論　文

A Crosspoint of the Colonial and the Local: Three Complexities of Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*

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Introduction

Isabella Lucy Bird (1831-1904) is known as one of the most famous Victorian women travelers. Her book, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880), is one of the earliest travel writings about Japan published in the United Kingdom. Soon after its publication, it became popular in British society, as it was thought as realistically depicting various exotic aspects of Japan at that time. It has also fascinated Japanese readers because of its vivid descriptions of the rural life of Japanese people and Japan's natural beauty, as well as the lifestyle and culture of the Ainu. This book has gathered scholarly attention from both Western and Japanese researchers, although their perspectives differ substantially between them. Western scholars have excavated colonial aspects of the book while acknowledging Bird's feminist activities in patriarchal British society.[1)] They have attempted to reveal how Bird's views on Japan are colonialist. Despite the efforts of Western scholars, Japanese scholars have believed that it conveys the "reality" of Japanese society in the late nineteenth century and expresses Bird's unbiased, genuine, and favorable attitudes toward the Japanese people and culture.[2)]

In this essay, however, I pursue another interpretation of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* as a crosspoint of the colonial and the local by intensively examining three complexities that Western and Japanese scholars of Bird have not sufficiently explored: the exceptionality of her travel in Japan, her complex

feelings about Japan, and the unsettling of her subjectivity as a Western observer. As to the first point, I consider what kind of network Bird benefited from during her journey. Western scholars, such as Klaus Dittrich, have indicated that Bird was a beneficiary of the infrastructures that the British Empire constructed in East Asia at that time (Dittrich 24). However, it seems complicated to attribute the success of her travel solely to such imperial infrastructures because she was able to go through the interior of Japan without any restrictions. Thus, this essay contends that Bird was a beneficiary of a transnational network between the UK and Japan, a network prepared by a British diplomat in Japan, Sir Harry Parkes, who planned an observation journey to the northern part of Japan before Bird's visit.

Second, this essay discusses how Bird's feelings about Japan are complex by analyzing the parts omitted from the "original edition" of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. Whether celebrating or criticizing Japan, she does not acknowledge that Japan would grow like Western countries. Instead, she attempts to place Japan in a position inferior to Western nations in a patronizing manner. To demonstrate this, it is necessary here to explain why this essay intensively examines the "original edition" of the book, not comparing the three versions that have been published so far. According to Kiyonori Kanasaka, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* has three versions: "the complete original," "the popular edition," and "the new original edition" (4-6). The first version refers to one originally published in 1880 by John Murray, a British publisher. Here, I call it the "original edition." The second is an abridged version published in 1885: it excludes the parts where she speculates on the possibility of spreading Christianity in Japan, introduces Japanese public affairs and politics, and depicts her journey to the Kansai area. The third one is a version reprinted in 1900, which adds a new "Preface" and "fourteen photographs" to the "original edition" but removes "the Glossary of Japanese Words for which actual English equivalents do not exist," "the *Tables*

section of the *Appendix*," and most of "A Chapter on Japanese Public Affairs" (5). Kanasaka insists that the global circulation of the "popular edition" has led readers to "the mistaken impression that her trip to Japan and her excursion to Hokkaido are one and the same thing" (4). Furthermore, here I contend that the parts deleted in the "popular" and "new original" editions express her favorable and critical but patronizing attitude toward Japan. Therefore, this essay underlines how the "original edition" conveys her complex attitude toward Japan.

Finally, this essay demonstrates that *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* records some moments when Bird's subjectivity as a Western observer was unsettled. She, as an observer, intended to reveal "the real Japan" to Western readers, but the book discloses that such an intention was sometimes discouraged, as she became an object to be observed by the returned gazes of Japanese locals. This subversion of subject and object positions not only tells that the "original edition" of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* is neither a mere colonial byproduct nor one that Japanese scholars have appreciated as something unideological so far, but also depicts how Bird's subjectivity as a Western observer is challenged. To demonstrate this, I examine why she feels comfortable among the Ainu, even though she thinks of both Japanese locals and the Ainu as "barbarous," and how she is objectified by Japanese locals.

The Exceptionality of Bird's Travel in Japan

The exceptionality of Bird's travel in Japan owes to not only the imperial infrastructures of the British Empire but also a transnational network between the UK and Japan. Sir Harry Parkes was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Bird and played a significant role in shaping the transnational network between the UK and Japan. As he had planned an observation journey to the northern part of Japan before Bird's visit, he had already asked for various

kinds of assistance from Westerners in Japan and had formed a strong connection with the Japanese government. When he was informed of her travel plan, he felt that she could be an agent to implement his long-planned observation project. Therefore, he utilized a cultural event to introduce Bird to Japanese senior officials for the prompt issuance of a special travel permit that guaranteed Bird's travel and status in Japan. Here, I explain in detail how this transnational network made her travel exceptional, focusing on what kind of efforts Parkes made and how the travel permit gave privilege to Bird.

Before Bird came to Japan, "sometime in the summer of 1875" (Kanasaka 81), Parkes had already planned an observation trip to the northern part of Japan to catch up with "American, German and French parties" because these countries "had already made journeys into the interior since 1870 with permission from the [Japanese] government" (122). Thus, hoping that someone who was suitable for this trip would appear in the near future, Parkes prepared for the trip by working on both Westerners in Japan and the Japanese government. For example, he requested Richard Henry Brunton, whom the Japanese government employed as a foreign adviser to build lighthouses, to make a large map of Japan; supported the publication of an "Anglo-Japanese Dictionary"; and founded the Asiatic Society of Japan to share pieces of knowledge about the northern part of Japan. Furthermore, he explained Bird's travel plan to Munenori Terashima, who was the Foreign Minister at that time and was familiar with Parkes (Daniels 145), to issue a travel permit with no regional restrictions for foreigners.[3)] According to Kanasaka, "the application to the Foreign Ministry had already been submitted a year before Bird came to Japan and the formal procedure completed while waiting for her to arrive" (81). This means that the travel permit, whose unusual nature I will explain later, was already ready to issue when Bird arrived in Japan. Parkes meticulously planned the observation trip by utilizing his connection with

Westerners in Japan and the Japanese government.

Bird's travel to the northern part of Japan was an unprecedented opportunity to implement his long-planned project.[4] So, to facilitate the immediate issuance of the special travel permit for her, he invited Bird to the first day of the opening ceremony of the Shintomi theater. This was not only a cultural event but, for Parkes, a political place to introduce her to Japanese senior officials. In Letter VII, which is omitted in "the popular" and "the new original" editions, Bird senses that the Shintomi theater works as a place of politics as Japanese political leaders, foreign diplomats, and foreign employment advisers gathered there. These included "Mikado, Iwakura, Terashima, or any others of the Ministry honouring with public theatricals" (vol. 1 53), "the diplomatic body," and "the foreigners in Government employment" (1: 57). In addition, drawing from *Morita Kanya XII* by Nyoden Otsuki, a literary scholar and author from the Meiji to Showa periods, Kanasaka writes that the ceremony was attended by " 'the Prime Minister, the foreign, interior, army, navy, education and justice ministers, other government officials, the governor of Tokyo, the police commissioner and people of high standing in the academic world' and 'the British Minister and other foreign gentlemen' as well as 'foreigners living in Yokohama with notables from banking, commercial and newspaper circles'" (131). Therefore, it is reasonable to think that Parkes' invitation of Bird to the ceremony was to make the senior officials who were in charge of the issuance of the permit know that Bird was a personage deserving of the special travel permit: "Parkes told the Minister (Terashima) that Bird was a famous woman traveller in her late forties" (Kanasaka 82). In effect, Parkes' efforts bore fruit in the immediate issuance of the special travel permit.

The travel permit exempted Bird from any restrictions on domestic travel. She was able to travel anywhere in Japan, beyond Foreigners' Free

Movement Zones designed by the Foreigners Free Movement Regulations, while other foreign travelers usually had to stay inside the zone. Her travel permit did not have any descriptions of the travel route, whereas a general one for foreigners was necessarily printed with a travel plan if one went out of the areas designated for foreigners. Kanasaka argues that "by not having any regional restrictions, Bird's journey was an extremely unusual one at a time when the areas in which foreigners could travel and move about freely were limited" (77). Also, her travel permit did not reference a staying time limit, even though foreigners were usually allowed to stay in Japan for thirty or fifty days.[5] As a result, she could stay in Japan for more than one hundred days. Furthermore, Bird could skip the procedure of the re-issuance of a new travel permit when she went to the Kansai area soon after her journey to Hokkaido. It was usual that once a foreigner finished a trip and wanted to travel to another place in Japan, the person had to obtain a new travel permit for the next trip. Yet Bird kept the same travel permit when she visited the Kansai area. As she writes in Letter IX, there might be a special consideration from the Japanese government: "For special reasons, [the Japanese government] is anxious to impress foreigners with its power and omniscience" and "is responsible for my safety" (1: 92). Undoubtedly, the special nature of the travel permit ensured her travel and safety in Japan.

These kinds of circumstances involving Bird made her travel exceptional. Parkes worked to form a transnational network between the UK and Japan by contacting both Westerners in Japan and the Japanese government. Even though it was not for Bird herself, Brid was able to benefit from the network and move inside Japan without any restrictions. Bird's travel in Japan stood not solely on her own efforts or the infrastructures of the British Empire but on the political arrangements of the British diplomat and the Japanese government. This transnational network represents the exceptionality of her travel.

Bird's Complex Feelings toward Japan

Examining the parts omitted in the "popular" and "new original" editions reveals Bird's complex feelings about Japan. Whether acknowledging the development of Japan as a modern nation-state or criticizing Japan's appropriation of Christian civilization, she does not hope that Japan will grow in a way comparable to Western countries. She always attempts to place Japan in a position inferior to Western nations in a patronizing manner. Previous studies have pointed out that Bird's perspectives on Japan contain notions of Western superiority. William Caplinger writes, "Bird promulgates Japanese inferiority repeatedly" (47). Jihang Park indicates that Bird harshly criticizes Japan because of its appropriation of Christian civilization without Christianity: "[H]olding Christianity to be the source of Western civilization, Bird views Japan's modernization as an attempt to secure the fruit of Christianity 'without transplanting the tree from which they spring'" (523). Laurence Williams and Steve Clark argue that Bird's concern is "the efficiency of Japanese colonial rule and cultural transplantation" (7). Nevertheless, this essay will demonstrate how the "original edition" represents her complex feelings about Japan by focusing intensively on the parts deleted in the "popular" and "new original" editions.

There might be some questions about the approach this essay takes: for example, why not closely compare the differences between the three editions to identify Bird's complex perspectives on Japan? The answer is that the publisher intervened in the republication of the "popular" and "new original" editions and asked her to remove the parts about Japanese public affairs and Christianity. The "original edition" sold well, but John Murray the Third planned to put out "a popular range of reasonably-priced books in which the two volumes of Isabella's trips to Hawaii and the Rocky Mountains were already included and he wanted to publish a book about her Japan journey in this series as well" (Kanasaka 4). He

wanted to make the book more entertaining and adventurous to sell more. The "new original" edition also lacks almost the same parts as the "popular edition," parts that represent Bird's political and religious expectations for Japan. Therefore, this essay maintains that examining the parts expunged in the "popular" and "new original" editions is more reasonable to apprehend Bird's complex feelings about Japan than comparing the three editions.

In Letter XLVII and "A Chapter on Japanese Public Affairs," both of which are deleted in the "popular" and "new original" editions, Bird celebrates the development of Japan as a modern nation-state after the Meiji Restoration. In Letter XLVII, she favorably describes that the Japanese government decided to hold a new public election in a provincial area as a step toward turning agrarian villegers and the lowest-class people in the Edo period, so-called Eta, into subjects of Japan as a modern nation-state: "Japan has taken the first step in the direction of constitutional government by the issuing of a proclamation by the Mikado empowering the election of Provincial Assemblies in March of next year" (2: 156). Also, in "A Chapter on Japanese Public Affairs," she describes the socio-political system and historical development of Japan with an affirmative tone. This section includes the history of Japanese feudalism, the policy of modernization, the Japanese military forces, the infrastructure of information, the currency system, the judicial system, the system of education and its failure, the national debts, the annual revenue and expenditure, foreign trade, and domestic natural resources. Surveying these socio-political aspects, she says, "[t]he extraordinary progress which the Empire has made justly claims our admiration" (2: 347).

However, she puts nuance into the positive accounts of Japan. For instance, around the beginning of "A Chapter on Japanese Public Affairs," she claims that what is necessary for Japan at this point is not "indiscriminate praise" but "friendly criticism" from Western countries to solidify its international status

as a modern nation-state: "For what [Japan] has already done [Japan] claims from western nations hearty sympathy, cordial co-operation, and freedom to consolidate and originate internal reforms, and to be aided by friendly criticism rather than retarded by indiscriminate praise" (2: 314). One may suppose that she innocently believes that Western countries' friendly criticism is helpful for Japan's development. In this sense, it might be correct to say that Bird does not necessarily look down on the Japanese people, as Taro Nagano argues (19). However, what is important here is that she puts Western countries in a patronizing position toward Japan and does not require any response or even feedback from Japan. Bird thinks that there is nothing to learn from Japan and that Japan just needs to follow Western countries. As Pat Barr writes, "Bird admired much of what she saw and was very interested in it, but she didn't love it. New Japan lacked what she always termed the 'grooviness' . . . of the irredeemable, backward-looking, essentially immutable Orient that gave her true solace" (101-2). Here, while praising the progress of Japan, she advises Japan, in a patronizing manner, on how to further establish itself as a modern nation-state, placing Japan in a position inferior to that of Western countries.

We can see a similar patronizing rhetoric when she criticizes Japan. As Park indicates, Bird, as a daughter of an Anglican clergyman, is disappointed with Japan because it appropriates Christian civilization—such as constructions, ideologies, and social systems—without accepting Christianity per se. When she arrived in Yokohama, its international hybridity between the West and Japan was unappealing to her: "Yokohama is not imposing in any way—these hybrid cities never are" (1: 15). In Letter IV, which is deleted in the "popular" and "new original" editions, she disparages the buildings in Tokyo as "debased Europeanised or Americanised" and "vulgar and dismally ugly" (1: 34). More obviously, at the very end of Letter XXVI, which is also removed in the

"popular" and "new original" editions, she strongly criticizes Japan because of its appropriation of Christian civilization: Japan is "an Empire with a splendid despotism for its apex, and naked coolies for its base, a bald materialism its highest creed and material good its goal, reforming, destroying, constructing, appropriating the fruits of Christian civilization, but rejecting the tree from which they spring—such are among the contrasts and incongruities everywhere!" (1: 306). For her, in sum, Japan looks like a nation that uses Western products without compensation.

However, much the same as her celebration of Japan, her critique of Japan is patronizing. She believes Christianity can save the Japanese people from what she sees as the moral deterioration caused by Buddhism.[6] In Letter XIX, one of the parts removed in the "popular" and "new original" editions, she laments the difficulty of spreading Christianity in Japan because of their lack of interest in "*all* religion." Attributing this indifference to the corruption of Buddhism in Japan, she emphasizes that "[i]t is a complete mistake to suppose that because the old faith is decaying Japan is ripe for the introduction of a new one" (1: 200). In "Introductory Chapter," which is deleted in the "popular" and "new original" editions, she writes, with regret, that Christianity came to Japan too late because Buddhism already disseminated in Japanese society: "[T]he civilization which comes from the far West in the nineteenth century is not a more sweeping wave than that which came from Corea in the sixth" (1: 10). However, she simultaneously hopes to reform Japan into a moral country by spreading Christianity. She believes that if Christianity can replace Buddhism in the future, it will raise Japanese society to a morally higher level: if "Christianity overthrows Buddhism" in Japan, it would "produce equally enduring results" (1: 10). As Shizen Ozawa argues, "[I]n Bird's eyes, it is only the 'Christian ideal' that could take the Japanese to a higher level of morality, which would somewhat improve their material conditions" (96).

The very end of "A Chapter on Japanese Public Affairs" reflects her criticizing but patronizing attitude toward Japan. On the one hand, she again criticizes Japan's appropriation of Western civilization without accepting Christianity. The darkest shadow covers Japan because "she (Japan) is making the attempt, for the first time in history, to secure the fruits of Christianity without transplanting the tree from which they spring" (2: 347). As a result, Japan's progress is only "political and intellectual rather than moral" and has "sunk into immorality" (2: 347). On the other hand, she encourages Japan to accept Christianity, but we can see in her use of "us" her pertinacious commitment to the binarism between the West and the East. She hopes that Japan "may grasp the truth and purity of primitive Christianity, as taught by the lips and life of *our* Lord Jesus Christ, as vigorously as she has grasped *our* arts and sciences" (my emphases 2: 347). For her, Japan is not a partner on an equal terrain that believes in Christianity together but one that will learn "our" Christianity, arts, and sciences. The final sentence represents this complexity well: "[I]n the reception of Christianity . . . she (Japan) may become, in the highest sense, 'The Land of the Rising Sun' and the Light of Eastern Asia" (2: 347). Even though Japan accepts Christianity, she thinks it cannot be a part of "us" but only a most venerable nation in "East Asia" in the highest sense. In this way, the parts deleted in the "popular" and "new original" editions represent Bird's complex—praising and criticizing but patronizing—feelings about Japan.

Unsettling of Bird's Subjectivity as a Western Observer

The third complexity that the "original edition" of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* conveys is how Bird's subjectivity as a Western observer is challenged. The "original edition" records, whether she intended or not, some moments when she could not subjectively behave as an observer and even became an object to

be observed. The purpose of Bird's journey was to reveal the "real Japan" to challenge the stereotyped image of Japan shared in Western society. Through this journey, she attempts to behave as an observer to show a new reality of Japan, keeping her hierarchical position over the Japanese people, as demonstrated in the above section. However, her subject position as a Western observer is sometimes challenged by Japanese locals' observation of her. These moments, recorded only in the "original edition," demonstrate how she is transformed from a Western observer into an object to be observed by Japanese locals throughout the journey. To prove this, this essay explores why we can think her subjectivity as a Western observer is secured among the Ainu while, contrarily, unsettled among Japanese locals, even though she regards both of them as "barbarous" and how such an unsettling of her subjectivity is represented in the "original edition."

It is helpful to see her favorable attitude toward the Ainu to know what makes a difference between the Ainu and Japanese locals in her recognition. Interestingly, Bird feels comfortable when she stays in Ainu villages. This is because, precisely speaking, her subjectivity as a Western observer is secured and reinforced by the fact that she sees some physical similarities to Europeans in their appearances, even though she considers them "barbarous." She emphasizes how the Ainu people have some physical similarities with Europeans: "[T]he features, expression, and aspect, [of the Ainu] are European rather than Asiatic" (2: 75). Even she sees in their appearances a vestige of Christ: "His dark hair was not very thick, and both it and his beard had an occasional auburn gleam. I think I never saw a face more completely beautiful in features and expression, with a lofty, sad, far-off, gentle, intellectual look, rather that of Sir Noel Paton's 'Christ' than of a savage" (2: 37). She comments on an Ainu woman that "[t]hough her expression is so severe and forbidding, she is certainly very handsome, and it is a European, not an Asiatic, beauty" (2: 66). These kinds of physical similarities help Bird to

forget that she is among "savages":

> The profusion of black hair, and a curious intensity about their eyes, coupled with the hairy limbs and singularly vigorous physique, give them a formidably savage appearance, but the smile, full of 'sweetness and light,' in which both eyes and mouth bear part, and the low, musical voice, softer and sweeter than anything I have previously heard, make me at times forget that they are savages at all." (2: 106-7)

As a result, the Ainu are "uncivilisable and altogether irreclaimable savages," but the days she spent with them are unforgettable to her in a positive sense: "I hope I shall never forget the music of their low, sweet voices, the soft light of their mild, brown eyes, and the wonderful sweetness of their smile" (2: 74). The Ainu's physical similarities with Europeans help her recognize that they are not absolutely apart from the West but are a part of "us." In this sense, she feels a sense of belonging to the Ainu, and her subjectivity as a Western observer is secured.

Contrarily, her subjectivity as a Western observer is questioned when she is among Japanese locals. Much like the Ainu, for her, Japanese locals were "uncivilisable and altogether irreclaimable savages," but she could not forget the Japanese locals' gazes in a negative sense. The "original edition" conveys the moments when she cannot keep a subject position over Japanese locals and becomes an object to be observed. In Letter IX, on the way to Nikko, she and her interpreter, Ito, decide to spend "the night at a large *yadoya* (inn), with downstairs and upstairs rooms, crowds of travellers, and many evil smells" (1: 89). That night, she finds that various Japanese locals are peeping at her through the siding screens: "Eyes were constantly applied to the sides of the room, a girl twice drew aside the *shoji* between it and the corridor, a man, who I afterwards found was a blind man, offering his services as a shampooer, came in and said some (of course)

unintelligible words" (1: 90). In Letter XXV, she decides to stay in a *yadoya* in Jinguji, Akita Prefecture. Locals in the village gather to look at her during her stay: "[T]he people of another house constantly came to stare" (1: 297); "at five on Sunday morning I saw three faces pressed against the outer lattice, and before evening, the *shoji* were riddled with finger-holes, at each of which a dark eye appeared" (1: 297). Around nine o'clock, when she goes to bed, she hears someone's "whispering and shuffling, which continued for some time" (1: 297). Thus, she opens her eyes to look around and finds "about 40 men, women, and children (Ito says 100), all staring at me, with the light upon their faces" (1: 298). These Japanese locals were not satisfied with glancing at her from outside, so they entered her place and looked at her face directly. As an author of travel writing, she hopes to maintain her hierarchical position over Japanese locals to let readers know how their behavior is uncivilized and threatening. As a result, she ends up writing about how Japanese locals observe her instead as something unfamiliar while believing that she documents their "barbarous" behavior.

Similarly, in Letter XXX, many Japanese locals gather at her place to observe her: "By 5 A.M. all Toyoka assembled, and while I took my breakfast, I was not only the 'cynosure' of the eyes of all the people outside, but of those of about forty more who were standing in the *doma*, looking up the ladder" (1: 335). Japanese locals think of themselves as pardonable because this is an unprecedented opportunity for them to closely observe a Western woman. At the end of Letter XXV, she asks a policeman to dispel them, but he justifies these Japanese observers' actions, saying that "the people had never seen a foreigner" (1: 298). Likewise, in Letter XXX, Japanese locals gathering around her inn complain that "our lives may pass without again looking on a foreign woman" (1: 355) when she tries to leave. These letters show how Japanese locals justify themselves by treating Bird as an object to be observed because of her rarity in Japan.

At the very end of Letter XVII, she recounts a moment when the hierarchical position of the West as civilized and Japan as barbarous is challenged. In Niigata, she is also surrounded by many Japanese locals when she goes through the town. At this point, a child approaches her and calls her barbarous: "I was much mobbed, and one child formed the solitary exception to the general rule of politeness by calling me a name equivalent to the Chinese *Feng Kwai*, 'Barbarian Devil;' but he was severely chidden, and a policeman has just called with an apology" (1: 190). Of course, we must not disregard that the child is immediately scolded by a Japanese adult who knows well that calling others "barbarous" is impolite despite racial or cultural differences. In this sense, one may say that the child's innocent but abusive word is contained by a Japanese adult or even Japanese society. However, it is remarkable that she revises "*Feng Kwai*, Barbarian Devil" into just "*Fan Kwai*, 'foreign'" (Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks* [Charles E. Tuttle] 108) in the "popular edition" and blurs a critical nuance to Western readers through the editing process. This rewriting allows us to speculate that she may realize that the child's word risks calling into question the binarism between the West as "civilized" and Japan as "barbarous," disclosing how such a binarism is only a false consciousness not only to herself but also to British readers who have enjoyed her travel as one that reinforces their superiority over the East. From the child's point of view, Bird, or even Western readers, is no longer a "civilized" entity but just a "barbarous" foreigner. In this way, Bird's subjectivity as a Western observer is interrogated.[7)]

Conclusion

The "original edition" of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* conveys at least three complexities that have not been examined enough by Western and Japanese scholars. The exceptionality of her travel in Japan lies in the transnational

network between the UK and Japan, which Parkes made an effort to structure. She benefited from the network and could travel in Japan without any constraints. The "original edition" depicts her patronizing attitude toward Japan, which is almost entirely removed from the other editions. Whether praising or criticizing, she attempts to patronize Japan, hoping to place it in a position of inferiority to Western countries. The "original edition" also records some moments when Bird's subjectivity as a Western observer is questioned. She becomes an object to be observed by the gazes of Japanese locals rather than a Western observer to the "reality" of Japan. At this moment, she comes to be seen as "barbarous," even though she believes in herself as a "civilized" entity. These complexities illustrate how "the original edition" of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* cannot be solely identifiable with either Western scholarly discourse about her because of the unsettling of her subjectivity as a colonialist observer or Japanese scholars' simplistic acceptance of the book.

Notes

1) As to Bird and feminism, for example, see McKenzie (26); Kato (80); Harwood (286); Smriti (2714). As to Bird and colonialism, for example, see Caplinger (47); Park (523); Williams and Clark (7).

2) As to Japanese scholars' uncritical acceptance of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, for example, see Miyamoto (17); Takanashi (520); Akasaka (28).

3) Before planning the observation journey, Parkes had already made a strong affiliation with a number of political leaders in Japan since around the end of the Edo period: Hirobumi Ito, Kaishu Katsu, Tomomi Iwakura, Munenori Terashima, and others.

4) It is interesting that Bird had a strong affiliation with middle- and upper-class people in British society through the introduction of John Murray the Third, the president of the publishing house John Murray at that time. These include Charles Darwin, Constance Frederica Gordon-Cumming, and the Duke of Argyll (Kaye 101, Stoddard 100). Letters by the Duke of Argyll helped her connect with Parkes (Stoddard 100).

5) According to Kanasaka, Ordinance Permitting Foreigners' Travel in the Interior of May 1874 (外国人内地旅行允準条例) says that foreigner's travel period should be thirty or fifty days (77-78).

6) Olive Checkland argues that Bird's references to Christianity were not for her interest but in response to the readers' expectations (102). This may be because Checkland's observations rely on the "popular edition."

7) Interestingly, she writes a letter to her sister, Henrietta, from Hakodate soon after her travel to

Hokkaido. Unlike any edition of the book, she discloses her impression of Japan straightforwardly. Simply put, the journey in Japan was disappointing for her: "Nothing in Japan pleases me one half so well as the strolls around Altnacraig in the long twilights of our beautiful June. . . . My journey hitherto has been a great disappointment as far as health goes—I am much worse than when I left home" (*Letters to Henriett*a 204-5).

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