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"Orient Calls": Anglophone Travel Writing and Tourism as Propaganda during the Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1941

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The outbreak of full-scale conflict between Japan and China in 1937 led to a proliferation of book-length reports of travel in the region by Anglophone authors. This essay analyzes a selection of travelogues that used Japan as a base from which to journey to wartime China. These texts/travels were often heavily mediated by official tourist agencies in Japan, who organized itineraries and guided travelers, and produced guidebooks, pamphlets, and posters that framed sites in specific ways, typically combining tropes of oriental exoticism and modernity. This use of international tourism as a form of propaganda intended to encourage more positive views of imperial Japan has been well documented, but detailed analyses of these travelogues allow both the success of this propaganda strategy, and the discursive reworkings demanded by new conditions of travel, to be more fully explored. This essay argues that Western orientalism is radically repurposed in many of these texts to support Japanese not European imperialism, presenting a benign, pacific image of Japan and empire as a convenient but exotic travel site, which either occludes or naturalizes the war in line with official propaganda aims. Though tourism's reach as cultural diplomacy was ultimately limited by news of military operations in China, these texts nevertheless suggest its efficacy as a disciplinary tool, incorporating travelers into a Japanese nationalist vision of the second Sino-Japanese War and regional geopolitics.

Keywords: Anglophone travel writing, cross-cultural encounter, exoticism, imperialism, Japan, propaganda, second Sino-Japanese War, orientalism, colonial tourism, wartime travel

Introduction: The Poetics and Politics of Wartime Travel Writing

> Japan *was* beautiful to look at in late April, as we followed the curving track along the Inland Sea that is one of the most delightful train-journeys in the world. The hillsides were bright with flowering shrubs, yellow and red and smoky blue; and the air was heavy with the spring. Pale oranges glowed through their dark leaves; in the well-tended fields, vegetables were dressed for market in almost military array. This was a country at peace, and not at war.

> It was beautiful, and my heart rose in me against it. For instead of these tranquil hills I saw another country—ravaged fields where no crops would ripen this year, the blackened beams of ruined villages, cities where the dead lay piled beside the river-banks. It was not a pleasant picture, though it was the work of Japanese artists, some of whom were proud of it […]. I wanted to bring that picture into that crowded railway carriage, the real picture of the war….[1]

In July 1937, when full-scale war between Japan and China broke out, New Zealander James Bertram was in Tokyo, researching political events while staying in the Western-style Bunka Apartments ("a dingy block of flats") in Ochanomizu.[2] On 8 July, a journalist acquaintance phoned Bertram at home, informing him about reports of a skirmish at Marco Polo Bridge. Three days later, while watching the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra at the Hibiya Kodaiko Hall, Bertram and a friend heard, from outside the theatre, a hand-bell announcing a newspaper "extra" edition; they left the performance early to read that four divisions of troops were being sent to North China. Later, at a Japan Tourist Bureau (Japan Tsūrisuto Byūrō ジャパン ツーリスト ビューロー) office suddenly overwhelmed by travelers trying to return to China, Bertram managed to secure tickets for 14 July that took him first to Kobe by train, by ferry to Moji and then to Tianjin. After a brief visit to Beijing, he went to Xian and from there to the northwestern front. For Bertram, as for other Western travelers in the period, the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) provided, not a reason to stay at home, but rather an opportunity to travel.

Bertram's 1939 travelogue, *North China Front*, is primarily concerned with the author's experiences after his return to China. The prologue, where the above episode is recounted, and the final chapters, from which my opening quotation is taken, are both set in Japan, however, and it is here that Bertram engages most explicitly with the war as a discursive, as much as a military, conflict. This includes not only the utilization of propaganda by Japanese and Chinese forces, which is explicitly discussed elsewhere in *North China Front*. Rather, in these Japan sections, Bertram also looks self-reflexively at his own rhetoric to consider the politics of travel-textual representation: how ways of seeing order the world according to particular values. A good example of this is given in the long passage quoted above, located upon Bertram's return to Japan after almost a year with the Eighth Route Army, where Bertram confronts and challenges the lure of the tourist gaze. In his first description, of the spring countryside from the train, the landscape is organized as a well-composed scene for the appreciation of the viewer, who judges it according to aesthetic criteria ("Japan *was* beautiful to look at"). Against this, Bertram offers a counter-parataxis of sights seen in wartime China marked by tropes of displeasure, disharmony ("the dead lay piled"), and ruin. Implicitly acknowledging the correlation of poetics with politics, Bertram suggests it is this second "real picture" that risks being occluded by a touristic gaze founded upon fantasies of escape, exotic difference, and picturesque beauty. Notably, Bertram is not arguing here that tourism precludes war, or vice-versa; rather, he implies that it is tourism's

1 Bertram 1939, p. 492. In 1936, Bertram began studying Chinese at Yenching University, Beijing, on a travel scholarship from the Rhodes Trust. He also worked as a freelance journalist for the *Manchester Guardian* and other British newspapers.

2 Bertram 1939, p. 21.

ability to coexist with violence which makes it such a potent force. In his writing then, Bertram attempts to confront this power by valorizing one set of statements (Japan as military aggressor in China) over another (Japan as recreational tourist destination).

North China Front is one of many Anglophone travelogues written and published during the five-year period from the beginning of the second Sino-Japanese War to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Adam Piette, discussing textual responses to war in Europe, notes that "travel writing […] became the key trope and genre for reports from the real and imaginary-future front."[3] The same may be argued for war in Asia as well. The outbreak of full-scale conflict in 1937 led to a proliferation of book-length reports about Japan, Korea, Manchuria, and China in particular, as well as about sites of projected war such as French Indochina, British Malaya, and Pacific islands. These reports were typically written as narratives of travel, not only by professional travel writers, but also by journalists, political activists, poets, and novelists. Many of these texts approach the war from China: W.H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood's *Journey to a War* (1939) and Robin Hyde's *Dragon Rampant* (1939) recount travels made with the support of the Kuomintang (KMT); Agnes Smedley's *China Fights Back* (1938) and Anna Louise Strong's *China Fights for Freedom* (1939) recount travels with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), then joined with the KMT in the United Front.[4] Other writers, however, because of residence or shipping routes or tour itineraries, used Japan as a base, and from there traveled to battlefields, newly-conquered territory, and frontlines on the continent. James Bertram was one such writer, though *North China Front* gives more attention to his time "embedded" with the Eighth Route Army in Shanxi and Shaanxi than his travels in Japan, an affiliation indicated in the rhetorical choices made in the passage quoted above. More commonly, however, travels starting in Japan are often supported, and obviously mediated, by official tourist and other agencies there.

This essay reads official literature produced for the consumption of international tourists to Japan in parallel with a selection of Anglophone travelogues in which Japan is used as a base for travels to wartime China. The travelogues include *Children of the Rising Sun* (1938) by Canadian-born U.S. journalist and children's novelist Willard Price, then resident in Tokyo; *Sky High to Shanghai* (1939), by broadcaster and professional writer Frank Clune, visiting from Australia; *North of Singapore* (1940), by British-born, U.S.-based Carveth Wells, another professional traveler and writer, on a return to the region where he had once lived; and *Petticoat Vagabond in Ainu Land and Up and Down Eastern Asia* (1942) by American travel-writer Neill James, also returning to Japan, where she had previously worked.

Anglophone travelers such as these made up the bulk of foreign visitors to Japan from the 1860s to the late 1930s; consequently, their travels and writing, especially during the Meiji period, have been the subject of some research. Yet there is a need for further critical exploration of Anglophone travel/writing during the 1920s and 1930s, especially

3 Piette 2004, p. 417.

4 Of texts from the second Sino-Japanese War, travelogues by these authors have received by far the most scholarly attention: on Auden and Isherwood, see Bryant (1997), Burton (2014), Haughton (2007), Kerr (2008), Moynaugh (2008), and Youngs (2004); on Hyde, see Clayton (2013); on Smedley, see Kerr (2007) and Moynaugh (2008).

its relationship to imperial Japan.[5] And to be comprehensive, this research needs to take account of the full range of travelogues being written, bought, and read during the period, not just those that have stood the test of time. The travelers and texts selected for this paper buck the typically identified trends of travel writing during the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s. Willard Price's adventure stories excepted, these travel writers are not the "travelling writers"—poets and novelists like Auden, Isherwood, and Hyde—who make up Paul Fussell's seminal study of British travel in the "interwar" period.[6] Nor do they reveal, unlike travel-writing contemporaries more obviously influenced by literary modernism, much interest in formal experimentation.[7] Most significantly perhaps, considering the period in which they are traveling and the events they travel to witness, these travel writers not only withhold clear statements of political affiliation in their works, but seem to object to the very act of taking sides. This refusal distinguishes their travelogues from works about the war in China by Smedley and Strong, for example, and more generally from travel texts by politically-committed contemporaries like George Orwell and Rebecca West. For this reason, these travelogues work as a necessary counter to Bernard Schweizer's claim that "most of the travelers of [the 1930s] were also political radicals."[8]

In examining a set of wartime travel texts that seem unconcerned with literary experimentation or political engagement, I hope to advance critical discussion of twentieth-century travel narrative and its relationship to war which, as Stacy Burton has argued, is often-ignored.[9] Yet I do not wish to suggest that questions of poetics and politics are of little significance in, or for, these texts. Even if questions of form and modes of affiliation are not self-consciously or self-reflexively foregrounded, the particular conditions of traveling in, and on the edge of, empires in the "East" during wartime in the 1930s demanded that all writers make choices—fundamentally political choices—about what to write and how to write it.

In the period after World War I, there were multiple challenges—the diffusion of photography and film, the rise of mass tourism, the professionalization of geography and anthropology, and profound geopolitical transformations—to late nineteenth-century assumptions that the travel book, in the English-speaking world at least, could represent the world and its peoples comprehensively and truthfully.[10] Writers responded, or withheld a response, to these challenges in different—all politically-significant—ways. The outbreak of total war in the 1930s further tested, and reshaped, the underlying assumptions of travel/writing. As Burton argues, the aerial bombing of cities and the internment of civilians—both seen in the second Sino-Japanese War—collapsed distinctions between "home front" and "battle front," "home" and "abroad." In these new conditions, understandings of travel as a physical and metaphorical departure from, then a return to, home no longer held

5 The single largest national group of visitors to Japan over these decades were Chinese, who were then followed by an assortment of the main English-speaking nations. See Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha Shashi Hensan Shitsu 1982, p. 30; Kushner 2006, p. 45; Nakamura 2007, pp. 178–79; and Oikawa in this special issue. For research on Anglophone travel and travel writing during the Meiji period, see Clark and Smethurst 2008; Elliott 2013; Guth 2004.

6 Carr 2002, p. 73; and Fussell 1980.

7 See Burton 2014 and Farley 2010.

8 Schweizer 2001, p. 2. See also Moynagh 2008 on "political tourists" during the 1930s.

9 Burton 2014, p. 120.

10 See Burton 2014.

true. Rather than concluding "in a confirmation, a domestication of the difference and the detour," travel during war threatens to destabilize identities, questioning preexisting frameworks for understanding the world and one's place within it.[11] Margot Norris, discussing war writing more generally, writes: "War is a world-unmaking event, a reality-deconstructing and defamiliarizing activity, [therefore] one of the challenges of war writing is how to make its inherent epistemological disorientation, its sense of experienced 'unreality,' real."[12]

In a world at (or soon to be at) war, orientalism continued to wield a powerful regulatory authority over patterns of signification in early twentieth-century travel texts about the non-European world, just as it had in nineteenth-century European travel texts, precisely because it provided a useful schema to make meaning out of the confusing and complicated "experienced 'unreality'" of war.[13] In short, orientalism allowed travelers to orient themselves in relation to a suddenly altered world by turning to familiar tropes of East–West distinction.[14]

Yet orientalism was also challenged, as well as reworked and reconfigured, by the conditions of total war. If, as Douglas Kerr has suggested, "war is a particularly potent figure in the presentation of the Orient as a place that must seem to an outside observer 'replete with problem and tragedy,'" then total war made it harder to position oneself as "an outside observer," able to return to a civilized, peaceful home at the end of one's journey.[15] Furthermore, the war in China led to new demands on the travelogue as propaganda, which either diminished the efficacy of orientalist tropes or reconfigured them for different agendas. With the escalation of the conflict between China and Japan through the 1930s, a diverse range of attempts were made to utilize English-language travelogues in war efforts, by official agencies such as the Board of Tourist Industry (Kokusai Kankō Kyoku 国際観光局) in Japan, by the KMT and CCP in China, internationalist groups, and Allied intelligence. Anglophone travelers/writers, whether purposefully or not, thus became embroiled in unprecedented ways in a political and military conflict that did not involve any Euro-American powers directly, initially, as combatants.

In travel texts from this period, often-competing discourses intersect and interact, are opposed, interrogated, renewed and resignified, thereby offering a particularly productive case study to consider the struggles over representation—what places, people, and things are made to mean—that are instigated by war. This essay examines one particular discursive encounter, that between nationalist tourism propaganda in Japan and Western orientalism in the wartime Anglophone travel text, and how this shapes representations of the Japanese invasion of China. I begin by discussing the use of international tourism, and tropes of oriental exoticism, as a means of propaganda by Japanese official and semi-official agencies. Following that, I analyze in detail the travel texts introduced above, exploring how the mediation of these travels and travelogues by propagandistic tourist discourses leads to the intratextual occlusion and/or naturalization of Japanese militarism.

11 Iain Chambers, quoted in Burton 2014, p. 120.
12 Norris 2000, p. 24.
13 Said 1979. See Clark 1999 for discussion of this.
14 See Barkawi and Stanski 2012; Porter 2009. Also, Lisle 2016, pp. 77–81.
15 Kerr 2008, p. 159.

Tourism as Propaganda: "What there is behind Military and Political Japan"

As recent historical research has documented, the 1930s was a boom period for the domestic, outbound, and inbound tourist industry in Japan.[16] This shows that from the 1920s through the early 1940s, public and private organizations worked on the promotion of Japan and the empire as a tourist destination abroad, developed tourist sites for foreign tourist consumption, and offered a range of ticketing, guide, tour, and other services to visitors. Although government interest in international tourism initially focused on economic benefits, in the wake of the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident and especially after the outbreak of all-out war in 1937, tourism was increasingly understood in nationalistic terms, as a propaganda tool to challenge international criticism of Japanese military expansionism on the continent and promote national policy abroad.[17]

Various debates occurred about the most effective techniques to change hearts and minds in the Anglophone world, especially the United States. But, as with the Japanese imperial travelers in Manchuria that Kate McDonald explores in this special issue, the importance of firsthand encounters was commonly underlined:

> I sincerely hope that this little book will prove helpful to the cultivated tourist from abroad in satisfying his intellectual curiosity by penetrating more than skin-deep in their observation of things Japanese that have come under his notice in his tour of Japan. I further hope that these "Gleams from Japan" carry sufficient glamour to induce readers in the countries beyond the seas to come in direct contact with their source to know at first hand what there is behind Military and Political Japan […][18]

In the preface to a 1937 collection of his articles from Japan Tourist Bureau's English-language *Tourist* magazine, Katsumata Senkichirō 勝俣銓吉郎 exemplifies a widespread understanding of tourism as an effective, and valuable, form of cultural diplomacy during the 1930s. Here, Katsumata invokes some of modern travel/tourism's most privileged concepts—the priority of depth or interior, desire for the real, and the value of autopsy—for propaganda purposes.[19] Katsumata proposes Japanese militarism, as produced and spread in anti-Japanese international media, as a false front and touristic Japan as the authentic back region which a firsthand encounter will unlock.

The image of "real Japan" constructed by the posters, magazines, exhibitions, and other visual media that were subsequently produced for the consumption (and attraction) of international tourists was relatively consistent.[20] On the one hand, civilizational equivalence with the West was posited on the basis of, among other things, tourism services: Japan offered modern, familiar comforts, making it not only a convenient destination for travel, but also an ideal base from which to explore Korea, Manchuria, and China. On the other, the Japanese empire's "geocultural distinction," both from the West and between constituent territories, as orient(s) was underlined through standard touristic markers of

16 For example, Leheny 2000; Ruoff 2010. Also, Oikawa in this special issue.

17 Leheny 2000, pp. 182–84; Nakamura 2007, pp. 171; Takagi 1999, pp. 309–10.

18 Katsumata 2011, p. vi. Katsumata was emeritus professor of English literature at Waseda University; and the articles were initially published under the pseudonym Waseda Eisaku. See also Kushner 2006, p. 43.

19 See, for example, MacCannell 1976; Thompson 2011, pp. 64–65.

20 See Pai 2010; Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 2016; Weisenfeld 2000.

Figure 1. Poster designed by Satomi Munetsugu for the Second Oriental Tourist Conference. 1936. Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art. Courtesy of the estate of Satomi Munetsugu.

exotic difference such as "traditional" dress, customs, buildings, landscapes. Combining tropes of modernity and often-radical cultural difference, this empire-branding strategy can be seen as part of an attempt to decouple the concept of "orient" (*tōyō* 東洋) from Western orientalism, resignifying it as "cultural difference, not inherent backwardness." This is *tōyō* as "that which was not the Occident."[21]

Although not ostensibly focused on Japan or its empire, the "Orient Calls" poster designed by the well-known graphic designer Satomi Munetsugu 里見宗次 for the Second Oriental Tourist Conference (第二回東亜観光会議) illustrates the features of international tourism advertising well (figure 1). Sponsored by Japan's Board of Tourist Industry, this conference aimed to bring together a range of organizations involved in tourism across Asia. The second one was planned to be held in Hong Kong in 1937 but the outbreak of war postponed it for two years until October 1939, when it was held in Kyoto.[22] In Satomi's poster for the event, Japan is depicted as a woman in red kimono leading a group of stylized, culturally-distinct figures, each differentiated by size and costume. Behind them can be seen the exotic objects of touristic attention (a half-naked "native" woman—presumably outside the Japanese empire—carrying water, and an elephant) and the modern transport technologies which help mobilize the tourism providers and consumers depicted in the poster's foreground.

21 Tanaka 1993, p. 4, p. 12. See McDonald 2017 for a discussion of the shift that occurred in the 1930s to a discourse of cultural pluralism in representations of the Japanese empire.

22 The title in Japanese of the first conference was Dai Ikkai Tōyō Kankō Kaigi 第一回東洋観光会議. This was changed for the second conference in accordance with national policy changes. See Gao 2002, p. 150.

Predictably, signs of the war were not included in the images of Japan and empire depicted in promotional campaigns for international visitors. Images of military technology, practices, and people, while not entirely omitted from tourism-related exhibitions and magazines, were not shown in relation to actual combat, in China or anywhere else.[23]

"Independent" Travelers during the Second Sino-Japanese War

Official agencies in charge of shaping Japan's image on the international stage were faced with the problem of judging whether the desired message had been transmitted successfully to target audiences.[24] In the case of tourism, shifts in the number of inbound tourists could be quantified, but the extent to which tours actually influenced the perspectives of travelers was harder to evaluate. For this reason, sponsored tours to Japan and the continental empire by students and educators, in particular, were hosted by official agencies such as the Society of International Tourism (Kokusai Kankō Kyōkai 国際観光協会), a public-private agency under the aegis of the Board of Tourist Industry, and written reports from participants were used as one means of gauging the efficacy of these tours as a form of propaganda.[25]

More than the handpicked and closely-attended participants on these sponsored tours, independent travelers who toured Japan and the region during the second Sino-Japanese War posed a particularly high risk of reading Japan and empire in opposition to official narratives. Such travelers could choose where they went, what they saw, and how they saw it. In addition, when they chose to write down and publish their impressions, they also exercised considerable control over the means of textual production. Foreign journalists stationed in Japan had to depend on censored cable and telephone services to get news articles out, and increasingly risked intimidation from police. In contrast, travel writers based in North America or Britain enjoyed a comparatively large degree of freedom to write and publish what they wanted about Japan.[26]

The travel writers that I focus on here—Willard Price, Frank Clune, Carveth Wells, and Neill James—were not part of official group tours funded by official agencies for promotional purposes. Nor is there any evidence they were employed directly by the Japanese government, though cases of travel writers paid to write positive reports do exist.[27] Indeed, in terms of opinions and itineraries these travelers/writers argue strongly for their independence: "Unlike [the Russian] Intourist, the Japanese Tourist Bureau arranges for you to visit the places you yourself desire to see."[28] Yet their routes bear striking resemblance not

23 See Yamamoto 2012, pp. 49–51. Important exceptions, inevitably, exist. The photojournalist magazine *NIPPON* contains an article in vol. 27 (1941) called "I Paint the War" by Fujita Tsuguharu 藤田嗣治 (also, Léonard Tsuguharu Foujita) that includes paintings of the Japanese army, navy, and air force in combat in China and, against Soviet troops, at the Battle of Nomonhan (Fujita 1941). It is succeeded by an article on Japanese nursery rhymes.

24 Yamamoto 2012, pp. 44–45.

25 See the 1933 *American Boy* tour described in Nakamura 2007.

26 See chapter 7 of O'Conner 2010.

27 On this practice, see Kushner 2006, pp. 40–43. According to Jacqui Murray (2004, p. 110), Clune's *Sky High to Shanghai* was ghostwritten by friend and longtime editor, P. R. "Inky" Stephenson, who became increasingly known in the late 1930s for his anti-Semitic, pro-German, and pro-Japanese views. There is no evidence to suggest Stephenson received payment for services from Japan, though in 1942 he was arrested on the basis of fascist sympathies by Australian military intelligence and interned for the course of the war (Munro 1992).

28 Wells 1940, p. 42.

only to each other but also to officially-conceived itineraries, and these repetitions suggest extra-personal guidance, above and beyond that found in mass tourism more generally. Officials from Japan Tourist Bureau, South Manchuria Railway Company (Minami Manshū Testudō 南満洲鉄道, or SMR), and other agencies accompany travelers, shaping routes and interpreting what is seen. Some travelers appear to like this. Frank Clune writes his "appreciation of the courtesies afforded to me throughout my journey by the Japanese Foreign Office officials in Sydney and Tokyo in glad-handing a stranger."[29] But travelers such as Neill James see this guidance as a curtailment of privileges.[30]

In addition, their tours of Japan largely follow the itineraries given in the introductory chapters of authorized guidebooks and pamphlets. Independently-produced Anglophone guidebooks had monopolized the Japan travel scene throughout the Meiji period. However, as Oikawa Yoshinobu describes in his essay in this special issue, by the 1930s, the production of English-language tourist information for Japan and empire had become increasingly dominated by public agencies in Japan, and this allowed the government to exercise a large degree of control over tourist routes and ways of seeing. Certainly, in the travelogues analyzed below, all the travelers follow the standard itinerary of must-see places found in *An Official Guide to Japan* (1933), calling at some combination of Yokohama, Tokyo, Nikko, Hakone, Gifu, Kyoto, and Osaka.[31] Even the purported "off-the-beaten-track" trips to Hokkaido made by James and Wells are covered in the later Hokkaido section of the guidebook, as well as tourist literature such as the Japan Tourist Bureau's pamphlet entitled (unsurprisingly) *Touring Japan: Off Beaten Track* (1934). Subsequently, when these travelers leave Japan to begin their tours of the continental empire, they follow the same routes as the official tours of the empire organized by the Board of Tourist Industry, journeying from Shimonoseki to Busan (Pusan), north through the Korean Peninsula into Manchuria and North China, before returning to Japan.

Mobility and the Writing of Empire: "Escap[ing] this […] dusty rush"

These travels are thus structured, not only in accordance with explicitly touristic motivations, but also by dominant narratives of imperial space and time in 1930s Japan. Much as a steamship journey from London via Gibraltar, Suez, Ceylon, and Singapore to Hong Kong worked for many contemporary British travelers, showcasing the West–East expanse of the imperial maritime network, a journey from Honshu to Hokkaido, across to the continent and back enacts the spatial and temporal relations of Japanese imperialism. These tours offered a firsthand experience of the chronology of territorial accretion from the early Meiji period, and the seemingly easy connections between these territories that existed as a result of expansion, echoing the imperial tourism industry's promotion of the empire as "a border-less space" for Japanese travelers.[32] In this way, these Anglophone texts buttress on a structural, narrative level their often explicit expressions of praise about Japanese colonial development, especially transportation infrastructures.

29 Clune 1939, p. 38.

30 James 1942, p. 218.

31 Japanese Government Railways 1933, pp. ccvii–ccx. This was an updated version of volumes 2 and 3 of the multivolume *Guide to East Asia* published in 1914. On this guidebook, see Oikawa in this special issue. It was itself revised for the Board of Tourist Industry's *Japan: The Official Guide* (1941), the last full-length English-language guidebook to be published by Japanese agencies until the postwar.

32 McDonald 2017, p. 90.

In the context of tourism propaganda, Barak Kushner notes the important role that transportation technologies played in Japanese attempts to "prove that it was the most modern, most advanced, and strongest nation in Asia."[33] Western travelers like Clune, James, and Wells who made the journey from Shimonoseki to Busan by ferry, from Busan to Keijō on the *Akatsuki* express train, and from Dalian to Xinjing on SMR's *Asia Express* write very highly of these services. About the ferry to Busan, James declares that "the interior of the upper first-class deck was a different world […] uncrowded, air-conditioned, spacious."[34] On the Asia Express, Clune notes how, "My comfortable seat in the glassed observation carriage at the rear gave me a splendid view of the flitting panorama of field, hill, and sea."[35] Travelers were thus treated to a corporeal—in terms of bodies moving through space, as well as bodily pleasure—demonstration of Japan's modernity, advancement, and strength: the travail taken out of travel, thanks to Japanese technology.

A more developed example of the way in which the narrativization of travel could reinforce imperial ideology is found in Willard Price's political travelogue, *Children of the Rising Sun*. Price followed a similar route to Clune, James, and Wells, and his lengthy, interlinked description of a series of plane journeys from Tokyo, over Korea, to Manchuria reveals the entanglement of the Western traveler within the material and imaginary infrastructures of Japanese imperialism particularly well. Tying distinct territories together like parts of a body, annihilating the distance that separates them through textual and transportive mobility, these passages posit Japanese dominion as an all-but-natural fact:

> A long arm has been flung across Asia. The actuating shoulder is Japan, the upper arm is Korea, the forearm is Manchuria and the fingers tap uneasily on the border-line of Russia.
>
> You are to fly the length of this arm. Beneath will unfold a panorama of Nipponese personality ranging from practical achievement to unspoken dream.
>
> Or if you wish to forget the personality that seeks to remake Asia, and merely enjoy the scenery, you will hardly find a trip on earth more picturesque than this jaunt along the volcanic backbone of Japan; above that perfect picture, the Inland sea, done in water colors; over the sails of the Straits; up through hermit Korea; and across sweeping Manchurian landscapes to the Russia drosky bells of Manchouli [Manzhouli].
>
> […] It is almost a relief to escape this city-in-the-making [Xinjing], whose dusty rush makes New York seems tranquil, and fly north along the track of the quondam Chinese Eastern Railway, now Manchukuo's by right of pressure and purchase from Russia, to the half-Russian city of Harbin. Then west, over the Hsingan [Xing'an] Mountains; over magnificent Mongol prairies teeming with vast herds of cattle or horse; over caravans of camels, moving across the roadless plains, like ships sailing by compass.
>
> Down, finally, at Manchouli on the Russian border.[36]

33 Kushner 2006, p. 44. See also Oikawa in this special issue.
34 James 1942, p. 246.
35 Clune 1939, p. 145.
36 Price 2013, pp. 73–93.

Bernard Schweizer discusses how "the strong imperative" to "take [political] sides" in the 1930s, while not necessarily followed without question by travelers, strongly inflected contemporary English travel writing.[37] Certainly, in texts by many of the most well-known travelers to wartime China, including Bertram, writers announce their alignment with the anti-Japanese cause clearly, as an ethical responsibility. In contrast, the writers analyzed in this essay write frequently of their detachment from politics in general or, differently, isolate the war in China as a localized, thus distant, event that does not concern them. For Neill James, the Japanese occupation of North China "was not my affair"; Frank Clune does not "care who's who, or what's what in politics, or who's right or who's wrong"; while Wells realizes early that "there were two diametrically opposed opinions of the Japanese, and the easiest way to start an argument that developed into a row, was to discuss the war in China"[38]—he chooses, for the most part, not to.

Similarly, Willard Price argues for his own neutrality. Though he acknowledges that bias is perhaps inevitable whether the writer realizes it or not, his text aims to be "neither pro-Japanese nor anti-Japanese."[39] And as he flies over Manchuria, he writes "there is no point in re-arguing here the right and wrong of Japan's occupation […] you may dismiss Japan's past action with 'I'm against it'; and devote yourself now to seeing what you can see—with candid eye and open mind."[40] Price's reasonable appeal for firsthand knowledge and journalistic objectivity is, however, compromised by the technology that delineates his perspective. The invention of the steam train, as Wolfgang Schivelbusch has explored, led to the mobilization of a previously static tourist gaze, in which the world became a series of sights which the traveler, separated from the landscape by the speed of the train, could enjoy in passing.[41] Arguably, this effect is intensified with early air travel. Price's "plane's eye view" (his chapter title) of the empire's stretch prioritizes panoramic spectacle over depth or, put differently, careful evaluation of the political situation. For both traveler and reader, "what you can see" from the air ends up evading the confusions and complications ("the dusty rush"), not least the "right and wrong of Japan's occupation," on the ground.

In this passage, *Children of the Sun* reveals a more fundamental intersection between Anglophone travel texts and wartime tourism propaganda than officially-organized itineraries and the accompaniment of guides. The very rhythm of Price's prose speeds the reader along in implicit analogy with the modern airplanes that Japanese technological and infrastructural development have provided for the traveler, while its recurrent tropes—comfort, speed, connection, luxury—are borrowed, whether consciously or not, from the rhetoric of official tourism advertising, as in the following line of copy from a February 1940

37 Schweizer 2001, p. 142.
38 James 1942, p. 293; Clune 1939, p. 352; Wells 1940, p. 25.
39 Price 2013, p. xiv.
40 Price 2013, p. 89.
41 Schivelbusch 2014, p. 63.

article in *Tourist*: "Who would not travel by a J.A. [Japan Airways] plane, with a pretty air-hostess at his elbow and a constant flow of lovely scenery beneath?"[42]

"According to the local guide-book"

Similar convergences in representational language and imagery occur elsewhere in these travel texts as well. Frank Clune is quite open about his frequent, apparently uncritical and unironic, quotations from official tourist literature: "According to the local guide-book: The Manchurian incident was started by the insolent explosion of the railway track near the North Barracks, which was executed by the Chinese Regular Soldiers stationed at the North Barracks."[43] But, as travelers often attempted to differentiate their travels/writing from those of other tourists, this level of candor is uncommon. More typical is Neill James, who—without mention of her sources—appears to borrow from official guides when describing cormorant fishing in Gifu or, as below, traveling by train past (and not actually calling at) the shrines at Ise:

> This district is famous because one of the two national shrines of Japan is situated between the two cities. On occasions of national importance, such as the declaration of war or the signing of an important treaty, the Emperor travels from his palace in Tokyo to report the matter to the Spirit of his Ancestress, the Sun Goddess to whom the Shrines of Ise are dedicated. In simplicity the unpainted shrines represent the archaic Japanese architecture which prevailed before the introduction of the Chinese style of temple structure, the crossed beams on the roof and wooden frames being patterned after structures of pre-historic Japan.[44]

A comparison of James' explanation of the Ise shrines with the following passage taken from *An Official Guide to Japan* reveals unmistakable similarities in tone, details, and phrasing:

> The Naikū is dedicated to Amaterasu-Ōmikami, the Sun Goddess, who is regarded as the Ancestress of the Imperial House of Japan […]. The Shrines, which are unpainted, are constructed of hinoki (Japanese cypress) from the Crown forests in the Kiso mountains. In form they represent the archaic Japanese style that prevailed before the introduction of Chinese architecture, the crossbeams on the roof and the wooden

42 Joya 1940, p. 2. On aviation, tourism, and the Japanese empire, see Ruoff 2010, pp. 113–14. Until its postwar boom, air travel was too expensive for most recreational travelers, and though associated in the public imagination with the rich and famous (and related tropes of leisure and luxury), in the British Empire it was used mainly for work by government officials and businessmen. However, as Gordon Pirie (2009) convincingly argues, all air travel in the 1930s was to some degree "air touring" and all air passengers "sightseers" (p. 55), whatever their final destination or motivation—the relatively low flying altitude, as well as the novelty of aerial views, meant that scenery on the ground was unlikely to be ignored, and the need for frequent refueling turned intermediary colonial stopovers into sites of luxury, exotic, and adventure tourism, even if just for a few hours. Willard Price's writing of the air journey from Tokyo to Manzhouli illustrates these features well.

43 Clune 1939, p. 165.

44 James 1942, p. 242.

> frames on the top being after the pattern of prehistoric structures, uninfluenced by Chinese design.[45]

In the case of imperial tourism by travelers from metropolitan Japan or colonial tourism to the metropole by travelers from colonized lands, accounts often reveal a great deal of pre-knowledge about the places visited, and visitors actively engage with and sometimes even challenge the underlying or dominant meaning of sites, as shown by McDonald.[46] Though their itineraries are often similar, the Anglophone travelers analyzed in this paper, by contrast, usually lack detailed understanding of what they see, and only rarely question or complicate the official line.

The Oriental Exotic Reconfigured

The replication of nationalist framing of tourist sites as well as other sites in these travel accounts extends also to the means by which cultural difference—between Japan and the West, and between Japan and continental neighbors—is produced. Carveth Wells, in a well-established convention, finds traces of the exotic picturesque in the interior, especially at the Ainu village in Shiraoi, and in Gifu, when cormorant fishing. Frank Clune, in *Sky High to Shanghai*, offers a typical first impression of arrival in Japan: "Cherry Blossom Land."[47] Neill James is more effusive in her praise. At the beginning of *Petticoat Vagabond*, she writes that Japan is "fairylike […] a traveller's dream of a beautiful land. I love the charming landscapes, the grace and symmetry of her famous Sacred Mountain."[48] In closing her account, she turns again to "Fujiyama […] sacred symbol of the lofty, beautiful, ephemeral and artistic spirit that is Japan."[49]

In addition, these exoticist impulses carry through to travelers' continental travels as well. Again, *Petticoat Vagabond* provides some particularly fruitful episodes. In Korea, after praising the modern development of Keijō under Japanese rule, James heads off the beaten track (in her own words) to Heijō in search of traditional Korea:

> The best place to see native life is in the public market place. Beneath white canopies stretched across an area between red-tiled buildings, vendors gathered daily and spread their wares. Whenever I think of Korea, I think of white, clean white. Both men and women at the market were clad in freshly starched grass linens, the swinging cars and voluminous skirts were a sea of billowing white […][50]

In these passages, James offers examples of timeless, unchanging "native life" as proof of an authentic travel experience: her discovery of a "real Korea of old days" still untouched by

45 Japanese Government Railways 1933, p. 380. Tellingly, the later edition of the guidebook begins with a more forthright expression of divine lineage: "The Naikū is dedicated to the Goddess Amaterasu-Ōmikami, who is the Ancestor of the Imperial House of Japan […]" (Board of Tourist Industry 1941, p. 635). Noting this revision underlines the more-unusual gendering of "ancestress" found in both quotes above, and thus points to a direct (uncited) quotation on James' part.

46 McDonald 2017, p. 47.

47 Clune 1939, p. 34.

48 James 1942, p. 22.

49 James 1942, p. 310.

50 James 1942, p. 258.

modernization, unsullied by other tourists.[51] For this claim to be convincing, however, James must occlude her Japanese guides, as well as other signs of colonial presence and power, from the narrative.

Travel representations of precisely this kind are common enough in Western orientalist writing, but the specific context in which they are employed here proposes new import. While the seemingly clear-cut binaries, and spatial, temporal, hierarchical and other divisions central to orientalism are visible, these no longer function—or not primarily or effectively, at least—to justify Western authority to represent and rule Eastern others. During the period 1937–1941, this authority was being materially contested, of course, not least through the continuing expansion of imperial Japan into areas of previously-Western spheres of influence. On a symbolic level as well, there were explicit attempts to experiment with new modes of representation in other travel writing about the region; but, as noted in the introduction, this rhetorical experimentation is not obviously on display in most of the Japan-based texts analyzed here. In these accounts, Western orientalist discourse is challenged in a quite different way, in the interplay between exoticist images found in nationalist tourism propaganda in Japan and Anglophone travel representations. Orientalist signs of difference between West–East are not abandoned here: rather, this intertextual exchange implies the replacement of one imperialism with another, resignifying these signs for new political purposes. In short, these texts' exoticization of Japan and its colonial possessions conforms with state-sanctioned promotions of the oriental nation and harmonious relations throughout the multicultural empire; and this benign image works to temper critical readings of colonial and military expansion on the continent, much as tourism strategists hoped.

Picturing the "War"

According to these travel accounts, Japanese territories on the continent—like the main islands—are ideal destinations for the pleasure-seeking tourist. Japanese rule is shown to be deeply transformative (in terms of improvements to transportation, urban planning, health, education and industry, and so on) and, at the same time, immensely unobtrusive, leaving authentic landscapes and lifestyles in Korea, Manchuria, or North China untouched and ready for the off-the-beaten-tracks exploration of visitors. The choice of photographs in these accounts typifies this representative strategy well. As readers, we know that photography of all kinds, including tourist photography, was carefully policed by Japanese and colonial authorities; the limitations on what and where could be photographed is a common travel complaint, and Frank Clune, Neill James, and Carveth Wells all write of run-ins with the police about the issue.[52] Yet, looked at alone, the photographs in the published texts reveal nothing about this process of censorship. Rather, the messages they transmit are very much in line with official propaganda, of peaceful coexistence across the empire, exotic customs, and effective modern developments. A particularly evocative, but by no means unusual, example is found in Wells' *North of Singapore*, which offers two pages of photographs to accompany his travels in wartime China. In these, Beijing (Peking) is given as a sign of traditional, touristic China, while the glamourous, bustling, cosmopolitan Bund works

51 James 1942, pp. 258 and 254.
52 Clune 1939, pp. 70–77; James 1942, p. 87; Wells 1940, pp. 59–60.

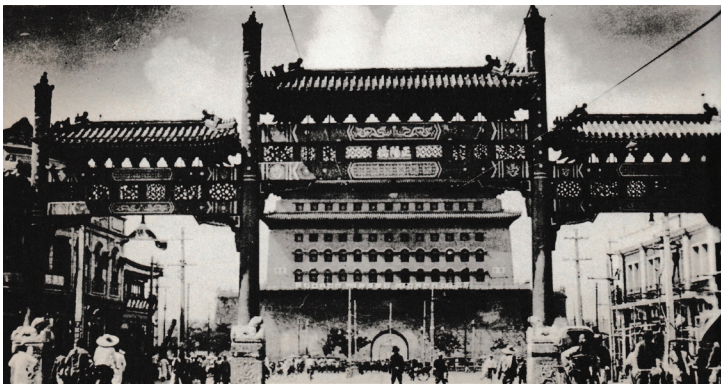

Figure 2. Photograph of occupied Beijing (Peking) from *North of Singapore*, accompanied by the caption: "Peking still looks the way you think China should look, and it's fascinating." Wells 1940.

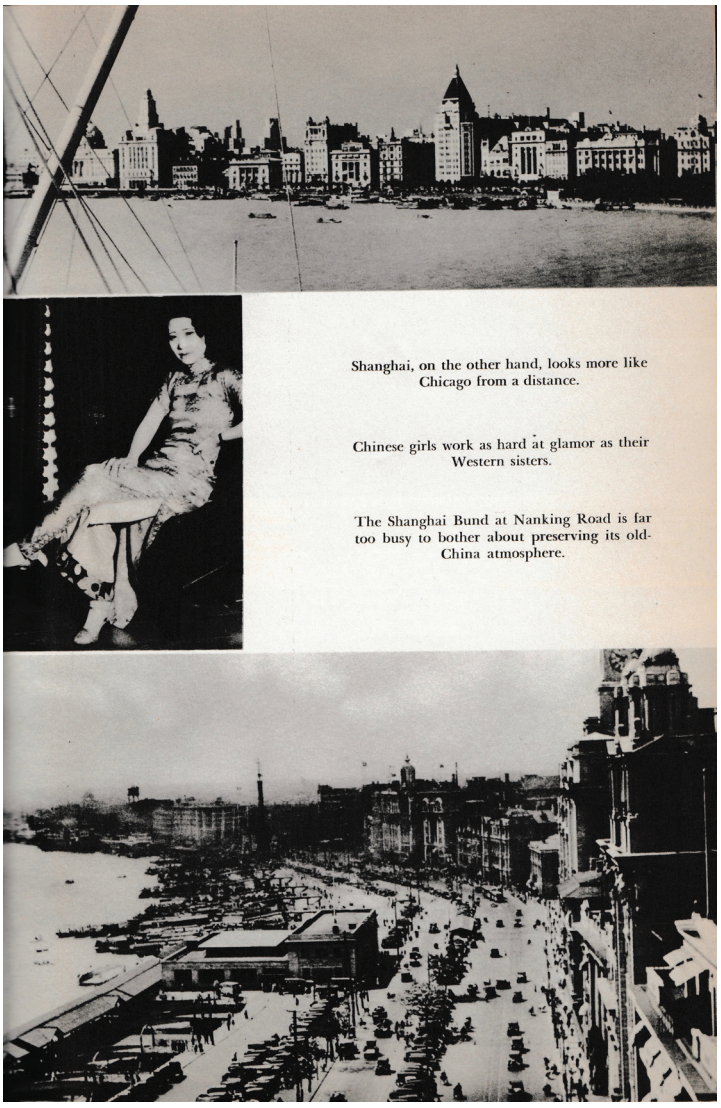

Figure 3. Photographs of Shanghai, given as Beijing's antithesis, from *North of Singapore*. In this dialectic production of touristic "modern" versus "tradition," the war gets overlooked. Wells 1940.

Figure 4. The most explicitly war-related image of China in *Sky High to Shanghai*, a grainy photograph entitled "Shanghai—Japanese soldiers deployed in the streets." Clune 1939.

as synecdoche for occupied Shanghai (figures 2 and 3). Of these texts, it is only *Sky High to Shanghai*, perhaps unexpectedly considering the general tenor of Clune's account, that illustrates a visit to China with obviously war-related images (figure 4).

Evidently, photography in these particular wartime travel texts is neither a form of socially-engaged documentary, recording what has happened in war so that it is not forgotten, nor a critical commentary on the language and ethics of war reporting as a distanced observer.[53] Rather, in correspondence with the tone, content, and infrequency of explicit statements about the conflict in China that are made in these accounts, photography can be understood as part of a process of occluding either the war as a whole or, more specifically, a Chinese perspective on it.

Home Front Japan

In that these accounts all begin in Japan, or on the way there on a Japanese-owned vessel, travelers first encounter the war from the perspective of the Japanese home front. Carveth Wells, making the crossing from San Francisco to Yokohama on the NYK ocean liner *Asama Maru* in July 1939, writes that most of the other first-class passengers are Japanese. The hospitality they receive on the ship includes not only excellent laundry and cleaning services, and entertainment at sukiyaki and *hanami* parties on deck, but also private explanations of the invasion of China that mirror official proclamations.

In many cases, however, the war is not a frequent topic in travelers' writing of their Japan tours. When it does come up, emphasis is usually placed on the effects of the war on Japanese domestic and social life, focusing on everyday depravations and sacrifices. The rationing of gasoline, food, and clothing is frequently described, as are common civilian

53 These functions of contemporary travel photography are discussed in relation to writing about the Spanish Civil War and the second Sino-Japanese War in Bryant 1997 and Moynagh 2008, pp. 93–98.

responses to these restrictions, such as the emergence of black markets and the development of *sufu* スフ, a staple-fiber made of wood pulp which quickly disintegrates upon washing. While rationing of some kind or another had been "a fixture of life in Japan since 1938," in many of these texts it is approached as a novel object for the tourist gaze, though even then it is soon put aside in favor of more conventional sightseeing spots.[54] The difference here with contemporaneous travelogues by "political tourists," to use Maureen Moynaugh's term, is striking.[55] Carl Randau and Leane Zugsmith, who begin their long Pacific tour in Japan, spend chapter after chapter describing the war's negative effects on the Japanese home front: rationing, but also the suppression of critical voices, imprisonment of dissidents, contraction of wages, and restrictions on social life.[56] Neill James, traveling in Japan in precisely the same period, discusses "War-Time Tokyo" in one early chapter before going on a tour of the "sub-Yoshiwara" red-light district.[57] It is almost as if they are describing different countries.

Travelers, it might be argued, focused primarily on the civilian effects of the war, or indeed avoided lengthy exposition of Japan-at-war, for the simple reason that military sites in Japan were almost entirely closed off to them. The rare encounters with soldiers that do take place on the home front are therefore used as a means to authenticate and authorize travels and writing. The sending-off of soldiers to the battle front, and the return of the injured and war dead—these home-front rituals of the nation at war become the new back regions of tourism during this period, the valorized spaces and sights that the common visitor does not get to see:

> The vessel was drawn up alongside the wharf and the rest of the train passengers were already going aboard. Once again we rebelled and soon were rewarded by a sight that few foreigners have ever witnessed […]. Suddenly about a dozen soldiers marched up the gangplank. They were fully armed, carrying flags and walking very slowly and stiffly. Behind them in single file came more soldiers, but these were not armed. Around the neck of each man and suspended in front by means of white gauze, were three white boxes. Each box, about nine inches square and six inches deep, beautifully done up in snow white gauze, contained the ashes of a soldier who had been killed at the front […]. I have witnessed important military funerals in several countries, but this was the most impressive. It was obvious from the faces of the relatives that they were suffering deeply from the loss of their loved ones, but their dignity and control was remarkable. The expression on the faces of the soldiers who carried the ashes told a heartbreaking story.[58]

In detailing the sacrifices being made for the war in Japan, these writers rarely attempt to make a wider point about war suffering or responsibility, in contrast to James Bertram, who tries to construct transnational links between Japanese and Chinese workers on the basis of shared exploitation. Instead, such descriptions of the home front produce a largely

54 Yamashita 2015, p. 14.
55 Moynaugh 2008.
56 Randau and Zugsmith 2013, pp. 3–111.
57 James 1942, pp. 4–10.
58 Wells 1940, pp. 52–53.

empathetic view of the war as experienced in the interior of Japanese society, which leads in turn to a sympathetic framing of the war as it is conducted by the military outside Japan.

Wartime China: "an atmosphere of peace and calm"

When travelers leave Japan and journey, via Korea and Manchuria, to North China, they enter into areas of military occupation and recent conflict where it might be expected they come face-to-face with the most visible, most violent consequences of the war for the first time in their travels. However, as the use of illustrative photographs typifies, texts tend to limit discussions of the war's effects in China through a variety of means. Some travelers, for example, shift the focus back to conventional tourist activities such as souvenir shopping and sightseeing:

> Leaving this atmosphere of war [at the Marco Polo Bridge], we returned to Peking. At the Tung Hsing Lou Tavern, we engulfed pigeon-egg soup, shark's fin sautè and bamboo-shoots, and then, feeling philosophic, we rickshaw past the glittering tiled palaces and temples of the Inner City, to an atmosphere of peace and calm at the Shrine of Confucius.[59]

This is a very similar rhetoric to that used in travel articles published in the English-language *Tourist* during the same period. The war disappears from view, and tropes of harmony, relaxation and, crucially, "peace" come into play as the defining features of this travel site, as in this concluding sentence from a 1940 article on Beijing: "We have found the spirit of Peking, impervious to change, yet kindly and benevolent, proud and peaceful."[60]

At other times, authors offer explanation of military intervention, its progress and rationale, that fit the official narratives in Japan, such as the fight against communism, the bringing of law and order to a failed state, or the problem of "Chinese trickery" in warfare.[61] In addition, travelers also play down the effects of the war by underlining (cultural, geographical, historical) alterity in Chinese experiences of, and responses to, death and destruction. "In endless ways," writes Carveth Wells after witnessing massive flooding around Tianjin, "the Chinese are different from us."[62] In these accounts, China's war with Japan is understood as just another point on an endlessly revolving cycle of disaster: "And so they survive, changeless amidst cataclysms, wars, famines, floods, droughts, pestilence and banditry—the eternal sons and daughters of Han."[63] In naturalizing the second Sino-Japanese War, questions about the war's causes, the possibility of solidarity with its victims, or ethical arguments for an active response are bypassed. Travelers such as Wells detach their impressions of the war in China from their impressions of Japan as travel site, thereby buttressing the pacific image of Japan given in promotional campaigns aimed at international tourists, as well as providing evidence for the efficacy of tourism as an instrument of cultural diplomacy during wartime.

59 Clune 1939, p. 242. For other examples, see Wells (1940, pp. 98–99) and James (1942, pp. 299 and 301).
60 Weld 1940, p. 13. See also articles about Shanghai in the May 1940 and Hangzhou in the March 1941 editions of *Tourist*.
61 James 1942, p. 300. See also Wells (1940, p. 97).
62 Wells 1940, p. 94.
63 Clune 1939, p. 234. See also James on the "many masters" of Beijing through its history (1942, p. 295).

Conclusion: On and Off Propaganda's Beaten Tracks

In the final chapter of *Petticoat Vagabond in Ainu Land*, Neill James recounts her journey back to Japan from wartime Beijing to Moji: "I was back in Japan once again. How green and beautiful and friendly was Japan."[64] The trope of safe homecoming, though a conventional one in travel writing, is here employed somewhat ambiguously in relation to Japan, the familiar-yet-exotic place that literally and figuratively frames James' travels/text: Japan is the point of departure and return for her tour, the location where her travelogue starts and ends, and a significant influence on James' writing of the region and its politics. James Bertram also finds Japan a relief from the discomforts, dangers, and horrors of the battle front in China's northwest, as seen in the passage cited at the beginning of this essay; but, acknowledging its propagandistic potential, he fights against the pull of a harmonizing touristic gaze:

> Would they sit so placidly, these well-fed passengers, I wondered, if they looked out from their windows not on quiet towns and sunny orchards, but on a depopulated countryside, haunted by the shapes of grossly-fattened dogs (only the dogs fed well in China, these days), while thirty million people fled westwards to escape the "friendly" Japanese armies? I wanted to bring this picture into that crowded railway carriage, the real picture of the war….
>
> But people in Japan saw only another picture, as I realised when I took up some of the illustrated magazines from the tourist car. Here were coloured photographs of Soochow [Suzhou] and Hangchow [Hangzhou], Japanese officers boating on the lake, Japanese soldiers feeding sweets to children, Chinese peasants waving the flag of the Rising Sun to greet their conquerors. It was a lie, just as the tranquil and prosperous air of these islands was a lie. But how many Japanese knew that?[65]

Bertram is fairly explicit here about the dangers of hospitality (in the touristic sense, and in terms of a welcome offered to guests, visitors, and strangers) as a means of cooption. Exploring the concept of hospitality in terms of self/other encounter, Jacques Derrida has argued that the selection of "those to whom [the hosts] decide to grant […] the right of visiting" is an act of power that affirms "the sovereignty of oneself over one's home."[66] Read thus, the selection of tourist visitors by Japanese authorities during the second Sino-Japanese War may be understood as a calculated welcome that aims to incorporate visitors within the host's vision of the world.

As explored above through the analysis of Anglophone travelogues, this use of international tourism as propaganda, a means of promoting a particular vision of the world, was often a success. Whatever travelers' avowed affiliations may have been at a formal and narrative level, their texts are largely positive about Japan, representing it as a benign travel destination and the war itself as an often distant, disconnected event. Employing travel writers—whether directly or not—had the potential for official messages to reach a much

64 James 1942, p. 309.
65 Bertram 1939, p. 492.
66 Derrida 2000, p. 55.

wider audience than simply through the travels of individual tourists, via the production of popular and widely-read books.

Yet there are obvious limits to the shaping of travel responses by tourism propaganda. Primarily, the capacity of official agencies to guide travels and texts outside of Japan or the colonies was, of course, much reduced. Certainly, travelogues from Republican China by Auden and Isherwood, Robin Hyde, and others reveal very different perspectives on the conflict. Second, tourism propaganda had to struggle against other types of information about the war, a struggle which it lost in the end. As Peter O'Conner argues in reference to news sources, the "contradiction between shocking but highly newsworthy events on the ground [in China] and the case Japan advanced to justify its agenda" meant that Japanese propaganda gained little influence over Western readers even after the Foreign Ministry (Gaimushō 外務省) secured control over English-language press networks in East Asia during the period 1937 to 1941.[67] The same might be suggested for tourism as well: conflicting information about the progression of the war in China made the touristic image of Japan a much harder sell internationally.

And even in the case of Japan-based travels, travelers/writers were free to go off the beaten tracks mapped out in official promotions. In *North China Front*, James Bertram bookends his travels/text with Japan, and he writes of his enjoyment of the natural landscape and urban attractions, but nevertheless aligns himself politically and poetically against the Japanese military state. In contrast to Frank Clune, for example, Bertram's text makes explicit the connection not only between what is happening on the battle front in China and the home front in Japan, but also between China's home front and that in Japan, bringing an "other" perspective on the war into the "tranquil and prosperous air of these islands." Elsewhere too, Bertram undermines the rigid, nationalist framing of tourist sites. Describing cormorant fishing in Gifu, he makes no mention of the imperial connections or ancient pedigree central to guidebook (and Neill James') explanations, but instead resignifies it as a sign of the exploitative economics behind Japanese militarism. Later, he proposes a new "must see" stop on the tourist itinerary: the "coolie" laborers at Moji who "were coaling our vessel. This is one of the sights of Japan (only less celebrated than Mount Fuji, and more visible)."[68] In these passages, Bertram not only fortifies himself against cooption by hospitality, but makes hospitality work in other, challenging ways. Like uninvited guests brought into Japan from the Chinese side of the battle lines, his counter-narratives on the war unsettle—intratextually at least—the sovereignty of nationalist narratives and images in propaganda.

Stacy Burton has argued that the "calamitous wartime of total war muddies conventional distinctions between witnesses who bear immediate knowledge and spectators who watch from a distance, reporters who experience war as it happens and travelers who view its prelude or aftermath."[69] Bertram makes this "muddying" of the boundaries separating combatant and noncombatant, spectator and witness, observer and participant, the subject and aim of *North China Front*; and he insists on the violence of the war as a collective experience, from which there can be no fully justifiable escape. In contrast not

67 O'Conner 2010, pp. 313–14.
68 Bertram 1939, pp. 13 and 39.
69 Burton 2014, p. 124.

just to Bertram, but also to most of the wartime travel texts picked up in recent scholarship, Clune, James, Wells, and Price appear to struggle little with the political or representational challenges of writing about and traveling to war. On the evidence of their travelogues, they do not see the role of travel and writing in terms of a "witness to violence," nor do they feel the need to "push narrative strategies to the limit to write the inarticulable and represent the incomprehensible."[70] Rather, it is the opposite. As the above reading has shown, their texts either occlude wartime violence, or localize and naturalize it as a problem of the East, a distant and different place "'replete with problem and tragedy.'" To put it another way, when faced with the "world-unmaking event" of total war, these texts turn to the representational frame of orientalism as a means to order the world and the war in an already-familiar way: they make an unprecedented moment precedent.

To this extent, this essay supports arguments previously made by Porter, Barkawi, and Stanski on orientalism and war. In addition, however, it suggests a second reading: that these travelogues were, at the same time, willing or unwilling participants in a wide-scale discursive repurposing of Western orientalism that was being actively managed by Japanese state and nonstate actors via a diverse range of cultural practices and events in the 1930s and early 1940s, including but not limited to inbound tourism and its promotion. In these attempts to positively shape the image of Japan on the international stage, and counter negative reporting of Japanese militarism, there is a complicity between Western orientalist discourses and Japanese self-representations, as signs and sites of exotic difference, traditional customs, and the picturesque become the centerpiece of tourism marketing campaigns and tours, for example.

In thus arguing that orientalist discourse supports modern Japanese imperialism as well as European imperialism, this essay contributes to the understanding of two still-understudied imperial travel practices, namely, visitors from one empire in another, and inter-imperial cooperation.[71] Although relations between Japan and the main European powers with colonial empires in the region were, by the 1930s, in a process of deterioration that would result in war, the above reveals not only competition and rivalry but also ideational exchange. Previous comparative research on Japanese colonial discourse from a postcolonial studies perspective has explored the processes of adaptation and mimicry that translated tropes of savagery and primitivism into the discursive space of Japanese colonialism.[72] This essay expands on this, showing how other tropes could be utilized for different audiences and different purposes. In this case, stereotypes culled from the transnational archive of the touristic (oriental) exotic are aimed at an Anglophone audience to obfuscate the workings, in particular militarism and its violence, of Japanese imperial power rather than exhibit or justify them.

As historians of the Japanese empire have explored in recent years, tourism within the empire was a technology that produced "affective ties" of citizens to colonized lands and colonized subjects to the metropole.[73] It worked as a form of "self-administered citizenship training" by which people were "mobilized and mobilize[d] themselves behind the

70 Burton 2014, p. 126.
71 See, for example, Oppenheim 2005 and Clarke 2009 on this practice.
72 See, for example, Tierney 2010.
73 McDonald 2017, p. 16.

prevailing national ideology."[74] Yet the efficacy of tourism to create affective connections to the nation, to mobilize people behind a national ideology, is perhaps most tellingly revealed by the examples of the Anglophone travelers given above. These are independent, short-term visitors, over whom the disciplinary apparatus of the state can exert little, lasting control. For the most part, they have no deep ties to Japan, and they arrive at a time of rapidly deteriorating relations between Japan and their home countries. Nevertheless, at least as their travelogues record, the practice of touring Japan and its empire—planning routes, buying tickets, reading guidebooks, consulting maps, riding boats, trains, and planes, sightseeing, taking photographs, buying food, drink, and souvenirs, and writing accounts—worked on these travelers too, incorporating them, with few exceptions or challenges, into a Japanese nationalist vision of the second Sino-Japanese War and regional geopolitics.

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