an entire category of people such as 'A Peddler', 'Geisha Girl', or 'A Native Warrior'. The photograph removes a 'type' from its original context and transports it to another, where the pre-existing stereotypes held by the reader who consumes it are easily reinforced.¹⁸

I would argue, however, that these early tourist photographs more closely resemble a racialised form of portrait photography rather than an aestheticised form of scientific photography. In many instances, these images of Japanese subjects differ little from European bourgeois portraiture in composition, using lighting techniques, posing,

backdrops and props in a similar if not identical manner (figure 2.7). In a distinction that has also been pointed out by Deborah Poole in the Andean context (1997: 128), the subjects of Japanese tourist images were not paying, bourgeois clients. Rather, they were paid, sometimes unwilling, models (Dower 1980: 6; Hight 2002), whose images came to represent generalities of the 'Japanese type' and were consumed within the 'processes of subjectification'



Fig. 2.7 Raimund von Stillfried or Adolfo Farsari, *4 Graces*, 1871–1880s, Hand-Tinted Albumen Print. Collection of Pitt Rivers Museum.

(Bhabha 1983: 18) made possible through stereotypical discourses. Homi Bhabha has contended that it is important to understand these processes and how they have constructed a 'regime of truth' rather than subject representations such as these images to normalising judgements, deeming them as positive or negative. This enables a more nuanced understanding of these images and how they mimic bourgeois portraits and became racialised as 'Japanese types' through the context of their consumption as tourist objects rather than scientific study.

Felice Beato, one of the most successful early photographers of Japan, published his *Photographic Views of Japan* in two volumes, *Native Types* and *Views of Japan*, in 1868. The volumes contained beautifully hand-tinted albumen prints of Japanese 'types', such as geisha, labourers and artisans, as well as landscapes, religious sites and genre scenes (figure 2.8). Although not produced as scientific photographs, some of the images in the volume resonate with 'scientific reference' (Edwards 2001: 141). In other words, these images visually reference scientific style without conforming completely to its

conventions. These images incorporated the decontextualised, neutral backgrounds found in scientific photographs but were presented, in, for example, oval vignettes and without the measuring rod used in anthropometric images. Most of Beato's 'type' portraits differed



Fig. 2.8. Felice Beato, *Girl Playing the Samisen*, 1868, Hand-Tinted Albumen Print. Collection of International Research Centre for Japanese Studies.

from the 'racial types' common at the time, such as John Thompson's photographs of Chinese subjects, for example (Ryan 1997: 161-166; Hight 2002: 148).

There were also the early portraits of young women, many of whom appear unhealthy and distressed to our contemporary eyes, produced as erotica for male collectors. Like other early images, these photographs were produced primarily for the foreign resident and overseas markets. The very fact that photographers were able to obtain models and produce such photographs in a society that mistrusted the technology, considering it 'life-shortening', points to what must have been appalling conditions of poverty, prostitution and inequality.¹⁹ Eleanor Hight has made the interesting suggestion that some of the women (prostitutes, courtesans and geisha) in the portraits might have been directly known by foreign men, who purchased their services and commissioned their images, or there was at least otherwise a connection between the generic photographs of women as 'souvenirs' of sexual services just as other cultural artefacts were souvenirs of their experiences in Japan (Hight 2002: 151). Although not produced

under colonial rule, then, such images are not entirely different from the exploitative images produced in colonies.

As exoticising as Beato's and other photographers' images were, and as similar to colonial images as they might appear on the surface, the Japanese images can be usefully distinguished from the colonial ones in their production and consumption, the processes that ultimately determine meaning. I have already suggested that, although some of these images might appear scientific, they instead reference this style without actually becoming entangled in this genre of photography.²⁰ Several other arguments have often been suggested regarding the differences between the early photography of Japanese subjects and that of colonised peoples, the most influential of which relate to aesthetics. Melissa Banta, for example, contends that "the aesthetic sensitivity found in commercial photography in nineteenth-century Japan distinguished it from the kind of anthropological photography that focused on physical and racial characteristics" (Banta 1988: 12).

This 'aesthetic sensitivity' included the adaptation of traditional Japanese compositional techniques and the use of *ukiyo-e* artists to hand colour photographs. This kind of aestheticised presentation meant that "unlike much nineteenth-century documentation of foreign cultures, images made by Western photographers in Japan show that most of the Japanese maintained their own identity in front of the camera without being shadowed by Western interpretation" (Banta and Hinsley 1986: 43).

Whilst this is an important aspect of understanding the imaging of Japanese subjects in this era, aesthetic differences are not as sharply defined as is often represented. For example, Beato is often cited as a pioneer in the blending of European

and Japanese aesthetic techniques in photography. His compositional techniques and even subject matter are said to reflect traditional *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints. His pioneering use of *ukiyo-e* artisans to colour his images by hand with Japanese watercolour paints is also well known.

There is no doubt that Beato, like other photographers, both foreign and Japanese, was familiar with *ukiyo-e* prints. One would not question that he and others were influenced in some way by these traditional images. However, it must also be pointed out that hand tinting was widely practiced in Europe (although normally using oil-based paints) and this practice could therefore also be read as adapting local materials and labour to a market demand. The use of numerous Japanese artisans to colour the photographs would have presented the photographers and artisans with opportunities for cross-cultural interaction; it is not clear, however, the degree to which these interactions would have affected the finished products. It is also unclear how much this differs from the use of ‘native assistants’ in photography in the colonial context.

Even more crucial, however, is understanding that an ‘aesthetic’ interpretation of a subject is merely another mode of interpretation that overlaps with seemingly unrelated practices. In Poole’s formulation of a visual economy, all of these practices pass through cultural and discursive systems where “images are appraised, interpreted and assigned historical, scientific, and aesthetic worth” (1997: 10). In examining the process by which images gain meaning, we can see that even a photography that is characterised by ‘aesthetic sensitivity’, as Banta has termed it, is no less implicated in these discursive systems than is a more blatantly colonial or scientific photography. I shall pursue this point further in the next section.

Photographic intention must be examined as well. Trying to understand a photographer's intention can be a difficult but worthwhile undertaking if it is part of an examination of the context of photographic production. As Hight has rightly pointed out, in the Japanese case, the photographs of Beato and the Austrian aristocrat-photographer, Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz (1839-1911),²¹ two of the most prolific and commercially successful European photographers of nineteenth-century Japan “were clearly not made as ‘type’ studies for the purposes of Western scientific or ethnographic studies of race” (2002: 148). Understanding this intention might aid in uncovering the nature of the negotiations between subject and producer, or between producer and consumer, which enabled the images to be made. It would seem that such commercially-intended objects as Beato's and Stillfried's photographs could not be more distinct from Huxley's anthropological images produced in colonial prisons.

Intention, however, is only part of the process that imbues an image with meaning. A photograph produced without scientific intent can indeed eventually become entangled in a scientific reading. This is precisely what happened to images of members of a Japanese diplomatic mission sent to the United States in the 1860s (figure 2.9). Some of the American images were collected by Louis Agassiz at Harvard University's Museum of Comparative Zoology where he used them as visual data in his studies of racial types (Banta 1988: 19 – 20).²²

Although such slippage from one context to a drastically different one—from commercial to scientific or



Fig. 2.9. Charles D. Fredericks, *Japanese Delegate in New York, 1860–1868*, Salt Print. Collection of Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology.

vice-versa—was less common with Japanese than European-produced colonial images, the significant point here is to recognise that the meaning of Japanese images was no less mutable than that of any other photography. This is rooted in the nature of the photographic message. As Roland Barthes has argued, the photograph is a message without a code (1977: 17). A perfect analogon of reality (though not reality itself), the photographic message is a denoted message (Barthes 1977: 17). This denoted message exists at a basic, descriptive level where consensus among readers about the meanings of the message is widespread (Hall 1997: 39). But in Barthes' 'photographic paradox' a connoted (or coded) message develops on the basis of this denoted message (Hall 1997: 39). The producer imposes a connotation on the production of the image through framing, printing and other means of selection. Thus, although the message is an analogon of reality, it is also selected and constructed. The viewer, too, imposes a cultural and historical reading on the image by interpreting the message within the context of his or her 'knowledge' (Hall 1997: 28). This 'knowledge' lies at the heart of the inability of photographs to independently fix or preserve meaning.

Photographic intent, like aesthetics, also varied greatly in different colonial contexts, which allowed for a full continuum of objectives in the production of images of colonised people, ranging from dehumanising or infantilising in some cases to ennobling or spiritualising in others, even if this intent did not determine an image's ultimate meaning. As has already been mentioned, there were few of the obviously demeaning or dehumanising images commonly seen in scientific photography to be found in early tourist photography of Japan. This was inherently tied to the relatively 'positive' western notions about Japan (in terms of, for example, its status as a 'civilised' culture rather than

a colonised one) that dominated discourse about the country, as has already been suggested. However, one questions whether Japanese subjects did indeed maintain their cultural identity ‘without being shadowed by Western interpretation’ as Banta contends. This assertion neglects to consider not only that the camera was by no means an objective recording device but rather was used as an instrument of ‘western’ interpretation in choosing the subject or subject matter of the image, but more crucially, the images were read in a completely ‘western’ context, as objects that easily satiated the tourist desires they were specifically produced to fulfil.

It is clear is that whatever the level of intercultural communication between photographer and artisan, and whatever the degree of blending of European and Japanese aesthetic traditions, the resulting photography was firmly rooted in European aesthetics (and of course, technology) and more importantly, it fulfilled western collectors’ expectations. I would argue that the broader context of consumption, rather than questions of style or aesthetics, reveals the most instructive points in attempting to understand early photographic practice in Japan.

Consuming Japanese Photographs

If Beato and other photographers incorporated their ideas about Japanese aesthetics into their photography, their activities echoed larger movements in European and American art more generally. Ideas about Japanese social and material culture suffused western consciousness from opera to popular travel stories in the last half of the nineteenth century, and it was this discourse—rather than an explicit colonial agenda—that profoundly shaped early Japanese photography. Japanese art and notions of Japanese

culture had a tremendous impact on the arts of Europe and the United States, as exemplified in the works of Whistler, Rodin, Monet, Puccini and Gilbert and Sullivan, to name but a few examples. Japonism (*Japonisme*)—the fad for things Japanese—was well established by the 1860s and served “as an exotic source of inspiration for poets, prose-writers and dramatists, and several hundreds of travel books on Japan were published’ (Winkel 1991: 17).²³ Japonism helped create both the demand for particular kinds of Japanese images and the context within which they were consumed. These images provided a visual affirmation of an imaginary Japan, which had been constructed as a fairy-tale land of ancient and sometimes savage customs, of beautiful geisha, of the loyal samurai warrior, Mount Fuji and ephemeral cherry blossoms; photographs both sustain and create external attitudes towards the pictured culture (Edwards 1992; Ryan 1997).

Japonisme flourished not only because of an aestheticisation of Japanese culture, however. At the root of western gazes on Japan in the mid- to late nineteenth century, was a strong notion of Japan as a ‘civilized’ country. To be sure, it was in need of western tutelage—‘curiously civilised but hardly European’ (Winkel 1991: 17)—but its culture was viewed as far superior to that of China, India or the African continent. This admiration was often tinged with regret, however, as many foreigners held the opinion that modernity was arriving all too quickly on the shores of the ‘inscrutable’ island empire. Civilised but ‘other’, ancient and inscrutable but modernising and on the brink of irreversible change, Japan offered the western tourist an opportunity to collect images of a culture that might soon be changed forever. This sentiment is well represented in the French author Pierre Loti’s 1887 memoir/novel, *Madame Chrysanthème*. A world-wide

success, the novel painted a picture of a Japan of exquisite beauty, ancient splendour and exotic customs but also one of a civilisation on the brink of change:

It amused me to note down, not unkindly, all these details, which by the way I guarantee are true, like those of a photograph before retouching. In this country that is changing so prodigiously fast, it will perhaps also amuse the Japanese themselves, in a few years, to rediscover this stage in their evolution, written down in these pages (quoted in Edel 1986: 31).

Loti's photographic analogy is telling. Not only does it reference the evidentiary and realist paradigm of photography but it also shows the kind of salvage ethnography mentality that was so prevalent at the time, as science turned its attention to counting, classifying and recording the 'races and cultures of man'. This was most evident in the colonial context, as in India where colonial authorities and scientists used photography as part of an attempt to both control and analyse (Pinney 1997). Although Japan was not, as I have suggested, colonised in the same sense, it was nonetheless subject to western attempts to salvage its 'dying traditions' in the face of modernisation.

The salvage paradigm in ethnography was premised on the assumption of inevitable loss: "The other is lost, in disintegrating time and space, but saved in the text" (Clifford 1986: 112). The same can be said for nineteenth-century photographic practice in Japan, with its privileging of subject matter conforming to western notions of the 'authentic' and 'traditional', often with the force of stereotype (Winkel 1991: 29). Notably, tourist images did not photographically 'save' images of the modern army, trains, people in western dress, or the western-inspired architecture. Pictured instead were samurai, *jinrikisha* (rickshaws), young women in kimono, and temples: all the signifiers of the traditional that westerners saw as representing and representative of Japan. Although one does not want to draw too close a comparison between

ethnographic salvaging in colonial contexts and tourist collecting in Japan, the notion of inevitable cultural loss in the face of a stronger, superior culture is present throughout.

Collecting the images was a simple matter: they were widely sold in photography studios and curio shops in the treaty ports as individual photographs, arranged in albums (or selected by the tourist and compiled into a custom-made album by the proprietor), and postcards. Collectors who were unable to travel to Japan could purchase images through dealers in Europe and the United States.

As Japanese students received training from foreign photographers, started their own studios, and eventually dominated the business of photography in Japan, there seemed to be no disruption in the supply of stereotypical images. The changeover from western to Japanese producer had virtually no effect on the nature of the images offered for sale. This was due in part to the long shelf life of photographs: the same tourist images could be reproduced and sold again and again over several decades. For example, when a photographer closed his studio, he could easily sell his stock of images to another photographer, who in turn sold the prints to tourists. And because the photographs conformed to notions of 'traditional' Japanese culture, they remained saleable even as the gap between representation and reality grew increasingly wide. Japanese photographers, for their part, were no less willing to peddle these photographs than their predecessors. Pioneering Japanese photographer Shimo'oka Renjyo (1823-1914) might have regretted late in his life that his production and sales of tourist photography contributed to a stereotyped image of Japan (Iwasaki 1988: 25), but he, along with numerous other Japanese photographers, willingly supplied the voracious western demand for images of Japan.

An Alternative History of Japanese Photography

The early business of photography in Japan was driven, then, by the demands (for images of ‘traditional’ Japanese culture) of tourists and resident foreigners. Japanese photography cannot, however, be sufficiently understood merely through an examination of the registers of Japan’s relations with western technologies, stereotypes and power, as has been true of most scholarship thus far; one must move away from a mainly aesthetic-driven history, which privileges just a single aspect of the visual economy. I would suggest that an alternative history, which explores Japan’s internal modernising agendas, would provide a more nuanced view of the ways in which a Japanese photography emerged, and how this photography itself played a critical role in creating the modern Japanese nation. This view of Japanese photography is of particular importance to this study because of the intimate relationship between the emergence of photography as a component of nation-building and territorial expansion and the incorporation of the Ogasawara Islands into the Japanese state.

The importance of the government’s embracing of the new technology of photography has not been considered by aesthetic-focused studies of early Japanese photography. This constitutes perhaps the most glaring omission in existing scholarship and must be addressed if one hopes to expand the discussion and create alternative ways of thinking about this photography. The Meiji government sponsored increasing numbers of projects that were primarily photographic or had major photographic components shortly after taking power in 1868. Particularly in the early years when few people other than the Japanese elite could afford to have photographs taken—let alone take

photographs themselves—the role of the government in fostering the development of photography in Japan must not be ignored.

More specifically, the government's role in the creation of a 'Japanese' photography, a photography that was meant to encapsulate the identity of the modern nation, cannot be overstated. What resulted from this photography was a differently premised construction of 'Japan' than was created by tourist photography. Thus, we can speak of internal and external photographic discourses, both of which created 'Japan'. As will become clear, although these two 'Japans' were distinct constructions, there were interesting overlaps between the two. Government use of photography, particularly in its own colonial projects such as in the Ogasawara Islands, secured the technology a place as a critical component of the modern national agenda, not merely supplementing commercial photography but carving out an important role in the complex process of defining national identity. I shall discuss this in relation to the Ogasawara Islands in Chapter 3, but first, I should like to examine the ways in which photography became a part of, and simultaneously enabled, this agenda.

Early Government Photography

The country that is today called 'Japan' is a modern construct; its boundaries vigorously and sometimes violently contested as they were drawn and redrawn in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and are even today being negotiated.²⁴ In fact, however, observers—historians, politicians, artists and others—have long assumed that in spite of a very complicated history, the borders of the nation were somehow unproblematically determined by topographical boundaries. Were this true, it would

seem that the oceans surrounding the island nation have from time immemorial functioned as a shield, keeping outside influences at bay whilst at the same time fostering internal cohesion and homogeneity. This kind of geographical determinism has even been used to explain ethnocentrism in Japan as *shimaguni konjo* ('island-country mentality').

Recent scholarship has begun to show that this line of thinking is seriously flawed.²⁵ The research of anthropologists, historians and other scholars has brought to light the diversity—linguistic, regional, class and otherwise—of the past and the present in Japan. There has been an increasing questioning of the supposedly homogenous nature of Japanese society, and indeed a questioning of long-held definitions of Japanese society overall. Recognising diversity in Japanese history aids our understanding of the processes by which the contemporary nation has come into being. In other words, the realisation that the national boundaries, which were constructed during the Meiji period, for example, were done so within the context of a multitude of possibilities, rather than within the confines of geographically or culturally predetermined circumstances, opens up new ways of understanding the past. As a major historical form of the Meiji period (1868–1912), the photograph is a valuable tool in exploring this era.

Early in the new Meiji government's rule, photography became an integral part of the process of government and its efforts to define the boundaries of the nation. This process of defining sought to establish not merely the physical boundaries of the state, but indeed what it meant to be 'Japanese', who qualified for membership in the nation, and what constituted Japanese 'culture'. The issues raised by this process forced the defining not only of the national self, but also of the 'other'. The national self came to be

represented—photographically and otherwise—in large part by landscape and material culture. The ‘other’, especially in the first decades of the Meiji period, was perhaps most frequently an ‘internal other’, like the Ainu of Hokkaido, rather than an external ‘other’, such as a European, although such images were also produced. Although this section will not discuss the photographic construction of the ‘other’ in any detail, the construction of the self cannot be understood divorced from this opposition, and will be discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to the visual construction of the Ogasawara Islanders.

As was discussed in the previous chapter, the new government was faced with cultural, military and political threats (real and imagined), and a rapid but traumatic modernization process. Despite a certain amount of conservative backlash within the government and among powerful clans still indignant over their loss of power after the fall of the Shogunate, it was to photography—a new, modern, western technology—that the government often turned in order to concretise and record one version of Japanese culture and identity. This process attempted to define who and what was Japanese whilst at the same time concretising and recording who and what was the ‘other’. Photography was not the only tool used for this purpose, of course, nor was it always used in isolation. Rather, it was part of a multifaceted approach that included a wide range of legal and social reforms and changes that affected all walks of Japanese society including the educational system, marriage and travel, among others.

Kinoshita Naoyuki has characterised the photography of Meiji Japan as driven by a desire for the ‘documentary’ (Kinoshita 1999: 5). By this he means that numerous government photography projects, beginning in the early 1870s, were conceived and carried out in the heat of this desire to ‘objectively’ document—record and catalogue—

objects of material culture, landscapes, stages of industrialisation, architecture, people and other things considered important.

The photograph functioned in this way because it was perceived to be a literal, unmediated record of truth. It is an authenticating truth: “The important thing is that the Photograph possesses an evidential force, and that its testimony bears not on the object but on time. From a phenomenological viewpoint, in the Photograph, the power of authentication exceeds the power of representation” (Barthes 1993: 88-89).

This verisimilitude of the photograph has created a realist paradigm in which its evidentiary and documentary qualities are privileged, obscuring its ambiguous nature and imbuing it with a powerful authority: ‘the camera doesn’t lie’. This common-sense notion is accurate in that what was once physically in front of the camera actually existed. A photograph is an image imprinted by light reflected off an object, on a support of glass or film coated with chemically sensitised emulsion, a seemingly perfect copy of reality itself. “The image,” as Chris Jenks has argued, “which will reproduce that moment for us indefinitely, must surely stand in the purest of all correspondential relations with external reality” (1995: 23).

Thus, the photograph possesses an indexical relationship to the object it represents, as well as functioning as an icon. As Christian Metz explains, in his elucidation of C.S. Peirce’s argument, “Peirce called indexical the process of signification (*semiosis*) in which the signifier is bound to the referent not by a social convention (=‘symbol’), not necessarily by some similarity (=‘icon’), but by an actual contiguity or connection in the world: the lightning is the index of the storm” (Metz 1990: 156). The photograph, therefore, not only resembles the object of which it is an imprint (an *iconic* relationship),

it is also an index of its referent (an *indexical* relationship). It is both a physical trace of the original object and a signifier of it.

Prized for its indexical truth-value, that is to say, the perception that the photograph produced a direct copy or trace of reality, photography became an invaluable tool in the work of Japan's growing national bureaucracy as it proceeded to document its own activities.

In 1871, for example, just a few years after its incorporation into the Japanese state in 1869, the government began a massive project to photo-document the newly colonised island of Hokkaido. Renamed from Ezo to Hokkaido in 1869, the government established its prefectural capital at Hakodate, which was one of the first two treaty ports opened in 1854 (along with Shimoda), and began constructing schools, hospitals, shrines and temples, and at the same time encouraged settlement from Japan. The capital was moved to Sapporo in 1871; in the same year Horace Capron was hired away from his post as the U.S. Commissioner of Agriculture to advise the Meiji government on agricultural development, mineral extraction and other issues related to the colonisation of Hokkaido.

Although it has often been suggested that Capron initiated the photo project,²⁶ the Commissioner of the Development Commission (*Kaitakushi*) at the time of Capron's appointment, Higashikuze Michitomi, had prior interest and involvement with photography. According to entries in his diaries, he had produced his own photographs at least as early as December 1869 and attached great importance to what he saw as the photograph's ability to record an unmediated reality (Shibuya 1983: 146). By 1870 Higashikuze had already photographed Ainu women, and by 1871 he had established a close working relationship with Tamoto Kenzo (1832-1907), who later that year was

hired as the government's first contract photographer. In April, when the capital was moved from Hakodate, Higashikuze took his camera with him to Sapporo; in May, he experimented with it in the new city. The central government sent Higashikuze to Tokyo in July 1871 and appointed him to the Privy Council in November, but in April of that same year, the Development Commission had already contracted Tamoto and his assistant, Ida Kōkichi, to photograph the development of Sapporo. Capron had not yet arrived in Japan when Tamoto was sent to Sapporo.²⁷ And whilst it is very likely that Capron approved of and even encouraged the use of photography in Hokkaido,²⁸ the initial project had already been planned by the time he had assumed his post in Japan.

The important point here is to establish that as early as 1871 the Japanese government—or more specifically, an official within the government—was already starting to use photography for official projects. As we shall see, a pattern begins to emerge in the decade of the 1870s wherein officials, often with a personal interest in photography, are increasingly able to convince their colleagues or superiors that photo-documentation was a justifiable expense, in spite of its high cost.²⁹ This bureaucracy was not an externally imposed phenomenon; rather, like so much of Meiji activity, what could easily be read as 'colonial' was in fact not the result of a policy contrived in a far-off European capital but part of a concerted effort to become a 'modern nation' by using an imported technology to 'catch up' with western countries.

It was clear to Meiji officials that part of becoming a modern nation included becoming a colonial power. Although Japanese clans in the north of Honshu had had relations with the Ainu and other indigenous peoples of Ezo (Hokkaido) for centuries, including favourable trading relations enforced by military strength, there had never been

a government claiming the territory as part of the Japanese 'nation' and no settler colonisation as such. This changed with the new Meiji government, which, in addition to using economic 'justifications' for its colonial expansion, considered that its weak military, political and economic position vis-à-vis the western colonial powers left it vulnerable to western colonial expansion (as was the case with Japan's neighbours on the Asian continent). Government planners believed that becoming a colonising country would help strengthen its defences against the outside world and prevent Japan from becoming a colonised country.

Colonising Hokkaido also had another effect on Japan and its position in the world. In defining the geographical boundaries of Japan northward, the government had not only expanded its physical boundaries and obtained all the associated natural resources, it also created its own 'vanishing race' (like First Nations peoples in the North American context), its own internal other. The Japanese government invited foreign anthropologists, archaeologists and other scientists to Japan to study the Ainu people.³⁰ In an attempt to demonstrate their own 'modern' and 'civilised' culture in contrast to the supposed primitivity of their aboriginal subjects, as well as demonstrate how these subjects required Japanese tutelage in order to 'progress', Japanese government organisers prepared exhibitions of Ainu objects and people for display to the Japanese public as well as people in a host of western countries. For instance, Ainu material culture was displayed in Tokyo beginning in 1872 as well as in international expositions, starting with Vienna in 1873 (Kreiner 1999: 129). The people themselves were also displayed in 'live exhibits', for example in St Louis in 1904 and London in 1910. Predictably, the Ainu 'exhibits' were photographed by government photographers,

anthropologists and tourist photographers, their images appearing in international and domestic scientific journals as well as tourist albums, postcards and illustrated travelogues (Street 1992: 123).³¹

Although photographic documentation would eventually become an established and unquestioned component of government projects, it was still a new and untested practice when Tamoto Kenzo produced photographs of Sapporo for the government in 1871. He and his assistant Ida Kōkichi produced 158 images over the course of about one month. The photographers documented the progress being made in the Development Commission's colonisation efforts. Images of infrastructure, Ainu subjects and towns and villages were produced (figure 2.10). It appears that photographs were used in conjunction with written reports on the Development Commission's progress, which were sent to the central government. The images were sent to Tokyo in May 1872, and also exhibited in the Development Commission building (Kinoshita 1999: 59). Also in 1872, just about one year after Tamoto and Ida had produced their photographs, the Development Commission contracted the prominent, Yokohama-based commercial



Fig. 2.10. Tamoto Kenzo, *Sapporo Village #1*, 1871, Albumen Print. Collection Hokkaido University Library.

photographer Raimund von Stillfried to continue the photo-documentation. In a period of less than two months, von Stillfried, along with three Japanese assistants who were staff photographers at the Development Commission, carried on with the work started the previous year by Tamoto and Ida, photographing some identical views and buildings in order to demonstrate the progress of the area's development over time. He also produced panoramic images, Ainu studies and town scenes, some of which were displayed in Japan's pavilion in the 1873 International Exposition in Vienna.

By the time the Development Commission was decommissioned in 1882, several thousands of images of the colonisation of Hokkaido had been produced, primarily under the auspices of the Development Commission itself. The photographs, which often resembled those produced during American westward colonisation, were used initially as part of government reports.³² Eventually, some images were recycled in aid of governmental efforts to recruit potential settlers to the island (Dower 1980: 9).

The colonial images of Hokkaido are a kind of photographic possession of the island, Japanising and 'civilizing' the land. The photographic possession of Hokkaido served to visually inscribe government control over the island and impose a modern 'Japanese' identity on it. Other government photography projects, which were not 'colonial' in the same way, nevertheless shared the same inscriptive quality: control over 'Japan'. Modern Japan was a country over which the new government was still trying to establish central control and this was achieved in part through photography. It was a process intimately tied to the emperor and his symbolic place as the head of the fictive national family. In 1872, the year after the government began photo-documenting its colonial efforts in Hokkaido, it sent the Meiji emperor on the first of many imperial

progresses (*junkō*), eventually making him the first emperor to tour the four main islands of Japan (Fujitani 1996: 46).³³

The Chūgoku-Saikoku Tour was held in 1872 (28 June – 15 August) and a well-known Japanese photographer with close ties to the imperial household, Uchida Kuichi (1844-1875), was chosen to serve as the tour's official photographer.³⁴ He was hired by the Department of Navy and paid 51 yen for his work (Kasumikaikan 1997: 198). The images were compiled into an album and are fascinating, not merely because of what is revealed by the images, but also because of what is absent from immediate view: the sacred body of the emperor is completely missing from all the tour images (figure 2.11).

Photographs for the 1876 Tohoku Tour, produced by Hasegawa Kichijiro, one of Uchida's protégés, are the same: the emperor is nowhere to be seen. Instead, the images are views of places visited by the emperor, presumably photographed at or near the time of his actual visit.

The images from the Tohoku Tour were also placed in an album and were later sold to the public, with the full permission of the imperial

household. What distinguishes this album, then, from a commercial tourist album? If the images are read as nothing more than pictures of famous sites, then there would be little, in fact, to distinguish them from tourist images of scenic views and famous places. They

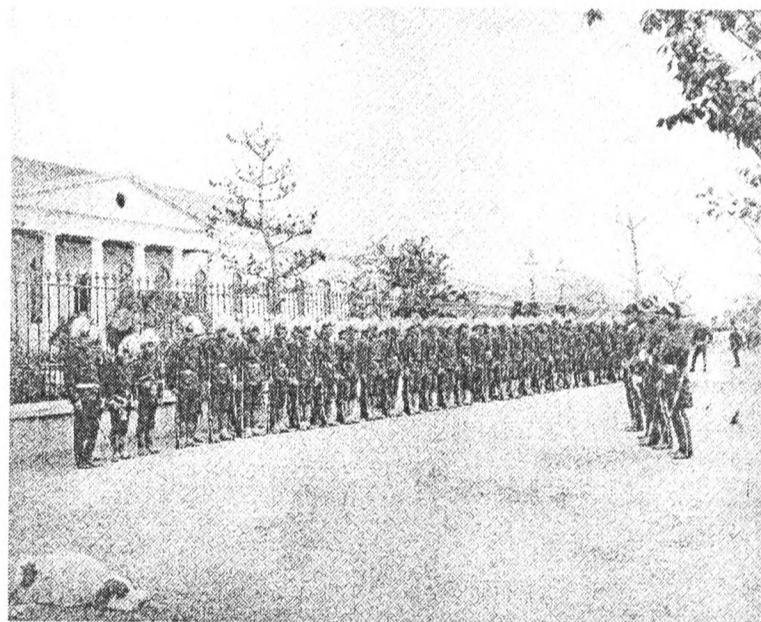


Fig. 2.11. Uchida Kuichi, *Osaka Mint*, 1872. Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum. The inclusion of a sleeping dog in the lower left corner of the photograph is perhaps a visual joke by the photographer in an otherwise serious image.

are, of course, inextricably linked to the imperial progress itself, however, and these tours were conducted in order to fully establish and confirm imperial/state rule in Japan, rule that had yet to be firmly established in the minds of the people:

In his movements throughout the realm the Meiji emperor traversed nearly the entire length and breadth of his territory while attempting to unify the land and the people under himself and the new imperial order. He did so in part by worshipping at what were to become sacred places on the official national landscape. He visited Ise and Atsuta Shrines . . . , other famous provincial shrines, imperial mausoleums, and memorials to those who had died in the Restoration (Fujitani 1996: 47).

On one level, by recording the sites of his visits, the photographs mark imperial/Japanese territory, claiming space in a similar manner to the government's colonial images of Hokkaido. They also mark out future sites of imperial importance, selected shrines and memorials that would later become important in national life (especially to the spread of Shinto, the state religion) by virtue of imperial power. On another, subtler level, however, just as the image of the pandanus tree discussed at the beginning of the Introduction (figure 1) is as marked by the absence of the imperial body as it is by the presence of the tree (the ostensible subject of the photograph), the photographs of the tours simultaneously hide and reveal the power of the imperial state over national space. The emperor can surveil the nation but the nation cannot return the gaze. As Takashi Fujitani has argued about imperial pageants: "the image of the seeing emperor elicited production of the nation-state as a bordered space of visibility within which the people could imagine themselves as objects of observation" (1996: 25). The photography 'of' the emperor operated similarly, emphasising the presence of the emperor and his gaze, whilst keeping him outside the borders of visibility.

Defining the Japanese national boundaries was not merely about territory and landscape; there were further, more self-consciously 'cultural' elements: material culture and the built environment. The photography of material culture had, by the 1870s, already been firmly established in Japanese commercial photography. That is to say, along with the obligatory images of Mount Fuji and pink cherry blossoms, commercial photographs very often incorporated architectural images of temples, shrines and houses, and portraits and scenes of daily life that almost invariably were as much (and sometimes more) about clothing, accessories and household objects as they were about exotic Japanese bodies.

There was a clearly discernable widening of photographic practices in the 1870s, as government-sponsored photo-documentation began to occur, and the state actively began to define the cultural boundaries of the nation. Government photography did not supplant commercial photography but rather supplemented it. It both supplied a differently targeted audience (domestic rather than foreign) in most cases but simultaneously targeted a similar (foreign) group of consumers who attended international expositions, for example, as I discuss below. Government-produced images thus were positioned to deny tourist photography the role of sole supplier of images of Japanese culture to the rest of the world.

In 1871, Ninagawa Noritane, who later became a driving force behind the establishment and first director of the Imperial (now National) Museum, commissioned Yokoyama Matsusaburo (1838-1884) to photo-document the Old Edo Castle, a potent symbol of the defeated Shogunate and site of the new imperial palace (figure 2.12). The combined effects of battle, neglect and purposeful demolition by the new government had



Fig. 2.12. Yokoyama Matsusaburo, *Central Gate*, 1871, Hand-Tinted Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum. Although the gate is the ostensible subject of this image, numerous human subjects are included here as they are in many other images in the album.

already damaged the castle, which had been the seat of the Tokugawa shoguns for two centuries, and Noritane intended to photographically preserve it for posterity as a part of Japan's cultural heritage. This was a kind of victory lap around the ruins of the ultimate symbol of the authority of the ancien regime, a celebration of a triumph over the past, even as its (photographic) preservation was sought. Yokoyama produced hundreds of images, sixty-four of which were hand coloured by famed *ukiyo-e* artist Takahashi Yuichi (1828-1894), compiled into an album and sold to the public. Several photographs were added to the 1878 edition, bringing the total to seventy-three.³⁵

The photographing of the Old Edo Castle can be considered Japan's first photographic self-salvage project. Much like commercial photography's interest in salvaging the purportedly dying traditions of the 'real' Japan, the new government's photography sought to preserve its selection of traditional culture through a new technology. In this sense of an ideological usage of a visual representation of the past and tradition (no matter what the specific differences were between the two versions), the visual economies of the commercial and government image worlds overlapped.

Government photographers were drawn from among the pool of commercially successful practitioners (rather than coming from an internally-trained group, for example), thus creating an environment of mutual reinforcement of techniques, knowledge and technologies between the two image worlds of government and commercial photography.

There were significant differences as well. Unlike commercial tourist imaging, however, which marketed highly stylised portrayals of the 'Old Japan' that conformed to and indeed created stereotypical views of Japanese culture, the Meiji government's photographic production did not exclude images of contemporary society.³⁶ In fact, it devoted significant resources to photographing visual signs of modernity and

industrialisation, which served as 'evidence' of Japan's emergence as a modern nation (figure 2.13). These images were produced both for the government's own consumption in bureaucratic realms, as well as for circulation among the Japanese public, a visual economy that diverged significantly from that of tourism-fuelled commercial photography.

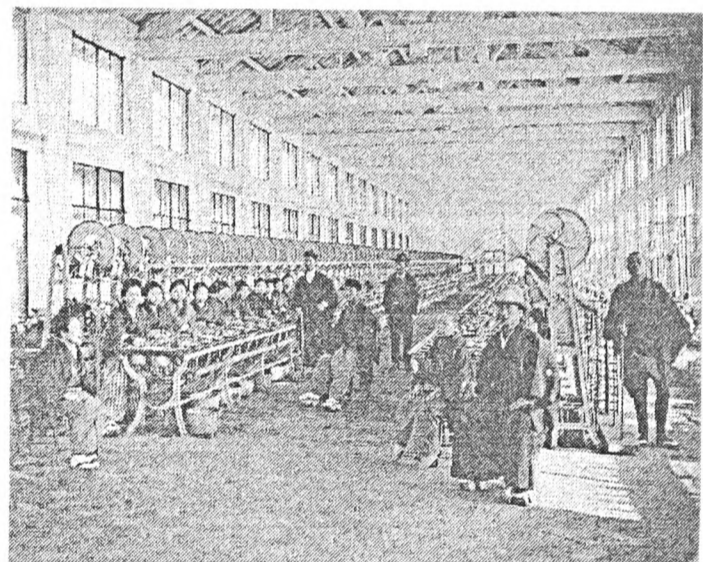


Fig. 2.13. Photographer Unknown, *Interior of Tomioka Factory*, 1877, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

The government also combined this visual salvaging with international public relations. In 1872, Ninagawa again commissioned Yokoyama to photo-document another major government project. A five-month-long survey was conducted in western Japan of old shrines, temples and their treasures, the first survey of its kind in Japan. Yokoyama produced hundreds of images for this project, in which we see photographs begin to give

form to a particular view of what constitutes Japanese culture. The images work to define the boundaries of the nation in both complementary and supplementary ways to the

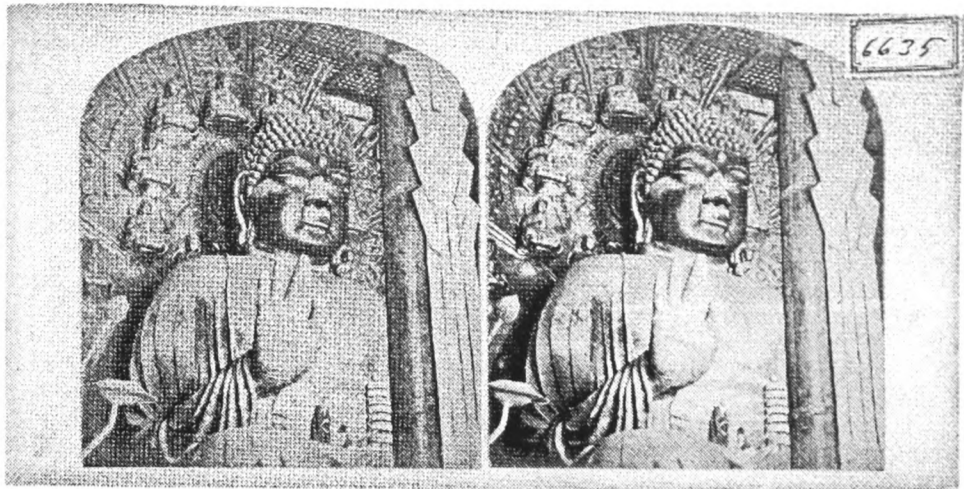


Fig. 2.14. Yokoyama Matsusaburo, *The Great Buddha at Tōdaiji*, 1872. Stereograph card. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

colonial photographs of Hokkaido and the images of the Old Edo Castle. This project sought to preserve major religious sites and cultural ‘treasures’, objects that were also the focus of the imperial progresses (figure 2.14).

It is interesting to note that in much of Yokoyama’s photography, human subjects are often incorporated into the frame. They clearly do not function as focal points in the images and probably were intended to provide an indication of scale. However, it has also been suggested that the producers intended this to record something of the contemporary human culture as well, attempting to demonstrate that ancient Japanese culture existed within the context of a living culture (Okatsuka 2000: 147). One might also conjecture that the inclusion of human subjects reflected a cultural aversion to ‘empty’ images—scenes lacking a human presence—possibly rooted in traditional attitudes toward nature. I shall return to this point in the next chapter.

Primarily because of technical reasons (lack of sufficient light and bulky, heavy equipment) the resulting survey images were mainly exteriors of shrines and temples, although when possible, objects were moved outside and photographed. By selecting and being limited to particular sites and specific categories of objects, the project materialised

an aristocratic view of what constituted Japanese tradition and culture, reinforcing hierarchies with national identity. Religious sites associated with the imperial family were photographed, as were objects from the *Shosoin* (imperial treasure house), which was opened for the first time in the Meiji period in order to facilitate the survey (figure 2.15).³⁷ This approach very clearly privileged ‘high culture’; there was no attempt to document or preserve farming artefacts or sites important to folk religions, for example.

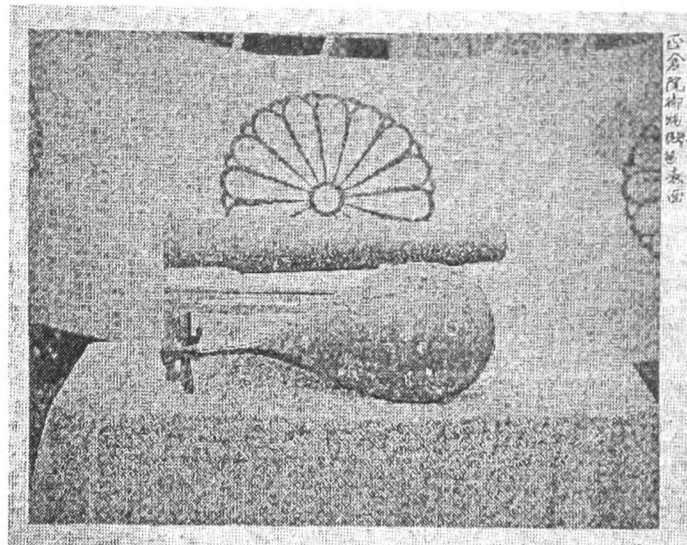


Fig. 2.15. Yokoyama Matsusaburo, *Lute from the Imperial Treasure House*, 1872, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum. This style of lute, called *biwa*, is used in Japanese court music. Note the use of the banner bearing the imperial crest as a backdrop, a visual sign that further reinforces the imperial significance of the object being displayed and the photograph itself.

Many of these early officially produced photographs were displayed in Japan’s pavilion at the International Exposition held in Vienna in 1873, suggesting that these images were viewed not only as a way to document cultural objects of historical importance but also as a way to present the nation to the outside world. This was the first time the Meiji government had used photographs to represent itself in a public, international context, and well over 1,000 photographs were used, including images collected during the colonisation of Hokkaido, the documentation of the Old Edo Castle and the survey of western Japan. The Japanese government was eager to show itself off as a budding colonial power as well, for it included images of its internal others, such as Ainu and Okinawans from the newly Japanised territories, the northernmost and southernmost possessions of the empire. Vienna presented the Meiji government with a

unique opportunity to showcase the 'new' nation-state, using photographs in lieu of objects they were unable to transport, and attempting to give a kind of material form to Japanese 'culture'.³⁸ The Tokugawa Shogunate had also used photographs to some extent in Paris six years earlier, but it purchased existing photographs rather than commissioning new ones. The Meiji government commissioned the production of images for use in various contexts, including at Vienna. Increasing numbers of governmental photographic projects were undertaken throughout the Meiji era, including a project by the Department of the Treasury to produce images for the national currency and a subsequent cultural survey in 1888, demonstrating the growing governmental acceptance of photography as a useful tool.

In the early Meiji era, then, photography had started to become normalised within the workings of the new government. Even as semicolonial photographic practice in the form of commercial photography continued to produce massive quantities of images, a 'Japanese' photography was beginning to emerge through the patronage of the new Meiji government. A dual system of photographic practice emerges; one depends primarily on external definitions of Japan and the other on internal ones. Despite a sometimes similar-appearing product, the meanings and uses of the images within each part of the dual system differed greatly. A pattern begins to emerge wherein the meanings of critical components of the newly emerging national identity, such as territory in Hokkaido, for example, and tradition, as located in ancient religious sites, for instance, were being negotiated through the medium of photography. These images were used to define what it meant to be 'Japanese'. Within this context the 'official lens' of the Japanese nation was turned on the Ogasawara Islands. As I will demonstrate in the next chapter,

photography—sometimes in concert with and sometimes in opposition to written representations—was used to construct a particular kind of representation of the Islands, more informative about ideas projected by the Japanese producers than representing anything approaching a neutral or objective recording of the realities of life in the Ogasawara Islands.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2

¹ The remaining daguerreotypes were destroyed in a fire that engulfed the warehouse of the printing shop that had printed Perry's Japan expedition journal.

² There was no photographer present during the first phase of the expedition and therefore no photographs of Ogasawara were produced in 1853.

³ In the 1860s Ueno Hikoma became one of the first and most successful early Japanese commercial photographers.

⁴ Dejima was a tiny, artificial island constructed in Nagasaki, southern Japan, through which virtually all officially sanctioned foreigners and foreign materials entered the country.

⁵ For further details on this see Dower 1980: 3, Bennett 1996: 31, Winkel 1991: 21 and Worswick 1980: 137.

⁶ This is the only surviving daguerreotype made by a Japanese photographer.

⁷ Van Meerdervort, an instructor at the Medical Institute in Nagasaki, introduced the technique to his students in about 1857. Among his students were Ueno Hikoma and Uchida Kuichi, two of the most prominent pioneers of Japanese commercial photography.

⁸ Prior to this, photographers used either the daguerreotype or calotype process. The daguerreotype process produced a positive image on a support of metal, and although more expensive than the calotype process, it was far more popular in part due to its superior image quality. The calotype process was invented by Fox Talbot in 1841. In this negative/positive process, a weak salt solution was brushed over a piece of paper. It was dried and brushed with a weak silver nitrate solution, which, after drying, rendered the paper light sensitive. It provided the advantage of being able to produce many positive prints from one negative, but was made obsolete by the introduction of the wet-collodion process. The negative-positive process introduced by the calotype, however, became the photographic standard and is still in use today.

⁹ Beato was the photographer and Wirgman the watercolourist. Due to the success of the business, Beato soon employed Japanese *ukiyo-e* artists to colour his prints. The work was set up in a kind of production line and eventually Beato hired as many as four colourists who could turn out 20-30 coloured photographs a day. Beato was the first to sell hand-coloured Japanese prints; others soon followed his lead. The skilled Japanese colourists used water-soluble paints, which allowed for a greater transparency than the oil paints commonly used in Europe and America (Banta and Taylor 1988: 48).

¹⁰ The foreign technology was far too expensive to be accessible to any but the wealthiest Japanese. Prices were extremely high: one photographer's charge for a single portrait was the "equivalent of a craftsman's monthly earnings. It was double for two people, and foreigners were charged twice that sum" (Winkel 1991: 25).

¹¹ It seems that Dammann forged a relationship with the Society when he sent visiting 'exotics' (including the Japanese acrobats in figure 2.5) to Berlin for anthropological research purposes. The Society later helped him compile the work of other photographers, which he copied and ultimately published, together

with his own images, as the *Album*. A smaller, less expensive version, *The Races of Man*, was published in London in 1875. The *Album* won a bronze medal at the 1873 Vienna International Exposition for especial scientific interest, which was also the same exposition at which the Meiji government had first showcased itself photographically for an international audience, as will be discussed later in this chapter. See Edwards 1990 and 1997 for a detailed accounting of Dammann and his photography.

¹² Although the presence of this anthropological intention distinguishes these images from the more common commercial portraits of Japanese subjects, it is important to consider that consumption of commercial images was also sometimes anthropological in nature.

¹³ See Alloula 1987, Geary and Webb 1998 and Nordstrom 1995 for discussions of colonial photography in various regions of the world.

¹⁴ See Pinney 1997, Ryan 1997 and Edwards 1992 for examples.

¹⁵ These acts of violence include the assassination of Westerners in Edo in 1861 and 1862, attacks on the British Legation in 1861 and 1863, and battles between Choshu forces firing on American, French and Dutch ships in the Shimonoseki Straights. These acts were met with severe retaliation by Western militaries (Hall, R. 1934: 323-347).

¹⁶ I can offer here only a very brief discussion of this tumultuous period in Japanese history but wish to at least note the extensive nature of these changes in order to contextualise the place of photography within Meiji-era Japanese society. Broader discussion of these issues can be found in Gordon 2003, Gluck 1985 and Pyle 1978.

¹⁷ Whilst these portraits or images of 'native types' were produced in abundance, they were generally intended to illustrate social, cultural and class roles rather than an assumed relationship between physiognomy and culture. Interestingly, at the same time photographs of Japan were becoming popular in Europe and America, woodblock prints of Europeans and Americans were becoming popular in Japan. The so-called *Yokohama-e* (Yokohama prints) depicted foreign types in ways comparable to tourist images of Japanese types. I shall further discuss this indigenous response to encountering the other in Chapter 4.

¹⁸ Much more must be said about this important genre of photography; I shall offer a more detailed discussion of type photography and its relevance to the imaging of the Ogasawara Islands in Chapter 4.

¹⁹ There were exploitative systems in place for photographers to procure 'models'. According to Dower: "In the cruder poses, the models are usually very young, often stiff and vacant-looking, sometimes physically unattractive. They are clearly sexual objects rather than participants. For some contemporary Japanese commentators, their stumpy bodies, slightly bent backs, and general facial features provoke images not of eroticism but of the wretchedly poor farm families in the Tohoku region and other deprived parts of Japan from which many young women in the treaty ports and urban centres were recruited," (1980: 6). Eleanor Hight's essay demonstrates that these systems of sexual exploitation were already in place prior to the arrival of photography in Japan (2002). She points to the complicity of Japanese men in supplying Japanese women for sex work and contends that there was a strong overlap between these sex workers and photography; the 'erotic' portraits produced by European and Japanese photographers for the foreign market largely relied on models taken from among these workers.

²⁰ This is not to imply that there is an equivalency between colonial images and scientific images, for their production and consumption patterns diverged greatly. However, it must be recognised that scientific images were produced within the same power structures that facilitated the production of non-scientific colonial images and consumed within some of the same discourses of superiority/inferiority that enabled western scientists to conceive of colonised peoples as appropriate subjects for anthropometric images, for example.

²¹ Von Stillfried achieved great success in the Japanese marketplace with his views and 'types'. He photographed the Meiji emperor in 1871 without permission and sold the images for some time before having them confiscated by the government, who thought the sales were an over-commercialisation of the divine ruler (Kinoshita 1999: 61-62).

²² Similar portraits were produced of Japanese diplomats in Paris in 1862 by Jean-Philippe Potteau for the Musée de Paris. Additional prints are in the Pitt Rivers Museum and the Musée de l'Homme.

²³ For more on Japonism, see Meech-Pekarik and Weisberg 1990.

²⁴ The possession of several islands north of Hokkaido continues to be the subject of a territorial dispute between Japan and Russia. Other islands claimed by Japan are also claimed by South Korea, Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. In short, although most of the territory that constitutes 'Japan' is not the

subject of international disagreement, there is by no means complete agreement on the boundaries of the country.

²⁵ For more on the emergence of this critical scholarship, see Morris-Suzuki 1998 and Oguma 1995.

²⁶ For example, see Morris-Suzuki 1998: 25 and Kinoshita 1999: 58.

²⁷ Capron arrived in Tokyo on 25 August (Fujita 1994: 10). Tamoto was contracted on 20 August (Kinoshita 1999: 58).

²⁸ As a federal agent for Indian affairs in Texas, Capron was involved in the suppression of Native American resistance to American territorial expansion (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 25). He (along with the numerous other American advisors working for the Development Commission) would no doubt have been familiar with the American government's use of photography in documenting western expansion, and very possibly used the U.S. Geological Survey as a model for photographing colonial development in Hokkaido.

²⁹ In Tamoto's case, for example, the Development Commission budgeted 75 *ryo* for 100 photographs plus a per diem stipend of three *ryo*. The annual budget for the entire Development Commission was one million *ryo* (Kinoshita 1999: 58).

³⁰ Edward S. Morse, Romyn Hitchcock, E. Odium and Bashford Dean were among the scholars invited to work in Japan who conducted research on the Ainu.

³¹ A similar phenomenon can be observed with respect to the treatment of the Okinawan population. This will be discussed in Chapter 4.

³² This is possibly a result of Capron's influence. Both American and Japanese photographs emphasised the claiming of unproductive, wild nature, the building of infrastructure and the primitivity of indigenous inhabitants. For more on the photography of American westward expansion, see for example Sandweiss 2002.

³³ Fujitani has found that, "since the move of the imperial seat to Kyoto in the eight century, imperial progresses had been limited to places inside or near the capital" (1996: 46). The important imperial progresses were clustered mainly in the first two decades of the Meiji era (1996: 47).

³⁴ Uchida photographed the first officially sanctioned portrait of the emperor (in formal court dress) soon after von Stillfried's 1871 negative of the emperor had been confiscated and just a few months prior to the tour. In 1873, Uchida produced another portrait of the emperor, this time in western military dress. Distribution of this portrait began in the same year, with copies being sent to city and local government offices (Kinoshita 1999: 67).

³⁵ The album, now in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum, was designated an Important Cultural Treasure by the Japanese government in the year 2000, the first photographic object to be awarded this distinction.

³⁶ Strictly speaking, commercial imaging was not entirely absent of images of contemporary society. Some postcards, for example, took as their subjects the silkworm industry (Handy 1998: 91-113). or western-influenced architecture. This was the exception rather than the rule, however, and most of the images produced for the consumption of western audiences were unconcerned with contemporary society, instead portraying a static, exclusive, and idealised vision of 'Japan'.

³⁷ The treasure house was very rarely opened; the previous occasion was during Tokugawa rule.

³⁸ See Kinoshita 1999 and Okatsuka 2000 for more on this point.

CHAPTER THREE

COLONISING THE ISLANDS: NATIONAL BOUNDARIES AND PHOTOGRAPHIC FRONTIERS

After the previous government's failed attempt to annex and colonise the Bonin (Ogasawara) Islands in the so-called Ogasawara Islands Recovery Venture in 1862, the Meiji government launched a second, successful effort at the end of 1875. As discussed in Chapter 1, the expedition was a thoroughly modern colonial project, complete with advanced technologies and modern bureaucracy. It was shaped by the government's observations of, and trepidations about, events in colonial Asia but also by its own experiences consolidating its control over Ezo (Hokkaido) (1869) in the north and the Ryūkyū Kingdom (Okinawa) (1872) in the south. In both of these post-Meiji Restoration (1868) cases, the Japanese government was confronted with indigenous populations on the one hand and foreign powers on the other. In the case of the Ryūkyū Kingdom this meant having to negotiate with China and in the case of Ezo having to deal with Russia. Political justification of its actions to the outside world and international diplomatic skills had become necessary components of modern Japanese colonial expansion.

The government's efforts were not limited to placating an international diplomatic audience, however. These external interactions were complemented by a domestic agenda that attempted to create a place in the Japanese national imagination for the Ogasawara Islands. In this chapter, I shall examine the photography of the colonial expedition, demonstrating how it was used to image the frontier of Ogasawara in the service of expanding the boundaries of the Japanese nation.

Expeditions

Having satisfied the governments of Britain, United States, Germany, France, Netherlands and Portugal that the rights of 'foreign' citizens in the Islands would be protected, representatives of four Japanese government ministries, along with thirteen Japanese settlers recruited from Hachijyō Island, landed at Port Futami on Chichi Island on 24 November 1875. The project required the coordination of a complex bureaucratic structure and placed a substantial financial burden on national resources. This reflects the serious commitment the Japanese government made to this project, as it had its colonisations of Hokkaido and Okinawa, which preceded the Ogasawaran project.

The government invested substantial resources in photographing the Ogasawara Islands and photographic production began simultaneously with the government's initial colonial expedition, rather than as a later addition. This was a new application for a new technology, having been used by the government thus far for less than a decade. Photographing the Ogasawaran expedition was part of the increasing use of photography in governmental projects, which began in the early 1870s as part of Japan's colonial expansion.¹

The photographing of colonial activities in Hokkaido, as discussed in Chapter 2, was merely the beginning of the Japanese government's photographic surveys of its colonial forays and newly acquired territories. Another venture that holds particular interest for this study is the Meiji government's attempted colonisation of Taiwan (then Formosa) in 1874 (Gordon 1965).

The Taiwan Expedition was ostensibly undertaken to avenge the killing of fifty-four Ryūkyūan fishermen by members of the aboriginal Mou-tan tribe in 1871. Both

Taiwan and the Ryūkyū Kingdom had traditional ties to China, however, and although they maintained a certain degree of political and economic independence they were under the suzerainty of the Chinese empire. The Meiji government wanted to consolidate its control over the Ryūkyū Islands at the time and was also committed to extending its influence into Taiwan. Its thinly disguised attempt to gain control over and colonise the island ultimately ended in failure but the expedition did include an official, albeit self-appointed, photographer. The photographs themselves are lost, save for one image. The photographs of the Taiwan Expedition are particularly relevant to this study because they were produced by well-known commercial photographer Matsuzaki Shinji (1850-?), who later in the same year was hired by the government to photograph the expedition to the Ogasawara Islands.

The sole extant image from the Taiwan Expedition is a portrait of a twelve-year-old girl of the Mou-tan tribe (figure 3.1).² The girl, identified as ‘Otai’, was taken from Taiwan to Tokyo on 10 June 1874.³ Matsuzaki photographed her on board the ship on 19 June (Morita 2002: 56). Otai appears in the image dressed in tribal clothing, including headscarf and earrings, holding a rake. The caption does not use her name but instead identifies only her tribal affiliation and age. What is unusual about this ‘type’ portrait is the arm jutting into the



Fig. 3.1. Matsuzaki Shinji, *Girl of the Mou-tan tribe, Taiwan, 12 years old, 1874*. Carte de visite. Collection of Morita Mineko.

frame from the upper left of the image. This arm from an unseen (and presumably Japanese) body and functioning in lieu of a stabilising rod, holds the girl’s head in

position. This was certainly at least a partly technical decision made by the photographer. How else to keep the subject steady during the long exposure time?

One wonders if this was a merely technical issue, however. Otai's head is held such that her gaze is averted from the camera, her face appearing in partial profile. The result is a shocking image of a young girl, physically compelled to sit motionless in front of a colonial camera. We know that the image was made aboard a ship that was taking her (forcefully?) far away from her family and community in Taiwan to Tokyo, where she was declared a 'savage' (*banjin*) and underwent 'Japaneseness training' or 'discipline' (*nihon ryū no shitsuke wo sareta*) (Morita 2002: 59). Otai was returned to Taiwan in November and died several years later of an unidentified illness.

The use of physical force in controlling the subject can be seen as inscribed in the photograph itself, and might serve as a metaphor for the colonial control of Taiwan that was attempted in 1874 and successfully implemented in 1895, when the island was ceded to Japan at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War. It would be easy to argue here for a(n over)reading of this image as symbolic of Japanese colonial aggression, for although there can be no doubt about the aggressive nature of colonialism in general and Japanese actions in Taiwan in particular, we cannot know whether the subject was, for example, paid for her portrait, how 'voluntary' the circumstances were, or the precise extent to which the technical constraints determined certain aspects of the image. Without further information, it is difficult to judge this complex situation, of which we have but a few moments caught within the frame of a photograph. We do not know if the negotiations between the subject and producer were mutually curious and mutually beneficial or brutally exploitative. Whilst this context has been lost it is doubtful that Otai was in a

strong position of power in whatever negotiations occurred. The more pertinent issue here is the obvious use of force that makes this image uncomfortable to view. This is absent from Matsuzaki's photographs of the Ogasawara Islanders, as we shall see below.

Relatively soon after the Taiwan expedition was completed, the government dispatched another colonial expedition. This time, the Ogasawara Islands was the destination. As mentioned, this was the government's second attempt to colonise the Islands but the first time it sent a photographer. In the thirteen years that had elapsed between the 'Recovery Venture' in 1862 and its use of painting and drawing for visual recording, it had become not only feasible for but indeed a goal of the government to utilise the new technology of photography. Before examining the expedition photographs, I shall briefly discuss pre-photographic visual representation of the Ogasawara Islands.

Ogasawara before Photography

Although a detailed examination of these and other pre-photographic visual materials, contextualising them within Japanese traditions of mapping, drawing and painting, would provide interesting historical background to the use of photography in the Islands, it is beyond the scope of this study. A brief examination of the pre-photographic visual representations of the Ogasawara Islands, however, will illustrate both the continuities that exist between photography and earlier forms of visual representation and the changes brought about by the adoption of photography on the meaning and impact of visual images of the Islands, changes that in many ways mirror the impact of photography on ways of seeing more generally.

European explorers produced maps of the Ogasawaras as early as the seventeenth century, although none of these explorers landed in the Islands. The first Japanese expedition was carried out in 1675, when shogunal authorities sent Shimaya Ichizaemon to survey the island (see Chapter 1). Shimaya's crew of thirty men spent over a month in the Ogasawara Islands and produced what are probably the earliest visual images of the Islands produced on Ogasawaran soil. One of the maps produced during the expedition shows the beginnings of an attempt to explain and contain the new space using a drawing on a page, and even assigns names to specific areas

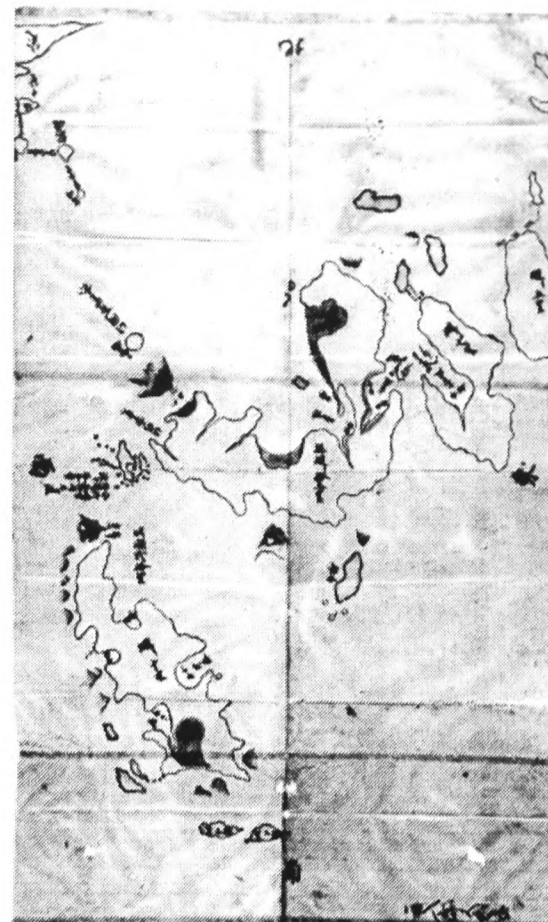


Fig. 3.2. Cartographer Unknown, *Map of Ogasawara Islands*. One of many maps based on the 1675 originals that circulated widely in Japan. Collection of Tanaka Hiroyuki.

on the island (which are still in use today) (figure 3.2). This allowed a visual representation of information garnered about the island's environment to be transported from this periphery of Japan back to the nation's centre in Edo (Tokyo).

Although there were numerous Japanese shipwrecks in the Ogasawara Islands in the decades following the Shimaya Expedition, the crews of which were required to submit reports on their experiences to the Shogunate, I have found no evidence that any additional visual representations were produced until ships from western countries began calling regularly in the Islands during the nineteenth-century whaling boom.

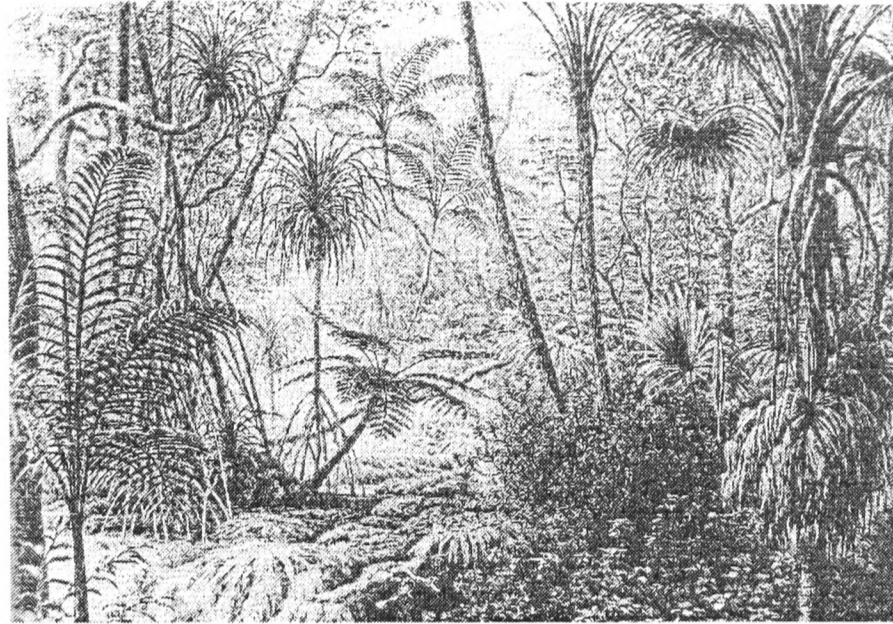


Fig. 3.3. F.H. von Kittlitz. *Illustration of native flora of the Bonin Islands*, 1828. Lithograph. From *Voyage Autour du Monde 1826-1829*, published in 1835.

The 1828 visit to the Islands by the Russian warship *Seniavin*, for example, produced images of the native flora (figure 3.3). The ship was captained by the Russian naval explorer Count (Frederic) Fedor Petrovich Lutke, who carried out an extensive scientific survey of the Islands. The realistic style and subject matter of the drawings by Russian botanist F.H. von Kittlitz reflect the application of nineteenth-century scientific inquiry to the identification and classification of unknown (to Europeans) plants. The earlier, Japanese drawings were mainly maps that indicated the position of the Islands in space, a concern that had been well satisfied by the time nineteenth-century whalers and explorers were sailing the waters around Ogasawara; they used pre-existing maps and devoted their illustrations primarily to representing flora and fauna.

In 1840 visual representations of the first human settlement (established in 1830) in Ogasawara were produced. A Japanese cargo ship, blown off course, landed in the Islands and the crew spent a total of sixty days making repairs and observing life there (see Chapter 1). The drawings produced reflect an intense interest in the material culture and social life of the ‘natives’. Earlier image-makers did not have human subjects to

picture, of course, so this change in emphasis (from landscape to human) is not surprising. Although the images do not necessarily possess the same degree of scientific inflection seen in the Russian images of Ogasawaran flora or indeed later (photographic) images of the Islanders, they nonetheless were intended to visually describe the ‘exotic’ Islanders. Considered to be outside Japan’s boundaries, the visual rendering of Islanders and objects of Islander culture reflected their exotic status to their Japanese observers. This aspect of the drawings presages the same concern that would become so prevalent in photography later in the century.

The 1853 visit of Commodore Perry to the Islands resulted in the production of numerous illustrations for his official report to the U.S. Congress. Perry was en route to Japan when he stopped in the Ogasawara Islands, arriving with two steamships and the goal of ‘opening’ Japan to foreign trade. Although some of the images do feature Islanders (figure 3.4), their main subject is clearly topography rather than human culture. The illustrations do not display the kind of ethnographic curiosity present in the earlier, Japanese images; they are instead primarily about exploiting resources and illustrating



Fig. 3.4. William Heine, with figures by Eliphalet Brown, Jr, *Kanaka Village. Bonin Islands.*, 1853 – 1856, Lithograph. In *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron [...]*, by Francis Hawks, 1856.

geographical location. The relatively un-exotic nature (to Perry) of the population, its small size, and the main goals of the expedition must have contributed to this particular focus. The Shogunate was well aware of Perry's expedition and his interest in colonising the Islands. President Buchanan had presented several copies of Perry's illustrated narrative of his Japan Expedition to the members of Japan's first diplomatic mission to Washington, DC in 1860 (Arima 1990: 41).

The next official Japanese government expedition did not come until 1862 when the government developed a colonisation plan. During this expedition, Obana Sakusuke (1829-1901), who later became Japan's first colonial governor of the Islands, produced a set of drawings and paintings after originals by the official expedition illustrator, Miyamoto Motomichi. Obana, a skilled amateur watercolourist and sketch artist, produced work depicting a wide range of

subjects, including detailed botanical and zoological paintings (figure 3.5).

Notably absent are portraits of the non-Japanese First Settlers, although their presence is duly noted. In this painting,

for example, the names and locations of First Settler homes are indicated,

suggesting that colonial administrators were interested in mapping the existing settlers' locations, possibly for use in planning Japanese settlement (figure 3.6). Obana painted numerous landscape images, which depict scenes using a relatively 'realistic' perspective that was nonetheless painted in order to include extremely wide, all-encompassing views



Fig. 3.5. Obana Sakusuke, *Various Shells*, 1861, Watercolour on Paper. Collection of Ogasawara Village.



Fig. 3.6. Obana Sakusuke, *View of Ōmura, Chichi Island*, 1861, Watercolour on Paper. Collection of Ogasawara Village. Homesteads belonging to several First Settlers, including John Bravo, are indicated in this painting. Bravo was also photographed during the colonial expedition in 1875; these images are included below in figures 3.18 and 3.25.

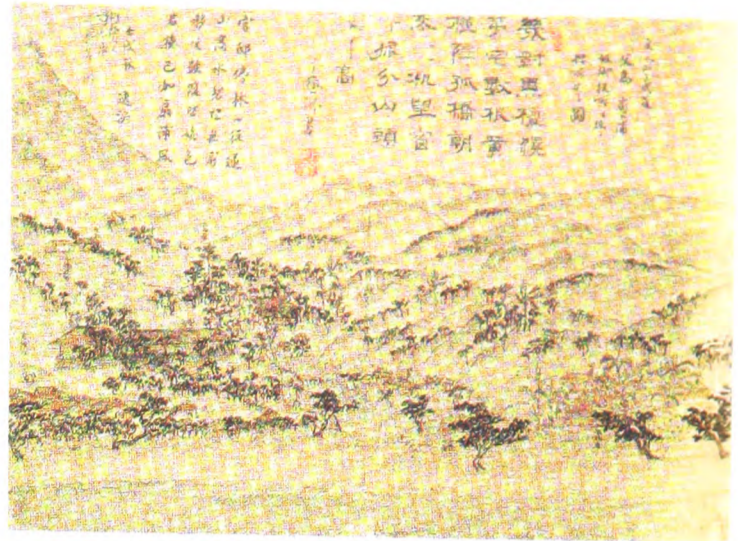


Fig. 3.7. Obana Sakusuke, *View of Sakaiura, Chichi Island*, 1861, Watercolour on Paper. Collection of Ogasawara Village. This painting combines poetry with practical information, indicating the location of the colonial office as well as Japanese settler dwellings.

in proportions that were not rendered to scale or from an aerial point of view; these qualities were impossible for Matsuzaki's lens to duplicate.⁴ The paintings reflect traditional composition and placement of poetry (written in calligraphy and extolling the beauty and virtues of the place featured in the painting) within the frame of the image, also adding writing (in normal script) to indicate places and points of interest (figure 3.7).

As I will discuss in the next section, one can detect certain influences from, or continuities between, these pre-photographic visual materials and the later photography that was produced under the auspices of Obana Sakusuke by photographer Matsuzaki Shinji. Pre-photographic visual forms, such as those briefly described above, in many ways anticipate the early photography of Ogasawara. Mapping and drawing, for example, share with photography the rendering of life into two dimensions, reducing the living world into a contained and motionless space. This capacity to reduce makes it possible, for example, for maps, drawings and photographs alike to transport miniaturized, two-dimensional versions of people, places and objects.

The belief that photography could record reality in unmediated terms, however, established the new technology into a position of authority not enjoyed by previous visual forms. This quality in particular encouraged the government's use of photography. Early government photography projects such as documenting the colonisation of Hokkaido and surveying religious sites and cultural treasures, as discussed in the previous chapter, were undertaken with this drive to record and preserve. The government also understood that the unlimited reproducibility of photographs made it possible to disseminate images as never before, images that by virtue of their unmediated recording of the 'truth' provided a powerful tool to influence public knowledge. As we shall see, the photographing of the Ogasawara Islands during its second colonial expedition in 1875 was one of the earliest examples of the Japanese government's sponsorship and use of photography within this agenda and was purposefully designed to take full advantage of the new technology.

Preparing to Photograph

Although there is no direct evidence to suggest that Matsuzaki was familiar with pre-photographic visual representations of the Ogasawara Islands, Obana, the government official who hired him, was personally responsible for producing some of the images. As a high-level government official, Obana was likely to have had access to, and might have studied, the visual materials produced by previous Japanese expeditions to the Islands, as well as reports from shipwrecked Japanese sailors, in order to prepare for his colonial mission.

At Obana's behest, the Tokyo-based photographer Matsuzaki Shinji was retained as the expedition's official photographer. Photographs of 'exotic' places—those areas

that existed on the margins of Japanese awareness—fetched a high price in the photographic marketplace of 1870s Japan. Matsuzaki had himself profited by selling his photographs of Taiwan; soon after returning to Japan from the expedition he offered images of Taiwan for sale to the public, advertising in Tokyo newspapers. He apparently profited handsomely from selling the images at a high price and gained a good reputation in the process.⁵ This was certainly an incentive for a commercial photographer such as Matsuzaki to want to produce images of areas that lay beyond the public's general awareness. From the government's point of view, however, photography was still a costly and cumbersome enterprise in the 1870s and sufficient justification would have been needed in order to employ the services of a photographer.

Obana argued the case for hiring a photographer in a letter to the Home Ministry dated 25 October 1875. The Home Ministry was in due course convinced and hired Matsuzaki to photograph the Islands (Morita 2002: 100-101). Morita has suggested that Obana might have become familiar with photography and its potential applications during an official visit he made to Europe during the rule of the previous government (2002: 100). To Obana, photographs of the Ogasawara Islands would provide useful information to future settlers to the Islands, for instance helping them gain familiarity with the topography and climate; he was also concerned that the Japanese public did not have sufficient awareness of the Islands as being under Japan's control and believed that photography would be a useful tool in generating a national and indeed international awareness of the Ogasawara Islands as existing within the boundaries of the Japanese nation (Kinoshita 1999: 60-61). Matsuzaki was thus contracted to produce 1,000 photographs of the Ogasawara Islands (Morita 1994: 36).

Obana's success in securing the funds to hire Matsuzaki (and one assistant, whose name has not been recorded) reflected a new but growing development in the government's attitude towards photography that had begun with earlier projects such as the photographing of the 'development' of Hokkaido. Considering the ways in which the government valued photographs—primarily as objects in which the truth had been inscribed—it is not at all surprising that the Ogasawara expedition was among the projects chosen for photo-documentation in the early years of the Meiji period. Photography represented a new frontier in technology, and must have seemed the perfect instrument to record the newly incorporated frontier of the nation.

The Expedition Photographer

Expedition photographer Matsuzaki Shinji was a brilliant businessman in addition to being skilled with the camera. Matsuzaki's acumen in realising the commercial potential of photographing the government's expedition to Taiwan, despite the risks involved in the military operation and the expense he personally incurred in accompanying the expedition party, is impressive. As mentioned above, he profited financially and enhanced his professional reputation through the sales of his photographs of 'exotic' and dangerous Taiwan. A newspaper reporter for the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*, Kishida Ginkō, also a member of the expedition party, published an article about Otai, the young girl featured in one of Matsuzaki's portraits (see figure 3.1, discussed above). Matsuzaki capitalised on this by advertising the image for sale after the article was published.⁶ Although it is not known how many photographs Matsuzaki

ultimately sold, it is not unreasonable to assume his sales were high, based on the publicity he received and the advertisements he placed in the newspaper.

At the very least, Matsuzaki's work in Taiwan attracted the attention of Obana Sakusuke, who hired him as the official photographer for the Japanese government's expedition to the Ogasawara Islands. Matsuzaki took full advantage of this prestigious government appointment and placed an announcement in a newspaper on 9 November 1875 stating that his photography studio would be closed whilst he was in the Ogasawara Islands on assignment for the Home Ministry (Morita 2002: 113). Upon his return to Tokyo, Matsuzaki applied the lessons he had learnt from selling his images of Taiwan to the marketing of his new products. He sent a letter reporting on his activities in Ogasawara to Kishida at the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*, who published it in his newspaper on 12 December 1875. Impressively, this occurred whilst Matsuzaki was still working in Ogasawara.⁷

The letter provides travel details, such as departure and arrival dates, the names of important ministers on the expedition and other information. He compares the climate and landscape to Taiwan and provides population statistics. He also provides some interesting details about the Islanders themselves:

It is a custom of the natives to catch and eat sea turtle. They also keep the carapaces and trade them for various products brought by visiting whaling vessels. There are only two Japanese [in the Ogasawara Islands], both women. The rest [of the inhabitants] are English, American, black and the like. Considering that both housing and clothing are of European style, the quality is extremely crude. Surprisingly, this makes them all the more charming. In any case, I take my photographs daily and would be most honoured for you to see them (quoted in Kamei 1991: 91 - 92).⁸

After providing some more information about the exotic fauna found in Ogasawara (particularly the endemic large bat) and cultivated fruits and vegetables, he

tells Kishida about a night he spent at the house of one of the 'natives', due to the arrival of a typhoon that prevented the expedition party's return to their ship. They were served 'European alcohol' such as gin and potatoes fried in turtle oil (Matsuzaki did not find this palatable). He was surprised to find that although everyone was of 'European stock' and had recently arrived in the Islands, they were not very sociable with each other, and there was nothing enjoyable about life there. As a result of these conditions, the only activities people engaged in were eating and sleeping. There was no correspondence with foreign countries and no political system in the Islands. Although it seemed there were 'free and independent manners and customs' (*jishu jiyū fūzoku*), it was actually a very inconvenient lifestyle (Kamei 1991: 90-93).

Matsuzaki's use of the term 'dojin' (native), a derogatory word also used for other colonised Japanese subjects, such as the Ainu people of Hokkaido, that literally means 'dirt person',⁹ to describe people he identifies as primarily European, and the condescending and sometimes derisive tone with which he describes them, locates him solidly within the colonial project for which he was working. In other words, despite the faith that was placed in the technology of photography to innocently record 'reality', the photographer himself made no pretence as to his generally disdainful attitude toward the 'natives'. His temporary confusion at the poor state of dwellings and clothing despite their European pedigrees, however, betrays the conflict that permeates the entire colonial project: how to render the European settlers as 'natives' inferior to the Japanese and therefore 'justifiably' subject to Japanese colonial rule, whilst simultaneously holding 'the west' up as a model for 'civilisation and enlightenment' (*bunmei bunka*).

This is not to suggest that there was necessarily a conscious recognition of this conflict either by Matsuzaki himself or more generally among those in the government responsible for colonising Ogasawara. Rather, this tension between the idea of ‘the west’ as a model of civilisation to emulate and Western settlers in Ogasawara as inferior beings suitable for rule as colonial subjects runs through the photography of the Islands. This tension is part of the context within which images of the Islands must be read in order to attempt to understand the complex relationships among photography and colonialism in the Ogasawaran context.

Images from an Expedition

This article was published in the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* exactly two months after Matsuzai’s letter to Kishida appeared in the same publication:

12 February 1876

The photographer Matsuzaki Shinji, of Nakahashi Izumi-cho, who was a member of the expedition to the Ogasawara Islands in December of last year, has gathered together a most remarkable collection of photographs of scenic views and people of the Islands. He has obtained permission to reproduce and sell these photographs and the reader is urged to purchase and view them. This way, neither passage nor lodgings are required in order to go sightseeing in this unusual place (quoted in Kamei 1991: 94).¹⁰

Capitalising on this excellent publicity, Matsuzaki offered images of the Ogasawara Islands for sale to the public by advertising in the same newspaper on 9 March 1876. ‘Large’ photographs were available for purchase in a set of twenty-five (twelve yen and fifteen sen) or as singles (seventy-five sen). ‘Small’ photographs were offered only as a set of twenty-five (at a cost of one yen and fifty sen).¹¹

Although he was contracted to produce 1,000 images for the government and received permission to sell an unlimited number to the general public, there are relatively

few surviving examples of Matsuzaki's photographs of Ogasawara. As far as can be determined there is a total of sixty-seven images held in the collections of the following: Tokyo National Museum, National Archives, Ogasawara Village Department of Education and a private collection. There is one set of twenty-five images, each printed from different negatives, in both of the national collections; each set contains vintage prints from the original negatives. The six privately held images (arranged in a souvenir album of photographs from all over the country) are vintage prints of certain landscape scenes also found in the image sets belonging to the two national institutions. The eleven photographs held by the Ogasawara Village Department of Education do not occur in the other collections.

Although on one level all the images are about the nation and inherently tied to national interests through the original context of their production, we must also consider the exchange value of these images within a visual economy in addition to their representational content (Poole 1997: 11). As Poole has argued, examining exchange values aids our understanding of images as they circulate through time and space (Poole 1997: 11), gathering differently configured meanings as they move from point of production, to collection, to archive and, finally, to academic exploration. I shall therefore consider each collection—as it is now constituted—as a body of images related on several levels to other surviving images from the expedition within the visual economy of images of the Ogasawara Islands. I begin with a consideration of the national collections, followed by the images found in a private collection, and finally the set of images archived by Ogasawara Village.

The Nation

The two sets (held in the National Museum and National Archives) of the twenty-five photographs are comprised of albumen prints of slightly varying sizes, averaging about 21cm x 27 cm, which one can assume were the 'large' size photographs Matsuzaki was selling to the public.¹² Affixed to the bottom right corner of the verso of each print is a label stamped with a vermilion seal that indicates Matsuzaki's name and 'Ogasawara Islands Expedition' (*Ogasawarajima Shucho Matsuzaki Shinji*). The versos of the prints are also captioned with general descriptions of the subject depicted.

The image of the young pandanus tree discussed in the Introduction (see figure 1) is one of the images in the national collections. This image, along with the twenty-four other photographs, was used to illustrate the official expedition report. Although no written records of the accession have survived, the Home Ministry probably distributed them to the Museum and Archives after having receiving them from the photographer, most likely before he was allowed to offer the photographs for sale to the public in March 1876.¹³

Although obligated to provide the government with 1,000 photographs of the Ogasawara Islands, Matsuzaki's contract did not specify whether this was to consist of 1,000 unique images or if this total could include multiple prints produced from a given plate. It is unlikely, however, that he would have been able to produce such a large number of unique glass plate negatives, given the technical, logistical and financial constraints involved in such a massive undertaking. Matsuzaki employed the then state-of-the-art wet collodion negative process, which, although a highly advanced technology that produced excellent quality, high-definition negatives, was nonetheless extremely

cumbersome and complex, and required him to carry his equipment, chemicals and even darkroom with him to the field. In order to produce a photograph, he would have had to coat a glass plate with collodion (a viscous liquid mixture of guncotton dissolved in ether) and sensitise it in silver halide, before immediately exposing it in his camera for several seconds. The plate then had to be developed while it was still wet.¹⁴ Successful exposure required very bright light (in other words, sunlight) and due to the lack of any other lighting options in the Islands, Matsuzaki was entirely dependent upon the weather in order to create a useable negative.¹⁵

In all likelihood, then, the Japanese government expected an unspecified number of glass plate negatives with numerous copies, rather than 1,000 unique prints, for distribution to its various ministries and even the Meiji emperor, who was presented with a specially boxed set of images (Morita 2002: 124).¹⁶ Factoring in bad weather days, mistakes, and the short period of fourteen days on the ground that the photographer had in Ogasawara, Morita has estimated that Matsuzaki produced a total of fifty negatives (about four to five per working day), later printing twenty copies of each to submit to the government (Morita 2002: 124).¹⁷

The Matsuzaki images in the national collections were, as I have suggested, produced as part of a project to bring the Islands under Japanese control. The images provided a kind of colonial evidence of the Islands, 'documenting' the way in which the frontier territory of Ogasawara was being brought into the boundaries of the Japanese nation. Based on subject matter, the images can be broadly divided into three categories: landscape, Japanese and First Settler. I define as landscape those images that are limited to nature scenes and picture no obvious evidence of either culture, instead showing only

the ‘natural’ environment of the Islands. Japanese images are those that feature members of the Japanese expedition party or Japanese material culture. First Settler images include those of First Settlers themselves, their descendants or their material culture. As will become clear, these categories are not unproblematic; many images exist uncomfortably in the interstices between two categories. For heuristic purposes, however, these categories are useful in analysing the collection because they provide a basis for understanding what was important—worth picturing—to the producers of the images.

The images are divisible into nearly equal numbers of each type (seven landscape, nine Japanese and nine First Settler images), which might seem to imply a ‘balanced’ presentation of the Islands (at least within the confines of this set of images), giving approximately equal weight to three areas of Ogasawaran life. Viewing the collection as a whole, however, leaves one with the feeling that the Islands were almost *terra nullius* and that there was not much of a society in place for a Japanese colonisation to disturb. For example, the seven landscape images, such as this beach scene (figure 3.8), are devoid of all human references. A kind of wild nature is imagined here, making it possible to believe that the Islands in these photographs are completely uninhabited. The feeling created is one of remoteness, wildness—an utter lack of civilization.

They also exhibit a concern with aesthetics that reflect the photographer’s background as a commercial producer and his concerns with future profits. The framing and composition of many of the landscape images, it should be noted, reflect traditional Japanese artistic emphases such as the importance of ‘empty’ space and the use of objects (in this case the branches of a tree) in the foreground of the visual space to create the sense of revealing a scene (figure 3.9).¹⁸ This could reflect an unconscious expression of



Fig 3.8. Matsuzaki Shinji, *View of the Northern Coastline of Oki Village, Haha Island, Ogasawara Islands*, 1875, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum. This is actually a southwestern, not northern, view.



Fig. 3.9. Matsuzaki Shinji, *View of the Entrance to Futami Bay as Seen from Shūzaki Village, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands*, 1875, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

Japanese ways of seeing or even a conscious effort to produce images of an exotic scene represented in a style that would function in accord with the pre-existing visual codes of potential customers. In either case, this overlap illustrates how the images are produced and consumed within the cultural systems that enmesh them. Recognising the importance of these systems enables our understanding of the images as we trace their trajectory through the visual economy (Poole 1997: 10).

Matsuzaki's representation of empty, untamed nature might have had a generally negative connotation in a society that had little room for its romanticisation, in contrast to Europe and North American societies (Ohnuki-Tierney 1998: 46). Wild nature was associated with the dangerous and dirty, as I shall discuss in more detail in Chapter 5, and although one might reasonably assume that a certain number of these images would have been considered of informational value (displaying topography, for example) to the government and future settlers, it is also possible that viewers might have been interested in seeing a safe and contained representation of something considered beyond civilisation.

These influences are even more pronounced in Obana's pre-photographic visual representations of Ogasawara, as we saw above. Certainly, the landscape images also fulfil one of Obana's stated goals of aiding settlement efforts by providing documentation of the terrain in order to familiarise future colonists with the Islands, informing them of the topological conditions they would be faced with in developing their settlement. The Islands are presented as ripe for colonisation.

Considering the Japanese cultural predisposition to abhor wild nature, it is not surprising that the remaining photographs in the collections explicitly image people or at least present evidence of human culture. This human presence is established as much as possible, however, as being Japanese rather than First Settler in nature. This image of a stone memorial left by the first group of Japanese colonists in 1862, for instance, while not featuring Japanese people at all, nonetheless speaks of Japan's historical connection to the Islands, leaving the impression that there is a long history of Japanese life there (figure 3.10). The memorial itself is in a state of slight disrepair, making it appear older than its relatively recent vintage. The imaging of this artefact, whose history links Japan to Ogasawara, reads like proof to a claim of Japanese ownership of the Islands: 'We were here first.' In fact, the memorial pictured here was erected just thirteen years before the photograph was taken and over thirty years after the original (non-Japanese) settlers first established their colony in the islands. An additional photograph pictures another seemingly ancient memorial, which was also erected in 1862 (figure 3.11).

The creation and emphasis of a strong historical connection was extremely important to the Japanese government's colonisation plans, for, as discussed in Chapter 1, it was this connection that was successfully exploited in justifying the eventual

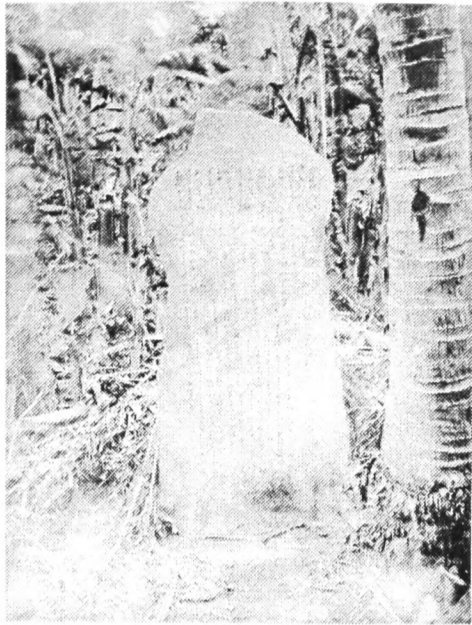


Fig. 3.10. Matsuzaki Shinji, *Memorial Erected by Pioneer Settlers, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands, 1875*, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum. The inscription on the memorial proclaims a history of Japanese control of the Islands.

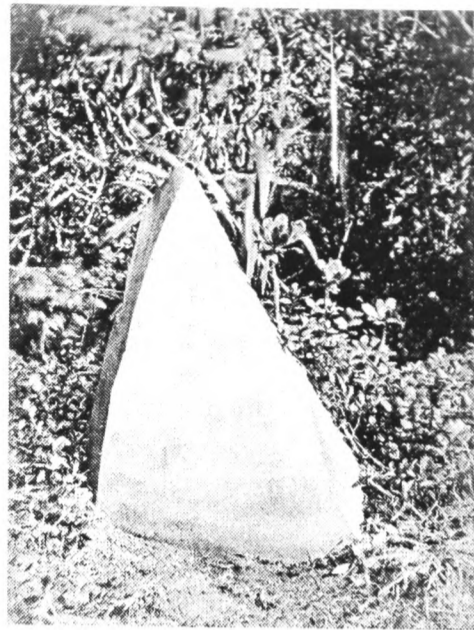


Fig. 3.11. Matsuzaki Shinji, *Memorial Erected by Pioneer Settlers for those who Perished in Shipwrecks, Oku Village, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands, 1875*, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

annexation of the Islands to the international community. Their success had more to do with the U.S. Congress's lack of will to colonise the tiny island chain after a newly 'open' Japan and advancing naval technology made an Ogasawaran coaling station unnecessary, than with a fear of encroaching on Japanese territory and protests from what was then a militarily unthreatening country.

As important as the positing of a historical connection was to the Japanese case for colonisation, there was little photographable evidence that could 'prove' this. What little evidence existed was photographed, but as we have seen, this resulted in only two images. The contemporary, colonial Japanese presence was, by contrast, both abundantly available and very photographable. The Japanese and British warships, the *Meiji Maru* and the HMS *Curlew*, anchored offshore in Port Futami show the Japanese presence but also a foreign (British) interest in, or possibly even a threat to, Japanese interests in the

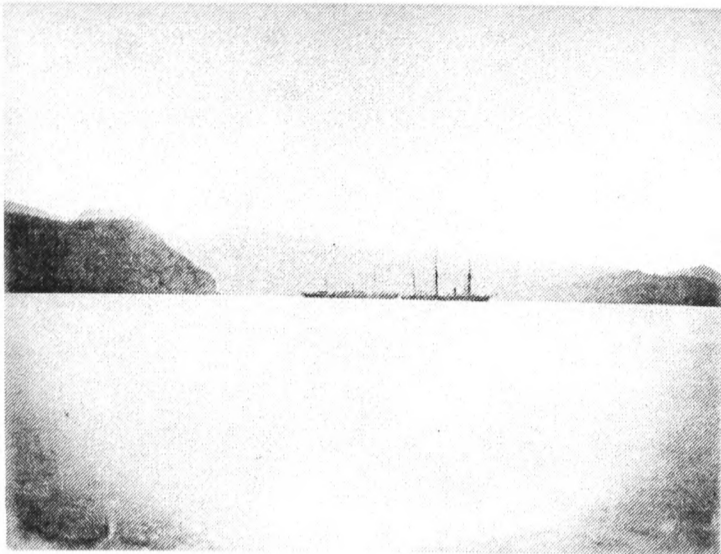


Fig. 3.12. Matsuzaki Shinji, *View of the Meiji Maru and the British Man-of-War HMS Curlew in Futami Bay, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands*, 1875, Albumen Print.

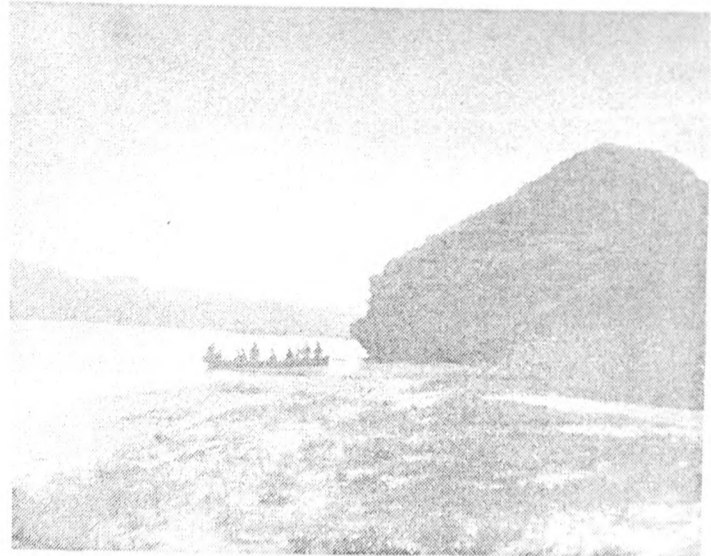


Fig. 3.13. Matsuzaki Shinji, *View of the Entrance to the Bay from the Kiyose Coast, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands*, 1875, Albumen Print.

Islands (figure 3.12).¹⁹ A Japanese crew from the *Meiji Maru* about to make land further emphasises the Japanese colonial intent here (figure 3.13).

In what is perhaps the most aggressively and obviously colonial image in the collection, sailors from the *Meiji Maru* are shown in a small boat, possibly one of the rowboats used to transport members of the expedition party from the anchored ship to the shore. The structure visible just offshore in the water is a turtle pen, which was used to keep live turtles, an important source of both income and food to Island families.²⁰ The men wear military uniforms and the sailors on the right hold a Japanese flag, which they appear to be about to plant on the pen (figures 3.14a-b). The Islanders who constructed and maintained the pen have been completely elided from the scene; the photograph is not about them. In fact, there are no images ‘about’ the Islanders’ connection to their land or property (with the exception of their dwellings), and there is a general lack of concern with picturing the Islanders. In lieu of the turtle pen’s owners, Japanese military men and the ultimate national symbol of Japan, the *hinomaru* flag, have been inserted.²¹

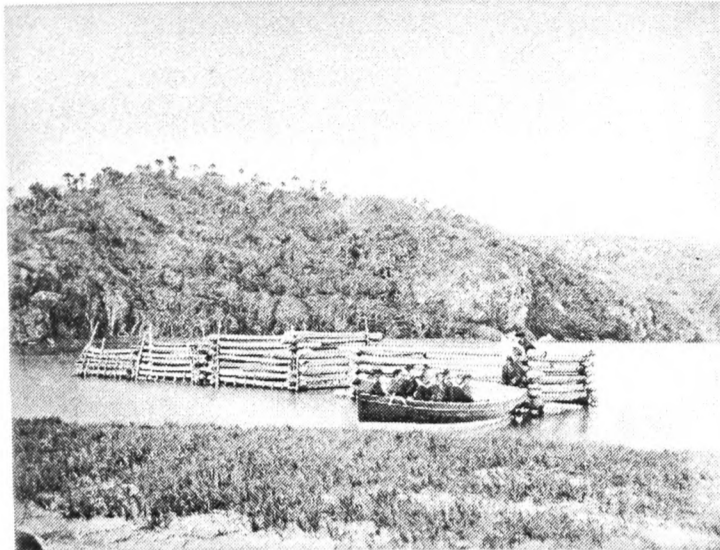


Fig. 3.14a. Matsuzaki Shinji, *View of Turtle Pen at Kiyose, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands*, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

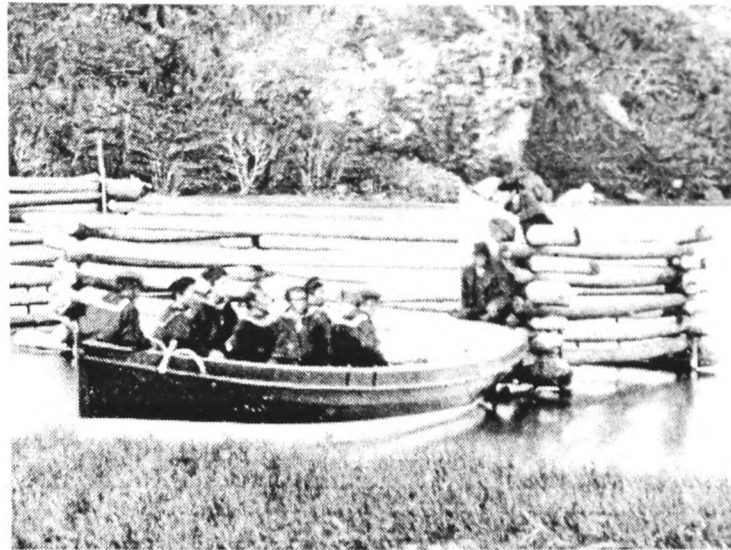


Fig. 3.14b. Detail of 3.14a. Sailors from the *Meiji Maru* plant a Japanese flag on a turtle pen.

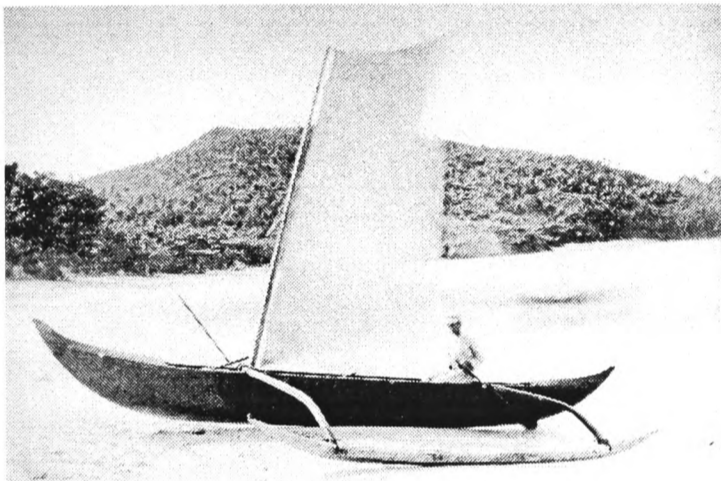


Fig. 3.15. Matsuzaki Shinji, *View of an Islander's Canoe on the Beach at Ogiura, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands*, 1875, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

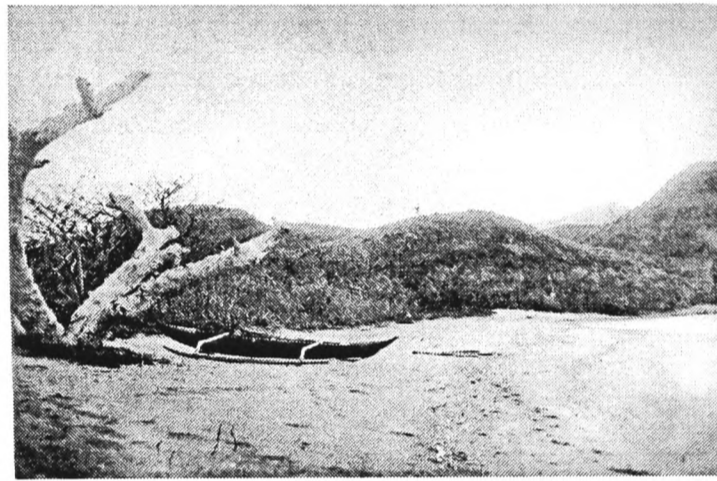


Fig. 3.16. Matsuzaki Shinji, *View of Kiyose from Shūzaki Village, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands*, 1875, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

Other images more subtly inscribe the Japanese colonial presence. In this photograph, a sailor from the *Meiji Maru* sits in a Hawaiian-style outrigger canoe with sail, a then common form of ocean transportation in Ogasawara (figure 3.15).²² Viewed in comparison with the image of a beached canoe (without paddler) (figure 3.16), which reinforces the deserted quality of the landscape pictured in the landscape images, it seems that the canoe (a symbol of local culture) has been co-opted by the Japanese sailor.

In this image, two Japanese men, probably expedition officials in another kind of uniform—western suits—appear in stark contrast to what might have been seen as the ‘wildness’ and ‘uncivilised state’ of the island (figure 3.17). Perhaps this signified the beginnings of a Japanese ‘manifest destiny’ in the

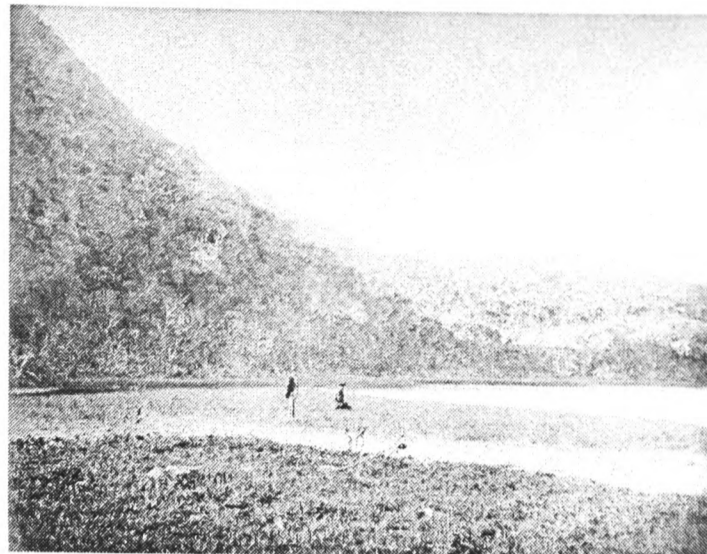


Fig. 3.17. Matsuzaki Shinji, *View Toward Oku Village from the Kiyose Coast, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands, 1875, Albumen Print.*

Ogasawara Islands; they were there to reclaim the Islands and tame nature, harnessing it in so-called productive ways. These images serve to ‘write’ the Japanese into the landscape, their uniforms emphasizing their official power.

Although the majority of the photographs quite directly mark the presence of the Japanese expedition or feature untamed landscapes, First Settlers have not been excluded. These are photographs of the Bravo and Tewcrab families, posed in front of their houses (figures 3.18, 3.19). Although the images yield certain information about the subjects

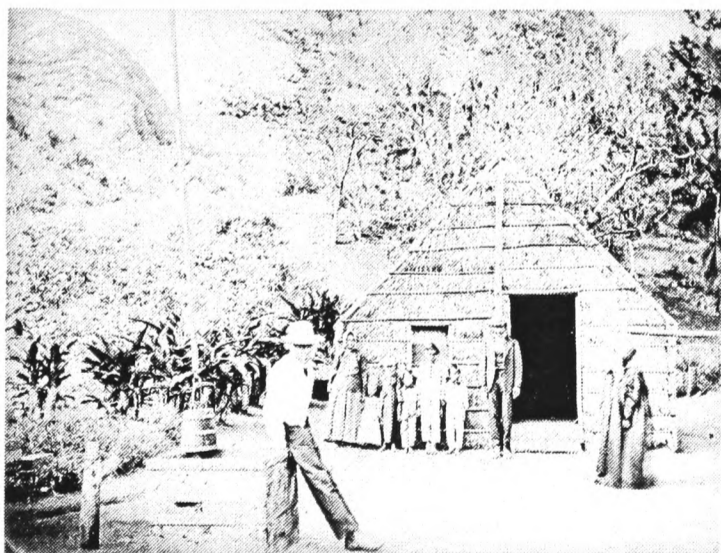


Fig. 3.18. Matsuzaki Shinji, *The Household of the Portuguese John Bravo, resident of Oh Village, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands, 1875, Albumen Print.*

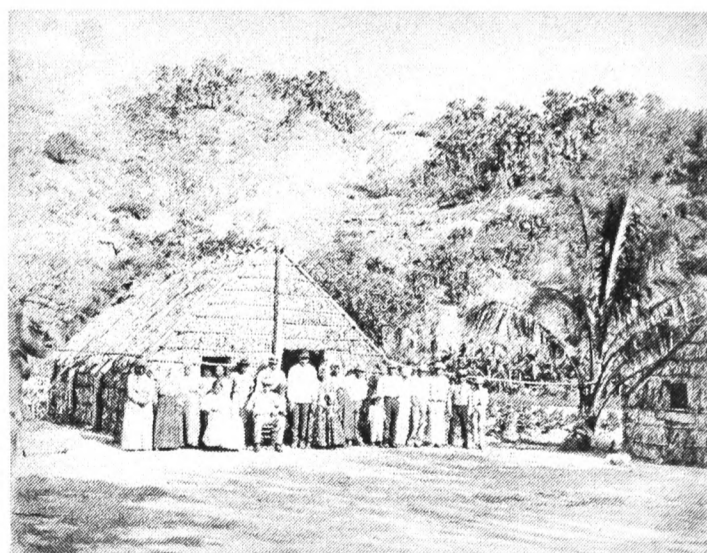


Fig. 3.19 Matsuzaki Shinji, *The Household of James Tewcrab of Oh Village, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands, 1875, Albumen Print.*

themselves, such as housing type and clothing, more is revealed about the Japanese producers than the First Settler subjects. There is an unexpected lack of scientific intent evident in the images, with none of the dehumanising colonial techniques often employed in the photography of Ainu people, for example, or of peoples colonised by the European powers. One might have expected to see a certain degree of such photographic treatment of the First Settlers, who, after all, were in the process of being incorporated as subjects in the Japanese Empire. Instead, there is a relatively respectful if distant treatment of First Settler subjects in this collection, utterly lacking in intimacy but not oppressively scrutinising. There is no sign of the disciplining hand Matsuzaki used in producing the image of Otai (see figure 3.1) discussed above. Nevertheless, the power relations are clear in these images. The Japanese government was reasserting its claim over the territory and was announcing its control in no uncertain terms to the settlers and to its own citizens.

Aside from the Bravo and Tewcrab family portraits, there is only one other image picturing First Settlers (an image of three farmers) in the entire official collection. The six remaining First Settler images contain only traces of First Settler material culture, and function as indirect records of First Settler existence with a complete absence of human subjects within their frames. The farm might be shown, as here, but where is the farmer (figure 3.20)? The pile of turtle carapaces and pigpen are there, but what about the owner (figure 3.21)?

Interestingly, some of the most exoticising images in the national collections are in this category of image. They do not exoticise human subjects directly, rather, they are combinations of First Settler material culture and the 'natural' landscape, resulting in

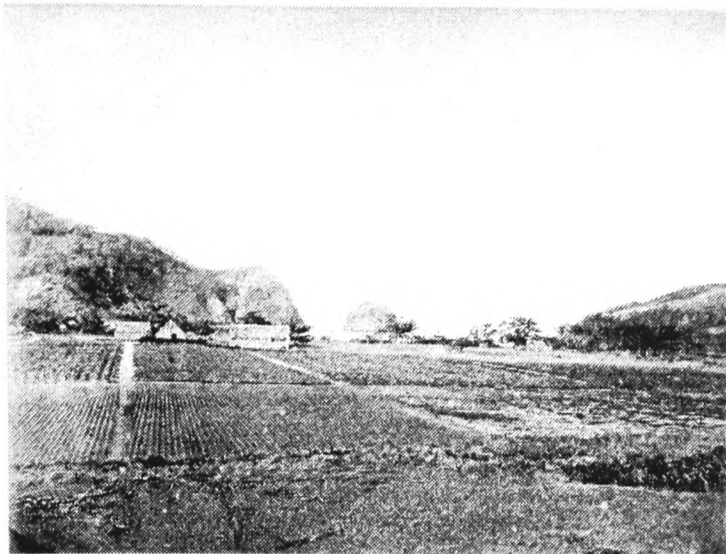


Fig. 3.20. Matsuzaki Shinji, *View of Household and Farm of the Frenchman Lesart, Resident of Shūzaki Village, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands*, 1875, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 3.21. Matsuzaki Shinji, *Sea Turtle Carapaces and Pig Pen in Oki Village, Haha Island, Ogasawara Islands*, 1875, Albumen Print.. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

highly aestheticised views of canoes on the beach, for example (see figure 3.16). These seem to anticipate later stylistic developments that were consciously developed to market the Islands to tourists (see Chapters 5, 6). These images exemplify the combination of the demands on the photographer to satisfy government objectives in ‘documenting’ the Islands, providing visual information that could be utilised by planners and settlers, and perhaps induce future settlers to come to the Islands, as well as satisfy the photographic marketplace, delivering images that people would be eager to purchase. In other words, the images ‘perform’ differently in different spaces, with attendant different meanings.

The images in the national collections appear to minimise and tame the presence of First Settlers in favour of the new Japanese presence. Although First Settler subjects are indeed included, their conspicuous absence from most of the images leaves the impression that they are almost incidental to the area, rather than the pioneer settlers and sole inhabitants (as they were at the time of the expedition) of what were previously uninhabited islands. Stiffly posed subjects and static composition characterise the First Settler images, revealing little about the First Settlers themselves. Instead, the images

reveal more about the Japanese producers and their concerns about their colonial undertaking and the commercial interests of the photographer, than the purported subjects of the photographs. The Japanese presence, however, is maximised in a dynamic and sometimes aggressive manner. Historical ties between Japan and Ogasawara are photographically exaggerated and the colonial intent of the Japanese expedition is made abundantly clear.

On the one hand, there is much that we do not know about these images. There are no records of the negotiations between the First Settlers and Matsuzaki, leaving us with no explicit information as to why the settlers agreed to pose in front of the Japanese camera and what—if anything—they received in return. The subjects might have been promised prints in return for their cooperation or perhaps they were frightened of the new authorities. Perhaps the technology intrigued them and they wanted to be photographed, most of them probably for the first time in their lives. All that is apparent is that the subjects were persuaded to assemble in front of their homes, probably dressed in their finest clothes for the occasion, and display themselves to the camera.

On the other hand, by researching the cultural biographies of the images, much is revealed. The consumption of the images in the national collections is relatively well understood. They were produced by Matsuzaki in his capacity as a government-contracted photographer, used in government reports and subsequently archived in various government ministries, where they have been carefully preserved to the present day. They were also sold to the public and, as will be discussed below, can be found in at least one souvenir album of photographs, which was publicly purchased. The preponderance of evidence strongly suggests that the albumen prints in the national

collections were also sold as 'large' prints to the general public. We can therefore think about them both as having directly colonial lives in the hands of the government and more generalised, commercial lives, with more possible inflections of meaning, which although also colonial (and national) to some degree, were less bound to their context of production as they circulated in the public realm.

The Album

In 1881 Italian diplomat Raphael Barbolani returned to Italy after a five-year posting at the Italian Embassy in Tokyo with a large album of commercially produced photographs, a memento of his tour of duty in Japan. The title of the album, *Photographic Album, Collection of Japanese Views' (Dai Nippon Zenkoku Meishō Ichiran)*,²³ was written in English and Japanese, and the album was published in 2001 in book form with essays and reproductions of all original photographs.²⁴ The album is extremely large: there are 178 pages with 1,268 individual images. Images are captioned in Japanese and French. All were produced prior to 1881, when the album was compiled by Okada Katsunosuke, a photography studio proprietor in Tokyo. Photographs were produced by multiple photographers, including Matsuzaki Shinji and Uchida Kuichi. Six of Matsuzaki's Ogasawara images are included, as I shall discuss below. Among Kuichi's images in the album are six he produced during the Meiji emperor's imperial progress in 1872.

Unlike tourist albums of the time (see chapter 2), the album does not contain posed studio images of kimono-clad maidens or samurai in full armour. Rather, this unusual album, the oldest of its kind, purports to display the entire nation of Japan within

its pages, using images made in nearly every region of the country, from Hokkaido in the north to Okinawa and Ogasawara in the south (di Russo and Ishiguro 2001: 304). Including the newly annexed Ogasawara in this album absorbs the Islands into a narrative of modern Japanese nationhood. This narrative is formed both through the collection of many images within the covers of the album and the physical action of turning the pages (Edwards 1999: 230). This sensuous relationship between viewer and album gives the images a kind of movement, and a narrative of history is (re)constructed as the viewer flips through the pages of the album. In this case, the viewer does not see western stereotypes of Japanese tradition but rather numerous images of Japanese modernity: bridges, factories, schools, banks, hospitals and museums are among the album's many subjects. There is also a special section at the end of the album of twenty-two images of agriculture. Perhaps this reflected the Italian diplomat's preferred narrative of Japan.

Much more must be said about the nature of the photographic album (and I shall return to this in the next chapter) and *Photographic Album, Collection of Japanese Views*' itself deserves further study,²⁵ of particular concern to this thesis is its inclusion of Matsuzaki's photographs. The penultimate section is comprised of six of his images of the Ogasawara Islands, which follow sections on Okinawa and Hokkaido: the farthest reaches of the empire, the newly Japanised peripheries, collected together at the end of the album (figure 3.22). The six photographs correspond to images in the national collection, indicating

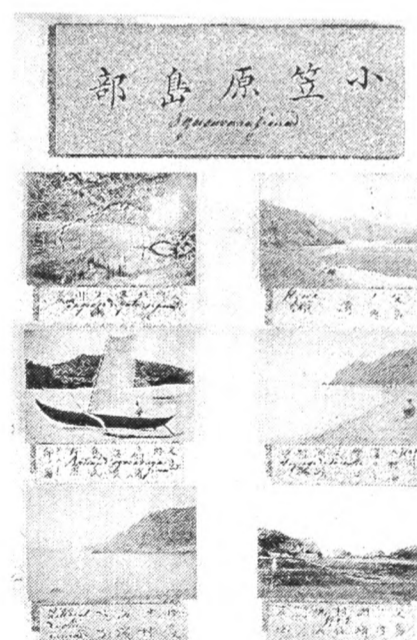


Fig. 3.22. Okada Katsunosuke (compiler), *Photographs of the Ogasawara Islands Mounted on a Page in Photographic Album, Collection of Japanese Views*, ca. 1881, Albumen Prints. Collection of Marisa di Russo.

that they are prints made from Matsuzaki Shinji's original set of expedition negatives or copies of these prints.

Although it can reasonably be assumed that Matsuzaki profitably marketed his photographs of Ogasawara, as outlined above, the images of Ogasawara in *Photographic Album, Collection of Japanese Views*' is the only direct evidence of a possible commercial sale of Matsuzaki's expedition photographs.²⁶ These small images measure 8.3 cm x 5 cm (the 'large' photographs sold by Matsuzaki measured 21 cm x 27 cm), suggesting that Okada might have purchased them from the 'small' set of images Matsuzaki advertised in the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* (see above).

The larger point here is that the inclusion of the Ogasawara images in the album demonstrates the connections between photography and the creation of national boundaries. By at least the time this album was compiled in 1881, the Japanese government's efforts to establish the Islands as a territory of the Japanese nation had been effective enough to permeate commercial photography sales. Along with other peripheral territories of the empire such as Okinawa and Hokkaido, Ogasawara had been successfully incorporated into the political sphere of Japan such that images of the Islands were included in an album of photographs transported by an Italian diplomat from Tokyo back to his home in Italy.

The Village

A final collection of expedition images is archived in the Ogasawara Village Department of Education. These eleven, unique images are not held in any other collection and are each different from those held in the national collections, despite the

fact that all these images were produced during the same expedition.²⁷ Despite these common origins, there are vast differences between the two sets of images in format, subject matter and consumption.

Before attempting to read these photographs, it is useful not simply to try to locate them as being generally within a certain genre, but also, as is important in any attempt to interpret historical photographs, we must try to situate them within the specific place they occupied within that genre. It is within the realm of consumption that images garner meaning and it therefore must be examined in order to understand the images. Unfortunately, reconstructing the consumption of these eleven images is a difficult task, especially when compared to the relatively well-preserved biographies of the images in the national collections examined above. We can, however, probe the possible lives of the images and in so doing, glean something of the original contexts and meanings in which they were enmeshed.

The images held in the Village collection are prints of exclusively First Settler human subjects in the *cartes de visite* format. The *carte de visite* gained tremendous popularity throughout the world in the last half of the nineteenth century. Introduced by the Parisian photographer André Disdéri, who in 1854 patented the format, which was actually invented by another photographer, these ‘calling card’ photographs were generally albumen prints measuring 6 cm x 10 cm, pasted on cardboard backings and sold at inexpensive prices. These qualities made mass production (and big profits) possible. Beginning in the 1860s, particularly in Europe and America, friends and acquaintances exchanged *carte de visite*, which became a kind of symbolic capital or social currency among members of the bourgeoisie (Poole 1997: 109). Small,

inexpensive and readily available, cartes de visite were very collectible and individuals would often arrange them in albums, supplying their own captions. Images of famous people—royals, actors, politicians, war heroes—also became good sellers.

The subjects of cartes de visite were not exclusively the middle and upper classes of Europe and America, however. Human curiosities and ‘types’ became a favourite subject, and photographers travelled throughout the colonised world in order to create images of ‘exotic’, ‘native’ types, as well as seeking images of urban and working class ‘others’ at home (Poole 1997: 116, 119).

‘Exotic types’ were generally photographed in studios where conditions were controlled: lighting, props (when used) and backdrops. The bulky carte de visite camera, capable of taking multiple exposures on a single negative plate, either through a system of multiple lenses that could be uncovered separately or together, or the use of a mechanism that rotated the plate, made the process efficient and cost-effective.²⁸ The photographer generally posed the subject in front of a neutral backdrop, which removed most context from the image. Props, such as objects indicative of occupation, were sometimes used. In contrast to the bourgeois carte de visite, in which individuals self-consciously presented themselves to the camera and had agency in creating and circulating their images, ‘type’ images often used models and created an ‘aesthetics of the same’, wherein images of often (but not always) anonymous subjects were collected and arranged in albums creating groupings of ‘natives’, ‘peasants’ and other ‘exotics’ (Poole 1997: 116, 119).

All the images in the Village collection are of First Settler subjects. The names of the human subjects are not written on the cartes (the captions listed here are my own).



Fig. 3.23. Matsuzaki Shinji, *Portrait of Three Children*, 1875, Carte de Visite. Collection of Ogasawara Village.

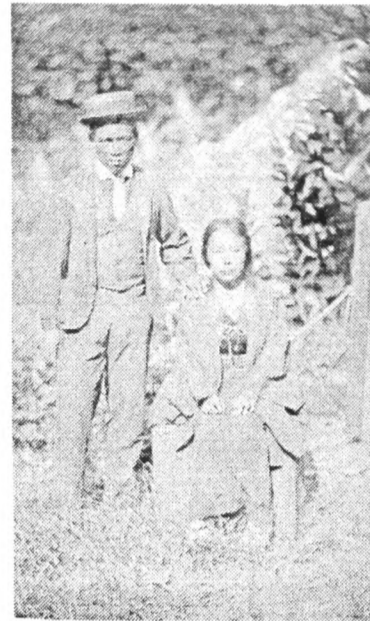


Fig. 3.24. Matsuzaki Shinji, *Portrait of Couple*, 1875, Carte de Visite. Collection of Ogasawara Village.

They are photographed alone or in groups of couples, children or families. The subjects are not posed in front of a neutral backdrop in an attempt to strip away context, as is commonly seen in both studio and field carte de visite prints of ‘types’. Some subjects are posed in front of a thatched dwelling, such as this group of children, probably siblings (figure 3.23). Other prints feature couples photographed in an open space with no readily identifiable cultural markers other than clothing (figure 3.24). This photograph of the Bravo family contains the same individuals imaged in one of the larger prints held in the national collections (figure 3.25; cf. figure 3.18).

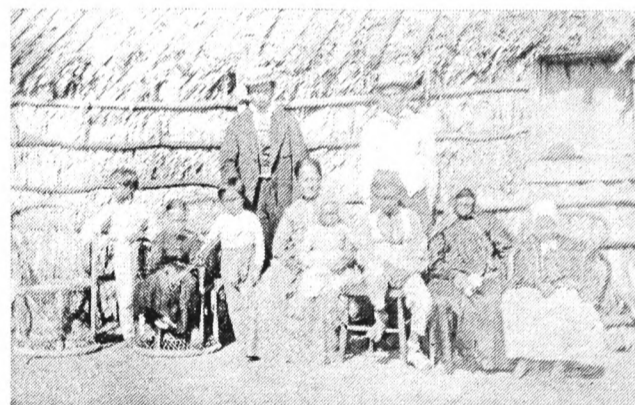


Fig. 3.25. Matsuzaki Shinji, *Portrait of Bravo Family*, 1875, Carte de Visite. Collection of Ogasawara Village.

Although the images are easily categorised as ‘repressive’ or ‘colonial’ for the reasons described above, there is nothing inherently exoticising or dehumanising about these carte de visite prints on the forensic level. Without knowing the circumstances of

production or the ways in which these images were (likely) consumed, one might interpret many of them as being essentially equivalent to the bourgeois prints taken in fashionable studios. Men are dressed in European clothes, as are almost all of the women, and, except for the rustic outdoor location, one could imagine these images having been produced for paying customers rather than a colonial government. However, whether the prints were sold commercially, archived by the government, or both, the subjects of the images were clearly not the paying clients of the government-hired photographer.

What can we say about the consumption of the images, then? These *carte de visite* images, although produced under the same circumstances as the larger prints held in the national collections, followed a disappearing trajectory. By this I do not mean the actual eleven *cartes de visite* in the Village's collection, for their biographies are relatively well understood. These images were in the private collection of Obana Sakusuke, the first colonial governor of Ogasawara and the person responsible for retaining photographer Matsuzaki's services. He had a personal interest in photography and was deeply involved in the colonisation of the Ogasawara Islands. His papers (including photographs) were eventually archived by the Tokyo Metropolitan government, which in turn deposited them with Ogasawara's Department of Education. What is not known, however, is whether these *cartes de visite* were the 'small' images Matsuzaki sold to the public and whether or not they were archived by the government with the larger images that now form the national collections.

Morita Mineko has suggested that the eleven *carte de visite* images now held by Ogasawara Village are indeed the 'small' images advertised by the photographer. Matsuzaki's advertisement offers twenty-five small photographs for sale and Morita has

surmised that the eleven images in the Department of Education are part of an original set of twenty-five, the remaining fourteen of which have been lost (Morita 2002: 124).

If Morita's conclusions are correct, the *carte de visite* format and the likely path of commercial consumption (in addition to government consumption) of these eleven images locates them as 'foreign' settlers living in 'remote' islands, far from the national centre. Matsuzaki's subjects were not bourgeois customers paying for studio portraits, active participants in crafting their presentation. The colonial photographer produced images of an exotic other for the consumption of the government and Japanese public, who could order a set of the images and arrange them in their own albums. One could conjecture that these images might have been collected together with other images of 'internal exotics' such as Ainu or Okinawans, with collectors adding their own written narrative to explain the 'Ogasawara Type'. No such album has been found, however. In fact, there is no concrete evidence of any commercial consumption of the *carte de visite* images. Additionally, none of these images has been found anywhere among the national collections, including the National Museum, National Archives or even the Imperial Household Archives. The lack of evidence supporting the claim that the *cartes de visite* were Matsuzaki's 'small' images does not disprove it, of course; until more evidence is forthcoming, however, other possibilities must be considered.

There is some evidence to suggest alternative possibilities to Morita's conclusions about the *carte de visite* images. For example, we have seen that six of Matsuzaki's images were acquired by Okada for sale in a souvenir album for an Italian diplomat. The album contains six 8.3 cm x 5 cm images that have been reduced from the original, larger sized prints. Okada or another photographer could have copied and sold them, of course;

this was a common problem in the nineteenth century. This seems less likely, however, when one realises that because Matsuzaki had had such problems when he was selling his images of Taiwan in the previous year, he lobbied the government to introduce copyright protection for photographs. The Photography Statute was promulgated on 17 June 1876, a brief four months after Matsuzaki had made his request (Kamei 1991: 94 - 95).²⁹

The fact that no cartes de visite have been found in the national collections, despite two complete sets of larger prints having been carefully preserved, makes one wonder if the government considered the cartes de visite to be unimportant objects, unworthy of archiving, perhaps because the small images lacked the clarity of detail of the larger-sized prints, rendering them inferior for viewing purposes. This is unlikely to have been the reason, however, since the government commissioned the production of the photographs at great expense and therefore would have expected Matsuzaki to produce suitable objects. Instead, their absence in the national collections might reflect a government fear that the existence in Ogasawara of these subjects (First Settlers), who were citizens (and perhaps functioned symbolically as proxies) of predominantly western nations, would pose a challenge to Japanese authority in, and claim on, the Islands. This fear might have been expressed in this context through the suppression of these, and perhaps other, representations of the First Settlers.

Even more plausible, perhaps, is the possibility that the original collector of the images, Obana Sakusuke, and other colonial bureaucrats might have used the images in their work administrating the colony. Even if the national government did not view the small images as useful, Obana could have had Matsuzaki produce the images for use in his capacity as governor of Ogasawara, perhaps without any commercial interest in mind

but rather for use as an aide memoir in studying the First Settlers. He and other bureaucrats stationed in the Islands might have used them in their reports about the Islanders, for they kept detailed written records of each resident, including their names, ages, births, deaths, property and other information. The *carte de visite* images read like a photographic inventory of the Islands' inhabitants, with each subject or group of subjects posed stiffly either in front of what is presumably his or her dwelling or in a wild, open space. Although the subjects' names were not recorded (in contrast to the larger prints, which at least included the names of the male household head), if used in conjunction with written records, it can be assumed that the images would have integrated well into colonial administration.

The beginnings of the political incorporation of the Ogasawara Islands by the Japanese nation have left visible traces in the expeditionary photography of Matsuzaki Shinji. His images, examined in this chapter, were commissioned by the Japanese government in an attempt to provide visual information to Japanese settlers and more importantly, to create a place in the consciousness of the Japanese public for the Islands. In other words, the government wanted not only to expand the physical boundaries of the nation to include the frontier territory, it wanted to expand the national boundaries that existed with the minds of its citizens to include the formerly unknown islands. The government employed photography because it was seen as capable of delivering reproducible images of 'reality' or 'truth' that would serve as documents of proof that the Islands belonged to Japan.

In this chapter I have examined the context of image production and demonstrated how photography was an important element of the Japanese government's colonial

project in Ogasawara. It has also been demonstrated, through a consideration of the ways in which the images were consumed, that Matsuzaki's photographs had lives in the commercial realm as well. With these differing consumption routes came differing meanings attached to the evolving place the Islands occupied within the national consciousness. The Islands and the Islanders of the colonial images were remote and exotic yet simultaneously a part of the nation, in a jumbled mix of a place that could ostensibly be shown to have historical roots in the Japanese past, with a resident people who were undeniably foreign. In the first colonial photographs one can read the attempt to display in visual form the 'natural' landscapes as remote and untouched, yet also prove a historical and legitimate Japanese connection to the Islands, as revealing the contradiction of the Japanese view of the native population as 'western' but 'savage'. This tension between Japan as inferior in its power relationship to 'the west' and simultaneously superior in its ability to rule over the 'western' subjects of Ogasawara, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, permeates the complicated construction of the First Settlers as Japanese internal others.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3

¹ Among the European colonial powers, photography had been part of colonial projects since almost immediately after the invention of photography in 1839 (Ryan 1997: 28). In the United States, the government enlisted photographers to document and justify its westward colonial expansion (Phillips 1996).

² Unfortunately, I was unable to acquire a high quality reproduction of this image. Consequently, it may be difficult for the reader to discern much detail in the photograph.

³ This information is according to Morita Mineko's reading of a Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun article of 29 June 1874 (Morita 2002: 54). The article was final in a series of three articles about the Taiwan expedition that appeared in the newspaper.

⁴ The perspective used in European art forms was known in Japan as early as the sixteenth century. After the first Europeans (Portuguese merchants) arrived in Japan in 1542, they were joined by Jesuit

missionaries in 1549, who brought with them European art forms. The missionaries offered instruction in art but this was completely stopped within one hundred years, when the Tokugawa Shogunate banned Christianity and Europeans from Japan. This situation changed in the eighteenth century when restrictions on the importation of foreign books were relaxed. For example, scientific texts with illustrations using linear perspective exposed Japanese artists to new techniques for presenting depth and naturalistic facial expression (Miki 1997: 10 – 11; see also Screech 1996). The increasingly stronger influence of Western art techniques on Japanese visual representations can be seen in the 1860s and 1870s, after the opening of the treaty ports. In this period, Western-style photography, oil painting, lithography and other techniques began to have a widespread presence in Japan. Foreign artists and teachers arrived in the country, and private and government art schools teaching Western techniques also flourished. This sudden 'shock' of realism, as Miki has described it, affected ways of seeing in Japan by changing traditional visual representations from painting to woodblock prints (1997: 10).

⁵ Matsuzaki sold his photographs of Taiwan for the modern equivalent of about ¥3,000 – ¥4,000 (approximately £15 – £20) (Morita 2002: 60).

⁶ The image itself was not reproduced in the newspaper.

⁷ Matsuzaki sent the letter to Kishida via someone onboard the British warship Curlew that departed Ogasawara on 4 December 1875 (Morita 2002: 95).

⁸ In the original Japanese: 土人は常に海亀を取って食とす。又はその申を取り置て鯨船の来りたる時に緒品と交貿するよし。日本人は女二人のみにて、あとは英人、米人、黒人なり。家屋も衣服も欧羅巴風なれども、甚だ麓末にして却て雅味あるに似たり。いずれも毎日写真に取り居り候ま、追ってお目に掛け申すべく候。 This and all following Japanese translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

⁹ This term can also be translated as *aborigine*.

¹⁰ In the original Japanese: 去年十一月に小笠原島へ随行したる中橋和泉町の写真師松崎晋二は、彼の島にて写し取りたる景色ならびに人物等の写真も此ほど御用の分がみなみな納め済になり、是から跡は勝手に写して売ることを許されたと申しますから、皆さん買って御覧なさい。船ちゃんも旅ごも入らずに珍しい処の見物が出来ます。

¹¹ These prices were slightly lower than those Matsuzaki charged for his images of the Taiwan Expedition.

¹² For the purposes of this discussion, I shall treat these two collections as identical. Both sets of images were printed from the same original glass plates and were presumably archived under virtually identical circumstances.

¹³ Collections of other government-sponsored photographs were also accessioned into the National Museum at about the same time. Images discussed in the previous chapter, such as those from imperial progresses, the cultural surveys, and the documentation of the Old Edo Castle form examples of such collections.

¹⁴ Clean water was also essential and there were many potential problems: dust sticking to the plate, high temperatures and low humidity. Information on the wet-collodion process is from Edwards 1992: 264–265.

¹⁵ The Islands were not yet electrified at this time, which meant that no photographs could be made inside of dwellings or other interiors.

¹⁶ Unfortunately, this box set has been lost. Additional photographs of the Ogasawara Islands were produced and archived into the Imperial Household collections; I shall discuss these in subsequent chapters.

¹⁷ Morita bases this estimate on her theory that Matsuzaki's advertisements offering fifty images (twenty-five large prints and twenty-five small prints) for sale comprise the total output of his negative production in Ogasawara.

¹⁸ For more on traditional ways of seeing in Japanese art, see Singer 1995 and Screech 1996.

¹⁹ Although the U.S. government relinquished any possible claims it might have had to Ogasawara in 1873 (United States 1944: 36), the British, for example, questioned Japanese sovereignty of Ogasawara and dispatched a warship to the Islands just one day after the Japanese government's own ship departed from the port of Yokohama.

²⁰ Turtle meat was eaten locally as well as sold fresh and cured to visiting ships. The carapaces were also sold for use in ornaments, furniture and other products.

²¹ Although the rising sun emblem had long been associated with the imperial household (since at least 701), the *hinomaru* flag was only adopted as Japan's national flag in 1854. Although it has been in continuous use since then, it was not legally designated the country's official flag until 1999. The national

anthem, which had also lacked a clear, legal status, was legally enshrined in the same year. Coincidentally, one of photography's earliest Japanese patrons, Shimazu Nariakira, lord of the Satsuma clan in southern Japan, was responsible for the 1854 adoption of the flag. He convinced the Shogunate that ships should fly the flag in order to identify themselves as Japanese (Fujitani 1996: 49). Lord Shimazu acquired the country's first camera from Ueno Shunnojyō (see Chapter 2) and probably produced some of Japan's first photographic images. A daguerreotype portrait of Shunnojyō, made by Ichiki Shiro in 1857, survives (see figure 2.3).

²² Many of the First Settlers were of Hawaiian and other Polynesian descent. All the members of the first settlement party had lived in Hawaii some if not all of their lives. They would all have been familiar with—to varying degrees—the construction or use of such canoes.

²³ I have listed here the original English and Japanese titles as they appear on the album cover. A literal translation of the Japanese title would be rendered as: *Famous Views of Great Japan*. The apostrophe at the end of the English title is reproduced here as it appeared in the original. The practice of giving a foreign-language title (usually English and sometimes French) in addition to a Japanese one to such tourist objects was common at the time this album was produced, and, as in this example, the meanings often differed (to varying degrees) between the two titles.

²⁴ I am grateful to project editor Hisada Hajime, who granted me research access to the original album prior to its publication by Heibonsha in 2001.

²⁵ The album could be productively used to think about the definition of the modern Japanese nation, the relationship between photography and national boundaries, and the development of early commercial photography in Japan, among other issues.

²⁶ It is also possible that Okada copied the photographs without compensating Matsuzaki.

²⁷ Some of the First Settler subjects appear in both sets of images, and appear to be identical in both dress and age. Additionally, there is no evidence to suggest that Matsuzaki returned to the Ogasawara Islands after the 1875 expedition.

²⁸ It is unlikely that Matsuzaki carried the cumbersome carte de visite camera in addition to his standard camera to the field. Judging by the look of the images, which have a lower clarity than the larger albumen prints, he most probably exposed the negatives in his normal camera, made standard albumen contact prints and copied these with a carte de visite camera when he returned to his studio in Tokyo.

²⁹ Perhaps this remarkably fast action on Matsuzaki's behalf reflects his close ties to the government.

CHAPTER FOUR
REMOTENESS AND THE
CONSTRUCTION OF THE 'INTERNAL OTHER'

Remoteness as a cultural construct is always about distance. But it is neither merely about distance measured in nautical miles nor distance measured by the time a journey takes to complete. These superficial, surface aspects of distance and time measured in this way need not necessarily be present at all. On a symbolic level, an area is located in the 'remote' through the combining of 'real' and 'imaginary' places (Ardener 1987: 40). This involves a dynamic process of locating a place not in topographical space (as all 'real' places obviously are) but rather, within a "topological space whose features are expressed in a cultural vocabulary" (Ardener 1987: 41).

The expression of this cultural vocabulary is a kind of othering in which the 'remote'—like the 'other'—is constructed through an emphasis on difference between 'centre' ('self') and 'periphery' ('other'), expressed through taxonomies of, for example, physiognomy, material culture and landscape. In Japan, as elsewhere, this process of othering has enabled the labelling of a place as 'remote' whether or not geography would seem to support this contention. Just as remoteness is not merely about places far away in space, otherness is not exclusively applied to people living in far away places.

In the metropolitan centres and rural peripheries of Meiji Japan (1868-1912), minorities such as the *Hisabetsu Burakumin* (the former outcast population) and the urban poor were heavily marginalized. Michael Weiner has argued that the urban and rural poor in Japan were treated as internal others: "Early accounts of the urban poor often read like 'adventure stories in faraway lands' The urban slum was represented

in contemporary newspapers and journals as the symbolic opposite of *bunmei* (civilisation); its inhabitants depicted as the descendants of ‘remote foreign races’ upon whom were projected images of savagery and barbarism” (1997: 9-10).¹ They were seen as inhabiting a different space from the modern, civilised Japanese; they were symbolically relegated to the remote.

The *Hisabetsu Burakumin* were but one of several groups to be considered remote despite, in many cases, their physical proximity to centres. Koreans, Chinese and Taiwanese, for example, many of whom lived in urban settings, such as the cosmopolitan port cities, were also excluded from certain aspects of life in the centre because they were considered culturally remote by the ‘Japanese’.² This is not to deny that many so-called remote regions in Japan were (and are), in fact, physically distant from the metropolitan centre. The fact of physical distance, however, obscures the culturalisation of the discourse of remoteness. The social construction of culture—not physical distance—is the crucial component of this discourse that classifies a group as an internal other rather than a member of the community of the self.

Whilst in no way denying the importance of physical distance in the construction of the Ogasawara Islands as a remote place, this chapter examines the visual vocabulary of remoteness expressed in photographic images of the Islands and Islanders. This visual vocabulary, I shall argue, helped to create something much more than an innocent feeling among the *naichi* (mainland/inland) Japanese that the Islands were spatially distant from the metropolitan centre. The social-cultural construction of the Islands as a remote place was actually a multi-layered process that constructed the Ogasawara Islanders as ‘internal others’ and that had consequences—cultural, political, economic and military—for the

people living in the Islands. Examining the images that make up this visual vocabulary exposes this process, which in turn allows for an understanding of the reasons behind and implications of this othering.

The Ogasawara Islands have been enmeshed in a discourse of remoteness since their discovery. They were and are geographically distant from metropolitan capitals and this has enabled this discourse to continue over several centuries, all the while masquerading as an innocent ‘natural’ fact of their physical location in the world. Representations of Ogasawara as remote predate the establishment of the first settlement in 1830 by hundreds of years and, although they have had several incarnations over time, remoteness has remained the dominant trope in visual (and textual) representations of the Islands and Islanders. As discussed in previous chapters, as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries pre-photographic visual representations, such as European and Japanese maps, indicated the existence of the then uninhabited Ogasawara Islands, located beyond the periphery of civilisation.

Early American, European and Japanese drawings and paintings of the first settlement emphasise distance—geographical and cultural—between subject and producer, primarily through an emphasis on tropical landscape and objects of material culture. Even further back in time, in the Middle Ages before the Ogasawara Islands were known in Japan, the islands north of Ogasawara were considered “*ultima Thule*” (Kublin 1953: 29). Political enemies of the government were banished to the southernmost island of the Izu Shichito chain, Hachijyō Island,³ several hundred miles northwest of the Ogasawara Islands. In other words, the very direction of the Ogasawara Islands—even if not the Islands themselves—was associated with remoteness and

otherness, exile and difference. 'Natural' factors such as geographical distance and the dangerous sea journey from the mainland to the Islands functioned as material with which layers of remoteness were formed and accumulated around the Islands from the beginning of recorded discoveries of the Islands.

Constructing an Internal Other

In order to define the *self*, there must be an *other*. The opposition between 'us and them', the drawing of boundaries that define one's own group in contradistinction to other groups, is seen even on a national level. As Thomas Eriksen has observed, "like other ethnic identities, national identities are constituted in relation to *others*; the very idea of the nation presupposes that there are other nations, or at least other peoples, who are not members of the nation" (Eriksen 1993: 111). National identity or the national self is imagined as a community called 'nation', in Benedict Anderson's influential formulation, which "has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind" (Anderson 1991: 7). These others who lie beyond the boundaries of 'our' nation, for example, are constructed by the projection of cultural difference, which often involves the locating of the other in the past. This renders the other 'primitive' and 'savage' (Fabian 1983). Others are usually assigned an inferior place on a fictional morality scale, and often associated with animality and dirt—either physical or spiritual (Ohnuki-Tierney 1998).

In previous chapters, it was demonstrated that photographic images were used in the construction of a national self, of *Japaneseness*. The ways in which this negotiation of the self in opposition to the other occurred can be seen even in the earliest photography

of the Ogasawara Islands. This happened within the context of a struggle to differentiate 'Japanese' from a (mainly western) other as the country was clamouring to join the club of 'civilised' nations and move away from the humiliations of extraterritorial treaties and its semicolonial status. In visual terms, this involved a kind of self-essentialising self-presentation that was manifested in photographic form through symbols that had been taken very selectively from Japan's ancient and pre-modern (and very often military and aristocratic) past. Themes were also often chosen that meshed well with foreign notions of Japanese culture, indicating perhaps an internalisation of these stereotypes. As discussed in Chapter 3, this process of picturing Japanese culture involved the privileging of certain scenic views, temples, flora and other objects in ways and themes that can still resonate with viewers—Japanese or not—150 years later.

The attempt to define a Japanese national self against a foreign other has been well studied.⁴ The formation of internal others, a more recent area of scholarly inquiry has also received increasing attention, particularly in the last two decades.⁵ It is clear from this scholarship that the process of creating (and photographing) internal others in Japan can be fruitfully examined in the context of the construction of Japan as a nation-state. In the case of the Ogasawara Islands, the importance of understanding the development of the Japanese nation-state cannot be overstated, as the very existence of the Islands as part of Japan, the rendering of its inhabitants as internal others and the photographing of these internal others is inherently connected to this process.⁶

Attempting to consider internal othering within the context of the emergence of the Japanese nation-state requires contending with a long history of scholarly (and popular) adherence to the 'myth of Japanese homogeneity', however. The historiography

of Japanese studies across disciplines demonstrates a deep-rooted and long-lived subscription to this myth, by both native and foreign scholars. Japan has also had a stubborn popular image as a homogenous, middle-class society, united in cultural sameness rather than characterised by any kind of diversity.

Although there is no inherent reason why an island necessarily forms a meaningful boundary that results in a 'nation', it has all too often been assumed that in spite of a very complicated history, the borders of the nation we today call Japan were 'naturally' determined by the topographical boundaries of the archipelago.⁷ It would seem that the oceans surrounding the island nation have from time immemorial functioned as a shield, keeping both would-be-conquerors and unwanted cultural influences at bay whilst at the same time fostering internal cohesion, harmony and homogeneity. Largely determined by 'natural' factors, it had been argued, Japan has developed a 'uniquely unique' culture.

Recent years have seen scholarship from many countries and many disciplines deconstruct this stance, which is perhaps best illustrated in works collectively referred to as *Nihonjinron*, or 'discourses of Japaneseness'.⁸ Although there are unlikely to be any scholars who would today claim that Japan is an absolutely 'monoracial' or monoethnic nation, the deconstruction of this myth is far from complete.

New scholarship has focused attention on little-studied, marginalised groups in Japanese society, such as Ainu, Koreans and Okinawans. Johann Arnason and Yoshio Sugimoto suggest, however, that whilst the old-school *Nihonjinron* theories have ostensibly been revised, much of the work currently being produced still portrays Japan as an essentially homogeneous society and promotes the case of Japanese uniqueness.

They have found that “such stereotypes continue to colour a good deal that is written about Japan by academics both inside and outside Japan” since they published their last study of *Nihonjinron* in 1986 (Arnason and Sugimoto 1995: 238).

Whilst the body of scholarship discussing minority issues in the Japanese context continues to grow, there remains a strong element of deconstructing *Nihonjinron* in most of this work.⁹ It seems that academics still find it necessary to emphasise the idea that Japan is a multiethnic nation-state, similar to other multiethnic nation-states, and that its minorities are not as small in number or as rare as is most often portrayed. Certainly on a popular level, Japanese society is commonly believed to be a monoracial society, possessing no true ethnic minorities (Yoshino 1992; Lie 2001). The Japanese government still officially denies the existence of ethnic minorities in Japan (Siddle 1996). Furthermore, even those Japanese people who acknowledge the status of Ainu as an ethnic minority, for example, believe them to be a ‘vanishing race’, with extremely low population numbers, that fall far below estimates by academics and activists, or even Japanese government statistics (Lie 2001: 4; see also Sjöberg 1993).

John Lie has argued that “the history of modern Japan is simultaneously the history of its multiethnic constitution” (2001: 84). His positing of modern Japan as a multiethnic state offers a way to reconfigure received concepts of the relationship between internal others and the state. He has identified three major mechanisms involved in this process: state-making, colonisation and migration (Lie 2001: 83-84). When a dominant group (such as the agrarian, or Yamato Japanese) identifies itself with the nation-state, all other groups become ethnic groups. Examples of this process include cases of religious minorities such as Jews, migratory groups such as Roma and

occupational groups such as the *Hisabetsu Burakumin*, all of whom were rendered ethnic others with the formation of modern nation-states. In the case of the *Hisabetsu Burakumin* in Japan, for example, with the 1871 Emancipation Decree, the Meiji state decreed the former outcast population to be *shin heimin* (free new commoners), as opposed to the traditional commoners (*heimin*) (Lie 2001: 86).¹⁰ Social differentiation is sustained by exclusion from claims of shared decent and common culture, in addition to discrimination by the larger society.

Multiethnicity can also be created through colonisation. When the state incorporates people living on land it appropriates, it creates internal others. In other words, colonialism—the mechanism that most directly concerns this study—creates multiethnicity through an incorporation of people living on colonised land. In Japan's case, this includes the people of Hokkaido, the Ryūkyū Islands (Okinawa), Taiwan, Korea and, of course, the Ogasawara Islands, in addition to other Asian and Pacific regions.

Finally, there is migration, wherein workers, students and others take up residence in a foreign nation-state. Much recent scholarship emerging from social scientific research on Japan has been concerned with this kind of multiethnicity, a category that Lie argues accounts for most of the increased ethnic diversity in nation-states since the nineteenth century. Many studies have examined migrant workers in Japan, including Japanese-Brazilians, Filipinos, Chinese, Thai and others.¹¹

The othering of the Ogasawara Islanders, a group rarely mentioned (and if mentioned, barely discussed) in examinations of Japanese multiethnicity, begins almost as soon as the First Settlers arrive in 1830, decades before Japan's early Meiji period

colonisation of the Islands. As mentioned above, the Islands themselves had by that time long been relegated to the 'remote' through non-photographic visual forms (paintings, maps and drawings) and written texts. The following section examines these pre-photographic beginnings of this remoteness.

Photographing the Other Within

Photographing the colonised, the minority, the 'exotic'—what we retrospectively term the 'other'—both internal and external, was a concern that emerged within photography almost immediately upon the invention of the technology. Aspects of the relationship between photography and othering were discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to the 'colonial gaze' and semicolonial photography but it is worth expanding the discussion here to include the photography of internal others and bring in examples from the Japanese case in order to place Ogasawaran images in a larger context.

European and North American photographers began to exploit photographic technology, following the use of other visual forms such as painting and drawing, in order to produce images of colonised peoples. Images of other marginalised peoples, including domestic working class populations, criminals, the physically disabled and the mentally ill, soon also began to emerge as photographic subjects.¹² Massive quantities of these images in various forms, such as cartes de visite, postcard and photographic album, circulated the globe—some as commercial products and others as objects in government agencies' photographic archives—creating and reinforcing stereotypes of the other.

Photography was first introduced to Japan via European photographers, as discussed in Chapter 2. Europeans and Americans working in Japan in the 1850s and

1860s trained the first generation of professional Japanese practitioners. By the 1860s, an indigenous photographic marketplace more extensive than elsewhere in Asia had developed. By the end of the century, most of the producers of Japanese images were Japanese rather than foreign photographers. The important connections between the photographs of Japan and Europe and America, especially in these first decades, resulted in Japanese photography being included in worldwide exchanges of ideas and products. The implications of this relationship for photographing the other in Japan are serious indeed, for many of these ideas about classifying human beings into 'races' and 'types' were imported from Europe and America and were over-layered on pre-existing native categories of social and cultural differentiation.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Japan joined the European imperial nations with its own colonial projects in the last decades of the nineteenth century, as the government felt crushed between external threats in the form of European colonial expansion in Asia and internal pressures of an intensifying domestic nationalism that called for colonial expansion in order to become both 'modern' and 'strong'. This expansion "provided the arena in which national survival during the nineteenth century was ultimately determined" (Weiner 1994: 21). In late nineteenth-century Europe and the United States, the construct of 'race' within an evolutionary paradigm dominated the natural and emergent social sciences. Evolutionary discourses entered Japan during this period along with other types of western learning and objects of material culture. However, 'race' and indeed 'nation' in the Japanese context were constructs built upon pre-existing Tokugawa Period (1600-1868) ideas of difference and nativism (Siddle 1996).

As Japan's contact with European powers grew beginning in the late eighteenth century, distinctions formerly built on a dichotomy of 'civilised' and 'barbarian' that adhered largely to a Chinese model with 'concentric circles' of barbarian peripheries emanating outward from the (Japanese) metropolitan centre in increasing degrees of difference were replaced by European-type lines of demarcation marking discrete boundaries that separated one nation from another (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 15, 21). In Tokugawa Japan these degrees of difference were measured primarily in terms of 'manners and customs'. The discourse of difference shifted in the Meiji era to a racial discourse where the people of the Japanese nation were constructed as unique and morally and spiritually superior to other 'races'. Darwinian ideas about evolution and natural selection began to appear in Japan after the 1870s.¹³ Social Darwinism was popularised in Japan through Herbert Spencer's evolutionary social theory, translated in 1884 (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 11).¹⁴ Social Darwinism was used in concert with older ideas to create a Japanese version of the British *White Man's Burden* and French *Mission Civilisatrice*.

As Tessa Morris-Suzuki has argued, at the core of this reconceptualisation of difference lay notions of space and time; instead of locating features of outer lying societies as spatially distant, they were characterised as 'backwards' rather than merely 'foreign' (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 10). In so doing, those in the metropolitan centre could now imagine themselves as belonging to a single 'ethnic group' dwelling within a clearly bounded nation and imagine others as living in the past, outside the metropolitan time frame (Fabian 1983).

One example of this can be found in the photographs of Ryūkyūan emissaries to Edo (Tokyo) (figure 4.1). This would at first seem to do no more than continue a tradition of exoticising Okinawans in order to demonstrate the subordination of the peripheral society to the Japanese centre. In the Tokugawa period, officials sent on tribute missions from the Ryūkyū Kingdom (Okinawa) under the control of the Satsuma clan “were given precise instructions about their dress and conduct . . . They were to carry long swords,



Fig. 4.1. Fujisaki Naotaka, *Ryūkyū Official*, 1872, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

dress in brocade, and bring with them ‘Chinese-style’ weaponry. Their equipment, above all, must be ‘of the sort used in a foreign court, so that they cannot be mistaken for Japanese’” (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 19).

Early photographs of Okinawans predictably emphasise the same (visible) markers of difference required by Japanese officials in pre-modern times. What changes with the advent of photography, however, is that the meaning of the difference displayed becomes entangled in the new concepts of ‘blood’ and ‘race’ rather than ‘manners and customs’. European concepts of ‘race’ began to transform Japanese notions of human difference as they were overlain onto emerging notions of the family-state (*kazoku kokka*), a nation-state imagined as an extended national family. Government leaders used the imagery of the family to create a framework for locating the emperor at the apex of society and delineating rights and duties for each member of the fictive national family in which all members were interlinked (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 84-85).

As Morris-Suzuki has observed, this radical transformation of the way in which human difference was measured was happening even as the Japanese state was incorporating internal others in the peripheries as citizens/imperial subjects (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 32). Citizenship (of a limited sort) bestowed to internal others such as the Ainu and Okinawan populations followed the naturalisations of Ogasawara Islanders, an issue to which I shall return below, and was part of an ideology that constituted only partial inclusion of internal others into the Japanese nation. This ideology constructed internal others as part of the same national family headed by the sacred emperor and to which the 'Yamato' Japanese majority belonged. To this end, conflicting theories of common ancestral origins among the so-called Yamato Japanese, Ainu and Okinawans on the one hand, and the supposed racial purity and superiority of the Japanese people in contrast to their colonial subjects and internal others on the other, were alternately put forth and rejected throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth centuries.

Despite this, at times, relatively inclusive positioning of internal others as part of a Japanese 'national family', the photography of these subjects was with rare exception overwhelmingly about their difference to—rather than kinship with—the 'Japanese'.¹⁵ A clear example of the material offspring of this is found in the case of the Ainu. Like the Ogasawara Islands, the island of Hokkaido (renamed by the Japanese government from Ezo in 1869) was colonised by the Japanese. The indigenous people here, however, were not from powerful western nations but rather, 'backward aborigines in the north', culturally remote barbarians who were posited as unproductive, unintelligent, uncivilised and racially inferior to the Japanese (see Chapter 2).

The culturally remote Ainu were the subjects of colonial and ethnological photography, much more similar in style and intent to European and American photographs than were the first photographs of the Ogasawara Islands' First Settlers, discussed in the previous chapter.¹⁶ In fact, western travellers and scientists were enthusiastic participants in the production, circulation and consumption of this photography as well. The Ainu fit neatly into various pre-existing categories of 'noble savage', 'hairy barbarian' and 'primitive', as the circumstances existing in the consuming culture required. Japanese and Western museums and other institutions hold extensive collections of photographs (as well as other objects of Ainu material culture) collected during the early years of modern Japanese control of formerly-Ainu lands.¹⁷

Centuries prior to the advent of photography, visual imaging had been part of the othering process of the Ainu for a Japanese audience. The photographing of Ainu subjects and circulating and consuming the resulting images had a visual precedent in the *Ainu-e* (painted scrolls and other representations of Ainu people), which date to as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These representations often depicted the Ainu as barbarous and uncivilised, absorbing the subjects into a homogenising discourse (Siddle 1996: 30). By the nineteenth century, painted portraits of Ainu people invariably exaggerated physical characteristics such as hairiness and strength.¹⁸ Photography replaced these earlier visual representations in this discourse of othering, as it became available to scientists early on and, later, to private travellers.

Photographic images of the Ainu were easily absorbed into the scientific discourses of medicine and anthropology and purported to 'show' the inferior (to the Japanese) state of the people through the bodily inscription of primitivity and difference

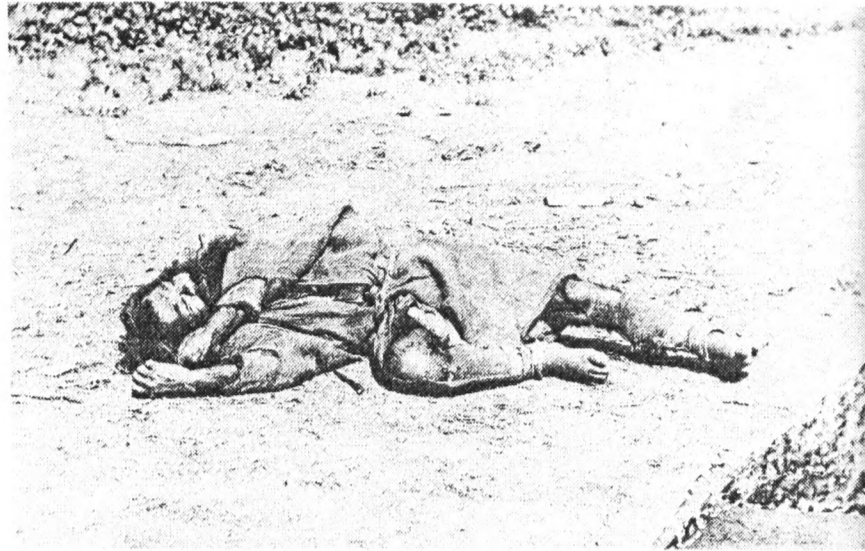


Fig. 4.2. Photographer Unknown (possibly Takebayashi Seiichi), *Drunk Ainu Beggar*, 1870s-1880s, Albumen Print.

in clothing, body modification and adornment, dental features, eye shape and amount of body hair, among other things. Anthropometric and other racialised photographs produced specifically for scientists accumulated along with other types of images such as postcards, stereographs and cartes de visite.¹⁹ A massive body of images was created, examples of which can today be found in most of the world's major ethnographic museum collections. Tourist images, which circulated not only in Japan but also throughout the world, featured subjects such as female face tattooing (like images of cicatrisation in African or Melanesian contexts), for example. Other images depicted the Ainu as suffering from the social ills of a dying race, like this image of a drunk Ainu man collapsed in the street (similar images can be found in the picturing of First Nations people in the North American context) (figure 4.2). These images were used in the context of scientific discussions of Ainu body odour, mental and cultural inferiority and physical difference in general, as well as in other academic and popular discourses.²⁰ Although the Ogasawara Islanders were never subjected to the same extreme level of scientific objectification, I shall discuss below several episodes when photography and racist science combined in order to construct representations of Islander bodies.



Fig. 4.3. Photographer Unknown, *Three Dancers and Musician*, 1870s-1890s. Collection of Imperial Household Archives.



Fig. 4.4. Fujisaki Naotaka, *Sakura Island Peddlers, Kagoshima*, 1872, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

In contrast to the Ainu case, relatively little early photography of Okinawa remains. Much of the stock was destroyed during World War Two, although there are collections in Tokyo and elsewhere on the Japanese mainland, as well as limited collections abroad. Extant early images (many of which are held in the National Museum and Imperial Archives) reflect a Japanese concern with Okinawan grave styles (which differ significantly from mainland Japanese styles), female tattooing (as in the Ainu case), dress, performance and other visible signs of cultural difference (figure 4.3). Photographs of internal others residing outside the centre of the Japanese nation, such as peasants in rural areas, including small island chains off the mainland, were also produced during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As one might expect, these images of internal others also reveal an interest in difference and ‘lower’ levels of cultural development, as reflected in the clustering of images related to such subjects as dress and methods of carrying baskets (preferably on the head) (figure 4.4). Consumed in the modern metropolitan centres, these images of difference were easily read as signs of backwardness.

This very brief contextualisation of photographing the internal other in Japan has established at least the outlines of the photographic discourses within which images of the Ogasawara Islands were produced and consumed. I next examine the rendering of Islanders as internal others, with attention to the photographic construction of this process.

Othering the Ogasawara Islanders

The previous chapter discussed Matsuzaki Shinji's images of Ogasawara, the first photographs produced of the Islands. Based on differing archiving histories as well as differing material forms, I considered Matsuzaki's images and their location within the colonial project that brought the Islands under Japanese control. Generally speaking, all the images can be said to have located the Islands as remote and in so doing contributed to othering the Islanders. In particular, however, the *carte de visite* images most unambiguously located the Islanders within the 'type' photography genre commonly used to image colonised and otherwise marginalized people.

This is highlighted by the fact that most of the other images produced during the expedition were printed as large albumen prints, objects that had different social functions from the *carte de visite* and were much less identifiable as colonial objects by virtue of the image format alone. Both formats, however, ultimately allowed colonial settlers, administrators, travellers and people in the metropolitan centres of the colonising countries to 'collect' these 'native types' from across the colonised world.

The *carte de visite* images conform in presentation to similar objects produced in colonial contexts throughout the world and within Japan itself. For example, as

mentioned above, similar images were produced of the Ainu and Okinawan populations during the same period and well into the twentieth century.²¹ The image archives of these different populations, however, do not mimic each other as closely as might be expected. As has already been briefly discussed, the photographic treatment of the Ainu, in particular, takes extremely dehumanising and exoticising turns at times. The Islands, like other frontiers, represented a dangerous, liminal space ‘requiring’ the taming of Japanese civilisation, yet images like that of the drunken Ainu man above (see figure 4.2), were never produced of the Islanders, despite numerous written texts describing the settlers as ‘motley’, ‘illiterate’, ‘wild’ and, indeed, ‘drunk’. This is not to say that there were no episodes of essentialising photography; on the contrary, as I discuss below, these episodes, occurring in the realm of scientific inquiry, can be found jutting out from within the many layers of the image archive. Rather, I would argue that there is a difference in the context of production of this visual othering and the paths of circulation of the resulting images that reveals the problematic location of the Ogasawara Islands within the category of ‘internal other’ in relation to other colonial and peripheral areas under Japanese control, as I shall demonstrate in the discussion of several collections of Ogasawaran images that follows.

Photographic Albums

As Martha Langford has argued in the context of albums of family photographs, “most of us are spoiled by the ideal circumstances in which we normally encounter an album—with an interpreter in the home” (Langford 2001: 5). She characterises this encounter as an oral-photographic performance in which there is a ‘showing and telling’

and notes the irony in the fact that the very act of preserving an album (in a public museum) strips it from its social meaning and function (Langford 2001: 5). Although the albums she examines were once narrated by the voices of family narration and thus given a particular context and meaning, they are now engulfed in the silence of a 'suspended conversation'. Langford proposes conceiving of the album as an act of communication, which "means reactivating a suspended conversation that fills in those gaps by reawakening the actors" (Langford 2001: 19).

Unlike those examined by Langford, the four photographic albums I examine here were not private, family objects. All were 'official' objects: the first was produced in the mid-Meiji era probably for a scientific expedition for a university or other government body; the others were produced by the Imperial Household for the emperor, two in the mid- to late-Meiji era and the remaining one in the Taisho period (1912-1926). Like Langford's family albums, however, these albums have almost no surviving contextual information. Other than what exists within their own covers, the albums reveal no obvious histories. By expanding her concept of 'family' to different categories of agents (in this case, government officials, professional photographers and others), Langford's model of approaching albums of photographs, albums about which virtually nothing is known, can be usefully adapted to attempt to overcome this gap and gain meaningful information from objects that might otherwise prove resistant to analysis.

Imagining these 'conversations' does not mean trying to literally recreate words spoken a century ago, for that would of course be impossible. What one is really doing is considering the form and presentation of the object (the album), scrutinising the objects it holds (the images) for ethnographic and historical clues and attempting to relocate them

within a narrative—visual and oral—that created a context for the consumer of the album to understand the images as individual objects and as part of a larger story. This larger story, or discursive field, was inevitably linked to smaller stories, such as individual life histories and psychologies, about which virtually nothing can be recovered, as well as to yet larger stories, such as discourses of race and power, about which much can be recovered. Exposing these linkages allows one to reasonably conjecture about the original meanings attached the objects.

Collecting Specimens

There is a ‘dry box’ located in the offices of the director of the Ogasawara Islands Village Department of Education. Contained within are numerous precious documents belonging to the village, particularly historical documents. The climate-controlled storage unit protects its contents from the ravages of salt air and humidity. In the back of the unit, on the top of two shelves, beneath many folders of papers, sits an old album of photographs.²² The album is of accordion style, with silk-covered, padded front and back covers, now well worn and fraying at the edges. The photographs are carefully captioned and there is a title page that tells us the name of the album: *Ogasawara: Island Photographs*.²³ It also lists the date, telling us that it was produced in July and August of 1899. The album was purchased by the Department of Education from a dealer in Tokyo but no records accompanied the album and the photographer’s name is unknown. There is no information other than what is contained within the album itself, which includes captions for most of the images.

There are twenty-five cards in total, with photographs of approximately 15 cm x 10 cm mounted on both sides of each card, except for the title card and final eight cards, which have photographs mounted only on a single side. Each card is connected to the next and the connections fold in alternate directions.

The first sixteen images in the album provide a mainly coastal contextualisation of the Islands. Various coastal views, including several photographed from the beach, which include canoes, and several others photographed from vantage points in the mountains, set an exotic stage and begin to orient the viewer to Ogasawara's natural environment by picturing bays, beaches and small, offshore islands. The album's compiler was likely attempting to establish place through the use of landscape. These are followed by twenty images of native flora and then four 'cultural' images follow. The final image was taken on a mountaintop on Hachijyō Island.²⁴ Some of the landscape and botanical images also seem to serve as group portraits of men, probably members of the expedition team, or perhaps feature these men as a means of humanising the foreign landscape. As I shall discuss in the next chapter in the context of the development of tourism in Japan, traditionally there is a distinct abhorrence of nature in the raw, which represents the wild and dangerous, something to be feared. Despite the obvious importance of the flora under examination in this album, people have been inserted into the frame, as if to tame the wildness. Although there is no oral narration to explain what one sees, looking through these images begins to give one a sense of how important recording Ogasawara's wild nature—even if modified—was to the producer.

More of this story is found in the captions. The images of island flora are captioned in several different writing formats. Modern written Japanese is commonly

composed of three elements: Chinese-based characters, *kanji*, and two syllabaries, *hiragana* (used to express grammar, among other things) and *katakana* (normally used for words of foreign origin). In the early and mid-Meiji periods, documents were usually written in a combination of *kanji* and *katakana*, which was used in lieu of *hiragana* to write the inflected portions of words and phrases. All captions in *Island Photographs* are written in this style. Botanical images also contain the subject's local name, often a word with a Hawaiian or other Polynesian etymology, written in the *katakana* syllabary. Many also include the plant's European scientific name.²⁵

As already mentioned, no written documentation regarding the album exists. Based on the presentation and subject matter of the photographs, however, it appears that the album was produced during a scientific expedition, probably botanical in focus, an increasingly common prospect at the turn of the twentieth century in the Ogasawara Islands.²⁶ The importance given to island flora and its identification and scientific classification are indicators of the intentionality of the producer(s).

Island Photographs' scientific focus on the flora of Ogasawara is beyond the scope of this study except to note very generally that this too was a kind of othering that contributed another layer of remoteness to the Islands through a picturing of the exotic. This botanical narrative of the Islands, which would be echoed in tourist constructs in future years (as I discuss in chapters 5 and 6) constructs a vision of Ogasawara as a mostly non-cultural space that is nevertheless not entirely wild and frightening. An active scientific interest in Ogasawara's flora and fauna, international in scope, has continued to the present day and one Japanese university has in recent years built a

permanent facility to house visiting researchers during field trips to the Islands. I will concentrate here, however, on the inclusion of the four images of cultural subjects.

One of these images is ostensibly a beach scene (according to its caption) but also includes two men (figure 4.5). This image could just as easily have been placed in the beginning section with other landscape views, some of which include people. Instead, the compiler located this image after the



Fig. 4.5. Photographer Unknown, *Winter Turtle Beach, Haha Island, 1899.* Collection of Ogasawara Village.

landscapes and plants together with the final several images of the album. It shows two expedition members resting under the shade of trees, possibly along the shore but without any sign of ocean or sand. Their names are not included in the caption but the ordering of this image close to other images of 'local' culture suggests that the men might be local guides (Japanese settlers), hired by the expedition. Their worker's clothing contrasts with the fine clothes of the men seen in images that appear earlier in the album (figure 4.6).

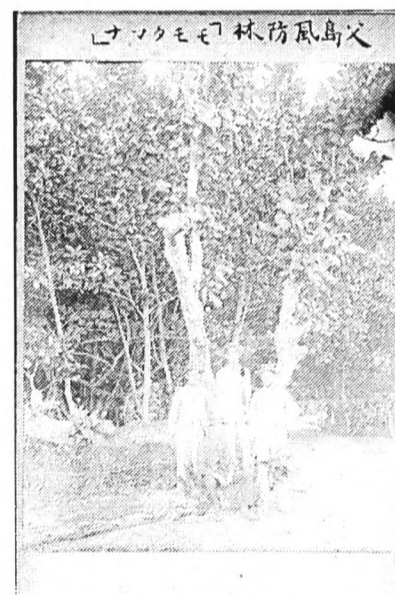


Fig. 4.6. Photographer Unknown, *Windbreak Forest, Chichi Island, 1899.* Collection of Ogasawara Village.

The image that follows *Winter Turtle Beach* is of the Shinto shrine dedicated to Ogasawara Sadayori, the purported

Japanese discoverer of the Islands. The shrine represented Japan's state religion in Ogasawara and itself served an important symbolic purpose (apart from any religious services it might have provided to settlers) in legitimising the Japanese claim to and

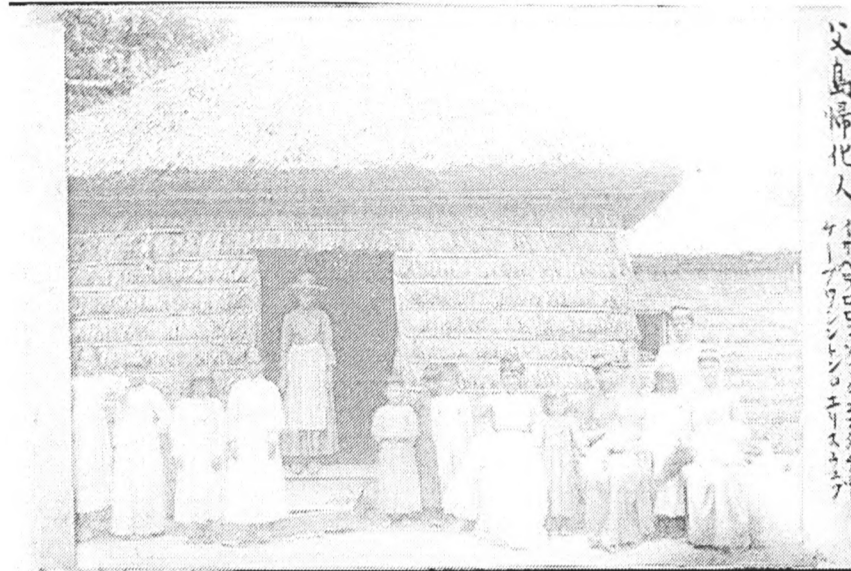


Fig. 4.7. Photographer Unknown, *Naturalised People of Chichi Island: Isabella Robinson, Esther Gilley, Kate Washington, Eliza Webb*, 1899. Collection of Ogasawara Village.

presence in the Islands. There is also an image of workers processing sugar cane (one of Ogasawara's most important agricultural products at the time) included in the album, if only to give some sense of a local industry. The workers appear to be a small family, a man and a woman holding an infant, sitting next to a sugar cane press that is turned by an ox. The final photograph of Ogasawara (and the album's penultimate photograph) is an intriguing image of First Settlers (figure 4.7).²⁷

It is intriguing in part because it is one of only a very few images in the entire archive of images of the Ogasawara Islands that is a group portrait of First Settler women. The image contains four women, nine children (of whom one is possibly male) and one or two infants held in women's arms. The four adults are identified by name. The group is posed in front of a thatched-roof dwelling, and all are wearing western (not Japanese) clothing. Few Japanese women at this time wore western garments (although many upper-class men did) and this would have served as an obvious marker of difference. It is not particularly interesting or unusual that the women are posed in front of a native dwelling; this is a consistent convention of the imaging of First Settlers from

the very first photographs produced in the 1870s, to the postcards made in the pre-World War Two period (which I discuss in the next chapter). But why did the photographer choose to photograph women in particular? Perhaps there was some sort of imagined correspondence between their gender and their collectability as objects of inquiry. Or perhaps, to the Japanese scientist-producer of this image, the women's bodies were as a matter of course the first site of 'difference' in this alien landscape (Poole 1997: 23).

The image is also fascinating because of its deceptively simple caption: *Naturalised People of Chichi Island (chichijima kikajin)*. The caption also lists the individual names of four women (Isabella Robinson, Esther Gilley, Kate Washington and Eliza Webb) but does not list the children's names. The specific word used to describe the First Settlers in this image, *kikajin*, and the forms of the writing employed in the caption, make the caption worthy of closer scrutiny. *Kikajin* literally means person who is returned or come/gone home, and was used to describe non-Japanese Islanders who became Japanese citizens/subjects. The term remained in use until after the Islands reverted to Japanese control following the end of the American occupation in 1968. This points to the complicated subjectivity of the First Settlers: they were granted legal citizenship (earlier than other internal others) by the state yet they were not simply and fully 'Japanese'.

The question of First Settler citizenship is complicated further because although their position as citizens was a privileged one when compared with the situation of Okinawans and Ainu in the same period and, later, with Koreans, Taiwanese and other colonised groups,²⁸ there is evidence to suggest that some First Settlers were coerced into naturalising. In his diary, the Reverend F.B. Plummer, the first British clergyman to visit

the Islands (in 1877) (Cholmondeley 1915: 1), recounts a discussion with a man (who was apparently British) named 'Myers'. One topic of their discussion was Myers' attempt to become a Japanese citizen:

After I talked with the governor [Obana Sakusuke] for some time, he and the interpreter left me and allowed my black friend Myers to come into the room and dictate to me a letter which he wished me to write to [British] Consul [Russell] Robertson [of Yokohama]. Some months ago, Myers, having had a narrow escape, he said, of being murdered and feeling greatly the need of protection, had given way to the earnest persuasions of the governor to make a declaration, whereby he might become a Japanese subject, all the other settlers having resisted similar persuasions.²⁹

Plummer was in Ogasawara in early March 1877, the same month in which the first group of settlers (five people) applied for naturalisation, so at least some of the Islanders were 'persuaded' to become 'Japanese'. The Japanese government approved their applications in June of the same year (Tsuji 1995: 17) and they were naturalised by being enrolled in the family register system (*koseki*) (Yamagata 1906: 367).³⁰ The nature and extent of the pressure applied on the First Settlers to naturalise is not known. In Myers' case, as a foreign citizen he (and his attacker, assuming he was also foreign) would not have been subject to Japanese laws under existing treaties and therefore would also have been unable to call on Japanese authorities for mediation or protection. However, the British had no authority or official representation in Ogasawara, leaving the settlers in a state of legal limbo. Perhaps other settlers were also eventually convinced by this or similar arguments. Techniques of 'persuasion' and other circumstances aside, the fact remains that by 1882 all remaining First Settlers had become naturalised Japanese citizens.

Returning to the image of First Settler women, the names of the adult subjects are written in the caption, unusual in the archive of First Settlers. This could indicate, if not a

certain measure of respect for the status of the pictured individuals, an avoidance (probably unconscious) of the generalisations that so often occurred in colonial photographic encounters, which held up an individual as standing in for an entire group ('native belle' or 'typical Ainu'). On the one hand, then, this seems to be a kind of respectful recognition of personhood. On the other, however, it must be stressed that the writing system (*katakana*) used to name the individuals, is the same as that used to render the plants' local names and also used to Japanese foreign words. The names could have been written in the Latin alphabet (which would have reflected the native writing systems of the subjects), or in *kanji* (the Chinese character-based system used to write Japanese names and Japanese First Settler names). By virtue of the image's placement within the album and the way it was captioned, the women appear to have been categorised as if they were a local species of plant. The women were 'collected' along with other 'species' in this album of island photographs.

In trying to imagine the 'conversation' that surrounded the reading of this album, it is tempting to conceive of it as having been used as evidence of racial types or some sort of taxonomy of difference in Ogasawara. Indeed, there would likely have been some discussion of the First Settler community and their various markers of cultural difference. This conversation did not, however, connect to what was elsewhere the widespread practice of using photography in anthropological and other racialised projects. The perceived difference that excluded the First Settlers from full 'Japaneseness' made them worthy of a small measure of photographic attention in this otherwise botanical and topographical album. Furthermore, the album imparts a certain degree of scientific meaning on the photograph of the First Settler women through the context of its

consumption. However, although the image was directly linked to wider taxonomic discourses through this consumption and its original production during a scientific expedition, the First Settlers were not considered as important a subject for scientific inquiry as were Ogasawara's flora and coastlines in this album, and barely warranted inclusion at all. This notable absence of scientific scrutiny of the First Settlers has been consistent over time, with few exceptions in subsequent imaging (a point to which I shall return below).

The image of First Settler women in the album is unusual in the archive of early images for its direct entanglement in scientific discourses. The vast majority of early images of the First Settlers do not fit neatly into scientific discourses, or even into more general Japanese attitudes toward internal others; images of the Islands were not consistently produced or consumed in the context of a discussion of total primitivity (although this also occurred) and never as a site of ancient Japanese origins, as had been argued by scholars (and adopted in turn by politicians) in regards to Hokkaido, Okinawa and other colonial conquests in Asia and the Pacific. Images of the Ogasawara Islands did not purport to show equivalence between the Islanders' 'race' and a low level of cultural or moral development, but the images clearly define them as other.

Imperial Gazing

Three additional albums of photographs were produced near the time the above album was made. During the reign of Emperor Meiji (1868-1912), and after the initial expedition, during which Matsuzaki Shinji produced the first photographs of the Islands, seven imperial dispatches were sent to Ogasawara and other Japanese islands as part of

the so-called island inspections (*tōjyō shisatsu*). The earliest of these occurred in 1883, the latest in 1909. Photographs of the Ogasawara Islands were produced during at least one or two of these surveys (Takebe and Nakamura 2000: 164). Two albums of these images, both titled *Ogasawara Island Photographs*, are archived in the Imperial Household Archives.³¹ The third album was produced in circa 1917, during the reign of Meiji's son, Emperor Taisho, and is also in the collection of the Imperial Household Archives.

The first album contains twenty-nine albumen prints and the second has twenty-one.³² The prints measure 10 cm x 14 cm with the exception of two panorama images, one of which is comprised of two prints pasted together and the other of three prints. Many images are scenic views of Ogasawara's natural environment, which are essentially indistinguishable in content from many of the first images of Ogasawara produced by Matsuzaki Shinji in 1875. Images of virgin landscapes, stunning mountain views and beautiful beaches punctuate the albums. Interspersed throughout, however, are images that demonstrate the progress of Japanese settlement in the Islands, which had been ongoing for at least seven years and as long as forty-three years at the time these images were produced. By contrast, there are very few images reflecting the First Settler presence, all of which are found exclusively in the first album.

One can conjecture that officials in Tokyo, flipping through the pages of the albums, would have used the images contained within to illustrate a narrative of Japanese 'progress' in Ogasawara, much as images of the building of infrastructure in Hokkaido 'evidenced' the development of that region. Although among the first photographs in the first album are images of 'Perry's Mountain' (land purchased by Commodore Perry from

Nathaniel Savory in 1853) rising up behind farming land and a homestead belonging to a French settler, and the settler and his family posed before their home (figure 4.8), most images reinforce the notion of ongoing Japanese settlement.



Fig. 4.8. Photographer Unknown, *View of the Prosper Lesart Household in Shūzaki*, Albumen Print, 1882-1909. Collection of Imperial Household Archives.

This image, for example, illustrates the governmental presence on Haha Island

(figure 4.9). This image of Japanese settler Okiyama Yūmatsu standing in his pineapple field could have been viewed as powerful ‘evidence’ of the successful agricultural development of Ogasawara (figure 4.10). Further ‘evidence’ of development includes images of Japanese settler dwellings, a bridge and graves with stone markers.³³

The albums’ individual images, important in their own right, have another story to tell when considered as objects within an object. As Elizabeth Edwards has argued, “the album is more than a sum of its parts in that its significance lies multiplied in the massing

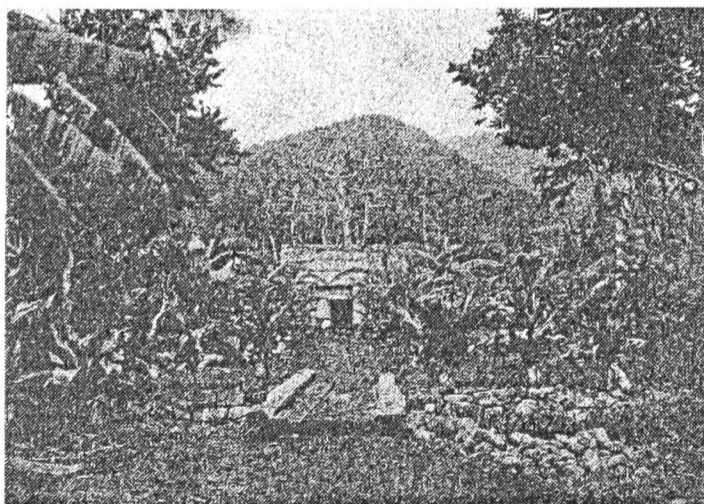


Fig. 4.9. Photographer Unknown, *Colonial Office in Oki Village, Haha Island*, 1882-1909. Collection of Imperial Household Archives.



Fig. 4.10. Photographer Unknown, *View of Okiyama Komatsu’s House from the Eastern Bridge, Oki Village, Haha Island*, 1882-1909. Collection of Imperial Household Archives.

of individual images: narrative structure and related texts formed through its materiality” (Edwards 1999: 230). Edwards identifies as crucial that the album retemporalises, constructing a narrative of history, both through the spatial arrangements of the individual images and “the way that the viewer activates the temporality and narrative through the physical action of holding the object and turning the pages” (Edwards 1999: 230).

A narrative of Japanese settlement emanates from individual images and would likely have been orally narrated as well by chamberlains returned from inspecting the Islands. Possibly they narrated as the emperor flipped through the albums’ pages with his own hands, stopping and gazing upon photographs that caught his attention, perhaps asking for detailed information about this or that image. Would he not have been pleased by the progress of his colony so far away from his palace in the capital? Perhaps he would have relished the knowledge that his empire, growing stronger as the years passed, had incorporated non-Japanese subjects who were once nationals of western countries.

These albums have significance beyond even these important features, however. In contrast to the early years (especially first two decades) of his reign, in which the emperor toured the empire in a series of imperial progresses in an attempt to unify the country and gain from the people recognition of the new imperial order, as discussed in Chapter 2, the emperor himself did not attend these island inspections; instead, chamberlains were dispatched. A primary function was, of course, the gathering of information such as population statistics and economic data. Following Takashi Fujitani’s discussion of imperial progresses, however, I would argue the more crucial

aspect of these inspections was that they facilitated the Islands becoming an object of the emperor's surveillance.

Fujitani describes imperial pageantry as having created an inverted ocular relationship between the emperor and the Japanese people (1996: 24). By this he means that although the emperor was purportedly being made visible to the people of the nation, the subjects were in fact made visible to him as he travelled throughout the country or gazed out at them from his location in the (power) centre. The people of the nation internalised this surveillance, in a kind of Panopticon-like arrangement of power.³⁴

In the case of Ogasawara, a region of the empire never visited by Emperor Meiji, imperial/national surveillance was extended by the use of photography, allowing for an imperial expression of power without necessitating his physical presence. Photographers were dispatched from the centre to the periphery. They created images and compiled them into albums in order to produce their narratives of Ogasawara. The act of photographing Ogasawara functioned as much to inscribe Japanese settlement and serve as visual evidence of this 'progress' as it did to alert the settlers—Japanese and 'naturalised' westerners alike—that they and their islands were part of the Japanese nation.³⁵

This fits into a larger pattern of using photography to achieve acts of national inclusion/exclusion in Japan, as discussed above and in previous chapters. This also ties into another governmental use of photography that began in the Meiji era. The government started placing photographs of the emperor (and empress) in schools throughout Japan in the early 1890s, which was in addition to the placement of images in other government offices that had already occurred in earlier years. "Schools vied in

their requests to be the first recipient of imperial photographs in their area,” and obeisance before these images was required, and was linked to the singing of the national anthem and other nation-building activities (Gluck 1985: 80, 85-86). Imperial photographers arriving in Ogasawara, therefore, were working within an environment that already associated photography with the emperor/nation. There was as yet no commercial photographer based in Ogasawara and the only previous experiences Islanders had with the technology were also governmental in nature.³⁶

Photography thus rendered Ogasawara a visible space to the emperor/nation and simultaneously a place within the boundaries of ‘Japan’. This became an increasingly untenable position to occupy, as Japan became a progressively robust colonial power in the first decades of the twentieth century. This is evident in the next and final imperial album I discuss, produced during the reign of Meiji’s successor. The album both reinforces established discourses, such as remoteness and Japanese control, and introduces new issues into the photography of Ogasawara. It is an imperial object that pictured the Ogasawara Islands as a place located within the modern Japanese Empire. I argue that within this object can be seen the maturing of Japanese colonial confidence and, at the same time, a distillation of visual ideas about race and identity in the Ogasawara Islands.

As befitted an object produced for imperial consumption, the album was prepared with great care and expense. Its cover is of fine, ivory-coloured silk, somewhat stained with age now but clearly of the highest quality. It is a large album, about 38 cm x 29 cm and feels very heavy: it was not designed to be casually passed around but rather to be

studied carefully on a table or desk. There are three brass taps (the fourth is missing) on the corners of the back cover, raising the album above the surface on which it is laid.

The title, *The Ogasawara Islands (with Hachijyō Island Supplement): An Album of Photographs*,³⁷ is written in gold characters, embossed over the white silk, read from left to right in traditional (pre-War)³⁸ style. An ornate and sturdy brass clasp, tarnished now but of elegant leaf design, holds the many pages closed. The photographs look as if they are embedded into the pages but in fact are mounted on large, gilt-edged pages, covered by another page with a bevelled, gilded rectangular opening that reveals the image beneath. The inside cover and first page are decorated in a colourful cloud design. The photographs follow, and fragments of delicately opaque sheets of *washi* (hand-made Japanese paper) remain as separators between some pages. The first thirty-one photographs are of the Ogasawara Islands, the final three of Hachijyō Island.

The album was accessioned into the archives of the Imperial Household Agency in 1938, after having been held for some years in the current archives' institutional predecessor. Imperial Household archivists were unable to supply any other information regarding the album's biography. The album can be reliably dated, however, to between 1917 and 1919.³⁹

Whilst the viewer can literally see the symbols of the solidification of Japanese national control over the territory in the earlier imperial album (and indeed, in many of the early photographs discussed thus far), as physical markers of Japanese presence dot the island landscape, *The Ogasawara Islands* does not seem to be about establishing control. The circa 1917 album's visual narrative opens with a typical 'establishing shot', to borrow a cinematic term, in which Chichi Island's harbour is featured, giving the

viewer a sense of entering or approaching the island. It is a panorama image that was constructed by using the then common technique of pasting together two widely framed images, which were taken from atop a neighbouring mountain. This is followed in turn by an image of the building that served as the government's headquarters in Ogasawara. The album's narrative continues with coastal and town scenes that locate Ogasawara both as an exotic landscape and one that is being 'civilised' through settlement.

Considering the historical context within which this album was produced, it is not surprising that, unlike earlier albums and images of the Ogasawara Islands, little effort appears to have been applied to construct a narrative of Japanese sovereignty. The colony was firmly established as a part of Japan by 1917, with a Japanese settler population of about 5,500. The First Settler population, by contrast, had suddenly and dramatically declined just a few years prior to the production of the album. In 1913 a large percentage of the First Settler population abruptly left the Islands for Guam, for reasons that are not entirely clear (Arima 1990: 49). The First Settlers numbered 120 in 1912, declining to seventy-nine in 1913. This mass departure further increased Japanese settler numerical dominance in the Islands.

The major narrative running through the entire album, as we have seen with many of the images examined thus far, is remoteness. The remoteness of the Ogasawara pictured in this album is manifested in multiple ways. The exotic landscape, products and people are all posited as 'different' in order to warrant a place in the album, for there would be no reason to include them otherwise for display before the emperor. Photographs of important local industries such as sugar production, basketry, turtles and bananas follow the landscape images. These images provide the viewer an indication of

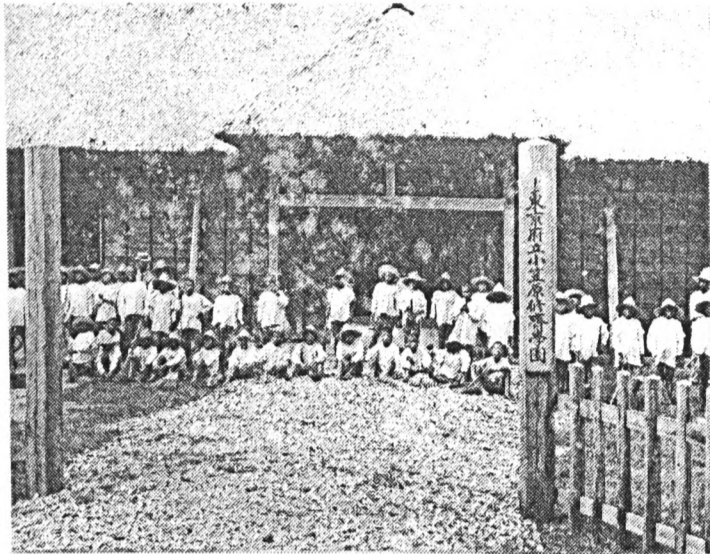


Fig. 4.11. Photographer Unknown, *Inmates of the Reform School*, 1917-1919. Collection of Imperial Household Archives.



Fig. 4.12. Photographer Unknown, *Reform School*, 1917-1919. Collection of Imperial Household Archives.

what is produced locally, whilst simultaneously exposing these products as exotic markers of difference from mainland norms.

Two particularly interesting images that figure into the trope of remoteness are those of the reform school for delinquent boys (figures 4.11, 4.12). The government located the reform school in the Islands precisely because of Ogasawara's perceived remoteness and the presumed beneficial effects this would have on the characters of its young inmates.⁴⁰ The inmates were often 'consigned' (supplied by the institution at no charge) to farming families on Chichi Island and virtually treated as slave labour. It was thought that the combination of 'hard work', impossibility of escape (due to the isolated location) and moral and physical benefits of Ogasawara's climate (in other words, the remoteness of the Islands) would help to reform the boys.⁴¹

Perhaps the most revealing images in the album are those of the so-called naturalised people. This album above all materialises the First Settler people as internal others in a narrative of remoteness, marked by physical ('racial') and cultural (especially religious and linguistic) difference from the 'Japanese'. The album prominently and openly features First Settler subjects and, significantly, for the first time in the history of

the imaging of the Ogasawara Islands, it also differentiates among several categories of naturalised people and creates a racial hierarchy of islanders of non-Japanese origin in visual terms.

This image of the English language school, taught by Ogasawara's Anglican vicar, Joseph Gonzales, accomplishes several things (figure 4.13). Most

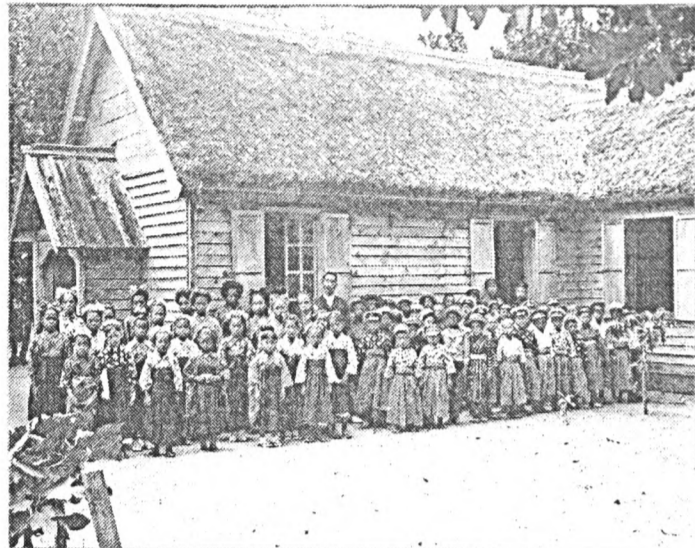


Fig. 4.13. Photographer Unknown, *English Language School Operated by Naturalised People*, 1917-1919. Collection of Imperial Household Agency.

obviously, as with all images of First Settlers in the album, it marks difference. More specific and meaningful (if less obvious) ethnographic details can be gleaned from this image, however. One of the most interesting of these is the manner in which the children are dressed. Whilst the photographer is clearly seeking to picture difference, the children (either at the direction of their parents or more likely, the vicar) were seeking to portray sameness at a certain level. The children all wear Japanese clothing and hairstyles typical of the era (a useful clue in dating the image to the Taisho period), as if to stress a high degree of assimilation into Japanese ways of life despite the maintenance of at least the linguistic aspect of a foreign culture.

It is also noteworthy that, during this period, the Japanese authorities allowed the school to operate at all. Later, as World War Two approached, militarism and nationalism increased to such an extent that the teaching of English was viewed as subversive and subsequently banned, resulting in the closure of the school.⁴² The children's English-Japanese bilingual education came to be regarded as an obstacle to

development in Ogasawara, as increasing numbers of people from other parts of Japan and its colonies migrated to the Islands. There were even cases of Islanders being sent to the mainland in order “to have their lifestyle elevated and their customs improved” (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 29).



Fig. 4.14. Photographer Unknown, *Anglican Church*, 1917-1919. Collection of Imperial Household Agency.

In figure 4.14, the vicar and congregation of St. George’s Church⁴³ are featured as part of a series of three religion-themed images.⁴⁴ This image reminds us that the ubiquitous European missionary presence in other Pacific islands and in Japan proper was also felt in the Ogasawara Islands. Tokyo-based Anglican missionaries began an association with Ogasawara in 1877 with the arrival of the Reverend F.B. Plummer, who was briefly mentioned above, a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (in Foreign Parts). He went to the Ogasawara Islands to minister to English speaking settlers, whom church officials in Tokyo felt were in desperate need of Christian teaching in the English language. In 1894, the Reverend L.B. Cholmondeley continued this work and made the first of sixteen voyages to Chichi Island (Cholmondeley 1915).⁴⁵

The image portrays a cross-section of the First Settler community, in all its phenotypic diversity. The caption concentrates our attention on the Christianness of the subject but following on from my reading of the previous image, other ethnographic clues are available for our examination here. The viewer will notice that the children in this image (all of whom appear to be school-aged) are dressed in Japanese fashion, whereas

most of the adults are in western dress. Everyone appears to be dressed literally in his or her ‘Sunday best’ in order to attend church and possibly to pose for this photograph. This suggests a progressively assimilationist trend in the First Settler community, in which the younger members—who, after all, were being schooled in the Japanese educational system—increasingly conformed to Japanese standards.

Other images in the album can help us begin to understand how ‘race’ was being constructed in Ogasawara in the Taisho period. First Settler subjects of earlier photographs were often anonymous, sometimes identified by country of origin, and occasionally identified by name, but had never been differentiated from each other in any other terms. Images of First Settlers in *The Ogasawara Islands* effectively ‘racialise’ subjects of different ethnic groups and create a hierarchised way of picturing differences within the larger First Settler community. Two images in particular illustrate the point.

Naturalised South Seas Barbarians (nan’yō doban kikajin) shows a woman seated in a wooden chair, holding a child (presumably her own) in her lap, posed in front of a dwelling thatched with cabbage palm (presumably her home) (figure 4.15). The blatantly debasing and hierarchical term ‘barbarian’ employed in the caption is not used carelessly here. It is combined with the general term that was applied by Japanese settlers and government administrators to all non-Japanese Islanders after 1882, when the last of the First Settlers was naturalised. ‘Naturalised’ person (*kikajin*) was not as overtly moralistic or offensive as ‘barbarian’ but was of course not a neutral term, as it marked the recipient as an internal other by definition. Furthermore, the designation of the South Seas (*nan’yō*) as the origin of the subjects would have immediately alerted the reader to the subjects’ low status and exotic otherness.⁴⁶ Rather than use the general term



Fig. 4.15. Photographer Unknown, *Naturalised South Seas Barbarians*, 1917-1919. Collection of Imperial Household Agency.



Fig. 4.16. Photographer Unknown, *European Naturalised People*, 1917-1919. Collection of Imperial Household Agency.

(‘naturalised’), the caption combined these three terms into a damning compound title that locates the subjects at the bottom of a pre-existing social and racial hierarchy.

The caption and presentation of the photograph indicate a racialising intention in the production of this image, as is true of many of the images of First Settlers in this album. The images are ‘racialising’ not merely because they purport to document the existence of these internal others and illustrate their difference in visual terms, however. They also establish a continuum from barbaric to civilised. The place of the South Seas subjects at the lower end of this hierarchy could not be clearer than when viewed in contrast with the image it faces in the album, *European Naturalised People* (*ōshū kikajin*) (figure 4.16). ‘Europeans’ were generally held in high esteem in Japan at this time, as ‘the west’ was considered modern, civilised and powerful.⁴⁷

The humble Japanese dress of the ‘barbarian’ woman stands in great contrast to the European finery of the three ‘European’ settlers. They are carefully posed and appear every bit the bourgeois ladies of an English painting. The woman in the centre, who has

the fairest complexion of the three, holds a parasol as if to shade herself from the tropical sun, perhaps to preserve the European whiteness of her skin as much as to protect from the heat.

In any case, the reader would have understood that the captions indicated the superiority of the European over the South Sea subjects, simply by virtue of their respective origins. This is in addition to the use of 'barbarian', a term that becomes almost redundant in this context. The captioning, composition and ordering of the images emphasise a racialised hierarchy by connecting with racial discourses that existed in the national Japanese context. Had the producers simply been interested in 'documenting' the existence of these 'naturalised' people, both images could have been captioned simply and equally with '*Naturalised People*'.

Scientific Gazing

As stated earlier in this chapter, photography of Ogasawara Islanders has been predominantly non-scientific in both production and circulation, especially when compared with the imaging of other colonised peoples in Japanese territories and indeed throughout the colonised world. As evidenced by several images in the imperial albums examined above, however, this does not mean that the Islanders were not racialised in the image making or consuming process. *Ogasawara: Island Photographs*, the album of mainly botanical photographs produced in 1899, for example, also featured one image of a group of First Settler women, whose inclusion represents a limited acknowledgement of human subjects in an otherwise botanical scientific survey. Otherwise, scientific studies that included photography of Ogasawara's human population were very rare among the

numerous government (and foreign institution-sponsored) scientific surveys related to the study of flora and fauna. Marine, agricultural and infrastructure-related studies conducted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were similarly unconcerned with the research or photography of Ogasawaran Islanders. Botanical and marine-focused research projects continue to be the most common forms of scientific study of the Islands today.

Although the images discussed above might have 'racialised' their First Settler subjects, there was not necessarily a scientific circulation of these images. None of the first images of the Islands produced in 1875 appears to have been circulated among scientists or was collected by ethnographic museums, for example, in contrast to the paths of similar types of images from other regions. Postcards (produced in the first decades of the twentieth century) also appear not to have been collected by ethnographic museums (see Chapter 5). There were, however, several instances of overtly scientific photography of the First Settlers, produced within the context of research of Islander bodies. An examination of this photography is as revealing of the kind of interest First Settlers aroused in researchers as it is of the reasons why such photography was so rarely successfully conducted.

It was not until well into the twentieth century that any scientific studies with photography components were undertaken.⁴⁸ There were also two, multi-volume cultural geographies of Japan, *Nihon Chiri Taikei* and *Nihon Chiri Fuzoku Taikei*, published between 1929 and 1931, which included sections on the Ogasawara Islands that featured text and photographs. Both sets of geographies were arranged geographically and cover the whole of Japan proper and included sections on then colonial possessions Korea and

Taiwan. With very few exceptions (figure 4.17), photographs in these volumes were not studies of human bodies. Most images instead functioned to visually describe aspects of the natural and cultural environment, illustrating the captions. The relatively few images that included human subjects, possibly to avoid a raw or ‘empty’ image rather than to display racialised difference, generally used Japanese settlers rather than First Settlers.

About a decade prior to the publication of the Japanese volumes, two German researchers conducted (separate) research on the anatomy of the Ogasawara’s ‘mixed-race’ population. The research of the important German geneticist Richard Goldschmidt was published

in an academic article in 1927.⁴⁹ Another German scientist, the anatomist Ferdinand Wagenseil, who learned of the Islands from Goldschmidt in Shanghai in 1928, conducted fieldwork in Ogasawara that same year and a follow-up study in 1957 (during which the U.S. Navy refused him permission to visit the American-occupied Islands). Both studies centred on the genetics of the First Settlers; Goldschmidt’s research was based on a short period of observation rather than a proper ‘anthropological study of the entire colony’ and Wagenseil’s research was well supported by various institutions, several months in length, and resulted in the only anthropometric study of the Islanders ever conducted.



Fig. 4.17. Photographer Unknown, *Aloe Plant and Woman*, ca. 1931. Published in *Nihon Chiri Fuzoku Taikei* 1931. This image was produced on Hachijō Island. Note how the anonymous woman, whose face is obscured by her hair, is categorised similarly to the botanical specimens in the same image and below, on the same page.

Goldschmidt's project was to record a genealogy of the First Settler community, with special reference to the effects of 'race-mixing' on phenotypic expressions in various individuals. After giving a brief history of the colony, including a listing of some of the original settlers and their countries of origin, Goldschmidt describes the current situation of the settlers, noting that they display an "English pride in their race, although they are all crossbreeds" but are destined to be absorbed into the Japanese population, losing the traditions of the "old settlers" (Goldschmidt 1927: 36).⁵⁰

This now-familiar theme of cultural (or here perhaps 'racial') loss as a motivation for research obviously permeates Goldschmidt's writing. Although he was a geneticist, he recognised that in his 'salvaging' of a supposedly disappearing culture he was treading on anthropological territory, as he makes known in this section, which also explains some problems he was having with photography:

The most ideal thing would naturally be to conduct a thorough anthropological survey of the whole colony, which consists of about sixty people. For this the author lacked technical training as well as time, and the difficulties of photographing in a fortified zone also played a part (Goldschmidt 1928: 450).⁵¹

He regrets that he was not allowed to copy a police photograph, technically flawed but useful nevertheless, of an intriguing female specimen, a girl who is "pure white: white skin, chestnut brown hair, and completely European facial features. This is not clearly evident on the badly developed photograph made by a police photographer, quite aside from the exotic effect of the Japanese kimono" (Goldschmidt 1928: 452).⁵² Goldschmidt's comment, intended to draw the reader's attention to the amazing recessive whiteness of a mixed-race girl, inadvertently reminds us of the connection between power and photography. It is doubly powerful in this case: we learn that the island police



Fig. 4.18. Richard Goldschmidt, *The Savory Family of Chichijima*, 1926. Published in Goldschmidt 1927. Pictured here are (left to right): Horace Savory, unidentified boy, Eileen Washington, Benjamin Savory (with unidentified canine), Jane Savory.

use photography in surveiling the local population and that Wagenseil, despite his status, is not allowed to photograph with impunity.

Goldschmidt was able to make his own images, which would read merely as stiffly posed family portraits were it not for the fact that they were produced and consumed within a scientific context. In fact, this image of several members of the Benjamin Savory family has been reconfigured as an honoured record of ancestors and now hangs in the house of one of Savory's descendants (figure 4.18). The image has moved from the scientific to the private sphere, losing its once 'racialised' meaning upon being 'reincorporated' into the personal history of the Savory family.

Wagenseil's project was more sophisticated than Goldschmidt's, although ultimately, its purpose was very similar. He wanted to investigate and describe the 'anthropology and genetics' of the First Settler community. He provided a detailed genealogy of Island families, measuring and photographing their bodies. He was supported by various German institutions and received excellent cooperation from Japanese colleagues and the local government in the Islands (Wagenseil 1962: 1). He

noted that he was required to be accompanied by a police officer at all times and that all photographs had to be cleared through the military censor before he left Ogasawara (Wagenseil 1962: 1).⁵³

The details of Wagenseil's study, whilst providing an interesting view of 'race' and genetic research in the late 1920s, are beyond the scope of this thesis. What is interesting to us here is his unique use of photographs of First Settlers as visual 'evidence' or 'data' in his discussion of race mixing, for this occurs nowhere else in the archive of Ogasawaran images. On the one hand, whereas Goldschmidt discussed the results of various different 'racial crossbreedings', his use of photography was connected to his research only as an illustration of 'what they look like'.

Wagenseil, on the other hand, produced photographs of as many islanders as he could, cropping the resulting images into square headshots that were placed in large genealogical tables, where the reader could actually 'see' the evidence for his argument (figure 4.19). Two of the boys pictured in figure 4.19 are the brothers Moses and Swaney Savory, descendants of one of the original settlers, Nathaniel Savory. Vintage, uncropped prints of these images are currently kept in a family album (figures 4.20a – c).⁵⁴ This suggests that subjects received photographs in exchange for their cooperation in the study. Photographs of the subjects in profile, which appear in the published chart, were apparently left out of this exchange, suggesting that Wagenseil and/or the subjects considered the images too scientific for personal consumption. This exchange between scientist and subject does not mitigate the exploitative nature of Wagenseil's project, which ultimately turned its human subjects into specimens.

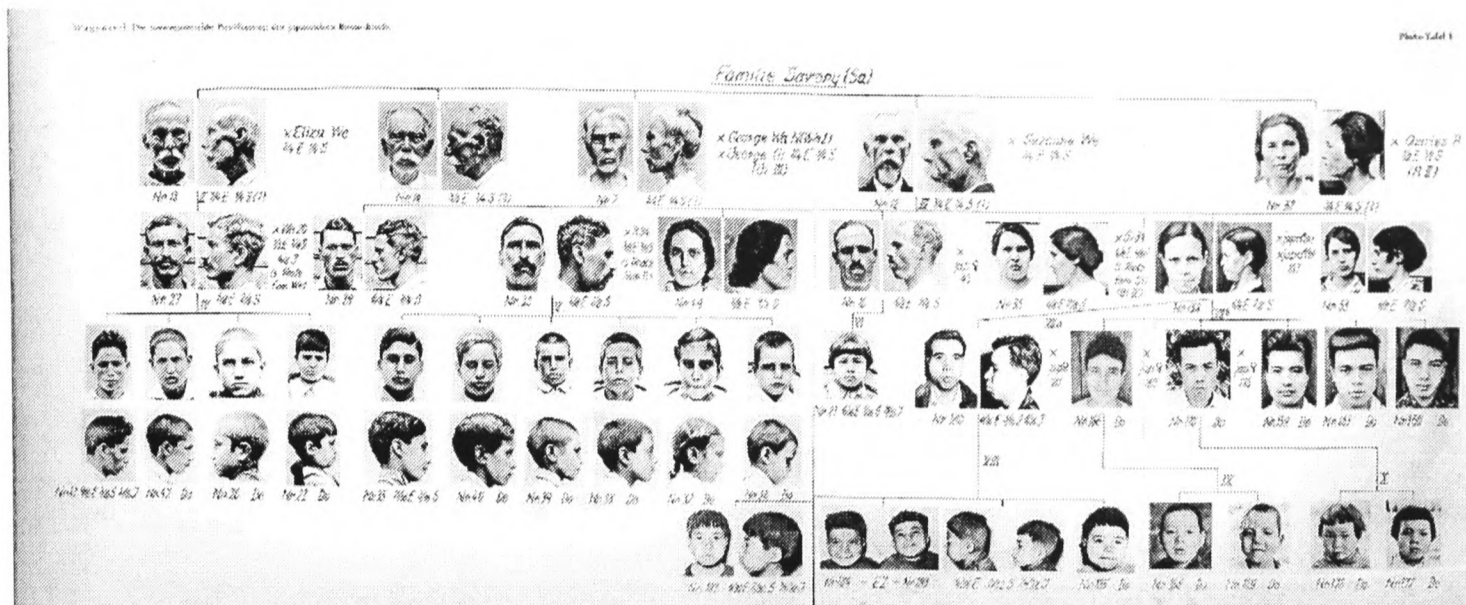


Fig. 4.19. Ferdinand Wagenseil, *Genealogical Chart of the Savory Family*, 1928 and 1957, Published in Wagenseil 1962. The frontal face image of Moses is located in the third row, third position from the left. His profile is directly below. The images of Swaney are located next to the images of Moses.

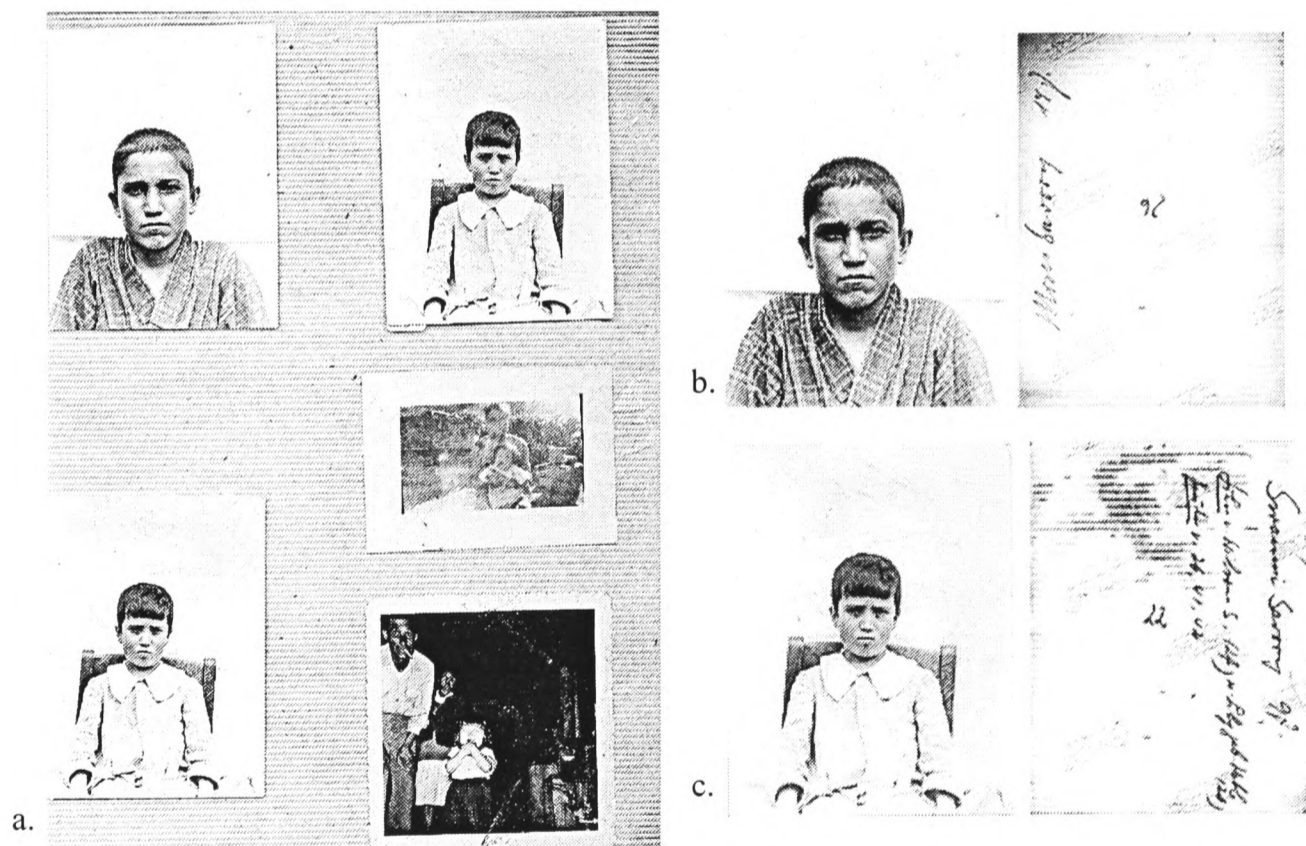


Fig. 4.20a – c (clockwise from left). Ferdinand Wagenseil, *Photographs Produced for Genealogical Chart of Savory Family*, (a) Page from Savory family photograph album with images made by Wagenseil (and two other family photographs); (b) Moses Savory; Front and Verso with subject's name and age (14), probably written by Wagenseil; (c) Swaney Savory; front and verso of with subject's name and age (9), as well as additional notes regarding the subject's kinship. Collection of Harui Savory. Note the white canvas background placed behind the subjects, which allowed Wagenseil to remove all cultural context (except clothing) when he tightly cropped the images for use in the genealogical chart.

It should be noted that although scientific photography was practiced in colonies and in metropolitan capitals (on working class populations and the incarcerated, for example) all over the world, the most dehumanising examples of such photography were most often conducted under conditions of extreme repression, such as in prisons and asylums. Large-scale anthropometric photography projects often failed to receive sufficient cooperation from photographers and colonial officials, who found the practice unpalatable or too difficult to impose on unwilling subjects (Edwards 2001: 151).

Wagenseil had the consent of the government to conduct his research in the Ogasawara Islands, subject to certain restrictions, as mentioned above. Although Japanese officials did not object to the nature of his study, some of his subjects rejected the idea of becoming a part of Wagenseil's research data:

Charles was married to a Japanese and out of the eight living of his eleven children I could only examine Mary in Yokohama; the others were, under the influence of their mother, quite inaccessible. When they saw us coming from a distance, they disappeared into the thicket, and I was only able to make notes on one boy. Later I met with rejection from a daughter in Tokyo too, and the same was true in 1957 for the two older Rufus daughters. I managed however in 1957 to examine one granddaughter of Charles, wife of a Japanese doctor, whom I could also examine along with the two children, she was enlightened enough (Wagenseil 1962: 14).⁵⁵

Although one should not attempt to extrapolate too much significance from these anecdotes, it does seem reasonable to conjecture that Wagenseil might have encountered more than a little resistance to his project. Those who 'willingly' or even eagerly consented to participate were so enmeshed in a political environment of exploitation and marginalisation that they, too, must be considered ultimately as having been appropriated as specimens, whose images were eventually consumed within the context of a scientific report (Edwards 2001: 152). Thus, even in the absence of the extreme oppression of a

prison system or insane asylum, the participation of First Settlers in Wagenseil's study should be considered 'willing' only as configured within the context of the colonial society in which they lived.

Wagenseil failed to gain permission from American authorities to conduct his 1957 follow-up study of the Islanders and was forced to interview and measure subjects on the Japanese mainland. Since then, although anthropological and other social scientific study of the human culture of the Islands has increased, researchers have completely avoided the use of photography in their work, and this episode that combined anthropometry and photography in the Ogasawara Islands remains a singularity.⁵⁶ There are several reasons for this.

The photographic archive of the First Settlers, whilst saturated in a racialised language of remoteness, is distinctly lacking in the dehumanising, deindividualising photography found in the archive of, for example, Ainu images. Although I have suggested that First Settlers themselves played a role in resisting this objectification, the more important factor was the location of the Islanders as internal others. The First Settlers occupied a very slippery and unstable position; unlike the Ainu and Okinawan populations, the First Settlers were unclassifiable as primitive, 'proto-Japanese', clinging to the last vestiges of a pre-historic culture. Instead, they were racialised in a discourse of remoteness, which allowed their position to fluidly shift along the edges of 'Japan' and 'Japaneseness', even as definitions of 'Japan' and 'Japaneseness' themselves shifted. As we shall see in the next chapter, this lack of fit between the First Settlers and pre-existing or newly imported and adapted western categories of classification and difference continued to characterise the photography of the Islands and Islanders as early travel to

the Islands was developed into a fledgling tourist industry in the pre-World War Two period. The trope of remoteness slipped between wildly different meanings, at certain times frightening and repellent and, at others, romantic and alluring.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 4

¹ For a similar point, see Ryan on the London poor in the last decades of the nineteenth century (1997: 173-180).

² For more discussion on this issue, see Lie 2001, Weiner 1997, 1994 and Morris-Suzuki 1999.

³ The Meiji government recruited the first settlers to the Ogasawara Islands from among Hachijō Island peasants; later immigration to the Islands continued to be supplied in part by the Hachijō population.

⁴ For historical discussions, see Tanaka 1993, Oguma 2002, Morris-Suzuki 1998, Fujitani 1996 and Gluck 1985. For examinations of this phenomenon in contemporary times, see for example Clammer 2001, Crieghton 1997, Robertson 1991 and Kondo 1990.

⁵ See, for example, Lie 2001, Ohnuki-Tierney 1998, Howell 1996 and Clammer 2001.

⁶ Whilst a thorough history of this process and an ethnographic accounting of all the groups that have been subjected to this internal othering in Japan is beyond the scope of this study, a general idea of how this has happened will facilitate an understanding of the similar mechanisms that occurred in the rendering of the Ogasawara Islanders as internal others.

⁷ One need only briefly consider the Indonesian case to see the absurdity of this position. With its thousands of islands, over one hundred languages, numerous religions, and the fact that its current (and contested) borders are essentially those left by Dutch conquests rather than ancient 'national' borders (Anderson 1991: 120), the 'nation' of Indonesia is anything but a geologically determined state. People create nations, islands do not.

⁸ For more on *Nihonjinron*, see Mouer and Sugimoto 2002, Befu 2001 and Yoshino 1992.

⁹ See recent works by Siddle 1996, Weiner 1997b, Dikötter 1997 and Befu 2001.

¹⁰ For more on the *Hisabetsu Burakumin*, see Ohnuki-Tierney 1998, Siddle 1996 and De Vos and Wagatsuma 1966.

¹¹ See Roth 2002, Sellek 2001 and Brody 2001 for discussions of migrant labour in Japan.

¹² See Sekula 1986 for a seminal study on early criminal photography in Europe. See Ryan for more on 'race' in Victorian photographs of Britain and London street life (1997: 167-180). See Tagg 1988 for more on the photography of various state institutions such as the hospital, the asylum and the school.

¹³ Thomas Huxley's *Lectures on the Origin of Species* was translated into Japanese in 1879 and became widely known after Edward Morse's lectures were published. Morse was known as the 'father of archaeology and zoology' in Japan. The first work by Charles Darwin (*The Descent of Man*) to be published in Japan also appeared in 1879. See Siddle 1996: 9-12 for more details on these points.

¹⁴ Approximately thirty of Herbert Spencer's writings were translated into Japanese between 1877 and 1900.

¹⁵ For example, there is a limited photography of assimilated Ainu, purportedly showing that Ainu could be 'civilised' and taught to be Japanese. This is reminiscent of the 'after' pictures of Native American children produced in Indian boarding schools in North America (Dippie 1992: 136).

¹⁶ For examples of Japanese colonial photography of Ainu subjects, see Cortazzi 1995, Dower 1980 and Worswick 1980.

¹⁷ For details on collections of Ainu materials in Europe and North America, see essays in Fitzhugh and Dubreuil 1999.

¹⁸ For examples of *Ainu-e*, see Suzuki 1999. Suzuki's essay also provides an overview of the origins and development of the scrolls.

¹⁹ Anthropometric methods for photography were promulgated by John Lamprey and Thomas Henry Huxley in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Lamprey's methodology held that subjects should be photographed naked in both frontal and profile poses against a 'normalizing' grid of two inch square threads; Huxley's proscribed the use of measuring rods to steady the subject and provide scale. Although both these methods were ultimately discredited within anthropology, they had a significant impact on anthropological photography until about the end of the nineteenth century. Lamprey's system was published, Huxley's was not. These systems were developed with the aim of collecting scientific data to enable anthropologists to make 'objective' cross-racial comparisons (Spencer 1992; Edwards 1990, 1998).

²⁰ For but one example of the use of photography in anthropological and medical discourses about the Ainu, see Kodama 1970. The text incorporates early physiological photographic studies showing tattooing and body hair.

²¹ Examples of these images can be viewed in the collections of the Tokyo National Museum, University of Tokyo Museum and the library of Hokkaido University.

²² I am extremely grateful to Nobushima Fuyuo of the Ogasawara Village Department of Education for kindly bringing this album to my attention.

²³ In the original Japanese: 小笠原島写真.

²⁴ Although not part of the Ogasawara archipelago, ships stopped on Hachijyō Island en route from the mainland to Ogasawara. Several other early collections include images of Hachijyō along with photographs of Ogasawara, illustrating not only that the islands were interconnected for logistical reasons of transport but were also considered similarly remote and peripheral to the metropolitan centre. The inclusion of several images of Hachijyō in a group of Ogasawaran images was common. The Imperial album, which I discuss below, and several other groups of photographs, also contain several images of Hachijyō.

²⁵ The caption writer had knowledge of European scientific plant names. The use of German words in conjunction with the scientific names suggests that the writer was either educated in Germany or received a studied botany under a German teacher in Japan. In Meiji Japan, the government sent elite students and bureaucrats to study in Europe and America and contracted foreign teachers to teach at Japanese universities.

²⁶ There were even some foreign-based expeditions to the Islands, such as one conducted under the auspices of Harvard University's Arnold Arboretum. Scientific interest in Ogasawara—primarily regarding the natural history of the Islands—has continued to the present day.

²⁷ This ordering of images is similar to what Morris-Suzuki has found of later-period (1930s) colonial albums of photographs (for example, of Karafuto in the north), wherein indigenous people appear at the end of the album, together with plants and fossils, and after Japanese 'pioneers' and colonial architecture (Morris-Suzuki 2001).

²⁸ Citizenship was not immediately allowed in the cases of indigenous people in Hokkaido and Okinawa. Citizenship was extended to colonial subjects in Korea and Taiwan but did not grant the same privileges (such as voting) as citizenship for Japanese in the 'home islands'. Policies were inconsistent and discriminatorily applied.

²⁹ From *Visit to the Bonin islands of Rev. F.B. Plummer in 1877*, a travel essay by F.B. Plummer, in the Lionel Berners Cholmondeley Papers, Rhodes House Library, University of Oxford.

³⁰ This involved having *kanji* (Chinese characters) selected to write their names in the registers.

³¹ The Archives do not have any documentation for the two albums and it is unclear which was produced first. They are very similar in construction and content, however, and will be considered together for the purposes of this discussion.

³² I refer to the 'first' and 'second' albums in this order because this is the order in which they are archived, which is not necessarily reflective of the order in which they were originally produced.

³³ For more examples of images from these albums, see Takebe and Nakamura 2000: 164-168.

³⁴ Fujitani has here built on Michel Foucault's use of Jeremy Bentham's penal model of the Panopticon, where the overseer occupied a position in the centre of prisoners' cells, invisible to them but allowing him visual access to the prisoners at any time. Prisoners were assumed to internalise this surveillance and discipline themselves. Foucault adapted this model as a diagram of modern power, replicated in practice as

discipline. See Fujitani 1996 (especially p. 25) for a thorough discussion of how Foucault's work has shaped his analysis of the role of the visual and emergence of modern power in Meiji Japan.

³⁵ The implications of this for the different settler communities in Ogasawara changed in tandem with the transformation of the modern nation itself, a point that I shall elaborate on below and in subsequent chapters.

³⁶ These experiences were: the first photography of the Islands, produced during the Japanese colonial expedition in 1875 and a series of images commissioned by a colonial governor in 1895. If other images were produced during the pre-commercial era, which began in the early twentieth century, none has survived and no references to their production have been found in the written record.

³⁷ In the original Japanese: 小笠原島附八丈島写真帖.

³⁸ The traditional Japanese writing system was simplified by the U.S. occupation authorities after World War Two.

³⁹ Dating of the album was greatly aided by Rev. Ogasawara Aisaku (Isaac Gonzales), the current priest of St. George's Church whose father is the little boy pictured in figure 4.14 standing in front of the church (personal communication 29 March 2001). Clothing and hairstyles were also considered. Clues from within the images are also useful. It can be assumed that except in the unlikely event that the images in the album were not produced during the same expedition, the earliest date of production would be 1917, when the church was consecrated. The latest would be 1919, when the main building of the boys' reformatory, which is also included in the album (see figures 4.11, 4.12), was destroyed by a severe storm. The institution was closed by the government in 1924 (Arima 1990: 105).

⁴⁰ For additional details on the reform school (Ogasawara Shusei Gakuen), see Arima 1990: 104-113 and Tokyo-fu 1937: 429-430.

⁴¹ Even after the government closed the reformatory at the end of 1924, it continued to supply some farmers with child labour upon request. Farmers made the request through the Tokyo branch office on Chichi Island and the juvenile court in Tokyo would send boys there. See Arima 1990: 106-107 for more.

⁴² This is highly inconsistent with earlier and later attempts to promote English language learning in Japan. For example, in the early years of tourism to Ogasawara, one magazine encouraged its readers to visit the Islands to practice their English, among other things (see Chapter 5). In more recent years, the government and private language schools have spent untold amounts of money importing native speakers of English to teach Japanese students this 'international' language.

⁴³ St. George's, the only Christian church in the Islands, was established by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (in Foreign Parts) in 1909 and exists today in rebuilt form. The church was named by Cholmondeley after the patron saint of England. It was designed by renowned British architect Josiah Condor. Condor was brought to Japan by the Ministry of Engineering to teach architecture at the Imperial College of Engineering in 1876, where he worked until 1884 (Fujimori 1997: 17). He designed many famous buildings in Tokyo, including several at the Imperial University in Tokyo (now the University of Tokyo), the Ristumeikan (a government-run pleasure palace built for the purpose of fostering interaction between Japanese and westerners), the Tokyo National Museum, and many other important projects. The history of Christianity in the Islands is a compelling story in its own right and deserves further research.

⁴⁴ The other two images are of the Shinto shrine and Buddhist temple.

⁴⁵ Eventually, an Island boy, Joseph Gonzales, was trained as a catechist in Yokohama and later made priest; his grandson is today the village priest. Gonzales was descended from Joachim Gonzales (a.k.a. John Bravo), who was the subject of two of Matsuzaki Shinji's photographs in 1875 (see figures 3.18, 3.25). Joseph's grandson, Isaac Gonzales (Japanese name: Ogasawara Aisaku), returned to Chichi Island during the American occupation to minister to the population and has remained the village's only Christian priest to the present day. With the exception of a brief period (1953 – 1959), when Christian services were conducted by the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, the Church has remained Anglican.

⁴⁶ I shall return to the place of the South Seas in the Japanese imagination in the next chapter, as it relates to the development of tourism in Ogasawara and the location of Ogasawarans within the hierarchy of colonised others in the empire.

⁴⁷ There were, of course, competing views about the value of the West to Japan. Some of these ideas held that Western ideas and culture were corrupting and highly dangerous to Japanese society and opposition to various aspects of Westernisation was present in Japan from the very beginning of Western contact, as discussed in the previous chapter.

⁴⁸ The earliest social scientific study of the Islands appears to be a short article on the Ogasawara Islanders published in the Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society (東京人類学会雑誌) in 1889 regarding the 'customs and manners' of Ogasawara, as well as the 'naturalised race' residing there (Kamo 1889). It did not contain any photographs and was not followed up with any additional research. Various historical overviews of Ogasawara were also published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some of which included photographic illustrations. There were no scientific studies conducted on the human population in this period.

⁴⁹ The article was reprinted in Tokyo in 1928. He also published a photographically illustrated travelogue of his journey to the Ogasawara Islands, Korea, Okinawa, Taiwan and Southern Manchuria: *Neu-Japan; Reisebilder aus Formosa, den Ryukyuinseln, Bonininseln, Korea und dem sudmandschurischen Pachtgebiet*, Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1927. Goldschmidt used several of the same images (of First Settlers) in both publications but he included numerous scenic images in the travelogue, none of which appeared in his academic article.

⁵⁰ In the original German: "Auch tragen sie sich, obwohl alle Mischlinge, mit englischem Rassenstolz..." This and all other English translations of German texts in this thesis are by Jane Keat.

⁵¹ In the original German: "Das Idealste wäre natürlich eine genaue anthropologische Aufnahme der ganzen Kolonie, die noch etwa 60 Köpfe zählt. Dazu fehlte es aber dem Verfasser sowohl an der technischen Vorbildung als auch an der Zeit, wozu noch die Schwierigkeiten des Photographierens in der befestigten Zone kommen."

⁵² In the original German: "eine reine Weiße: weiße Haut, kastanienbraunes Haar und vollkommen europäische Gesichtszüge. Auf der vom Polizeiphotographen schlecht entwickelten Photographie tritt dies nicht so deutlich hervor, abgesehen von der fremdartigen Wirkung des japanischen Kimono."

⁵³ Presumably, this was also the case with Goldschmidt. As will be discussed in the next chapter, as the Islands were fortified in the decades leading up to World War Two, military restrictions on photography became increasingly severe.

⁵⁴ Mrs. Harui Savory very kindly granted me access to these images. Moses and Swaney Savory were the brothers of her late husband, Joy Savory.

⁵⁵ In the original German: "Charles war japanisch verheiratet, von den 8 lebenden seiner 11 Kinder konnte ich nur Mary in Yokohama untersuchen, die anderen Kinder waren unter dem Einfluß ihrer Mutter gänzlich unzugänglich: wenn sie uns von ferne kommen sahen, verschwanden sie im Dickicht, nur von 1 Knaben konnte ich einige Notizen machen. Später stieß ich bei einer Tochter in Tokyo ebenfalls auf Ablehnung, und gleiches gilt 1957 für die 2 ältesten Rufus-Töchter. Es gelang 1957 aber doch, 1 Enkelin von Charles zu untersuchen, als Gattin eines japanischen Arztes, den ich mit den 2 Kindern auch untersuchen konnte, war sie aufgeklärt genug."

⁵⁶ Even a 1960 article that appeared in an anthropology journal about Ogasawara's 'mixed-race islanders', based on Wagenseil's study, did not make use of photographs (Kimura 1960). The article was written by Kimura Masabumi, one of Wagenseil's research assistants.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ISLAND ARTEFACT: EARLY TRAVEL TO THE OGASAWARA ISLANDS

Ogasawara is truly the earthly utopia celebrated in picture and poem¹
-- *Ogasawara: Guide to a Southern Island, 1936* (quoted in Miki 2002: 35)

When the travel brochure quoted above was distributed in 1936, the Ogasawara Islands had come to be lauded as much for their scenic beauty as for their exotic culture. Postcards continued to picture tropical fruits, beaches and mountains, but, compared to earlier photographic representations as well as the earliest postcards of Ogasawara, which first appeared within the first twenty years of the twentieth century, the representation of First Settler subjects also increased. The brochure stresses the ease of travel to the Islands, even offering information about layaway plans for people to save enough money to purchase the tour. It compares the cost of a trip to Ogasawara favourably to other colonial destinations such as Taiwan and Korea, locating the Islands firmly away from everyday domestic space yet maintaining a desirable veneer of gentle exoticism as opposed to dangerous foreignness. It is the desirable remoteness of the Islands rather than cost efficiency that is the major selling point, however. The brochure talks of “island maidens who will smilingly tell of the never-ending warmth that spreads across the seasons, the blue-eyed naturalised people”, turtles, exotic birds and plants that await the visitor (Miki 2002: 35).² None of the derogatory terms used to describe other South Sea Islanders or peripheral peoples is used here. No signs of ‘backwardness’ such as nakedness or cannibalism, often used in descriptions of other internal others, were allowed in this touristic narrative.

The Ogasawara Islanders have proved to be slippery internal others since this ‘earthly utopia’ was incorporated into Japan in 1875. They were not easily categorised by prevailing discourses of colonialism and race in Meiji-era Japan yet

were eminently *photographable* within a visual discourse of difference. In this chapter, I bring the discussion forward into the decades leading up to World War Two, tracing the evolution of the slippery images of the Islands and Islanders within the discursive field of tourism, discussing the processes by which certain images of the Islands could be made and resonated with viewers whilst other kinds of images failed to become part of the established visual rhetoric. By any measure, tourism has been the dominant mode of representation of Ogasawara for the last several decades. Its roots are buried deeper in the past, however, dating to about the turn of the twentieth century. It is a complex discursive field, with many competing and contradictory discourses, which must be carefully explored in order to understand both how photographs are implicated in the processes of tourism and what these processes—and by extension photographs themselves—mean to life in the Islands. Dominant models seeking to explain tourism in Japan provide a useful starting point but ultimately fail to fully explain the phenomenon of tourism in the Ogasawara Islands. I shall discuss these models as well as the historical development of domestic tourism in Japan in an attempt to better explain the specific case of tourism in the Islands.

Anthropological Approaches to Tourism

Japanese domestic tourism can be usefully framed within anthropological discussions of tourism more generally. There are, however, specific historical and social components to tourism in Japan, as there are in any region, which must be considered in order to construct a useful framework within which tourism in the Ogasawara Islands can be explored.

It is helpful here, therefore, to briefly examine some general anthropological notions of tourism. To begin with, a definition of the tourist, who is “a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change” (Smith 1989: 1). This change is sought as a contrast to one’s “everyday existence, a break, however short, with . . . familiar surroundings and routines” (Boissevain 1996: 3). Early scholarship in the anthropology of tourism suggested that the tourist was searching for ‘authenticity’ in experiences and in objects purchased as souvenirs, as part of an escape from the condition of modernity (MacCannell 1976), where “work and leisure are organised as separate and regulated spheres of social practice...” (Urry 1990: 2). Some writers have characterised the tourist as a kind of contemporary pilgrim on a ‘sacred journey’, engaged in a ludic interlude to free him/herself from the constraints of modern life (Graburn 1989).

Nature and cultural tourism are among the broad categories of tourism that have been identified (see for example MacCannell 1976; Urry 1990; Cohen 1989; Graburn 1989). Briefly stated, nature tourism often involves a seeking of the ‘restorative’ or ‘curative’ powers of pure air, water or breathtaking landscapes. It sometimes means ‘environmental’ or ‘ecological’, where the tourist is interested in seeing animals, landscapes and other ‘natural’ features without leaving much of a human impact on ecosystems. It can also involve the recreational use of nature, such as camping, hiking and swimming. Cultural tourism, on the other hand, has the goal of interacting in some way with cultural others, often with the ‘primitive’ or ‘exotic’. It can also include elements of nature tourism.

The specific characteristics of the Japanese case, even if in some ways similar to the generalisations outlined above, require our attention in order to properly contextualise the situation in the Ogasawara Islands. Mass domestic tourism in Japan

has a long history, possibly the longest in the world (Ishimori 1989: 192). Pre-seventeenth century travel in Japan seems to have existed primarily in the form of religious pilgrimages and occupational necessity. By the early Tokugawa period (1603-1868), tourism, in a more modern understanding of the term, became widely popular (Ivy 1995: 32; Graburn 1983: 50). Factors such as the flowering of urban culture, prohibitions against foreign travel and the rise of a market economy contributed to the establishment of tourism on a large scale in Japan. Sights and travel itineraries, including 'famous places' (*meisho*) such as shops and temples, were standardised through illustrated guidebooks and stand-alone woodblock prints. As in other parts of the world, the development of national railways in Japan, which enabled the mass movement of people, also fostered the growth of tourism (Ivy 1995: 32; Ishimori 1989: 189).

Today, more than 64 million Japanese travel within the country each year (Institute for Free Time Design 2002). In fact, ninety percent of all Japanese tourism can be categorised as domestic, and it is the country's second highest ranked leisure activity, after 'special' dining out (Institute for Free Time Design 2002). As a major phenomenon with a long history and wide-ranging impacts on social, political and economic spheres of life, Japanese domestic tourism is "that sector of the culture industries which perhaps most powerfully articulates Japanese place with the formation and circulation of Japanese national-cultural subjects" (Ivy 1995: 32; see also Moon 1989; Martinez 1990; Graburn 1995). Clearly, domestic tourism is an important area of inquiry for the anthropology of Japan. This is particularly true for this anthropological study of the photography of the Ogasawara Islands, for tourism is the discursive field within which influential discourses such as identity and place are constructed and within which the Islanders must live.

Domestic Tourism in Japan

I examine tourism in the Ogasawara Islands in more detail below but shall first briefly discuss some general characteristics of domestic tourism in Japan. There is a significant body of anthropological work on this subject; most scholars have argued that domestic tourism in Japan is urban-based and nostalgia-driven, and that tourists are searching for remnants of authentic Japanese culture in 'traditional' villages and towns, looking for an antidote to (post)modern life (see for example Graburn 1995; Robertson 1991; Ehrentraut 1993). The religious antecedents of domestic travel are often emphasised and, as I have suggested above, are found in the religious pilgrimages that have been part of Japanese life for over 1,000 years (Graburn 1983: 18). Domestic tourism also has an important urban component, with trips to museums, Tokyo Disneyland, and neighbourhood festivals, for example, forming part of this category. Alternatively, tourists in Japan seek a packaged and contained foreign culture that is safely 'wrapped' (Hendry 1993) for their (domestic) consumption in so-called theme parks (Hendry 1997: 401). These 'theme parks', similar in concept to heritage centres or 'living' museums, represent foreign cultures, often including natives of these countries 'performing' their cultures, and provide the impression of foreign contact for the Japanese tourist, without the need to leave Japan.

Graburn has identified several major factors contributing to the particular character of Japanese domestic tourism, which differentiate it from western tourism (1995, 1983). These include very crowded, post-World War Two urban living conditions (Japan is an overwhelmingly urban society), short vacation periods, and a tendency towards group-orientated travel, normalised from as early as kindergarten through peer group outings. The rapid increase in affluence and ageing of the Japanese population over the last several decades, extremely high per capita

automobile ownership, government investment in transportation infrastructure (rendering relatively easy access to previously 'remote' rural areas), along with further government investment in *mura okoshi* (village revitalisation) are also important features of Japanese domestic tourism (Graburn 1983: 49-50).

Another area of anthropological interest regarding tourism in general and Japanese domestic tourism in particular has been that of souvenirs. The *omiyage* (souvenir, gift) is an integral part of Japanese tourism. The ubiquitous practice of giving *omiyage* to family, friends and colleagues is part of a system of exchange whereby the traveller is given *senbetsu* (farewell gift; usually money) before they travel and presents *omiyage* upon return from their travel (Graburn 1983: 44-47; see also Ikkai 1988). These material markers of travel function not only as evidence of a journey made but also as objects of exchange that cement social relationships. Tourists will often first go in search of appropriate *omiyage* before engaging in other activities. They also have great economic importance, and companies in tourist destinations expend great effort on producing and marketing such products to sell to visitors. Objects purchased as *omiyage* are most often some kind of *meibutsu* (famous products or features), which, if successful, come to signify place and become obligatory tourist purchases. "These *meibutsu* become the icons which are represented on maps, signs and brochures. They are also the basis of the enormous *omiyage* (gift) trade which is perhaps the most profitable component of the domestic tourist system" (Graburn 1995: 58-59). Souvenirs are also collected for oneself, rather than as presents for others. Souvenirs (or mementos) in this sense, are called *kinen*, and developed out of the custom of stamping the white gowns of pilgrims as proof of their having reached a sacred site (Graburn 1983: 48). Today, *kinen-stampu* (souvenir ink stamps) are ubiquitous at tourist as well as religious sites.

The *kinen* concept also extends to the souvenir or memorial photograph (*kinen shashin*), which provides photographic evidence of having ‘been there’. Japanese tourist photographs almost always include people posed in front of *meibutsu* (Graburn 1983: 48) and *meisho*, rather than ‘empty’, ‘natural’ or built landscapes, something I observed during my own fieldwork.³ Apart from this useful observation, however, there is surprisingly little scholarship on the use of photography by Japanese tourists, especially considering the strength of the stereotype of the camera-toting Japanese tourist. Most observers have simply noted the “ubiquity of photography devoted to documenting various memorable occasions” (Ben-Ari, Moeran, and Valentine 1990: 88), including during travel. Ben-Ari found that the (domestic) tourists who went to see a rite of passage ceremony in the village where he was conducting fieldwork took “photographs that reminded me of postcards: pictures of exemplary, ‘ideal-typical’ scenes of places and people we visit” (Ben-Ari 1991: 94).

Artefactual Tourism

Graburn (1983) has argued that tourism in Japan is largely about cultural landscapes, which combine a controlled or managed ‘nature’ or ‘natural scenery’ with historically or religiously important places. He finds the categories of ‘nature’ and ‘cultural’ tourism less useful in the Japanese case than in North American and European cases. I argue, in a similar vein, that Japanese domestic tourism cannot be easily classified within this typology, and concur with Graburn that Japanese tourists tend to travel in order to experience a cultural landscape, which combines so-called natural and artificial elements.

It can be argued, however, that these features cohere in a particular way in Japan, into a specific kind of tourism, which I call *artefactual tourism*. I shall argue

in this section that it is useful to conceptualise Japanese tourism as being ‘artefactual’ (Miller 1994: 398) because the term ‘artefactual’ emphasises the importance of materiality. Objects of desire in Japanese tourism are in fact, largely—though not exclusively—material objects, rather than abstractions such as relaxation or other experiential qualities more readily associated with other tourisms. The acquisition of *omiyage*, as discussed above, is the prime example of this tendency. Whilst souvenirs are central to the tourist experience, as tangible evidence of travel and more importantly, as memories of experiences (see for example Graburn 1989: 33), the emphasis on *omiyage* in the Japanese context is marked.

Domestic tourism in Japan, however, is not merely *omiyage*-driven. The experiencing of ‘tradition’, as I discuss below, is immensely important as well. Even here, however, the notion of the artefactual is applicable. ‘Tradition’ is experienced largely through engagement with material artefacts of pre-modern, rural Japanese society, relying on such markers as rural architecture, clothing, pottery and food to achieve the appropriate ambience.

The act of taking photographs by tourists, despite our limited understanding of what this action means to the people producing these images, would also point to the artefactual nature of domestic tourism in Japan. The photograph itself is a ‘material memory’ (Edwards 1999), which rips a fragment from time (Sontag 1977) and provides the tourist with an object marking his or her experience. Whatever the motivations for producing the image (commemoration, documentation or anything else), the materiality of the resulting photograph speaks to the particularly artefactual nature of Japanese tourism.

In a conceptually similar manner, ‘nature’ in Japan is also touristically artefactualised because it can be classified, for analytical purposes, as being

constituted by 'animated artefacts' (Miller 1994: 398). As Miller argues, "there is little point in trying to distinguish systematically between a natural world and an artefactual one..." (Miller 1994: 398). Nature in the form of bonsai trees, gardens, and *koi* (carp) that ornament fishponds, exist in their present forms as the result of, to varying degrees, human intervention and selection. The kind of nature sought after by tourists in Japan is 'wrapped' (Hendry 1990), to use another term. It is tamed, 'cooked', or 'wrapped' in cultural ways through an ordering into systems of classification. Even in the case of seemingly wild, untouched nature (such as mountains or rivers), the ways in which it is experienced by people in Japan is part of a culture-specific system of categorisation. The meanings of things are derived from the ways in which they are ordered (Miller 1994: 400) and nature is ordered in specific ways within the discourses of domestic tourism in Japan.

These orderings create specific meanings for the tourist so that, for example, certain trees (such as the flowering cherry) are supposed to be viewed during certain seasons and carry specific meanings (transience of life) that are widely understood by members of Japanese society. Tourism alone has not necessarily created the desire to view cherry trees in bloom as such, but it manifests existing attitudes, shaping and creating demand. Tourism capitalises on existing attitudes to nature and in turn directs tourists to consume certain sites/sights in specific locations during designated seasons.

Artefacts, then, include both objects defined as 'natural' in popular conceptions, such as trees, mountains and rivers, and those defined as 'artificial', such as buildings, bridges and monuments. Domestic tourism in Japan is the process of consuming these artefacts. In this tourism an artefactual landscape of managed nature

is privileged over 'unwrapped' or 'raw' nature. The following section considers Japanese attitudes to nature in relation to the construction of domestic tourism.

Attitudes to Nature and the Cultural Landscape

Current anthropological debates about Japanese attitudes to nature focus on what has been presented for centuries (by Japanese and other observers of Japan) as the Japanese 'love of nature' as manifested in literature and art, as well as in gardens, food and other areas of material culture. The received view holds as follows. Deeply related to Shinto animistic ideas and practice, the Japanese concept of nature has resulted in a lifestyle in harmony with nature, with no clear separation between human beings and nature as such, as opposed to the western quest to conquer nature (Bruun and Kalland 1995; Asquith and Kalland 1997). Japanese are, therefore, of a peace-loving and docile disposition. These assumptions have been challenged by scrutinising the relationship between representations of these attitudes (in literature, for example) and actual practice (in agriculture, for instance).⁴

Through their ethnographies, a number of anthropologists have demonstrated that although Japanese attitudes towards nature are dynamic and multilayered rather than static and unitary constructions, with no single, culturally agreed upon concept, there are certain distinctive qualities that can be said to constitute these attitudes. At the risk of oversimplification, these qualities can be summarised in the following way. Nature in Japan is contextual and situational, and does not constitute an exclusive category opposed to culture (Asquith and Kalland 1997: 30). While certain (especially literary and other artistic) representations do equate nature with the divine and have contributed to Japanese culture's image as being at harmony with nature, this "bears little relationship to an attitude or behaviour towards nature as a whole"

(Asquith and Kalland 1997: 31). This gap between representation and practice is seen in environmental degradation, for example. Nature in Japan is constructed on a continuum embracing ideas from wild and dangerous, often something to be feared and abhorred, to the managed or 'wrapped', something not distinct from culture and usually admired (Asquith and Kalland 1997: 30).

The touristic construction of cultural landscapes in Japan draws upon these attitudes towards nature, with the result that, as Graburn has noted, "few tourists would visit the 'bare' features of the landscape" (1983: 12). Nature, to most Japanese, is "boring to contemplate, dangerous to enter and far removed from everyday life" (Graburn 1995: 62). Even when such activities as hiking and camping are participated in, the "enjoyment stems more from sociality than from 'getting away from it all'. Rarely does anyone go anywhere alone, and loneliness, especially 'in nature', is to be feared above almost anything else in life" (Graburn 1995: 64). In other words, in contradistinction to, for example, North American tourism, which includes the discrete and important category of ecotourism with tourists seeking to visit apparently 'untouched' landscapes, Japanese artefactual tourism seeks well-managed landscapes, with their combination of 'nature' and historically, religiously or aesthetically important buildings. Not all these landscapes are of equal importance, of course, and one could say much about how and why certain landscapes have come to occupy a privileged place in the hierarchy of locations worth visiting (see for example Ehrentraut 1993; Knight 1996). This privileging takes place within the context of such diverse discourses as history, national-cultural identity and economics. Examining all these issues separately is beyond the scope of this study but I shall, in the next section, demonstrate how discourses of the *furusato* (hometown or old town/village), which encompass many of these issues, enmesh domestic tourism.

Furusato and Domestic Tourism

I have argued thus far that domestic tourism in Japan is artefactual by demonstrating that tourists seek experiences that combine acquisition and vision. Acquisition of artefacts in the form of *omiyage*, and other souvenirs such as postcards and photographs, is combined with the viewing of artefacts, which take the form of architecture, art and monuments, as well as animated artefacts ('wrapped' nature), which are managed and controlled for touristic consumption. Now I would like to turn to the discourses that constitute the concept of *furusato*. Many aspects of these discourses have become embedded in artefactual tourism, and thus necessitate unpacking before tourism itself can be understood. *Furusato* provides one of the major frameworks within which domestic tourism operates, reflecting and creating popular desires to connect with Japanese tradition in specific ways. It is also important to this discussion because, as I hope to demonstrate, whilst this framework is entirely inadequate in providing an explanation of tourism in the Ogasawara Islands, it provides a context for understanding the differences between this tourism and domestic tourism in Japan more generally.

The discourses that constitute the concept of *furusato* began to cohere in the 1970s and continue to be influential at many levels of society today. *Furusato* developed in concert with notions of Japanese cultural identities, particularly ideas collectively known as *Nihonjinron*, or 'discourses of Japaneseness'.⁵ As discussed in Chapter 4, these theories claimed the uniqueness of Japanese culture and were popularised beginning in the post-World War Two era, enjoying wide currency into the 1970s and 1980s and it has been argued, surviving in modified form even now (Lie 2001; Sugimoto and Mouer 1989; Arnason and Sugimoto 1995). Ideas about the Japanese relationship to nature and spirituality and even purported Japanese biological

differences to westerners held wide currency in the media and popular books; they were not limited to an intelligentsia. Out of this search for national-cultural identity, for a national self (Japanese) defined in opposition to an other ('western', primarily American), has emerged the phenomenon of the locating of Japanese tradition largely in the *furusato* (Ivy 1995: 42). *Furusato* discourses, like *Nihonjinron*, had (and have) a clear political connection as well, as demonstrated by the central government's role in establishing these discourses as nationally important. Japan's long-ruling Liberal Democratic Party has used the trope of *furusato* since the mid-1970s, "exploiting [its] affective potential . . . toward the creation of a politically symbolic landscape of nostalgia" (Robertson 1991: 26-27).

Large sums of national and prefectural government money have been invested in the *mura okoshi undo* (village revitalisation movement), with "a parallel rise in interest in things rural as representing 'tradition' . . ." (Graburn 1995: 51). Large governmental grants for rural development have been handed out to villages, largely in order to aid their efforts to attract urban tourists, by the *Furusato Information Centre*, founded in 1985 under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (Robertson 1991: 24).

With both the ideological and financial support of government in place, the tourism industry created images which artefactualised the *furusato*, turning severely depopulated villages into tourist destinations (Robertson 1991: 30). The state-owned Japan National Railway's *Discover Japan* and *Exotic Japan* advertising campaigns are cases in point.⁶ Although much can be said about these campaigns and their roles within *furusato* discourses,⁷ I will limit my discussion primarily to their visual aspects. This directly illustrates the importance of the visual in touristic

artefactualising of place, a point I shall develop further in my discussion of tourism in the Ogasawara Islands.

Begun in 1970, *Discover Japan* “inundated Japanese with hundreds of condensed images of authentic Japan, generically imagined and presented . . .” (Ivy 1995: 35). Railway stations and trains themselves were virtually turned into galleries, filled with *Discover Japan* posters. These posters—visual objects—were at the forefront of the advertising strategy, a strategy that has made *Discover Japan* Japan’s most successful advertising campaign (Ivy 1995: 46, 35). Ivy cites this inundation by images as part of a process to ‘internalise’ marginal areas of Japan, reterritorialising them as locations of traditional culture and commoditising them, making them suitable for touristic consumption.

There was nothing new about using visual images to sell travel; this has long been an important method employed by tourist industries (Edwards 1996; Dann 1996; Selwyn 1996, 1993; Moeran 1983). The way the images were used in the *Discover Japan* campaign (and by its successor, *Discover Japan II*), however, revolutionised travel advertising. Rather than selling specific (and famous) locations, as was standard practice prior to the campaign, *Discover Japan* “tried to induce a generalised ambience signifying travel” (Ivy 1995: 46). Images used in the campaign created scenes of “miniature dramas of national-cultural and subjective discovery” (Ivy 1995: 46). These ‘dramas’ starred young, modern women encountering ‘Old Japan’ in the guise of old monks at mountain temples, rural architecture or some other similar scene meant to evoke a feeling of being in a pre-modern, traditional Japan.

The images were part of an artefactualisation process, using the analogical nature and authoritative power of the photograph (Barthes 1993) to materialise *furusato* values. They captured moments of contact (*fureai*) and symbolised a

(re)discovery of the Self as Japanese, relocated in tradition and opposed to the modern. Ivy elaborates:

What the rhetoric and the photographic images indicate is the rediscovery of the subject in travel. Landscape is no longer an object passively viewed by the distanced observer; landscape itself takes on renewed subjective qualities, as the repository of *fureai*. Travel is an occasion—perhaps the occasion—for the rediscovery of the self, as landscapes become settings for haiku-like moments of encounter (Ivy 1995: 44).

If *Discover Japan* was a kind of nativist call to rediscover the Japanese Self, *Exotic Japan*, launched in 1984, was a call to discover the exotic within Japan. Again, the visual was the primary mode of communication, with travel posters playing the most significant role in the advertising strategy. The exotic was presented here as continental Asian culture. Images of objects of Asian origin—brocades, statuary, paintings—were artfully used in photographic montages, very different from the ‘quotations of tourist photography’ used in *Discover Japan* (Ivy 1995: 49).

Mirroring both the nature of the photograph (see Chapter 1) and the tourist experience itself, exotica pictured in the posters was visually fragmented and decontextualised. Invariably non-human and from the distant past, the exotica were used to present a kaleidoscope of difference, but difference of a strictly artefactual nature. Exotic materiality was stressed above human interaction. With origins located somewhere in the ancient past, these objects were placed at a sufficiently long temporal distance from which to gaze upon them from the safety of a (supposedly) culturally homogenous present. Here, the exotic other was internal (domestic) but not human. These artefacts, rendered tame and innocuous through a distancing in time and space from the self, could be considered ‘internal’ yet pose no threat to a social order constructed on ideologies of a cultural-national self dependent upon sameness (see Chapter 4).

The *Discover Japan* and *Exotic Japan* campaigns illuminate some of the ways in which *furusato* and domestic tourism are intertwined. I have discussed primarily the visual aspects of these campaigns, since these representations provide useful points of comparison with those of the Ogasawara Islands. But before exploring the specifics of tourism in the Ogasawara Islands, I shall outline several other ways in which *furusato* discourses have been absorbed by domestic tourism.

The presentation of markers of ‘traditional’ Japanese culture that conform to tourists’ expectations, such as local foods, occupations, and rural architecture, is another aspect of the *furusato* influence on tourism (Graburn 1995; Ehrentraut 1993; Martinez 1990). Whilst growth in tourism to rural areas was partially built on existing routes to famous religious sites, these new developments expanded the possibilities for travel far beyond these traditional destinations and invented new reasons, such as the seeking of ‘Old Japan’, for visiting the countryside. ‘Old Japan’ was found through visits to traditional-style rural inns, archaeological and other historical sites. The rural *onsen ryokan* (hot springs resort) typifies the *furusato* trend in tourism by combining a rural landscape setting with “a ‘traditional’ atmosphere of dress, décor, architecture, food and style of service, while at the same time upgrading their physical structures to provide every comfort for the thoroughly modern clientele” (Graburn 1995: 53).

Japanese tradition, understood in temporal terms in Japan as pre-modern (especially pre-nineteenth century, before widespread contact with western cultures) and spatially as located mainly in the countryside, has been creatively constructed as the *furusato*. There are urban spaces, such as Kyoto, which are seen as ‘traditional’ as well, but they tend not to be regarded as the spiritual home of the ‘Japanese heart’. Domestic tourism is deeply implicated here, and is in fact constituted in part by

furusato ideologies about what is valuable. This has been translated into ideas about what is worth preserving, such as farmhouses (Ehrentraut 1993) and what is worth reinventing, such as festivals (Robertson 1991: 38-71). These valuable cultural artefacts are preserved, resurrected, patronised. In short, *furusato* constructs what is worth seeing. The reinvented countryside, newly littered with ‘traditional’ cultural artefacts, is the spiritual and material location of *furusato*, encouraging people to leave the urban environment in search of the ‘past in the present’ (Graburn 1995). This is part of what Graburn has characterised as “as an ideological shift from an idea of rich city-poor village to poor city-rich village” (Graburn 1995: 53).

Early Travel to the Ogasawara Islands

Whilst this ideological shift has in some ways benefited the growth of the modern tourism industry in Ogasawara, the Islands are not the ‘rich village’ of Graburn’s analysis. Just as the Islands could not be claimed as a repository of ancient Japanese culture as Hokkaido or Okinawa were, as discussed in previous chapters, they cannot be located within the regime of *furusato* and therefore fall outside the dominant mode of domestic tourism in Japan, so heavily dependent upon the search for ‘traditional culture’. As I have already suggested, however, domestic tourism in Japan can be characterised as artefactual rather than *furusato*- or nostalgia-driven. I will demonstrate in more detail in Chapter 6 how artefactual tourism can encompass both the kind of tourism found in the contemporary Ogasawara Islands and the more common, *furusato*-driven tourism discussed above. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to understanding the early development of tourism in the Islands and how this process, working in tandem with discourses of remoteness and empire, has made

it impossible to configure Ogasawara as a site of *furusato* yet possible to imagine them as a site of tourism.

Unlike so many other Pacific islands groups, such as Hawaii and Samoa, which were also colonised, the Ogasawara Islands barely registered as a tourist destination in the nineteenth century. This stood in contrast to Japan itself, however, which became a popular tourist destination for Europeans and Americans in the second half of the nineteenth century, after the 'opening' of the country. The *Japonisme*-fuelled tourism of the last decades of the nineteenth century inspired tourists to visit the 'mysterious Oriental' country. The Ogasawara Islands were not included in this foreign interest in 'things Japanese', however. In this regard, the situation is strikingly similar to the *furusato* discourses: (foreign) tourists consume a commoditised version of 'traditional' culture packaged for their consumption. Considered in this way, it is not surprising that few foreign tourists elected to spend their limited time in Japan in such a 'non-Japanese' place as the Ogasawara Islands.

The earliest (pre-nineteenth century) travel to the Ogasawara Islands, as we have seen, was related to exploration and accident. Later, in the early nineteenth century, the whaling industry provided an economic draw to the Islands, which were well positioned to serve as a base to supply ships. Adventurers and entrepreneurs arrived in the Islands seeking their fortunes and sailors jumped ship in Port Lloyd, contributing the diverse mix of people populating the Islands. After the establishment of the Japanese colony in 1876, most travel to the Ogasawara Islands was colonial-related movement for government business, such as re-supplying the settlement and providing bureaucrats for management and labourers for 'development'. Infrastructure was built in support of government needs. Tourism was not a concern at this early juncture; rather, agriculture and fisheries were the industries encouraged

by the government. In other words, there had yet to be constructed a space for tourism in the colony in these early years, and therefore there was no attempt to shape the place as a site suitable for tourism. It was not until the 1920s and 1930s that a fledgling industry began to emerge.

There is evidence that there were inns (a “passable inn”⁸ in Omura, for example) on Chichi Island in the early twentieth century, and it is easy to imagine that at least some form of temporary accommodation existed even earlier.⁹ These establishments were basically used for the purposes mentioned above; that is, to temporarily house colonial administrators and others. Transportation to the Islands was initially infrequent, with ships sailing just three times a year from Tokyo in the earliest days of the colony and only four times a year starting in 1890, which followed the introduction of steamer service in 1886. With an increase in commerce and the demand for personal and business travel, in 1906 eighteen voyages were scheduled annually (Kurata 1993: 56). In 1937, scheduled steamer service to Ogasawara had grown to twenty-six trips per year (Miki 2002: 37). Additionally, other ships calling at various southern islands made land at Port Futami. Furthermore, none of the traditional magnets for tourism could be found in Ogasawara; there were no religious pilgrimages to be made, no famous sights (*meisho*) to be seen, and no famous products (*meibutsu*) to purchase in the Islands.

A very brief mention of the Islands is made in the 1899 (fifth, revised) edition of Murray’s *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, an English-language guidebook, which indicates that steamships call at the Ogasawara Islands at very infrequent intervals. No other information is given about the Islands themselves. A full entry about the Ogasawara Islands appears for the first time in the 1903 (seventh, revised) edition, giving historical background as well listing points of interest. This suggests

that, whilst certainly ‘off the beaten path’, tourism to the Ogasawara Islands—including foreign tourism—was not a completely unheard of prospect at the turn of the twentieth century.

By the time tourism was starting to touch the Ogasawara Islands, however, it had already become a relatively developed industry in some other peripheral areas and newly acquired colonies of the empire. Indigenous villages in Hokkaido had been presented as tourist sites since the 1880s (Siddle 1996: 104). A book of photographs sold as a companion volume to Murray’s travel guides, produced by the successful commercial photographer Ogawa Isshin (1860-1929),¹⁰ featured two images of Ainu people (Ogawa 1894). Rail travel opened up new markets to domestic tourists and “railroad companies in Osaka and Nagoya sent groups of tourists to Hokkaido to view the ‘primitive’ manners and customs of various Ainu groups” after Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) (Ohtsuka 1999: 92). Limited tourism had arrived on the island of Oshima, south of Tokyo, by at least the last decade of the nineteenth century, and there are entries in guidebooks for Okinawa and Taiwan by the end of the century.¹¹ In other words, there was undoubtedly a developing market for domestic tourism in the peripheral/colonial areas of the empire.

There was also an overlap between some of the early ethnological writing, which first appeared in 1889 and then in very limited quantities after the start of the twentieth century (see Chapter 4), and the emerging but still nascent tourism structure. A special Ogasawara edition of the ‘manners and customs’ periodical *Fuzoku Gaho*, was published in 1906. The issue’s subject matter was primarily the culture, history and topography of the Islands and the author clearly thought the Islands were worthy of a visit by his readers. After proclaiming the Islands a virtual paradise where disease is rare, the weather is cool in the summer and warm in the winter, and food is

plentiful and fresh, the author makes the enthusiastic and indeed promotional claim: “There is nothing in the world superior to a tour of Ogasawara” (Roukaku 1906: 1).¹²

The author further encourages readers to travel to the Islands by overcoming the ‘traditional’ Japanese fear of long ocean voyages. Readers should make the voyage to the Islands aboard the amazing new steam ship, which conveniently sails once a month from Yokohama to Port Futami on Chichi Island. After all, he adds, they are actually a territory of Japan.

The primary attraction of early graphic magazines such as *Fuzoku Gaho* was the inclusion of drawn or painted illustrations and even photographs, which were printed and then manually pasted directly onto the pages. The special Ogasawara issue of the folkloric magazine included twenty-two images (of which ten are photographs). Most of these images were scenic views, with captions that listed the name of the pictured place. The drawings of scenic views were captioned directly on the surface of the image and also included various pieces of information, such as locations and direction. These were also written directly on the image’s surface, a traditional technique that was also employed in the first colonial images (watercolour paintings) produced during the Japanese expedition in 1862 (see Chapter 3).

The written descriptions, which provide rich ethnographic detail of Ogasawaran life, are much more probing of First Settler culture in contrast to the visual imaging, which is almost exclusively of the physical landscape. In fact, none of the photographs has First Settler people as subjects, although there is one image of a ‘native’s house’, pictured with several Japanese men posed in front of the dwelling. The magazine cover features a canoe with sail, a signifier of the exotic location (figure 5.1). The frontispiece illustration features a romanticised beach scene with First Settler people as subjects (figure 5.2). One additional illustration features First



Fig. 5.1. Artist Unknown, Cover of *Fuzoku Gaho* #344, Published in 1906.



Fig. 5.2. Artist Unknown, *Frontispiece of Fuzoku Gaho* #344, Published in 1906.

Settlers. As if in anticipation of much later visual materials used to promote tourism, however, human presence is largely ignored in the visual realm in great contrast to the written text, which explores local culture in great depth. The contrast between the visualisation of landscape and the written depiction of culture reflects the tension between Ogasawara's place within the national community. Neither completely 'other' nor completely 'self', the Islanders were more easily contained by words than photographs, where the meanings of their existence would be much more mutable in the reader's imaginations.

This lack of a fixed place within the national community continues as an important issue in analysing trade shows held on the Japanese mainland as the twentieth century progressed. The shows highlighted Ogasawara's agricultural and fisheries products in an effort to promote their nationwide sale. Displays presented during the first shows were concerned exclusively with tropical fruits and other such merchandise, however, and the Islands were represented purely by their 'South Seas' or 'tropical' products (Miki 2002: 49). After all, even Emperor Meiji enjoyed Ogasawara's bananas.¹³ Later shows began to depict a more culturally and racially exoticised Ogasawara, although not in the morally dichotomising manner in which

Ainu and other peripheral peoples were presented. Organisers of these events exploited the existence of the First Settlers, including those with origins in the other Pacific islands, and constructed them primarily as ‘natives’ in order to present the Ogasawara Islands as an exotic location that happened to be conveniently located within the boundaries of the nation (see Chapters 3 and 4). This allowed for a kind of pre-tourism tourism that meant attendees did not actually have to leave their city in order to experience something of the Ogasawara Islands, at least for the duration of their visit to the pavilion. This experience was enhanced in much later trade shows, such as one held at Tokyo’s Mitsukoshi Department store in 1936, which incorporated landscape photographs of Ogasawara as display objects along with various other artefacts (such as canoes and plants) within its exhibition space (figure 5.3).

There is no evidence to indicate that these first shows and expositions were consciously



Fig. 5.3. Photographer Unknown, *Photographs of Ogasawara Displayed at Mitsukoshi Department Store, 1936*. Collection of Ogasawara Kyōkai.

planned to encourage tourism (their goal was to increase sales of Island products). However, one can reasonably assume that they were very likely to have fostered a desire in the audience to travel to the Ogasawara Islands to see the internal exotic (Ogasawara Islander) in his—or (more likely) her—beautiful utopia. This is something that was consciously done in later years (see Chapter 6). Even if not directly intended as such at this early stage, the shows and expositions anticipated later touristic packaging of the Islands.

At the 1914 Taisho Exposition held in Ueno Park, Tokyo to commemorate the Taisho emperor's ascension to the throne, the Islands were for the first time given their own place at an exposition. With the Ogasawara Pavilion, the Islands were now being re-positioned from a mere source of tropical fruit, to an exotic object of cultural interest, worthy of a visit. This re-positioned Ogasawara was an already-domesticated version of Japan's other South Seas possessions. Japan had occupied these former German colonies (the Mariana, Marshall and Caroline Islands, as well as Shandong, China) in this same year, after declaring war on Germany in August. Japan was granted mandate to these territories at the treaty of Versailles in 1919.

The exposition was an unmistakable celebration of Japan's growing colonial strength. The Ogasawara Pavilion was but one of many colonial pavilions, others of which included the South Seas, Korea, Hokkaido and Taiwan pavilions. At the Ogasawara Pavilion, coffee was served to spectators by people of a "dark-skinned race called 'kanaka' and the descendants of white-skinned people who were shipwrecked and settled in Ogasawara" (Miki 2002: 50). The Ogasawara Islanders were presented as exotic and beautiful objects of desire rather than as uncivilised cannibals, as were some of the other colonised peoples displayed during this and other expositions.

The location of Ogasawara's pavilion, directly across from the Pavilion of the Island of Beautiful Women, also served to associate it with a desirable internal other rather than a wholly uncivilised and frightening other, and simultaneously begins to sexualise the Islands for the consumption of the mainlanders. Although the sexualisation of the Islands becomes more apparent as the tourism industry develops, it never developed to the level of stereotype common in other pacific regions or even among other Japanese islands, such as Oshima and Hachijyō Islands, which were

renowned throughout Japan for their beautiful women with exotically long hair. Despite some touristic references to the exotic looks of Island women, there was no construction of an 'Ogasawaran Belle' to become iconic of the Islands within the tourist discourse.

What can be observed occurring within this early tourist discourse is a seemingly subtle but extremely significant change in the quality of remoteness with which Ogasawara was imbued. I have already discussed the ramifications of this in terms of creating an internal other (in Chapter 4) but this had implications for the growth of tourism to the Islands as well. The sense of distance in geographical terms, one of the original qualities of Ogasawaran remoteness, was minimised in this discourse, rendered increasingly less important even as a sense of cultural distance was emphasised. This emphasis took on a decidedly 'positive' quality, however, as knowing this internal other was characterised as a desirable objective. Juxtaposed to other South Seas Islanders, who were 'dirty', 'polluting', 'uncivilised' and even 'cannibalistic', the Islanders were placed at a higher level in the racialised cultural hierarchy of the Japanese colonial world. The locating of the Ogasawara Islands within the South Seas on the one hand, and on the other hand, physically and symbolically locating them between the Japanese homeland and other, newly-acquired islands which lay farther south in the South Seas, resulted in the increasing 'slipperiness' of the Islanders as internal others, whose location within the imagined community of Japan was never completely secure or clearly defined.

The Emergence of Postcards in the Ogasawara Islands

Apart from its obvious function as a tourist commodity, the postcard is itself a marker of remoteness. The materiality of the form of the postcard imbues it with

remoteness prior to questions of photographic style, intent or even subject matter. As an object, it is moved between points in space, whether sent from a distant location or brought home as a personal souvenir. As with the photograph, it authenticates what it records, fragmenting wholes and decontextualising moments of time. The postcard domesticates experience, interiorising what was public and transforming it into the private (Stewart 1984: 137-138). Although by nature it is itself a marker of the remote, the postcard allows the remote to be contained and consumed. Through the domestication of the remote, the postcard enables the transport of exotica from the periphery to the centre. Mountains, oceans and even people can be frozen, miniaturised, tamed by the camera and transformed by the postcard into evidence of one's experiences, 'I was there', or as Barthes says, 'this-has-been' (1993: 79). "In the Photograph, something *has posed* in front of the tiny hole and has remained there forever" (1993: 78-79). The photograph is imbued with the authority of this evidentiary force, an authenticating power that exceeds the power of representation (Barthes 1993: 89).

It is not surprising that production of picture postcards of the Ogasawara Islands probably began a few years prior to the Taisho Exposition, just as exposure in Japan was increasing public awareness of the Islands and its products. The oldest extant postcard, which dates to 1907 or 1908, is an image of the ship that sailed

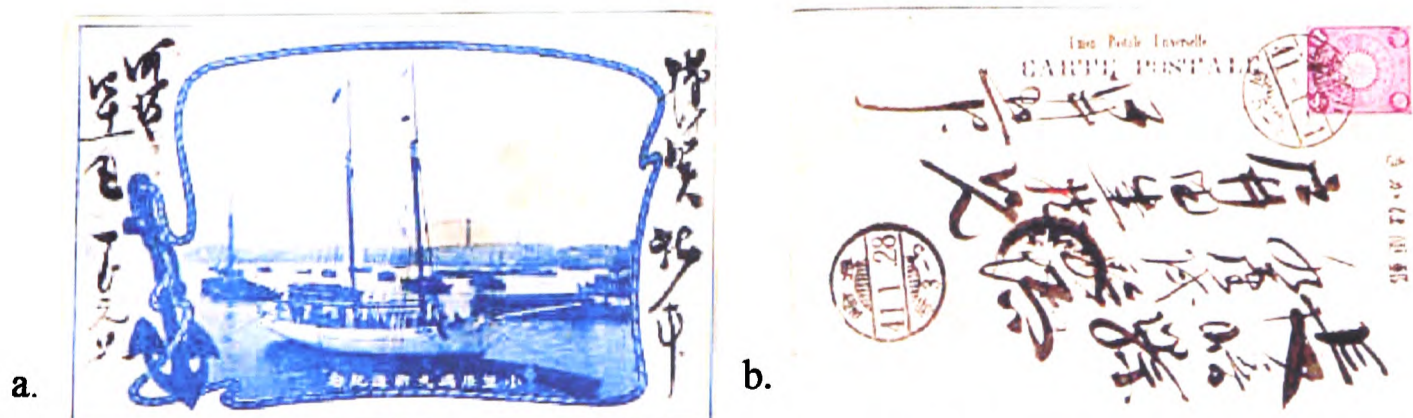


Fig. 5.4a - b. Ichikawa Photography Studio, *Ogasawara Islands Ogasawara Maru*, Postcard, 1907-1908. Collection of Edo - Tokyo Museum. The sender's new year greeting is written on the front of the card and the recipient's name and address on the verso. The stamp, cancellation stamps and dividing line were used in dating this postcard (see footnote 14).

between Ogasawara and the mainland (figure 5.4a, 5.4b).¹⁴ The sugar boom that extended from about 1890-1912 brought great wealth to the Islands (see Chapter 1). This wealth was probably sufficient to create a population that could, in combination with business from visiting mainlanders, sustain a commercial photography studio. The Ichikawa Photography Studio, the first and only studio that existed in Ogasawara, produced these first postcards, along with the first locally produced family portraits and other commercial photographs. It was probably established some time in the early 1900s.

Following Ichikawa's success, other establishments such as souvenir shops commissioned postcards and offered them for sale. The market for postcards was initially developed for a local audience of Islanders and short-term residents living in the Islands on government business. Further patronage would have come from growth in tourism and the military. Tourists and soldiers purchased postcards to send to family and friends as well as to mark personal experience in Ogasawara.¹⁵

Postcard production in the Ogasawara Islands is a relatively late phenomenon when compared with the introduction of the postcard on the Japanese mainland, where the Japan Postal Service issued the country's first postcards in December 1873. Postal regulations first required that the recipient's name and address be written on one side and the message on the other of the card and did not permit privately produced postcards to be posted. In 1900 Japan's Postal Act was revised to allow non-governmental postcards to be posted. The picture postcard became wildly popular, with popular cards printed in runs of 3,000-4,000 and special runs for commemorative events reaching as high as 40,000. Victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and the coronation of Emperor Taisho (1912) contributed to the postcard's early popularity. Foreign tourism also contributed to the popularity of the

picture postcard, as tourists to Japan bought these in great quantities, along with photographs and albums (see Chapter 2). Prior to 1907, when regulations were changed, senders had to write their messages on the picture side of the postcard, leaving the back exclusively for the recipient's address. Perhaps the sender of the postcard above in 1908 was not yet used to the new regulations when he wrote his message on the front of the postcard.

No facilities for printing postcards existed in Ogasawara; printing was conducted entirely in Tokyo. Although there is no information regarding the total number of postcards printed for the Ichikawa Studio or other producers or retailers, there is a large collection of over 350 postcards owned by Ogasawara Village and several smaller collections held in Japanese museums and other institutions, such as the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan and the Ogasawara Association, as well as an unknown number of postcards held by private collectors. Early postcards of the Ogasawara Islands can also be purchased at several of Tokyo's specialty second-hand bookshops. The existence of this relative abundance of a variety of postcards of the Islands created by several producers, suggests a large production volume of postcards of Ogasawara. There was sufficient public interest in purchasing postcards of the Islands to allow for several retailers to coexist in the pre-War period and the fact that so many postcards—objects that in Japan have not generally enjoyed long lives—have survived suggests a relatively large market for collecting postcards of Ogasawara in the decades leading up to World War Two.

The subject matter of early postcards largely consisted of agricultural products (particularly bananas, pineapples and papayas) and tropical scenery that was associated with the Islands, themes that have continued to dominate the imaging of Ogasawara to the present day. These images present nature in Ogasawara in degrees



Fig. 5.5. Ogasawarashima Bussan, *Children Holding Tropical Fruits*, ca. 1941, Postcard. Collection of Ogasawara Village.



Fig. 5.6. Distributor Unknown, *Ōgibasyō (Traveller's Palm)*, Date Unknown, Postcard. Collection of Ogasawara Village.

of domestication. Some images present an exotic but domesticated landscape of tropical plenty. This card, for example, displays an abundance of exotic tropical fruits held by smiling local (Japanese settler) children, with a giant clam shell and turtle also displayed for good measure (figure 5.5). Other images insert Japanese settlers into an otherwise untamed landscape, including people casually within the frame of the image as if they were incidentally part of the landscape, or possibly using them purposefully as a device to demonstrate the soaring heights of mountains or trees (figure 5.6). As discussed in Chapter 2, the insertion of people into images (as distinct from portraits or other images specifically of human subjects) was common in nineteenth-century Japanese government-sponsored photography. In the Ogasawaran context, this tendency has consistently flowed through much of the imaging, dating back to the first photographs produced in 1875. This seems to reflect the traditional fear of wild places, as discussed above, minimally but crucially humanising what might otherwise be a frightening, completely uncivilised space.

There are, however, some images that depict a totally wild space, seemingly devoid of human influence, the antithesis of an urban landscape. Even these images, however, often constrain the wildness they present to the viewer. This is accomplished most obviously by the nature of the object itself. The postcard frames and miniaturises the landscape, transporting it to an urban centre or other ‘safe’, culturalised place occupied by the viewer. The way in which subjects are framed further mitigates the wildness of the nature in these postcards. In contrast to much of European landscape photography (including images used in postcards), where expansiveness was generally privileged, postcards of ‘wild nature’ in Ogasawara seem small and tightly framed. After 1926, when the military regulated all photographic images of Chichi Island (about which more below), photographers were not allowed to distribute images of distinguishing natural features of the island that censors judged as being a security risk. Although this could be a partial explanation for the lack of widely framed images of Chichi after 1926, it does not account for images produced prior to the restrictions, or of other islands in Ogasawara not subject to these regulations, most of which share the post-1926 style of landscape imaging. For example, in this image made on Haha Island, whose caption, at least, emphasises the view, is photographed with view-obscuring pandanus and palm trees in the foreground (figure 5.7). Similar postcards used branches, rocks or other elements in the foreground, as if to break up what would otherwise be an unobstructed view of wide-open spaces, such as commonly occurs in much of



Fig. 5.7. Distributor Unknown, *Clear View of Mukōjima*, Date Unknown, Postcard. Collection of Ogasawara Village.

European landscape imaging. As previously discussed, this was also a traditional technique used in painting, woodblock prints and early photography.

There are postcards featuring various island products in addition to

the agricultural ones listed above, including coral, basketry and fish. One interesting postcard features the catch from a whale hunt (figure 5.8). Whaling, although not as important an industry in Ogasawara as it had been in the nineteenth century, continued to be important to the local economy in the first decades of the twentieth century, along with other marine products such as fish and turtle. Postcards sold in present-day Ogasawara continue to feature whales, which are today valued not for their oil or meat but their ability to attract tourists to the Islands. Once hunted with harpoons, whales are now hunted by tourists with cameras and binoculars and are virtually iconic of the Islands. I shall return to this point in the next chapter.

Postcards of First Settlers are also well represented in the collections. In contrast to postcards of other groups colonised under the Japanese Empire, there are few if any dehumanising or extremely exoticising images to be found in the imaging of these internal

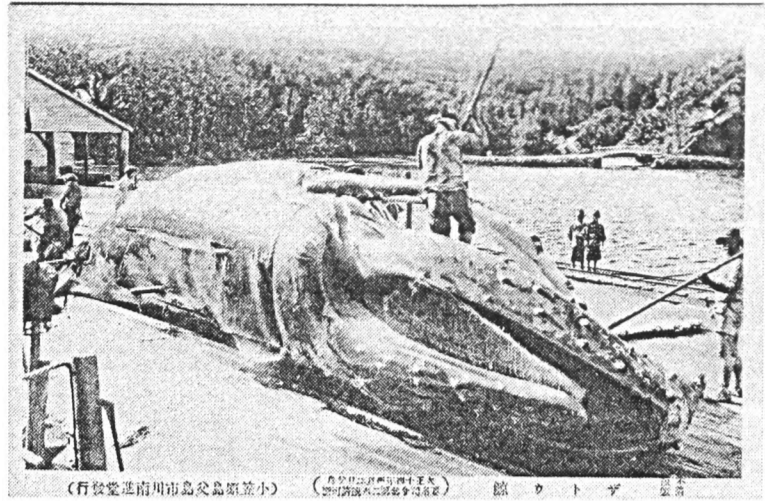
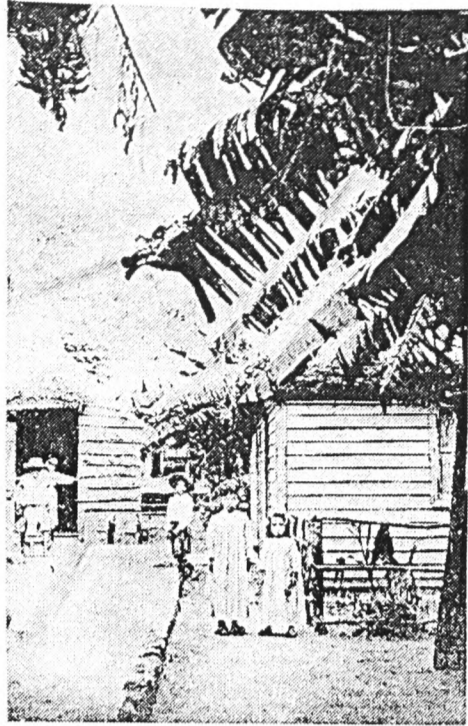


Fig. 5.8. Ichikawa Nanshindo, *Humpback Whale*, ca. 1925, Postcard. Collection of Edo-Tokyo Museum.



Fig. 5.9. Ichikawa Nanshindo, *Foreigner's House in Okumura*, ca. 1925, Postcard. Collection of Ogasawara Village. This image was distributed by at least two companies and appeared at different times with different captions. Another version of this postcard reads: "Pioneer Settler's House" (*senjyūsha no jyūtaku*). These two, very different renderings are indicative of the conflicting notions of First Settler identity in Ogasawaran society.



小笠原島歸化人住家 (東京帝國新聞社)

Fig. 5.10. Ōnuma Shōten, *House of Naturalised People, Chichi Island, Ogasawara*, Date Unknown, Postcard. Collection of Ogasawara Village.



Fig. 5.11. Distributor Unknown, *Long-Haired Maiden (Manners and Customs of Oshima)*, Date Unknown, Postcard. Collection of Author.

others. For example, this image of a First Settler descendant shows a man standing in front of his house with his family behind him (figure 5.9). The man has been identified as a member of the Savory family and he is standing on land still owned by descendants of the family.¹⁶ Other images of First Settlers include numerous postcards of their dwellings and groups of children (figure 5.10). First Settlers, whilst objects of curiosity and difference to the image producers and consumers, were never obliged to ‘perform’ their culture for the camera in the manner of Okinawan dancers, nor were they arranged before the camera in ethnological poses in order to demonstrate bodily difference in the manner of ‘hairy’ or tattooed Ainu or the long-haired ‘maidens’ of Oshima island (figure 5.11).

An exception to this comes not in the form of Japanese ethnology but European artistic exoticisation. Although these postcards were not created from photographs, they are worth including in this discussion in order to further our understanding of the location of First Settlers in Japanese society, as well as the development of early tourism in the Ogasawara Islands. Six postcards produced from

the artwork of Czech artist Václav Fiala and his Russian colleague David Burliuk have been archived in the Ogasawara Postcard Collection.¹⁷ They feature cubo-futurist interpretations of landscapes and First Settlers subjects. This romanticised image of island women, for example, was of course never intended to be a realistic depiction in the manner of a photograph (figure 5.12).¹⁸

Fiala and Burliuk went to the Islands with their wives in the winter of 1920 and Fiala published a memoir of the trip in 1928 (Fiala 1928).¹⁹ A reading of the memoir and the postcards, as well as revealing a foreign figuring of the remoteness of the Ogasawara Islands in 1920, provides an indication of the conditions of early tourism there.

Fiala writes that they decided to visit Ogasawara because its southern location promised “the warmth necessary for our artistic work” (Fiala 1928: 12).²⁰ They were excited by the fact that the Islands were remote and mysterious, unknown even to most Japanese. In his memoir Fiala writes at length about his impressions of the Islands, his surprise at learning about the non-Japanese ‘natives’ and his pleasant interactions with them. His writing emphasises the exotic—both cultural and ‘natural’—and his and Burliuk’s artwork reflects this sentiment. He notes that Island authorities were suspicious of their activities and occasionally sent people to inspect their drawings and paintings. When they were at the pier at Port Futami, preparing to depart for the mainland in the spring of 1921, signs posted in Japanese and English forbidding photography, painting and drawing had appeared that were not present



小笠原島 婦人 達 群像

Fig. 5.12. Distributor Unknown, *Ogasawara Islands Women* by David Burliuk, Postcard. Collection of Ogasawara Village

when they landed. Fiala also writes that when he was first in Ogasawara, he purchased and posted postcards and later wanted additional ones for personal souvenirs. However “my search across the whole settlement was in vain, I didn’t find any at all” (Fiala 1928: 60-61).²¹

Fiala’s memoir records the military’s growing discomfort with visual imaging of the Ogasawara Islands. Military fortification of Chichi Island had begun in 1914 and continued to grow until Japan’s defeat in World War Two (see Chapter 1). Authorities began to enact various regulations restricting photography once the island was fortified, eventually requiring all images to be censored in order to protect the base from security threats. In practical terms this meant scenic views of mountains were either forbidden or the photographer would be forced to alter the image (by shaving off certain peaks, for example). Examples in the Ogasawara Postcard Collection dating to 1926 and later bear the censor’s stamp of release on the front of the card near the caption.

Returning to our discussion of the postcards of First Settlers, it is clear that the captions indicated that the subjects fell outside of the boundaries of full membership in Japanese culture (the image producers); the ‘naturalised’ subjects have clearly been photographed because of their difference. However, photographic intention and captioning tell only part of the story. As has been argued throughout this study, both representational content, whose meanings are highly mutable when consumed, and exchange value of images must be considered in an attempt to understand the complex role that photography has played and continues to play in the ongoing construction of the Ogasawara Islands as a place within the boundaries of the Japanese nation. It is in the category of consumption, however, that a postcard’s meaning is ultimately made.

As discussed in the beginning of this section, postcards are objects designed as souvenirs to be sent from one place to another. They are also objects that, when collected, function as souvenirs of personal experience rather than messages sent to friends and family. Particularly in the Taisho and early Showa periods, when very few people owned a personal camera, postcards were purchased and kept in the same manner that snapshots are today. In their function as souvenirs, local audiences can use them as markers of experience. As Patricia Albers has argued in the Native American context, postcard images “aimed at local audiences were less likely to sever pictorial reality from real life . . . local cards were generally more authentic reflections of the times and places in which Plains Indians lived than were postcards intended for other audiences” (Albers 1998: 84). In Ogasawara, this is a reasonable explanation for the ‘realistic’ images of First Settlers in postcards. If the major category of consumption was not so much the ‘internal exotic’ as a ‘different’ but local neighbour—or indeed, oneself or a member of one’s own community—and the consumer were intimately familiar with the subjects, the likelihood of extreme distortion, as Albers says, is greatly decreased. This does not, however, in any way preclude the tourist or soldier from purchasing the same postcard as a resident whilst consuming it in a different category, potentially reading it as evidence of extreme difference or exoticism.

The Island Artefact

Although modern Japanese claims of possession of the Ogasawara Islands were predicated upon (a fictitious) historical discovery, they were never presented as having any kind of ancient cultural significance to Japan. Since the Islands remained unpopulated until 1830, and even then only by non-Japanese people until Japan’s

successful colonisation of Ogasawara in 1876, it was not possible to construct Ogasawara as having ancient ties with Japanese culture. Traditional forms of travel that incorporated such elements as religious pilgrimage and the viewing of famous (ancient) sites could therefore not be applied to Ogasawara. Instead, as we have seen, the first years of Japanese access to the Islands were characterised by the virtual absence of any (including foreign) tourism. They were seen as distant and remote from the Japanese mainland, the result of physical factors such as geographical distance and infrequent ship service as well as cultural factors such as attitudes toward wild nature and the foreign.

As tourism developed in other Japanese peripheries, and as the political boundaries of the nation-state advanced southward, expanding Japan's colonial possessions as the Islands were themselves increasingly incorporated into the nation, Ogasawara began to function symbolically as a kind of line of cultural protection, situated between the home islands and the newly-acquired South Seas colonial possessions. A place and people once constructed as foreign and other were 'naturalised' as domestic and internal other and simultaneously exoticised for domestic consumption.

As I have argued, domestic tourism in Japan is the process of consuming artefacts constructed from a combination of the 'natural' and 'artificial'. Reconfiguring this tourism as 'artefactual' rather than *furusato*-based (and understanding *furusato* tourism as itself artefactual in nature), allows for an explanation of Japanese travel to Ogasawara as distinctive but falling within reasonable cultural parameters rather than as an aberration from the 'norm'. The *furusato* model is too constrictive to accommodate the various kinds of domestic tourism that exist in Japan.

Photography has played a pivotal role in the artefactualisation of the Ogasawara Islands, as I have argued explicitly here and implicitly in previous chapters. From the moment the first images of Ogasawara were produced during the 1875 colonial expedition, the Islands have been objectified in the form of photographs. Beaches, dwellings, people, flora and virtually everything photographable has been recorded and circulated (in different proportions and emphases at different historical junctures) in various forms such as photographic prints, *carte de visite*, postcards, and tourist brochures. As the importance of tourism has increased, so too has the role of photography in defining the place of the Islands in Japanese society and also therefore the lives of the Islanders. Ogasawara itself has been rendered an artefact within the tourist discourse; photography, as a crucial component of this discourse, has been a major vehicle for artefactualisation. As I shall discuss in the next chapter, in the post-reversion tourist-driven economy of the Ogasawara Islands, photography is increasingly responsible for sustaining the island as an artefact worthy of the tourist gaze.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 5

¹ In the original Japanese: 実に小笠原島は絵と詩に彩られた此の世のユートピアである。

² In the original Japanese: 四季絶えざる熱をたたえて語る島乙女、青い目の帰化人。

³ It is interesting to note that very often during my fieldwork in Ogasawara, tourists offered to take my picture in front of whatever it was I was trying to photograph (whether a mountain, memorial or other object or landscape). I would most often politely decline the offer and was usually told that there was no need to be polite, that it was truly no bother to take my picture. My explanation that I wanted to take a picture specifically of a particular object or view, without my (human) presence, was greeted with somewhat uncomprehending looks. Apart from the relatively few people I encountered who were travelling alone (and many of these people asked me to take their picture in front of whatever object or view it was that prompted them to take out their camera), I observed very few people taking photographs without including a human subject.

⁴ Detailed discussion of Japanese concepts of nature other than in the context of domestic tourism is beyond the scope of this study. For more on perceptions of nature, see essays in Asquith and Kalland 1997, including Arntzen on classical poetry, Cabanas on painting, Hendry on gardens, Moeran and Skov on advertising, and Knight on farming. See also essays in Bruun and Kalland 1995.

⁵ See, for example, Yoshino 1992, Ivy 1995 and Morris-Suzuki 1998 for detailed discussions of *Nihonjinron*.

⁶ The JNR has a long history of promoting this kind of tourism. For example, JNR published *Travel Japan* in the 1930s. The English-language publication targeted at the overseas tourist market was highly nationalistic, and cultivated existing stereotypes about Japanese culture, continuing the reification of such images as cherry blossoms, kimono, old temples and the lure of the Japanese 'maiden'.

⁷ These cases are discussed in detail by Ivy (1995: 34-61). My discussion is based on her analysis.

⁸ This description was listed in an early guidebook to Japan that included an entry for the Ogasawara Islands (Chamberlain and Mason 1907: 534).

⁹ *Murray's* advised its readers in 1891 that there was but 'one poor inn' on Vries (Oshima) Island but that accommodation could be found at the home of the headman of each village. A similar situation might have existed in Ogasawara.

¹⁰ Ogawa also used the alternative given name 'Kengo'. It is also sometimes read as 'Kazumasa' and 'Kazuma'.

¹¹ For example, the 1891 and 1899 editions of Basil Hall Chamberlain's guidebooks written for *Murray's Hand-book Japan* included these entries.

¹² The original Japanese is as follows: 世間小笠原旅行に勝るものなし.

¹³ From a newspaper article of 1896 with the headline: 天皇バナナ愛好 (*The Emperor Loves Bananas*). The article explains that the emperor loved bananas from Ogasawara that he sampled at the botanical gardens in Shinjuku.

¹⁴ The cancellation stamps on the postcard indicate both the date the card was posted in Ogasawara and the date it was received in Nagasaki. This allows us to establish a postcard production date of sometime earlier than the first cancellation date of 28 January 1908. Furthermore, the verso has an off-centre divider, which was not produced in Japan until 28 March 1907. This means that the postcard can be reliably dated to between 1907 and 1908.

¹⁵ One example of this is a communication sent from a former Japanese soldier to Ogasawara Village in 1990. The soldier wrote a four-page letter describing some of his experiences whilst stationed on Chichi Island during the War. He included eight colour photocopies of postcards he had purchased as *omiyage* prior to returning to Tokyo. Interestingly, none of these postcards was of a First Settler subject, although one pictured a First Settler dwelling.

¹⁶ This information was gathered during an interview with Jonathan Savory in January 1999. Nathaniel Savory, the ancestor of the man in the postcard, was an American sailor and one of the original settlers of the island, as well as its unofficial leader.

¹⁷ Fiala was a successful graphic artist and Burliuk was one of the fathers of Russian Futurism.

¹⁸ The artist exhibited the painting from which this postcard was produced in a solo show in Tokyo along with other work.

¹⁹ I am indebted to Jane Keat for bringing this publication to my attention and providing an English translation from the original Czech. All quotations from Fiala's publication cited in this thesis are taken from her translation.

²⁰ In the original Czech: "... také jižní poloha ostrovů slibovala nám teplotu podnebí nutnou pro naši práci malířskou."

²¹ In the original Czech: "... marné bylo moje hledání pohlednic po celé osadě, nenašel jsem pak tam ani jediné."

IMAGING CONTEMPORARY TOURISM

*The Islanders, who are of Euro-American blood, have skin and eye colour different to ours, and they have cheerful dispositions.*¹

-- *Asahi Shimbun, 24 May 1968*

*"The people here are worried about being turned into 'South Seas Ainu'."*²

-- *Reverend Ogasawara Aisaku [Isaac Gonzales], Asahi Shimbun, 24 May 1968*

*"Leave us alone, we've had enough!" Children at the island's middle school, covering their faces in distress when the camera is pointed at them.*³

-- *Asahi Shimbun, 16 July 1968*

A journalistic feeding frenzy engulfed the Ogasawara Islands as they were reverted to Japanese control in the summer of 1968 and the Japanese media flocked to Chichi Island to write about and photograph the transfer of power. Journalists wondered out loud about the implications of the reversion for the future of the First Settler community, the returning Japanese, the reversion of Okinawa, and other weighty concerns. Just prior to the reversion there were also several American magazines that covered the issue, albeit from the point of view of (American) loss rather than (Japanese) re-possession. Media reports from both countries gave voice to the anxieties felt by many in the First Settler community as they contemplated the switch of the power centre from America back to Japan.⁴ How would it affect education, language, employment, and land rights? These issues, although interesting and important in their own right, are beyond the scope of this thesis. I am interested here, rather, in how the tension surrounding the reversion of Ogasawara is played out in the visual field produced in conjunction with this transfer of power, for it is within this sphere that we can see the contemporary development of a visual discourse that is ultimately absorbed within the discursive field of domestic tourism.

This chapter extends the discussion begun in Chapter 5, which provided a context for understanding contemporary constructions of tourism in the Ogasawara Islands within general anthropological approaches to tourism and the specifics of domestic tourism in Japan. I demonstrated that the Ogasawara Islands do not resemble the 'typical' Japanese domestic tourist site. I established that Ogasawara's lack of Japanese 'tradition', as it is defined within the *furusato* discourses that dominate domestic tourism, is particularly problematic for understanding tourism in the Islands. I have thus suggested that an 'artefactual' model allows for the inclusion of different tourisms (such as Ogasawara's) in the discussion of tourism in a Japanese cultural context. I also discussed the development of early tourism in the Islands and its relationship to concepts of remoteness and nature within the Japanese context, demonstrating that the Ogasawara Islands have themselves becoming artefactualised.

This chapter brings the discussion forward to the reversion of the Islands following the American occupation. It begins with a discussion of the exhibition, *Kaette Kita Ogasawara (Ogasawara Comes Home)*, which was held in Tokyo in July 1968 to mark the reversion of the Ogasawara Islands to Japan the previous month. This was the first example of using visual and other material objects to construct the Islands as part of the post-World War Two nation, for in the military fortification, build up to war and the forced civilian evacuation of the Islands by the Japanese military authorities, all commercial photography and tourism were halted. This exhibition thus provides a kind of benchmark against which we can observe the development of the role of images in the contemporary domestic tourism of Ogasawara.

The chapter continues with an examination of the development of the tourism industry in post-reversion Ogasawara, with special regard to the role of photographs.

Photographs have been used in a variety of media, including guidebooks, brochures and postcards, and dominate tourist representations of the Islands. Examining these images, therefore, provides an opportunity to examine tourism to the Islands through one of its key modes of expression. This examination of the 'image world' of tourist images of the Ogasawara Islands requires a simultaneous analysis of both the social and material aspects of these representations (Poole 1997: 7). This reveals the entanglement of photographs, ideas about the past, and *kokusaika* (internationalisation) discourses within the discursive field of domestic tourism and how this tourism has precipitated a shift—through the use of early photographs—in the representation of the Islanders.

Presenting: the Ogasawara Islands

In July 1968, the Prime Minister's Office and the Tokyo metropolitan government, together with various national government ministries including Foreign Affairs, Agriculture, Energy, Defence, and Culture, held an exhibition at the Odakyū Department Store in Tokyo's Shinjuku district. It is indicative of the powerful symbolic value of the Islands and their reversion to Japan that, whether or not the various ministries in fact had any practical role in organising the show, these most powerful branches of the government found it appropriate to lend their support to the project. It also attests to the various interests (represented by the ministries) that intersect in Ogasawara, seemingly out of all proportion to the small size of the island chain, and the awareness of the very fact of this intersection by the government.

There is an album of photographs of the 1968 exhibition held in the Ogasawara Village Department of Education archives. There is no accompanying written documentation. There are twenty-three images in total, about half are black

and white and half are colour. The subject of each black and white image is duplicated in its colour version, although the distance (between camera and subject) and composition change slightly in the two versions. This quirk aside, the photographs appear to be very unremarkable attempts to record the displays. However, we can use the photographs, which seem to be the only surviving records of the event, to glean information about what was selected to represent the Islands.

Although we do not know the relative amount of space in the exhibition devoted to text about the First Settler community or items of their material culture, as opposed to the history of Japanese control and settlement, there are visual suggestions that First Settler culture was prominently displayed. The poster advertising the exhibition features the images of thirteen First Settler subjects superimposed on a backdrop of a sunken battleship in Port Futami, beneath the words from a poem, *My Ogasawaran Friend*, written by famous Japanese poet Sato Hachiro. The poster is overloaded with symbols: a Japanese literary proclamation of friendship; a half-sunken, rusted battleship, perhaps declaring that war is long over; and the faces of Islanders wearing uncertain expressions that do not necessarily reflect the ‘cheerful dispositions’ cited by journalists. An outrigger canoe dominates the entry to the show (figure 6.1). There is an old cannon.

Is it Japanese? Perhaps it is a remnant of American occupation. The requisite tropical plants burst out from their corners and preserved lobsters hang on the walls. There is a long display case filled with photographs and text, although it is

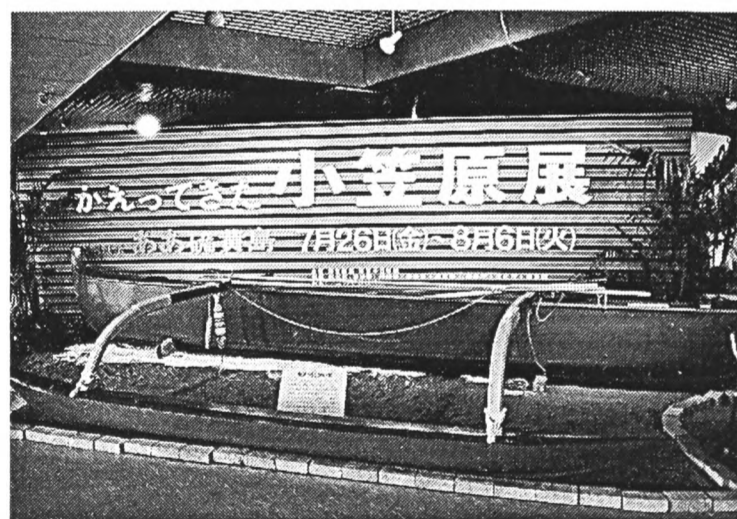


Fig. 6.1. Photographer Unknown, *Entrance to Exhibition*, 1968. Collection of Ogasawara Village.

impossible to see discern the subject matter (figure 6.2). Do they tell of Japanese discovery or 'foreign' first settlement?

Although the precise content of its displays has not been preserved, the exhibition clearly marked the return of



Fig. 6.2. Photographer Unknown, *Cannon*, 1968. Collection of Ogasawara Village.

the Islands to Japan and was part of a process of reacquainting the nation with the Islands. In this respect, these images from 1968 parallel the first photographic images taken of the Islands and Islanders by Matsuzaki Shinji in 1875, which were envisioned as providing the nation with a means of (re)incorporating the territory into Japan. It is also clear—at least in the photographic record—that in most of the displays, the natural environment of the Islands is privileged over the cultural. The numerous natural artefacts on display seem to anticipate the contemporary tourist obsession with the Islands as a natural land- and seascape virtually absent of human culture. I shall return to this point below.

Images of Loss

The anxiety of many Islanders at being returned to Japanese control was expressed directly in news reports of the time, as the quotations listed at the beginning of this chapter. Articles highlighted the many possible problems Islanders might encounter once Ogasawara was again under the political control of the Japanese government. It would be a reasonable assumption that this was also visually implied in the set of black and white postcards issued by the cooperative, the Bonin Islands Trading Company, after the reversion.⁵ Although no single image directly expresses

anxiety as such, the totality of images, focused on material markers of the past rather than the tropical fruits and scenic views that would constitute the tourism-dominated future, at the very least seems to lack optimism. More than an indication of anxiety about what is to come, however, what is expressed in this set of images is a sense of loss over what once existed.

As has often been observed, photographs are associated with loss and even death (see for example Barthes 1993; Metz 1990). The photograph freezes a moment in time, seemingly forever. What once existed in front of the camera has vanished but a trace remains in the photographic image. Photographs of the departed are kept and treasured as if they can maintain a visceral connection with the dead. In a Japanese funeral, for example, a photographic portrait of the deceased is carried by a grieving loved one during the funeral procession, later placed on the altar during the ceremony and eventually placed in the family's own home altar. Family members can then pray at the altar, speaking through the photograph to the spirit of the person in the image.

The images not only communicate a sense of loss, as if in a funeral, but also preserve the past through an act of remembering. As John Berger has discussed, "memory implies a certain act of redemption. What is remembered is saved from nothingness. . . . The camera relieves us of the burden of memory" (Berger 1980: 54, 55). The postcards save what has been photographed from nothingness and in this way provide ethnographic material that speaks of the fear of loss at the time of reversion.

The postcards include then new images of Chichi Island produced in July 1968, immediately following the reversion of the Islands to Japan and can be read like a catalogue of endangered objects. The photographic preservation of American-built houses was likely undertaken to record what existed at the moment and authenticate

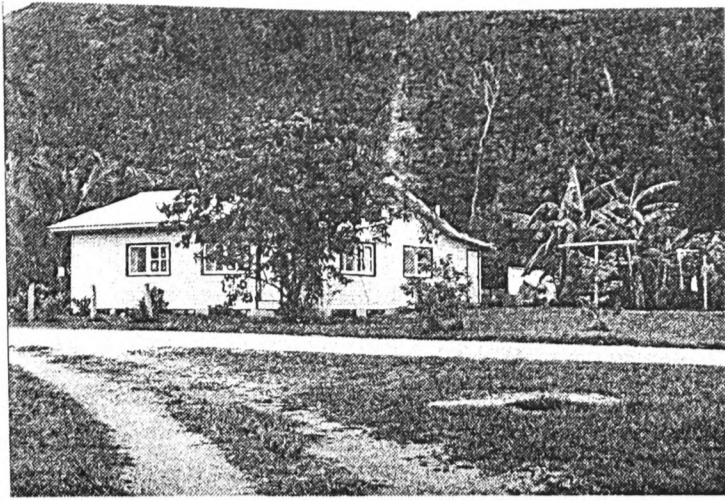


Fig. 6.3. Photographer Unknown, *Islander Home of American Navy Style*, 1968. Collection of Nobushima Fuyuo.

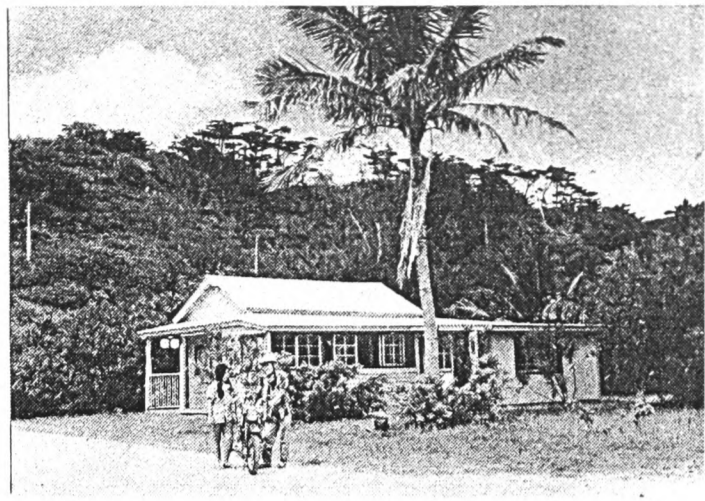


Fig. 6.4. Photographer Unknown, *'Tea House'. Chichi Island's Only Tea House. Beer Can be Drunk There as Well*, 1968. Collection of Nobushima Fuyuo.

some common experiences of space in the Islands (figure 6.3). The Christian church, built just prior to reversion by American sailors as a gift to the Islanders, is also the subject of one postcard, a subject that recurs in future postcards, despite the virtual disappearance of First Settler culture more generally as a visual subject. One image of the only teahouse on the island informs us, in its amusing caption, “beer can be drunk there as well” (figure 6.4). This authentication of experience must also have been a kind of visual salvaging of a culture thought by its own members to be on the verge of massive change and perceived with concern about what might be lost in the onslaught of Japanese resettlement. “Are we to be turned into performers, rowing our canoes in a show for tourists?”⁶, worried members of the First Settlers’ Island Government Council⁷ one month prior to reversion (Asahi Shimbun 1968).

The ‘visual language of salvage’ (Odo 2000) employed in these post-reversion postcards functioned not only as a means of recording and thus salvaging elements of First Settler culture, it was a means to express not in words but in visual images the vulnerability of culture. Unable or unwilling to articulate this fear in words to a news media more interested in issues of land rights, employment and education, postcards can be seen as a means of both salvaging a ‘dying’ culture and expressing a sense of loss without directly criticising the returning settlers. These self-salvaging images of

impending loss focused on objects rather than people, recording the visual landscape of a built environment on the verge of disappearance. Simultaneously, the images are a statement of group identity cohered through images of the past.

There are several images that were taken on Iwo Jima, an island that, although reverted to Japanese control along with the rest of the Ogasawara Islands, was not allowed to be resettled and even today remains under the control of the Japanese military. The Iwo Jima images—all of which are military in subject—belong to a genre absent from visual representations of other islands in Ogasawara, with the exception of a single image made on Chichi Island. This postcard shows an American memorial to fallen soldiers on Iwo Jima (figure 6.5), and other images show American-built structures such as the military headquarters and soldiers' barracks. There are also images of the remnants of Japanese military sites, such as this pillbox (figure 6.6).

The military images are particularly interesting for two reasons. Firstly, because the First Settlers did not originally settle Iwo Jima, one might expect there to be less interest in memorialising an island that had no civilian population during the American occupation and little if any non-Japanese population before the War.⁸ Secondly, there are numerous war sites located on Chichi Island, which not only could

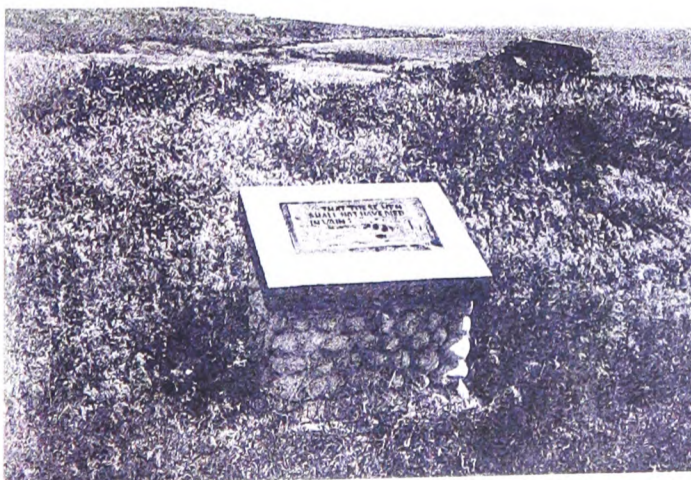


Fig. 6.5. Photographer Unknown, *American Memorial to Landing on and Occupation of Iwo Jima*, 1968. Collection of Nobushima Fuyuo.

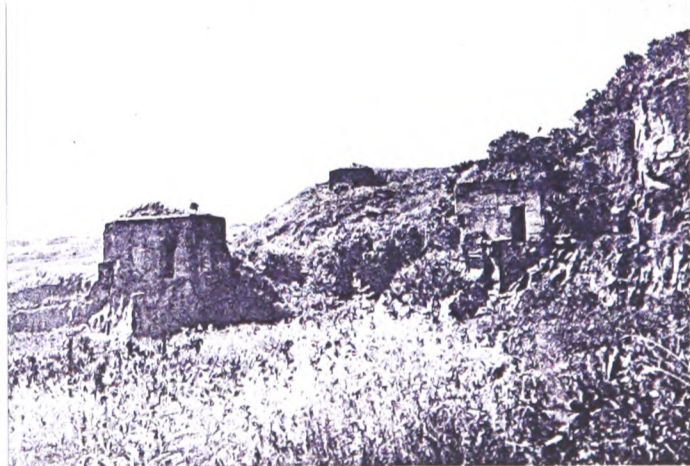


Fig. 6.6. Photographer Unknown, *Japanese Pillbox*, 1968. Collection of Nobushima Fuyuo.

have been easily photographed but which would also presumably have held more direct, experiential meaning for the First Settler community. Why did these receive virtually no attention?

Although it is true that the battles fought on Iwo Jima were more severe than on Chichi, Chichi had its share of fierce battles and even today one can find physical reminders of the War scattered throughout the island. It is also true that these postcards were probably intended for a different audience than other images, perhaps military or government officials wanting to memorialise the reclamation of the battle-scarred island. If this was the case, the Iwo Jima set of postcards fulfils a different social function than other cards. However, all of Ogasawara's islands bear terrible scars and whatever the difference in degree of severity of injuries or number of dead, it would have been reasonable for images of military subjects on Chichi Island to be produced. Why was the military past of other islands excluded? Was it to memorialise the War whilst locating its memory safely in another place? Was it perhaps to mark Japanese culpability at a safe distance?⁹

We can only theorise about the possible reasons behind the production of these postcards. However, it is important to note the existence of this genre of postcard, a genre that disappears from the stylebook of Ogasawaran images after this brief appearance, and that only a single military-themed image of Chichi Island was included in this series of postcards. This act of exclusion has implications for the possibility of so-called peace tourism in contemporary Ogasawara, a point to which I shall return.

Finally, there are reprints of pre-War Japanese postcards in the set. Subjects of these include a scenic view, sugar cane fields and a village (that was entirely destroyed during the War and not subsequently rebuilt) (figure 6.7). This view from

the shore on Haha Island is the only image that fits into what would become the dominant genre of visual representation of post-reversion Ogasawara. No contemporary landscape images were produced.

An explanation appears on the verso of the scenic view postcard (and

indeed all the postcards of reprinted images) stating that it is a reproduction of a picture postcard from ‘the pre-War, Japanese era.’ This stands in contradistinction to the ‘American military occupation era’ of both the military images and the images of dwellings on Chichi. Were these reprinted postcards some kind of a peace offering or attempt to include the Japanese Islanders (who soon would be coming home) in a larger history of Ogasawara, whilst maintaining separate community histories?

Of particular interest is one image of a sea turtle that is not easily categorised with others in the series. It was also used in the *Ogasawara Comes Home* exhibition discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The doomed creature was photographed as it laid struggling and “crying out” on the ground (figure 6.8). This image marks Islander participation in the exhibition by picturing the supplying of a natural artefact for display by local fisherman, possibly pointing to the connections between the First Settlers and the natural environment.



Fig. 6.7. Photographer Unknown, *View of Kita Village, Haha Island*, 1968 Reprint of Vintage Pre-War Postcard. Collection of Nobushima Fuyuo.

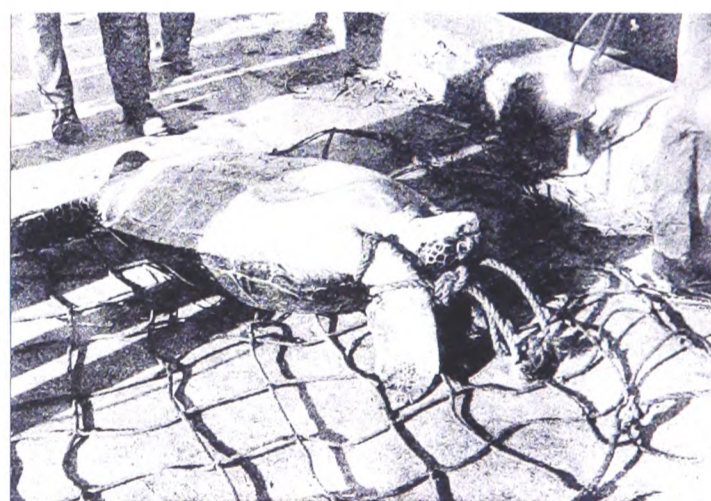


Fig. 6.8. Photographer Unknown, *Turtle Caught for Display in the Ogasawara Reversion Commemorative Exhibition. The Turtle Cried Out as it Was Taken on Board a Boat, and Was Taken [Ashore] and Put on the Ground.*

It is very easy to over-read photographs in an academic analysis such as this, projecting meanings onto a given image, which after all does not possess the power to fix its own meaning (Berger 1980: 51). These postcards are not an exception. Considered in the context of other sources of information, however, as any historical or anthropological data must, my reading of these images as documents of loss rather than as a neutral recording of a moment in history is not far-fetched. The First Settler people with whom I discussed these images were not particularly interested in talking much about the subject of a given image; rather, they became very nostalgic about the 'Navy days'. "Those days were so good, you know," one man told me as we viewed images of American-style houses. Another person, who now runs an inn on Chichi, was reminded whilst viewing the postcards that families paid just U.S. \$1.00 per year for electricity during the occupation.

I was surprised by this kind of nostalgia for the days of U.S. Navy rule, having had as a reference the Army's occupation of Okinawa and, to a certain extent, the American occupation of Japan more generally.¹⁰ Not only was the Army's post-War occupation of Okinawa the source of much national debate and anguish, the ongoing presence of U.S. troops there is extremely problematic for Okinawans in particular, and many mainland Japanese as well consider it unjust and imperialistic. The occupation of the Ogasawara Islands was also problematic for the government and many Japanese on the mainland. Of special concern was the fact that former Islanders of Japanese-Japanese descent were excluded from post-War return to Chichi Island, unless they happened to be married to a First Settler person. Japanese citizens were banned from even visiting Ogasawara until after the reversion in 1968, in contrast to the situation in Okinawa.¹¹ I certainly did not expect these images—which had initially seemed so bland and 'neutral' to me—to be evocative of anything other than

some 'factual' explanation of what was pictured.¹² Instead, an unexpected history was revealed.

I learned further that extensive negotiations between the governments of the United States and Japan resulted in certain guarantees being made regarding treatment of the First Settler community after reversion. These included employment, tenancy and other rights. Islanders were also eligible to apply for U.S. citizenship if done so within five years of reversion. That these rights were negotiated demonstrates the high level of concern both among Islanders and within the American military that Islanders would have a difficult time readjusting to Japanese rule and might be subjected to discrimination or some kind of retaliation by the government representatives or Japanese Islanders.¹³ The date of the reversion ceremony chosen by the American authorities was 26 June, the 130th anniversary of the landing of the American schooner *Washington*, the ship on which the original settlers of the Islands had journeyed from Honolulu.

Developing a Tourist Industry

Once reverted to Japanese control, the Ogasawara Islands were politically reconstituted as an independent village within the Tokyo metropolitan government. Fewer than 300 people were living in the Islands upon reversion, including about 180 First Settler people (some with Japanese spouses).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, tourism was the government's primary focus in the economic development of Ogasawara. This differed from the situation in other formerly occupied areas such as Okinawa, where the government pushed an agenda of industrialisation patterned after the situation on the Japanese mainland (Miki 1990: 41). Scenic roads were built, national and metropolitan parks were established and

market research on methods of fostering tourism was conducted. Chichi and Haha Islands were developed, leaving the others to military use or for nature preserves, and former residents were compensated for their property losses by the government. As planned, tourism is today the most important industry in the Ogasawara Islands.

The two main islands, Chichi and Haha, which supported the majority of the population before the War, were re-populated after reversion, and are today both tourist sites, with Chichi being the more frequently visited of the two. Various uninhabited nearby islets are also currently used in tourism for scuba diving, fishing and trekking. Nearly 30,000 mostly Japanese visitors (nearly ten times the total resident population) arrive in the Ogasawara Islands annually, providing the economic mainstay of the economy (Ogasawara Mura 2000: 10).

With tourism established as the cornerstone of development plans, the Islands were increasingly artefactualised in line with tourist discourses. Infrastructure in Ogasawara was not developed and improved simply to make life more convenient for Islanders; these changes were made in order to facilitate tourism. Through these modifications, the Ogasawara Islands were made into objects of tourism and have continued to be developed in line with the changing tourist, rather than solely local, needs. As I demonstrate more fully below, tourist discourses both sustain an imagination of the Ogasawara Islands as a space and heavily influence (if not determine) the construction of the Islands as a place. There is a large and important physical component to the touristic construction of the Islands: scenic roads have been carved out and paved, directing the tourist to particular spots; observation points have been constructed to frame particular views; boat trips are taken around the Islands, not only to observe whales and dolphins, but also to gaze upon the island artefact itself,

with its beaches, mountains, dwellings and port. The tourist narrative has been constructed in both literal and figurative terms.

As part of the national park system, which since 1972 has covered most of the land and seven designated underwater parks in the archipelago, 'nature' in the Islands is itself artefactualised. Natural artefacts are on the one hand categorised and preserved as a supposedly untouched and pristine environment, and on the other, used and managed and hence inherently affected by human presence and usage. In this way, through classification, a directed gaze and physical modifications, the Ogasawara Islands are today artefactualised within the discursive field of tourism.

In this broad sense of artefactualisation, a characteristic of Japanese domestic tourism in general, Ogasawara Village is no different to other villages that have received government funding and have been changed to appeal to the perceived desires of urban tourists (e.g., Knight 1994; Martinez 1990; Moon 1989). Whilst sharing some other commonalities (particularly its artefactual nature and the importance of *omiyage* and visual constructions) with the types of domestic tourism outlined in the previous chapter, contemporary tourism in the Ogasawara Islands has important differences from typical patterns in Japan. In Chapter 5 I also discussed the qualities of *furusato*-based tourism and demonstrated that the early tourist industry in Ogasawara was not advertised as having any of the qualities associated with the *furusato* ('hometown'). Here I discuss why this has also been absent from post-reversion Ogasawaran tourism and how, in spite of this 'deficiency', tourism, with its very strong visual core, has become the most important industry in the Islands.

Many people I spoke with during my fieldwork offered comments about the problems Ogasawara has in attracting more tourists (and profiting more from existing ones). Many agreed that, as one village official said, "The problem with Ogasawara is

that we have no *omiyage*.”¹⁴ I shall return to the specific issue of *omiyage* (souvenirs) and how this relates to a local perception of having a ‘shallow history’ and ‘no culture’ later, but I should first like to explore the larger issue implicit in this comment. That this ‘lack’ of *omiyage* is expressed as an impediment to growth reflects the non-fit of the Ogasawara Islands into the dominant *furusato* tourist discourse. This starkly contrasts to the situation in other sites of domestic tourism. Many Islanders, both government employees and private citizens alike, contextualise tourism in Ogasawara through this narrative of ‘lack’.

There are numerous other factors that would seem to hinder the success of Ogasawara’s tourism industry. For example, unlike Okinawa, which has been characterised as a repository of ancient or proto-Japanese language and culture (see Chapter 4), the Ogasawara Islands can claim no such associations. The Islands have only relatively recently been inhabited, the original settlers were not Japanese, and in no way can the current population be seen as ‘living relics’ of ancient Japan. Tourism in the Ogasawara Islands is also different from the situation in Hokkaido’s Ainu tourist centres, in the north of the country, which also have a non-Japanese, indigenous population. Like the Okinawans, the Ainu have sometimes been constructed as ‘proto-Japanese’. The Ainu, objects of cultural tourism since the 1880s (Siddle 1996: 104), are artefacts on the cultural landscape, touristically constructed as other, representing the primitive and exotic at home.¹⁵

Additionally, the Ogasawara Islands are not—almost by definition—of special religious importance. Religiously important sites are almost always inherently tied to ancient places (some new religions provide an exception to this) and are thus entangled in historical and, ultimately, *furusato* discourses. Historically speaking, the most significant religion in the Islands is (Anglican) Christianity, which is not only a

religion 'foreign' to Japan but is today housed in a structure that is anything but ancient, having been built in the late 1960s. Although there is a relatively large and well-appointed visitor's centre on Chichi Island and a very small museum on Haha Island (see below), neither can be classified as nationally important or well-known institutions. There are no famous, traditional *matsuri* (festivals), religious or otherwise, held in Ogasawara that attract mainland urbanites to its shores. It is striking how many people associated with Ogasawara's tourism industry characterised the Islands' tourist infrastructure as 'deficient', in terms of accommodations, restaurants and all the above. Finally, there are no *onsen* (hot springs) in Ogasawara, virtually a requirement for domestic tourist sites in Japan.¹⁶

Certainly, the 'nature' of the Islands has been central to the tourist appeal the Islands have enjoyed over the years. In contrast to other domestic Japanese tourist destinations, however, the way nature is represented (especially in tourist brochures) in the Ogasawara Islands does not conform to notions of the 'wrapped' or cooked, nor is the landscape shown to be covered with the cultural artefacts of the ancient Japanese past (such as temples and shrines) and is not, therefore, constructed to fit into *furusato* discourses. There is additionally the (inconvenience) of the nearly twenty-six-hour sea journey from Tokyo to Chichi Island's Port Futami. It takes an additional two hours to complete the voyage to Haha Island.

How have the Ogasawara Islands, a place seemingly lacking in the usual qualities of a domestic tourist destination been successful in attracting Japanese visitors?

Visuality and Contemporary Tourism in the Ogasawara Islands

In order to understand Ogasawara's place as a domestic tourist destination in Japan, it is crucial to understand the extent to which an exclusively *furusato*-based model limits our comprehension of Japanese domestic tourism in general. Elizabeth Edwards has persuasively argued that "one of the keys to understanding tourist phenomena is the analysis of tourist representations and their consumption" (Edwards 1996: 197).¹⁷ This was clearly illustrated in Chapter 5 in my discussion of the *Discover Japan* and *Exotic Japan* marketing campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s in Japan. Just as the kinds of tourism sustained by these campaigns were overwhelmingly visual in nature, tourism in the Ogasawara Islands also depends primarily on visual objects to construct its representations.

The demands and desires of tourism dominate the field of representation of the Islands; it is also the discourse within which ideas about the space of the Islands are created in the minds of tourists before they arrive, and place, once they have experienced being there. Understanding tourism requires understanding the visual representation of the Ogasawara Islands. I have already demonstrated that, although the Ogasawara Islands do not fit into this category, they are nevertheless a popular tourist destination. Therefore, I have proposed that Japanese domestic tourism can be better understood by considering its artefactual qualities. I further suggest that tracing the outline of the archive of visual images of the Islands as it grows in the post-reversion era, and exploring the circumstances of production, circulation and meaning, one can see this process of artefactualisation occurring and begin to define its qualities.

Promotion of tourism is managed by a local governmental agency, the Ogasawara Village Industry and Tourism Section (hereafter OVITS).¹⁸ The Village

has a relatively small advertising budget allocated to tourist promotion and advertising campaigns therefore do not include broadcast media but instead rely on print advertising, web sites and promotional events in Tokyo in order to attract tourists to the Islands. No special effort is made to attract foreign tourists;¹⁹ marketing is directed exclusively at mainland Japanese markets, primarily the Tokyo market.

Before tourists arrive at Port Futami on Chichi Island, the only entry into the Ogasawara Islands, they would already have been exposed to a number of visual representations. Travel posters, postcards received from friends or family, Internet sites, tourist brochures and guidebooks, in some combination, would have been seen or read by tourists prior to their arrival. Once aboard the *Ogasawara-maru* (the only regularly scheduled passenger ship), many of these items are displayed, some for purchase and some free of charge.

Travel Brochures

Advertising materials such as travel brochures are the first visual objects a potential tourist to the Ogasawara Islands is likely to encounter (Selwyn 1993; Moeran 1983). As one of the primary means of gathering information about a holiday in the Ogasawara Islands, travel brochures shape notions of the Islands. Ideas about the Ogasawara Islands as a space are constructed prior to the tourist's arrival there, and these ideas are based on certain representations, especially tourist brochures. These representations rely heavily on graphic design, catchy copywriting and, most importantly, colour photographs in order to sell their product. A review of brochures issued over a ten-year period (1992-2001) reveals the following. All brochures represent the Islands as a tropical paradise, with warm weather, beautiful beaches, exotic flora and fauna and delicious seafood, and as a place to experience the ocean

and its creatures, especially whales, dolphins and fish, and ocean sports. Photographs are uniformly of ‘natural’ scenery rather than cultural objects such as dwellings, temples and shrines or handicrafts, as is commonly found in brochures of other domestic tourist sites.²⁰

Taking advantage of the analogical nature and authoritative power of the photograph (Barthes 1977: 17; 1993: 88-89), these representations portray a “Paradise Contrived,” stripped of the “presumed artificiality of contemporary existence . . .” (Dann 1996: 68-69) and offering photographic evidence of unwrapped nature, devoid of human interference. The photograph is used as ‘evidence’ of a primordial landscape, neatly sanitised of obvious traces of human presence. On the other hand, the recreational use of nature, through whale watching and other activities, is also portrayed. In a similar way, the texts emphasise relaxation, ocean activities and encounters with wildlife, ignoring completely the possibility of human cultural contact of any kind, such as was imaged in the *Discover Japan* campaign and in contemporary travel brochures for other domestic destinations.

Typically, sites of domestic tourism in Japan use brochures to tout their abundance of cultural offerings such as temples and shrines. Attractive young women in ‘traditional’ dress performing cultural activities or holding local products are a common feature of these brochures (figure 6.9). Highly artefactualised ‘natural’ attractions such as *onsen* (hot springs), and *meibutsu* (‘famous’ local foods and products) also feature prominently. Whether an image of ‘nature’ takes the form of cherry blossoms, mountain streams or fresh water



Fig. 6.9. Photographer Unknown, *Travel Brochure for Package Tours to Oshima*, 2001.

lakes, it is safely packaged for the tourist with all the comforts of lodging, convenient transportation and excellent service. Escaping from urban space is certainly part of the promise held out in these brochures but the tourist would not fear being delivered into the wild hinterlands to ‘rough it’ without the conveniences, and indeed luxuries, that so many Japanese consumers have come to expect from a domestic holiday.

In contrast to this tendency in the brochures of most domestic tourist destinations, remoteness and unwrapped nature are pointed to as positive qualities in material about the Ogasawara Islands, with each of the past several years of brochures stating boldly on the front page that Ogasawara is 1,000 kilometres south of Tokyo. Ogasawara’s geographical remoteness has been transformed from the obstacle to travel it was in the early days of tourism, when travel agencies attempted to minimise this aspect (see Chapter 5), into what it is today: a selling point in tourism marketing.

Remoteness and unwrapped nature, usually considered undesirable or even abhorrent in Japan, have been reconstituted as positive qualities in the tourist discourse of the Ogasawara Islands. I shall argue below that this happened not because of a relative lack of ‘history or culture to show’ in the Ogasawara Islands (Arima 1990: 156), but because the emphasising of cultural and historical elements of the Ogasawaran experience would require the acknowledgement of culturally uncomfortable issues. The non-Japanese origins and continuing ethnic/‘racial’ diversity of island society, the colonial past, militarisation and war are but the most serious of many issues, which most people—hosts and guests alike—would probably rather not be confronted with, at least not in the realm of tourism.

This situation contrasts with ‘peace tourism’ in Okinawa, for example, which specifically and purposefully embraces many of these same issues (Figal 2001). In Okinawa, however, Okinawans are the majority population, as opposed to Ogasawara,

where the First Settler community is a minority. In recent years, certain aspects of this approach to presenting Ogasawara to potential tourists appears to be changing as the village enters the twenty-first century amid an ailing national economy and stiff competition within the domestic tourism industry. There has been recent interest particularly in so-called heritage tourism, which emphasises certain historical and cultural aspects of the Islands. I shall explore this issue fully below.

In essence, then, the visual imagery found in travel brochures of the Ogasawara Islands has been culturally cleansed. The sole exception in my sample is found in a brochure printed in 1993, which includes a single, small photograph of St. George's Church, Ogasawara's only Christian church.²¹ More recently produced tourist images, namely postcards, extend this phenomenon into the on-island tourist experience.

Postcards

As demonstrated above, the absence of human presence in tourist brochures of the Ogasawara Islands stands in stark contrast to touristic representations of other domestic sites in Japan. In the case of contemporary postcards, this absence is even more pronounced. Not only are images of Islanders completely absent, there are almost no images of human beings at all. Several searches of shops selling postcards on Chichi Island during my fieldwork (conducted in 1998-2001) uncovered only one postcard with images of people, and even here they are barely visible, shown only in silhouette at sunset (figure 6.10).

Contemporary images are very

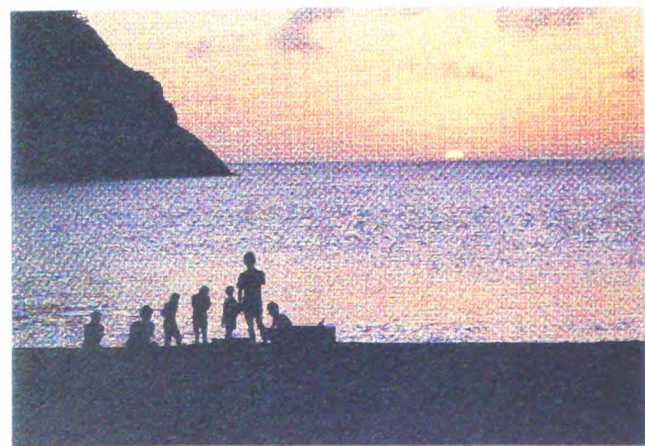


Fig. 6.10. Tomonaga Seita, *Kominato*, Date Unknown, Postcard.

different from pre-War and post-reversion postcards. As discussed in the previous chapter, the earliest postcards featured First Settlers as subjects, and were sold to tourists and residents. The postcards described earlier in this chapter, produced at the time of reversion to Japanese control, marked a traumatic loss suffered by the First Settler community. These images were not specifically targeted to tourists, produced as they were prior to the development of the modern market. Instead, they were produced by—and largely for—the First Settler community. As tourism was developed in the 1970s, so too was the modern production of objects such as postcards.

Ikeda Minoru commissioned the first post-reversion postcards targeted to a non-Islander audience. He sold them in his souvenir shop starting in the 1970s.²² The contrast between these images (and other post-reversion postcards produced for other shops²³) and those produced by the Island's cooperative, the Bonin Island Trading Company (discussed earlier in this chapter), is extremely stark. To begin with, the tourist postcards are all colour images, whereas the cooperative images are exclusively black and white. The audiences were also very different, with the former primarily directed to a local market and the latter, a business traveller (government employees in temporary posts and labourers who lived on Chichi Island during specific projects). These postcards were also targeting the nascent tourist market. The different needs of these audiences largely directed the production of the postcards. I want to focus here on the subject matter and presentation of the tourist postcards, however, for it is by examining these aspects that we can discern the beginnings of the contemporary process of artefactualisation of Ogasawara as a tourist destination.

The very acts of producing images, printing them on postcards, and selling the postcards are themselves part of the artefactual process, of course, and as I have stressed throughout this study, the fracturing nature and stillness of the photographic image lends itself particularly well to this process. As John Berger has said of photography (relative to the greater complexity and selectivity of human visual perception), “the camera fixes the appearance of the event—this the eye cannot do” (1980: 50). As artefacts that fix these events (and places), postcards began to constitute what was worth seeing (*meisho*) and, as they circulated, constructed and reinforced what was valuable within Ogasawaran tourism. We must ask here, then, what images were selected for presentation to the tourist.

Most of the post-reversion postcards take as their subject Ogasawara’s ‘natural’ land- and seascapes. Beautiful and pristine coral, fish, mountains, islets, coastlines, flowers and beaches form the majority of image subjects. There are several interesting exceptions, however, which demonstrate that post-reversion tourist representations were not cleansed of all obvious cultural references in the way later tourist images would be. For instance, nothing resembling this image of the exploding of remnants of military equipment and ordinance off the coast of Iwo Jima can be found today (figure 6.11). Another image was produced that, whilst not overtly cultural, at least shows humans interacting with an ‘animated artefact’, a sea turtle. This type of image is not made today. This image of an old house on Haha Island, a rare survivor of war and weather from pre-war Ogasawara, has not been reproduced in recent tourist



Fig. 6.11. Photographer Unknown, *Controlled Explosion of Military Equipment and Ordinance off Iwo Ijima*, 1970s, Postcard. Collection of Ogasawara Village.



Fig. 6.12. Photographer Unknown, *House from the Pre-War Period, Haha Island, 1970s*, Postcard. Collection of Ogasawara Village.



Fig. 6.13. Photographer Unknown, *St. George's Church, Chichi Island, 1970s*, Postcard. Collection of Ogasawara Village.

representation (figure 6.12). This postcard shows the Ogasawara's Christian church, St. George's (figure 6.13). The church, a modern structure built to replace the nineteenth-century church designed by the British architect Josiah Condor that was destroyed in the War, is the only cultural subject that continues to be imaged in contemporary tourist representations.

What has occurred is a massive split in the visual record of the post-reversion period. On the one hand, postcards produced for the mostly local audience reflect a sense of loss as the political power structure shifts from American to Japanese, expressed through the visual salvaging of material items of First Settler culture. The postcards largely avoid the imaging of First Settler people, who, as witnessed by pre-reversion newspaper interviews, were wary of being turned into objects of curiosity ('South Seas Ainu') for Japanese tourists from the mainland and also resented the intrusion of the camera into their lives. Postcards produced for a mostly outsider audience that is increasingly tourist in composition, on the other hand, show the privileging of 'nature' over 'culture'. In a variation on MacCannell's notion of 'front and back realities', wherein the social realities of local societies are maintained in a separate space from what is presented to tourists, who see mainly performed culture

(MacCannell 1976), the 'front reality' displayed in tourist postcards is about nature but the 'back reality' of First Settlers culture is withheld from view.

There are very few contemporary postcards in the Ogasawara Islands depicting artefacts such as monuments, cemeteries or shrines, in contrast to other domestic tourist locations, which generally make liberal use of such imagery. One exception is the postcard of the wreck of the *Hinko-maru*, a Japanese naval vessel sunk in 1944 at Sakai-ura, east of Port Futami. The ship is visible at low tide and is, together with the adjacent beach and coastline, a popular tourist attraction. There are additionally two postcards of St. George's Church; the same image printed in black and white and colour versions.

The overwhelming majority of postcards now sold in the Ogasawara Islands read very much as 'Paradise Contrived' (Dann 1996), similar to the culturally cleansed tourist brochures discussed above. Inasmuch as these images reify the physical landscape, framing nature to exclude evidence of human presence and manipulation, the Ogasawara Islands' postcards are identical in style to those found in other tourist centres throughout the world. The deserted beaches, unmolested whales, solitary beach crabs, tropical fruits and underwater coral kingdoms shown in the postcards portray an unspoilt and primordial natural landscape, into which the tourist is free to project him or herself (Dann 1996: 69). However, this style stands in complete contrast to the cultural landscape shown in postcards from other Japanese domestic tourist sites, where 'natural' vistas most often contain artefacts of culture such as temples, bridges or dwellings. Even in cases where the 'Paradise Contrived' style is found, it is usually complemented by postcards showing exotic others dancing the hula in Hawaii or throwing a boomerang in Australia (Edwards 1996). In Okinawa, for example, 'dancing maidens' form a trope that has been dominant in the

photographic imaging of Okinawans from its beginning and has now become iconic of the entire culture and is used on numerous postcards. Dance is culturally important in Okinawan self-representation as well but it is of course understood emicly within a much broader context than the tourist discourse affords to outsiders. The relevant point here is that such 'cultural' imaging has been used in the tourist discourse in conjunction with landscape views; the two styles are not mutually exclusive and in fact are very often used as parallel or combined representations of place and culture.

Postcards of the Ogasawara Islands, like their travel brochure counterparts, are not typical of the visual representations found in other domestic tourist sites. However, as they are purchased in the 'place' itself, postcards are souvenirs marking experience, capturing and domesticating it. Through the sending and reception of these objects, personal experience is validated (Stewart 1984: 138). The tourist experience in the Ogasawara Islands, then, should be reflected by the images available for sale there.

If postcards validate or even create personal experience and the postcards sold in the Islands are almost entirely absent of cultural markers, then tourism in the Islands should be easily classified as nature tourism. There are several reasons why this is not the case, however. As we have seen, this type of tourism does not fit into dominant models of Japanese domestic tourism and an explanation would have to be found for this aberration. Furthermore, ample opportunity for tourists to visit monuments, cemeteries, and other cultural markers does exist in Ogasawara. Additionally, despite the absence of these cultural themes in travel brochures and postcards, there are tourist materials, which include advertising and illustrated guides, that do feature cultural images.

New Uses for Old Images

Some material used during the Islands' 1998 advertising campaign, the year of the thirtieth anniversary of the reversion of the Islands, provides a contrast to the tourist brochure style discussed above in the use of images of cultural artefacts to construct space.²⁴ Consisting of two 72 cm x 14 cm posters, these materials were placed in train compartments in one of Tokyo's central underground lines in the summer of 1998. Two posters were used, each with six images selected from among the 350 postcards archived in the Ogasawara Department of Education. The images in one version were printed in sepia tones (modifying the original black and white), and in colour (reproducing the original shades) in the other, enhancing the quality of 'pastness' in the images. Both versions contained, at the top and centre of the poster, in bold, black characters, the statement: "The Ogasawara of yore, through postcards of the time."²⁵ The reversion anniversary logo, a '30' with a man and dolphin swimming around a heart in the centre of the '0', appears in the top left of the poster. Images are captioned with dates and subject matter.

This performance of the postcards illustrates the potential of contextual slippage and mutability of meaning that is inherently part of all objects (Miller 1994). These images, once limited to souvenir status and used as markers of personal experience, were reconstituted as part of an advertising strategy using the past to attract future tourists to the Ogasawara Islands. Ripped from their original context of life in the Islands—original purchasers were likely working and living in Ogasawara for extended periods of time, possibly getting to know resident Islanders, rather than experiencing a short tourist's holiday—the postcards were reincarnated as a poster consumed by a public possessing none of the original context. This poster, now a public photograph, became a "dead object which, exactly because it is dead, lends

itself to any arbitrary use” (Berger 1980: 55), including advertising. This mutability enabled the postcard images to stand for the past of the Islands in the campaign, taking on significance far beyond their original use value. Normally domesticators of experience, making the public into the private, allowing experiences to be authenticated in the private sphere of personal collection and communication, this role is inverted here as the postcards are transformed into images of themselves, having moved from the private sphere of the souvenir into the public sphere of the contemporary tourist discourse.

Ten of the images date from before the War and two from 1968. A wide range of subject matter is depicted, including agriculture (coffee, tropical fruits and flowers), turtle farming, a town scene, the ship (the sole link to the mainland) and the reversion ceremony. It is significant that there is a human presence in the images at all, for as demonstrated above, this presence is virtually absent from tourist brochures and postcards. Most significant, however, is the fact that there are four images of First Settler culture. Two postcards featuring First Settlers are used: one shows a man in front of the church stores and the other, a man in front of his house, with his family behind him (see figure 5.9). A third image is of a ‘Settler House’, with no human figure, and the fourth is of a Hawaiian style outrigger canoe being pushed into the ocean by naked boys.

Aside from the captions mentioned above, the images are not further contextualised and therefore readers would probably not understand any wider implications. For example, they would probably not realise that the settlers referred to were the first settlers of the Islands or that descendants of these non-Japanese Japanese people live in the Ogasawara Islands today. It is likely that the images were read uncritically as ‘old pictures’, and conflated with an uncomplicated, homogenised

Japanese past. If so, this could allow the Ogasawara Islands to fit into the *furusato* discourse, with tradition located unproblematically in the rural.

However, *furusato* references are not explicitly stated in the captions, as is done with many other sites of domestic tourism. This would require a claim that the Island culture is ‘traditional’ Japanese culture, a claim that cannot easily be justified within the confines of *furusato* discourses as they are now constituted.²⁶

The images presented in the travel brochures create a space that is marked as much by the absence of ‘culture’ as it is by the presence of nature, selling a remote and primordial landscape rather than a *furusato*- or cityscape. Nature is presented as something to be used, through marine sports or hiking, rather than appreciated for its spiritual qualities alone. Posters used in the 1998 advertising campaign presented an inversion of this by using old images of the Islands, which featured specifically cultural subjects.

Illustrated Guides and Maps

Significantly, the absence of culture in contemporary travel brochures and postcards is not repeated in the materials distributed by OVITS and local businesses catering to tourists once they have travelled to Ogasawara. These materials consist of simple, hand-drawn line maps of Chichi and Haha, photographically illustrated glossy guides, which include detailed maps, points of interest and other practical information, and advertising brochures and flyers for various local businesses such as marine sports companies, restaurants and *omiyage* (souvenir) vendors. Tourists experience being in Ogasawara as they are guided by these representations.

The illustrated guide²⁷ currently distributed in Ogasawara conforms slightly more to the standard model of domestic tourism outlined above, combining ‘natural’



Fig. 6.14. Photographer Unknown, *Graves of Kanrinmaru Sailors*, 1999, Detail from *Guide Map of Ogasawara Islands*. Several crewman from the ship that brought the first Japanese colonial expedition to Ogasawara in 1861 are buried here.

and ‘cultural’ features of the landscape. In the list of recommended sights on Chichi, for example, are several points of ‘cultural’ interest, such as a cemetery (figure 6.14), Shinto shrine and the Marine Centre. Here, it is useful to distinguish between natural and cultural artefacts in the way these objects are consumed (Miller 1994: 98), rather than the nature of the artefact *qua* artefact. The cultural is almost completely dissolved by the natural, as Ogasawara is artefactualised as a landscape of whales, exotic flora and fauna and beaches. These artefacts are classified as unwrapped and natural, highlighting the central role played by the natural in selling the Ogasawara Islands as a tourist destination.

Maps and points of interest included in tourist brochures mark only ‘natural’ sites such as mountains and beaches, and ‘cultural’ sites directly related to natural sites, such as observation points and the tropical agricultural station. In contrast to this, maps and guides distributed in the Islands list town names, shrines, monuments and the church, portraying a more culturalised landscape than the overwhelmingly natural landscape shown in the brochures. Here, however, the cultural objects depicted are almost exclusively of a Japanese past rather than one inclusive of other pasts. This is in spite of the fact that there are many markers (such as monuments and a cemetery) of other pasts in the Islands that could just as well feature in these

representations. This raises the issue of the expression of power in the representation of the past (Bond and Gilliam 1994). As I shall discuss below in the context of the absence of cultural representation in visual artefacts in the Ogasawara Islands, the expression of this power is implicated in contemporary place-making and identity, determining which sites are deemed appropriate for touristic display and which are to remain for local consumption only.

The lack of a neat fit between the past of the Ogasawara Islands as it is imagined in the contemporary context and *furusato* discourses does not explain why touristic representations are almost exclusively of 'nature' and virtually deny human culture. The meanings of an artefactualised Ogasawara Islands within the tourist discourse should be mutable, allowing the meanings of the Islands to be creatively interpreted in ways acceptable within *furusato* discourses, however forced this interpretation might be. Below, I shall explore possible reasons why this has not happened and why, instead, there is the apparent erasure of culture in visual representations.

Absence, Cultural 'Cleansing' and Resistance

Ogasawaran tourist materials, with the exception of illustrated guides, are strikingly absent of human representation or images of material markers of human culture. Even the illustrated guides, as we have seen, do not represent the diversity of contemporary cultural life, instead portraying a mostly Japanese past for the Islands.

The effective 'cleansing' of any obvious human presence in general (and of a First Settler community presence in particular) in most tourist materials, would at first glance seem to fit neatly into the rejection of difference in a society that emphasises homogeneity. Even the exceptional example of the 1998 advertising campaign cited

above shows that, whilst images of early postcards were used to promote tourism to the Ogasawara Islands among Tokyoites, the decontextualised images were unlikely to have been read as markers of non-Japanese culture, but rather as simply 'past'. Tourist authorities might see the promotion of 'non-Japanese culture' as having a negative effect on tourist arrivals and consequently, decided to market the Islands' natural rather than cultural landscape.

The problem with this reading of the situation is twofold. Firstly, as I have discussed above, there are other cases in Japan in which the promotion of internal others as tourist objects is common, particularly in Okinawa and Hokkaido. There exists on a national level at least a framework for this kind of tourism, which is used presumably because it is thought to be an effective promotion strategy. Secondly, this ignores the role of the potential objects of tourist desire: First Settler people. It is true that there is almost no visual reference to contemporary island cultural diversity and relatively little written textual reference to its diverse past. Numerous examples of 'western' people performing 'western' culture in Japanese domestic tourist settings, such as in cultural theme parks, have been discussed elsewhere (for example Hendry 1997 and 2000). It does not necessarily follow, however, that such images are absent in the Ogasawaran case because of a Japanese denial or negation of the value or existence of the First Settler community.

Rather than reading the situation as a devaluation or denigration of First Settlers, there is another, subtler possibility for an explanation of the 'cultural cleansing' of First Settler images. This explanation takes into account the complicated nature of the relationship between First Settlers and the control of their images. We must consider that First Settlers, in contrast to internal others in tourist

destinations such as Okinawa and Hokkaido, might have sufficient power to resist being visually objectified in the tourist discourse.

As discussed in Chapter 5, pre-War postcards (and other material) made relatively liberal use of First Settler subjects' images. The fact that a pre-War precedent exists for producing postcards featuring First Settlers and that such postcards, formerly produced in large numbers, were not reintroduced to the market, can be reasonably linked to the community's precarious position as its members prepared for the transition from their status as wards of the United States to once again being Japanese citizens. The post-reversion disappearance of their visual presence in tourist materials—the major source of representation of the Ogasawara Islands in the post-reversion era—can be linked directly to the refusal to being turned into 'South Seas Ainu', as the newspaper article quoted at the beginning of this chapter might indicate. Another article, also quoted above, included a photograph of schoolgirls in a classroom shielding themselves from the camera, resisting as best they could the photographer's pursuit. This resistance to the tourist gaze was echoed in other areas of society, as Midori Arima discovered when she undertook her anthropological fieldwork in 1986 and was warned by Tokyo metropolitan government officials about a lawsuit that had been brought against a former bureaucrat who had written a book about the Islands, which included information that 'violated the privacy' of First Settlers (see Introduction).

Furthermore, when I queried people in the First Settler community about this issue, asking them to explain the dearth of tourist images picturing First Settlers or their material culture, most people indicated that there was 'nothing to show'. One woman told me: "Our houses are the same as the Japanese, so are our clothes. What would you put on the postcard?" Many people also responded that it would be

ridiculous for their face to appear on a postcard. They seemed disturbed or even offended by my suggestion that they would possibly allow their 'privacy' to be invaded in that manner. An elderly man asked me if I would like it if my picture were for sale on a postcard. I also spoke with proprietors of shops that sold postcards, including one owned by a photographer who produces his own line of postcards. None of these proprietors has considered stocking or producing such postcards, and, like many First Settlers, found my question odd.

This 'resistance'—or perhaps a more accurate term in the context of current tourism would be aversion—to being imaged on the part of the First Settlers on the one hand, and a corresponding lack of interest in producing images of First Settler people on the part of retailers of tourist photography on the other, contrasts with the situation in other touristed regions of Japan such as Okinawa and Hokkaido. In Okinawa, for example, the local culture is an integral part of the marketing of the destination. Postcards (and other tourist materials) commonly feature images of Okinawans 'performing' culture, especially dance. This situation persists in spite of the fact that First Settlers are no less dependent on tourism than are people in many communities in other domestic tourist destinations in Japan. This is suggestive of strong non-economic factors at play in the construction of Ogasawaran tourism.

I would argue that this situation is the result of the specific location occupied by the First Settlers as an ethnic minority in Japanese society. Unlike their Asian, Middle Eastern or South American counterparts in the rest of the country (that is to say, other ethnic minorities living in Japan), the First Settlers are associated with western nations (now, primarily the United States)—they are called 'Western Islanders' (*ōbeikei tōmin*) in Japanese—and with this comes a certain amount of privilege.

As has been discussed throughout this study, the First Settlers have always occupied a slippery position within Japanese society. Historically, however, they have generally been considered on the upper end of the racial hierarchy of difference in relation to internal others from other regions of the Japanese Empire. As discussed in Chapter 1, the position of contemporary First Settlers has been greatly influenced by the actions of American authorities during the end of occupation. U.S. negotiators secured certain rights for the First Settlers as part of the conditions for reverting Ogasawara to Japanese control, including guaranteed government employment (for some), tenancy rights and other privileges. This is not to imply that the First Settlers occupy a position of dominance, or have suffered no discrimination in Ogasawaran society, but rather to acknowledge their relatively privileged position compared with other minorities, who are often subjected to severe structural and social discrimination in Japanese society (for example Lie 2001; Weiner 1997).

– Tourist materials in post-reversion Ogasawara are largely empty of cultural references to, and completely lacking in visual images of, contemporary First Settlers. A fundamental shift in tourism planning is taking place, however, which could change this imbalance. The local government is promoting Ogasawaran history and culture in its plans to further develop the existing tourist industry.

Blue Diamond Plan

The *Blue Diamond Plan*, issued by OVITS in the year 2000 and publicly available in printed form, and electronically on the Village's website,²⁸ describes Ogasawara's tourism plan for the twenty-first century, which incorporates both 'nature' and 'culture' as twin centrepieces in an effort to position the Islands as a popular holiday choice for domestic tourists as well as to become a 'world-class

destination'.²⁹ As discussed in Chapter 5, the notion of 'ecotourism' has generally been associated with western patterns of tourism, whereas Japanese tourism has been characterised by an abhorrence of wild nature and an attraction to culturalised nature and *furusato* settings. The village's tourism authority now sees the industry's future having a strong basis in western-style ecotourism, however. This brand of ecotourism incorporates recent industry trends such as marketing the health-related benefits of rest and relaxation in a pristine natural environment with standard tourist draws such as beautiful beaches and fresh seafood. Hoping to build on the Islands' strength as a destination known for its great beauty, biological diversity in its flora and fauna and pleasant climate, planners are attempting to position Ogasawara's remoteness—tempered by frequent ship service³⁰ and the possibility of air service in the future—as a positive distinction and a marketing advantage in helping the destination differentiate itself from other places.

The role of nature in the Village's tourism plan does not conform to established anthropological notions about Japanese tourism and attitudes toward nature, as discussed in the previous chapter. Both the written text and photographic images in the report advocate the use of nature as a tourist attraction, suggesting that the natural environment of Ogasawara, sometimes called the 'Galapagos of the East', should make use of the plant, animal, and marine life, as well as the ocean and mountains to draw tourists to the Islands (Ogasawara Mura 2000: 2). The use of nature for recreational activities, such as trekking, kayaking, scuba diving and boating, is also advocated (Ogasawara Mura 2000: 12). These components are already present to some degree in contemporary tourism in the Islands, and although the *Blue Diamond Plan* presents detailed ideas and general goals for using nature in marketing Ogasawara, the more significant aspect of the plan (in terms of

photography and the location of the Islands within Japanese society), is its emphasis on cultural tourism.

Although the version of cultural tourism promoted in the Village's plan is far more varied and extensive in its representation of local culture and history than can be said of current tourism, it is nonetheless anchored to some degree in present tourist activities. A space is being negotiated for the expression of local culture within tourism, albeit in narrowly defined ways. Before one can understand this expression, however, it is important to recognise that this space is constructed within the rhetorical framework of *kokusaika* (internationalisation) and has been configured in a way that allows for the inclusion of First Settler and other local histories—including historical images—within a Japanese cultural framework, even as it excludes contemporary visualisations.

As John Knight has observed, the term *kokusaika* (internationalisation) is one of the main idioms used to describe international interactions in Japan (1993: 203). Generally used to refer to the process of Japanese and foreigners 'getting to know each other better', it has on the other hand been criticised by some scholars as reinforcing cultural nationalism and heightening the perception of cultural difference (e.g., Yoshino 1998; Mannari and Befu 1983). As Knight notes, both Roger Goodman (1990) and Ross Mouer and Yoshio Sugimoto (1983, 1986) have pointed out that *kokusaika* has also been used to undermine nationalist agendas (1993: 204). He explores a further dimension of the term's usage in Japan, in the context of rural revival. He has found that *mura okoshi* (village revival) strategies, which have involved the marketing of villages to urbanites within *furusato* tourism discourses, have used foreign motifs, such as Danish-inspired town design, in tandem with 'Japanese' cultural artefacts (such as food and 'nature') in order to attract tourists.

Catalogues published by the Furusato Information Centre, an organisation established by the Ministry of Agriculture, “show clearly that foreign as well as traditional *furusato* motifs occupy a central place in present-day strategies of rural revival” (Knight 1993: 211). Knight has demonstrated that *furusato* discourses, which are generally nativist in bent (Robertson 1991), are more flexible than most often characterised.

The Ogasawaran case presents an additional context in which *kokusaika* is employed in the context of tourism. Here, as in Knight’s examples, a Japanese village is using the rhetoric of internationalisation to promote tourism. In the Ogasawara Islands, however, *kokusaika* has been adapted in a novel way that locates international interaction in the past, conceiving of the Islands (and their initial settlement by ‘Westerners’) as one of Japan’s first or most ‘international’ places (Ogasawara Mura 2000: 18).

Following on from this idea of an international past, the plan calls for the manufacture of tourist products that have connections to Ogasawaran history. For example, rum, a product first produced by Islanders in the 1830s to sell to visiting whalers, has been reintroduced into the marketplace. This is also connected to the important issue of *omiyage*, which I discussed in the previous chapter. Most domestic tourist destinations in Japan can capitalise on various historical connections with certain products, which can be reinvented for sale to modern tourists. As I was frequently reminded during my fieldwork, Ogasawara has ‘no history’ and therefore, it is very difficult to create *omiyage* that would appeal to Japanese tourists. If an internationalised past can be constructed in a manner acceptable to consumers, then Ogasawara has the opportunity to increase its *omiyage* revenue.

There are several groups on Chichi Island whose objectives are to find uses for ‘traditional’ Island products and activities in contemporary life. In most cases, this means in the context of tourism. For example, there is the case of the *Nan’yo Odori* (Dance of the South Seas). The *Nan’yo Odori* is a slow, hula-like dance, accompanied by music called *Ogasawara ka ka*, played on hollowed logs with lyrics chanted and sung. The lyrics are a polyglot mixture of languages including Polynesian (possibly from the Middle Caroline Islands), English, German, Japanese and perhaps others.³¹ According to Arima, performances of the dance were staged in the mid- to late 1980s at the pier in Port Futami as tourists were boarding the ship departing for Tokyo, although I did not witness any during my fieldwork.³²

Coffee, sugar, honey and other goods that advertise themselves as ‘traditional’ island products are also produced. Many of these products were in fact produced in the pre-War period, and there is a growing interest in crafts such as basketry (made using the leaves of the pandanus tree), an important industry in its own right before the War. There is interest in pre-War Ogasawaran folk music, and there have been reinterpretations of traditional tunes made by several bands, sometimes in collaboration with local singers. One such recording incorporates a nineteenth-century image into the cover design of its CD (figure 6.15a, b).



Fig. 6.15a. Murano Tatsuya (Designer), *A Planet Bonin*, 1999, CD Cover.
 Fig. 6.15b. Miyauchi, *View of Outrigger Canoe on the Ogiura Coast and Mountains of Ōmura, Chichi Island, Ogasawara Islands*, 1895, Albumen Print. Collection of Ogasawara Village.

Current plans for the development of tourism also include building on the *kokusaika* of the early settlement to promote ‘international exchange’ (*kokusai kōryū*), by tapping into the ‘connections’ between the ancestral homelands of the First Settlers and the ‘Western Islanders’ who live in the Islands today, effectively using the past to build bridges in the present (Ogasawara Mura 2000: 18). This idea is expressed in the *Blue Diamond Plan* in part through the use of early postcard images of the Ogasawara Islands (figure 6.16). An image



Fig. 6.16. *Blue Diamond Plan*, Page 20, Report by Ogasawara Village, 2000. A montage of early postcards and photographs is used here to illustrate a discussion of cultural heritage tourism in the Islands.

of the Savory family (see figure 4.18), originally produced in 1927 by geneticist Richard Goldschmidt during his fieldwork on race-mixing in the Islands, is included with the postcard images, now performing a very different role from the one originally intended.

It remains to be seen whether or not images of First Settler culture will be reincorporated into the tourist field, as they were in the 1920s-1930s. If this does happen, one wonders if this reincorporation will include images of contemporary culture, or remain within the boundaries of the *kokusaika* framework as currently configured in Ogasawara and be limited to early images of First Settler culture that do not impinge on contemporary lives.

NOTES

¹ In the original Japanese: 欧米系の血を引く現島民の多くはハダも目もわれわれとは異なり、性格も陽気だ。

² In the original Japanese: “南洋のアイヌ” にされてしまうのではないか。

³ In the original Japanese: “もうほっておいてよ” —カメラを向けると顔をかくしていやがる子供たち=島の中学校で。

⁴ Japanese media reports include numerous reports in newspapers such as the Asahi Shimbun. American reports include National Geographic and other publications.

⁵ I should like to acknowledge here Mr. Nobushima Fuyuo for granting me access to his personal collection of these images, some of which are also held in the Village's archives. The island cooperative was known as the Bonin Islands Trading Company during the occupation and was the only shop available to the Islanders at the time (there was a military store for naval personnel and their dependants). It continues to operate today in competition with several other businesses.

⁶ In the original Japanese: カヌーをあやつって観光客のみせものにされるのか。

⁷ The Council was a group of six men who formed a ruling body to organise the First Settler community after they returned to Ogasawara in 1946 (Arima 1990: 56-57).

⁸ Japanese migrants settled Iwo Jima in order to engage in agriculture and fishing. The First Settlers did not settle Iwo Jima at all when they arrived in Ogasawara in the nineteenth century.

⁹ All sites photographed were Japanese war sites, with the notable exception of the American memorial (see figure 6.6).

¹⁰ Although beyond the scope of this study, it is interesting to note here the existence of numerous boxes of family snapshots taken by U.S. Navy personnel and their families on Chichi Island during the occupation. These images, archived in the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, appear to show a happy, friendly and intimate relationship between Navy and Islander families. There are additionally several websites operated by former Navy personnel who write fondly of their time in Ogasawara, and whose online guestbooks contain messages from Islanders and former Islanders filled with nostalgic memories of happy days on Chichi.

¹¹ For a detailed discussion of the Ogasawara reversion movement in Japan, see Eldridge 2002. See also Arima 1990 for more on the situation of Japanese Islanders during the post-War period.

¹² As discussed in the introduction, I did not use this technique, often called photo-elicitation, very frequently as it rarely produced interesting discussions. I had much more fruitful interviews with people when we *talked* about my interest in (without necessarily viewing) early photographs of the Islands.

¹³ One of the principle reasons for allowing the First Settler descendants to return to Ogasawara during the occupation was because of discrimination they had faced on the mainland.

¹⁴ Arima was told similar stories during her fieldwork in Ogasawara and herself observed: “There are a few gift shops on the islands but the tourists find nothing particularly interesting to buy as gifts (Arima 1990: 155).”

¹⁵ For more on the Ainu and tourism, see Siddle (1996: 104-106) and Sjöberg (1993: 133-136).

¹⁶ According to John Knight: “For many areas, the 1980s were a decade of tourist growth, with Japanese drawn to hot-spring and seaside resorts, shrines, and temples,” and quotes a statistic showing that there were 122 million overnight stays at guesthouses in hot-spring resorts in 1987, a figure equal to the national population (1994: 635).

¹⁷ For more on this point, see also Dann 1996, Selwyn 1996, 1993, and Moeran 1983.

¹⁸ Information for this section is based on several interviews conducted in 1999 and 2000 with Takashi Savory, head of OVITS.

¹⁹ Telephone calls placed in 1998 and 1999 to overseas offices of the Japan National Tourist Organisation in London and New York, as well as a search of their Internet site, yielded very little information about the Islands. I was, however, able to obtain a basic fact sheet in English with the *Ogasawara-maru's* sailing schedule, geographical location of the Islands and information about inns on Chichi and Haha Islands. The document is simply typed and includes a hand drawn or traced map but includes no photographic illustrations. The staff person in the New York office was extremely surprised at my inquiry and asked how I had heard about the Islands and why I was interested in visiting.

²⁰ This is based on my examination of travel brochures of domestic tourist sites in Japan conducted during fieldwork.

²¹ This church, like many others in Japan, is sometimes used for wedding ceremonies by non-Christian Japanese for whom a church wedding is fashionable but neither legally binding nor religiously important. It is often the case that these 'Christian' weddings are not attended by family or friends, who instead are guests at a formal reception.

²² Ikeda hired a Tokyo photographer to take the photographs. Ikeda, who worked for the Navy during the occupation and still runs an inn on Chichi Island, maintains a collection of these postcards and not only very generously allowed me to examine his collection but also kindly gave me complete sets of several series, for which I am indebted.

²³ I shall consider these images together here, rather than as discrete collections, since there is a large overlap with the same series of postcards appearing in more than one collection. Here I am concerned mainly with subject matter, the analysis of which is aided by a survey of the available images rather than a focusing on a particular collection. Additional examples have been taken from the collections of the Ogasawara Department of Education and Nobushima Fuyuo.

²⁴ Information on and samples of this campaign were kindly provided to me by Takashi Savory.

²⁵ The original Japanese reads: “昔の小笠原、当時の葉書より。”

²⁶ This is not, however, an impossibility, as Michael Rea has demonstrated. He has found that the term *urusato* is now sometimes applied to foreign spaces, such as Prince Edward Island (site of Anne of Green Gables tourism) and Beatrix Potter's English cottage (Rea 2000).

²⁷ There is only one version of the guide. It is issued on an occasional basis by OVITS and contains information for both Chichi and Haha islands. The guide in current distribution was first issued in 1996.

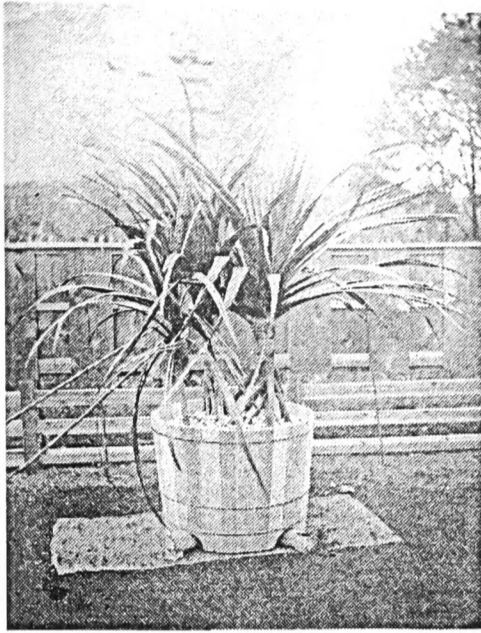
²⁸ The website is located at: <http://www.vill.ogasawara.tokyo.jp/>.

²⁹ I will not discuss all the details and specifics of the *Blue Diamond Plan*, as this is beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, I intend in this discussion to select relevant elements of the plan for examination. Research more directly concerned with the non-visual aspects of tourism would be extremely interesting and could include explorations of the role of 'history' in the tourist discourse, changing attitudes about whales and whaling in Japanese society, and many other issues.

³⁰ The *Ogasawara-maru* sails between Tokyo and Chichi Island once every three days in July and August and once a week during the rest of the year.

³¹ Some of the lyrics are of uncertain linguistic origin. See Arima 1990: 218-221 for a discussion of possible origins of the dance, music and meaning of the lyrics.

³² Instead, a group gives a *taiko* (large Japanese drums) performance for passengers on the departing ship.



CONCLUSION

THE EDGE OF THE FIELD OF VISION

Fig. 1. Matsuzaki Shinji, *Young Pandanus Tree Presented to the Emperor for His Viewing*, 1875, Albumen Print. Collection of Tokyo National Museum.

Reconsider this photograph of a young pandanus tree, which was taken from the Ogasawara Islands by the Japanese colonial expedition and displayed before the Meiji emperor in 1876 (figure 1). In the introduction, I described it as ‘deceptively simple’, and throughout this study I have sought to move beyond the deception of simplicity of this and other images selected from the archive of images of Ogasawara. What I notice now, at the conclusion of this study, is not Roland Barthes’ *punctum*, the ‘accident’ in a photograph that reaches out from the image and ‘pricks’ the viewer (1993: 26-7), an idea often drawn upon by writers on photography in their analyses of photographic images. No *punctum* presents itself to me in this image, for there is nothing to draw my emotions into the frame. What I am left with instead is an intellectual curiosity about the negotiations that went into producing the image, the arrangements that led up to the point of exposure, and what happened to the image after it was printed. Investigating these questions, as I have done in this thesis, has helped me to use this and other images to think broadly about how the processes of making, circulating, and consuming photographs are connected to the incorporation of the Ogasawara Islands as a place within the Japanese nation over time.

I now look at this photograph and find it interesting, suggestive, and extremely meaningful, despite its plain subject and lack of emotional pull. Understanding the historical and political contexts within which it was produced allows one to see otherwise invisible connections. This contextual material (such as the significance of the caption and the circumstances of the production of the photograph as part of a colonial expedition) unambiguously locates the image (and for that matter, its referent, which was collected in the Islands and presented to the emperor) as an imperial/colonial object with implications that resonate well beyond the frame of the photograph itself, the expedition and even the Ogasawara Islands. Understanding these contexts provides the viewer a space within which to consider the image as a piece of the periphery taken from a distant colonial possession and displayed before the emperor, who, installed in his Tokyo palace, occupied the geographic and symbolic centre of power. Both iconic and indexical of its referent (Metz 1990: 212), the image carries with it a caption that informs the reader that the eyes of an unseen emperor have gazed upon the photograph in an act of consumption, imprinting imperial control over an artefact of a formerly foreign space. The viewer can also consider the various histories that intersect in the production and consumption of the image, with the complicated power relations that existed between the subjects and producers, and between the subjects and consumers of the images. The viewer might also consider the flora of the Ogasawara Islands and think about the pandanus tree and its uses and social meanings in historical Ogasawaran society.

Yet beyond these considerations one is also reminded of other images produced for or 'about' the emperor in the same era and how they link to this image of a young tree. These images, such as those produced during the imperial progresses (*junkō*), as

discussed in the second chapter, never pictured the emperor himself. They are marked as much by the absence of the imperial body as they are by the presence of what is visible in the image. The emperor's gaze operates through the photograph; the viewer is made aware that the emperor has gazed upon the referent and the image, his power—manifested in this image in visual but not visible form—extended from his palace in the centre of Tokyo to the farthest reaches of his empire.

Thinking with the image of the pandanus tree exposes its links to a wider context and reveals how it is implicated in multiple discourses of the modern Japanese nation. My work with this and numerous other images and indeed, with the collections of photographs that constitute the Ogasawaran image archive, adds to the growing body of work that demonstrates the value of examining photographs in an anthropological investigation.

More importantly, in conducting this kind of investigation, this thesis has demonstrated the value of mining two exceedingly rich yet virtually untapped sources of research: the Ogasawara Islands as an object of inquiry within the study of Japan on the one hand, and the importance of the Japanese case in the anthropological study of photographic practice on the other. Conducting my research within an anthropological framework—carrying out an ethnography of photography—enabled me to address both of these understudied sources. Until now, no such study has been conducted. In this concluding chapter, I shall discuss the major findings of my research and suggest directions for future inquiry.

Photography and Japan's Modernising Agendas

Using Deborah Poole's conceptual model of the visual economy to think about the image archive of the Ogasawara Islands, I closely considered the image world of Ogasawaran photographs by examining the products (images), production process (photographic practice), and consumption (value creation) of these objects. Vision and power intersect in the archive (Poole 1997: 12) and, in the case of the Ogasawara Islands, early photographs, particularly the first photographs produced during the colonial encounter in 1875, reveal this intersection in the Japanese context in previously unexplored ways.

I began thinking about the archive with images from its bottom-most layer, where the products of Matsuzaki Shinji's pioneering photographic foray during this 1875 colonial encounter lay. In order to approach them in an anthropologically meaningful way, however, it was necessary to suggest an alternative history of Japanese photographic practice that moves away from the aesthetics-driven examinations that comprise the dominant scholarly approach to the study of this photography. Such studies, whilst acknowledging the importance of western technology, power and stereotypes in the creation of early Japanese photography, locate this photography as a mere by-product of the interaction between western know-how and traditional Japanese aesthetic elements, missing almost completely the agency of Japanese actors and the importance of Japanese institutions in shaping practice. Furthermore, these approaches have focused almost exclusively on one category of image—namely commercially sold tourist photography—thereby ignoring photographs produced within internal Japanese contexts.

I have suggested an alternative way of thinking about Japanese photography in order to broaden the discussion and expose the connections between photography and internal modernising agendas, which I contend were the most influential components of the construction of photographic practice in Japan. I proposed that early commercial photography in Japan could be usefully categorised as ‘semicolonial’, which recognises the conditions under which such photography was produced and also differentiates it from colonial photography, which it superficially resembles. I also examined the role of the national government in using photography as a tool in its arsenal of ‘seven items of civilisation and enlightenment’ (*bunmei kaika nanatsu dōgu*).

Critically, the government became the most important sponsor of large-scale photographic projects early in the Meiji era, producing photographs that presented an internally rendered definition of Japan that—even if overlapping in some areas—was separate from semicolonial image making. Photography, itself a symbol and implement of modernity, was used to ‘document’ the diverse elements of the government’s far-reaching modernisation agenda. Thus, factories, western-style architecture, gas street lights, portraits of political leaders in western-style dress, bridges and even lighthouses became subjects of the governmental camera lens.

I did not totally abandon aesthetic concerns, however, and also considered—without reifying—these issues. For example, the connection between pre-photographic modes of imaging and the first photographs of the Ogasawara Islands was probed, specifically in composition and framing, which often included partial views of branches or other objects in the foreground or edges of images. Many images also included human

subjects as culturalising 'props' rather than as important individual subjects, as was the case in portraiture.

These elements of difference go beyond issues of style, however. In addition to being connected to pre-existing visual traditions, they were enmeshed in Japanese discourses of nature. In contrast to much of European colonial photography, for example, Japanese colonial images of the Ogasawara Islands were not 'about' the expanse of space, and did not usually attempt to show wide swaths of land. Although Ogasawara's nature has been the subject of much of the imaging of the Islands since the first photographs were produced, the culturalisation of space was the predominant emphasis. This reflects traditional concepts of nature, especially the abhorrence of 'raw' nature, and influenced the frequent insertion of human and other culturalising elements into images, an attribute that was also manifest in the photography produced in very different Japanese contexts, such as the photographic 'documentation' of the Old Edo Castle and surveys of religious and cultural sites.

Combining these elements into a new way of thinking about Japanese photography has enabled the identification of a dual system of early photographic practice: one dependant on external definitions of Japan and the other on internal ones. Understanding this dual system allows for a more nuanced context within which to consider the emergence and development of Japanese photographic practice. Photography itself can thus be demonstrated to have played a critical role in the construction of the modern nation, rather than merely having been a product of that construction.

This was demonstrated in my discussions of the Meiji government's use of photography to create a vision of 'Japan' that was very different from the version created by semicolonial tourist photography. The government commissioned photographs that emphasised particular aspects of Japanese culture, which, predictably, were predominantly elements of upper-class culture and tradition, including major photographic surveys of religious and cultural treasures, most of which had imperial affiliations. Material form was given to particular ideas about Japaneseness through the photographing of these objects. Semicolonial photography, on the other hand, whilst also selectively picturing certain aspects of culture, generally focused on working-class subjects, including prostitutes and sumo wrestlers, as well as the everyday objects and haunts of 'ordinary' Japanese people.

Tourist images of Japan spread across the globe in the form of photo albums, prints and postcards, which became extremely popular souvenirs and collectibles, but government-sponsored images were also widely distributed and circulated domestically, in various government projects, as well as abroad, at international expositions, for instance. Anxious to provide 'evidence' of its expanding empire, the government photographed newly colonised territories such as Hokkaido, seeking recognition of the modern Japanese nation's emergence as a colonial power that boasted its own 'vanishing race' in the Ainu and other indigenous peoples, just as the United States and Canada had in the First Nations peoples of North America.

I employed this new way of approaching early Japanese photographic practice to examine early photographs of the Ogasawara Islands within the historical context of the government's use of photography. It became apparent that the government

commissioned photographer Matsuzaki's services in order to provide future settlers with useful information about the Islands and simultaneously to alert the country's citizens that the Islands were part of Japanese nation. This highlights the government's belief in the 'truth-value' of the photograph and at the same time illustrates the photograph's role in the construction of the modern nation.

My examination of Matsuzaki's images of the Ogasawara Islands gave me access to visible traces of the ambiguities and contradictions of the Japanese colonial encounter with a native population that was constructed as both 'savage' (*dojin*) and 'western' by colonial actors (including the photographer). In its efforts to modernise Japan, the Meiji government held up 'the west' as the pinnacle of advanced civilisation and proceeded to transform virtually every aspect of Japanese society according to various western models, from government to education, the financial system to the measurement of time. Encountering 'natives' in conditions that appeared to be less than 'civilised', Japanese colonial officers had difficulty reconciling their image of 'the west' with their real-world exposure to the 'Western Islanders' who populated the annexed Ogasawara Islands. These 'natives', the First Settlers of the Ogasawara Islands, occupy/ied a fluid place in the trajectory of modern Japanese identity and tested the boundaries of 'Japaneseness'.

Defining Japaneseness at the Edge of the Field of Vision

As Japanese cultural objects, the images of the Ogasawara Islands I have examined in this thesis are enmeshed in Japanese histories and have been informative of many things, including the usually unacknowledged heterogeneous composition of Japanese society. Unearthing photographs of the Ogasawara Islands has afforded me the

opportunity to consider the classic anthropological issue of marginality—a particularly important topic in the study of Japanese society—from a fresh vantage point. The highly unusual if not unique circumstances of the Japanese colonisation of the Ogasawara Islands resulted in an indigenous population that included many people of European origin becoming subjects of a non-western empire. The very existence of a community such as the First Settlers tests the boundaries of Japaneseness, an identity constructed as mostly homogeneous and more often essentialised than understood as constructed or ‘imagined’. The images can aid in the reconfiguration of this view of Japanese society in this regard, particularly as relates to the origins of the modern Japanese nation.

The ambiguous and changeable power relationship between Japanese colonial authorities and settlers on the one hand, and the First Settler community on the other, reflected on a small scale that which existed in the wider power relations between ‘Japan’ (as inferior) and ‘the west’ (as superior). The First Settler community in Ogasawara, whose establishment preceded Japanese colonisation of the Islands by several decades, was initially pictured as an unambiguously foreign presence. This imaging began to change, however, as Japan’s international standing and power grew in relation to western countries. It became politically expedient for ‘foreigners’ in the Islands to be naturalised as Japanese citizens, the number of Japanese settlers far outpaced that of First Settlers and in every way it became clear that western countries would not intervene to interrupt Japanese control of the Islands (until the USA battled Japan in World War Two).

During the decades that followed the production of the first photographs of the Ogasawara Islands, the shift in the positioning of First Settlers from ‘foreign’ to ‘naturalised’ signified their inclusion, however uneasy, as part of the Japanese nation.

This inclusion, as revealed by photographic and other evidence, which at times made use of highly racialised but not necessarily dehumanising or deindividualising devices, was unquestionably differently configured from that of 'Japanese-Japanese' citizens. It was also, however, differently configured from that of the Ainu and Okinawan populations, which were sometimes labelled 'proto-Japanese' and often subjected to racist imaging that clearly located them as primitive and inferior to the 'modern' Japanese people.

When one considers the early photographs of the Ogasawara Islands in the context of other, contemporaneous images that were important to the process of defining Japanese national identity, one can see how photography was being used to include certain objects and categories of people as 'Japanese', and how images were part of a complicated blend of forces that both constructed and sustained these categories. Images of the Ogasawara Islands, including First Settler subjects, were produced and circulated by the government with the intention of informing the people of the Japanese nation about the newest possession of the Japanese empire, which included an obviously non-Japanese human population. At the same time, images that visually entrenched certain notions of Japanese tradition, as manifest in, for example, religious sites and certain items of material culture, were also produced and circulated. Later images, such as the postcards of the Islands and Islanders that circulated in Japan in the several decades leading up to World War Two, further consolidated the inclusion of the First Settlers and the Ogasawara Islands as belonging to Japan. These various clusters of photographs, the early projects sponsored by the national government and later ones produced commercially, were sites of negotiation for emerging definitions of Japanese national identity.

The ambiguity and changeable nature of the position of the First Settlers was conducive to an image-production of First Settler subjects that often adopted a highly racialised visual language of remoteness but not necessarily a dehumanising one, in contrast to the cases of Ainu, Okinawans and other internal other populations throughout the Japanese empire. The First Settlers have always defied definition in Japan, their unstable position as 'western but Japanese' shifting fluidly along the edges of inclusion and exclusion, even as the meanings of what it meant to be included or excluded also shifted. There is no fixity in national identity, of course, but the unique location of this particular group of internal others in Japan underscores the flexible nature of what it means to be Japanese.

I have not argued that the inclusion of the First Settlers or the Ogasawara Islands in these definitions of what it meant to be part of the Japanese nation was by any means a sign of the acceptance of difference without hierarchy, let alone the collapse of difference altogether; on the contrary, photography has been used to emphasise difference and create and sustain notions of hierarchies of difference in the Ogasawaran case. First Settlers have unquestionably been marginalised in Ogasawaran life—in terms of language, education, and other areas—but have not suffered the kinds of extreme discrimination and dispossession faced by other minority groups in Japanese society, such as the Ainu and other indigenous peoples in Hokkaido. The position of the First Settlers as nationals (or descendants of nationals) of western countries provided them with a limited layer of protection from the harsh colonial rule endured by subjects in other Japanese territories, especially in the early years of the colony, when they were generally allowed to maintain their own cultural patterns without serious molestation.

Nevertheless, they were subject to Japanese rule and had no choice but to adapt to Japanese laws, language and social patterns. As Japan moved toward war in the Pacific, treatment of the First Settlers community worsened.

I would argue instead that not only must the myth of Japanese homogeneity be questioned on its face, as it has been, but that it is crucial to begin any attempt to study Japanese society with the premise that Japan has a diverse and heterogeneous history that includes the First Settlers of the Ogasawara Islands as part of the modern nation from its very beginning. This allows for a more nuanced assessment of the various presentations of this diversity over time and recognition of the flexibility that exists in constructions of Japanese identity.

This questioning of conceptions of Japanese identity should not be limited to early historical materials, however. Contemporary tourist discourses, for example, have also yielded interesting possibilities for reassessing dominant thinking. Tourism has been the dominant mode of representation of the Ogasawara Islands for several decades and it was by examining the photography that is produced, circulated and consumed within the visual economy of this discourse that insight was gained into the location of the First Settler community in contemporary society and existing models of domestic tourism have been questioned.

In revisiting anthropological ideas about Japanese domestic tourism and related ideas of Japanese cultural attitudes about nature, I found that the dominant approaches, which generally explain travel in Japan as rooted primarily in *furusato* (hometown or old town/village) discourses with a complementary abhorrence of nature in the raw, did not provide an adequate framework for examining tourism in the Ogasawara Islands. The

Ogasawaran case presented a problem here because its 'foreign' origins cannot easily be fitted into the notion of the *furusato*, which also encompasses a whole genre of souvenirs, or *omiyage*, that cater to and encourage the desire to purchase local specialties as a marker of the tourist experience. There is also the problem of various tourist materials, such as brochures and postcards, which picture the Islands as an unspoilt natural paradise absent of human culture.

I have suggested that Japanese domestic tourism can be categorised as 'artefactual' rather than *furusato*-based, in order to emphasise a material nature that encompasses both the purchasing of objects as well as a way of containing and taming the 'natural' landscape so that it appears less empty and dangerous to the potential tourist.

This way of thinking about domestic tourism would seem to work well in the Ogasawaran case at the present time but there are already indications that things are changing. Tourism-related materials have recently begun to include both visual and textual references to First Settlers. Notably, these presentations do not make use of contemporary photographs; instead, early images represent First Settler culture. This has largely located the human culture of the Ogasawara Islands in the past, configured within the framework of *kokusaika* (internationalisation), an influential discourse in wider Japanese society. In this contemporary configuration of Japaneseness, an 'international' past, in which the cosmopolitan origins of Ogasawara's people are placed in a positive, desirable category, is now employed in support of the tourist industry, the Islands' economic mainstay. Nature, too, is reconfigured as local government plans for marketing the Islands call for a western-style 'ecotourism' that points to spiritual and health-related benefits of pristine nature and the beauty and importance of biological diversity, as well

as the active use of this nature for recreational activities such as trekking, kayaking and scuba diving.

As a matter of course, the boundaries of Japaneseness continue to be negotiated throughout the entire nation of Japan. In the Ogasawara Islands, however, the representations and lived realities of First Settlers and Japanese settlers have together created a particular inflection of what it means to be Japanese, and have fostered an especially fluid identity environment whose location at the edge of the Japanese field of vision signifies new possibilities for the construction of Japaneseness in the future. If the First Settler community of the Ogasawara Islands is brought directly into view, with a recognition that their history and lives today are an integral part of Japan, a new definition of what it means to be Japanese could emerge throughout the nation.

The Past in the Future

Photographs are relics of the past, traces of what has happened. If the living take the past upon themselves, if the past becomes an integral part of the process of people making their own history, then all photographs would require a living context, they would continue to exist in time, instead of being arrested moments. It is just possible that photography is the prophecy of a human memory yet to be socially and politically achieved (Berger 1980: 57).

John Berger's poetic vision for photography and human memory has not been actualised in the Ogasawara Islands but there are signs that some photographs from the past are being resurrected and repurposed. The images have only relatively recently begun to circulate again and are beginning to require a living context within the discourses of tourism. It remains to be seen what kind of an impact (if any) the use of these images will have on the quality and importance of tourism in the Islands. It also

remains to be seen whether the First Settler community—or perhaps even the wider Ogasawaran community—will also revisit the old photographs and reinstall them with a living context, endowing them with meanings different from those that emerge in tourism. These questions about how the past will be imagined in the future await future research for their answers.

There are many other questions that have been suggested by this study that would be interesting to pursue. The connections between the early imaging of the Ogasawara Islands and other peripheral areas and people, discussed here mainly with respect to Hokkaido and Okinawa, could be expanded to include other rural areas in the home islands, other Japanese colonies and other peripheral groups of people in and near urban centres. Meiji-era governmental photography has not received adequate attention in the literature and more primary research needs to be conducted in order to construct a more complete history of this early photographic practice and a better understanding of the processes of internal othering in Japan.

Noticeably absent from my examination of the archive were images produced during the U.S. occupation of the Ogasawara Islands that stretched from 1945-1968. The First Settlers were allowed by the American authorities to return to Chichi Island in 1946 and shared the island with U.S. naval personnel and their families. The images produced during this period were not accessioned into any Japanese collections and thus have not been placed in the archive of images I have constructed here. Instead, these images have been placed in the National Records and Archives Administration outside Washington, D.C., where they occupy archival boxes, perhaps waiting to be reintegrated into a living context. Most of these images are personal snapshots rather than official government

photographs (although those exist as well); what could we learn about the relationship between the First Settler community and the U.S. military in the Islands by using these photographs? One could use these in conjunction with personal images owned by members of the First Settler community to investigate how the two groups imaged each other and think about the relationship between the occupiers as Americans on the one hand and the Islanders as descendants of Americans (and other westerners) on the other. How does this relationship compare with that of the Islanders and the Japanese colonial authorities or post-reversion government? How does it compare with the much more antagonistic relationship between American occupiers and Okinawans and, indeed, in other U.S.-occupied territories? What is the state of the ongoing relationships between the First Settler community and former navy personnel and families who lived on Chichi Island during the occupation?

A final area one might consider for further research is tourism. All indications point to continued reliance on tourism as the main industry in the Islands. A new ship that offers faster transport between Tokyo and Port Futami is scheduled to begin service in the next few years, with the potential to increase the number of tourists who visit the Islands each year. Will these tourists be attracted by the eco- and cultural heritage tourism that the local government is encouraging? What place will local culture—particularly First Settler culture—play in guest-host interactions? How will tourist photography change if a larger, more prominent role for First Settler culture is created?

The Fragmented Archive

As demonstrated throughout this study, the prominence of Ogasawara in the Japanese consciousness has waxed and waned throughout the history of Japanese contact with the Islands. With a history of only occasional and mostly accidental contact between Japan (including both Japanese government and private interests) and the Islands until colonisation, it is not surprising that the first photographs were not produced until 1875, despite the early development of a thriving photographic marketplace other areas of the country. The archive of images examined in this study is, as stressed in the introduction, a virtual archive, a construct of my research. In the process of uncovering photographs of the Ogasawara Islands for inclusion in this study, I conducted what were, in essence, archaeological excavations in numerous public and private collections, in three countries over a period of several years. I have deposited many of what were previously widely dispersed artefacts together in an archive of images in the pages of this thesis, imposing a coherence on otherwise highly fragmented collections.

This fragmentary nature reflects something much more significant than the mere lack of a single, coherent repository of images; it reflects the fragmented and ambiguous position of the Ogasawara Islands within Japanese society over time. The image archive can be seen as a metaphor for this inconsistent relationship, one in which the Islands have only sometimes been spotlighted but have rarely been completely out of view. In material terms, the gaps in layers of images in some places and bulges in other places in the archive correspond to peaks and valleys in the Japanese temporal attention span covering the Islands. The Ogasawara Islands, the occasional recipient of the attentions of powerful nations, have remained at the edge of Japan's field of vision since the

government first learnt of their existence. The Islands, only rarely in sharp focus but never completely out of sight, have fluctuated dramatically in their importance to Japan over time.

Throughout this study, I have explored the relationship between photography and the Ogasawara Islands. I hope that the shape of the archive of images I have fashioned out of the products of this relationship has communicated something of the historical and cultural contexts that have enmeshed the images at various stages of their lives, and respects the power both of the photographic image to affect, create, and reinforce our understanding of cross-cultural relationships, and of the archive to shape our understanding of the photographs contained within. In this conclusion, I have drawn together the alternative history of early Japanese photographic practice and new understanding of Japanese domestic tourism developed in the thesis with insights gained from ethnographic investigations of the image archive. Photography played a major role in the construction of modern Japaneseness, rather than merely being a by-product of modernisation. Examining images from the archive of photographs of the Ogasawara Islands has contributed to an understanding of modern Japan as a society more diverse than the mostly homogeneous nation it is generally represented as, and more fluid in its definitions of Japaneseness than previously thought.

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