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Publication Date

2015

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The Visible Translator:
Language and Identity in Meiji-period Japanese Travel Narratives

By

Orna Elizabeth Shaughnessy

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Japanese Language
in the
Graduate Division
of the
University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Alan Tansman, chair
Associate Professor Dan O'Neill
Professor Dorothy Hale

Spring 2015

Abstract
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In this dissertation I argue that the literary imagination of late nineteenth century Japanese travel narratives fixated on the figure of the translator as a model of success and mastery in the international forum who could bridge linguistic differences with aplomb. The figure of the translator during what I call ‘the moment of the translator’ from roughly the 1850s through the 1870s served a key purpose: he embodied a model of modern Japanese identity that could successfully move through international contexts, on Western terms, by means of his fluency in foreign languages. In chapter 1 I examine the multitude of historical figures who acted as translators in the late nineteenth century to argue that the cumulative force of their public stories created ‘the moment of the translator.’ In chapter 2 I consider one of the most popular fictional travel narratives to feature a translator figure: Kanagaki Robun's *Seiyôdôchû hizakurige*. Next, I consider the non-fictional travel writings and primers of Fukuzawa Yukichi to demonstrate how he implicitly models himself as a translator and successful participant in the international forum. I then turn to the travel writings of Nagai Kafû who wrote a generation later, and whose translator figure transforms into the figure of the wandering artist. Finally, I turn to the contemporary author Tawada Yôko to consider the subverted legacies of the translator figure, who comes into view again in Tawada's transnational, multilingual fiction.

To my mother,
whose inspiring example and dauntless faith in my potential
profoundly sustains my work

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Acknowledgements

This dissertation is the product of effort, sacrifice and support from many wonderful people and institutions. It is my honor to acknowledge and thank them all here.

Thank you to my advisor Alan Tansman, inspiring model of scholar and teacher, who with great humor and unapologetic high standards for both intellectual inquiry and the language it is expressed in, tirelessly pushed for ever greater work from me. Without his guidance this dissertation would never have existed.

I deeply appreciate and recognize the work of my teachers at Berkeley: H. Mack Horton and Susan Matisoff, who gave me a foundation in Classical Japanese and a sense of what is possible in the art and craft of translation. Dan O'Neill guided my education through numerous seminars and the final drafting of the dissertation. Dorothy Hale graciously supported my interest in the study of the novel in differing national traditions and provided insightful and substantive feedback in the final stages of the dissertation. Andrew Barshay deepened my understanding of Japanese proletarian literature and guided my studies through qualifying examinations.

I must thank those who supported me during my Fulbright term of dissertation research in Tokyo, especially Takagi Gen, Tanikawa Keiichi, and the Research Fellows at the National Institute for Japanese Literature. My understanding and appreciation of the works of Kanagaki Robun hugely benefited from Kobayashi Minoru's careful tutelage. I am very grateful to the logistical and moral support provided by Tokyo offices of the Japan-U.S. Educational Commission (Fulbright Japan) and its executive director, David Satterwhite. Thank you to Robert Campbell for allowing me to participate in coursework at the University of Tokyo.

I thank Paula Varsano, whose generous advocacy and graceful professionalism as Graduate Advisor for the Department of Languages & Literatures allowed me to complete this dissertation. I thank Jan Johnson, Natasha Wild, and the administrative staff of the department of East Asian Languages & Cultures, for their good will and prowess in negotiating the rules and paperwork that attend and shape a graduate student's career.

Thank you to the librarians of Berkeley's C.V. Starr East Asian Library, especially Ishimatsu Yuki, Kobayashi Tomoko, and Bruce Williams, whose expertise and cordiality and made this superlative library's treasures more accessible and intelligible to me.

I thank my sempai Janice Kanemitsu, an unparalleled model of passionate intellectual engagement, for her mentoring and friendship every step of the way. I am grateful for the friendship of my cohort in the graduate program at Berkeley, especially Zeli Rivas, Miyabi Yamamoto, Hanako Weinberger (née Asakura) and Patrick Noonan, whose camaraderie and intellectual stimulation profoundly enhanced my education.

Thank you to the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities for support in the form of a year-long fellowship. I am also grateful for the numerous grants from the Department of East Asian Languages & Cultures over the duration of my graduate studies. I benefited from grants supporting graduate students through the Center for Japanese Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

My community of friends and neighbors in the San Francisco Bay Area, especially Marcia Barahona, Gretchen Carlson and Richard Morgan, have, for this entire process, staunchly supported me in both material and spiritual ways, for which I am profoundly grateful.

My deepest thanks go to the members of my family, who have supported me with tireless optimism at every step of my education. Thank you to my husband Komang and daughter Hannah, for your profound generosity and resilience. Thank you to my late father, who nurtured my earliest engagements with literature and believed in the life-altering value of education. I am so grateful to Stephen Og for the material and practical support of my education that came when it counted the most. I appreciate Eric's calm good cheer throughout this long process. To my mother, whose support is so profound and multi-faceted that I find it hard to enumerate, I dedicate this dissertation.

Introduction: The Moment of the Translator

It is an oft-repeated commonplace that Japan's Meiji period (1868-1912) was a time of profound change, setting the foundations for Japan's modernization, from technological innovations to military invasions. What kinds of fantasies does a nation imagine for itself in the face of epochal change? In the case of Japan in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, in which the source and impetus for the change was perceived to lie in "the West" and the foreign, I argue that the literary imagination in travel narratives fixated on figures of success and mastery in the international forum who could bridge linguistic differences with aplomb; in short: the translator. Once 'the West' became both the reason for the changes, and the guiding model of the transformations, the Japanese reading public became, for a short duration of time that I call 'the moment of the translator,' fixated on the figure of the translator in literature, especially in travel narratives and other literature concerning the world beyond Japan's shores. The figure of the translator for this moment from roughly the 1850s through the 1870s served a key purpose: he (and it was always a 'he') embodied a model of modern Japanese identity that could successfully move through international contexts, on Western terms, by means of his fluency in foreign languages.

But what details of representation allow this translator to become a model Japanese identity in the early Meiji literary imagination? As literary scholar Okitsu Kaname argues, the figure of the general expert on foreign subjects, represented in cultural production throughout the nineteenth century, crystalizes into an expert in foreign languages in the early Meiji period:

The literary figure of the foreign expert, who looks at marvelous things of the new age while strolling about, is portrayed as a figure of unrestrained freedom against the background of *Bunmei Kaika* enlightenment mores. With this literary style a confidence can be felt that with just a *fluency in foreign languages* the contemporary moment and the future glow rose-colored.¹ (emphasis added)

Okitsu Kaname astutely observes that, among the constellation of attributes of this new literary figure, the key skill of expertise in foreign languages transforms the more generic *yōgaku* foreign expert into the confident and optimistic figure of the translator, as the italicized passage in my translation above emphasizes. Enhancing this language expert, the figure is represented as handsomely attired, and as strolling down the boulevard as if a peer to the white male colonialist who can move through urban space with unfettered movement. This dissertation will explore specific representations of the figure of the translator in early Meiji period travel narratives, arguing that the representations of the translator share common ground in appearance, deportment, and expertise, despite differences in authorial vision and genre.

In the Japanese literary imagination of the mid- to late-nineteenth century, intense narrative interest lies in the character of the translator because interpreting and translating

¹ Okitsu, *Kanagaki Robun*, 102-104. Translations are my own unless otherwise stated. Emphasis added.

are perceived as the means to access the modern, “Western” world. The trope of translation found in early Meiji travel narratives participates in producing a partially articulated, partially latent set of sensibilities and values in Meiji travel narrative generated by the demands of the early Meiji period to incorporate or otherwise cope with the new. This early Meiji sensibility included both a fascination with, and pervasive anxiety about, the new, foreign world as the dynamics of competing networks of imperialism worldwide became increasingly relevant to Japan. The figure of the translator emerges as a key hybrid figure able to integrate and master the many challenges brought on in the new international context.

The ‘moment of the translator,’ as I term it, exists from the end of the Bakumatsu ideological and pedagogical debates in the 1850s and 1860s that led up to the breakdown of the Tokugawa government in 1868, until the literary activities of the canonical writers of modern Japanese literature in 1880s (especially the publication of Futabatei Shimei’s *Ukigumo* in 1887-1889,) and in this moment, from roughly the 1850s through the 1870s, the translator, with his ability to bring things from one language to another, figures as the key to accessing modernity. During this ‘moment’ we see the trope of the translator emerge into view, recurring frequently in both non-fiction and fiction travel narratives. Translation itself, embodied in the figure of the translator, is the coveted site of knowledge through which the Japanese literary imagination gained entrance into the modern new world of the contemporary moment.

Translator figures in the real world seemed to be able to gain entrance to everything that was current and important in this ‘moment’; the literary imagination fed on news of the many historical figures whose translation work and embodied examples of success as world-traveling translators informed the intellectual debates and popular cultural production of the day. The Japanese reading public embraced the stories of numerous translator figures as models of identity to emulate. In the variation of representation of the translator figure in travel narratives, we see the tensions and contradictions pressuring the translator figure; the translator, in each individual variation, meets the challenge to participate in the modern sphere with a common set of traits that is revealing in how it imagines possible access to the modern, international sphere.

Among the various translator figures available to the public imagination, the most spectacularly flamboyant of these real-world translators may have been Tateishi “Tommy” Onojiro,² the 17-year old translator for the Iwakura mission to the United States (1871-1873) who captured the public's imagination with his bold impetuousness and charm. Nicknamed “Tommy” by the American press, he was reported to have exchanged love letters with one or several American women, posed for numerous photographs in various garb, and engaged in many other escapades to the delight of the reading public. Tateishi Onojiro is most memorable for the way in which he carried himself and interacted with upper levels of Western society while acting as interpreter for the Japanese delegates; he serves as one important source of inspiration for the figure of the translator as successful world traveler.

² For the sake of consistency and clarity, this dissertation uses the name Tateishi Onojiro, although this person used several names at different points in his life. For further information on Tateishi, see Masao, *As We Saw Them*, Kawashima, “America through Foreign Eyes” and Duus, *The Japanese Discovery of America*.

Nijima Jô also acted as a translator for the Japanese delegates of the Iwakura mission to the United States in 1872³ and later went on to found Doshisha University, and although he did not conduct himself with the exuberant lack of inhibition that Tateishi “Tommy” Onojirô did, his influential life-story of translation, travel and success contributed to the sense of the ‘moment of the translator’ by embodying yet another figure of model modern identity based on translation prowess. Easily counted as one of the several early Meiji “founding fathers” for his influential work in the world of higher education, and a giant in the world of Japanese Christianity, Nijima Shimeta, later Nijima Jô 新島襄, or Joseph Hardy Neesima, as he chose to call himself in English, “escaped” from Japan before 1868 when it was still illegal for Japanese to travel abroad. Under Tokugawa law the punishment was death for those who did, even by accident, such as shipwrecked fishermen, and thus Nijima’s retelling of his decision in 1864 to stow away onboard an American ship departing from Hakodate bound for China indeed reads like an adventurous escape with the most serious consequences at stake. He worked as an attendant to the Captain in lieu of payment while on board, in conditions that resembled indentured servitude and included physical beatings. The ship’s captain introduces him to prominent New England Protestants, who foster Nijima by paying for his education in English and Christianity, as well as providing introductions that will become valuable social contacts of benefit to Nijima in the years to come. His expertise in English gained him the position of attendant or advisor to officials of the Japanese government who were in the course of their own official study trips to America and Europe for the purpose of overhauling the Japanese state and creating the modern Japanese nation.

As with so many translators and interpreters, Nijima’s actual role in these official visits is often pushed to the edge of the narrative, and accounts of the mission have a tendency to render invisible the work of the translator. Nevertheless, we have fragmentary evidence to suggest that as an amorphously conceived “advisor” his expertise in one specific body of knowledge in particular becomes important: his command of the English language, and especially his culturally appropriate usage of English.⁴ In Nijima’s work we see the fluent exercise of social honorifics in English that

³ For more information on Nijima Jo, see his *Collected Works*, and Itô, ed. *Nijima Jô zenshû o yomu*. See Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 462-463, for a contemporary historian’s appraisal of Nijima’s role in the mission.

⁴Nijima recorded numerous examples of his own deployment as an interpreter in his journal, in which he transcribes correspondence he produced for the Iwakura mission. Nijima wrote the following correspondence on behalf of Tanaka Fujimaro, Commissioner of Education for the 1872-1873 Iwakura Mission, demonstrating his fluency in culturally appropriate English usage:

写 (*utsushi*, copy) of letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury

Tanaka the Japanese Commissioner of Education begs to inform the Archbishop of Canterbury that he accepted with pleasure the invitation with which he has been honored through the Bishop of Manchester to meet your grace on Sunday, 6th at 10:45 A.M.

will lend the visit by the Japanese Commissioner of Education the appropriate degree of dignity needed for diplomatic purposes. Such cultural fluency, despite the occasional grammatical error,⁵ demonstrates the particular area of expertise of the translator at this historical moment in which adept cultural negotiations in the target language garner prestige for the Japanese visiting party. Not only is English language fluency essential to the characteristics of the translator, but also a certain model of cultural mastery embedded in linguistic codes as well.

Nijima's choices in the way he chose to inhabit the role of translator reveal the tensions at play in the Japanese negotiation of an imperialist international forum. While other textual representations of the translator, such as Kanagaki Robun's fictional translator Tsujirô discussed in the next chapter of this dissertation, or the historical personage Tateishi "Tommy" Onojiro discussed above, confidently embody the colonialist's sense of mastery and entitlement, Nijima in his written documents in English, creates a self-portrait in that language of a humble, less than fully capable heathen convert who is infinitely deserving of Christian compassion and charity, but not a full peer to American Protestants. In Nijima's Japanese writings a different representation of himself as translator emerges, one that envisions his role as translator as an educator and expert, providing vital information for the good of the nation. This representation in Japanese of the masterful translator whose work supports Japanese nationalism, when contrasted with his representation in English of a self-deprecating heathen convert, allows us a glimpse of some of the pressures and assumptions at work between Americans and Japanese in the late 19th century, and to see the stakes involved in the representation of the translator in Japanese cultural production during the 'moment of the translator.'

Fukuzawa Yukichi, another translator and 'founding father' of Meiji Japan, did not appear to feel the sense of humility that Nijima's English language self-

(To His Grace The Archbishop of Canterbury. I beg to acknowledge the receipt to the letter to your grace dated - you are pleased to inform Tanaka and myself of appointment to meet his grace Archbishop of Canterbury on Saturday, July 6, 10:45 A.M.)

[*To the Bishop of Manchester*] We shall esteem it a high honor to be accompanied by you and will meet you at 9 Suffolk St. on the morning fixed at 10:20, as you have kindly suggested. I have written to the Archbishop of Canterbury informing him our intended call. (Nijima Jô, *Collected Works of Nijima Jô* 7, 66)

As the honorifics and use of the argot of officialdom in this passage demonstrate, Nijima's work clearly entails expertise in the target language of English as well as the American customs and usages of that language.

⁵ The editors of *Collected Works of Nijima Jô* have chosen to correct much of Nijima's grammatical mistakes, arguing in an extended passage in the "Introduction" to volume 7 that: "...there are numerous misspellings. If we add the *sic* sign to each misspelling, its number will overwhelm the page, and the common reader's patience will be broken... Thus we have...corrected Neesima's writing so far as misspellings, wrong concord (number, person, gender), unnecessary capitalization, unnecessary italics, etc. are concerned..." ("Introduction," *Collected Works* 7, i-ii)

representations broadcast, but in both men's self-representations in Japanese, Fukuzawa and Nijima communicate a sense of confidence in the central role that the translator plays in promoting Japanese national interests. Fukuzawa's writings, as chapter 3 of this dissertation will explore in greater detail, model an identity that is based on his representation of the translator as adept world traveler and peer to Westerners in an imperial context. As a best-selling author and hugely influential public figure in the Meiji period, Fukuzawa's textual representation of himself as a translator and model identity contributed profoundly to the onset of the 'moment of the translator.'

John Manjirō, also known as Nakahama Manjirō and as John Mung in English, worked as a translator on behalf of the Japanese government at several key points in the nineteenth century including negotiations with Commodore Matthew Perry on the Kanagawa treaty of 1854, and the 1860 Japanese Embassy to the United States. His professional persona as successful Japanese in the international arena hinged upon his identity as a translator, which transformed him from a semi-literate fisherman to high-ranking government advisor under the Tokugawa government.⁶ In fact, his work as a translator of English-language texts, as an interpreter for official government missions to the United States - both for the Tokugawa government and for the post-restoration government - and his work as a professor of English at Tokyo Imperial University, all formed his persona as a skilled translator able to seize opportunities and transform his role as a translator into great professional success. His adventurous and successful life has inspired several literary works,⁷ and his modeled identity contributed to a sense of the relevance and importance of the translator during the 'moment of the translator.'

Relevancy was in part based on successful social ascendancy, and translators were very visibly able to accomplish this leap. The rise from humble origins to influential positions in government, educational institutions, and society, legible in many representations of the translator, is especially clear in the case of Manjirō. The translator, most strikingly for those from humble backgrounds but even true for those from more privileged backgrounds, embodied the fast track to success at a time of great social change. Part of the key to that success lay in the link between translation work and careers in education; the figure of the translator was repeatedly associated with subsequent careers in education, often in the most prestigious institutions of higher learning in Japan: in Nakahama Manjirō's case, to what would become Tokyo Imperial University, in the case of Nishima Jō to Doshisha University, and in the case of Fukuzawa Yukichi, to Keio University. All three of these universities grew to take preeminent place in rankings of prestige and educational quality. To be a translator strongly implied possessing critical knowledge and skills that both augured for personal success, and needed to be taught to the next generation. There is thus an interpolative quality to the representation of the translator, in which the translator models how to successfully negotiate with the modern, Western world, and by doing so, teaches this identity to a Japanese reading audience.

⁶ For more information on Jon Manjirō, see Miyanaga, *Jon Man to yobareta otoko*, Nagakuni, ed. *Jon Manjirō no subete*, and Van Sant, *Pacific Pioneers*.

⁷ Among the most famous literary adaptations of Manjirō's story in the twentieth century is novelist Ibuse Masuji's 1937 historical novel *Jon Manjiro hyōryūki* (*John Manjiro, the Castaway: His Life and Adventures*.)

Before the 'moment'

Previous to this 'moment of the translator,' translation was, of course, necessary in encounters with foreign people and texts in centers of Dutch learning such as in Nagasaki.⁸ However, although necessary, the government and society at large regarded translation as a secondary kind of skill, of lesser importance than representations of practices of such as the "investigation of things" (*kakubutsu*.)⁹ The term for Nagasaki-based translators in the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) as merely "tongues" underscored this perception of the translator as peripheral and insignificant, indicating the low and strictly functional role they were perceived to perform in the transference of knowledge from Dutch and other foreign sources to Japanese.¹⁰ The translator himself, although crucial to this transfer of knowledge, was neither glamorous nor noteworthy, and does not play a significant role in texts that create an imaginative space for the new and the foreign, such as the works of Hiraga Gennai.¹¹ Similarly, translation does not play a significant role in travel literature written for a general audience in the Tokugawa period. As has been widely noted by scholars, travel literature was immensely popular, but the *hizakurige* "Rambles" travel narratives of Jippensha Ikku, for example, find translation and the translator unnecessary, although the text exploits regional differences in dialect for comedic effect with great relish. The figure of the translator forms a lacuna in the literary imagination of the period before the 1850s because he is considered merely a functional accessory, inessential to either travel adventures or worldly success.

This sense of the mere functionality of translators, the way that the literary imagination does not fully acknowledge them or render them visible in the midst of language transactions, transcends single cultures or historical periods. Translation studies scholar Mona Baker persuasively claims that "existing narratological models tend to overlook the discursive presence of the translator"¹² in order to focus on the pre-translation text. Baker describes the ways in which literary texts often erase the work of the translator from view, purposely ignoring the dynamics of translation in an

⁸ For example see Laura Nenzi on Kawai Tsugunosuke for a summary of Nagasaki scholarship "Encountering the World: Kawai Tsugunosuke's 1859 Journey to Yokohama and Nagasaki."

⁹ See Nenzi on the concept of *kakubutsu* 格物, a philosophy based on investigation of matters of scientific interest through direct observation.

¹⁰ For example, in translations of Western books on medicine conducted by medical experts such as Sugita Gempaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817) in the Tokugawa period, the medical knowledge was considered to be much more important than the skill of translation itself. See Jansen on Sugita Gempaku and the medical translation movement from 1771 to 1817 in "The Meiji Restoration," *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, 148.

¹¹ Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1728-1779,) the propagator of scientific knowledge in the mid-Tokugawa period and popular fiction *gesakusha* writer, drew heavily on Dutch texts in his intellectual inquiries, and wrote with impressive imagination about inventions, utopias and the future, but does not feature the figure of the translator in his literary imaginings written for a popular audience. For more on Hiraga Gennai, see Jones, "Language in Crisis" and Yonemoto, *Mapping early modern Japan*.

¹² Baker, *Critical Readings in Translation Studies*, 193.

epistemological economy that places a premium on the original text. For the Tokugawa government, that meant valuing the information translated from Western sources yet distaining the translators who mediated this information transfer as mere functionaries. Theo Hermans articulates this perception of the translator or interpreter in this view as a “transparent vehicle,” stating that:

When Boris Yeltsin speaks through an Interpreter, do we really want to hear the Interpreter's voice? We listen, surely, because we want to know what Yeltsin has to say. To the extent that we are conscious of hearing the Interpreter's voice, it is as no more than a minor distraction. We regard - or better: we are prepared, we have been conditioned to regard - the Interpreter's voice as a carrier without a substance of its own, a virtually transparent vehicle. Anything that takes away from this transparency is unwelcome 'noise' in the information-theoretical sense of the term.¹³

This quote sketches commonplace assumptions about the role and value of translation, noting that in this view, the interpreter or translator is a "transparent vehicle," who, even when perceptible, is at best a “minor distraction” and at worst, “unwelcome ‘noise’” which muddles the transmission of information and clouds the transparency of translation operations. Naoki Sakai describes this conventional, ‘invisible’ estimation of the translator as one whose “mediation must be erased in the representation of translation.”¹⁴ Given the pervasiveness of this view of translation, articulated by Sakai as a kind of erasure, Japan’s early Meiji “moment of the translator” becomes all the more remarkable because of the visibility of, even celebration of, a figure who is normally perceived as ignorable or even invisible. The early Meiji literary representation of the translator as visible, and even as a model of modern identity to emulate, represents a profound challenge to a binary view of original versus derivative. By seeking other ways to imagine interactions with any manner of “original” things, ideas, people and literature from ‘the West’ the literary imagination sought a viable way out of a constraining binary in which Japan would always be secondary to the originating West.

Hermans critiques the original/translation binary by reminding us that such binaries have associated and parallel binaries with far-reaching cultural influence. Describing the binary of values pitting ideas of "original" against "translation," Hermans articulates the greater stakes involved in such binaries:

This hierarchy governing the relation between original and translation is nothing new. Historically it has been construed in a number of ways, mostly around oppositions such as those between creative versus derivative work, primary versus secondary, art versus craft, authority versus obedience, freedom versus constraint, speaking in one's own name versus speaking for someone else. In each pair it is translation which is circumscribed, hemmed in, controlled, subordinated. And in case we think these are after all natural and necessary hierarchies, it may be useful to remind ourselves of the fact that in our culture the male/female distinction, too, has been constructed in terms of very similar

¹³ Hermans, “The Translator’s Voice in Translated Narrative” in *Critical Readings in Translation Studies*, 195.

¹⁴ Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, 9-10.

oppositions of creative versus reproductive, original versus derivative, active versus passive, dominant versus subservient.¹⁵

Hermans appropriately reminds us of the insidious “natural” quality of, for example, male/female binaries that have historically served to codify social inequalities; I argue that in an unprompted and spontaneous way, the early Meiji period literary imagination sought alternatives to an Occidental/Oriental binary that denied Japan coeval status with the West. By understanding the stakes implicit in an assumption of transparency in translation, this dissertation hopes to show the value of “the moment of the translator,” as I have recognized it, which challenged the interpretation of translation as transparent by imagining alternatives to a colonized role of mere inconspicuous functionality.

After the ‘moment’

Subsequent to the ‘moment of the translator,’ from the 1880s onward, writers such as Tsubouchi Shōyō and Futabatei Shimei, who were themselves superb translators and scholars of foreign literature, internalized translation in their respective critical and prose writings, instead placing issues such as realism and the representation of internal psychology at the fore.¹⁶ In this milieu, the translator disappears from view, returning to a position of invisible functionality that erases the translator’s mediating role in the translated text or utterance. This erasure occurred during what historians have identified as a wider societal demand for fixity and stability in the new conceptual landscape, in part accounting for why the translator, as a figure of change and transformation, ceases to be celebrated as he was formerly in the early Meiji literary imagination. Identifying this widespread need for stability amidst such extensive change, Carol Gluck argues: “all these institutional changes – and more - aroused a crescendo of comment in the late 1880s, which called for some fixing and securing of the national sentiment.”¹⁷ Gluck continues:

In this sense the ideological seizure at the end of the eighties was partly a response to what one contemporary commentator described as the “thunderboltism” of the first two post-Restoration decades. The late Meiji period was less a time of upheaval than one of settlement, less of structural drama than functional adjustment, a time when change was absorbed and some sort of stability was wrested from the aftermath of crisis.¹⁸

¹⁵ Hermans, “The Translator’s Voice in Translated Narrative,” 210.

¹⁶ For a discussion of experimentation with characterization in Futabatei Shimei, see Kamei, “The Disappearance of the Non-Person Narrator” in *Transformations of Sensibility*. For a critical look at the stakes inherent in Tsubouchi Shōyō’s deployment of the term realism, see Ueda, *Concealment of Politics, Politics of Concealment*. Ueda locates an important narrative energy in the late 1880s depiction of the world of the students as a symbol of the times. See her section on “‘The Society of Students’ and ‘the Competitive World of the Shizoku’: Socioeconomic Order of the ‘Present’”, 117-120.

¹⁷ Gluck, *Japan’s Modern Myths*, 20.

¹⁸ Ibid.

In the midst of this “ideological seizure,” as Gluck terms it, the figure of the translator is once again erased from view. This period of settlement which canonical Modern Japanese literature will later come to recognize as its starting point, marks the disappearance of the figure of the translator in the literary imagination. In the 1880s and onward, the translator, in his early Meiji guise as an emblem of change rather than a tool of naturalization, slips once more out of view, jettisoned in the popular imagination in favor of the newly compelling figure of the ‘artist,’ as I will argue in chapter 4 on Nagai Kafu’s travel narratives.

Another reason why the figure of the translator became submerged again is, in part, because of changes in the literary imagination of what was considered possible and relevant during the sharp closing off of political possibilities and the government repression of the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement of the 1880s. The ‘moment of the translator’ was precipitated in the 1850s by the negotiations of access for American and other foreign vessels to Japanese ports (which increased the possibility of stowing away on foreign-bound ships) that consequently increased demand for the skills of translators and interpreters. In the 1870s travel abroad became legal, even officially sanctioned by significant pioneering government missions, allowing translators to aspire to both public and private avenues of prosperity and power. By the 1880s, however, the limits on access to power became more starkly visible with the demise of the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement, and in the public sphere, politically influential elite figures, like the Kyoto noble and political activist Saionji Kinmochi who argued for greater power-sharing, were silenced, while in the “private” sphere of literature, the turn towards a disillusioned sense of private space is captured if not epitomized in Futabatei Shimei’s seminal 1887-1889 novel *Ukigumo*.

The ‘moment’ and genbun ichi language reform movements

It is no coincidence that, in a moment as preoccupied with the issue of language as this ‘moment of the translator’ was, we see alongside the figure of the translator in literature a parallel critical debate on language ‘modernization’ – *genbun itchi*, or the so-called ‘unification of spoken and written language’ movement which featured, among other things, proponents who seriously proposed the wholesale abandonment of Japanese for English – a kind of total translation.¹⁹ According to Patrick Heinick, “the emergence of *genbun itchi* writing presupposed that notions of cultural capital needed to be altered and newly distributed which coincided with a redefinition of who could be seen as an expert and authority on language.”²⁰ The new experts were the translators, adeptly blending new and established forms of cultural capital in the narratives they propel.

While literary historians now commonly define *genbun itchi* as the debate to convert written Japanese into a more simplified colloquial style for the implicit or explicit goal of modernization, I maintain that issues of translation between languages should inform our understanding of the *genbun itchi* debates, and the experimentation in simultaneously produced fiction that this dissertation examines should be viewed as a different iteration of shared concerns. The process of language transformation itself held

¹⁹ For a broad overview of the *genbun itchi* debates, see Hida, *Genbun itchi undo*.

²⁰ Heinick, “Things you have to leave behind: The demise of elegant writing and the rise of *genbun itchi* style in Meiji-period Japan,” 113-132.

immense imaginative significance for this period in both literature and in intellectual debates. The figure of the translator embodies one possible iteration of the *genbun itchi* debate and its core concern of pathways to a modern national identity.

According to Nanette Twine, the *genbun itchi* movement in this early stage (1870s-1880s) was “vital to the success of the new [Meiji government] order” as a way to provide an “efficient medium of communication needed in the rapidly changing nation”²¹. Primarily this meant, after 1854 and the events with Commodore Perry’s “Black Ships,” the urgency of broadcasting new, foreign knowledge to a domestic audience, and the need to enable effective communication with a foreign audience.²² Twine states that newspapers and other media of mass communication were a part of this early “utilitarian” stage, and for a writer like Kanagaki Robun (1829-1894) who worked in both newspapers and in fiction, the debate not only suggested topical new material for narrative, it underscored the urgency transforming the modern Japanese identity through the transfer of information, and through translation more broadly. Robun played with this new emphasis on information brokerage and translation at several levels of his popular travel narratives, including translating into new media and genres, and adapting by cutting blocks of text from one medium and pasting them into another.²³ What might seem to be an initial debate about effective communication in order to build a stronger nation state, would also be, to the cultural producers of the day such as Robun, a way to tap into the pulse of the moment in order to create relevant, appealing and commercially successful art. This is not to suggest that the *genbun itchi* debate in political circles and amongst the intellectual elite predated or caused the focus on language and language transformation in literature; rather, it was a common concern that captured the imagination of both worlds. An examination of the figure of the translator in narrative therefore has repercussions on our understanding of the language reform debates of the Meiji period. The figure of the translator embodied this ability to parlay language transformation into successful engagement with the modern world much earlier than the 1880s when the *genbun itchi* project of language transformation crystallized into the creation of a prose language capable of conveying the new literary values of the day catalyzed by contact with ‘Western’ novels and literary values, values themselves newly clarified in Europe and America.

According to Indra Levy, “In the particular case of *genbun-itchi*, translation has been doubly effaced: the sharp focus on spoken Japanese has obscured the importance of translation as both the impetus for the movement and as the process by which vernacularization was ultimately realized.”²⁴ Furthermore, “at base, [*genbun itchi*] was driven by a desire to achieve parity between Japanese and modern European languages.”²⁵ Levy insightfully articulates that the movement to convert Japanese written language into something more vernacular actually came about through the comparative

²¹ Twine, “The Genbunitchi Movement,” 333.

²² Ibid, 337.

²³ For more information on early Meiji *kiritsukebon* 切附本 works involving cut-and-paste practices, see Takagi, *Kiritsukebon shomoku nenpyô kô* and “Dontei jidai no Robun.”

²⁴ Levy, *Sirens of the Western Shore*, 38.

²⁵ Ibid.

impulse on contact with non-Japanese languages, especially those ‘Western’ languages deemed prestigious in nineteenth-century Japan. This linguistic contact spurred the transformation of written Japanese and has famously contributed to modern Japanese literary prose. Amongst the myriad possible linguistic transformations however, the ‘moment of the translator’ prefigured an alternative form of hybridity to what eventually came to dominate modern Japanese prose, especially in the works of the Naturalists. Looking at what came before the Naturalists and before Futabatei Shimei, the travel narratives of the ‘moment of the translator’ recurrently feature translator characters who speak and act as a model for this new transformation. On the level of plot the characters travel to foreign lands or otherwise interact with the foreign, while on the level of prose the language that comprises the narrative forges new linguistic elements in an attempt to form a new vernacular. Perhaps the most insightful place to consider the *genbun itchi* movement is in the fiction that was both enacting and entailing language transformation. Prose narratives that feature travel and translators during this ‘moment of the translator’ display variant responses to the concerns of the *genbun itchi* movement before it became fixed by the subsequent literary creations from the 1880s onwards.

The ‘moment’ and translation as literary adaptation

The ‘moment of the translator’ occurred during an influx into the Japanese literary scene of translated and adapted foreign literature. J. Scott Miller, in his discussion of the literary adaptations and translations of the first and second decades of Meiji (1870s and 1880s,) convincingly argues for the importance of these adaptive works.²⁶ His examination of ‘loose’ or adaptive translations (*hon’an* 翻案) versus literal translations (*hon’yaku* 翻訳) considers what such adaptive translations (so popular at the time) provide, in light of our current pejorative conception of adaptive translation when compared to more rigorously literal translations. Miller’s work demonstrates that adaptively translated texts in the early Meiji period were popular and valuable, yet the works Miller considers do not thematize the act of translation in the same way that travel narratives with translator characters do. However, even simply considering the popularity of translated literary works themselves attests to how powerful the interest was in the new and the West, in the modern, and in the alchemic property of transformation that translation had in this period. Translated works, both literal and adaptive, such as those discussed by Miller, populate and define the early Meiji conceptual landscape, and because of that, the trope of translation becomes a point of narrative focus in fictional narratives in this period.

The ‘moment’ and Kanagaki Robun

In order to fully apprehend the ramifications of the representation of the figure of the translator in this ‘moment,’ in Chapter 2 this dissertation considers the figure of the translator in the fiction of Kanagaki Robun (仮名垣魯文 1829-1894.) Robun, the popular fiction writer, journalist, and commercial writer of the Bakumatsu and early Meiji periods, created a new protagonist for his fiction in the figure of the translator, a

²⁶ Scott, *Adaptations of Western Literature in Meiji Japan*. For a discussion of adaptive translations (翻案) and the major Meiji period author Ozaki Kōyō, see Sakai Miki, *Ozaki Kōyō to hon’an*.

novel persona inhabiting a central, powerful position in the narrative's universe, rather than the ethnographic object, or observer from the sidelines, or even near-invisible functionary. The position of the translator character contributes to the process of subject formation that historians have discussed in relation to the birth of modern Japan.²⁷ Chapter 2 of this dissertation will examine the figure of the interpreter in Robun's immensely popular fictional 'rambles' work²⁸ *Seiyôdôchû hizakurige* (西洋道中膝栗毛 *Shank's Mare to the West*, published serially from 1870 to 1876.) The dual aspect of translation in the text - the embodied translator and the act of translating within the prose - reveals a new and shifted locus of knowledge and power in the details of language and characterization; and this specific fusion of details and new emphases produces a new literary protagonist. In Robun's case, his characterization of the translator embodies the union of *gesaku*-style man-about-town (the *tsû* 通 connoisseur of the pleasure quarters²⁹) and the British colonialist. Robun's hybrid prose, incorporating various languages such as English and Chinese, and media genres such as newspapers and haikai poetry, experiments with the boundaries of fictional form and is a harbinger of the dramatic prose changes to come in what is now regarded as the birth of modern Japanese literature. Robun's *tsû*-Colonialist translator figure embodies a mastery of the modern.

Fukuzawa Yukichi and the figure of the translator

The figure of the translator did not just inhabit popular fiction, but autobiography and instructional literature as well. The works of Fukuzawa Yukichi, considered in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, inspired writers like Robun. Fukuzawa's works, most famous among the popularly circulated non-fiction narratives, prominently featured the figure of the translator in the early Meiji period. A seminal member of the nascent intelligentsia of the new state, and considered a 'founding father' of modern Japan, Fukuzawa boarded ship with the Meiji government mandate to learn abroad and bring back to Japan the secrets of success in the 'West;' Fukuzawa first learned foreign languages before he learned the technologies of medicine, munitions, and other high-priority bodies of knowledge.³⁰ His real-life role as a translator converted powerfully

²⁷ On the topic of subject formation in the Meiji period see Karatani, *Origins of modern Japanese literature*.

²⁸ The *hizakurige* 膝栗毛 genre was made popular by Jippensha Ikku's 1801 *Tôkaidôchû hizakurige* (*Shank's Mare* 東海道中膝栗毛) and typically includes two main characters, often named Yaji and Kita after Ikku's original characters, who travel on foot through various places. As they ramble they keep up a witty banter and have various comedic adventures on the road. I have chosen to refer to *hizakurige* as 'Rambles' in English because of the apt dual association in the word 'rambling' with both travel (often aimless) and storytelling (especially long and entertaining but not necessarily organized or put together for a specific purpose.)

²⁹ Philosopher Kuki Shûzô has famously written about the 通 connoisseur figure, see especially *"Iki" no kôzô*.

³⁰ For example, all members of the *Meirokeisha* 明六社 (the influential intellectual society founded by Meiji statesman Mori Arinori in 1873 to introduce and popularize Western ideas in Japan in the early Meiji period) had studied *yôgaku* (western learning) and 20 members had studied Dutch, 22 English, 3 French, 1 German and 2 Russian. No

into best-selling adventurous travel tales featuring a translator protagonist modeled on himself; such works became hugely influential narratives for the literary imagination of the early Meiji period. Although nominally non-fictional, Fukuzawa's write-ups of his own travels abroad, published as primers on the West and travel guides, served a variety of purposes and are by nature *partial* representations of his travel experiences in which Fukuzawa himself stars as the character of the translator; accordingly, in this chapter the ostensibly non-fictional travel narrative will be treated as literary production. The authorial positioning of the autobiographical character of the translator displays a new "modern" man, often presented pedantically, as a figure of instruction, but also created to gain or justify a position of power and authority in the real world, such as a president of a university or an editor of a newspaper: a shaper of public opinion and model of modern identity.

Nagai Kafû and the transformation from translator to artist

A generation later, the optimism that informed that model figure of the translator sours, and instead, the vision of modern identity is transformed from the figure of the traveling translator into the wandering artist. At the core of this transformation is a shift in the valuation of language skills, whereby the identity of artist requires the sublimation of translation in order to achieve peer-hood with the model of the Western artist. The primacy of originality in art makes language exchange a liability in Social Darwinist terms. Nagai Kafû transforms the figure of the translator in his travel writings in the early twentieth century into the figure of the wandering artist, no longer interested in success at political or social levels, distaining the values of practicality and utility for an aimless, wandering style of movement and a vision of artistic creation that does not acknowledge language exchange. Chapter 4 of this dissertation will consider the ramifications of this disavowal and sublimation of the figure of the translator in Kafû's *Amerika monogatari*.

Ultimately, this dissertation seeks to recover the varied literary representations of the translator in the early Meiji period, to understand how those representations, while founded in fluent language brokerage, also project models of personal style and unfettered physical mobility for the Japanese translator traveling in the West. Considering this "moment of the translator" and recovering its subverted legacies allows us to glimpse alternatives to the mainstream of Japanese literary history, in line with the critical agenda of scholarship on the Meiji period such as Maeda Ai's *Toshi kûkan no naka no bungaku*. This dissertation also hopes to reintegrate more of Meiji period literary production in what we consider to be modern Japanese literature, arguing for significant continuities and subverted influences running from the mid-nineteenth century to the twentieth.

less than 15 members had studied abroad. (Ôkubo, *Meiji keimô shisô shû*.) See also Ôkubo, *Meirokusha*.

Chapter 2
The Triumph of the Translator: Kanagaki Robun's Model of Mastery

As a trope of epistemological crossing,
translation always says one thing in terms of another

- Lydia Liu
Translingual Practice

Japanese travel literature offered the reading public of the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s a possible model of modern Japanese national identity: the translator, a newly invented hybrid identity in public discourse and especially in the established genre of *hizakurige*.³¹ If we agree with Mary Louise Pratt in her suggestion that "mobility, empire, masculinity, agency and citizenship. . . compose the modernizing national order,"³² then key qualities in the Japanese representation of the translator snap into focus, especially his gender and freedom to travel; *hizakurige* travel literature proffered a male and mobile model of the modernizing order. This chapter will examine the literary representation of one particular translator character, Tsûjirô from Kanagaki Robun's *Rambles to the West*,³³ whose hybrid literary identity is primarily defined by his linguistic characteristics, that is, by his deployment of a shifting assortment of languages (from various national traditions, and from spoken and written registers), and by the poly-vocal nature of narration and translation at work in the text, splitting the work of communicating meaning between the translator Tsûjirô and the disembodied voice of the narrator. Both of these dimensions of the linguistic representation of the translator - his multi-linguality and the text's poly-vocality - convey a poetics of movement inexorably bound up in the international discourse of imperialism.³⁴ Movement, inherent in the translator's linguistic exchange

³¹ The *hizakurige* 膝栗毛 "Rambles" genre is a travel genre in a comedic register intended for a popular audience. The genre achieved great commercial success in the early 1800s but remained popular through the early 1900s, well into Japan's period of modernization. The genre typically stars Kitahachi and Yajirô, two stock characters who travel together and whose witty banter and constant bumbling form the core appeal of the *hizakurige* narrative. For information on *hizakurige* see Watanuki, "*Hizakurige*" *wa naze aisareta ka*.

³² Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 225.

³³ The popular fictional narrative *Rambles to the West* (*Seiyôdôchû hizakurige* 西洋道中 膝栗毛) was published in 15 volumes serially from 1870 to 1876 and was primarily written by Kanagaki Robun (仮名垣魯文 1829-1894) the popular fiction writer, journalist and commercial copywriter. Robun conceived of the project and wrote the first 12 volumes, then handed off the literary franchise to a student of his, who wrote the final 3 volumes. A sequel project, in which the characters of *Rambles to the West* travel to the United States, was advertised but ultimately never published. For full publication details, see Okitsu, *Kanagaki Robun*.

³⁴ Imperialism is understood here to function via economic arrangements backed up by the threatened or explicit deployment of military force, and was, by the end of the

and integral to travel literature, was represented in literature within a framework drawn from the long & rich indigenous literary tradition of popular travel literature in Japan, but it also became freighted with the ideological baggage of imperialism in the late 19th century. International movement itself - even if only possible in the fictional imagination for the vast majority of Japanese readers in the nineteenth century - was newly legal and of great interest to the reading public. A poetics of movement, indigenous and familiar, yet also novel and imperial, saturated the linguistic representation of the figure of the translator at the moment when travel literature presented this figure as a possible model for the modern Meiji man.

By examining the literary representation of the translator we see the stakes involved in modern literary identity formation in this moment defined by movement, and come to understand how movement, especially linguistic movement, impinges upon the representation of subjectivity and national identity in literature - necessarily a *national* identity because of the demands of an imperialist rhetoric that pressured identity to be understood in national (and racial) terms if it was to participate in the modern, present moment and not be relegated to a "primitive" pre-civilized identity. Pratt asks how "travel and exploration writing *produced* 'the rest of the world' for European readerships? . . . How has it produced Europe's evolving conceptions of itself in relation to something it became possible to call 'the rest of the world'?"³⁵ Such questions of identity production, when considered in the context of the nineteenth century Japanese "Rambles" (*hizakurige*) travel-writing genre in general and Robun's *Rambles to the West* in particular, provocatively and importantly imply that in addition to helping a Japanese domestic audience form a conception of "the rest of the world," translator characters such as Tsûjirô participate in the creation of a national modern Japanese identity in the realm of the imagination.

Tsûjirô's actions take place within Kanagaki Robun's popular travel fiction *Rambles to the West* (published serially 1870-1876), which recounts the adventures of a group of Japanese characters who travel from Japan to London by means of steamship and other novel technologies of transportation in order to develop business opportunities in international trade at the World Fair held in London.³⁶ Most chapters of the text are set

nineteenth century, a world system that Japan was coming to terms with. Ania Loomba distinguishes imperialism from colonialism (which shortly after the time period considered in this chapter becomes an important endeavor to the modern Japanese state) as follows: "In the modern world then, we can distinguish between colonization as the take over of territory, appropriation of material resources, exploitation of labour and interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or nation, and imperialism as a global system. . . . Imperialism is defined as a political system in which an imperial centre governs colonized countries, [and] imperialism is primarily an economic system of penetration and control of markets. . . . [such as] in the case of 'American imperialism,' which wields enormous military and economic power across the globe but without direct political control." Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 6.

³⁵ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

³⁶ The specific world fair is the 1851 *Great Exhibition* in London, also remembered as the *Crystal Palace Exhibition*. For historical information on the Crystal Palace, see Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition*. Robun's text, however, quickly

in a new port of call on the journey, which starts from Yokohama and travels through Nagasaki, Shanghai, Nanjing, Hong Kong, Saigon, Singapore, Ceylon and other ports in Asia, then on through the Suez Canal to Malta and eventually London before returning to Japan.³⁷ Each chapter recounts the travel adventures encountered at that specific place, and usually hinges on a famous feature associated with the site, such as the pyramids and Egypt, or elephants and Ceylon (modern-day Sri Lanka). The group, headed by a merchant family's scion, includes a number of sycophantic service personnel and stars the two standard protagonists of the *hizakurige* "Rambles" genre: Yajirô and Kitahachi, whose function in the merchant's entourage, and the narrative overall, is to be entertaining. Also a part of the group, and a newly invented character for this "Rambles" travel genre is the linguistic and cultural interpreter for business and travel transactions: Tsûjirô. The travel narrative *Rambles to the West* takes as its constituent landscape the circuits of imperial movement through Asia, and each episode in which Yajirô, Kitahachi and Tsûjirô explore the new port of call implicitly presents Tsûjirô as the model of the modern Japanese man who can successfully navigate the new cultural and linguistic geography.

Tsûjirô the translator is best described as a hybrid identity formed in a specific geography.³⁸ Adding the nuance of locale to the concept of hybridity, Mary Louise

abandons fidelity to a 1850s timeframe and shifts into the world of the 1870s with multiple references to contemporary events outside the text, such as the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871.

³⁷ The degree to which Robun's text is current with world events is demonstrated by the inclusion of the Suez Canal, which was newly opened only from November 1869, and created access by sea between Europe and Asia without having to navigate around the continent of Africa.

³⁸ Homi Bhabha's concept of hybridity provides an alternative interpretive framework to the value-judgment-laden binary of original and imitation and provides tools to understand the uses of material freely adapted from disparate Japanese and Foreign (which in Robun's text usually means British, French or American) cultural and linguistic material. Hybridity describes cultural products in the context of imperialism without using the narrow rhetoric and power-laden values of imperialism to aid in understanding the complex mechanisms and reactions to imperialism. In the case of modern Japan, the issue of imperialism is infamously complex; historians have argued that during this period Japan was forming an ideological foundation for later imperial transgressions in Asia, while at the same time, tactically fending off real military and economic threats to national sovereignty. In Robun's *Rambles to the West* the representation of imperialism is ethically challenging because of its ambiguity - by turns enthusiastically participatory and implicitly critical. Hybridity is also a useful term through which to understand Robun's *Rambles to the West* vis a vis its predecessors in the Japanese literary tradition, namely Jippensha Ikku's *Shank's Mare* (東海道中膝栗毛 *Tôkaidôchû hizakurige*), where an interpretive apparatus of original-and-imitation threatens to obscure the implications of Robun's translator figure. The figure of the interpreter in early Meiji literature offers a different possibility for modern subjectivity and national identity in literature: a hybrid characterization built of elements from specific national traditions in a concrete historical moment that allows the workings of power and exchange to remain legible.

Pratt's linked concepts of "transculturation" and the "contact zone" provide useful tools for understanding the figure of the translator's particular alchemy and appeal at this historical moment. Transculturation, a term drawn from the field of ethnography, describes "how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture." Pratt goes on to state that "while subjugated peoples cannot readily control what the dominant culture visits upon them, they do determine to varying extents what they absorb into their own, how they use it, and what they make it mean. Transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone."³⁹ In the case of Robun's fictional world, the translator Tsûjirô actively contributes to the formation of a transculture by filtering and adapting cultural and linguistic material from the geography through which he moves as a subordinate, both personally because he is a junior staff member of the Japanese entourage, and also as a representative of a Japanese national - of middling and disputed subordinate status in the Social-Darwinistic hierarchy of nations and races. Pratt's process of transculturation occurs in Robun's work in famous entrepôts of trade such as Hong Kong and Singapore, spaces that Pratt calls contact zones. Defined as a "space of imperial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict"⁴⁰ contact zones are a recognizable geography of the Japanese travel genre in the late nineteenth century, and are the space through which linguistic and physical movement and exchange occur.

Inexorably intertwined with Robun's geographic space is the text's linguistic movement - as Tsûjirô transverses different contact zones, he changes languages. Helping to bring into focus the linguistic aspect of his transculturative process in contact zones, as well as the ambivalent public attitude towards Tsûjirô's identity, we note that Pratt draws the term "contact" from linguistics, where:

the term contact language refers to an improvised language that develops among speakers of different tongues who need to communicate with each other consistently, usually in the context of trade. Such languages begin as pidgins, and are called creoles when they come to have native speakers of their own. Like the societies of the contact zone, such languages are commonly regarded as chaotic, barbarous and lacking in structure. . .⁴¹

Quoted at length, Pratt's explication of the nuances around the concept of "contact languages" highlights the ambivalent cultural perception of contact languages - both the language of trade yet also at times a barbarous pidgin threatening to disrupt a pure linguistic community. This ambivalence tinges the cultural landscape that Robun's translator figure Tsûjirô must negotiate; within the parameters of the narrative Tsûjirô must command a fluency in contact languages to facilitate trade and the practicalities of travel for the characters in the work, but must, at the same time, thrive within a seemingly chaotic and barbarous international geography in which the usual languages of power in

³⁹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

⁴⁰ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7-8.

⁴¹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 8.

the Japanese tradition are inadequate or, even worse, a signal of disenfranchisement and inferiority.⁴² Concomitant with geographic movement, linguistic movement from Japanese to other languages like Chinese and then English becomes crucial for Tsûjirô as a model of a Japanese national ready for the new and changing times.

The text demonstrates Tsûjirô's fluency by depicting him interacting with genuine foreigners in foreign cities in the respective target languages. Thus, in Nanjing, an early stop in China for the travelling group, Tsûjirô is shown to be completely fluent in Chinese, linguistically and culturally, and even well-connected to a native son of the place:

...[Yaji and Kita] confer together to entice the Interpreter Tsûjirô to go sightseeing here and there around the city.⁴³ Since in Tsûjirô's quarters the Chinese person with whom Tsûjirô is speaking fluently looks to be an old-time acquaintance, the pair (Yaji and Kita) without hesitation enter the room, and when they nod to the Chinese person, the Chinese person returns the greeting.⁴⁴

This scene represents Tsûjirô as fluent in Chinese, and although here he does not linguistically demonstrate his fluency - the text does not provide transcribed speech in Chinese - he is assumed to be an expert and insider who can provide Yajirô and Kitahachi with total access to the city of Nanjing on multiple levels - physically (as a tour guide who will walk with them throughout the city), linguistically, and culturally. In contrast, Yajirô and Kitahachi rely on non-verbal communication to interact in the most basic way with Tsûjirô's Chinese guest and contact ("they nod to the Chinese person, and the Chinese person returns the greeting") via an intersemiotic mode of communication that is tolerated graciously enough in this episode but will not succeed so well in future

⁴² The languages of power within Japan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were Sino-Japanese (*kanbun*) and a highly literate legalese (*sôrôbun*): the written languages of the political elite. However, the Japanese language itself is the most spectacular example of a language of power that became useless in an international context at this historical moment of the late nineteenth century; the Japanese language, as a non-normative language in the international context, became an outright handicap to Japanese outside of Japan who wished to gain parity with other nationalities. For a British example of a condescending, disparaging attitude towards the sound of the Japanese language, see Gilbert & Sullivan, *The Mikado* (and Josephine Lee's analysis of its orientalist qualities in *The Japan of Pure Invention: Gilbert and Sullivan's The Mikado*;) for an American example, see Horace Russell & William Greene's "The Japanese Lovers" (ca. 1870) whose main characters are Fanny Foo-Foo and Johnny Hi-Hi.

⁴³ Literally the castle wall fortifications from the *Ken'an* period, 196-220 CE. Because the fortifications historically circumscribed and therefore defined the boundaries of the city, the term came to stand for the city itself, rather than the literal fortifications or embankment ruins. In this passage, the reference to the city wall hints at Meiji Japan's denial of coeval status with China and the purposeful anachronization of Chinese history and culture, here indicated by Yaji and Kita's association of the Chinese city with the classical era of *Ken'an* rather than contemporary China.

⁴⁴ Robun, *Rambles to the West*, 43. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

encounters with the foreign. In contrast with Tsûjirô's fluency in Chinese as the basis for his mastery of interlingual translation, Yajirô and Kitahachi must make do with attempted intersemiotic modes of communication, and translation studies scholar Michael Cronin, drawing on Roman Jakobson's classic terms, reminds us that in the depiction of intersemiotic translation attempts "the use of mime is a standard set-piece in travel writing where the possibility of language contact is remote."⁴⁵ Furthermore, Cronin links imperial frameworks of understanding and power to modes of translation and states the implications of this difference in mode of translation:

The absence of a language . . . means a temporary loss of control. . . The traveler in this situation is both *child* and *barbarian*. The infantilisation of the traveler is the assumption that failure to understand the language is a correlative of intellectual immaturity . . . The same process obtains in colonial encounters where the epithet 'boy' captures the infantilisation of native peoples through language disparity. . .⁴⁶

At this early stage in the narrative the multi-linguistic nature of the translator is first established with the Chinese language. Furthermore, the textual valorization of the multi-lingual translator is nuanced by contrasting attempts at communication that employ physical rather than verbal language. In the gap between interlingual translation and intersemiotic communication we see the choice between characterization as infantile colonial subject or articulate and intelligible imperial equal. The stakes are therefore clear even in this early emphasis on Tsûjirô's multi-linguality, beginning with the language of Chinese.

The multi-linguistic representation of the translator is expanded to include and eventually privilege English in a subsequent chapter set in Hong Kong, where Tsûjirô is depicted as a culturally and linguistically fluent English speaker when he speaks with a British sailor who is on the same ship as the Japanese party and is here invited for the first time in the text to participate in on-shore explorations. Tsûjirô's fluency in English is key to facilitating this relationship with a genuine British national and to gaining concomitant access to Martell's cultural and geographically specific knowledge acquired because Martell visits these ports of colonial exchange regularly.

During this conversation Martell the sailor gulped down beer by himself and said:

Martell: "What will you? Please do it." *meaning is there anything you would like to eat?*⁴⁷ "I have no more stomach." *meaning I'm not hungry anymore.*

Tsûjirô listened to this and said "Is it true?" meaning is that so?

Martell: "It is true." *meaning it is indeed.*⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Cronin, *Across the Lines*, 71. For more on Jakobson's terms, see Culler, *Structuralist Poetics*, and Brandford, *Roman Jakobson*.

⁴⁶ Cronin, *Across the Lines*, 69.

⁴⁷ Literary scholar and Robun expert Hirastuka Ryôsen interprets the phrase "do it" in Martell's statement "Please do it" to mean "Please try it." In the text, Robun then translates the English phrase (transcribed in *katakana*) into Japanese as "Is there anything you would like to eat?"

⁴⁸ Robun, *Rambles to the West*, 66-67.

Unlike the conversation in Chinese discussed above, this conversation is actually performed for the reader by transcribing the English that Tsûjirô speaks.⁴⁹ Demonstrations such as these were intended to create a strong representation of the translator Tsûjirô as a master of the English language, and, more broadly, multi-lingual.

An important aspect of multi-linguality in an imperial context, however, is the development of and dependence on creoles or pidgins, and Pratt's invocation of the concept of contact languages calls attention to moments of trade in Robun's narrative when characters deploy a pidgin language to facilitate effective mastery and movement through a foreign space and exchange. Significantly, Tsûjirô does not speak pidgin in the course of their travels, while other characters do. In the entrepôts of colonial trade that the narrative maps, language and currency mix and transform according to ever-shifting circumstances. In the following episode in which Yajirô and the sailor Martell set out to visit prostitutes in the port city of Aden, a quality of volatile precariousness is demonstrated in linguistic and financial terms:

Martell: "What is the price of it?" *how much is it, he asked.*

The woman: "A pound avoirdupois."⁵⁰ *The pound is Britain's internationally circulated currency and avoirdupois is a unit of weight. "That is equivalent to 110 Japanese monme, 6 fun, and 3 rin."*

Martell: "No way, no way" *and he continued on to the next. But Yaji, standing there, was grabbed by this woman and taken inside.*⁵¹

Not only are French and English used in addition to Japanese in the exchange above, signaling the unstable dominance of one language over the other, but Martell, in his refusal of the woman's price, says "no way, no way" using the pidgin word "peke" that is possibly derived from either the Chinese phrase 'buke' (不可 not possible) or from the

⁴⁹ In my interpretation, the exchange here is meant to be a demonstration of English language fluency to a Japanese-speaking readership of the 1870s who were presumed to be ignorant of English. Thus, despite the errors in English that are noticeable us as readers in our contemporary moment, I argue that the passage was intended un-ironically as a flawless linguistic demonstration.

⁵⁰ Robun, who was not skilled in English, seems to have intended the financial term "pound" as demonstrated by the narratorial aside reproduced above in italics, that defines the English term pound as British currency. However, perhaps in the hope of being impressively inclusive, Robun used the phrase "pound avoirdupois", which is a measure of weight rather than monetary currency. A "pound avoirdupois" is a unit of weight adopted in England and American, and is now equivalent to approximately half a kilogram or 16 ounces. According to mathematician Russ Rowlett "the unit now in general use in the United States is the avoirdupois pound, so-called from a French phrase avoir du poids, literally "goods of weight," indicating simply that the goods were being sold by weight rather than by volume or by the piece." See *How Many? A Dictionary of Units of Measurement*, s.v. "Pound." For further information on the history of units of measure see Zupko, *British Weights and Measures*. For more information on nineteenth century Japanese currency and international exchange equivalents in the 1860s and 1870s, see Hanashiro, "Valueless Paper Notes and Debased Coins, Financial Disaster."

⁵¹ Robun, *Rambles to the West*, 162.

Malay word ‘pergi’ (to go, to get out of here).⁵² In a text that foregrounds language usage, as *Rambles to the West* does, this newly emergent pidgin language represents an alternative to Tsûjirô’s fluent mastery of English, an alternative in which languages mix and merge, rather than translate. As Pratt reminds us, such linguistic mixtures are viewed with cultural ambivalence ("commonly regarded as chaotic, barbarous and lacking in structure"), suggesting the contamination of miscegenation rather than the model of mastery of foreign language that Tsûjirô represents. It is no coincidence that pidgin language is used in the interaction with a prostitute, a symbol of another disreputable mode of contact and exchange, a literal interchange that accrues degradation, rather than prestige, to its fluent practitioners. In this mode of notorious contact, language exchange and translation are directly linked to monetary exchange, as monetary equivalencies are established or contested.

Pratt goes on to highlight the inter-related relationships and identities that develop in contact zones:

A "contact" perspective emphasizes how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and "travelees," not in terms of separateness, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, and often within radically asymmetrical relations of power.⁵³

By forging "interlocking understandings" between the Japanese and non-Japanese speaking worlds, Tsûjirô’s linguistic mastery is crucial to generating a modern national identity that gives Japan a participatory, coeval role in the international arena. As a fluent linguist in the prestigious foreign languages of Chinese and English, the translator Tsûjirô draws to himself power and prestige, while at the same time giving Japan co-presence, a place of some status in an imagined Social-Darwinistic hierarchy of nations. On a very basic level the representation of the translator depends on his fluid linguistic movement between the languages of Japanese, Chinese and English, and the model of modern identity implicitly proposed in Robun’s text therefore entails aspects of multi-linguality, suggesting that with linguistic mastery of any given national language comes the associated mastery of other qualities and privileges. Pratt’s contact perspective suggests that Tsûjirô’s subject-hood is constituted by contact and by his linguistic interaction with others in contact zones. In his characterization, his linguistic interaction is multi-linguistic but does not utilize pidgin, and this has implications for a subjectivity imagined in Japanese popular literature of the late nineteenth century that participates with fluency and mastery in the international forum yet sidesteps fundamental fusion. Thus, the model of national identity proffered by the text is multi-lingual but not mixed.

Being multi-lingual in *Rambles to the West*, as we have seen, involves a demonstration of mastery of languages such as Chinese or English, and trace evidence of pidgin language usage by other characters serves as a contrast to the linguistic purity of the representation of Tsûjirô. Similarly, local dialect and regional accent differences, another kind of mixed and hybrid linguistic product affected by extended contact with a

⁵² This parsing, which considers Chinese as well as Malay linguistic roots for the pidgin term ペケ “peke” is drawn from the *Kôjien* 広辞苑, s.v. “ペケ.”

⁵³ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 8.

particular locale, are exploited for comedic effect, and underscore the cultural authority of Tsûjirô's position in the narrative. Such a sense of cultural hierarchy is only possible in Japan before the advent of national standardized and compulsory elementary school education. Scholar of American dialect Hans Kurath writes: "The survival of speech differences between social groups [and regions] also reflects the effect of schooling. Wherever schooling at public expense was established early and made compulsory, the lower classes have to a large extent abandoned folk forms in grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation."⁵⁴ In Japan, the educational system underwent profound changes from 1872 onwards, as the central government worked towards its goal of the development of modern industry via a policy of compulsory and standardized primary-school education.⁵⁵ Eventually, such a standardized education would generate a new form of cultural hierarchy in which the dialect of the *shitamachi* and the trade-mark accent and vocabulary of the Edoites (*edokko* 江戸っ子) would no longer be paramount. Previous to this moment of national standardization and the birth of new social hierarchies, the propinquity of the *gesaku* author and the *edokko* protagonist of popular literature meant that robust and colorful regional dialects provided the perfect literary foil for the traveler, and in this respect, Tsûjirô's representation is quite conservative in its endorsement of late Tokugawa popular cultural norms. In the classic formations of the *hizakurige* genre (especially Ikku's 1802-1822 *Tôkaidôchû hizakurige* texts) language punning and witty

⁵⁴Kurath, "By Way of Introduction," xii.

⁵⁵In their article "Catching Up in Education in the Economic Catch-up of Japan with the United States, 1890–1990," economic historians Godo Yoshihisa and Hayami Yujiro state that the purpose of educational reforms in Meiji Japan was economic development, and they emphasize standardization as a key goal, while social differentiation of class and gender occurred in education after the primary school level. They state:

Leaders in the Meiji government recognized that effective borrowing of Western technologies could not be achieved without developing a modern educational system that would be able to produce a highly qualified workforce. As early as 1872, only 4 years after the Meiji Restoration, the government promulgated the School System Rule (*Gakusei*), which specified the design of a modern educational system. This idealistic design aimed at the full enrollment of all children for 8 years of primary education. This goal was difficult to achieve despite the government's encouragement and persuasion, which even extended to intimidation by the police force.

The Primary School Order (*Shogakko Rei*) of 1886 introduced compulsory education and established two types of primary schools, ordinary and higher primary schools. . . . The municipal authority in each district was mandated to support an ordinary primary school so that all children could attend. The compulsory education was extended to a total of 6 years in 1907.

The major characteristics of the prewar educational system were that ordinary primary schools provided a homogeneous general education, which was compulsorily applied to nearly all children, and that higher-level education included multiple paths separated by profession and gender. (963)

virtuosity rely heavily on the interplay between local regional dialects within Japan and the commoner *shitamachi* dialect of the capital city Edo. One critic has described Ikku's *gesaku* writing as one in which "the journey of the picaresque narrative . . . combines accounts of various famous places as a means of characterizing them with such distinct features as their dialects."⁵⁶ Language and place are therefore linked together to provide an indicator of the precise place where the dialect speaker registers on an assumed hierarchy of cultural authority. Japanese *hizakurige* and much of the rest of *gesaku* fiction of the nineteenth century (but not in earlier Tokugawa period cultural production, which privileged the Kamigata region of Osaka and Kyoto) whole-heartedly embraced the superiority of the capital city of Edo (modern-day Tokyo) vis à vis a provincial periphery. Such a hierarchy placed the language and sensibilities of the *edokko* and the city of Edo at the top of the list. Sociolinguist Haver C. Currie describes this phenomenon as "the search . . . for prestige on grounds of language occurs not only intra-regionally with appeal to the notion of a more acceptable region; it occurs also on the national scale with appeal to the concept of a speech having significant national identification."⁵⁷ As historian Mary Elizabeth Berry and others have argued, the print culture of the Tokugawa period participated in the crystallization of a concept of a national Japanese identity, as domestically produced maps and travel guides that portrayed Japan as a coherent and cohesive geographic polity became increasingly popular with consumers. The early modern sense of national identity, and the linguistic aspects of that representation in popular *gesaku* fiction are brought forward into Meiji period "Rambles" fiction, which combines the play of popular fiction and the novel interest of travel literature. Authors such as Shikitei Sanba (式亭 三馬 1776-1822), a contemporary of Jippensha Ikku, both personally embodied the *edokko* and made him the suave hero of popular fiction.

As a companion to Yajirô and Kitahachi, Tsûjirô shares the roots and cultural identity of the *edokko* commoner man from a particular urban space and subculture in Edo. This particular feature of Tsûjirô's Japanese language usage, his fluency in the *edokko*'s urban dialect of the *shitamachi*, both serves to establish his characterization for the reader early on in the narrative, and highlights a more subtle kind of translation work that the *hizakurige* genre performs within the Japanese linguistic space, before ever making contact with foreign shores and languages. Michael Cronin, using Roman Jakobson's term "intralingual," notes that travel literature, when utilizing intralingual translation, "highlights not the limited repetitiveness of the travel experience but the endless series of finer discriminations that become apparent as the travelers chart the social, regional and national metamorphoses of the mother tongue."⁵⁸ The exploration of those finer details within domestic boundaries is the basic fictional conceit underpinning the travel *hizakurige* genre before the Meiji period. Such differences provided extremely rich material for the comedic appetites of *gesaku* fiction in an era before national standard education, and fostered the trademark wordplay of the genre. Cronin suggests that such a style of word play, generated by "social, regional and national metamorphoses of the mother tongue" forms the very engine of identity formation:

⁵⁶ Miner, *Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*, 103.

⁵⁷ Currie, "A Projection of Sociolinguistics," 45.

⁵⁸ Cronin, *Across the Lines*, 3.

Lexical differences, figurative exuberance, word play, hyperbole, euphemism and accent are so many strategies of estrangement that make for a space of mediation and interpretation. . . This process of estrangement is equally a process of self-estrangement. Speaking in a foreign language in a foreign country can certainly make travelers aware of features of their own native language, but it is arguable that the encounter with different varieties of the traveler's own language creates an even sharper sense of specific linguistic identity.⁵⁹

For Cronin, the sphere of intralingual translation is more fundamentally germane to identity formation than the more obvious moment of linguistic contact with a foreign other, yet in the world of early Meiji Japanese fiction, it was not an either/or choice: both intralingual and interlingual modes of translation acquired prestige and importance, while the translator himself models both modes of translation as ways of successfully negotiating and mastering the complex, international cultural landscape. In scenes involving Japanese characters and language in Robun's *Rambles to the West*, regional accent plays an important role in linguistic representation. This is notable from the very beginning of the work; in the opening scene of Volume 1, chapter 1 (初編上) in a restaurant in Yokohama, a Japanese student from the countryside is belittled by Yajirô and Kitahachi for needing a guidebook to Yokohama, and at the same time is demeaningly represented by the text that comedically emphasizes a countrified accent: "Baldy: "Yeah Ahm aw country student."⁶⁰ Translation moves between dialects and across accent differences within the larger parameters of the Japanese language, and in its operations, the mechanics of power and the creation of cultural capital become visible, as the question of knowledge position and expertise is from the start inexorably intertwined with linguistic representation. The country student, by his provincial language, is signaled to be the butt of the joke, while Tsûjirô, in his command of languages, becomes integral to the progression of the narrative and a model of the modern Japanese citizen.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 16.

⁶⁰ Robun, *Rambles to the West*, 12. In translating Robun's lampoon of a Japanese country accent, I have attempted to emulate the "literary accent" of Mark Twain's southern, rural and poor linguistic representations. Sumner Ives describes a "literary dialect" as an "author's attempt to represent in writing a speech that is restricted regionally, socially, or both" (Ives, "A Theory of Literary Dialect," 146.)

The figure of the student (the *shosei* 書生) is an important and ubiquitous one in Meiji period literature and public discourse. For a sense of the degree to which the *shosei* both implied upward mobility and invited ridicule for miscalculating the realities of the world and one's position in it, note the popular tune "Song of the Student" *Shosei bushi* 書生節 that became popular around 1873 with its mocking lyrics:

shosei shosei to keibetsu suru na, sue ha dajôkan no o-yakunin

書生書生と軽蔑するな、末は太政官のお役人

"Student Student don't despise him, in the future he will be an Official in the Department of State" (*Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典, s.v. "書生節.")

Alongside multi-lingual demonstrations of language mastery, however, the poly-vocal⁶¹ aspect of the narrative also comes into view, and is significant because of its implications for the formation of narrative voice, subject-hood and identity. The question of subject-hood (national or personal), and the representation of subjectivity in fiction, has been recognized as a key thematic to understand the transformation of fictional literature in the Japanese tradition and the emergence of modern Japanese literature from the 1880s onwards with Futabatei Shimei's novel *Floating Clouds* (*Ukigumo*, published 1887-1889), the critical writings of literary critic and novelist Tsubouchi Shôyô and the fiction of Kunikida Doppo around the turn of the century. In critically considering Futabatei Shimei's first novel *Ukigumo*, contemporary Japanese literary critic Kamei Hideo considers the opening passage of the novel to illustrate what modern literature is not: "to explore the possibilities that existed in those styles of expression that were eventually abandoned."⁶² Rather than a literary stylistic mandate of realism, Kamei finds the predominant literary value to be placed in the specific and almost physical existence of the narrator via the voice and narrative space devoted to a narratorial presence who describes and conveys from a specific and limited perspective: "It would be impossible to say that this narrator is merely constituted as an observer's gaze, as a third person disconnected from any specific perspective on the depicted scenes or as a kind of omniscient presence that moves fluidly throughout. Rather this is a narrator who trails one specific [character]. . . This is a narrator, it appears, who has a strong sense of his own existence, and who by revealing this causes the reader, on the other hand, to depart from the position of a merely passive auditor (*kikite*) and to enter into a kind of complicity with him."⁶³ In a footnote to this passage, Kamei draws our attention to the subtle difference that this anchoring in a specific persona, or embodying of the narrator suggests; namely, that the *kikite* (auditor or listener; the audience) and the *katarite* (the story-teller, the narrator; in *Rambles to the West* this extends to the authorial persona Robun himself) cannot be passive and impersonal, shorn from specifics of representation. In noting the poly-vocal nature of translation in *Rambles to the West*, and in seeing how the representation of the translator is made possible by the embodiment and specific representation of the narratorial voice, we see how the translator as proposed model of the modern Japanese citizen is dependent upon an understanding of the narrator's specific rather than anonymous voice.

Michael Bourdaghs, in his discussion of classical Japanese literature scholar Mitani Kuniaki, pinpoints the shift in conception and representation of the author in Meiji fiction as a key point in a larger dynamic:

⁶¹ My term poly-vocal is indebted to Mikhail Bakhtin's terms polyphony, especially his *Dialogic Imagination*, in which the phenomena of polyphony occurs in the context of the carnival as social institution. This dissertation replaces the contact zone of urban imperialism with Bakhtin's 'carnival' as context. I more narrowly intend poly-vocal to refer specifically to the dual voices of the narrator and the protagonist Tsûjirô in Robun's work, and to indicate the rhetorical benefits accrued to Robun by dividing the work of translation poly-vocally.

⁶² Kamei Hideo, *Transformations of Sensibility*, 7.

⁶³ *Ibid*, 8.

Mitani argues that *-ta* [the past tense verb ending] also enacts the unification of the text around a single, monological voice, that it constructs the fiction of an "author" as the subject who unifies the text, thereby eliding the free play of multiple voices that characterized earlier fiction. The real significance of Futabatei's *Ukigumo*, Mitani argues, is its gradual shift from a predominantly present-tense narration, one reminiscent of late-Edo *gesaku*, to a past-tense narration marked by this *-ta* form, a shift that coincides with an increasing capacity for omniscient representation of characters' inner thoughts.

In this view, Bourdaghs argues that certain Meiji authors "sought to preserve the play of polyphony in their works against the rising hegemony of works unified around the "author."⁶⁴

The representation of the subjectivity of the translator in Japanese travel literature of the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s is significantly different than the definitive experimentations in the representation of subjectivity and psychological interiority in Japanese literature that came in the 1880s and later, during what is now widely considered the birth of modern Japanese literature.⁶⁵ At the heart of the understanding of this birth is the concept of interiority - a private, psychological sense of subjectivity. Much has been made of the "discovery of interiority,"⁶⁶ in literary protagonists of the late Meiji period in which, as argued by Karatani Kôjin and others, a particular, interior model of psychological consciousness was "discovered" and explored in representations of the self and consciousness in modern Japanese literature. The figure of the translator in early Meiji literature, however, offers a different possibility for modern subjectivity and national identity in literature: one that envisioned a different set of aspirations and abilities, and located the expression and representation of subjectivity in profoundly different ways that what we have come to see in later (post 1880s) Japanese literary

⁶⁴ Bourdaghs, "Editor's Introduction: Buried Modernities," xviii.

⁶⁵ The 1880s as the start of modern Japanese literature has been widely argued by scholars such as Donald Keene and others. Edward Mack, linking the birth of modern Japanese literature to national and international politics, references Tomi Suzuki's *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity*, and states "The possession of a national literature became a point of pride for individuals who wanted to see Japan ranked among the greatest nations of the world. At stake was more than cultural pride; as Tomi Suzuki has written, the fate of Japan's national literature was linked to that of Japan as a modern nation-state among Western nations." When Tsubouchi Shôyô wrote *The Essence of the Novel*, the text that is nearly always situated "at the originary point of modern literary reform," he began his introduction lauding the literature of *wagakuni* ("our country") . . ." (Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature*, 226.) Here I am especially thinking of Futabatei Shimei's experimentations with narrative voice and the representation of the protagonist's psychology in his 1887-1889 novel *Ukigumo*. For an influential exploration of Futabatei Shimei's experimentation with voice in narration, especially Futabatei's use of second-person narration in the early chapters of *Ukigumo*, see Kamei Hideo, "The Disappearance of the Non-Person Narrator: Changing Sensibilities in Futabatei Shimei."

⁶⁶ Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*.

expression. The poly-vocal narrative in which the translator and the authorial narrator collaborate replicates the conditions of the contact zone in which relationships between colonizer and colonized are defined by "co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices" rather than separateness.

The representation of Tsûjirô's subjectivity emphasizes poly-vocality and public utterance rather than an interior, psychological consciousness; this is conveyed through the delivery of information that utilizes multiple voices in the narrative rather than through the later signature novelistic device of the disembodied third-person narrator in concert with a character's direct utterances. Robun presents a subjectivity expressed in the language of the character Tsûjirô that is augmented by the separate and distinct voice of the narrator. The narrator, implicitly figured in the text as Kanagaki Robun the author, shares the work of translation with the character Tsûjirô.⁶⁷ Tsûjirô enacts the interpreting or translating, whereupon the narratorial voice provides the actual translation information needed to make sense of what is going on. Instead of being concerned with interiority or a sense of selfhood informed by the conventions of psychological realism, Robun is interested in exteriority: how you should walk, how you should talk - a subjectivity of the surface, achieved through the poly-vocality of the text. In Robun's striving to characterize his translator as effortlessly suave, he himself as the narrator must contribute information in textual inserts and asides, because Tsûjirô cannot without compromising his cool. In other words, the character Tsûjirô embodies translation as a mode of action and way of being while Robun takes over much of the explanatory work. Hence the character of the translator and the narratorial voice work in partnership to convey a surface and shared (or at least augmented) subjectivity that is achieved through a division of translation labor.

The following scene, occurring between Tsûjirô and the English seaman Martell, and quoted earlier in this chapter to demonstrate Tsûjirô's fluency in English and multilinguality, definitively demonstrates that Tsûjirô can in fact operate in English. It comes under examination again here in order to consider the division of work between the

⁶⁷ In *Rambles to the West* there is both a strong narratorial voice and also a strong authorial voice, especially in the authorial prefaces and postscripts in each volume of the work. I have chosen to view the authorial voice, signed by Robun in these pieces of writing that lie outside the narrative proper, as the same persona as the narratorial voice that is imbricated in the narrative itself. My reasons for viewing these two as the same persona are as follows: first, Robun is writing out of a strong *gesaku* tradition which did indeed place a joint authorial voice and narratorial voice at the forefront of the narrative, clearly legible to the audience. In *hizakurige mono* as in other *kokkeibon* and in its forbearer genre *sharebon* it was standard to treat the authorial persona this way. Second, I argue that Robun did not sign his name to the narratorial comments or otherwise make totally explicit his identity within the narrative because to do so would be to interfere with the stylistic economy of the prose, to put brakes on the brisk delivery of information and witty banter that is essential to the successful effect of his prose. It would kill the fun to spell out the obvious at every turn. Finally, this was not even an issue for authors until writers like Futabatei Shimei started to experiment with omniscient narrators and second- or third-person narrators. Delivering the subjectivity of fictional characters without recourse to a separate narratorial persona is not a concern of Robun's.

translator character and the narrator and to demonstrate the text's poly-vocality. As we have seen above, the passage contains actual, if occasionally ungrammatical, English, transcribed into Japanese syllabary *katakana*, for the dialogue. The narrator then parses each utterance into Japanese (presented here in italics) so that the reader, who is assumed to know no English, will be able to follow along. Tsûjirô's expertise in English is so important to his characterization, in fact, that although the author Robun knew little or no English,⁶⁸ he was forced to generate scenes in *Rambles to the West* that convincingly show Tsûjirô's language capability. The result, as seen below, is a poly-vocal narrative in which the work of translating meaning moves back and forth from the translator character to the narrator. For the sake of clarity the passage is quoted again:

During this conversation Martell the sailor gulped down beer by himself and said: Martell: "What will you? Please do it." meaning, is there anything you would like to eat?⁶⁹ "I have no more stomach." meaning I'm not hungry anymore. Tsûjirô listened to this and said "Is it true?" meaning is that so? Martell: "It is true." meaning It is indeed.⁷⁰

This poly-vocal scene wherein Tsûjirô demonstrates English language fluency with a genuine foreigner (Martell the English sailor) in an international setting (China), while the narrator does the actual work of translation for the reader of *Rambles to the West* (translating a *katakana*-transcribed English statement: "I have no more stomach" and parsing it into Japanese with metatextual explanation: "meaning I'm not hungry anymore.") allows the text to have its cake and eat it too; Tsûjirô moves with effortless fluency through the social exchange, enacting a model of behavior of suave cosmopolitanism and cool composure, without having to compromise that smoothness by slowing down or fussing over an actual translation for the characters Kitahachi and Yajirô, or for the readers of the text. Instead, Kitahachi and Yajirô are swept along in the chain of events without ever achieving full understanding (nor, for that matter, seeing to care if they do). The reader, on the other hand, is in the privileged position of patron consumer of the text and therefore the narrator explains every foreign word and custom in the text. By dividing the work of translation between the narrator and Tsûjirô in this passage and in many similar passages, Tsûjirô's characterization acquires the quality of a poised, easy mastery of English that is in part achieved by the brisk pace with which he speaks and interacts with a genuine English man. I argue that this particular kind of mastery of the English language, one that is brisk, easy and composed, owes its

⁶⁸ A lack of knowledge of English did not stop the ever-resourceful Robun from finding language sources, such as dictionaries and handbooks, to use as models and to borrow from in order to produce English language passages such as the one quoted above. For further biographical information about Kanagaki Robun and his sources see Okitsu, *Kanagaki Robun*, and Hiratsuka, *Kanagaki Robun*.

⁶⁹ Literary scholar and Kanagaki Robun specialist Hiratsuka Ryôsen interprets the phrase "do it" in Martell's statement "Please do it" to mean "Please try it." Robun then translates the English phrase (transcribed in *katakana*) into Japanese as "Is there anything you would like to eat?"

⁷⁰ Robun, *Rambles to the West*, 66-67.

sensibility to values most commonly validated by the British gentleman colonialist.⁷¹ Hence, Tsûjirô approximates the British colonialist in the manner in which he uses English as much as by the fluency of his English itself. His manner of usage is only possible via the poly-vocal mode of translation in the text.

The emphasis placed on the manner and attitude of delivery of translation, rather than on literal conveyance of translated meaning, underscores textual values in the *hizakurige* genre that eschew a model of translation as a one-to-one transparent exchange in favor of a model of translation that foregrounds modes of delivery, attitude and context in the act of translation, and, as stated above, that valorize surface rather than interior. This suggests some revealing parallels with the figure of the British dandy, also a figure famously preoccupied with surface rather than interiority. According to literary critic Davina L. Eisenberg, the "dandy's attraction or value is based on nothing at all - just style and attitude, airs and clothes."⁷² The figure of the translator has a similarly slippery relationship to value. Neither an heir to a merchant's fortune like the patron boss character Ôhara-ya Hirozô (literally, 'Mr. Great Paunch of the Big Belly Trading Firm') in Robun's *Rambles to the West*, nor the first-born son of a politically important family like many important historical figures of the early Meiji state, the translator gets by on his wit and style, and is thus naturally at home in a "rambles" travel genre with *gesaku* literary values of word-play and the flashy demonstration of Edoite cultural capital. American dialect scholar George Philip Krapp wrote in 1926 that the American interests in dialect-rich literature was the result of social mobility and shifting social and class affiliations, and additionally argues that as dialect vanishes in reality, it becomes all the more suited for literary purposes. This would map well onto Robun's literary moment in which his dialect-rich work enjoyed huge commercial and popular success at the very moment that educational and social changes were irreversibly changing the social fabric

⁷¹ A generation later, Natsume Soseki characterized this smooth English Gentleman in his "Letter from London" (1901) as:

... They do not take any notice of me. *Being magnanimous and composed in all things is in these parts one qualification of being a gentleman. Overly fussing over trifles like some pickpocket or staring at a person's face with curiosity is considered vulgar....* Pointing at people is the height of rudeness. Such are the customs, but of course London is also the workshop of the world, so they do not laughingly regard foreigners as curiosities. Most people are extremely busy. Their heads seem to be so teeming with thoughts of money that they have no time to jeer at us Japanese as yellow people.....
...But sometimes there are people who surreptitiously comment on my country of origin. The other day I was standing looking around a shop somewhere when two women approached me from behind, remarking, 'least-poor Chinese' . . .
(emphasis added, *The Tower of London*, 57-58.)

In this passage Soseki intuitively links the qualities of an English gentleman with race, finding himself in the psychologically distressing position of being unable to achieve gentleman-hood by virtue of being "yellow." I argue that Robun tackled the same nexus of race and class values embodied in the British colonialist, presenting a successfully integrated model in Tsûjirô rather than Soseki's excluded figure.

⁷²Eisenberg, *The Figure of the Dandy*, 1-2.

upon which Robun's work draws. Krapp, in his pejorative but fascinated view of dialect literature as "offering a rich harvest of mirth for the heedless and of philosophical reflection for the thoughtful"⁷³ endorses Yiddish scholar Alter Brody's statement that "Ghetto psychology is well-handled in inverse proportion to the amount of Yidgin [a Brody neologism for Yiddish English dialect] a story contains. When a writer uses such crude means of laying on local color, he can afford to stop at the surface, but if he deprives himself of their aid he has to prove his points."⁷⁴ While compatible with a Tokugawa-period literary form, this also resonates with the changing times of Meiji in echoing something of the quality of *risshin shusse*, a key buzzword for the Meiji period⁷⁵ that suggests getting ahead in the world through one's own efforts (rather than via advantages accrued through inherited social status,) and therefore implies a model of success based solely on one's talents in the face of contemporary and shifting opportunities. Robun's translator figure and the *tsû* connoisseur of Tokugawa-period pleasure quarters most often represented in the *sharebon* genre of popular fiction both share this opportunistic quality of the Dandy who gains social prominence through his wit, *bon mot* and *dajare* punning virtuosity. His value is linked to style, delivery and attitude, to surface and fashion, rather than to a normatively transparent meaning exchange and an interior subjectivity. The poly-vocal aspect of the text allows Tsûjirô the freedom to jettison such quotidian concerns of translated meaning and instead embody an attitude that could represent a model of an emerging modern Japanese citizen of the world.

On the other hand, the translator as a model of representation valorizing surface, empty of value or interior psychological depths, and based on fleeting verbal sparkle, one that is enabled by the narrative translation division between performing translation, as Tsûjirô does, and actually conveying translated meaning to the reading audience, as the narrator does, is in some ways profoundly out of step with the utilitarian drive of Meiji Japan and the modernizing state agenda. Specifically, much of the translation work that went on in the mid- to late nineteenth century was intensely pragmatic, with a large number of publications being little more than dictionaries or even more simply compendia of foreign objects, enumerated vocabulary-lists of foreign words that name objects, and those words transcribed into Japanese syllabary.

An examination of the characterization of Tsûjirô and Robun's complimentary textual voices reveals the values championed by this text, the qualities put forward as a possible mode of behavior and model of national identity for the changing times. The narrator's words show an impulse towards encyclopedic inclusiveness and display a disembodied but ostentatious verbosity and language expertise. Rhetorical slickness is another showcased value, as embodied in Tsûjirô and supported and supplemented by the narratorial voice (shown below in italics). In the following scene, the threesome, Tsûjirô, Kitahachi, and Yajirô, have stopped in the street outside an exotic foreign restaurant in Hong Kong that serves the signature British dish Beef. The dialogue below occurs as the group moves from the street into the restaurant, and features a pun on eating generated from the trendy slang "to eat people" meaning "to make a fool of someone."

⁷³ Krapp, "The Psychology of Dialect Writing," 529.

⁷⁴ Alter Brody quoted in Krapp, "The Psychology of Dialect Writing," 525.

⁷⁵ For information on *risshin shusse* see Ogawa, *Risshin shusse shugi no kyōiku*.

Tsûjirô: “Yeah, this place was opened by an Englishman; as you can see the signboard has “Bu-ri-ta-ni-a” [Britannia] written in Chinese characters. Even the foreigners are really eating folks up [making a fool of everyone].”
 Kita: “What?! Instead of beef, they eat people here? That’s terrible – which one? which one? where?”
 Yaji: “You’re an annoying guy; don’t you know trendy slang? To ‘eat people’ means to bamboozle.
 Kita: “Oh, I’ll be the first to keep my mouth shut [not eat]/keep a straight face [not find that funny]
*and they took some seats across the way. Tsûjirô ordered in English and in no time beef stew and Western sake was brought to them . . .*⁷⁶

In this early example of Tsûjirô's foreign language usage in *Rambles to the West*, his foreign language fluency has been paired with exotic foreign food and people in the setting of the Beef restaurant, and in addition has been joined with a demonstration of fluency in slang or trendy buzzwords in Japanese. Thus Tsûjirô’s foreign language facility, here in English (while earlier in Chinese) is just the tip of the iceberg of knowledge of the new in general. Tsûjirô can read the signboard that features a newly prominent kind of written language – Chinese characters transcribing words by sound from European languages.

Linguistic fluency facilitates a freedom of movement, as if one could speak ones’ way through to new adventures, lands, and to a position of entitlement in the new international imperial order. Rambling along in language and motion, skill in language facilitates freedom of movement even as the shadowy prospect of entrapment lurks at the edges of the text to offer a contrast to this vision of free movement, an alternate destiny of colonized, fettered and disempowered existence. Although comically presented, the text contains recurrent examples of immobility and prostration due to lack of power and lack of language ability that menace the promise of mastery and the model of success. In the narrative, threats are treated lightly and comically but, even so, are ever present.⁷⁷ In the stories of Meiji’s “founding fathers,” too, their success is often based on perilous adventures abroad including the threat and even experience of indentured servitude abroad, as was discussed in the introductory chapter. While we therefore find the link

⁷⁶ Robun, *Rambles to the West*, 49. Explanation of the double meaning of the pun in square brackets is my own, while text in italics continues to refer to the comments of the narrator, and regular typeset to direct speech. The key to understanding the joke in this passage is recognizing that Robun selected the slang phrase “to eat folks up” precisely because its metaphoric quality makes a shocking and humorous contrast to the literal business of eating the exotic and formerly taboo meat: beef. For a history of beef in Japan, see Egaitsu, *Nihonjin to gyûniku*. For a commercial history of beef in Japan, see *Gyûniku no rekishi*, compiled by the Livestock Industry Promotion Corporation 畜産振興事業団.

⁷⁷This is also true in Robun’s authorial remarks at the beginning of volume 3 in which he defends *gesaku* writing to a historically very real menace of government censorship and repression. For more information on censorship in the Meiji period, see Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals* and Suzuki, ed. *Ken'etsu, media, bungaku : Edo kara sengo made*.

between language acquisition and movement (and its threatened alternative: arrested movement of the imprisoned body) in many texts in this moment of the translator, in Robun's *Rambles to the West* a specific set of values, a particular combination of character traits and identities from disparate traditions combine to promote and demonstrate a hybrid language expert who, by virtue of this expertise, is able to move freely and with entitlement and personal sovereignty through the world. The translator becomes the flaneur of the world, entitled to move through entrepôts of trade and centers of culture with aplomb, securely a part of the new international imperial order. Language fluency is key to this membership. Robun's Tsûjirô as flaneur must acquire the manner of deportment and the bodies of knowledge, especially linguistic, of the British Colonial Gentleman.

Chapter 3
The Translator as Expert:
Fukuzawa Yukichi's travel narratives and translations

ユー マスト シー イット ウ井シ ユーアル ヲーヌ アイズ
You must see it with your own eyes
アナタハソレヲジシンデミ子バナラヌ

-Fukuzawa Yukichi,
Revised and Expanded Chinese-English Dictionary of Common Speech

Numerous “founding fathers” of modern Japan worked as translators and interpreters in their youth in the 1850s and 1860s, and recast those experiences in autobiographical travel writings to present a model of modern Japanese identity that would be successful on the world stage to a Japanese reading public. Fukuzawa Yukichi, preeminent amongst those pioneers both in his own time and today, represented himself in his prolific writings as a model modern Japanese citizen of the world, fashioning in his primers and treatises a fabricated identity closely tied to his biographical one that promoted the following three characteristics: an expertise in command of key bodies of knowledge, a tendency to act with swift and clever expediency, and a particular set of class and cultural characteristics rooted in a samurai and male position that, judging from the great popularity of his writings, resonated deeply with the Japanese reading public of the early- to mid-Meiji period. The Japanese reading public’s knowledge that Fukuzawa lived the life of travel and expertise he was describing gave his translation works of the 1860s their suasive force as a composite model of modern identity.

Fukuzawa Yukichi, usually described as “an influential philosopher and political theorist”⁷⁸ and an educator, writer and “propagator” of Western knowledge and customs, is regarded as one of the intellectual founders of modern Japan.⁷⁹ His portrait adorns the 10,000 yen note in contemporary Japan, an indication of the continued esteem in which he is held. However, before his role as a leading cultural reformer of his day, the Fukuzawa of the 1860s would best be described as a translator; as implied in the terms “propagator” and educator, Fukuzawa performed work that broadcasted information embedded in a specific intellectual framework to a receptive Japanese audience. Through his 1860s translation work and pedagogically-toned primers on new Western knowledge and cultural systems, Fukuzawa became a leading public figure, embodying a model of the modern Japanese citizen of the world. His 1899 *Autobiography* is the culminating representation of a public identity crafted through a series of public appearances,

⁷⁸ Racel, “Finding their Place in the World”

⁷⁹ Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan entry for Fukuzawa Yukichi.

speeches and publications - in book form and in newspaper editorials - in which Fukuzawa presented his thoughts and opinions via his proxy identity that held a powerful illocutionary force.

In between the 1860s primers and the 1899 *Autobiography* Fukuzawa published the treatises on education and social reform for which he is best remembered today. But contrary to retrospective articulations of his intellectual legacy that tend to ignore his 1860s work as a translator in favor of his later philosophical treatises on education, social reform, and the role of Japan in the modern forum,⁸⁰ Fukuzawa's 1860s translation works and primers were, in fact, crucial in conveying to his contemporaries a representation of Japanese identity that would enable access to the modern arena. Rather than reading his 1860s publications as disposable pamphlets that simply transmit information, or as merely a foundation for later intellectual work, this chapter will demonstrate that in these texts Fukuzawa presented a model Japanese identity through his persona as a translator traveler.⁸¹ This chapter examines the representation of identity in the 1860s primers, especially in *Travel Guide to the West* (1867,) to argue that the still-visible act of translation and the figure of the translator form essential elements of the ideal identity proposed by Fukuzawa in these texts. He conveyed this identity first in his *Travel Guide to the West* and his other 1860s translations and primers, and then in his later works, including his *Autobiography*. In all these works, Fukuzawa modeled an identity chiefly defined by three characteristics: the modeled identity demonstrates expertise and authority over key bodies of knowledge, is ready to exploit serendipitous opportunity through expedient action, and displays a specific set of class and gender markers.

⁸⁰ Masako Racel's work on Fukuzawa is an example of this dismissive view of Fukuzawa's earlier translation work in favor of his later writings. She states

At this stage in his writing career Fukuzawa did not express his own ideas; instead, he relied heavily on summations or translations of foreign works, mostly from British or American publications, to express concepts of the West to his Japanese audience. It was not until several years after the Meiji Restoration that Fukuzawa began expressing his own ideas through his writings with the publication of *An Encouragement of Learning* in 1872. Upon publishing this text, Fukuzawa became a philosopher that represented modern Japan, rather than being a mere translator. (Racel, "Finding their Place in the World," 79)

⁸¹ Scholars on Fukuzawa, such as Albert M. Craig and Stefan Tanaka, view the 1860s texts as immature when compared with the 1870s and 1880s writings. Although Craig grants that the translations and primers of the 1860s was "prodigious" (Craig, "Foreword," viii) in output and that in these works Fukuzawa "invented a new prose style," (Ibid) Craig implies a devaluation of the intellectual content of the earlier writings of Fukuzawa in favor of Fukuzawa's mid-career writings when he states: "After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Fukuzawa turned from translating to original writing." (Ibid, xi.) Craig, while acknowledging the translation work of the 1860s, nevertheless tends to consider it merely a foundation for later intellectual work: "Fukuzawa was a superb translator. He thoroughly understood even the most difficult English texts, excepting a few idioms, and he was a master of Japanese prose. . . . The solutions he arrived at during his translation-writings of the 1860s became the premises of his later original writings." (Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment*, 3).

The ideal identity projected in the 1860s texts and the focus of this chapter resonated with the activities and adventures Fukuzawa was known to have experienced. The biographic details of Fukuzawa's life, and the basis of his textual authority, were well known to the Japanese reading public at the time. In 1860 Fukuzawa traveled to San Francisco as a *jûboku* 従僕 (personal attendant) in the entourage of the official Japanese envoy to the United States,⁸² and upon returning to Japan, worked for the Bakufu government as a translator and produced his first publication, a Chinese-English-Japanese dictionary titled *Zôtei kaei tsûgo* 増訂華英通語 (New and Revised Chinese English Dictionary of Common Speech.) In 1862 he was employed as a translator (翻訳方) with an official Japanese envoy to Europe. In 1864 he received orders from the Japanese government's Office of Foreign Relations, Chinese Translation branch, and in 1865 completed *Tôjin ôrai* 唐人往来 (Primer on the Chinese.) This year he also translated issues of the Yokohama-based English-language newspaper *Japan Herald*. In January 1867 he traveled to America for a second time, and upon returning to Japan with a sheaf of manuscripts and a huge amount of purchased textbooks and books,⁸³ published in rapid succession *Seiyô tabi annai* 西洋旅案内 (Travel Guide to the West, tenth month of 1867; the preface is dated from the eighth month of 1867,⁸⁴) *Jôyaku jûichi kokuki* 條約十一国記 (Record of Treaties with Eleven Nations, eleventh month of 1867,) and *Seiyô ishokujû* 西洋衣食住 (Western Clothing, Food and Living, compiled under Fukuzawa's direction and published in the twelfth month of 1867.) At the end of 1866, he published the first volume of *Seiyô jijô* 西洋事情 (Conditions in the West,) the first of a series of treatises he wrote at the height of his career and the work that cemented his reputation in Japan as the foremost authority on the West. The work "gave a simple readable account of everyday Western customs and institutions and proved so popular that the sales of volume 1 reached the huge figure of 150,000."⁸⁵ The financial success of this work granted Fukuzawa the independent status that enabled him to remain outside of the Japanese government apparatus for the rest of his career.

Intellectual histories generally consider Fukuzawa's *Autobiography* a subsidiary work in comparison to his principal treatises such as the previously mentioned *Conditions in the West*, his *Gakumon no susume* 学問のすすめ (An Encouragement of Learning, published 1872–76) and his *Bummeiron no gairyaku* 文明論之概略 (An Outline of a

⁸² The following biographical information is drawn from the "Abbreviated Chronology of Fukuzawa Yukichi" in *Fukuzawa Yukichi no tegami*, 313-322.

⁸³ Eiichi Kiyooka notes that "Fukuzawa brought back three or four thousand ryô worth of books. The shipment was so large that the customs officers in Yokohama became suspicious and held it until the fall of Tokugawa government." (*Autobiography*, 360, note 199)

⁸⁴ Kiyooka translates this title as *A Guide to Travel in the Western World* (*Autobiography*, 358, note 174)

⁸⁵ Noboru Tomonari decries the neglect and underestimation of Fukuzawa's *Autobiography* by scholars and critics. See especially his chapter 2 "Creating Modern Managers: The Uses of Memory by Fukuzawa Yukichi and Shibusawa Eiichi" in *Constructing Subjectivities: Autobiographies in Modern Japan*.

Theory of Civilization, 1875.)⁸⁶ Far from subsidiary, the *Autobiography* cements the model identity presented in the earlier translation work of the 1860s by representing a modern identity as a successful translator. In both his early and late work, Fukuzawa delineates a desirable modern identity, a translator whose class identity is a hybrid of Fukuzawa's own samurai class background. This modern identity, represented in Fukuzawa's writings and implicitly personified by Fukuzawa himself, claims a near-omniscient position of knowledge as an expert on everything from steamship timetables to riding boots, alongside a ready expediency to seize the chance to go abroad, and specific representational choices of class, as a low-ranking samurai from the periphery.

These key characteristics of Fukuzawa's proposed model identity - detailed class identifiers, a talent for opportunistic, expedient action, and aspirations to a position of expertise through knowledge possession - share much with protagonists of Edo-period popular literature, but were championed by Fukuzawa as the key to a mode of existence that would successfully integrate into the new modern world order. This proposed identity was conveyed to the Japanese reading public most strikingly in Fukuzawa's *Travel Guide to the West*. Fukuzawa's choice of the term *tabi annai* 旅案内 (travel guide) in the title of his text of practical travel information immediately put the work in the realm of the familiar for an early-Meiji reading audience comfortable with the robust volume of Japanese travel literature in popular circulation since at least the Tokugawa period.⁸⁷ *Travel Guide to the West* contains Fukuzawa's own first-hand observations as well as information derived from several elementary English-language primers in Fukuzawa's personal collection; crucial to the reception of the work was the fact that Fukuzawa published it just after returning from his third trip to "the West" (twice to the United States and once to Europe.) It thus gained in luster from the persona of the author as real-life world traveler. The rapid succession of Fukuzawa's publications combined with the wide circulation and huge popularity of those works culminated in a representation of identity that spanned more than one text but was unified by the key markers of class, expediency, and expertise of the traveling translator as a model identity that would permit access to participation in the modern. Promoting the model identity of the traveling translator was one way in which Fukuzawa acted upon his recurrent concern with Japan's position in the international forum.⁸⁸

Fukuzawa published his *Seiyō tabi annai* 西洋旅案内 (Travel Guide to the West) in 1867 after returning to Japan from abroad. Scholars have noted that the *Travel Guide* is significant because it is one of the earliest works to present and explain things crucial to modern international business practices such as insurance, foreign financial exchange, Western time-keeping practices, and longitude and latitude for sea navigation.⁸⁹ The slender two-volume work opens with Fukuzawa's *Seiyō tabi annai jo* 西洋旅案内序

⁸⁶ *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* entry for Fukuzawa Yukichi.

⁸⁷ For a broader discussion of early modern travel literature and the information explosion in the 1600s, see Berry, *Japan in Print*.

⁸⁸ Albert Craig and others have noted Fukuzawa's patriotic concern for Japan to gain a position of parity with "the West" – that is, with the Imperialist powers of the late nineteenth century - that spans his entire career.

⁸⁹ “解説,” 西洋旅案内. 上, Digital Gallery of Rare Books at Keio University, http://project.lib.keio.ac.jp/dg_kul/fukuzawa_title.php?id=16.

(Travel Guide to the West Preface) and then proceeds to explain in approximately eight preliminary chapters the various features of modern life in “the West.” This explanatory section is followed by two long prose descriptions split by the volume divide: the first volume (*kan no jō* 卷之上) concludes with Fukuzawa's description of the conventional travel route (and one he himself traveled) across the Indian Ocean to Europe *Indokai hikyakubune no tachiyoru basho* 印度海飛脚船の立寄る場所 (Indian Ocean Express Steamship Points of Transit) and the second volume (*kan no ge* 卷之下) resumes with Fukuzawa's description of the alternate route across the Pacific Ocean *Taiheikai hikyakubune no tachiyoru basho* 太平洋海飛脚船の立寄る場所 (Pacific Ocean Express Steamship Points of Transit.) These prose descriptions, populated by facts and figures about the various contact zones on the way, are followed by an appendix in eight sections outlining specific aspects of "business methods" (*shōhō* 商法) such as the arrangements of banks, insurance, and other things that would be of special interest to the world of business and trade.

In Fukuzawa's *Jo* 序 (Preface) to the *Travel Guide* the audience is invited to join Fukuzawa in becoming a modern citizen of the world by becoming, with him, a traveling translator. In this Preface, he writes provocatively that the *Travel Guide* was written in anticipation of readers who will start to emulate his model of modern identity; that is, "fellow companions" (*tomogara* 輩) who read foreign-language books and travel to foreign countries to gather knowledge and information.

. . . there must surely be many Japanese people coming and going to foreign countries, and for the sake of guiding those *fellow companions*, I gathered and wrote down the arrangement of steamships and boarding times and the like . . . (emphasis added)⁹⁰

Fukuzawa makes his purpose clear: he aims through this *Travel Guide* to inspire and encourage his fellow Japanese to travel to foreign countries and engage with foreign languages. The preface then continues, stating that although the *Travel Guide* has basic educational aims for a general reading public, the *Travel Guide* also hopes to be useful to this vanguard audience of fellow companions:

From the beginning, this book was compiled for the sake of those people who don't understand much about foreign things; if, for one for whom its meaning is shallow, and who reads those countries' books, or even travels to those such countries and becomes knowledgeable about everything (*monogoto* 物事,) if such a person looks at this [Fukuzawa's *Travel Guide to the West*] and finds it without interest, this will be in vain.⁹¹

The text's declaration of aspirations of utility "for one whom its meaning is shallow" – shallow because the reader already reads foreign languages and has already become a broker of knowledge through language exchange while traveling - is disingenuous; it stands to logic that such an accomplished translator traveler would not need to know

⁹⁰*Seiyōtabiannaijō*, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū*, vol 2, 115. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 115.

about steamship routes and the like, because such a traveler would already know this information. Rather, Fukuzawa is putting the reader in the flattering position of peer while providing the means to become that identity that Fukuzawa envisions will gain access to the modern. Furthermore, Fukuzawa's double negative here (literally "if such a person . . . finds it without interest, this will be without benefit" おもしろくもなく無益のことなり) implies a challenge to a generation of readers and students to exhaust the resources presented in his translations and primers by doing as he has done, travel and translate, and verify by direct experience what they have learned in books about the world. In this way, Fukuzawa calls on his readership to join the modern world, metonymically signaled by the place names listed in the preface: Europe, California, Washington, New York.⁹²

Modeling Expertise: the issue of omniscience and narratorial voice

This chapter argues that Fukuzawa's texts define a model identity by the quality of expertise, that is, by the attribution of a sweeping command of knowledge held by the traveling translator that approaches omniscience. Theorists of the novel that focus on the phenomenon of the 'omniscient narrator' (such as in British novels written in the nineteenth century) describe the literary phenomenon of the omniscient narrator as a voice that disrupts the text in a strong way, "when the author intrudes directly into her fiction either by way of stage directions or of moral commentary."⁹³ However, Michel Foucault aligns the omniscient narrator with the invisible observer of disciplining institutions.⁹⁴ Comparably, D.A. Miller writes that the term "narrator" falsely represents "a technique that, never identified with a person, institutes a faceless and multilateral regard."⁹⁵ Literary scholar Audrey Jaffe, taking these perspectives into account, views the critical landscape to lie between the two poles of "treating the omniscient narrator as presence or personification, or as impersonal technique."⁹⁶ Rather than choose between these two poles, Jaffe writes, "we can interest ourselves precisely in the way in which it naturalizes or refuses to naturalize itself - at times speaking "personally," at times representing abstract knowledge (what the reader already knows or needs to know)."⁹⁷ I argue that the way in which Fukuzawa's narratorial voice "naturalizes itself," in Jaffe's terms, reveals an agenda in which the text aspires to inspire, to galvanize, to be the catalyst which causes its audience to form a new identity that will be able to be at home in the imperialistic modern world. The text casts the narratorial voice in a personified register, one that self-referentially gestures towards Fukuzawa's own well-publicized travel experiences as a translator and broker of knowledge. By doing so, the text eschews a more mechanical, faceless narratorial approach in which information is simply

⁹² Ibid, 115.

⁹³ Audrey Jaffe quotes W. J. Harvey here describing the omniscient narrator of the writings of George Eliot (Jaffe, *Vanishing Points*, 2.)

⁹⁴ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

⁹⁵ Jaffe summarizes D.A. Miller's work in *The Detective and the Police (Vanishing Points*, 3).

⁹⁶ Jaffe, *Vanishing Points*, 3.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 4.

presented without trace of a personified narratorial voice at all. The presence of personality in the narratorial approach to Fukuzawa's 1860s texts, including presence in genres with narratorial styles that are as typically "voiceless" or un-personified as dictionaries and primers, constitutes one of Fukuzawa's main techniques for inspiring action and change in his readership. For reasons important to Fukuzawa, his narratorial persona in the 1860s texts is both personified and all-seeing. The omniscient narrator of these texts, therefore, is meant to be both an approachable identity worthy of emulation, and an all-knowing expert. The encyclopedic scope of facts and figures that the 1860s texts display is metonymic for a position of authority that approaches omnipotence.

But just as the Victorian novel's omniscient narrator transgresses lines of power that were precisely the object concern and fascination in public life,⁹⁸ Fukuzawa's narrator's omniscient qualities reveal insecurity around knowledge possession rather than reinforce an assumed position of power and authority. Jaffe writes of the Victorian omniscient narrator:

The assertion of knowledge and authority, however, does not necessarily reflect their secure possession. . . . Omnisciently narrated novels . . . are notably ambitious in scope, take as their projects the representation of entire social worlds from an external perspective. . . The explicit and implicit insistence on narratorial knowledge this project involves . . . suggests that omniscience is not so much evidence for the possession of knowledge as an emphatic display of knowledge, a display, precisely, of what is not being taken for granted⁹⁹

Fukuzawa, by imbuing the narratorial voice of his non-fictional texts with omniscient qualities, points to insecurities around knowledge possession even while inspiring his reading audience to aspire to positions of authority based on knowledge possession as translators. Jaffe writes: "Omniscience in general . . . is a fantasy: of unlimited knowledge and mobility; of transcending the boundaries imposed by physical being and by an ideology of unitary identity."¹⁰⁰ Fukuzawa is not only in the business of selling a fantasy of knowledge, but seeks to cajole his readership into becoming brokers of knowledge themselves as traveling translators. This chapter argues that Fukuzawa moves beyond presenting omniscience as simply a matter of content in his encyclopedic primers and dictionaries of the 1860s, but also as a matter of narrative form, and by extension, of an endorsed model of expert identity for Fukuzawa's audience.

The premise of Fukuzawa's *Travel Guide to the West* and the other 1860s primers and translations is that the narrator, a persona modeled on the historical Fukuzawa himself, approaches omniscient capabilities; that is, he is an expert boundlessly knowledgeable and effortlessly entitled. His multi-lingual fluency allows access to, and ownership of, coveted components of knowledge. Each time the reader of the *Travel Guide* encounters the Fukuzawa persona conveying an item of information in the manner of an expert, this air of omniscience is reinforced. The persona garners authority from the demonstration of command of vast bodies of knowledge. From the Preface's invitation to the *tomogara* onwards, Fukuzawa expects members of his audience to adopt

⁹⁸ Ibid, 5.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 5-6.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 6.

the persona being presented, and to act, like him, as a virtually omniscient traveling translator able to broker knowledge. This is communicated to the reader in several ways. The *Travel Guide's* maps section, for example, shows how an expert translator identity is offered to the reader.

Fukuzawa presents the Western world as a field of knowledge that is acquirable through his *Travel Guide*. The acquisition of knowledge that leads to a position of expertise is most strongly signaled in the *Travel Guide* through the initial visual cue of a pair of maps of the world, one indicating steamship routes, and the other diagramming the earth as a globe with the equator, latitude lines and main continents delineated. A stated goal of the *Travel Guide* is to encourage the audience to acquire the knowledge of the countries presented in the *Travel Guide*; that is, those places visited by the persona of the traveling translator Fukuzawa. The *Travel Guide* sets up an expectation of an all-seeing positionality by presenting a set of images inserted on the folded frontispiece before the text proper: a world map spread across two pages, marked by steamship travel routes traversing the countries and oceans of the globe. The viewing position of the reader of the *Travel Guide* is first established as an omniscient one by the implied perspective of the reader of this map of the world. This chapter argues that the text aspires to, and achieves for the reader, a position of comprehensiveness made possible by a nexus of linguistic and physical movement; while viewing the maps, the reader anticipates that the multi-lingual translator can move with unencumbered freedom across the maps presented in the *Travel Guide*.

The map of the world and the map of steamship routes are accompanied by a pair of prose headings to the top left and top right of the maps. The vocabulary and prose style in the textual accompaniments to the maps are extremely simple, something that Fukuzawa would become famous for, and proud of. (He would later claim that he wished that even the most uneducated person would be able to understand his writings.¹⁰¹) Note, however, that beneath the surface of the simple content and manner of communication, the narrator of the *Travel Guide* is delivering this information to the reading audience from an assumed position of superiority. Fukuzawa, in writing in simple cadences for a reading public assumed to be ignorant, models the persona of one who has become an expert and authority by garnering great knowledge through personal experience traveling as a translator. There are thus two intended audiences for the *Travel Guide's* maps: the audience expected to learn simple knowledge about geography, and the audience to whom a Japanese identity of omniscient authority is being modeled. The elementary factual content in the prose accompanying the maps in the *Travel Guide* is not really intended for the reading audience invited in the Preface to become a traveling translator like Fukuzawa; rather, this preferred audience is being spurred to emulate the voice of expertise that can deliver coveted information, such as simple facts of world geography.

¹⁰¹ Shinzo Koizumi characterizes Fukuzawa's prose style as "most pleasing in its freedom, directness and simplicity - the result of native talent and a conscious effort to break through the stale pedantry and conventionality of contemporary scholars who were too much involved in the use of classical Chinese styles. Though well versed in Chinese, Fukuzawa purposely limited the use of words of Chinese origin in his writings, adopting instead the more popular and rejuvenating expressions of the common people, a practice without precedent for a scholar of the time." (Koizumi, "Introduction," viii).

Fukuzawa continues this dual set of signals in the *Travel Guide*. The text presents explanations of an encyclopedia of information, from the ordinary to the arcane in an explanatory register.¹⁰² For example, within the first few lines of the first volume's opening chapter the following sentence simply states: "On the Earth there is sea and there is land." Notably, this statement uses the verb *ari* twice in order to create an aesthetically pleasing rhetorical symmetry while remaining extremely clear and simple: "*kono chikyū no naka ni kai ari tochi ari*" (この地球の中に海あり陸地あり, *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū*, vol. 2, 121.) Fukuzawa addresses both intended audiences here; by presenting elementary geographic information in the simplest of language, the text aims to educate, but by placing the reader in an omniscient vantage of global view that apprehends the totality of the earth, and the text also models a mode of discourse in which the speaker is an expert and broker of knowledge. Thus, the *Travel Guide*, with Fukuzawa's other translations and primers of the 1860s, conveys crucial knowledge about the contemporary world in simple terms while also modeling an identity that speaks from a standpoint of vast expertise. In using *ari*, the verb to indicate simple existence and statement of fact, the *Travel Guide* represents an identity that can participate in the modern (Imperial) world order by virtue of the ability to comprehend existence in its totality.

Most of the *Travel Guide* is written in *shichi-go-chō* 七五調 (7-5 syllabic meter) which was used in the Meiji period, and earlier, for prose cadences aimed at a more popular, less literate audience, including works written ostensibly for children.¹⁰³ Fukuzawa's writing has been widely described as being purposefully simple in style in order to gain the widest possible reading audience, and to this end, he embraced the *shichi-go-chō* stylistic convention as useful to making his translation and transmission of the new more familiar than if he had experimented stylistically. In his use of the *shichi-go-chō* style, Fukuzawa adopts the pedagogic tone of instructional texts, thereby modeling the embodiment of the expert by speaking in simple cadences. Fukuzawa writes to two audiences: one, of ignorant members of the general public, and the other, of "fellow companions" for whom the text models a voice of expertise that is linked to the identity embodied by the Fukuzawa textual persona.

The *Travel Guide* is not the only place that Fukuzawa models an identity able to discern the world with omniscient-like scope while delivering basic information in simple language. In his other primers and translation works from the 1860s this dual audience is projected repeatedly. In Fukuzawa's *Jōyaku jūichi kokuki* 条約十一国記 (Record of Treaties with 11 Nations, 1867) the contemporary political circumstances of Japan's

¹⁰² The stylistic hallmark of Fukuzawa's explanatory register is his heavy usage of verbs - *ari* ~あり or -*nari* ~なり ("there is, there exists") indicating existence to make simple statements.

¹⁰³ 7-5 syllabic meter is, of course, also the meter of poetry in high-brow classical poetry such as *waka*, which is written in 5-7-5-7-7 syllabic rhythm. By late Meiji, literary language in 7-5 syllabic meter had become somewhat controversial thanks to the genbun itchi movement's calls for language reform; literary luminaries such as Ozaki Kōyō used the 7-5 syllabic cadence to masterful effect in highbrow prose literature, while other highbrow authors eschewed it in favor of stylistic experimentation. See Sakai Miki, *Ozaki Kōyō to hon'an*, for a detailed discussion of Ozaki Kōyō's prose style choices in conjunction with issues of translation and adaptation.

unequal treaty relationships with other countries is brought to bear on Fukuzawa's promotion of an identity able to grasp the totality of the world, to speak with authority and to participate in the modern world order. The *Treaties* opens with a frontispiece illustration of twelve flags¹⁰⁴ with simple captions stating the population of each country: "America. Domestic population 31,000,000." (亜米利加國中の人別三十一百万人). Again, in the body of the text, a similar combination of simple language and vaulted vantage point is deployed: "France is 5,000 *ri* west of Japan and is a large country in the middle of the prosperous countries of Europe." (仏蘭西は日本を去ること西の方五千里、欧羅巴繁昌の国々の真中にある大国なり。)¹⁰⁵ This information is implicitly important to a Japanese reading audience because of the international political circumstances in which Japan was disadvantaged in the 1850s and 1860s. America's population, in the passage quoted above, would be compared with Japan's, and France's status vis-à-vis neighboring countries would be compared with Japan's status in Asia for the ultimate purpose of seeking parity with western imperial powers. In exceedingly simple language, Fukuzawa both speaks to an audience for whom this would be new information, and projects a speaking position from which the model identity being represented is able, as if omniscient, to appraise the "major" countries (*taikoku* 大国), to judge the populations of the entire world. The *Treaties* models that position of omniscience by evaluating all world powers from a position of total knowledge presented in simple language and an authoritative vantage. The *Treaties* projects this expert identity while conveying basic information in much the same way that the *Travel Guide* does, with an implied agenda for Japan's contemporary political fortunes.

While in the Preface to *Travel Guide to the West* the audience of potential Japanese peers (the *tomogara*) is implicitly called upon to emulate Fukuzawa's Japanese adventurous translator figure, in the preface to *Record of Treaties with 11 Nations* the Japanese translator traveler's peer is foreign, not Japanese. Fukuzawa notes the current lack of commensurate adventurous, entrepreneurial men between Japan and the West, stating:

People from those countries [Treaty signers] who live in Japan for trade are numerous. However, in our country, lower-class people don't know the state of affairs of foreign countries, and many of them, when seeing foreign people, call out in unison 'Chinaman, Chinaman!' ...¹⁰⁶

The text implicitly links the paucity of Japanese traveling translators (in comparison to those from western imperial powers) with an overall concern for the lack of political and military parity between Japan and the West. As stated earlier, the core relevance of Fukuzawa's *Record of Treaties with 11 Nations* hinges upon Japan's political and military vulnerability in the face of a worldwide system of imperialism in the mid- to late

¹⁰⁴ Twelve flags are presented, not eleven, as one might expect from the title. The brief statement following the flag illustrations seems to indicate that these are presented to indicate that there are numerous and various foreign military flags. The frontispiece presents the flags in the order that the Treaty countries are discussed in the text, and at the end includes the "new flag" of Prussia as the twelfth flag illustration.

¹⁰⁵ *Treaties*, 179

¹⁰⁶ *Treaties*, 171.

nineteenth century, and thus all of the text's arguments and information, including the call to become peers with "Western" traveling translators, relate back to this obvious, but unstated, issue of perceived threat to national Japanese sovereignty. By explicitly comparing Japan disadvantageously to the West in the quote above, the text seeks to galvanize the reading public for whom the position of omniscient social critic was modeled and offered as something to aspire to, for the sake of the nation.

Thus far this chapter has argued that Fukuzawa calls to "fellow companions" to adopt an identity modeled in his *Travel Guide* and *Treaties*, an identity that commanded an all-encompassing view of the world and expertise through knowledge possession. In the *Treaties* text this aspirational identity is linked to Japan's political position vis-à-vis western imperial powers. In Fukuzawa's *Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (福翁自伝, 1899)¹⁰⁷ the narrator presents this expert model identity as a retrospective interpretation of his youthful self, with capacities for omniscience that seek to supersede even the sacred and spiritual.

The *Autobiography*, first serially published from July 1898 through February 1899, is many things to many readers, but when read with attention to the representation of modern identity that Fukuzawa personifies, the *Autobiography* reveals a highly structured and intentional presentation of the characteristic of expertise, a key element of the successful identity promoted by the text. The narrative follows the chronology of his life and each episode is presented in order to yield a depiction of the winning characteristics that form the model Japanese identity. In the *Autobiography*, Fukuzawa and his fellow young men as students are above the law, and their possession of knowledge allows them to challenge life, death and social norms, underscoring the quality of all-encompassing expertise in this mature work written and published more than three decades after the 1860s texts.

In one of the most striking examples of how the *Autobiography* promotes a model of expertise, Fukuzawa describes his school experiences in Osaka in the chapter "No god, no Buddha for students of Dutch" (無神無仏). Fukuzawa describes how he and his fellow students of Western languages placed themselves above the belief system of commoners of Osaka, and beyond the reach of Shinto or Buddhist strictures. The *Autobiography* recounts an adventure involving a shrine to Kōmpira close to the Ashiya-bridge of Osaka, by way of indicating how superior in perspective the students were from ordinary Japanese:

We often went at night to steal these offerings in order to enjoy their contents. . . . We stole quite a number of these offerings, for they were too amusing to resist. Perhaps it is a sacrilege to make fun of people's sincere prayers, but it was *shikata-ga-nai* (easy come-easy go) with us students of Dutch who believed neither in gods nor in Buddha.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ This project follows Eiichi Kiyooka's translation of the text title *Fukuō jiden* as the *Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, although a more literal translation of the title might be *Autobiography of Old Man Fukuzawa*. Translations of Fukuzawa's *Autobiography* are drawn from Eiichi Kiyooka's revised translation published in 2007.

¹⁰⁸ *Autobiography*, 68.

The reading audience of the *Autobiography* around 1900 knew that the students in the late 1850s described by Fukuzawa, had, like Fukuzawa himself, gone on to become the vanguard of modernization in Japan, and had, indeed, occupied a position beyond the ordinary in Japanese society. This position of authority, in which the students know better than both Shinto deities and Buddhism, reflects the identity of expertise verging on omniscient that is modeled in Fukuzawa's works of the 1860s and brings his vision of the ideal Japanese identity full circle at the end of his career when the *Autobiography* was published in 1899. While the students in this textual moment gain their position of superiority from confidence in their possession of knowledge, including knowledge about life and death, the mechanisms by which that knowledge was acquired are not showcased. However, in Fukuzawa's *Dictionary*, the text discussed next in this chapter, the dynamics of translation itself contribute to the identity of the expert traveling translator promoted by Fukuzawa by linking linguistic movement with travel through an imperial geography.

In Fukuzawa's *Zôtei kaei tsûgo* 増訂華英通語 (Revised and Expanded Chinese-English Dictionary of Common Speech, 1860), the dynamic of translation is the most visible of any of Fukuzawa's 1860s primers and translations, perhaps because Fukuzawa himself was keenly concerned with projecting an identity of expertise approaching omniscience for the purpose of his own career advancement; the *Dictionary* was completed shortly after Fukuzawa's first trip to the United States (in which he had been employed as a personal attendant, not a translator) and appears to have paved the way for Fukuzawa's invitation to join the Japanese government's official trip to Europe two years later in 1862. In the *Dictionary* each entry engages the reader in a complex movement across three languages (English, Chinese and Japanese) and multiple syllabaries (see figure 1, below.) The thoroughness of the multi-lingual dictionary entries, underscored by the title's assertion that the dictionary is "revised and expanded," presents an authorial identity that is all-knowing as well as mobile. In both the dynamics of translation between three languages and three orthographic systems (Roman alphabet in cursive, kanji and katakana), and in the vast quantity of information covered, organized in the Classical Chinese epistemological organizational system starting with Astronomy, Geography, Humanity, Vocations (天文、地理、人倫、職分) and so on through forty six discreet categories, the text broadcasts the ambition to be omniscient through the model identity implied by the authorial persona.

The quality of expertise in the representation of the model identity is not only determined by an authoritative stance, nor is it determined in Fukuzawa's texts exclusively by a demonstration of knowledge ownership, but also linguistically by the movement generated in the dynamics of translation. The alchemy of information exchange from one language to another becomes visible for the reader when the Fukuzawa persona as model identity engages in the act of translation by parsing his own terms and prose. Fukuzawa's *Dictionary* persistently presents a view of this act of translation, bringing a dynamic that is present in all of Fukuzawa's primers and translation works from the 1860s to the forefront of consciousness for the reading audience. These multi-lingual¹⁰⁹ textual moments give the text its effect of authenticity, freedom of movement, and near-omniscient authority through the linguistic display of the foreign and multilingual movement across the various languages of the *Dictionary* -

¹⁰⁹ As the title of the dictionary suggests, the text utilizes English, Chinese and Japanese.

Japanese, English and Chinese. The dynamics of translation in the primers delineate the powerful figure of the translator at the center of the translation nexus.

Language exchange itself in the Dictionary's entries underscores key qualities of the representation of the model identity that I argue Fukuzawa promotes. Within any given entry the reader is first struck by the visual spectacle of the foreign through the main focal point of the entry: as, for example, in the entry for the English word "interpreter" written in cursive script. Authority is broadcast by the cursive writing of this word because it is clearly written by hand, and implied to be in the handwriting of Fukuzawa himself. Surrounding this central statement of authority based in foreign knowledge possession (in the word "Interpreter") are words and explanations in Japanese and Chinese: a phonetic guide to the English word spelled out in katakana, a translation of the English word into Chinese, the Sino-Japanese reading of that translation, and finally a short explanation of the meaning of the English word in Chinese, which would have been accessible to members of Fukuzawa's audience that were educated in Sino-Japanese and Chinese. These ancillary linguistic components of the entry augment the meaning of the primary entry (the word "Interpreter,") but more importantly, demonstrate a fluency in multiple languages and an implied freedom of movement vicariously experienced by the reader of the dictionary entry. Movement, here on display through linguistic exchange, contributes to the representation of the model identity as omniscient, recalling Jaffe's definition of omniscience as a "fantasy of unlimited freedom and movement."

The *Dictionary's* implied link between free movement across an imperial landscape and linguistic movement generated by translation is also present in other 1860s texts. In the section of the *Travel Guide* devoted to the details of steamship travel, Fukuzawa describes how to buy a ticket: "Pay this person the money and receive a ticket -called a 'ticket' " (この者に金を拂て便船の切手 (チケットといふ) を請取り)¹¹⁰ My translation into English necessarily contains redundancies, but in Japanese the commonplace word "kitte" 切手 is parsed for the reader as "chiketto" チケット meaning and sounding like 'ticket' in a parenthetical aside marked in the original text by smaller-sized typography and a different placement on the page than the main line of text.¹¹¹ Paired in this performance of the poly-vocal linguistic work of the translator is linguistic movement with the voice of the expert whose authority draws from the possession of knowledge. Fukuzawa, interrupting himself to provide the multilingual gloss before returning to his very popular straightforward style of information delivery, communicates two aspects of the model identity being promoted to the reader: a stance of authority, and

¹¹⁰*Travel Guide*, 124.

¹¹¹ In my transcription of the text and in my translation I have used parenthesis to signal the shift in typography that occurs in the original. Because the basis of woodblock print books was the professional calligrapher's rendition of the manuscript carved into the block, the typographical conventions were not standardized with regard to "font" size or column width. As a result, it was easy to "squeeze in" explanatory asides such as these by simply having the calligrapher write smaller and in the margins, or doubling up text in the column. For a brief historic overview of woodblock prints in Japan, and extensive notes on the process of production, see Salter, *Japanese Woodblock Printing*.

a freedom of movement that combine to convey the quality of expertise to the narratorial voice of Fukuzawa's 1860s texts.

Such poly-vocal moments of translation occur frequently in Fukuzawa's writings of the 1860s, defining his prose style and punctuating the transfer of information he learned through his own firsthand experience and through an assortment of English-language books in his personal collection. In these translator's transactions we glimpse the mechanics of language exchange and information transfer behind the writings of Fukuzawa. I argue that these moments linguistically create an atmosphere of the foreign that gives the work their popular appeal to his contemporary audience, and situate the projected model identity of the text in close proximity to the figure of Fukuzawa as translator, who lived the adventures he writes about. Of the wide audience a work like *Travel Guide to the West* had, only a small minority would have had the opportunity to put the information to practical use; for the rest, the representation of Fukuzawa as the model of a modern Japanese national at ease in the international forum, translating the foreign and knowledgeable about everything, would have been the allure.

As the entries in Fukuzawa's *Dictionary* develop in complexity from single words (such as the entry for "Interpreter" written in cursive and discussed above) to entries for phrases and full sentences, the text shifts from the multi-lingual translation of single words to the translation of entire English phrases into Chinese and Japanese. Fukuzawa's choice of phrases appears to indicate topics and implied circumstances of communication that he considered the most useful and appropriate to the modern translator identity he models. The position of authority assumed in the following translated utterances conveys qualities of mastery and expertise in the model identity: "Tell the coolly to bring some coal,"¹¹² "Send him to carry it away,"¹¹³ "Do this first, afterwards the other."¹¹⁴ Some of the phrases presented in the *Dictionary* go a step beyond this implied position of authority, and signal that the person who adopts the identity of the speaker will be able to evaluate other people from a judgmental position of expertise, such as in the following phrase: "He is an impudent fellow."¹¹⁵ And finally, in brief moments in the *Dictionary* the aspiration to the entitled position of a British colonialist can be glimpsed, as in the following phrase: "Opium does not sell very well now."¹¹⁶ While opium may have been a relatively unremarkable product of trade in the 1860s, mentioning it would immediately call to mind British-Chinese trade relations. Fukuzawa's choice to position the imagined phrase speaker as *selling* opium rather than buying or using the drug creates an association between a British colonial viewpoint and an aspiring Japanese one.

However, this arrogation of the colonial viewpoint of mastery and entitlement is not advocated by the *Dictionary* without a substantial countercurrent of insecurity. Alongside entries that appropriate the colonial viewpoint are numerous entries that present a speaking position of subservience on the part of the implied user of the *Dictionary*. In phrases such as these, Fukuzawa gives textual voice to an anxiety held by adventurous translators such as himself over the specter of abjection that contact with an

¹¹²*Dictionary*, 261.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, 248.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, 254.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 260.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 265.

international forum at the height of Imperialism raised. The following phrases indicate the possibility of subordination that many of Fukuzawa's fellow pioneering travelers in the mid- to late-nineteenth century experienced while working in menial positions in order to acquire key target language fluency in America or Europe: "Thank you, sir, with much pleasure,"¹¹⁷ "May I have a plantain Sir?"¹¹⁸ "Mr *** said I might go."¹¹⁹ "May I take this, Sir?"¹²⁰ "Have you any work for me Sir."¹²¹ The final phrase, regarding employment, speaks directly to a key issue for Fukuzawa's projected identity as modeled in the *Dictionary* and other 1860s works: work. For, while the speaker of the phrase seeks work in a deferential manner while abroad, the adventurous translator intends to parlay that linguistic knowledge gained into a position of power later, precisely through the acquisition of vast and sweeping amounts of knowledge and his advancement towards something like total expertise. The subservient phrases in the *Dictionary* convey a perspective that tacitly recognize the threat of abjection, one that is ultimately as interested in the goal of mastery and omniscience as all the phrases that place the speaker in a position of British colonial-style authority.

Fukuzawa understood that movement and access were made possible not only by linguistic movement but also by social and class signals sent through the appurtenances of Western-style daily living. The preface to *Western clothing, food and living* (西洋衣食住, 1867) begins by remarking how, in recent times, there are many people who use Western-style clothes. The preface, written by Katayama Junnosuke 片山淳之助 but supervised by and endorsed by Fukuzawa,¹²² goes on to suggest that the text should be used to understand the utility of foreign things for those people who have not yet been guided (不案内,) but as with the other primers and translations of the 1860s, this seemingly simple agenda – in this text endorsed by Fukuzawa rather than directly authored - also carries with it a more subtle representation of an identity of mastery. Each item of clothing in the "Clothing" section (衣之部) of the text mentions the upper-class (高貴の人) and makes frequent mention of the lower classes as well, demonstrating a keen sensitivity to the link between class membership and clothing. The work is thus more than a simple primer on Western-style utensils for food, clothing and living; it acts as a guide for those seeking to use such information to move through spaces outside of Japan with fluency in Western-style conventions for dining, deportment and personal appearance. By presenting information on how a variety of clothing and implements would broadcast class affiliations, the primer not only anticipates an interest on the part of the reader in this aspect of clothing and living, but actively seeks to create such a sensitivity towards class in the Japanese wearer of Western clothing. The text's narrator

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 244.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 257.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 256.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 260.

¹²¹ Ibid, 267.

¹²² Olive Checkland asserts that Katayama compiled *Western clothing, food and living* under guidance from Fukuzawa Yukichi, and standard scholarship includes this work in Fukuzawa's oeuvre. This project considers *Western clothing, food and living* to share the agenda of Fukuzawa's writings, since, although it was compiled by Katayama Junnosuke, it was sponsored and edited by Fukuzawa.

performs a display of extensive knowledge, and seeks to both transfer this information to the reader and to instill in the reader an aspiration to dress in a socially upwardly mobile manner. That this is not an easy thing to achieve is acknowledged first in the preface with the statement that many people wear Western clothes without the proper degree of understanding. But while the text does indeed explain the basics of how men should wear garments, and in what order to take them off or put them on (such as when urinating,) it also indicates that there are variations in garment choice that communicate subtle aspects of attitude as well as class membership. Under the illustration of a shorter-length man's jacket that the text glosses as a "business coat" (丸羽織 ビジ子スコート) the text states:

American men and British men and their ilk all, like the Edoite who on the surface seems unconcerned with clothes as long as his undergarments are clean, have no concerns about their coat, and not a few of the upper class also wear "business coats."¹²³

Western clothing, food and living assumes a position of expertise by adeptly translating the attitudes and class cues behind the clothing choices of potential peers in the target cultures of America and England. The translation is made in terms of a Japanese cultural comparison that carried its own class and attitude messages: that of the Edoite. As a complex icon of style and attitude from the mid-Tokugawa period onward, the Edoite's carefully performed nonchalant disregard for his external clothing provided Fukuzawa with an apt way to convey the unconcerned mien an English or American gentleman of the upper classes would have projected. This degree of deep description of the key articles of clothing, food and daily accouterments projects an expert narratorial identity that would be fully fluent in both sartorial languages. A bridge was thus created between early modern Japanese social cues and sensibilities, and the emerging standards and social expectations of the international, imperial milieu.

Modeling Expediency

Expediency for the sake of one's own advantage is a key element of the representation of the model Japanese identity that Fukuzawa both embodies and advocates in his writing in the 1860s. In the prefaces to the *Travel Guide*, the *Dictionary*, the *Treaties*, and in Fukuzawa's 1899 *Autobiography* Fukuzawa's own ability to seize chances to go abroad and acquire linguistic fluency is presented as a model identity adept at expedient, self-interested action. In the main textual bodies of the 1860s primers and translations, specific episodes and textual moments demonstrate this quality of expediency, and decades later, in the *Autobiography*, Fukuzawa retrospectively assigns the quality of expediency to the portrait of his youthful self as a student and young translator, demonstrating that at the end of his career he felt that this was a key characteristic of a model identity that had been crucial to his own success, a quality that he wished to communicate and promote to his followers and to wider Japanese society in general.

¹²³*Western clothing*, 194.

The preface to Fukuzawa's 1867 *Travel Guide* has already been discussed with respect to its representation of the element of expertise in its depiction of a model Japanese identity. I argue that the preface also demonstrates the quality of expediency by representing Fukuzawa's own travels abroad in a relatively casual manner. That is to say, although Fukuzawa is careful to lay out his own experience traveling abroad as the basis for his authority in writing the *Travel Guide* and his other 1860s primers and translations, he represents the start of those journeys as happening in almost a haphazard manner, as if he just stumbled upon the opportunity, and seized it. The preface of the *Travel Guide* then goes on to suggest that the goal of the text is to be useful to others who, like Fukuzawa, travel abroad. I have previously suggested that this aspect of the preface interpellates the audience into adopting the model Japanese identity that Fukuzawa embodies and promotes; in this section, I argue that he represents the moments before the journey abroad as happenstance to imply that in order to seize such an opportunity, the model identity must be able to act expediently when a window of opportunity presents itself. He describes the impetus of his journey briefly, and in vague terms emphasizing the serendipitous and unexpected nature of his opportunity: "... blessedly, circumstances then were in my favor, so in 1860 I first sailed to California."¹²⁴ The brevity with which Fukuzawa describes the circumstances surrounding his window of opportunity imply a model of identity that can eagerly and easily capitalize on opportunity.

The preface to Fukuzawa's *Dictionary* presents the circumstances surrounding his first trip to San Francisco as a *fait accompli*. He states that in 1860, in service to a certain Captain, he was able to sail to San Francisco and, "by chance" (滴々, glossed たまたま) secure for himself a copy of the *Dictionary* (as discussed earlier, upon returning to Japan, Fukuzawa adapts, edits and publishes this *Dictionary* for a Japanese reading public.) The brief efficiency with which the preface relates the story of travel to San Francisco validates the model of the traveling translator modern identity that is able for change at a moment's notice. Indeed, the phrases presented in the *Dictionary* reinforce this quality of ready expediency by modeling vocabulary and phrases such as "I am going aboard the ship"¹²⁵ and, tellingly, "You must see it with your own eyes."¹²⁶ The narratorial voice of Fukuzawa briskly presents opportunities seized in the preface, and then teaches the reading audience the kind of phrases and language necessary to take advantage of opportunities such as those described by Fukuzawa. Such a speaker would need to possess the ability to take expedient action.

The preface to the *Treaties*, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter, clearly states that the text's aim is to educate an ignorant Japanese public about the Western world while modeling the voice of expert authority. Additionally, in a significant passage in the preface, an idea about the readiness to seize opportunity is emphasized during the outline of the main educational goal of the text.

Because it will be extremely *inopportune* if such people don't know what countries come here or about the arrangements of those countries, in this booklet a rough outline of those countries' greatness or smallness, strengths and weaknesses,

¹²⁴ "...幸に其機會を得て、萬延申の年、はじめてカリホルニアに航海し..." (*Travel Guide*, 115).

¹²⁵ *Dictionary*, 243.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, 248.

feelings, customs, and foundation of government is recorded . . . (emphasis added)¹²⁷

The key word in the passage is "inopportune" (不都合,) a negation of the kind of expediency championed by Fukuzawa. The word "inopportune" implies a perspective held by a reading audience who are primed to act with expediency, to seize opportunity. Ignorance is inopportune for this implied audience, not for the ignorant public at large. Fukuzawa feels that the general public's ignorance is inconvenient, inopportune, or even dangerous for Japan's sovereignty in general and the Japanese identity modeled in his work in particular. The importance of the opportune to such an audience is consequently linked with a list of the kinds of knowledge acquirable through the text, thus pairing the representation of expediency with expertise.

Fukuzawa presents the quality of expediency in very similar terms to the *Travel Guide* and the *Dictionary* in his *Autobiography*. In the chapter "I Join the First Mission to America" Fukuzawa briskly represents himself as gaining opportunity:

The year after I was settled in Yedo - the sixth year of Ansei (1859) - the government of the Shôgun made a great decision to send a ship-of-war to the United States, an enterprise never before attempted since the foundation of the empire. On this ship I was to have the good fortune of visiting America.¹²⁸

In a rapid presentation very reminiscent of the treatment of the same subject in the *Dictionary's* Preface and the *Travel Guide's* Preface, here in the *Autobiography* Fukuzawa states that he had "good fortune" and then proceeds to describe the ship and the logistics of the voyage without referring to how, exactly, he was able to join the traveling group, until several pages later. At this later moment in the chapter, Fukuzawa delineates how he was able to gain this opportunity for himself in terms that clearly model an identity that expediently uses personal connections and an understanding of bureaucratic structure and hierarchy to one's advantage. Fukuzawa describes his active, expedient efforts in acquiring his chance to go abroad accordingly:

My greatest wish was to sail somehow or other on this voyage. I thought that as Captain Kimura was a person of high rank - the real head of our navy - he would need some personal servants with him as befitted his rank. I had to find some method of access to him and ask him to let me serve as his personal steward on the voyage.

Fortunately there was a near relative of Captain Kimura whom I knew. He was a physician in service of the Shôgun, Dr. Katsuragawa who was looked up to as the patriarch of Dutch learning in Japan by all the students of the country. When I reached Yedo the year before, I had taken the first opportunity of paying my respects to him, and since then I had been in his home many times. I, therefore, begged Dr. Katsuragawa for a letter of introduction, went to Captain Kimura's house, and begged him to take me along as his servant. Luckily he responded to my request and agreed immediately that I might join the ship.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ *Treaties*, 171.

¹²⁸ *Autobiography*, 104.

¹²⁹ *Autobiography*, 106.

The identity represented in this passage is characterized, first, by an ambitious foresight that recognizes opportunities early, and second, by a social practice of maintaining networks of favor and connection that can be utilized to secure opportunity, as when Fukuzawa asks for help from Dr. Katsuragawa to gain an audience with Captain Kimura. Fukuzawa represents himself consistently in the 1860s *Travel Guide, Treaties, and Dictionary*, and in the 1899 *Autobiography* as being able to adeptly capitalize on favorably circumstances through the characteristic of a ready expediency. Expediency is a key aspect of the Japanese model identity championed by Fukuzawa.

Throughout his *Autobiography*, Fukuzawa consistently refers to the procurement of the chance to travel, and by extension, to profit as a translator and knowledge broker, in brief phrases that mark opportunity as serendipitous. He describes his membership in the traveling party to Europe in 1862 as "a happy opportunity came my way"¹³⁰ and for his third trip abroad in 1867 to the United States he states: "I had the opportunity."¹³¹ When he does go into detail about how he creates that opportunity, we note that he petitions other people for access to the job as translator, just as described above in his initial trip to the United States: "In my eagerness to visit America once more, I visited Ono at his residence many times and sought his influence. Finally he agreed to include me in his party and we sailed on January the twenty-third."¹³² Thus, in addition to the emphasis on a quality of ready capitalization of lucky circumstance, Fukuzawa presents himself as expediently utilizing his social and professional networks to prompt opportunities for travel.

Elsewhere in the *Autobiography* Fukuzawa surmises the reason for his own success as a combination of lucky happenstance and his own expedient readiness to take advantage of the fortuitous situation. Towards the end of the *Autobiography* in the section in which he describes his success in publishing as being because he "happened to hit the right time and occasion."¹³³ Fukuzawa is careful to qualify this aspect of luck with the statement that such success would not have happened for someone who "overlooked their own business."¹³⁴ Thus, the quality of expediency is essential to Fukuzawa's representation of his own success, as he suggests that keeping one's own best interest in mind allows one to succeed in the right time and place.

Indeed, this quality of expediency is so central to success for the model modern identity represented in Fukuzawa's texts that a certain amount of moral ambiguity is tolerated in its pursuit. Fukuzawa writes in his *Autobiography* in a section concerning his maneuvering of his patron's or employer's finances to be able to purchase or get access to foreign books:

Back in those early days of struggle, I often carried out some pretty raw tricks which I rather blush for today. Yet at that time I felt not the least scruple of

¹³⁰ *Autobiography*, 124.

¹³¹ *Autobiography*, 166.

¹³² *Autobiography*, 166-167.

¹³³ *Autobiography*, 247.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

conscience. Rather, I thought it foolish not to take the money when I could. And as in a hunt, I was proud to catch a "goose" rather than a "sparrow."¹³⁵

Thus, Fukuzawa makes clear that he considers an energetic expediency focused on goals rather than morals to have been essential to his success.

Just as the audience in the preface to the *Travel Guide* is directly interpellated to join Fukuzawa in becoming a modern citizen of the world by embodying key qualities of the traveling translator, the reader of the main body of text is signaled to act expediently, just as the model identity does. In the section of the *Travel Guide* describing Singapore (located in the first volume in which the main narrative describes the transit points of globe-circumventing routes of steamships in the *Travel Guide*,) in a passage of characteristically descriptive prose in which Fukuzawa describes the physical features and other aspects of this stop on the trip across the Indian Ocean to the West, the reader is suddenly interpellated to identify with a traveler considering the purchase of souvenirs:

When you are a passenger of an express steam ship, the local people come over with monkeys, parrots and the like as things for sale; although they may look adorable, when bringing them back to Japan, the colder time and place will make raising them very difficult.¹³⁶

The reader is slipped into the position of inhabiting Fukuzawa's own position on his journey by ship to Europe, and is prompted to think expediently about prudent choices made available in transit. In this passage we see an assumption that the traveler will consider an exotic purchase but will also keep the differing circumstances of a future time and place in mind, to ultimately forgo the poor choice of investment.

This sort of mental flexibility is key to Fukuzawa's understanding of expediency, as he demonstrates in his *Autobiography*. In a chapter titled "Further Steps Toward a Liberal Age" in which Fukuzawa relates how the old class system that demanded subservience from commoners towards samurai was tenaciously present even in the 1870s, Fukuzawa describes how he played with his own public presentation of identity just to test people. While the anecdote is presented as a lesson on how badly social reform was needed in Japanese society, the extent to which Fukuzawa carried out the play in identity - over several hours and with multiple hapless passersby as interlocutors - demonstrates a fluency in identity shifting and expedient quick-thinking that replicates the quality of expediency presented in other moments of Fukuzawa's success.

So I proceeded, accosting everyone who came along. Without any allowance for their appearance, I spoke alternately, now in samurai fashion, now merchant-like. In every instance, for about seven miles on my way, I saw that people would respond according to the manner in which they were addressed - with awe or with indifference.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ *Autobiography*, 276.

¹³⁶ *Travel Guide*, 136.

¹³⁷ *Autobiography*, 245.

Unconcerned with characterizing himself as either cynical or playful, Fukuzawa instead represents the modern identity of a traveler as one who is ready at a moment's notice to improvise opportunistically in order to manipulate an external response. One can imagine that for seven miles Fukuzawa practiced this skill of ready expediency in anticipation of the right "time and place."

Fukuzawa does not limit his expedient identity-play to face-to-face encounters, but also plays with the presentation of his own identity in his written persona. In the *Autobiography* he models a modern persona who is conscious of the presentation of the self, and comfortable using subterfuge to gain a desired result. In a chapter subheading titled "A Single Editorial Moves a Whole Nation" Fukuzawa relates an incident from the late 1870s in which he wrote an editorial advocating the opening of a national parliamentary body (the National Diet) for Japan. He states:

I wrote an article and took it to the editors of the *Hôchi* - this was before I had my own newspaper. I said to them, "If you can use this piece as an editorial, do so. I am sure the readers will be interested. But, as it stands, it is too obviously my writing. So change some wordings to hide my style. It will be fun to see how the public will take it."¹³⁸

By relating an anecdote in which he suggests that an article of his be altered to disguise his authorial style, Fukuzawa presents a modern identity that actively considers its public presentation in the written register (and, as discussed above, performatively in the spoken register as well) in order to expediently garner results best suited to his purpose. Key to the representation of this modern identity is a playful, ready expediency that is able to flexibly present identity as it evaluates current circumstances. Fukuzawa concludes his *Autobiography* by parlaying the quality of expediency into a spirit of independence, and indeed, this shift is visible in the transition from the primers and translations to the syncretic works of his mature career from the 1870s onward.¹³⁹ While the term "independence" has a moral weight that Fukuzawa used to rally public opinion with and build institutional cohesion for his school and newspaper, it is clear that expediency is in fact one of the key qualities.

Modeling Class: no birthrights for the model Japanese identity

Thus far this chapter has argued that Fukuzawa places a premium on the practice of expediency and the aspiration to speak from a position of all-knowing expertise. The third key aspect of the model of modern identity that Fukuzawa both embodies and urges

¹³⁸ *Autobiography*, 319.

¹³⁹ A good example of Fukuzawa's utilization of the term "independence" is his statement from a later chapter in the *Autobiography* that "The independence of a nation springs from the independent spirit of its citizens." (*Autobiography*, 314.) While it is beyond the scope of this project to trace the full implications of Fukuzawa's term "independence" as it developed over the course of his career, I maintain that it is linked conceptually to an embodied practice of expediency that is much more visible in Fukuzawa's 1860s works than in his "mature" works of the 1870s and onward. In the *Autobiography* Fukuzawa uses some of his favorite rallying words, such as "independence," while at the same time portrays himself as successful because of a characteristic of opportunistic readiness.

the reader to identify with is a particular class membership. From his first publication, the *Dictionary*, to his *Autobiography*, written towards the end of his life, Fukuzawa represents a privileged version of Japanese identity as the traveling translator who is both a member of the educated samurai class and a member of the vanguard that will break out of set societal forms. Being from the educated samurai class meant, for Fukuzawa, possessing an educational heritage grounded in the Chinese classics and having respect for the achievements of Chinese civilization. At the same time, Fukuzawa repeatedly models himself as an ideal modern identity breaking out of social parameters and transcending humble origins. Fukuzawa both champions his class background and seeks to make it accessible to all, or transcend it.

By starting the *Travel Guide*'s preface with a quote from Confucius' *Analects*, Fukuzawa aligns his modern persona with one that validates a privileged educational background based on the Chinese classics. By beginning his *Travel Guide* in that learned, Chinese tradition, he aligns himself with the educated elite while distancing himself from popular guides, such as those for the pleasure quarters of Edo and others that were also written in easy-to-read Japanese and circulated amongst a wide reading public. It should be noted that the passage Fukuzawa chooses to open his preface with is one of the easiest to read and most widely quoted of the *Analects*; thus, it provides a patina of learnedness without demanding much actual literary skill. The passage is written in Japanese, not Sino-Japanese or Chinese.

The passage from the *Analects*, as deployed by Fukuzawa, signals a shared community which values departures more than arrivals, putting the emphasis on setting forth and being an active traveler.

In the *Analects* it states: "When friends come from afar, is this not a joyful thing?" Although 'Friends coming from afar' is of course a very joyful thing, one not only just waits for someone to arrive, but also from time to time sets forth to distant places as well. I was born with a liking for travel . . . ¹⁴⁰

Despite the fact that the *Travel Guide* often very plainly conveys information useful for foreign travel such as the price of tickets on steamships and how merchants use banks to handle money in business transactions, in this key introductory passage Fukuzawa lets his own voice as translator come forth, clearly broadcasting a class identity that shared a familiarity with the Chinese classics, but also an identity that sought to turn the canonical tropes of the *Analects* inside out; here, instead of receiving friends from afar, Fukuzawa embodies the adventurous traveler.

Perhaps the strongest endorsement of an educational background in the Chinese classics is found in Fukuzawa's *Dictionary*. As a work that was adapted from a Chinese-English dictionary, the centrality of the Chinese language is obvious.¹⁴¹ While Fukuzawa

¹⁴⁰*Travel Guide*, 115.

¹⁴¹ Eiichi Kiyooka cites a Chinese-English Dictionary of the same title as the foundation text for Fukuzawa's *Dictionary*: "This was a translation of a Chinese-English dictionary of the same title (Hua-ying T'ung-yû in Chinese pronunciation) by Tzu-ch'ing, 1855" (*Autobiography*, 352, note 124)

adopts this work to a Japanese reading public by adding the third language of Japanese to the entries and glossing both the Chinese and English, the basic understanding that Chinese is a bridge to English remains intact in Fukuzawa's *Dictionary*. Taking this one step further, Fukuzawa writes his prefatory explanatory notes (*hanrei*) that prefaces the *Dictionary* in Sino-Japanese. While later editions add a Japanese translation of the Sino-Japanese explanatory notes, making the start of the *Dictionary* multi-lingual, Fukuzawa's original edition assumes that his readership can read Sino-Japanese, and thereby represents Chinese as a bridge between Japanese and English.

Fukuzawa further validates a Sino-centric educational background for his target reading audience by keeping the organizational system of the *Dictionary* arranged in traditional Sino-Japanese categories of knowledge, another nod to the relevance of both the Chinese intellectual tradition and the traditional educational canon of the Japanese elite. The epistemological categories of knowledge laid out in the table of contents of the *Dictionary* communicate a sweeping ambition to be an expert verging on omniscience, and especially in the phraseology, a habit of expedient action is expected and encouraged. These signals are only legible, however, to a reading public that is comfortable with the large amount of Chinese language and classical Chinese categories of erudition that the *Dictionary* utilizes. Thus, the work is more welcoming to an audience that shared Fukuzawa's educational background. Ultimately, the presence of Chinese in Fukuzawa's work signals a class membership that informed Fukuzawa's vision of the traveling translator modeled in his texts.

In works other than the *Dictionary*, as well, Fukuzawa demonstrates a class membership that values Chinese civilization, as when in the preface to the *Treaties*, he states that ignorant people in Japan say "Chinamen! Chinamen!" upon viewing foreign people. The clear implication in this passage, already discussed above, is that the target reading audience for whom Fukuzawa is modeling a modern identity would know more about foreigners and understand that there are different kinds of foreigners, and also would value Chinese erudition enough to refrain from such uncouth public jeering.

However, from the onset of his education, Fukuzawa has had a well-documented, repudiating relationship with Chinese learning, starting with his choice as a young man in the 1850s to discontinue his study of the Chinese classics in favor of studying Dutch in Nagasaki. Fukuzawa's attitude towards contemporary China and the benefits of studying the classical Chinese cannon changes over the course of his career, culminating most notoriously in his 1885 *Datsu A ron* which advocated the necessity of "leaving Asia behind."¹⁴² Even within the primers and translations of the 1860s considered in this study, Fukuzawa exhibits considerable ambiguity with regard to the value of the Chinese intellectual heritage that members of his own samurai class shared. Although the preface of his *Treaties* assumes that his reading audience are not xenophobic, jeering ignoramuses, the *Treaties* places Japan's relationship with the eleven treaty-signing Western countries as paramount, thus demoting Japan's contemporary political relationship with China to trifling status. In Fukuzawa's *Travel Guide*, too, despite the carefully detailed travel itinerary across Asia to Europe, China is peripheral at best; the *Travel Guide* places Japanese-Western connections at the forefront of the reader's agenda

¹⁴² Fukuzawa famously argued for identifying with "the West" instead of Asia in his 1885 脫亞論 *Datsu A ron* (*Escaping Asia*.)

and represents China as inconsequential. Thus, while in the *Dictionary*, China is a key conduit of knowledge, much of the rest of Fukuzawa's writings advocate a dismissive view of China. Nonetheless, the shared educational background of Fukuzawa's target readership included the Chinese classics, and the deployment of elements from this intellectual heritage served for Fukuzawa as a representational choice that broadcast a particular class background helping to characterize the model modern identity he embodied and promoted.

The key characteristic of class in the representation of the model modern identity as personified by Fukuzawa is introduced in the autobiography's first chapter "Childhood" and reinforced and augmented by later episodes in the *Autobiography* and involve an emphasis on a non-privileged birth status. Because Fukuzawa is born into a samurai rank that is relatively low in the social hierarchy, he represents himself as not a child of privilege, but one who must earn every advantage he gets. It is important to note that despite his understanding of success and advantage as generated by effort rather than by birth, Fukuzawa remains within his class - he is still born in the samurai class, and is low within that class, but not in society overall. He is able to subtly signal his sense of the justness of a meritocracy *within* class boundaries even in the modern age by translating the social status of his Tokugawa-period birth into Meiji-period social hierarchies; Fukuzawa writes of his own origins:

In social order, my father was barely high enough to have a formal audience with the lord. He was a few ranks above the common soldier (ashigaru,) but he was of the lower order among the samurai. In today's society his position would probably correspond to hanninkan, the lowest rank of government officials.¹⁴³

Implicit in this ranking, but immediately understandable to a contemporary Meiji-period audience was the insurmountability of Fukuzawa's father's rank, and the impossibility of social or professional upward mobility by conventional routes.¹⁴⁴ Thus,

¹⁴³ *Autobiography*, 1.

¹⁴⁴ Regarding Fukuzawa's reference to his father's position as akin to "hanninkan", scholarship by political scientist B.C. Koh underscores the lack of possibility for professional or social upward mobility. Koh states:

The prewar Japanese bureaucracy was a veritable caste system. It embraced distinct classes of persons, and the status differences and social distances between the classes were wide. The most basic distinction was between officials (*kanri*) and nonofficials (*hikanri*). ...The officials were divided into four distinct classes: (1) *shinninkan*, (2) *chokuninkan*, (3) *soninkan*, and (4) *hanninkan*The first three classes of officials were collectively known as *kôtôkan* (higher officials). . . . The barrier between the higher and ordinary officials was so great as to be all but insurmountable; they could be compared with commissioned and noncommissioned officers in the armed forces.

(Koh, *Japan's Administrative Elite*, 16-17.)

Koh directs the reader to consult Robert M. Spaulding Jr.'s "The Bureaucracy as a Political Force, 1920-1945" in James W. Morely, ed., *Dilemma of Growth in Prewar*

Fukuzawa's own stratospheric success is attributed to characteristics that lie outside the normal social order.¹⁴⁵ From positions of little or no consequence within conventional hierarchies, the translator rises to positions of ultimate success through, Fukuzawa asserts, acquisition of knowledge leading to all-knowing expertise and a practice of ready expediency.¹⁴⁶ Fukuzawa is simultaneously proud of his samurai class background and of the ways in which he created success for himself without the advantages of birthright.

I argue that in the *Autobiography* the key characteristics of a successful Japanese identity are represented, and that they resonate and reinforce the model identity presented in Fukuzawa's *Travel Guide to the West* and other early works, as well as form the defining characteristics of the identity represented in the entire rest of the *Autobiography*. The characteristics distill to three elements, and resonate considerably with other translator figures such as Kanagaki Robun's Tsûjirô discussed in the previous chapter, and many of the non-fictional translators who become important public figures - described in the introduction to this chapter as the "founding fathers" of the Meiji state and modern Japanese society. Fukuzawa, as a larger-than-life figure in the Meiji period popular imagination, was an important literary model of the translator as the most desirable Japanese identity. The major characteristics that the *Autobiography* presents are a samurai family background without special privilege, a rough-and-ready penchant for creating opportunities for one's own advancement, and an assumption of a position of

Japan and Chalmer Johnson's *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975* for further discussion of "the *kôtôkan-hanninkan* dichotomy."

¹⁴⁵ Like Fukuzawa, Kanagaki Robun's fictional translator Tsûjirô is also represented as having a similar social origin of low status transformed through translation to a masterful and successful identity.

¹⁴⁶ This validation of efforts and attitude over birth was also broadcast by the runaway best-selling Japanese translation of Samuel Smiles' *Self Help*. Nakamura Keiu's translation, titled *Western Successes* (西国立志編,) was first published in eleven volumes from 1870-1871 and is described as one of the most influential educational texts of the early Meiji period; it impressed Meiji youth with its doctrine of independence and individualism. (国史大辞典 *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "Saigoku risshi hen.") *Western Successes* helped to foster the belief that advancement was possible through individual effort, to such a degree that *Self Help* has been described as belonging to the "character-ethic genre, in which accomplishments and advancement derive primarily from an individual's virtues . . ." (Kinmonth, "Nakamura Keiu and Samuel Smiles," 537.) Translator Nakamura Keiu 中村敬宇 himself was of humble origins (a farming commoner family that had purchased samurai status) and attained his own considerable success through talent and academic achievement. (Kinmonth, "Nakamura Keiu and Samuel Smiles," 543 - 544.) He was chosen by the Tokugawa government to go to London in 1866 to study English, and was able to parlay this translation expertise into a long and productive career as a successful and respected intellectual and educator. The ethic of self-improvement through Western learning that his translation work *Western Successes* helped popularize resonated with Fukuzawa's own embodiment of the ethos of creating one's own opportunities for success that is a key aspect of the modern identity represented in his *Autobiography* and other writings.

great knowledge and expertise that contributes to a superman-like status outside and above the status quo.

Conclusion

The 1860s writings of Fukuzawa call upon the reader to actively become the modeled individual, to act as the voice of the preface of the *Travel Guide* has acted and lead Japan into the modern age on par with the West. Fukuzawa's 1860s texts represent the modern translator as an expert in practical learning gained by first-hand experience, and as being authoritative and knowledgeable to the point of embodying an all-encompassing expertise. The fact that Fukuzawa the author was known to have lived the life he wrote about made the modern identity presented in his 1860s primers and translations all the more compelling. Fukuzawa represents a modern identity characterized by an all-knowing expertise, expediency, and a class identity based on a privileged yet marginalized position in society. Fukuzawa actively interpellates his reader to adopt this persona of the modern translator while fleshing out the facets of the model identity as he conveys basic information about the new and the foreign.

In his own modeling of the Japanese identity as translator, Fukuzawa touches upon issues central to the meaning of his life's work, issues such as Japan's relationship to China and its intellectual heritage, or the feasibility of Japan joining the West as a peer. Before the intellectual encapsulations of his (changing) ideas on these and other pivotal issues in the 1870s and 1880s writings, we see him actively model a mode of identity that embodies his view of the best stance on these issues while interpellating a generation of students to join him in being successfully modern rather than just rhetorically asserting the best road to a successful adoption of aspects of modernity. The difference is profound; by representing himself as inhabiting the model modern identity best for Japan, rather than simply weighing the pros and cons of the new, Fukuzawa is at his most radical in the early translations and primers, and at the end of his career revisits and reaffirms this embodied representation of an all-knowing expert, expedient and class-based but unprivileged model of Japanese identity.

The Translator as Wandering Artist:
Language and Movement in Nagai Kafû's *American Stories*

The novelist Nagai Kafû (1879-1959,) as a traveler in America and France just after the turn of the century, experienced the cognitive exchange of continual translation and interpretation as a way of life, and parlayed this experience into his literary creation of a traveling translator re-imagined as a wandering artist across the span of works published in the decade after his return to Japan in 1908. The portrait of the artist in this body of literature is situated in formal framing devices and other substitutions in the narrative that, I argue, express the sublimated experience of translation. Kafû must sublimate his literary identity as a translator in order to engender his voice as a poet. By erasing the traces of translation, the traveler, who is the central narrative voice of the span of works concerning Kafû's experiences in the United States, erases the visible trace of his difference from a white male American or French norm. Through appropriation of that position of entitlement, the poet secures his voice, and the persona of the traveling translator is transformed into the wandering artist.

The intention to present a consistent literary representation of the experience of lived translation is not clearly broadcast by the author himself, however; Kafû carefully cultivated a public identity of the amateur for most of his professional career. In addition to refraining from participating in activities related to the *bundan* (notably resigning from a teaching and influential journal editing position at Keio University in 1916) and publishing on topics that were considered to have a dilettantish focus on the demimonde or the passé (for example, on Edo pleasure quarters and popular culture) Kafû's prose fiction displays a casualness that belied the great degree of conscious structuring actually involved in his work. His 1908 collection of short stories titled *Amerika monogatari* (*American Stories*) is an excellent example of this careful dissemblance of his literary intentions, both structurally and thematically. The works in the collection display an aesthetic of impromptu chic, a quality noted by his contemporaries when the collection was first published in 1908. Excerpts of Kafû's travel diary, the *Saiyû nissshi shô* (*Excerpts from the journal of a leisurely trip to the West*), published as a literary work in its own right in 1917, display even more insistently an intimate, irregular, and informal aesthetic, but in actual fact were a carefully curated collection of writings. In *Hanabi* Kafû declared his affinities for the *gesakusha* of the Edo period and their steadfast adherence to "writing their indecent books and making their indecent prints" in conscious disregard of sweeping historical change.

If Kafû, then, came to publically valorize and identify himself with a tradition of writing that did not appear to take itself seriously, he privately engaged deeply with issues of narrative structure and grappled with the literary issues of the representation of identity and perspective in literature as he repeatedly represented the experience of translation. This chapter looks directly at the collection of writings that Kafû published in the decade after his return from five years abroad in the United States and France, especially *Amerika monogatari* (*American stories*.) The collection, published in 1908, presents a cohesive model of modern identity across the several dozen distinct short stories and journal excerpts. This chapter will argue, then, that despite Kafû's studied

stance as a "scribbler,"¹⁴⁷ a major concern of his writing in the decade following his return to Japan (roughly 1908-1918) was the presentation of a literary identity, tacitly connection to his own actual experiences, whose key characteristics were consistently represented over the many publications that featured the Japanese traveling translator persona as protagonist and narrator. These publications also displayed a range of narrative devices deployed to express the cognitive experience of translation.

Kafû's representation of the translator as model identity differs significantly from an earlier generation of writers who placed the act of translation at the forefront of their representation of the translator.¹⁴⁸ Kafû, writing in an appreciably different literary milieu from the early-Meiji writers considered in other chapters of this dissertation, almost completely effaces the act of translation, instead anchoring his representation of the traveling translator in the persona of the wandering artist. This identity, confidently presented to the reader as superior to other possible identities, combines the movement of travel with the sensibilities of an artist to possess a flaneur-like ability to appraise and evaluate the world as it passes before his eyes. Kafû's traveling translator, furthermore, is a critic of modernity from a position of a thoroughly cosmopolitan modern persona. Sôma Gyofû, a contemporary of Kafû's and fellow literati, reports being won over to Kafû's writings by the tone and persona at the core of Kafû's *Amerika monogatari* when it was first published; Gyofû recalls reading it and feeling "deeply delighted with the calm, indifferent writing style" (平気な、當て気のない、あの書き方が、堪らなく嬉しかった。)¹⁴⁹ This chapter will demonstrate that Kafû's traveling translator is self-assured and entitled, a peer on par with a white colonial male identity.

Much of these aspects of Kafû's traveling translator identity resonate deeply with earlier literary representations of the translator, despite his effacement of the act of translation itself. By shorning his representation of the translator of visible language transactions, Kafû sublimates the legible act of translation and instead transfers this pivotal cognitive experience of the traveling translator to certain key aesthetic aspects of the narrative, especially in his recurrent use of the story-within-a-story framing device. Other scholars have noted Kafû's heavy use of this narrative structure, and have speculated that through it, Kafû is self-consciously drawing attention to the act of fiction-making and reading desire in a way parallel to the topical focus within his fiction on the demimonde and dynamics of sexual desire.¹⁵⁰ However, I argue that Kafû's framing narratives are a literary representation of the experience of understanding and experiencing multiple layers of language, as a translator does. While the act of

¹⁴⁷ Seidensticker in his *Kafû the Scribbler* expends considerable energy to valorize this "scribbler" stance.

¹⁴⁸ This dissertation argues that non-fiction authors such as Fukuzawa Yukichi and fictional creations such as Kanagaki Robun's translator character Tsûjirô alike place the act of translation at the forefront of their respective representations of the traveling translator in the early Meiji period.

¹⁴⁹"... 單に紀行文かスケッチ位に見てしまはれるやうな、平気な、當て気のない、あの書き方が、堪らなく嬉しかった。" (... simply viewed as travel literature or sketch, the calm, indifferent writing style delighted me to no end.) (Gyofû, "Nagai Kafû-kun," 383).

¹⁵⁰Snyder, *Fictions of Desire*.

translation is no longer visible at the level of plot, it is instead rendered through the narrative device of the frame, in the guise of a conversation within a conversation. The traveling translator in *Amerika monogatari* is represented as a linguistic peer through the repressed reality of translation, and physically entitled to move through the landscapes of his travels in the same manner as the American and European artists he aspires to be peers with.

Translator as Linguistic Peer

While many of the short stories from *Amerika Monogatari* were published individually before 1908, I will argue that the 1908 collection as a cohesive whole has an arch with a clear start and finish that culminates in the maturation of the traveling translator who acts as narrator over the course of the whole collection.¹⁵¹ "Night Talk in a Cabin" (船屋夜話^{キャビン や わ}) as the opening piece of *Amerika monogatari* is particularly significant for establishing expectations for the work as a whole, making its narratorial persona especially weighted with import for the identity of a wandering translator artist. "Night Talk in a Cabin" acts as the opening frame for the collection as a whole and helps define the overall aesthetic; the story is set on the sea in the act of traveling, in a liminal space in which the narrators and other characters in the story have not yet arrived in America and are in a suspended state: “何処にしても陸を見る事の出来ない航海...” (an ocean voyage with no land in sight anywhere.¹⁵²) The text that acts as the closing frame at the end of *Amerika monogatari* is "A June Night's Dream," in which the protagonist narrator departs from North America permanently.¹⁵³ The view of the continent of North America, which the narrator of the text describes as “my second home”¹⁵⁴ and where Kafû himself spent several years, recedes: “...steadily disappearing between the sky and the waves . . . and soon the ship . . . is about to float out into the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean... So, rocking along on the Atlantic Ocean, I pick up my pen . . .”¹⁵⁵ By locating the framing stories that start and end the collection on the sea, the motif of landlessness is underscored geographically and informs the representation of the wandering translator artist, who is betwixt and between nations, cultural identities, and languages. Kafû represents the traveling artist identity as fundamentally in motion, shuttling between nodes of language and fixed positions of cultural identity, aspiring to a vantage that rises above such boundaries, and one in which the persona of the artist is freed from an anchoring in a fixed national or linguistic identity, just at the collection of

¹⁵¹ Seidensticker, who appears to consider the whole endeavor of delineating an overall artistic vision of *Amerika monogatari* to be of little value when evaluating the strengths of the collection, nonetheless states: "Various themes can be isolated in the search for a theme that unifies the collection . . ." (Seidensticker, *Kafû the Scribbler*, 25)

¹⁵² Translation adapted from Mitsuko Iriye's translation of "Night Talk in a Cabin," 1.

¹⁵³ In editions subsequent to the 1908 *Amerika monogatari*, either one or two additional short stories have been included, but in the 1908 edition, the last short story is "A June Night's Dream." See Nakajima, "Kôki," and Iriye, "Translator's Introduction," for more information on the changes in works included in *Amerika monogatari* over time.

¹⁵⁴ "A June Night's Dream," 211.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 210-211.

stories are presented on water, without land in view. The opening and closing stories of *Amerika monogatari* use the ocean and its distance from land as a metaphor for a lack of anchor to a specific ethnic or national identity, especially one, such a Japanese identity, that is less than fully entitled to participate in the realm of Anglo-European artistic production according to the Social-Darwinist discourse prevalent in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In these stories the representation of translation is subverted, and is instead expressed through the device of framing.

The devise of a framing conversation is the most spectacular and noticeable motif of repressed translation visible in *Amerika monogatari*. The male-to-male conversation in particular is a recurrent framing device in the collection, bracketing embedded stories within the texts that comprise *Amerika monogatari*. Of the twenty-one stories that made up the 1908 first edition of the collection, no fewer than ten start with an initial conversation that then frames the core story. The conversation by definition involves language as a means to convey insights and information, but the language transactions required are never represented as translation in action *per se*, although the context for the stories would make translation an integral part of the conversations the Japanese narrator has with his various English-speaking conversation partners. With the repression of the representation of translation, the dynamics of linguistic exchange return as the frame of a conversation within conversation, expressing cognitive leaps and interchange that occur both in translation from one language to another, and in understanding a conversation presented through the literary conceit of another conversation.

Amerika monogatari's opening text "Night Talk in a Cabin" frames the main conceptual positions presented by the stories of the main characters in a conversation; the text begins by setting the scene on the ocean, far from land and untethered from linguistic or cultural identity, and then stages a conversation between the narrator and two fellow travelers. Once established, the frame of the conversation fades from the reader's immediate attention, and the reader is drawn into the individual stories of the two travelers. It is in these core stories that the text's interest lies, and considerable narrative attention is expended on the details of these stories and the way in which they are told by the travelers, with narrative attention to body language and other physical clues that generate a critical distance between the perspective of the narrator observing the travelers, and the content of the travelers' stories itself. "Night Talk in a Cabin" establishes the collection's convention of male conversation as a frame for the textual presentation of certain perspectives that the narrator can then critically engage with. Since the sense of communion achieved through these male-male conversations is shared with the reader through the intimacy of learning the narrator's inner judgments on the events retold in conversation with others, it is crucial that the members of the conversation, and by extension, the readers of *Amerika monogatari*, are peers of the narrator, to a greater or lesser degree. While the intended peers of the narrator in the opening text "Night Talk in a Cabin" are Japanese men who are fellow travelers, the intended peer of "Old Regrets" is a socially prominent, academic American man with considerable sensitivity and insight into prestigious and formidable expressions of art. This chapter argues that by erasing the reality of translation from the narrator's relationship with the American academic in "Old Regrets," the text is able to position the narrator as a peer and an heir to the American's artistic sensibilities.

The position of the narrator in “Old Regrets” is established both through the frame of the conversation, and in the physical body language of the narrator himself. “Old Regrets” begins by describing a smooth-flowing and wide-ranging conversation between the narrator and the American academic Dr. B. No trace of linguistic difference enters into the initial description of the conversation; instead, the narrator places himself as a fully capable interlocutor for two full paragraphs before describing himself as an amateur. As described earlier in this chapter, Kafû became famous for championing the stance of the amateur, the scribbler, in tacit opposition to the constrained position of the utilitarian, professional writer. In “Old Regrets” this amateur identity, signaled by the phrase “...somehow the story of *Tannhauser* was unforgettable to my amateur’s ears...”¹⁵⁶ claims a kind of artistic intuition that will allow the narrator, by the end of the story, to be the clear heir to Dr. B’s life lesson and ultimately achieve a sublime appreciation of Wagner’s opera *Tannhauser*. While the text is clearly interested in making a point about artistic sensibility and appreciation, this chapter argues that this sensibility is only possible through the effacement of linguistic difference and the careful positioning of the narrator as a junior peer to Dr. B.

“Old Regrets” ends with the narrator in a position of reverent epiphany as he grasps the full import of Dr. B’s personal tragedy and the meaning of *Tannhauser*: “As the base notes resounded, one, two petals fell down from the white roses in the vase on the piano. I listened intently with my head bent.”¹⁵⁷ Head tilted in a manner recalling the pilgrim evoked by the “pilgrims’ music from *Tannhauser*”¹⁵⁸ the narrator is positioned in a pseudo-religious pose, as if to receive the blessing of artistic insight. “Old Regrets” culminates with this line; the conversation, now concluded, signals that Dr. B has expended his usefulness, has transmitted the secrets of artistic appreciation, and that the narrator is now a full peer, able to deploy his new understanding and appreciation in the creation of new art. Elsewhere in *Amerika monogatari* that vocation that the narrator envisions for himself is articulated as: “one of the founders of the new musical drama that was bound to arise in Japanese society in the future.”¹⁵⁹ Dr. B’s experience of the pathos of failing to achieve a redemptive and transformative love through the experience of opera is contrasted with the shallowness of his wife Josephine’s experience of the opera. While Dr. B’s experience is identificatory and profound, his wife’s is superficial:

“... I was trying to suppress the tears of sweet memory deep in my heart listening to the *Minnesinger* *Tannhauser* on stage, whose song of lamentation was also my own, while Josephine, who had no way of being aware of it, appeared to be listening attentively in an artificially cultivated attitude of art appreciation without any viewpoint, which is common among women of the upper class.

“But as you are already aware yourself, the music of the great genius, Wagner (here he glanced at me for a moment) is different from all other music...”¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶“Old Regrets,” 93.

¹⁵⁷“Old Regrets,” 104.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹“Fallen Leaves,” 191.

¹⁶⁰ “Old Regrets,” 101-102.

Underscored by that meaning-laden glance from Dr. B to the narrator, the male-to-male artistic communion is positioned in positive contrast to the uncomprehending and unfeeling wife, who does not perceive the sublime truth offered in *Tannhauser*. Instead of Dr. B successfully building a bridge to understanding between his wife and himself, the story concludes with the true connection and transference of profundity to the interlocutor of Dr. B: the narrator. The narrator is able to now understand the meaning of the opera, because it has been "translated" by Dr. B for the narrator, not across languages but through music to language and from layers of the past to the present. The tragic story of Dr. B and his connection to Wagner's *Tannhauser* is framed by the literary conceit of a conversation between the Japanese wandering artist narrator and the learned American academic, and through the positioning of the narrator in this frame, both in his body language and in his more epistemological position vis-a-vis Dr. B's teachings (namely, as an amateur with gifted and developed sense of artistic intuition) the narrator is figured as a peer to the artistic learning and cultural prestige Dr. B represents, ultimately positing the narrator as an artist in a lineage descending from Wagner.

Wagner's opera *Tannhauser*, and music more generally, is of central thematic concern in "Old Regrets." Of great cultural prestige to turn-of-the-century American upper-class society that Kafu observed, opera in "Old Regrets" acts metonymically for a more general conception of profound and sublime art. However, this chapter argues that music in "Old Regrets" acts as another mechanism to displace translation, to express the dynamics of cognitive jumps and leaps inherent in translation without permitting linguistic difference to become legible. Instead, music is placed at the center of experience in "Old Regrets," thus preserving the narrator's precarious status as peer. Kafu's selection of *Tannhauser*, of all possible Wagnerian operas, is congruous with "Old Regrets" not only at the level of plot, although the story-line of *Tannhauser* resonates strongly with the tragic personal history of Dr. B in that both texts chronicle a man experienced in carnal love who seeks love as a redemptive, transfiguring, purifying force. However, over and above such direct parallels at the level of plot and themes, Wagner's *Tannhauser* experiments with musical form, substituting one form of musical expression for another in an analogous manner to Kafu's substitution of the representation of music for the representation of translation and linguistic difference. Wagner's theoretical treatise *Opera and Drama* states that, in his view, music can achieve expression of feeling that cannot be expressed by language:

As the pure organ of feeling, the language of music expresses that which cannot be expressed by the language of words and which, when seen from our standpoint as rational beings, defies expression altogether.¹⁶¹

While it may be strange that a composer of opera as iconic as Wagner eschews language for pure music, in fact, Wagner experimented with this issue directly in *Tannhauser*. Music critic Corinna Hesse states that Wagner claimed a unique role for orchestral preludes and interludes in opera by ascribing to pure orchestral music (without song or lyric) the power to most fully express feeling, describing Wagner's orchestral music as

¹⁶¹ Richard Wagner, *Opera and Drama*. As quoted in Hesse, "Expressing the Inexpressible: Key Orchestral Scenes from Wagner," 5.

possessing “heightened linguistic capacity.”¹⁶² More specifically, Hesse describes the opera *Tannhauser* as an experiment in “contemplative orchestral introductions”¹⁶³ in which music, shorn of linguistic components, assumes a key communicative role at pivotal moments in *Tannhauser*, such as to express the act of prayer. The change in register from one kind of musical language to another could not be more apt for Kafu’s “Old Regrets” in which linguistic difference is replaced by other representations that express shifts or gaps in cognitive experience – the conversation within a conversation, the replacement of music for dialogue between Dr. B and his wife, and the experience of linguistic difference for both the narrator and Dr. B. Wagner’s replacement of the human voice with music in *Tannhauser* is aesthetically equivalent to Kafu’s erasure of linguistic difference.

The need to displace language with music is so compelling in “Old Regrets” that it is not limited only to the Japanese narrator; Dr. B himself suppresses his own linguistic difference as an American in Europe.¹⁶⁴ Dr. B experiences voices and languages in a moment of the text in which his linguistic difference is explicitly signaled, yet does not reveal the mechanisms of translation (the reader is left to speculate: did Dr. B employ a translator? Was he multilingual? Did he depend on translated books to understand the opera?) Instead, by continuing to repress translation, Dr. B represents his own experience of layered cognition as a layering of time, describing as breaks in time what might actually have been differences in language that would need the bridging work of the translator to become intelligible. Dr. B recounts to the narrator his mental state in the European hotel room following the performance of *Tannhauser*: “To us Americans, it seemed as if, in this quiet night in an Old World city, we could hear the voices of all sorts of people *from the past centuries* coming out of nowhere . . .”¹⁶⁵ (emphasis added.) Instead of the voices speaking in different languages, as would be most obvious from context, the phantom voices experienced by Dr. B in the afterglow of *Tannhauser*, which would have been presented in either German or French, sound out from different centuries. Translation has been repressed, to return as Dr. B’s hallucination of voices in time, brought in to stand in translation’s stead, to represent the breach in cognitive experience that originated in the gap between languages. Differences in time replace linguistic difference.

¹⁶²Hesse, “Expressing the Inexpressible,” 7.

¹⁶³Ibid, 5.

¹⁶⁴ While not necessary for the interpretation of “Old Regrets,” it is interesting to speculate what languages an American traveling in Europe might have plausibly encountered while viewing a performance of Wagner’s *Tannhauser* in the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century in Europe. Had the American attended the performance in Paris, *Tannhauser* would have been performed in French, due to laws requiring opera intended to be performed in France to be translated into French, while if performed in Vienna or elsewhere in Europe, the opera would have been performed in German. I am grateful to Dr. Victor Castellani for his informative insights into the nature of opera and translation at the turn of the century in America and Europe. See also Wanger, *Art Life and Theories of Richard Wagner* for details on the production of *Tannhauser*.

¹⁶⁵“Old Regrets,” 101.

While it might seem ironic that Kafû requires language to render the experience of music or time, since these renditions are substitutions for the representation of experiencing something in one language and then translating it into another, in fact, these substitutions for repressed translation – language describing music, for example – allow the text to represent the status of the narrator as peer and heir to the artistic appreciation and creation of America and Europe. The substitutions are necessary so that linguistic difference does not become visible and threaten the claim to peer-hood, or the aspiration to become an artist in a lineage with American and European artists.

Language difference and music are not always antipodes in *Amerika monogatari*; in “Midnight at a Bar” the playing and the appreciation of music are represented alongside the text’s explicit acknowledgement of linguistic difference. Crucially, however, the speaker of a less-than-fully “civilized” language - here, Italian – is not the narrator, but rather a pair of musicians in a lowly bar filled with workers, sailors and prostitutes. The narrator, by virtue of his ability to perceive profound beauty in music performed in such a seedy milieu, occupies a position of superiority, and preserves his position as peer to American and European artists because he is untainted by the musicians’ linguistic inferiority. Foreign language is like music, not intelligible language, to the narrator: “The sound of Italian words that mostly end with a vowel . . . so marvelously appealing to my ear . . . brought out a deep poetic inspiration in me . . .”¹⁶⁶ No other character in the “Midnight at a Bar” text is represented as having even a fraction of the perceptiveness and social fluency that the narrator displays; in this respect, the narrator resembles a flaneur, moving through an urban milieu while observing humanity, but in his entitled and protected way, remains aloof from the stigma of demeaning linguistic difference. In contrast, the musicians who perform the music that so inspires the narrator are represented as unconscious of the sublime beauty they create, instead enjoying a carefree attitude towards life and work that is echoed in the inaccuracies of their English: “One of them looked up at me and answered in broken English . . .”¹⁶⁷ The textual attitude implies that neither the linguistically inarticulate musicians nor the artistic narrator need to care about the meaning of the linguistic utterances marked by contact with Italian: “The two Italians picked up their banjo and mandolin, stood erect by the piano, and began singing a Southern European popular song whose meaning escaped me.”¹⁶⁸ The meaning is irrelevant, but the poetic essence that will fuel the creation of art is perceptible only to the superior sensitivities of the narrator, whose own linguistic difference never garners representation, and who, instead, will translate his experience of music in the bar into the textual art of *Amerika monogatari*.

The narrator, therefore, drawing on his identity as wandering artist, remains aloof from linguistic stigma as long as his own acts of translation are erased from the text. Just as the narrator, artistic status intact, can interview the Italian musicians who speak English less than perfectly, the narrator can also engage with other denizens of the demimonde in intersemiotic ways – in Jakobson's sense of the term whereby intersemiotic communication attempts communication by employing physical rather than verbal communication – without compromising the narrator’s position as peer to

¹⁶⁶“Midnight at a Bar,” 187-188.

¹⁶⁷Ibid, 188.

¹⁶⁸Ibid, 187.

European and American artists. In “Midnight at a Bar” the language of gesture by which the narrator communicates interest to prostitutes demonstrates his suave, cosmopolitan fluency of interaction defined by male prerogative: “. . . I, driven by curiosity, winked at them, which is a signal that is used only in this kind of society . . .”¹⁶⁹ The wink replaces words in any language, moving far beyond the realm of inter-lingual translation such as between Japanese and English. But whereas communication through gesture such as winks and smiles is swift and effective, the narrator wryly portrays himself at subsequently failing to achieve communication with this same prostitute through normal conversation, and meaningful communication in language ultimately fails: “. . . we carried on small talk while I paid the closest attention to them in order to learn more about their background. But I was getting nowhere . . .”¹⁷⁰ In both kinds of linguistic exchange, in the intersemiotic wink and in the straightforward conversation, the narrator is represented as fluent and purposeful, while the prostitute’s perspective remains elusive and less than fully formed. Because his own linguistic difference is not represented, the narrator can dabble in gestural, non-linguistic communication without detriment to his status as artistic peer.

Kafû’s narrator preserves his claim to position of peer with a white, colonial male norm and membership in the community of artists of Europe and America through an erasure of his own linguistic difference. As was demonstrated in “Midnight at a Bar” and elsewhere, this position as peer often assumed a position of superiority over many whom the narratorial persona encounters in his travels; in such encounters, the narrator is always portrayed as smoothly fluent, even in non-linguistic interactions. The smooth, fluent aspect of his representation extends to his manner of movement as he travels through the American landscape of the collection. Ultimately, Kafû’s narrator combines effortless linguistic fluency with unfettered physical movement to achieve a portrait of an artist on par with his American and European peers. This requires the erasure of both linguistic difference and the perception of racial difference in the public milieu during world travels; without this double erasure, the traveler’s persona risks losing his poetic voice, risks being dismissed as lacking fundamental qualities for serious artistic production. Rather than risk this, linguistic difference is repressed and movement is portrayed as easy and free. The artist in this representation does not travel for business but rather relishes an anti-utilitarian amateurism in which travel is performed for its own sake, wandering is performed as inspiration for the artist. Kafû’s choice of verse from Baudelaire’s *Le Voyage* as prefatory quote for his *Amerika monogatari* could not be more fitting: “The true travelers are those who leave for the sole purpose of leaving. . .”

The Traveler as Wanderer

The narrator of *Amerika monogatari*, when not in conversation, is perpetually in motion; indeed, most of the short stories in *Amerika monogatari* and the entries in *Saiyû nisshi shô* are set in a different location than the last, as the collection as a whole traces the cross-continental journey of the traveling translator artist. The narrator traveler (旅人 as Kafû identifies him) becomes a crucial representation embodying the act of travel, and Kafû is able, in these collections, to represent and promote a vision of the appropriate

¹⁶⁹Ibid, 185.

¹⁷⁰Ibid, 185-186.

behavior and qualities of the Japanese traveler. Kafû's traveler is consistently represented in these travel narratives in intertextual conversation with, or even as a tacit rebuttal to early, more optimistic Meiji representations of the traveler, such as Kanagaki Robun's fictional traveling translator Tsûjirô and Fukuzawa Yukichi's self-representation as traveling translator, examined in earlier chapters of this dissertation. Indeed, Kafû's own father was one of those prospering returnees; literary scholar Maeda Ai describes him thus: "Kyû'ichirô [Kafû's father]. . .after returning from his studies in America . . . took a position with the Ministry of Education. . . Kyû'ichirô was one of the "conquerors" who swept up large swatches of what had been the property of the Tokugawa retainers."¹⁷¹ However, in rebellion or refusal of this previous generation's example of "shining prosperity" Kafû himself, according to Maeda, "showed not the slightest sign of seeking to assume the bright public role expected in this era of Japanese recently returned from Europe and America..."¹⁷² Kafû's personal biography appears to share an affinity with his literary representation of the traveler; this chapter will consider Kafû's darker, more disillusioned vision of the Japanese traveler, noting the qualities retained from earlier more optimistic representations of the successful traveler, to argue for a continuity of representation of the traveling translator that maintains links to the early Meiji 'moment of the translator' discussed in this dissertation's introductory chapter. In fact, the disillusionment around the possibility for worldly success created by world-travel serves to enforce a representation of the entitled flaneur that resonates deeply with earlier representations of the traveling translator.

Kafû's literary representation of the traveler recognizes the falseness behind the promise of success that saturated the literary representations of an earlier generation of Meiji travelers who went abroad in order to broker language and power in Japanese and international contexts. Such disillusionment was appropriate to Kafû's historical time and generation, which experienced a greatly reduced number of opportunities for stratospheric success, social advancement, or professional opportunities, unlike Fukuzawa's generation, for whom dramatic success and once-in-a-lifetime business opportunities was realized through travel and translation.¹⁷³ Such lofty horizons were no longer attainable for most of Kafû's generation, and Kafû represents disappointed travelers in several short stories in *Amerika monogatari* who are explicitly or implicitly contrasted with earlier representations of the successful traveler. However, amongst these failed travelers, the narrator himself embodies a traveling translator artist who is able to successfully negotiate both the earlier positive representations of the traveler alluded to in *Amerika monogatari* and the disillusionment of the current generation of Japanese traveling translators to present to the reading audience an identity that builds on the identity of the traveler to reject the optimistic utilitarianism of earlier representations. The traveler becomes the wanderer.

One of the darkest representations of the disillusioned Japanese traveler who rejects an earlier vision of success for the traveling translator is found in "Daybreak;" the story takes place on Coney Island, and concerns the Japanese workers of a game stall

¹⁷¹ Maeda, *Text and the City*, 9.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Carol Gluck, Donald Keene and many others note this reduction in possibilities for success for the late-Meiji generation.

there. The piece would have been a cynical lampoon of the glamorous international traveler if it weren't for the tragic tone with which the directionless and darkness of the Japanese workers are presented; after introducing several working-class Japanese, the narrative sets its focus on one Japanese worker in particular: an upper-class student who chooses to work in the Japanese-run amusement stall on Coney Island to earn enough money to support his basic bodily needs rather than pursue a career in business or otherwise try to advance in the world. This upper-class student, while telling his life story to the listening narrator of the story, reproduces the earlier Meiji narrative of traveling translator and expectations of success. He describes how he comes from an esteemed and prosperous family that expects him to be as successful as his father. When the student fails to achieve promising academic results at home in Japan, his family decides to send him to the United States to study. The student feels heavily the burden of his family's expectations, describing them as "an obligation to succeed by all means and return home loaded with honors."¹⁷⁴ Through a series of events that trigger subtle revolutions in the student's outlook on life, he decides to reject the path his family expects him to follow:

"You may think I am hopeless. But I quit school because I came to a certain decision. I don't think I'll ever open another book for the rest of my life."

I stared at his face.

"It wasn't that I had any great idea, but it's simply more fun to hang around in a place like this rather than working for a degree or getting some sort of titled position."¹⁷⁵

Kafû here voices a dark disavowal of the early Meiji promise of success through a literary figure who embraces nihilism in order to escape from the pressure of expectations of success. The narrative ends with a strong impression of pessimism surrounding the figure of the Japanese traveler, who in earlier times was represented with the halo of imminent success.

Kafû's representations of the traveler explicitly engage iconic travel texts in an intertextual conversation that allows Kafû to both draw on and reject earlier representations of travel. In "Daybreak" a literary narrative is explicitly invoked in order to create a context for the central narrative's rejection of earlier visions of travel as a means of worldly achievement and success. Jules Verne's *Around the World in 80 Days* is ironically referenced through the material landscape of Coney Island itself. Early in the narrative, the stalls surrounding the Japanese game stall are described, including one that promises a Jules Verne-style thrill of travel: "to our left was a large show place with a billboard proclaiming FLYING TRIP AROUND THE WORLD."¹⁷⁶ In ironic contrast to the glamour and fantasy of Verne's hugely successful popular fiction¹⁷⁷, the "Flying

¹⁷⁴"Daybreak," 155.

¹⁷⁵ "Daybreak," 151-152.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 145.

¹⁷⁷ Frederick Paul Walter states that Jules Verne was an international celebrity by the 1880s and ". . . his novels had taken countless readers where nobody had gone before: the ocean depths, the earth's core, the moon, the whole solar system." (Walter, "Science and Showbiz: Going Places with Jules Verne," 1.)

Trip Around the World” attraction at Coney Island, while clearly hoping to capitalize on Verne’s narrative’s popularity, is both patently fake and unpopular. The obvious bogusness of the attraction, and implicitly Verne’s vision of fresh and exciting travel unsullied by moral ambiguity, is underscored in Kafû’s text by the repellant description of the staff of the attraction:

Sitting in a chair on a raised platform at the entrance was a buxom young woman, her face . . . plastered with power, counting tickets and small change since there were very few customers. By her side a vulgar-looking man wearing gaudy patterned clothes was constantly calling out, “Come in, come in,” in a loud voice two or three times even when no potential customer was passing by . . .¹⁷⁸

The text masterfully presents narratives of fantastical world travel in the vein of Jules Verne as cheap and bogus through details such as the woman’s makeup and the man’s gaudy clothes. Furthermore, she idles for lack of customers, and he cajoles the empty street to no avail. In Kafû’s representation, narratives such as Verne’s trip around the world in which anything is achievable are no longer fooling many, as evidenced by the lack of customers at the attraction and the disreputableness of the attraction’s staff. Kafû subtly lampoons the experience of the glamorous international traveler, instead emphasizing the earlier travel narrative’s dubious and fraudulent aspects.

In a similar manner to the ironic reference to Verne’s *Around the World in 80 Days* and other broadly circulated fantasies of limitless global travel, Kafû’s “Daybreak” invokes the idealism created by early Meiji success stories of the translator traveler in order to reveal such idealistic promises of success as hypocritical and bankrupt. The Japanese workers in the Coney Island game stall, figured as travelers who know the realities of world travel, discuss the real ocean they have crossed, contrasting the glamorous fantasy their families and home country of Japan hold with their lived, grimy reality. The gap between image and reality, between the image at home of life in America as a training ground for advancement, and the reality of wage labor and living only to fulfill one’s bodily needs, parallels the geographical gap between Japan and the United States, as the characters explicitly joke about the distance: “It’s lucky for all of us that there’s a big ocean called the Pacific. You know, we didn’t come to America at first expecting to end up like this.”¹⁷⁹ As they get ready to embark on a night of patronizing prostitutes after working their shift at the game stall, the Japanese workers acknowledge, and find cynical humor in the contrast between these two understandings of travel to America. Kafû crafts his representation of the traveler through a debunking of fantasies about travel to America, and as the nod to Jules Verne indicates, to fantastical stories about travel more generally. Key to this refusal of earlier travel narratives is the early-Meiji emphasis on utility and success, and Verne’s morally black-and-white narrative worlds. Kafû, pushing away from this literary legacy, instead presents a traveler who explores moral grey areas and who rejects the call to succeed at all costs.

In contrast to the dark portraits of Japanese travelers in “Daybreak,” Kafû portrays the unnamed narrator and interlocutor as a traveler himself, but one who seeks simply to

¹⁷⁸ “Daybreak,” 145.

¹⁷⁹ “Daybreak,” 148-149

continue to travel, not one who plans to parlay travel experience into worldly success after returning back home. "Daybreak" introduces the workers of the Japanese game stall as one of two types; either manual laborers from the Japanese provinces with few prospects back home, or as students on summer break from college. The narrator then identifies himself with the latter: "I was one of them and had become a scorer at one of the ball-rolling shops, for no particular reason other than that I wanted to work at whatever was available in order to get money together for a trip to Europe."¹⁸⁰ The narrator crucially characterizes his own actions as motivated by "no particular reason" other than further travel itself, demonstrating in attitude and actions a refusal of the earlier get-ahead spirit that motivated travel to the United States. Thus, the most attractive character of the text, the narrator, casually rejects utilitarianism. The text represents the best model of the traveler as the wanderer, traveling without purpose.

In "A Night at Seattle Harbor"¹⁸¹ the narrator is also a traveler who relishes wandering; the entire opening of the story allows the narrator to move directly and without error to the location where the heart of the text will be revealed, all the while representing motion as something smooth and seamless, guided by one's own predilections instead of the good advice of others, and invisible, as if the traveler were separated and untouched by the landscape through which he moves. Any hint of agency on the part of the narrator is leavened by a relished sense of transgression; the narrator's visit to the Japanese quarter in Seattle is intentional: "I wanted to see the Japanese quarter in Seattle and furtively walked in that direction,"¹⁸² but immediately qualified by the term "furtive." The transgressive quality of the travel to the Japanese quarter is expanded upon by warnings to "refrain"¹⁸³ and suggestions of the area being a threat to "honor."¹⁸⁴ Information is not meticulously and systematically gathered, but rather gleaned by chance acquaintances, and used counter to the spirit in which it was offered: despite the narrator being "told" and "warned" by an experienced and friendly crew member not to visit the Japanese quarter, the narrator as traveler does the exact opposite because "as so often happens, such advice only feeds one's curiosity..."¹⁸⁵ While anti-utilitarianism is championed as a positive attitude of the traveler in "Daybreak," in "A Night at Seattle Harbor," the traveler intentionally travels in ways counter to sound advice, rejecting and acting in opposition to worldly common-sense of the kind that garners a form of success, as well an approach to the handling of information¹⁸⁶ that Kafû's narrator rejects.

¹⁸⁰Ibid, 144.

¹⁸¹ This text did not appear in the 1908 first edition of *Amerika monogatari*, but was included in subsequent editions.

¹⁸² "A Night at Seattle Harbor," 228.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Kafû's delineation of a narrator who gathers crucial travel information by chance rather than systematically, and who puts that information to use in ways counter to how it was intended, runs completely counter to the spirit of Fukuzawa Yukichi's primers and translations, which aimed to be systematic and encyclopedic vehicles of knowledge, and who assumed that the advice and information offered would be used in a straightforward manner, as prescribed by the more experienced traveler. Thus, Kafû's narrative, by its

In "A Night at Seattle Harbor" the superior traveler, embodied in the narrator of the story, is also contrasted with other Japanese characters, just as in "Daybreak" and other works in *Amerika monogatari*, with a similar authorial purpose to both challenge the earlier Meiji narrative of rosy success through travel by means of nuanced portrayals of disillusioned and disreputable Japanese travelers, and to delineate the subtleties of the superior traveler, the anti-utilitarian wanderer. In "A Night at Seattle Harbor" we see the wanderer viewing the Japanese travelers and residents of Seattle as a tourist would, adopting an attitude of entitlement and distance that emulates a white colonial attitude towards people of color in an imperial context. Just as in "Daybreak" the two different models of the traveler join in creating a composite statement of the valorized version of the traveler proposed by Kafu.

Less-than-ideal Japanese travelers abound in "A Night at Seattle Harbor;" indeed, the purpose of the text seems to be to place them on display. As this chapter discussed above with the Japanese workers in the Coney Island game stall in "Daybreak," Kafu paints a withering portrait of working Japanese, in pointed rebuttal to earlier narratives of success through travel. However, unlike the game stall workers in "Daybreak" who are divided neatly into two groups - provincial working-class Japanese and middle- to upper-class Japanese students, these Seattle-based Japanese travelers represented in "A Night at Seattle Harbor" combine a provincial, working-class identity with a college-student identity, on one hand blurring social boundaries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but on the other hand recalling Bakumatsu and early Meiji men of opportunity who were, indeed, able to overcome working-class backgrounds through education abroad.¹⁸⁷ Kafu has been criticized for his lack of sympathy in his representation of these Seattle-based Japanese workers¹⁸⁸, and in "A Night at Seattle Harbor" he seems uninterested in the incongruity between a provincial working-class identity and an upper-class college student, a lack of interest that resonates with a white American perspective that would fail to notice or value such differences and instead adopt a flattening, racialized perspective. "A Night at Seattle Harbor" appears to be a simple exposé of the true life of "get ahead" Japanese students in America; how their character and morals and hopes for the future diminish and degrade as they drink and pursue prostitutes. But actually, this portrait of degradation is a tour guide of Seattle's notorious Japanese quarter, as exotic to the narrator and Kafu's readers as any other traveler's landscape. This sense of exoticism is only possible by adopting a white colonialist position of privilege.

The racism goes both ways, however. In "A Night at Seattle Harbor," the damning portrait of the Japanese travelers, who think of little else besides wine and women, includes an early Meiji attitude towards foreigners, surfacing when the students use the

nonchalance and anti-authoritarian tendencies, is in staunch opposition to Fukuzawa's approach to travel.

¹⁸⁷ Such 'men of opportunity' are discussed in more detail in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, and include figures such as Manjirô, the mid-century fisherman who became an advisor to the government through his identity as a translator.

¹⁸⁸ Seidensticker and Iriye both take issue with Kafu's tendency to adopt the role of onlooker when interacting with working-class Japanese.

racial epithet for a Western foreigner: "red-haired."¹⁸⁹ The workers, speaking freely amongst themselves, do not realize that they are being overheard by the narrator, who is having a meal in a Japanese establishment in order to get a feel for the Japanese quarter of Seattle. The Japanese student workers use the term "red-haired woman" amongst themselves to describe their currently life, tellingly through the vocabulary of a much older and more limited understanding of foreigners from a Japanese perspective; the word "red-haired" was a widespread racial shorthand for foreigners used in Japan throughout the Tokugawa period and into the early Meiji period. The students, by juxtaposing their identity as students while at the same time invoking this older vocabulary, effectively demonstrate that they have not learned from their experiences abroad:

"By the way, how is it at your place? Are you still busy?"

"It's terrible. Day in and day out, I am pushed around by the red-haired woman to help out in the kitchen. It's no easy matter, being a schoolboy."¹⁹⁰

But Kafû does not stop here. The students continue to reveal the gap between the ideals of studying abroad as a means to worldly success with the realities of their dangerously degrading lifestyles; continuing the conversation quoted above, the students state:

"Well, we're all doing it, so don't complain. Just hope for a successful future."

"I don't know if I can. Has your language gotten any better?"

"Not at all. I don't understand. A grown man goes to primary school every day, with ten- or eleven-year-olds. It's been already half a year, and still no progress."

"At first I thought that if I worked as a schoolboy and listened to white guys speaking for three months or so, I would be able to understand an ordinary conversation, but anticipation and reality are totally different things."

("A Night at Seattle Harbor," 232)

By having such disreputable Japanese travelers use early Meiji language and invert the early Meiji narrative of success, they unconsciously articulate the breach between an idealistic narrative of travel for success and a lived reality of degradation; through this portrait, generated by a wandering traveler narrator gleaning snatches of conversation from others, the text effectively disputes and rejects that early Meiji understanding of travel.

In one of *Amerika monogatari's* strongest positive portrait of a traveler, a wandering traveler narrator moves through an urban landscape, but this time it is Chicago, not Seattle. In "Two Days in Chicago" the narrator demonstrates through his actions how a Japanese traveler can move without invoking utilitarianism or early Meiji narratives of success. Instead, the text represents a wanderer who is perfectly at ease in a new urban environment in which the possibility of language difficulties is completely elided, and indeed, any possible challenge is already comfortably met by the confident and smooth

¹⁸⁹ Variations on such racial epithets in mid-nineteenth century Japan include *ijin*, stranger, *tôjin*, translated by F.G. Notehelfer as "Chinaman," and *tôjin baka*, "Crazy Chinaman," used for both Chinese and Westerners on Japanese soil in the 1850s and 1860s. (Notehelfer, "Visions of Early Yokohama.")

¹⁹⁰ "A Night at Seattle Harbor," 232.

forward motion of the narrator. Phrases such as "I proceeded to the waiting room and entered the restaurant"¹⁹¹ and "walked leisurely, feeling at ease"¹⁹² and "I slipped through the crowd and took the elevator to the top of the building . . ."¹⁹³ give a sense of intentional and fluid motion by the narrator, and phrases the narrator states to the reader, such as "It is so easy to find one's way, even in a new place . . ."¹⁹⁴ confirm this projection of confidence and comfortableness of the text's ideal wandering traveler in any urban city.

The smoothness of motion compliments the seemingly effortless adoption of the traveling narrator of a colonialist position of superiority in urban contexts and in social exchanges with others. The wandering traveler, whom we have seen sailing smoothly through metropolises of Seattle and Chicago, acts as a peer to white America, viewing others, including Japanese, Americans and non-Japanese foreigners in America from a position of implied superiority. In "Two Days in Chicago" the emphasis is placed on the friendship between equals of the narrator and his American host and friend James. The two travel together on Chicago's trains, in order to have the wandering traveler experience the city's famous sites as if for philosophical stimulation or artistic inspiration, contrapuntally presented alongside the American James' commute to work. In "A Night at Seattle Harbor" this position of coequality with white America is signaled even more strongly, as the wandering narrator describes the Japanese he encounters in language explicitly referencing a "white" perspective:

Three Japanese were talking and looking up at the second floor. They all wore homburgs and dark suits, but their long torsos and short, and, moreover, bowed legs must look quite funny to white people, I thought.¹⁹⁵

The traveler is represented here as a wanderer, not commuting to work, or, for that matter, to school, and confidently a peer to white Americans.

If Kafû, then, represents the most sympathetic and glamorous of the Japanese travelers in his texts as a wanderer who shuns utilitarian actions and naive aspirations for worldly success, his representation of the ideal traveler also replaces the legible act of translation with artistic and philosophical ruminations; instead of representing the lived experience of negotiating travels in a foreign language, the entire idea of communication becomes one of smooth translucence, as smooth as the traveler's physical movement through the landscape. In the place of the dynamic exchange of translation, the wanderer conveys to the reader flights of emotion, mood, and musings as the traveling experience is transformed by the wanderer into poetry; the translator is transformed into the artist.

Translator as Artist

This chapter has already considered the representation of the Japanese travelers in "A Night at Seattle Harbor," in how it reveals the early-Meiji success narrative as bankrupt, and further, how the observing traveler narrator is represented as facetly arrogating a perspective of superiority explicitly modeled on a white American

¹⁹¹ "Two Days in Chicago," 159.

¹⁹² Ibid, 161.

¹⁹³ Ibid, 170.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, 161.

¹⁹⁵ "A Night at Seattle Harbor," 230.

perspective, one deeply steeped in the Social Darwinist language of racism of the late nineteenth century. Returning to this text in *Amerika monogatari*, this chapter now argues that, in addition to these two aspects of travel, the moment in which the narrator eavesdrops on the students is pivotal in demonstrating the text's interest in validating an artistic vocation over that of the translator. "A Night at Seattle Harbor" foregrounds the difficulty of becoming a fluent translator by producing the private despondency of the students, who admit to each other as peers undergoing the same experience that they are failing at language acquisition and instead find themselves in dead-end menial jobs without gaining fluency in English. In explicit contrast, the intention of the traveling narrator to find material for his artistic work as a writer is mentioned twice, framing the candid and demoralized conversation between the Japanese traveling students. As the narrator moves smoothly through the dangerous neighborhood of the Japanese quarter of Seattle, he reproduces his motivation as: "Thinking that anything would make a good story, I first went near a hanging lantern that read SOBA NOODLES."¹⁹⁶ After overhearing the students, the narrator again states: "Thinking I might be able to obtain some unusual material for my stories if I followed them. . ." ¹⁹⁷ In essence, the model of the wandering traveler favored by the text is an artist and writer, while the other traveling Japanese, striving to gain worldly success by acquiring foreign language skills and knowledge to be parlayed into advantage at home, are in fact failing students who will not achieve linguistic mastery, and are foreshadowed to succumb to despair and degradation. The text clearly valorizes artistic production over utilitarian translation activities championed by an earlier period.

In conclusion, Kafu's rendition of the narrator in *Amerika monogatari*, not as utilitarian-driven traveling translator but as purposeless wandering artist, depends on the repression of linguistic difference and the erasure of perception of racial difference in the public forum of foreign shores. The text represents the wandering artist as one who rejects the purpose-driven translation activity of Japan's previous generation, and one whose own linguistic difference is eliminated from literary representations of interactions with those the narrator encounters on his travels. The smooth linguistic fluency of the translator – now recast as the artist - matches a smoothness of motion that characterizes the narrator's easy entre into any milieu, from the parlors of highbrow society to the rooms of the lowest brothel. The poet engenders his voice through his claim to peerhood with American and European artists, but at the price of the translator, who vanishes from view, no longer a knowledge broker or figure of omniscient capabilities, but instead the bearer of the trace of linguistic and ethnic difference that threatens Kafu's representation of the artist.

¹⁹⁶ "A Night in Seattle Harbor," 230.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 233.

Coda
Subverted Legacies:
Tawada Yōko and the Return of the Translator

The 'moment of the translator' in early Meiji represents one particular negotiation of language and identity at a point in time when the Japanese literary imagination was self-consciously undergoing culture shock in response to pressures to cope with difference in an international forum. That sense of shock, that perception of a moment of intense change, or crisis, even, that was different from previous historical moments and required innovative responses, shares much with our own contemporary moment. In some ways the "thunderboltism" (recalling Carol Gluck's description) of the early Meiji period resembles our own current global experience of cultural and linguistic changes generated by technological transformations and infused with the sense of economic and cultural crisis. Economists in mainstream American discourse discuss the economic and psychic scars of the 'millennial' generation,¹⁹⁸ describing (and perhaps encouraging) current attitudes of perceived crisis around access to wealth and the uncertainty of social position, often described as a fall from the middle class. In this perception of crisis, others - linguistic others, ethnic others, national others – are often scapegoated, just as in Meiji-period Japan those who studied the languages of 'foreign barbarians' were targeted.¹⁹⁹ Proponents of the constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the United States (aka the *English Language Amendment*) are in a lineage that has historically dehumanized linguistic others; academic and journalist Dennis Baron states that "proponents of official-English have sounded two separate themes, one rational and patriotic, the other emotional and racist."²⁰⁰ Journalist James Crawford has interpreted the recent American debate about national language as acting as a forum in which battles about cultural identity and political power can be fought: "English Only agitation has made bilingual schooling a lightning rod for political attacks from people concerned about immigration policy, cultural change and the expansion of minority rights."²⁰¹ Clearly, multilinguality is profoundly challenging to some in the debate.

But while this sense of cultural and economic dislocation at times blames the linguistic other for loss of privilege and challenge to cultural identity, at the same time, the world is becoming dramatically more multi-lingual than it ever has been before in history. Suggesting the scale of possible language transformation to be anticipated in the near future, David Graddol writes: "The world's language system is undergoing rapid change because of demographic trends, new technology, and international communication. . . . English may not be the dominant language of the future, and the

¹⁹⁸ For an example of this kind of discourse, see "Do Millennials Stand a Chance in the Real World?" *New York Times*, 31 March 2013.

¹⁹⁹ Fukuzawa Yukichi describes the 1860s as a time when xenophobia was so strong in Japan that students of "Dutch Studies" (i.e. foreign studies,) especially translators, feared for their physical safety and did their best to avoid being public spaces.

²⁰⁰ Dennis Baron, "Do you speak American?" *PBS News*, <http://www.pbs.org/speak/seatosea/officialamerican/englishonly/>.

²⁰¹ James Crawford, "A Nation Divided by One Language," *The Guardian*, 7 March 2001.

need to be multilingual will be enhanced.”²⁰² *New York Times* contributor Stacie Nevadomski Berdan argues that the United States business culture must move away from a monolingual comfort zone, and in order to be competitive in business in the current global context, the United States needs more language training, and earlier.²⁰³ The United States' political polarity around the issue of language and movement (especially as an immigration issue) is telling, and resembles early Meiji debates; on the one hand, cultural conservatives relish a national monolingualism and actively work to preserve its place of both cultural prestige and language of access to social, political and economic power.²⁰⁴ On the other hand, population demographics show that more and more people, both in the United States and globally, are multilingual, often as a result of economically motivated immigration and other diasporic forces.²⁰⁵ In this contemporary moment, the figure of the translator assumes a new sense of relevance, becoming visible, even celebrated, in the fiction of authors like Tawada Yoko.

The experience of using multiple languages has been characterized by some intellectuals as an experience of trauma, positing the “mother tongue” as a proxy for a state of innocence before the modern identity is forced to negotiate complex political and economic forces that entail various linguistic responses. Novelist and academic Ariel Dorfman movingly writes of his own Spanish and English bilingualism as an experience of self-betrayal, but finds possibilities for different (and more equitable) distributions of power in language for the future: “The new global disorder enacts a world where more and more people, submitted to the obligation of dividing their brain between two (or more) linguistic systems, end up deterritorializing language, unlinking it from the power of the nation and the coercion of the state, ... bilinguals ... that ... constitute a model for tomorrow’s new humanity.” (36) Dorfman transforms the old sense of translator-as-traitor (*tratuttore tratittore*) into a modern plurilingual diasporic identity personified as “splendidly unrecognizable children.”²⁰⁶

While Dorfman’s hopeful vision of a future human identity leavens his fraught and guilt-ridden representation of living in translation, Tawada Yoko views this experience of living in a language other than the mother tongue as fertile grounds for artistic inspiration and realization. Susan Bernofsky, translator of Tawada’s bilingual novel *The Naked Eye*, points out the deep imbrication Tawada’s fiction has with translation:

²⁰²Graddol, “The Future of Language.”

²⁰³ Stacie Nevadomski Berdan, “Being Monolingual is no longer an option” *New York Times*, 29 January 2012.

²⁰⁴“Senators wrangle over English’s status in U.S.: Lawmakers debate ‘national’ vs. ‘unifying’ language in immigration bill,” *NBC News*, updated 10 May 2006. <http://www.nbcnews.com/id/12866975/ns/politics/t/senators-wrangle-over-englishs-status-us/#.VEk15YvF-Fw>

²⁰⁵United States Census Bureau, “New Census Bureau Report Analyzes Nation’s Linguistic Diversity: Population Speaking a Language Other than English at Home Increases by 140 Percent in Past Three Decades,” 27 April 2010. https://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/american_community_survey_acs/cb10-cn58.html

²⁰⁶Dorfman, “The Wandering Bigamists of Language,” 36.

The Naked Eye is Yoko Tawada's first truly bilingual book, a departure from her usual practice of writing either in German or Japanese and then giving the text to a translator. She started the novel in German, but then parts of the story began occurring to her in Japanese, and so she continued writing sections of the book now in one language, now in the other, later translating in both directions until she arrived simultaneously at two complete manuscripts. The linguistic indeterminacy of this process beautifully reflects the situation of the novel's narrator, a young Vietnamese woman who is multiply displaced and tends to speak in declarative sentences as if desperate to pin down a world that keeps shifting around her.²⁰⁷

The dynamics of translation are characterized here as linguistic and cultural indeterminacy; the displaced identity of contemporary translational identity is reflected in language displacement. Early Meiji travel literature in the 'moment of the translator' viewed this translational possibility optimistically, as a recipe for success; in contemporary appraisals, the view is also elegiac, even nostalgic, as if a lack of linguistic fixity signals a lost whole. Ariel Dorfman, discussed above, symbolically casts the translator as a betrayer, a bigamist:

It is as a resident of this dual existence, married to two tongues . . . in love with them both now . . . it is as an adulterer of language that I presently trust that the distress of being double and somewhat homeless is overshadowed by the glory of being hybrid and open.²⁰⁸

Recognizing the resonances in attitude and sense of possibilities between the enthusiastic early Meiji figure of the translator and our contemporary troubled but also hopeful representation of a transnational and translingual identity allows us to better understand the stakes in our own contemporary public discourse on national and linguistic identity.

Tawada Yoko acknowledges the insecurities in contemporary discourses about national and linguistic identity by beginning her essay "Writing in the Web of Words" with the question: "Will I become another person if I speak another language?"²⁰⁹ Her implicit answer that emerges as the essay works its way through the experiences of translation is that yes, the person speaking another language can become an artist because the experience of translation has the potential to awaken a linguistic playfulness that transforms language, rendering the ordinary and habitual into the unfamiliar, into art. In this respect, Tawada's perspective on translation's role in creating an artistic sensibility echoes Nagai Kafū's, who, as I argue in the previous chapter, used his experience of living in translation to create literature. Tawada, in her nonfiction essay "Writing in the Web of Words," posits that those who live in a foreign language, who must "translate words from one language into the other" find "hidden patterns of a language . . . in the mirror of a translation."²¹⁰ Tawada sees this as a boon:

²⁰⁷ Bernofsky, "Translator's Note."

²⁰⁸ Dorfman, "Wandering Bigamist," 33.

²⁰⁹ Tawada, "Web of Words," 147.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 150.

... I see an opportunity in this broken relationship to the mother tongue and to language in general. You become a word fetishist. Every part or even every letter becomes touchable, you no longer see the semantic unity, and you don't go with the flow of the speech. You stop everywhere and take close-ups of the details. The blow-up of the details is confusing, because it shows completely new pictures of a familiar object. Just as you are unable to recognize your own mother seen through a microscope, you cannot recognize your own mother tongue in a close-up picture. But art is not supposed to picture the mother in a recognizable way.²¹¹

Tawada, generating artistic inspiration from the confusion of translation, places herself as a playful opponent to straight-laced monolinguals: "People with "a stiff mind" would ask me now: Why does one have to get involved with such word plays?"²¹² She goes further, stating that in our contemporary moment ludic juxtapositions exist ubiquitously, yet cannot be apprehended by those without a translational mindset; Tawada states: "Through migration, world travels, or Internet surfing people often find themselves in a situation where the juxtaposition already exists but a corresponding frame of mind has not yet been developed"²¹³ except in the mind of the translator who creates art.

In fact, Tawada in her short story "Arufabetto no kizuguchi," (translated by Margaret Mitsutani as "Saint George and the Translator,") suggests that the translator is able to find the means of evasion from the constricting set of choices presented by modern economies of tourism and intellectual production. The story involves the female narrator, a translator, who has arrived at the Canary Islands in order to work on a translation of a literary text, and proceeds, in Tawada-esque fashion, to intersperse the representation of ordinary encounters on the island with hallucinatory passages of great symbolic importance to the experience and practice of translation. In Tawada's text, the need for a loophole, for an escape from the confines of the familiar, is thematized by the letter O. Early in the story, the narrator describes the familiar letter O on the page as a kind of door that promises passage to an undefined other world:

"I noticed there were "O's" scattered across the first page. Or perhaps it would be better to say that the page was full of holes eaten away by the letter "O." There was a wall behind formed by the white page so I couldn't see inside and the harder I looked the more it seemed I'd never break through. I colored the insides of all the "O's" black with my fountain pen and felt a slight sense of relief."²¹⁴

The "O's" described early in the story signal to the reader that the text seeks surprising and unconventional ways out of reductive and limited roles that conventional life appears to offer. Critic and translator Margaret Mitsutani suggests that in this passage, "the narrator has turned the holes backed with a white wall into tunnels."²¹⁵ Mitsutani strengthens this interpretation by reminding us that in another Tawada text the narrator

²¹¹ Ibid, 150.

²¹² Ibid, 152.

²¹³ Ibid, 153.

²¹⁴ Tawada, "Saint George and the Translator," 113.

²¹⁵ Mitsutani, "Missing Heels, Missing Texts," 38.

says “The exit wanted to turn into an entrance.”²¹⁶ The confusing and disorienting experience of translation becomes an opportunity for departure from the familiar and entrance into the unknown. While unknown, Tawada nonetheless indicates that the terms of this new realm are different from our conventional sense of a unified identity: “If translation meant “passing something over to the other side” then perhaps forgetting about the “whole” and starting out with fragments wasn’t a bad idea.”²¹⁷ Tawada’s valorization of fragments, echoing Dorfman’s experience of doubleness and hybridity, discussed above, points to an understanding of translators as pioneers in a new territory of identity, very much like the translators represented in early Meiji public discourse.

Tawada underscores this theme of seeking alternative entrances for contemporary identity in “Saint George and the Translator” by shifting the focus of the text from a myopic focus on the page of O’s to a misanthropic focus on interpersonal exchanges while on the island where the narrator is attempting to complete a literary translation. Several verbal exchanges between the narrator and local men of the Canary Islands – a locale that, for most, is either a place of origin, or a tourist destination - enact a confounding of conventional expectations of travel & tourism in the contemporary moment; implicitly, the text offers translation as a way out, or a way beyond conventional exchanges of money for experiences in a tourist economy. In these exchanges, the narrator of “Saint George and the Translator” finds that her work as a translator causes friction because the occupation of translation does not please, satisfy, or blend in with the normative choices expected. The representations of the casual encounters demonstrate that the translator does not participate smoothly in the status quo, but instead represents a challenge. One such exchange occurs at a late point in “Saint George and the Translator,” when the narrator, while taking a break from translating to look for a provisions shop, finds her path cut off by a truck parked and blocking the road. The driver of the truck, seeing that she is not from the island, chats casually with her about his occupation and origins, and then questions her. However, she fails to fall into any of the categories that he expects of her:

“Here for travel? Or whoring?” I couldn’t believe my ears but that was definitely what he said.

“Neither. . . I’ve come to translate.”²¹⁸

This exchange reveals the sexual economy that pervades modern tourism,²¹⁹ and places the occupation of translation outside of those choices. This echoes an earlier encounter that the translator has with another local man on the island:

. . . the man in the straw hat spoke to me.

²¹⁶Ibid. Mitsutani quotes her own translation of Tawada’s “The Gotthard Railway,” as published in *The Bridegroom was a Dog* (Tokyo, London, New York: Kodansha International, 1998): 154.

²¹⁷ “Saint George and the Translator,” 121.

²¹⁸ Tawada, “Saint George and the Translator,” 157.

²¹⁹ Scholars such as Indra Munshi describe modern tourism as a system that privileges a male view and “hinges on a group of national and translational corporate actors and governmental and inter-governmental agencies . . . “ (Munshi, “Tourism Processes and Gender Relations,” 4462.)

“Did you come for this? Or this?” he asked first mimicking the breaststroke and then mountain climbing.

“Neither. I came here to translate.”²²⁰

The translator, as a figure explicitly negotiating linguistic and cultural identity issues, also embodies a challenging alternative to simplistic views of national or ethnic identity that underpin the transactions of tourism.

As Tawada challenges linguistic and social assumptions, defamiliarizing well-worn expectations in the realm of language, and in the realm of socio-economic transactions such as in tourism, she also challenges the sanctities of intellectual work, refusing to accept a conventional hierarchy of value in literary production that places “original” texts (such as novels) above translation. The narrator of “Saint George and the Translator” stubbornly resists her friend Ei, a successful novelist, by refusing to accept Ei’s facile dismissal of the artistic value of translation:

After becoming a successful novelist she didn’t want to translate anymore . . . She seems to look down on translation. “Why don’t you stop translating and write instead?” she says looking straight at me. “Translators don’t count as artists you know.” But I don’t want to write novels. I translate because I want to not because I don’t have the talent to be a novelist.²²¹

The narrator tenaciously refuses to accept Ei’s bald repudiation of the value of translation, placing her own “want” in opposition to an external value system or recognition of talent. Tellingly, Ei’s phrase “don’t count” implies a connection between literary value and monetary value, a connection that Tawada develops further in “Saint George and the Translator.”

Tawada mounts her challenge to conventional intellectual values by making legible the connection between a hierarchy of artistic value and the link to capitalism and the market:

As there’s no money in translating literature and certainly little praise my friend Ei gave it up altogether and started to write novels. Although Ei has suggested I do the same and I’ve gotten similar advice from others as well I keep translating despite having to work random jobs . . .²²²

By translating, the narrator steps outside conventionally profitable occupations, and appears to be directionless and random in the eyes of prevailing market appraisal. Ei’s vocalization of this appraisal is not the only voice to challenge the narrator’s choice to translate; the narrator’s unsympathetic and absent companion George similarly views the work of translation as valueless because of a lack of financial gain. The narrator has internalized his voice as stating: “You should turn down these silly translation jobs. You don’t make any money from them anyway.”²²³ In the face of this unsupportiveness,

²²⁰ Tawada, “Saint George and the Translator,” 118

²²¹ Tawada, “Saint George and the Translator,” 140.

²²² Tawada, “Saint George and the Translator,” 121-122.

²²³ Tawada, “Saint George and the Translator,” 139-140.

Tawada represents the narrator translator of “Saint George and the Translator” as heroically anti-capitalist.

Pushing this to its extreme, translation for the narrator of the text is also anti-utilitarian and anti-legible, producing texts that are almost hostile to transparent meaning and certainly outside the normal circuits of intellectual production linked to the literary market. The narrator, in translating a passage of violence, refuses to produce a text that can be read linearly, but instead translates in fragments and phrases, thus: “. . . in open mouths, in throats, stuck, stabbed, tongue at the bottom, run through . . .”²²⁴ Margaret Mitsutani, a translator herself, writes of the disjunct between what the narrator of “Saint George and the Translator” produces and what an editor would accept as legible translation; in transcribing two kinds of translations, one conventionally coherent and the other “radical,” Mitsutani states: “The first I would be willing to show to an interested editor . . . Now for the one I will probably never show to any editor . . .”²²⁵ Mitsutani, in struggling with Tawada’s narrator’s translation of the second, radical kind that is unpalatable to editors and hostile to literary market values, asks: “Are these unfettered words the “pure language” that Benjamin says must be liberated in translation?”²²⁶ Embedded in the kind of translation that the narrator of “Saint George and the Translator” practices is the potential for liberating new forms of identity, those “entrances” she refers to elsewhere. Tawada sees radical potential for translators who inhabit languages other than their own mother tongue, translators who have the capacity to recognize the artistic possibilities present in our contemporary moment of diasporic multilinguality.

Tawada renders a literary portrait of translators who, in a multilingual world, represent resistance to market-defined conventionality and the narrowness of monolingual identification, with implications for the lessening importance of singular national or ethnic identification. Tawada’s representation of the figure of the translator is surely a part of a vanguard of a future mode of subversive identity, just as early Meiji writers represented the translator as a way to successfully transverse and participate in the modern world order. Translation, internalized at the core of a multilingual identity of individual persona as well as whole bodies of literature, acts in both subversive ways and as conduits to as-yet-unknown future terrain. Now more than ever, the relevancy of Benjamin’s vision for the translator seems clear: “It is the task of the translator to release in his own language that pure language that is under the spell of another, to liberate the language imprisoned in a work in his re-creation of that work.”²²⁷

²²⁴ Ibid, 112.

²²⁵ “Missing Heels, Missing Texts,” 37.

²²⁶ Ibid. Mitsutani is, of course, referring to Walter Benjamin’s concept of pure language in his “The Task of the Translator.”

²²⁷ Benjamin, *Illuminations*.

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