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Empire of Culture:

Contemporary British and Japanese Imaginings of Victorian Britain

By

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in English and Comparative Literary Studies

University of Warwick,

Department of English and Comparative Literary Studies

April 2016

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people for their invaluable guidance and support, which have sustained me throughout the years spent writing this thesis. I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Ross G. Forman and Professor Michael Gardiner, for constantly urging me to push the boundaries of my thinking, and to write with greater clarity and elegance. I would not be the scholar I am today without them.

I would also like to thank my peers in the Department of English and Comparative Literary Studies at the University of Warwick. Many of the arguments in this thesis arose from discussions (sometimes heated) that I have had with my peers during my time at Warwick. A big thank you especially to Michael Tsang, Matsuoka Misato, and Maria Cohut for always being willing to share ideas and to discuss difficult issues. I am also deeply indebted to the tireless efforts of Ohashi Chiaki, who co-organises the Global 19C Network reading group with me.

My deepest gratitude goes to Samantha Leong, Sheril Fazlinda Norzali, and Kevin Lam for generously giving up their time to be interviewed, and for allowing me to reproduce their cosplay photographs in the thesis. I would also like to thank the Fashion and Textile Museum, London, for providing a wonderful photograph of the exhibition gallery.

Lastly, I would like to thank Christopher Kelsey, who did the cooking and housework whenever I had deadlines to meet and chapters to finish. Without his love and support, finishing the thesis would have been a much more arduous journey.

Declaration

The material covered in the section "Global Commodities II: Food" in Chapter Three, "Emporium of Luxury, Empire of Cool: Imperialism, Commodities, and Cultural Capital," is based on a journal article published before I began PhD studies at the University of Warwick. The article appeared in *Mechademia* 7 (2012), under the title of "Superflat and the Postmodern Gothic: Images of Western Modernity in *Kuroshitsuji*." The article has been significantly revised for inclusion in this thesis.

I hereby confirm that this thesis is my own work, and that it has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Abstract

Since the 1980s and 1990s, cultural commodities produced in both Britain and Japan have enjoyed an upsurge in global popularity, giving rise to notions of "Creative Britain" and "Cool Japan." As a result of this boom, British and Japanese governments have attempted to develop and/or collaborate with both domestic and foreign cultural industries as a solution to national economic decline. This turn to culture as a means of generating economic revenue is part of a global trend where neoliberal economic ideas converge with the rise of a "creative economy."

This thesis argues that the image of Victorian Britain in Japanese *shōjo* manga, as well as in British neo-Victorian fiction, suggests that the history of free trade and British imperialism in East Asia in the nineteenth century underpins this increasing emphasis on cultural commodity production and export in Britain and Japan. In other words, British and Japanese neo-Victorian texts published in the period 1980-present demonstrate that what we call "globalisation" today is deeply informed by economic relations and cultural hierarchies established between distant places in the nineteenth century.

Recognising these connections between past and present helps us understand why the Japanese today "choose" to consume British "high" cultural goods, and why the Japanese state and cultural industries "choose" to focus their energies on exporting popular culture products. These "choices," I argue, are historically conditioned by Japan's encounter with the West, and especially Britain, in the nineteenth century, and the perception of British cultural superiority that this encounter has fostered. In examining the transnational networks that connect Britain and Japan in the nineteenth century and in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, this thesis uses a "global history" framework to expand existing approaches to neo-Victorianism, girl culture in Japan, and World Literature.

Introduction

In October 2015, the Fashion and Textile Museum in Bermondsey, London, launched a commemorative exhibition showcasing clothing and textiles designed and produced by the British department store Liberty since its inception in 1875. The exhibition, entitled *Liberty in Fashion*, begins with a display of nineteenth-century dressing gowns and wraps in floral patterns, evidently inspired by the Japanese kimono (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Dressing gowns and wraps inspired by Japanese kimono styles and patterns on display at the *Liberty in Fashion* exhibition (9 October 2015 to 28 February 2016). Photograph courtesy of the Fashion and Textile Museum, London.

Liberty, explains the signboard beside the display, grew out of "[a] dialogue with the East," selling coloured silks; costumes; china, lacquer and enamel wares; and fans imported from Japan. "With the opening up of Japan to trade with the West in the 1850s," the signboard reads, "the Japanese look soon became synonymous with Liberty." This story of Japanese influences on British and European

art and commodity culture in the nineteenth century is a familiar one.[1] The story of British and European influences on Japan in the nineteenth century is also well-told, as we can see from the large number of chapters dedicated to the "civilisation and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*) movement, and the Meiji state's Westernisation reforms, in books on the history of Japan.[2] This thesis seeks to return to this history of Anglo-Japanese trade and consumption in order to rethink its significance for Britain and Japan in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. What does this history have to do with the Anglo-Japanese trade today in luxury brands, heritage tourism, comic books, and other forms of cultural goods?

This thesis therefore begins in a different, and yet similar, time and place: the Victorian Britain that is imagined in Japanese *shōjo* manga, a genre of comics that is targeted at a predominantly young female audience ranging from pre-teens to women in their twenties (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: The front jacket cover of *Lady Victorian*, Vol. 5.

Fig. 2 is the front jacket cover of Vol. 5 of *Lady Victorian* [*Redii Vikutorian*], a manga series set in Britain in the 1870s, and published from 1999 to 2007 by Akita Shoten under the "Princess Comics" label. The illustration shows the female protagonist being lifted up by her suitor, with the two figures standing against a wallpaper-like backdrop of orange-coloured blossoms on an orange background. The female character, Bell, is wearing a dress made of three different types of cloth. The topmost layer is made of pale pink fabric printed with small pink flowers; the second layer is made of white fabric printed with larger blue flowers and green leaves; and there is an orange and white striped fabric attached to the back of the dress.

The printed fabrics of Bell's dress bring to mind the British-made printed cotton textiles that were exported to Japan in the nineteenth century, and which constituted the corollary to the Japanese

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[1] See Yokoyama; Wichmann; Lambourne; and Napier, *From Impressionism to Anime*. Discussions of Japonisme also appear frequently in academic and popular works on the Impressionists (notably Manet, Monet, and Whistler) and van Gogh.

[2] See Jansen, *Cambridge History of Japan*; Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration* and *The Modern History of Japan*; Duus, *Modern Japan*; Pyle; and Gordon.

silks that Liberty imported into Britain. The connection between this history of trade and the fabrics of Bell's dress prompts the reader to ask, what does it mean for a Japanese text produced in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century to imagine and depict a Victorian past that is not, in any straightforward way, identifiably Japanese?

We often associate the nineteenth century with the emergence of the nation-state and the rise of nationalism. However, as Jürgen Osterhammel demonstrates in *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (2009), the nineteenth century was also characterised by multiplying and intensifying transnational networks, especially between the middle of the century and the First World War (710-711). Trade networks, in particular, played an important role in binding the world economy together, connecting production, distribution, and consumption in distant places (Osterhammel 725). World trade expanded exponentially between 1840 to 1913, not only because industries became mechanised and new areas were opened up for raw material extraction, but also because barriers to the export of commodities were dismantled in Europe, the British Empire, China, and other parts of the world (Osterhammel 726-28).

Can we then say that Japanese neo-Victorian manga look back on an idealised image of Victorian Britain as a means of looking back on the encounters and exchanges between Britain and Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century, when Japan's borders were forcibly opened to trade with Britain, the United States (US), and other European imperial powers? As neo-Victorian fiction, do these manga implicitly connect this history of transnational flows in the nineteenth century to Anglo-Japanese relations in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century? If so, what is the nature of these connections between past and present, and what is their significance?

This thesis argues that the image of Victorian Britain in Japanese *shōjo* manga, as well as in British neo-Victorian fiction, suggests that the history of free trade and British imperialism in East Asia in the nineteenth century underpins the increasing emphasis, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, on cultural commodity production and export in Britain and Japan. In other

words, British and Japanese neo-Victorian texts published in the period 1980-present demonstrate that what we call "globalisation" today is deeply informed by economic relations and cultural hierarchies established between distant places in the nineteenth century.

Fig. 2 usefully brings together these two historical contexts. The "Victorian" floral patterns on Bell's dress are echoed in the flowers in the background. This extension of the floral motifs from dress fabric to background design suggests that the floral prints, which are linked to the history of British cotton textile exports to Japan in the nineteenth century, have been transformed into part of the Japanese *shōjo* manga aesthetic in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.[3] It is perhaps not a coincidence that, when Europe (and especially Britain) began to imitate Indian techniques of cotton textile printing in the eighteenth century, it introduced its own innovations by applying its technology of printing on paper to printing on textiles (Riello 179). By using machines and tools that were already being used in paper printing (for example, copper plates in place of wooden blocks, and roller printers), European manufacturers were able to produce printed cotton textiles that were comparable to Indian products, but at lower prices (Riello 179-81, 214-16). This ultimately helped the British cotton textile industry achieve its preeminent position in the nineteenth-century global trade in textiles. Fig. 2 suggests that *shōjo* manga add another round of innovation to this convergence of textile and print production by turning European fabric prints, once derived from paper printing, into design motifs for a twentieth-century Japanese print medium.

Although *Lady Victorian* does not champion the innovativeness of Japanese popular culture products, there are many others in contemporary Japan who do. Since the 1980s and 1990s, cultural commodities produced in both Britain and Japan have enjoyed an upsurge in global popularity, giving rise to notions of "Cool Britannia," "Creative Britain," and "Japan's Gross National Cool." As a result of this boom, British and Japanese governments have attempted to develop and/or collaborate with both domestic and foreign cultural industries as a solution to national economic decline. This turn to

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[3] Ōgi Fusami sees the non-diegetic flowers that bloom in the background in *shōjo manga* as a distinctive genre convention, which is often used to highlight characters' emotions and personalities (174). See also Shamoon 114.

culture as a means of generating economic revenue is part of a global trend where neoliberal economic ideas converge with the rise of a "creative economy." However, as the British and Japanese neo-Victorian texts that I examine suggest, this increasing emphasis on cultural commodity production and export is also shaped by an earlier history of British imperialism in the nineteenth century, and the perception of British cultural superiority that this history has fostered.

The *Liberty in Fashion* exhibition is a particularly interesting example of contemporary Victoriana for this reason. It is a node in a larger network of museums that make up an integral part of the heritage industry in Britain in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. This heritage industry thrives on selling the glamour of a supposedly advanced British culture to foreign tourists, including the Japanese, who, motivated by what might be called a postcolonial sense of cultural belatedness, travel to Britain to "learn" and acquire the cultural capital of the British. Neo-Victorian fiction, like all other kinds of historical fiction, implicitly draws connections between its historical setting and its present-day context of production. British and Japanese neo-Victorian texts produced from the 1980s to the present point in particular to how current Anglo-Japanese interactions in the British heritage industry, and in the global cultural economy more broadly, are very much the products of earlier Anglo-Japanese relations under British imperialism in the nineteenth century.

Recognising these connections between past and present helps us understand why the Japanese today "choose" to consume British "high" cultural goods, such as English Heritage tourist attractions and Harrods tea. It also helps explain why the Japanese state and cultural industries "choose" to focus their energies on exporting popular culture products under the banner of "Cool Japan." These "choices" are not incidental, and cannot be explained simply in terms of trite arguments about the individual consumer's agency and the innate quality of the goods (such as "Japanese consumers choose British cultural products because they are simply better" and so on). These "choices," I argue, are historically conditioned by Japan's encounter with the West, and especially Britain, in the nineteenth century.

<u>"Creative Economy" Discourse and the Global Cultural Economy</u>

The transformation of floral prints from textile to graphic design in Fig. 2 is only one of the ways in which Japanese *shōjo* manga set in Victorian Britain draw the reader's attention to Japanese popular culture production in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Pierre Bourdieu begins *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1979) with the statement that "[t]here is an economy of cultural goods" (1). This "economy of cultural goods" has grown rapidly since the 1980s and 1990s to become an increasingly attractive source of economic revenue for economies that are moving away from manufacturing towards a greater emphasis on service industries. The monolithic "Culture Industry" of Adorno and Horkheimer is now better understood as a variety of cultural industries specialising in film, television, and digital media production; publishing; pop music production; heritage tourism; advertising; graphic design; and many other fields of cultural commodity production. The success of these cultural industries, especially in the US and Britain, has in recent years inspired the emergence and global dissemination of a celebratory discourse on the "creative economy," which in turn fuel the expansion of the cultural industries. British and Japanese neo-Victorian texts produced from 1980 to the present point to and comment on this contemporary context, in which they also participate as globally circulating cultural commodities. In employing the image of Victorian Britain to discuss contemporary concerns, these texts signal that the current turn to cultural commodity production and export in Britain and Japan is refracted through an earlier history of what we might call "the global nineteenth century."

The British New Labour government headed by Tony Blair was arguably one of the earliest proponents of the "creative economy," and the idea was later taken up by John Howkins in *The Creative Economy: How People Make Money from Ideas* (2001) and Richard Florida in *The Rise of the Creative Class and How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Life* (2002). Although Howkins, Florida, and the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (the DCMS was set up by the New Labour government in 1997) have slightly different definitions of what counts as a cultural or "creative" industry, the discourse that they and others have collectively produced has at

its core what Sarah Brouillette calls the "placement of art in instrumental service to the economy" (1). "Creative economy" discourse revolves around the idea that the "creative economy" is profitable, and it encourages national and local governments to turn to the "creative economy" to achieve economic (and also social) goals (Brouillette 1).

When New Labour won the elections in Britain in 1997, it placed the "creative industries" at the heart of its cultural policymaking (O'Connor 49). The Minister of DCMS, Chris Smith, made it very clear in his manifesto *Creative Britain* (1998) that the government viewed the "creative industries" as a means of regenerating the British economy (10-13), which, since the recession in the 1970s and Margaret Thatcher's reforms in the 1980s, had been struggling with the hollowing out of the mining and manufacturing industries. The government, writes Smith in *Creative Britain*, not only can but must nurture the creative spirit because of "the growing importance to the modern economy of Britain of all those activities and industries that spring from the creative impulse" (1). (The New Labour government, however, was not the first to focus attention on the economic value of the cultural industries in Britain, as Chapter Four will show in discussing the British heritage industry under Thatcher in the 1980s). Under Smith's direction, DCMS set up the Creative Industries Taskforce to collect statistical data to establish the scale and potential of the cultural industries in Britain. The Taskforce's findings were published in the *Creative Industries Mapping Document* (2001), which, together with Howkins' and Florida's highly influential books, inspired governments in Europe, Latin America and especially the Far East to turn to cultural commodity production and export as a lucrative new industrial sector (O'Connor 49).

Lily Kong et al. track this spread of "creative economy" discourse from the US and Western Europe to Asian nation-states, including Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, China, and Japan, in the 1990s and 2000s. Kong et al.'s analysis of policy documents suggests that Japanese cultural policy at the national level is much less interested in mining the economic potential of culture than its counterparts elsewhere in East Asia (185). The Japanese state, Kong et al. argue, is more concerned with using culture as a resource for nation-building, enhancing Japan's foreign relations,

and advancing Japan's position as a leader in international affairs (185). Nevertheless, at least on the level of rhetoric, the Japanese state has pursued both political and economic objectives in promoting Japanese popular culture abroad since the launch of the Intellectual Property Strategic Programme (more commonly known as "Cool Japan") in 2002.[4]

The Treaty Port System and Meiji Westernisation

Neo-Victorian fiction shows how this recent shift in emphasis towards the cultural industries in Britain and Japan is shaped by the history of British imperialism in the nineteenth century, and by Japanese responses to that history from the Meiji period (1868-1912) to the Asia-Pacific War (1932-1945). I approach the connections that neo-Victorian fiction makes between the historical setting and the time of writing as connections that are not simply abstract comparisons, but which are grounded in historical material reality. Neo-Victorian fiction does not make connections solely between the Victorian past and the immediate present as if these two contexts could be extracted from the flow of time, and everything that happened in between could be treated as irrelevant. Instead of delineating abstract parallels between two discrete moments in time, I take a *longue durée* approach to reading neo-Victorian fiction in relation to processes that developed over time from the nineteenth century to the present.

British, and more broadly, European and American imperialism in Japan and East Asia in the second half of the nineteenth century was informal. It was carried out through maritime trade rather than by occupying and administering territories in the region. In 1839, Britain went to war with China over the Qing government's restrictions on British trade in China. After defeating China in the Opium War (1839-1842), the British compelled the Qing government to sign the Treaty of Nanking (1842), which forced China to fully open its ports to British trade; to fix customs duties at low rates favourable to British merchants; and to accord British consuls powers equivalent to that of Chinese state officials.

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[4] The British state has been similarly criticised for "the widening gap between the rhetoric [of nurturing the "creative industries" in Britain], which continues to grow, and the evidence base that supports these policies, which is small to non-existent" (Oakley 68).

The treaty also granted British citizens in China extraterritorial rights that protected them from being tried by local authorities for crimes committed in the local area. Lastly, the treaty included a most-favoured-nation clause, which meant that the privileges given to Britain were also given to the US and other European powers when they signed similar commercial treaties with China. The Treaty of Nanking, and the treaties that followed it, became known as "unequal treaties" because they did not grant equivalent privileges to the Chinese. These unequal treaties, and the Western powers' willingness to use military force to back them up, formed the basis of the treaty port system in China, and subsequently in other parts of East Asia.

Britain was not particularly keen on opening up Japanese ports to Western trade (as it was more interested in China), and depended on US gunboat diplomacy to bring an end to the Tokugawa shogunate's policy of national seclusion (*sakoku*) in 1853.[5] Nonetheless, Britain signed the Elgin Treaty with the shogunate in 1858.[6] The Elgin Treaty was very much modelled on the commercial treaty that Japan had been compelled to sign with the US earlier that year (known as the Harris Treaty), and on the British treaties signed with China in the aftermath of the Opium War and Arrow War (1856-1858).[7] Despite initial British reticence in opening up Japan, the British quickly became a dominant presence in the treaty ports and the "open cities" of Edo (later renamed Tokyo) and Osaka. British officials and merchants based in China migrated to Japan (Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism* 25), and they formed the largest proportion of Western foreigners in the country (1,200 out of 2,500 in 1885) (Hoare 23). Although the Elgin Treaty conformed to the British Foreign Office's Open Door policy of "equal favour and open competition" for all Western powers, and was not aimed at obtaining exclusive privileges for Britain, British economic power at the time enabled British merchants to

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[5] Before the treaty port system was in place, the Tokugawa shogunate gave permission only to the Dutch to trade at Nagasaki, and it exercised tight control over this trade.

[6] Japan also signed unequal treaties with Holland, France, and Russia in 1858. For more information on the signing and implementation of the 1858 treaties, see Hoare; and Beasley, "The Foreign Threat and the Opening of the Ports."

[7] For a fuller discussion of the treaty port system in China and its later application to Japan, see Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism* 16-20; Beasley, *Great Britain and the Opening of Japan* 87-111, 181-91. See also Osterhammel 290.

dominate trade in Japan in the 1850s and 1860s by default.[8] (In the following decades, however, British merchants faced rising competition from American merchants, and the US increasingly supplanted Britain as Japan's most important Western trading partner.)[9] The institution of the treaty port system in Japan thus marked the beginning of a specifically British influence in Japan. It is therefore unsurprising that Japanese manga should be attracted to Victorian Britain as a narrative setting, and as a site for engaging with the history of informal Western imperialism in Japan in the nineteenth century.

In the mid-nineteenth century, economists (notably Adam Smith and David Ricardo), politicians (Richard Lobden), and the general public in Britain increasingly looked to free trade (i.e. trade without legal barriers to import and export) as a vehicle for expanding British interests overseas (Lynn 103). Japan's enforced participation in free trade with the West opened the country's borders to the export of tea and raw silk, and to the import of Western manufactured goods, such as the printed cotton textiles that feature so prominently in *Lady Victorian* (Fig. 2). It also brought Western capitalist principles and practices into Japan, which shaped Japan's industrialisation in the Meiji period and especially after the First World War, and also Japanese understandings of imperialism from the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) to the Asia-Pacific War (1932-1945). In the following chapters, I read Japanese neo-Victorian manga not only in relation to the flow of commodities between Japan and the West, and especially Britain, in the nineteenth century, but also in relation to the wider history of Japan's industrialisation and further incorporation into global capitalism.[10]

As the history of Japan's industrialisation suggests, the country's experience of Western imperialism did not only involve participating in world trade through the treaty port system, but also

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[8] Martin Lynn sees this as characteristic of British trade in general, and not just in Japan. See Lynn.

[9] According to Robert Hellyer's account of Japan's tea trade in the nineteenth century, British merchants who wanted to export tea from Japan to Britain initiated the development of Japan's tea export industry in the 1860s, but by the 1870s, the US was the most important foreign market for Japanese tea (187-88). This was mainly due to the US Federal government repealing tea import tariffs in 1872 (Hellyer 188). British and American firms shared a dominant position between them in the processing, shipping, and sales of Japanese tea to the US market (Hellyer 187).

[10] Or a Western-dominated version of capitalism, if one considers the regional trade and tributary system centred on China that was already existent in East Asia in the nineteenth century as a variant of mercantile capitalism.

involved an intensive programme of self-inflicted Westernisation led by the Meiji state. Japanese neo-Victorian manga engage with the history of both the treaty port system and Japanese responses to that system (including industrialisation). I do not wish to exaggerate the treaty ports' significance in Anglo-Japanese relations. The treaty ports in Japan were on a smaller scale than those in China, as British trade in Japan was much less profitable than the trade with China (Hoare 177; Osterhammel 290). Moreover, the treaty ports in Japan lost their importance as the main gateway for Western (including British) influence when the Meiji state turned to unreserved cooperation with the West (Osterhammel 290). They remained important, however, as a powerful stimulus for Westernisation in Japan (Hoare 177).

Civil war broke out soon after the Tokugawa shogunate signed the unequal treaties in the 1850s, and a new government with the Meiji emperor at its head (in name) came to power in 1868. Japan's semi-colonial status in the treaty port system prompted the new Meiji state to implement wide-ranging reforms to Westernise and "civilise" the country. This was so that it could prove to the Western imperial powers that Japan was their equal, and by doing so, convince them to revise the unequal treaties, which compromised Japanese sovereignty. Some of the major reforms included abolishing the feudal domains and creating a new centralised system of political administration along Western lines in 1871; introducing compulsory education and military conscription in 1872; adopting Western technology and promoting industrialisation; and establishing a Constitution and parliament in 1889. The intelligentsia also participated actively in this movement to achieve "civilisation and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*). Intellectuals who had been abroad sought to disseminate knowledge about "the West" (*seiyō*) to the Japanese public through lectures, popular writings, and translations. These intellectuals believed that the West represented the most advanced stage in civilisational progress, and as such they advocated adopting what they saw as Western values – such as Fukuzawa

Yukichi's "freedom of the individual" and the "spirit of independence" – in order for Japan to become "civilised" and "enlightened."[11]

The roles of the Meiji state and the intelligentsia in the "civilisation and enlightenment" movement are well-documented in historical accounts of Meiji Japan, but what these accounts have often passed over is Westernisation in the Japanese people's consumption of commodities. This form of Westernisation was not entirely state-directed, and was not strategically aimed at persuading the Western powers to revise the unequal treaties. Hane Mikiso states that "civilisation and enlightenment" in Meiji Japan entailed adopting not only Western political and economic institutions and practices, but also Western artefacts and customs (107). Ordinary Japanese people, according to Hane, developed an enthusiastic interest in Western languages and Christianity, Western art, Western apparel and hairstyles, and even the eating of beef, which was prohibited by Buddhism (107). This fascination with Western material culture grew out of the intersection between Japan's opening to world trade, which made Western goods more widely available to Japanese consumers, and the state-led Westernisation programme, which encouraged the Japanese to learn from the West.

Japanese neo-Victorian texts, with their detailed attention to clothing (Fig. 2), furnishings, food (especially tea), books and periodicals, horse carriages, and other Victorian objects point to this often overlooked dimension of Japan's Westernisation in the second half of the nineteenth century. They also prompt the reader to think about how this history of consumption continues to inform the Japanese desire for Western luxury goods in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3: Shopping at Harrods in London. Dorothea Mulders wants to buy a coat but gets distracted by jewellery instead. (*Emma*, Vol. 4, pp. 124-125)

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[11] For general introductory works on the Meiji state's Westernisation reforms and the "civilisation and enlightenment" movement in the 1870s, see relevant chapters by Beasley and Crawcour in the *Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 5: The Nineteenth Century*. See also Suzuki, *Civilisation and Empire* 114-39, for a useful overview of the major reforms implemented by the Meiji state.

Fukuzawa advocates these "Western" values in *An Encouragement of Learning* (*Gakumon no susume*) (1872-1876) and *An Outline of a Theory of Civilisation* (*Bunmeiron no gairyaku*) (1875).

<u>"Worlding" Neo-Victorianism</u>

In reading British and Japanese neo-Victorian texts in relation to the history of British imperialism and Japanese responses to it, this thesis participates in an emerging subfield of neo-Victorian studies that examines post-1901 representations of the Victorian period from postcolonial and global perspectives. In the epilogue of *The Victorians in the Rearview Mirror* (2007), Simon Joyce turns his attention from invocations of the Victorian period in Britain to the Victorian legacy in the former British Empire. Joyce contends that former British colonies experience "the Victorian" both as a remote ideal and as an inheritance that they continue to encounter in the present (166-67). Former colonies, Joyce asserts, "have struggled in ways that seem very different from the British experience . . . to break free from the legacies of Victorian imperialism" (169). In a similar vein, Elizabeth Ho argues that the Victorian "has become a powerful shorthand for empire in the contemporary global imagination," so much so that "the return to the Victorian in the present offers a highly visible, highly aestheticised code for confronting empire again and anew" (5).

In a 2015 special issue of *Neo-Victorian Studies*, the editors Antonija Primorac and Monika Pietzrak-Franger go one step further, and call on neo-Victorian studies to look beyond postcolonial approaches to what they call "global neo-Victorianism." Global neo-Victorian studies, in Primorac and Pietzrak-Franger's formulation, examines neo-Victorianism as a commodity produced and consumed globally, beyond the boundaries of Britain, the former British Empire, and the English language (1). My thesis contributes to this expansion of neo-Victorian studies by reading neo-Victorian texts from Japan, a country which had come under British influence in the nineteenth century, but had never been part of Britain's formal empire, and which had built its own empire in Asia from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. In doing so, my thesis also contributes to the ongoing re-conceptualisation of postcolonial studies, as the field shifts its longstanding interest in colonialism and anti-colonial nationalism to what Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak calls issues of "planetarity" (81). My thesis expands the scope of postcolonial studies to take into account the historical experience of informal and non-Western imperialisms, while examining how these

historical relations of power affect neo-imperial structures in global cultural commodity production and export today.[12]

There is some recent scholarship on neo-Victorianism in China and Japan, most notably Ho's *Neo-Victorianism and the Memory of Empire* (2012), and Anna Maria Jones's work on manga.[13] In her contribution to the *Neo-Victorian Studies* special issue on global neo-Victorianism, Jones proposes an analogical methodology, which examines how neo-Victorian texts draw analogous links between past and present, and between different geographical spaces ("'Palimpsestuous' Attachments" 38). This thesis agrees with Jones's proposition that neo-Victorian texts should be read relationally, but it contends that analogy is only one of the ways in which neo-Victorian texts relate different times and places. Focusing only on how neo-Victorian texts draw analogous parallels between temporal and geographical contexts risks obscuring the history of transnational interactions in the nineteenth century that resulted in the global circulation and transformation of Victorian ideas, things, and practices, which in turn give rise to the production of global neo-Victorian texts.

Jones in fact commits this mistake. She asserts that Japanese neo-Victorian manga look back on both Victorian Britain and Meiji Japan, and that the manga series *Kuroshitsuji* and *Dear Holmes* are shaped by both the Holmes stories and the tradition of detective fiction in Japan ("'Palimpsestuous' Attachments" 20-21). However, apart from briefly mentioning that the Holmes stories were first translated into Japanese in the 1890s, Jones does not actually show how *Kuroshitsuji* and *Dear Holmes* draw connections between the Holmes stories, Meiji Japan, and Japan in the twenty-first century. She does not ask why Japanese manga targeted at a Japanese readership would want to revisit detective fiction written by a British (more specifically, Scottish) author for a British audience more than a hundred years ago. She also does not ask what kinds of meanings were re-inscribed on the

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[12] Some work has recently been done in re-conceptualising postcolonial studies from a global perspective. See Spivak; the introduction in Thomsen; Wilson, Sandru, and Welsh; Graham, Niblett, and Deckard; and Helgesson. For an earlier work that makes a similar claim that "postcolonialism" varies in different contexts, and cannot be limited to the former colonial possessions, see Loomba 8-19.

[13] Chapter Four of Ho's book discusses Jackie Chan's neo-Victorian movies, and Chapter Five looks at the Japanese steampunk anime *Steamboy*.

Holmes stories when they were translated into Japanese in the 1890s. Jones's analysis implies that the manga rewrite the Holmes stories simply because the source text had somehow been introduced into Japan in the nineteenth century, and had been left intact, without any cultural translation at all, for the manga to appropriate and adapt in the 2000s. Despite Jones claiming to read Japanese neo-Victorian manga in relation to the Meiji period, a time of "significant cultural exchanges" between Britain and Japan ("'Palimpsestuous' Attachments" 20), this history of cross-cultural interaction is for the most part missing in Jones's analysis. Jones thus produces a reading of neo-Victorian manga that is de-historicised and not context-specific.[14]

This is exactly the sort of reading that Mark Llewellyn and Ann Heilmann caution against in their 2013 article "The Victorians Now: Global Reflections on Neo-Victorianism." Llewellyn and Heilmann are sceptical about applying the term "neo-Victorian" to global contexts, as the term suggests "an overarching narrative that erases the specificities of cultural memory and inculcates a homogenisation of heritage" (26). My thesis supports their contention that, if neo-Victorian studies wants to address neo-Victorianism as a global phenomenon, it has to be sensitive to the history of mutual interactions between Victorian Britain and other places in the world ("Victorians Now" 39). This history, Llewellyn and Heilmann insist, cannot be reduced to the unilateral diffusion of Victorian ideas, practices, and objects to the rest of the world ("Victorians Now" 39), as it is in Jones's article. My thesis takes Llewellyn and Heilmann's objections as its starting point, and reads neo-Victorian manga in the light of how the Japanese have actively negotiated with, rather than simply internalising, British influence since the mid-nineteenth century.

"Worlding" *Shōjo* Culture

In reading Japanese manga in relation to global history, this thesis departs from existing critical approaches to *shōjo* manga and *shōjo bunka* ("girls' culture"). Much of existing scholarship

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[14] Jones similarly neglects the specificities of the Japanese context in her other article on *Kuroshitsuji,* "The Victorian Childhood of Manga: Toward a Queer Theory of the Child in Toboso Yana's *Kuroshitsuji*."

on Japanese popular culture views *shōjo* culture as a "closed world" that offers Japanese female readers a temporary escape from their everyday lives, and in particular, from their subordination to men in a patriarchal society. *Shōjo* culture, from this perspective, constructs an exclusive space in which Japanese girls and young women take refuge from the disempowerment they face in their romantic relationships with men. In "Opening the Closed World of *Shōjo* Manga" (2008), Takahashi Mizuki states that *shōjo* manga constitute a closed world because the unique visual language of the genre is opaque to male readers, who are more familiar with the modes of representation in *shōnen* and men's manga (129). The distinctive visual conventions of *shōjo* manga, Takahashi claims, keep men out and create a "private realm" for female readers to freely explore their concerns about "human relations" (129-35).[15] "[H]uman relations," in the world of *shōjo* manga, almost invariably refer to heterosexual romantic relations, even when disguised in the form of male same-sex romance in Boys' Love manga.

Sharon Kinsella describes *shōjo* manga in similar terms in *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society* (2000). For Kinsella, *shōjo* manga, and especially YAOI manga (another term for Boys' Love manga), reject the models of masculinity that *shōnen* and men's manga promote, and reflect young Japanese women's dissatisfaction with the "macho sexist behaviour" of Japanese men (124). I do not mean to suggest that *shōjo* manga and *shōjo* culture do not construct fantasy spaces for Japanese women to transgress gender norms, and to express their frustration with gender inequality in heterosexual romance. Reading *shōjo* culture as an escapist fantasy that obliquely critiques the "real" world has been a very productive way of recuperating it from the charge that it is merely frivolous entertainment for silly women.[16]

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[15] For Takahashi, these visual conventions derive from *jojō ga* (lyrical painting) illustrations in prewar girls' magazines (117-122). See also Shamoon 11-13.

[16] There is a large amount of scholarship that examines how *shōjo* manga and *shōjo* culture provide Japanese female readers with escapist fantasies of romantic love between equals. The list of works provided here contains only the most well-known examples. See the chapter "Flowers and Dreams" in Schodt; the first two chapters on romance manga and Boys' Love manga in Fujimoto; the discussion of *Berusaiyu no bara* [*The Rose of Versailles*] in Shamoon; and McLelland, "Love between 'Beautiful Boys'."

I wish to take a different approach and show how *shōjo* culture relates to the world in ways other than romance and escapism. I do not open up the closed world of *shōjo* manga and *shōjo* culture by explicating their female codes to the uninitiated male reader, as Takahashi proposes (135). Instead, I do so by treating neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga as cultural texts that have a necessary relation to the global connections between Britain, Japan, and Asia forged by British and Japanese imperialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. I contend that neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga are "worldly" in the sense that they offer ways of making sense of contemporary Japan's place in the global cultural economy by relating it to the global history of the nineteenth century.

Shōjo manga are often set in the past, and in a foreign location that is either in Europe or in the US. For critics who see *shōjo* manga as a closed world, the exoticism of these Western historical settings adds to the escapism that *shōjo* manga provide. Mark McLelland, for example, describes Boys' Love manga as a "utopia[n]" fantasy space that is "usually set in an ill-defined 'other' place (often Europe or America), [and] in another historical period (more often the past but sometimes the future) ("Love between 'Beautiful Boys'" 18). For Ōgi Fusami, *shōjo* manga heroines who look Western, and who live in large houses that resemble "Western castles," represent the Japanese female reader's "long[ing] for a modern American life and European elegance," and "for a wealthy Western lifestyle" that is radically different from the hardships of daily life in postwar Japan (178).

This thesis treats historical European settings, and in particular, the Victorian British setting, of *shōjo* manga as more than a device for adding an exotic atmosphere, and distancing the reader from mundane realities in Japan. Why is Europe associated with elegance (and for that matter, America with modernity) in *shōjo* manga, and in the wider Japanese cultural imagination? Karen Kelsky's *Women on the Verge: Japanese Women, Western Dreams* (2001), and Millie R. Creighton's and Nancy Rosenberger's contributions in *Re-Made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society* (1992) examine Japanese representations of the West from a sociological perspective, rather than from the point of view of manga studies, but they arrive at a similar

conclusion. The Japanese, they suggest, perceive Europe, and especially Britain, as the epitome of prestige, social status, and taste.[17]

These accounts, however, assume that this perception is self-evident. Kelsky, Creighton, and Rosenberger do not delve deeply into the particular meanings that the Japanese associate with Europe, and do not explain how these meanings have come to be associated with Europe. This absence of a historical explanation creates the false impression that Europe naturally is the epitome of class and taste. My thesis seeks to address these gaps. It focuses on Japanese representations of Victorian Britain as a means to unpack the specific meanings of class and taste that the image of Britain connotes in the Japanese popular imagination. It also historicises and denaturalises these meanings by reading them in the light of Japan's encounter with Victorian Britain in the nineteenth century.

My thesis also parts ways with scholarship premised on the idea that *shōjo* manga and *shōjo* culture are produced by women for women, and hence deal with issues deemed to be of specific interest to women (romance, for example). Instead, I read *shōjo* manga in relation to historical experiences that affected both Japanese men and women. Nonetheless, I recognise that historical conditions have not always affected Japanese men and women in the same way. Gender, therefore, is an important concern in this thesis, even though it is not the central axis for the entire argument.

A number of prominent commentators on *shōjo* culture have claimed that the closed world of *shōjo* manga, far from being the exclusive preserve of Japanese women, actually represents the condition of Japanese society as a whole. Gender, for these critics, has become irrelevant. In *An Ethnography of Girls* [*Shōjo minzokugaku*] (1997), Ōtsuka Eiji asserts that the *shōjo* ("girl") is a consummate consumer (20-21), and as such she functions as an emblem of late capitalism and its culture of consumption in 1990s Japan:

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[17] See the discussion of Japanese women's idealised image of "England" in Kelsky 6, 124-25, 162-63. Creighton examines how Japanese department stores play an instrumental role in marketing Western products. Rosenberger looks at how Japanese home decorating magazines promote so-called Western styles of interior décor.

The Japanese are no longer producers. Our existence consists solely of the distribution and consumption of "things" brought us from elsewhere, "things" with which we play. Nor are these "things" actually tangible, but are instead only signs without any direct utility in life. None of what we typically purchase would, were we deprived of it, be a matter of life and death. These "things" are continually converted into signs without substance, signs such as information, stocks, or land. What name are we to give to this life of ours today?

The name is *shōjo*. (20; Treat 353)

Miyadai Shinji similarly sees *shōjo* culture as emblematic of what he calls the "advanced information society" (*kōdō jōhō shakai*) of late twentieth-century Japan. For Miyadai, *shōjo* culture in the 1980s became a communication tool that used a shared set of *kawaii* ("cute") commodities to facilitate interpersonal relations, not only between *shōjo*, but also between all kinds of Japanese people at a time when normative social roles were becoming increasingly unclear (41, 44-48). By turning the culture of Japanese girls into the foremost representative of late capitalist consumer culture in Japan, Ōtsuka and Miyadai imply that there are no longer significant differences between the experiences of Japanese women, and those of their male counterparts in a "society of consumers" (*"shōhi suru hito" bakari ni natte shimatta shakai*) (Ōtsuka 13).

In terms of consuming commodities, the experiences of Japanese men and women are indeed converging. Since the economic recession began in the 1990s, young Japanese men have become increasingly avid consumers of fashion and beauty products, which used to be fields of consumption in which young Japanese women were known to be particularly active. Distinctions between manga targeted at male readers and manga for female readers are also dissolving. Sharalyn Orbaugh notes the emergence in the late 1980s and 1990s of a hybrid genre of manga and anime that is formed out of elements drawn from both *shōnen* and *shōjo* genres (215). This new genre, according to Orbaugh, is produced by both male and female artists, and although texts in this genre often appear first in gendered publication venues (*shōnen* or *shōjo* manga magazines, for example), they move on to more

gender-neutral venues, where they are consumed by both male and female readers and viewers, albeit not always equally (216). Two of the manga series discussed in this thesis, *Kuroshitsuji* [*Black Butler*] and Mori Kaoru's *Emma* [*Ema*] (2002-2008), were originally serialised in manga magazines marketed to both male and female audiences, although they garnered greater popularity with female readers.[18]

This thesis therefore concurs with Ōtsuka and Miyadai that *shōjo* culture in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century is not exclusive to Japanese women, and should not be studied as if it were. However, it does not assume that gender difference is now completely irrelevant, and it does not turn a blind eye to how *shōjo* culture engages with the ways in which historical conditions in and after the Meiji period have affected Japanese men and women differently. Chapter Two examines how *Kuroshitsuji* promotes a form of consumption-oriented masculinity that responds to earlier imperial and nationalist masculinities, which specifically addressed Japanese men during and after the Asia-Pacific War. Chapter Four discusses Japanese neo-Victorian texts that urge Japanese female consumers in particular to buy and drink "English" tea. Consuming "English" tea is an integral part of the British heritage industry, but these neo-Victorian texts also draw on Japanese women's close relationship with the preparation of Japanese tea in daily life, and in the ritualistic tea ceremony (*chadō*).

World Literature as Methodology

My attempts to "world" neo-Victorianism and *shōjo* culture are very much influenced by recent developments in postcolonial studies and Comparative Literature, which have given rise to the new field of World Literature. I understand World Literature to be a critical practice that reads literary (and cultural) texts from different parts of the world in relation to a global history that is shared, but is not – this is a crucial point – experienced in identical ways. In other words, World Literature is a

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[18] *Kuroshitsuji* is still being serialised in the monthly manga magazine *G Fantasy* [*Getsukan G fantajii*], and *Emma* was serialised in the monthly *Comic Beam* [*Getsukan komikku biimu*].

method, not an object of study. It is not a collection of all literary texts in the world, which would be impossible to study, as Franco Moretti has archly observed in "Conjectures on World Literature" (45-46).

It is also not a collection of the greatest literary masterpieces selected from various national literatures. Scholarship in World Literature has been haunted by what Peter Hitchcock calls the "ghost of nineteenth-century aestheticism" (5). It is often motivated by an Arnoldian desire to discover the "best" works from national and linguistic literary canons, and to appreciate them for their apparently universal and timeless qualities. Claudio Guillén, for example, asserts that "the most national writer is also the most universal," and that World Literature is "supranational" because it illuminates what Goethe calls *das allgemein Menschliche*, "the human quality in general" (43-44). Zhang Longxi makes a similar claim in *Allegoresis: Reading Canonical Literature East and West*, where he argues that the utopian desire for a better life is expressed in both Thomas More's *Utopia* and Confucian philosophy and ancient Chinese literature, thus proving that this desire is a basic impulse of human nature (167). The title of Zhang's book in itself belies the ideological assumptions about "great" literature that underpin his study.

My thesis challenges such approaches that treat World Literature as a canon of great literary works, and which divorce literary texts from their historical conditions of production and reception in order to look for facile similarities, which are then assumed to be universal attributes. It also seeks to critique and rectify the glaring absence of the history of European and American imperialism in Moretti's and David Damrosch's seminal works on world literary history. Drawing on Immanuel Wallerstein's theory of capitalism as a world-system, Moretti examines how so-called peripheral cultures make "compromises" between their local social reality and the literary forms imposed on them by the more powerful cultures of core economic production zones ("Conjectures" 50-59; "Evolution" 132-34). Moretti's interest in asymmetrical relations of power between core and peripheral cultures dovetails with familiar concerns with hybridity and cultural translation in postcolonial studies. Yet in his theoretical writings on World Literature, he does not even mention

the "modern" European imperialism that occurred in tandem with global capitalism's emergence from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century.[19]

Damrosch likewise treats the global circulation of literary texts, literary forms, and thematic concerns as if it happened in a historical vacuum. Drawing from the opening to Edward Said's *Orientalism*, Damrosch uses the story of Napoleon's attempted conquest of Egypt and the attendant project of Orientalist scholarship to argue for a mode of reading that does not seek to master the difference of the foreign work of literature (*What Is World Literature?* 302-03). Damrosch's insistence on a more ethical interpretative practice is well-taken, but imperialism in the study of World Literature is, as his own story about Napoleon suggests, clearly more than a metaphor for reading.

Reading neo-Victorian fiction requires us to pay attention to British imperialism in the nineteenth century, as a significant moment in history that has henceforth profoundly shaped literary texts produced in Britain and beyond, and which continues to haunt us today, not least in the form of World Literature's "ghost of nineteenth-century aestheticism." My reading of neo-Victorian fiction in relation to the history of British imperialism owes much to Rey Chow's "post-European" approach to comparative literary studies. In "The Old/New Question of Comparison in Literary Studies: A Post-European Perspective" (2004), Chow challenges the dominant tendency in Comparative Literature to treat non-European literary texts as expressions of a pure native culture. In place of this essentialising approach, Chow proposes an alternative model of literary comparison that examines how non-European cultures negotiate the European culture that modern European imperialism has imposed on them (301). Like Edward Said's "contrapuntal reading," which reconnected canonical European literary texts to the occluded historical context of modern European imperialism (*Culture and*

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[19] See Moretti's essays "Conjectures on World Literature" (2000), "More Conjectures" (2003), and "Evolution, World-Systems, *Weltliteratur*" (2005) collected in *Distant Reading*.

Imperialism 83), Chow's "post-European" approach reconnects non-European literary texts to the history of non-European engagements with European imperialism.

My reading of British and Japanese neo-Victorian texts is comparative in Chow's sense of the term. For Chow, literary comparison is an unstable process of negotiating the meaning of texts in approximate relation to one another. It is not the privileging of any single entity, and especially of European literature, as a stable point of reference for making sense of all the others (205). The structure of my thesis aims to avoid this privileging of European literature that Chow critiques. Instead of setting up the British novels that I study as a yardstick, which I then use to measure how far the Japanese texts deviate from the norm, I begin with an analysis of the Japanese texts, and proceed to ask questions of the British texts in the light of my interpretation of the former. I then use the insights I have gained from reading the British texts to ask questions of the Japanese texts. By moving contrapuntally between the British and Japanese texts in this way, I compare them to show how they make comparisons, of a different kind, between Anglo-Japanese interactions in the context of British imperialism in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the turn to cultural commodity production and export in 1980-present.

My thesis shares this interest in cultural commodity production with the "sociology of literature" approach in World Literature studies. This particular strand of research draws on Bourdieu's theory of the field to study literature (and culture, more generally) as a commodity produced at the intersection between the field of literary/cultural production and that of economic production.[20] In focusing on the production of culture as a global commodity, my thesis also draws on sociological and cultural anthropological studies that examine transnational flows of Japanese popular culture in the 1990s and 2000s.[21] However, while most of this research attempts to explain,

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[20] See Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*. Pascale Casanova's *The World Republic of Letters* is the representative example of this strand of World Literature scholarship. For other works in this area, see Gisèle Sapiro's analysis of the high art and popular fiction fields of transnational book publishing in "Globalisation and Cultural Diversity in the Book Market"; and the special issue of *Paragraph* on "Bourdieu and the Literary Field," edited by Jeremy Ahearne and John Speller.

[21] See Iwabuchi, *Recentring Globalisation*; Tobin; Allison; Yano; W. Wong; and the "Manga in the World" section of Johnson-Woods.

or at least to measure and document, the global popularity of Japanese popular culture, I take this popularity as a premise.[22] I focus instead on how neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga make sense of this popularity, and of what this popularity means for Japan's position vis-à-vis Britain in global hierarchies of cultural power. I do not engage in quantitative research on the production and distribution of neo-Victorian manga, nor do I deal with issues of translation and audience reception. In *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (2013), Emily Apter warns against taking translations of globally circulating literary texts at face value. I read all the Japanese manga discussed in this thesis in their original Japanese language. Because my focus is on representations of Victorian Britain produced in Japan mainly for Japanese readers, I do not consider translations of the manga in English and other languages. Rather than examining, for example, British sales of English-language translations of *Kuroshitsuji*, or fan reviews of the manga series in online forums, this thesis asks, what does it mean for *Kuroshitsuji* to set its story about the triumphant Japanese invention of "cool" popular culture commodities in Victorian Britain, at a time perceived as the height of British imperial power?[23]

Lastly, my thesis overlaps to an extent with the materialist mode of World Literature studies that the Warwick Research Collective (WReC) has very recently put forward in their 2015 monograph, *Combined and Uneven Development: Towards a New Theory of World-Literature*. Taking Moretti's work on the world-literary system as its point of departure, WReC defines "world-literature" as literature that registers, in symbolic form, the modernity of the capitalist world-system (8, 15). For WreC, capitalism is a world-system in two senses: it is an enclosed system that constitutes its own self-sufficient world, and it is a system that literally spans the entire geographical world (8). My thesis explores how neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga work through the historical experience of Japan becoming

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[22] Anne Allison, for example, argues that Japanese popular culture products such as *Pokémon* and *Sailor Moon* are popular with US and other foreign audiences because they speak to globally shared experiences of alienation, rapid change, border-crossing, and unstable identities in late capitalism (10-11).

[23] *Kuroshitsuji* is currently translated and published in English under the title *Black Butler* by Yen Press, an imprint of the Hachette publishing group.

enmeshed in global capitalist networks in the second half of the nineteenth century, and as such, it does have much in common with WReC's approach.

However, my project is both broader and narrower than WReC's formulation of "world-literature" with a hyphen. "Modernity," for the purposes of this thesis, refers not only to the capitalist mode of profit accumulation, and the social conditions that often accompany it (mechanisation, rationalisation, urbanisation, alienation, schizophrenic disorientation and so on). Modernity also has a discursive dimension, and refers just as much to an image that one projects. The Meiji state's Westernisation reforms were, after all, explicitly intended to project a new image of Japan as modern in order to persuade the Western imperial powers that Japan occupied the same stage of civilisational progress that they did, and that it should therefore not be subjected to the humiliation of the unequal treaties.

My thesis also departs from WReC's approach by reading the primary texts in relation to the global history of British imperialism, which is intimately tied up with, but not reducible to, the capitalist mode of economic production. WReC's criticism of Said and Chow for neglecting the role that capitalism played in modern European imperialism is well-taken, but WReC goes too far in equating imperialism with capitalism, and subordinating imperialism to capitalism as an analytical category in its study of "world-literature." In discussing Chow's theory of "post-European" literary comparison, WReC states that: "Even when 'imperialism' is named, the term is inevitably prefixed by the qualifier 'European,' thus making it clear that what is centrally at issue for Chow is the imposition of 'European' culture upon other cultures." (41) WReC rejects the idea that imperialism is an exercise of power by a geographical and cultural entity called "Europe" or "the West." It contends that what we might understand as imperialism is ultimately an impersonal process of capital accumulation that generates asymmetrical relations of economic exchange between core and peripheral production zones around the world. As such, WReC downplays the significance of political actors, such as governments, institutions, civil society groups, and charismatic individuals, in affecting the ways in which this impersonal regime of capital accumulation operates.

My thesis brings the role of state policies more fully into the picture. I read the novels *Possession: A Romance* (1990) and *Jamrach's Menagerie* (2011) in relation to the Thatcher government's privatisation of public heritage institutions in the 1980s, and to New Labour's promotion of the film and publishing industries as "creative industries" in the late 1990s and early 2000s. I discuss the manga series *Lady Victorian* and *Kuroshitsuji* in the light of the Japanese state's Cool Japan cultural policy, which, since 2002, has attempted (apparently without much success) to bring together the efforts of the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), the Cabinet Secretariat, and the Agency for Cultural Affairs, in instrumentalising Japanese popular culture to serve economic and diplomatic needs.[24] The Cool Japan project, more so than New Labour's Cool Britannia campaign that had inspired it, is very much in line with the "developmental state" model of state-managed capitalist development. The developmental state, in Chalmers Johnson's influential account, was key to Japan's post-World War Two economic success (17-34), and it continues in adapted form in Japan in the 2000s.[25]

State policies played an important role too when Japan was incorporated into the global capitalist economy in the second half of the nineteenth century. As part of its efforts to promote industrialisation in Japan, the Meiji state put in place protectionist economic policies, which were at odds with the liberal principles of laissez faire capitalism that underpinned the treaty port system in which Japan had been forced to participate.[26] Recognising, as Ministry of Finance bureaucrat Wakayama Norikazu put it in 1871, that "[f]ree trade was good enough in theory but . . . it was not practical to adopt the principle in such a country as Japan where the majority of people were still poor,

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[24] At a 2015 Japan Foundation lecture delivered at the Swedenborg Society, London, Iwabuchi Koichi stated that the Japanese government takes Cool Japan very seriously, and has even set up a Cool Japan Fund worth ¥50 billion, with contributions from private enterprise. However, he noted that it is unclear how much revenue is actually earned from the export of Japanese popular culture products, and how much of it goes back to the domestic public (Iwabuchi, "Rethinking 'Japanese' Popular Culture").

[25] For studies on the persistence of the developmental state in Japan, and its adoption in other parts of the world (particularly China), see J. Wong; Beeson; and Hayashi.

[26] Meiji state leader Ōkubo Toshimichi reconciled this contradiction cleverly in 1874 when he pointed out that Britain had only committed itself to free trade policies after it had achieved wealth and strength based on protectionist policies. He argued that Britain was a worthy model of emulation, and as such Japan should follow a similar path of development (Suzuki 128).

unfamiliar with manufacturing and commerce" (qtd. in Suzuki 127), the Meiji state actively stimulated the growth of heavy industries by spending large sums on military defence. It also invested in import-replacement industries to reduce Japan's reliance on expensive foreign imports (Suzuki 128; Crawcour 611). It imported Western technology to increase productivity in the agricultural sector, and used the capital generated from exports of tea, raw silk, and later, rice, to invest in further developing the heavy industries (Suzuki 129; Crawcour 612).[27] The Meiji state's management of the Japanese economy clearly makes it the precursor of the postwar developmental state. It reminds us that, when reading neo-Victorian manga in relation to Japan's introduction into global capitalism, we also have to read the manga in relation to the Meiji state-led programme of "civilisation and enlightenment," and the implications of this self-imposed Westernisation on Anglo-Japanese interactions in the global cultural economy in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

While broadening WReC's conception of "world-literature" to include the role of the state, my thesis at the same time presents a much narrower study than WReC's ambitious project to read "world-literature" as the "literature of the world-system – of the modern capitalist world-system" (8). My reading of British and Japanese neo-Victorian fiction does not attempt to present a totalised view of global capitalism as a unified world-system. Following Caroline Levine's proposition that Victorian literary studies shift the core organising principle of the discipline from nation to network (649), I adopt the network, rather than the system, as the central motif of my study. A network, unlike a system, implies the possibility of having loose ends. Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century traded not only with Britain, but also with the US, France, and Russia, and it had to negotiate between its new trading relations with the West, and its existing regional trading and tributary relations with China, Korea, India and Southeast Asia. Likewise, Britain did not trade only with Japan in Asia, and it too had to find its place in existing trade networks in the region.[28] It would be

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[27] See also the short section on Japan in the chapter "World Trade, Industrialisation, and Deindustrialisation" in Pomeranz and Topik 244-46.

[28] For scholarship that discusses the complexities of trading networks in Asia in the nineteenth century, see Broeze 6-8; Gipouloux 146-54; Killingray 2; and Hamashita's work on the trade and tributary system centred on China.

impossible to give full attention to all these different nodes and networks that intersect with, and impinge upon, Anglo-Japanese trade in the nineteenth century within the space of this project. My thesis therefore cannot avoid having loose ends at its edges, where it might branch out into further areas of investigation in the future.

Rather than attempting to read British and Japanese neo-Victorian fiction as the literary registration of an integrated and coherent world-system, I focus on two particular sets of networks connecting Britain and Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century, and in the period 1980-present. I examine the export of British luxury goods and the trade in Japanese and "English" teas in the nineteenth century, as well as the "learning" missions to Britain that Japanese officials and students embarked on just before and during the Meiji period. I examine the export of British books in the nineteenth century and in more recent years, and the export of Japanese popular culture products such as manga, anime, and television idol dramas in the 1990s and 2000s. I also look at the export of British heritage commodities; the competition and collaboration between the British heritage industry and Hollywood for ownership of cultural property; and Japanese heritage tourism to Britain in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

The picture that emerges from exploring how the nineteenth-century networks have shaped the contemporary networks is not one of a world-(literary) system that is "simultaneously *one*, and *unequal*, with a core, and a periphery . . . that are bound together in a relationship of growing inequality," as Moretti describes it in "Conjectures on World Literature" (46). Instead, my readings of British and Japanese neo-Victorian texts map out a world of multiple cultural empires formed out of networks, which are autonomous at some points and intersect at others. These cultural empires co-exist, and sometimes compete, with each other in generating economic capital out of cultural commodities in a global cultural economy.

The British cultural empire, my neo-Victorian texts suggest, draws on its imperial past to produce and market "serious" literary fiction, heritage tourist attractions, luxury brands, and other

high culture goods. The Japanese cultural empire, on the other hand, is beset by the sense of Japan's cultural belatedness that pervades Japanese representations of Victorian Britain. As a result, the Japanese cultural empire, my texts suggest, plays to its strengths in producing and exporting popular culture products which, unlike British high culture, are accessible (even childish), highly visual (like manga and anime), easy to handle, and easy to understand. My texts suggest that there is a disjuncture between Japan's possession of economic capital as one of the world's largest and most advanced economies, and its perceived lack of the cultural capital that it assumes the British have. In other words, the relations of power that structure these cultural empires do not always mirror the relations of power between nation-states in terms of general economic performance (for example, national Gross Domestic Product).

While my neo-Victorian texts suggest that the British and Japanese cultural empires are engaged in different fields of cultural commodity production, and therefore do not come into direct competition, they also point to the networks that connect these and other cultural empires. They point, for instance, to how Japanese manga and magazine publishers support the British heritage industry, which in turn competes and collaborates with Hollywood film and television companies based in the US. In emphasising networks over systems, my thesis disagrees with WReC's assertion that "the idea of a new comparativism in literary studies only makes sense in the context of an overarching theory of the (capitalist) world-system" (41).

From World Literature to World Cultural Studies

WReC, and all the other World Literature scholars mentioned so far, are primarily concerned with comparing literary texts, whereas my project expands this existing focus on literature to include the analysis of popular culture texts. Damrosch takes a similar approach in his 2013 article "World Literature in a Postliterary Age," where he calls for scholars of World Literature (and of literature in

general) to be more open to the study of new media texts produced for global audiences.[29] This is necessary, he argues, as students in recent years are becoming less interested in "literature" (as it has been defined by the academic establishment) (160). Damrosch reassures the reader, however, that the study of new media such as video games will not supplant the study of literature, as literary scholars find ways to relate literature and new media so that the study of literature remains relevant (160, 162, 169).

I am very much in agreement with the spirit of Damrosch's argument, but I would like to challenge the assumptions he makes about the value of studying popular culture. Damrosch approves of studying popular culture only insofar as it enhances the study of literature, and especially of canonical literature. New media adaptations of canonical literary works such as Dante's *Inferno*, Damrosch contends, are a useful pedagogical tool for teaching literature to students who would much rather be playing the video game version of the story (161, 166).[30] They are also useful in illuminating aspects of the source text that readers might not have noticed (165). Damrosch's arguments are persuasive, but they implicitly promote an instrumentalist attitude towards the analysis of popular culture texts. His strategy of relating literary studies to popular culture studies ultimately privileges literature as the anchoring centre of the "postliterary" World Literature that he envisions.

My project relates the two fields of study in a different way. Firstly, I show how contemporary popular culture texts (*shōjo* manga) reference and reinvent older literary genres, such as classic detective fiction from the nineteenth century, to engage with contemporary social conditions. While Damrosch's approach downplays the act of mediation between the original literary text and its popular cultural adaptation, I take that act of mediation as an object of study that can show how contemporary cultures interpret the past in order to interpret the present.

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[29] See also Levine and Mani. Levine and Mani observe that the field of World Literature is currently split into two strands: the study of the "best" works from national and linguistic canons, which are seen as timeless and universal, and the study of contemporary fiction written in and/or translated into English or other major European languages, and which are ephemeral (144).

[30] Electronic Arts, Inc. released a PlayStation video game called *Dante's Inferno* in December 2009 (Damrosch, "World Literature in a Postliterary Age" 161).

Secondly, I read "serious" literary texts (for example, the Booker Prize-winning novel *Possession*), side by side with popular culture texts (*shōjo* manga, a fashion blog post, a Harrods catalogue). The popular culture texts have no direct relation to the former in terms of literary influence, but they address similar issues relating to Anglo-Japanese relations in the nineteenth century, and to the rise of the cultural industries in Britain and Japan in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Literary and popular culture texts offer equally valuable insights into the issues they address, and therefore deserve equal attention from the critic.

A Note on Definitions

"Neo-Victorian"

There has been considerable debate over the term "neo-Victorian," especially over whether one should use "post-Victorian" instead,[31] and whether "neo-Victorian" can be applied to texts produced outside of Britain.[32] I use the term simply to refer to texts produced in the period 1980-present that are set in, or are concerned with describing, Britain during Queen Victoria's reign (1837-1901). What really matters, for the purposes of this thesis, is reading these varied representations of Victorian Britain in relation to the global history of the nineteenth century.

"England" and "Britain"

Reading neo-Victorian texts in the light of global history, however, raises the question of whether one should use "England" or "Britain" to refer to the particular time-space, and all the connotations associated with it, that neo-Victorian texts depict. This problem becomes even more complicated when we consider how the terms "England" and "Britain" do not correspond neatly to *igirisu* and *eikoku*, the two terms commonly used in Japanese to refer to England and Britain.[33] The

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[31] Critical works that use "neo-Victorian" include Shiller; Hadley; Mitchell; and Heilmann and Llewellyn, *Neo-Victorianism*. Works that use "post-Victorian" include Kucich and Sadoff; and Kirchknopf. Kaplan uses the term "Victoriana."

[32] Llewellyn and Heilmann express reservations about applying the term "neo-Victorian" to global contexts in "The Victorians Now." For responses to Llewellyn and Heilmann, see Primorac and Pietzrak-Franger.

[33] *Igirisu* is usually written in *katakana*「イギリス」 whereas *eikoku* is usually written in *kanji*「英国」.

Emma Victorian Guide [*Ema Vikutorian Gaido*], a handbook on Victorian Britain that was published in conjunction with the manga series *Emma*, is the only Japanese neo-Victorian text that I have encountered so far that attempts to provide a definition of *igirisu* and *eikoku*. The guidebook translates both terms as the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland" (*Nihon de iu igirisu = eikoku no seishiki meisho wa "Gureeto Buriten oyobi kita Airurando rengō ōkuni" to iu*).

In the wider Japanese cultural imagination, however, *igirisu* and *eikoku* often refer to both Britain and England interchangeably, thereby blurring the distinctions between the political and economic entity of Britain, and the national stereotypes associated with the culture of the ruling elite in England. The popular manga series *Hetalia: Axis Powers* [*Hetaria*], for example, associates the anthropomorphic figure of Igirisu with the Union Jack, the symbol of the British state, but also often depicts the character performing stereotypically English activities such as drinking "English" tea (called *kōcha* in Japanese) (Fig. 4).[34]

Fig. 4: Igirisu (Britain) objects to Amerika's (US) proposed solution to global warming, and to his use of American English. Furansu (France) joins the fracas by choosing to disagree with both Igirisu and Amerika. (*Hetalia: Axis Powers*, Vol. 1, p. 4)

Rather than trying to disentangle these messy definitions, I take the conflation of England and Britain as a useful indicator of the way in which notions of Englishness have become detached from the specific locale of England, and have been expanded to incorporate the other nations in Britain, so much so that Englishness is now synonymous with Britishness. In this thesis, I use the term "Britain" to refer to the state, and to the geographical area comprising England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland that the state governs. I also use "Britain" whenever I discuss issues involving imperialist politics in the nineteenth century, as imperial expansion, especially in terms of foreign policy, was carried out on the level of the British state. On the other hand, I use the term "English" (in quotation

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[34] *Hetalia* narrates the history of International Relations in comic strip form by depicting the nation-states of the world as human characters. These characters are often caricatures of stereotypical national traits. The character who represents the US, for instance, is almost always wolfing down hamburgers, and the character who represents Italy enjoys flirting with women.

marks) to refer to the stereotypical, and often romanticised, images of national identity (afternoon tea, country houses, Harrods, the Queen) that are identified first and foremost with England, but have also been "applied" to the rest of Britain.

The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis begins with a reading of Yuki Kaori's *Count Cain Series* [*Hakushaku Kain shiriizu*] (1991-1994, 2001-2004) and Toboso Yana's *Kuroshitsuji* (2007-present). These two neo-Victorian manga series reference the Sherlock Holmes stories and, more generally, the genre of the detective mystery as it developed not only in the West, but also in Japan since the nineteenth century. However, unlike the Holmes stories they reference, the manga do not rationalise the social disorder caused by the shift – which first occurred in the Meiji period and later intensified in the 1920s – from rigid feudal categories of caste to the creation of the individual self through practices of consumption. Instead, they promote the trope of the happy family as a solution to the confusing instability of social roles in a capitalist society. They do so not only on the level of the narrative, but also by constructing transnational communities, or "networks," of *shōjo* manga readers bound together by the shared affective experience of reading about happy families in *shōjo* manga.

Chapter Two examines Carol Birch's neo-Victorian adventure novel *Jamrach's Menagerie* (2011) and *Kuroshitsuji* in the light of Chapter One's reading of *shōjo* manga as a transnational (or even global) cultural commodity. Both texts are products of the recent turn to cultural commodity production and export in Britain and Japan, and both offer ways of looking into how this phenomenon is shaped by British imperialism in the nineteenth century. *Jamrach's Menagerie* points to, and is itself part of, the global power of the English-language publishing industry, which is now comprised of multinational corporations but which can, as the novel suggests, be thought of as "British." By linking the nineteenth-century global trade in wildlife to the Western production of art, Birch's novel prompts us to see that the multinational English-language publishing industry is still "British," not so much because many publishing houses within multinational groups are still based in London, but

because the industry takes advantage of imperial patterns of trade established in the nineteenth century to dominate the global export of literary fiction in the twenty-first century.

The dandy masculinity that *Kuroshitsuji* celebrates is one of many new Japanese masculinities emphasising creativity and individualism, which have emerged in response to the spread of "creative economy" discourse in Japan in the 1990s and 2000s. This newfound interest of young Japanese men in actualising themselves through the consumption of fashion, however, is not entirely new. It harks back to the emergence of the dandy as a new kind of cultural aristocracy in nineteenth-century Britain and France, and to the Japanese adoption of the ways of the dandy as a form of Westernisation in the Meiji period. Confronted by the rise of the industrial middle class in the nineteenth century, the dandy could not draw as effectively on his family lineage or his declining wealth to distinguish himself from his social inferiors, as his aristocratic precursors had done in feudal times. Instead, the dandy flaunted his aristocratic cultural knowledge or "taste" to set himself apart from the vulgarity and ignorance of the nouveau riche.

Chapter Three discusses the flow of luxury goods from Britain and Europe to Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century, and how this exposure to Western-style commodities, and to the aristocratic taste required to consume them has affected how Japan views its own cultural production in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. *Kuroshitsuji* and *Lady Victorian* by Moto Naoko (1999-2007) idealise the ability to consume Western-style luxury goods in the "correct" manner as a form of aristocratic cultural capital that Japan, for all its postwar economic affluence, does not, and perhaps will never, possess. Yet *Kuroshitsuji* also suggests that Japan has a different kind of cultural capital, which enables it to create popular culture products that have global appeal. Armed with this new form of cultural capital in the global cultural economy, Japan, the manga implies, is set to reprise its historical role as an imperial power in Asia, and to expand its cultural and economic hegemony to the rest of the world.

While Chapter Three looks at how the Japanese state has been encouraging the Japanese cultural industries since the early 2000s to develop their overseas markets, Chapter Four brings the focus back to Britain with its reading of A. S. Byatt's novel *Possession* (1990) in relation to Thatcher and the commodification of heritage in Britain. It also examines a wide variety of more recent neo-Victorian texts from the 2000s, ranging from Jasper Fforde's *The Eyre Affair* (2001) to the *Emma Victorian Guide* (2003) and a Japanese-language Harrods catalogue (2010). Through their representations of Victorian Britain, these texts encourage the Japanese to participate in the British heritage industry as tourists and shoppers. By reading these texts in relation to Japanese "learning missions" to Britain in the nineteenth century, this chapter reveals how the Japanese cultural industries today play a neo-imperial role in supporting the heritage industry in Britain, by capitalising on Japanese consumers' longstanding desire to "learn" and acquire the aristocratic cultural capital of the British. Chapter Four, and the thesis as a whole, ultimately contends that the British cultural empire, of which the heritage industry is an important part, does not work alone. It is implicated in a wider network of competition and collaboration with the Japanese cultural empire, Hollywood, and other transnational cultural empires in the global turn to cultural commodity production and export in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

Chapter One

Supernatural Monsters and Neo-Victorian Detectives: Capitalism, Rationality, and Affect

In "The Man with the Twisted Lip" (1891), the famed fictional detective Sherlock Holmes investigates the murder of a wealthy middle-class gentleman, Mr. Neville St Clair, who was apparently killed by a disfigured beggar, Hugh Boone, while attending to unknown "business in the City" (539). Holmes discovers that Mr. St Clair and Hugh Boone are in fact the same person, and that the former had secretly acquired the income for his affluent middle-class lifestyle through the morally questionable "profession" of begging in the City. Mr. St Clair's crime (although not legally defined as such) reveals how money earned through questionable means radically disrupts class distinctions between the bourgeoisie and the urban poor. Holmes solves the mystery by connecting the various clues he gathers into a coherent pattern that "makes sense" in accordance with the empirical laws of the natural sciences and the logic of cause and effect. In establishing epistemological order, Holmes re-imposes social order. He makes Mr. St Clair promise that "there must be no more of Hugh Boone" (540), thereby redrawing the boundaries between the middle class and its social others. In this short story, the detective uses empirical science and logic to order or "rationalise" seemingly disparate material phenomena into a coherent system where every element has its proper place, and keeps within its proper boundaries. In (re-)rationalising the social order, the detective assuages fin-de-siècle anxieties about the amorality of money and its potential to destabilise social identities in an industrial capitalist society.

This chapter examines Yuki Kaori's *Count Cain Series* [*Hakushaku Kain shiriizu*] (1991-1994, 2001-2004) and Toboso Yana's *Kuroshitsuji* [*Black Butler*] (2007-present), two neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga series that reference Conan Doyle's Holmes stories and, more generally, the genre of the detective mystery as it developed not only in Britain, France, and the United States, but also in Japan since the nineteenth century. The genre of detective fiction first arrived in Japan during the Meiji period, and was disseminated to an expanding Japanese readership together with the idea that

the rationality the detective embodies – Western empiricism, science, logic, and the practice of rationalising all forms of knowledge and social relations – is an ideal for Japan to emulate. The *Count Cain Series* (henceforth *Count Cain*) and *Kuroshitsuji* both support and challenge this idealisation of Western rationality. They raise doubts about the ability of Western rationality to resolve the social disorder engendered by the development of industrial capitalism and mass consumer culture in Japan since the early twentieth century. The manga thereby articulate a contradictory desire to emulate the West on the one hand, and to assert Japaneseness on the other. As the following chapters will show, this contradiction has characterised Japan's encounter with the West and subsequent Westernisation since its opening to Western trade in the mid-nineteenth century.

Following Edogawa Ranpo, one of the most well-known detective mystery writers in Japan in the 1920s and 1930s, *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* appropriate the generic conventions of detective fiction to express fears that commodity consumption undermines social order. The manga also draw on the Gothic, which many of Conan Doyle's Holmes stories similarly draw on, to propose that Western rationality is ultimately unable to solve mysteries and re-establish social order. The figure of the supernatural monster in the manga indirectly represents the consumer who is driven by an insatiable desire to consume commodities. *Count Cain* in particular demonstrates that this desire fuels the transgression of social norms, and threatens to destroy the society that its characters inhabit. The monstrous mother figure in *Count Cain* embodies fears of young Japanese women neglecting their conventional roles as wives and mothers to indulge in their newfound freedom as individual consumers in a mass consumer culture.

Contrary to what one would expect in a classic detective story, *Count Cain* does not show how science and logic rationalise and draw limits around such transgressive consumption. Instead, it posits an irrational solution to irrational consumption. The manga juxtaposes this figure of the monstrous mother with the motif of the happy family, whose strong emotional ties of love and sympathy enable it to triumph over the former. The text thus departs from the championing of rationality in "The Man with the Twisted Lip" and other Holmes stories. It expresses reservations

about rationality's ability to redraw boundaries, and to re-stabilise the social categories that have become unanchored with the rise of new practices of self-actualisation through commodity consumption in an industrial capitalist society.

In problematising Western rationality and privileging irrational affective ties, *Count Cain* echoes Charles Dickens' 1854 industrial novel *Hard Times*. These resonances suggest that the two different historical and geographical contexts of Dickens' Britain and Japan in the 1990s and 2000s actually share strikingly similar anxieties about, and responses to, social disorder. Nevertheless, *Count Cain*'s evocation of a community much larger than that of the family in *Hard Times* situates the manga as part of a distinctive history of engagement with Western rationality in Japan. The manga echoes the disillusionment with Western rationality and the corresponding idealisation of the national organic community that became widespread in Japan during the Asia-Pacific War in the 1930s and early 1940s. However, the affective community that the manga constructs is not of the nation, but of a transnational collectivity of readers united by the shared experience of reading *shōjo* manga. As such, the empire that *Count Cain* gestures towards is not the same territorial empire that Japan lost at the end of the war in 1945. With the global turn to cultural commodity production and export in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, *Count Cain*, as well as other Japanese neo-Victorian manga, both envision and participate in creating a Japanese cultural and economic empire based on the shared consumption of manga, anime, video games, and other popular culture products. This "Empire of Cool" (Faiola), despite its aura of "up-to-the-minute" trendiness, is not a purely contemporary phenomenon. It is, in oblique and subtle ways, inflected by the introduction of English-language detective fiction and the ideal of Western rationality into Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Detective Fiction and the Ideal of Western Rationality in Meiji Japan

English-language detective fiction first entered Japan in the nineteenth century as a by-product of the treaty port system and the Meiji state-led project of learning from the West. Edogawa Ranpo,

one of the most prominent Japanese detective fiction writers of the 1920s and 1930s, first read detective fiction by Edgar Allan Poe, Conan Doyle, and G. K. Chesterton while he was studying at Waseda University in Tokyo from 1912 to 1916 (Silver, *Purloined Letters* 135). [35] It is highly probable that Ranpo came across the works of these writers at one of the "new-style" rental bookshops (*shinshiki kashihon'ya*) that were first set up in Tokyo in the 1880s, and which had continued into the Taishō (1912-1926) and early Shōwa (1926-1945) periods.[36] In other words, the transmission of the detective fiction genre from Britain and the US to Japan took on a material presence in these *kashihon'ya*, which had emerged out of the confluence of enforced free trade with the West, and the Meiji project of Westernisation. The transmission of English-language detective fiction through *kashihon'ya* constituted a kind of Westernisation that was carried out through the consumption of Western goods (in this case, popular genre fiction), and which was not directly regulated by the state or the intelligentsia. Knowledge of Western empirical science, logic, and rationalisation spread to the Japanese reading public through this unofficial and popular avenue. More than a century later, neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga such as *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* return to the popular genre of classic detective fiction to simultaneously reaffirm and challenge the ideal of Western rationality that the genre helped to promote in Meiji Japan.

Kashihon'ya were part of the cosmopolitan urban culture created in the wake of the unequal treaties in the 1850s and the 1868 Meiji Restoration. Besides stocking academic texts and contemporary Japanese literary works, these *kashihon'ya* provided access to a significant amount of English-language literary works, including detective novels. The 1887 (June) and 1888 catalogues of the Kyōeki Kashi Honsha [Common Profit Rental Book Company], for instance, list Peter H. Hunter

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[35] Ranpo adopted and adapted Poe's name for his own pen-name. Ranpo's real name is Hirai Tarō.

[36] The first newspaper advertisement for "new-style" rental bookshops (*shinshiki kashihon'ya*) appeared in 1886 (Asaoka 15). Unlike *kashihon'ya* in the preceding Tokugawa period, who were essentially travelling salesmen, *kashihon'ya* in the Meiji period were brick-and-mortar stores offering a much more impersonal service to readers (Asaoka 15; Kornicki 340-41). *Kashihon'ya* continued in this form from the Meiji period to the 1970s, when they became obsolete as a result of the book censorship movement, increasing prices of manga, and the rise of weekly magazines. See Nishimura; and Kushida.

and Walter Whyte's 1884 novel *The Crime of Christmas-Day: A Tale of the Latin Quarter*, and the Harper's Franklin Square Library edition of Isabella Fyvie Mayo's 1885 novel *The Mystery of Allan Grale*.[37]

The Kyōeki Kashi Honsha catalogue shows that most of the *kashihon'ya*'s English-language books were imported from publishing houses located mainly in London and New York. This suggests that British and American publishers in the nineteenth century might have taken advantage of not only formal but also informal imperial patterns of trade, such as the treaty port system, to dominate the global export of English-language books (to be discussed further in Chapter Two). *Kashihon'ya* targeted the vast number of students who had travelled to the capital to enrol in the English-language schools (such as Ranpo's Waseda) that had been established as part of the Meiji state-led project of learning from the West (Asaoka 41-45). However, unlike public and school libraries, the Kyōeki Kashi Honsha and other *kashihon'ya* were owned by private Japanese entrepreneurs, and the selection of titles to be imported was driven by commercial interests rather than by the official policies of the state or of school authorities. This decidedly commercial nature of *kashihon'ya* opens up a different perspective on Japan's historical experience of Westernisation. In his examination of the "English-language literature and novels" [*eisho "bungaku to shōsetsu"*] section in the 1888 Kyōeki Kashi Honsha catalogue, Inoue Ken argues that *kashihon'ya* problematise the assumption that the transmission of Western thought, literature, and culture into Japan began with the translation of English-language works by a handful of Japanese intellectuals (153). There were approximately 50,000 to 60,000 students in Tokyo in the 1880s and 1890s, and the majority of *kashihon'ya* were located in the Kanda, Hongō, and Shiba neighbourhoods, where most of the residents were students of the nearby schools and universities (Asaoka 42). For Inoue, this means that there were significantly

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[37] A review of *The Mystery of Allan Grale* appeared in the "New Novels" section of the *Standard* in 1886. The reviewer states that "[t]he interest of the story depends entirely on the intricacy of the plot, on the number of red herrings with which the author manages to draw her readers off the scent" but laments that the novel is a flawed work of detective fiction because of its lack of unity: "It is a rope of many strands that leads us out of the labyrinth. It should be one strong single thread. We have to solve mysteries about several persons as well as the Mystery of Allan Grale."

large numbers of students who came into contact with Western culture by reading works in the original English language or in English translation.

These rental libraries also reveal that it was not only "respectable" works like John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* and Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help* that were disseminated to an expanding educated readership in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japan. Customers of *kashihon'ya* seem to have also read popular fiction genres, including detective fiction, which were considered rather disreputable in the imperial metropole. Knowledge of Western culture was thus transmitted not only through the activities of the intelligentsia, but also through popular culture at the grassroots level.

This helps supplement the picture that general accounts of Westernisation during the Meiji period often provide. These accounts tend to emphasise the role of Japanese intellectuals in translating English-language works that they thought were important, and in writing books on the West that have become as canonical as their translations. In *The Making of Modern Japan*, Marius Jansen states that "Fukuzawa Yukichi was of course the major figure in this rush to self-improvement," and that Fukuzawa's collection of essays, published as *An Encouragement of Learning* [*Gakumon no susume*] (1872-1876), "became the textbook of an age" (460). Likewise, Nakamura Masanao's translation of *Self-Help* [*Saigoku risshihen*] (1871) was so widely-read that it "became the textbook for a generation" as well (Jansen, *Making of Modern Japan* 461). Fukuzawa, Nakamura, and Nishi Amane, author of the *Encyclopaedia of Sciences* [*Hyakugaku renkan*] series of lectures in 1870-1873, also make appearances in Peter Duus's *Modern Japan* (99-102), and Hirakawa Sukehiro's chapter "Japan's Turn to the West" in the *Cambridge History of Japan*. The catalogues of the Kyōeki Kashi Honsha reveal that educated Japanese in the Meiji period were not only reading the "textbooks" translated and written by these prominent intellectuals, but were also reading popular fiction from Europe and the US.

Such popular fiction appears to have played a significant role in promoting the Western ideas and practices that the intelligentsia was advocating in more "serious" media. The idea that there was

a superior Western form of rationality that Japan should emulate was introduced to the Japanese reading public in the nineteenth and early twentieth century not only through the writings of intellectuals, but also through imported Western detective fiction made accessible by *kashihon'ya*. The Meirokusha, a group of scholars who wanted to spread knowledge of the West in the 1870s, championed Western empirical science, logic, and a way of thinking and acting that Max Weber calls "rationalisation." Weber defines rationalisation as a principle of thought and action that involves organising ideas and things into a coherent system, where all elements have their proper place, and interact with each other in ways that are determined by the rules of the system. Rationalisation involves drawing boundaries, categorising, and linking seemingly random phenomena into patterns structured by the laws of logic and of cause and effect. As Derek Sayer explains, "[r]ationalisation . . . in Weber connotes systematicity, consistency, method: whether as a cast of mind, or as the principle on which organisations are structured, it implies the exclusion of arbitrariness" (114).

In an article entitled "Mysteries" published in Issue 25 (December 1874) of the *Meiroku zasshi*, the Meirokusha's journal, Tsuda Mamichi proposes that all mysterious phenomena can be ordered into coherent systems governed by rules, and thereby explained away. He asserts that all mysteries can ultimately be elucidated by referring to the physical laws of the natural sciences:

> There are [really] no mysteries in the world. Mysteries only arise when we do not clearly understand the phenomena that we see. Materialist scholars . . . expect to explain the soul by physical laws when the study of the brain is advanced and clarified beyond the area of doubt. Only then will there finally be no mysteries in the world. (316; square brackets in orig.)

Like Weber, Tsuda and his compatriots saw rationalisation as the key to the "disenchantment of the world." Unlike Weber, however, they approved of this.[38]

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[38] Like Tsuda, Nakamura Masanao and Nishi Amane promoted the rationalisation and "disenchantment" of the world in some of their articles in *Meiroku zasshi*. In "An Outline of Western Culture (Continued)" published in Issue 16, Nakamura applauds Francis Bacon for "contributing to the progress of later generations in the material sciences" by introducing the practice of verifying hypotheses with experiments (in other words, empirical science) (204). In a series of articles collectively entitled "Knowledge," Nishi similarly applauds "the civilised people of Europe" for rationalising

Japanese literary critics in the early twentieth century, such as Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, thought that the solution of mysteries in detective fiction served a similarly rationalising and disenchanting purpose. These critics argued that detective fiction embodied analytical reasoning skills, a spirit of critical inquiry, the sciences, empiricism, and a fair (ie. consistent) legal system, all of which were rational qualities that Japan had to learn from the West (Silver 3-4). *Shinseinen*, a magazine that published both translated Western detective fiction and original Japanese works, published numerous essays lamenting what the critics saw as the Japanese failure to write good detective fiction (Silver 68). Hirabayashi wrote in 1925 that:

> Japan is fifty or a hundred years behind the West, as one can tell from the development of the modern novel; when one contemplates this fact, it seems natural that there should be almost no works worthy of being called detective novels in Japan and almost no writers of them. . . . The reason the detective novel hasn't developed in Japan is . . . that Japanese civilisation is scientifically infantile and primitive. (qtd. in Silver 170)

Katō Takeo posited a similar critique in the same year: "The real reason [why good detective novels do not appear in Japan] is that the Japanese mind is not given to close reasoning. [The Japanese] are not logical, and they are not scientific" (qtd. in Silver 170). Hirabayashi's and Katō's disparaging comparison of Japanese detective fiction with its allegedly superior Western precursor reveals that the transmission of detective fiction into Japan was closely intertwined with the idealisation of Western empirical science, logic, and a rationalising way of thinking and acting that could produce what Nishi, in one of his *Meiroku zasshi* articles, called "systematically organised knowledge" (223). As neo-Victorian texts that reference the Holmes stories and the wider tradition of Western and Japanese detective fiction, *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* continue to be shaped by, and to react against, this desire to emulate Western rationality.

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information about the world into "systematically organised knowledge" that is "organised from manifold elements both large and small with a structure based on firm foundations and strongly supported by beams and pillars" (223).

Science and the Supernatural

Many works of classic detective fiction since Edgar Allan Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" (1841) are not purely "tales of ratiocination" (Poe 328), but are narratives that present an uneasy tension between science and the supernatural. Nevertheless, many of these detective stories ultimately resolve this tension, and privilege the rational over the irrational. At the end of the narrative, the detective figure almost invariably succeeds in using his/her powers of empirical observation, scientific knowledge, and reasoning skills to demystify what appeared to be beyond rational explication. In *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1889), for example, Holmes discovers that the spectral hound is simply a large dog covered with luminous paint.

Count Cain and *Kuroshitsuji*, however, maintain the tension between science and the supernatural. In doing so, the manga exhibit a contradictory desire to champion Western empirical science, logic, and the principle of rationalisation on the one hand, and to deny the value of this Western rationality on the other. As one of the characters in *Kuroshitsuji* discovers, there is "one fantastic possibility" that overturns all deductions based on the laws of science and human limitations (*hitotsu no "hi genjitsu teki na kanōsei" ni yotte ore tachi no suiri wa subete kutsugae sareru*) and that is the fact that some of the characters have supernatural powers. In the "Country House Murder Mystery" episode in *Kuroshitsuji*, the text goes to great lengths to craft an elaborate rational account of the mystery that fully explains even the most minor details. In a stunning series of revelations, the detective Jeremy Rathbone identifies the murderer, his methods – in an explicit allusion to Conan Doyle's "The Speckled Band," the murderer commits the murders with the help of a poisonous snake he brought from South Africa to Britain – and even his motives. After the murderer is apprehended and punished, the text surprises both the narrator and the reader by revealing that the rational account provided by Jeremy is a complete fiction devised to hide the reality that the butler in the story is

actually a devil (*akuma*) with superhuman powers of regeneration. The butler Sebastian was killed early in the story, and the text discloses that he came back to life, reappeared in the guise of the detective Jeremy, and made up the "solution" to the mystery. The real solution therefore hinges on the completely irrational fact that Sebastian is a supernatural being. *Kuroshitsuji* thus breaks one of the ten cardinal rules of detective fiction outlined by the detective fiction writer and Catholic priest Father Ronald Knox, who declared that "[a]ll supernatural or preternatural agencies are ruled out as a matter of course" (qtd. in Scaggs 37). [39] Similarly, the eponymous detective protagonist of *Count Cain* discovers that the mastermind behind the "strange incidents" (*kaijiken*) that surround him is the spectre of his deceased aunt and biological mother, Augusta.

To a very limited extent, *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji*'s refusal to dispel the supernatural with science and reason challenges the idea, promulgated in classic detective fiction and in Tsuda's essay, that science and logical thinking can explain all mysteries. In this sense, the manga share an affinity with the "anti-detective novel" that subverts the generic conventions of detective fiction to "undermin[e] the basic assumption of the detective story from Poe's Dupin through Sherlock Holmes to Hercule Poirot and Miss Marple and beyond, namely, the assumption of the adequacy of reason itself" (McHale 150). Anti-detective novels such as Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* (1980) and Michiel Heyns's *Lost Ground* (2011) present failed detective figures whose rational deductions turn out to be radically flawed, thereby enacting a "postmodern critique of epistemological certainty" (Scaggs 139-42).

Count Cain and *Kuroshitsuji* are not anti-detective narratives that expose the limits of rationality by revealing the inherently unstable nature of the detective's interpretations. Neither do they claim that supernatural beings really exist. The supernatural is ultimately contained within the fantasy space of the narrative and its invitation to the reader to suspend his/her disbelief. The figure

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[39] There is actually a character in *Kuroshitsuji* called Ronald Knox. This is one of the manga series' many self-conscious references to Western detective fiction.

of the supernatural monster in *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* represents, through the distorting lens of the Gothic, anxieties about the individual's self-centred consumption of commodities and the resultant destabilisation of social roles. The texts' refusal to dispel the supernatural with science suggests that Western rationality is ultimately inadequate in reining in transgression and fixing individual consumers back into an orderly social structure. In a significant departure from the Holmes stories they reference, *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* demonstrate that Western empirical science and logic are unable to discover the truth, and that in failing to solve the mystery, Western science and logic fail to restore the social order that has been disrupted by the forces of industrial capitalism.

In *Monsters of the Market: Zombies, Vampires and Global Capitalism*, David McNally argues that monster figures in contemporary popular culture symbolically register the monstrosities of capitalism (3). The figure of the monster in *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* registers the consumer's monstrous desire to consume an ever-increasing amount of commodities. At the end of the "Country House Murder Mystery" episode in *Kuroshitsuji*, the narrator, a young doctor and aspiring writer suggestively named Arthur, compulsively writes one Holmes mystery after another, as if trying to convince himself and his readers that the supernatural can indeed be explained away with empirical science and logical thinking. He produces detective fiction as if he were "possessed" (*tsukareta yō ni*) or "cursed" (*noroi no yō ni*) by his traumatic encounter with the devil-butler Sebastian. The words "possessed" and "cursed," with their suggestions of a supernatural force compelling Arthur to write against his will, imply that the production of detective fiction, a genre that is so closely associated with rationality, is ironically driven by a highly irrational impulse to keep on writing. This compulsion to write, *Kuroshitsuji* suggests, is complemented by an equally irrational compulsion to read. Sebastian gently mocks his master Ciel for reading Arthur's early short stories repeatedly while yearning for sequels (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6: Sebastian anticipates Arthur's upcoming work. (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 11, p. 72-73)

In the middle section of the page on the right, the text juxtaposes an image of Sebastian on the right with an image of Arthur frantically scribbling on the left. The speech bubble between the two panels reads: "We can look forward to his [Arthur's] upcoming work of fiction" (*kare no jikaisaku ga tanoshimi desu ne*). The words are Sebastian's but they bridge the two panels and thereby imply that the irrational impulse to keep on writing is linked to a corresponding irrational impulse to keep on reading detective fiction. The figure of the supernatural monster in *Kuroshitsuji* "Gothicises" or makes frightening this desire to consume commodities without limit.

Kuroshitsuji's use of the supernatural as a metaphor for excessive consumption echoes (and was possibly inspired by) Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's Gothic detective short story "Green Tea" (1872).[40] The narrator of "Green Tea," Dr Martin Hesselius, is a medical physician who, like a detective, investigates mysterious cases of psychological disturbance. However, unlike a conventional detective, Dr Hesselius believes that he can provide "rational" explanations for these mysteries by proving that his patients see things that other people cannot see because their minds have awakened to a consciousness of the spirit realm. In "Green Tea," the patient's excessive drinking of green tea makes his mind especially receptive to the influences of a spectral monkey. The monkey eventually persuades the man to kill himself in a fit of madness. Like *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji*, "Green Tea" maintains an uneasy tension between science and the supernatural. Furthermore, in making a banal commodity (green tea) an object of horror, Le Fanu's short story employs the figure of the supernatural monster to express Victorian fears of losing self-control in the desire-driven world of mass consumption. It also expresses more specific Victorian fears about the consumption of green teas imported from China and Japan, which were widely believed to be adulterated with poisonous chemicals, and were therefore seen as a threat to British consumers' health and, in Le Fanu's short

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[40] The author of *Kuroshitsuji*, Toboso Yana, is familiar with Le Fanu's writings. She references Le Fanu's short story "Carmilla" in the "Country House Murder Mystery" episode, when some of the characters speculate that one of the murder suspects might be a female vampire like Carmilla. This turned out to be a red herring.

story, their sanity as well. Chapter Four will discuss this history of tea in Victorian Britain in more detail.

Japanese detective fiction written in the 1920s and 1930s expresses similar fears of insatiable consumption. *Kuroshitsuji* and *Count Cain* are as much influenced by such early twentieth-century Japanese detective fiction as they are by nineteenth-century Western detective fiction and Gothic fiction. Kawana Sari argues that detective fiction such as Ranpo's emerged in the 1920s and 1930s in response to destabilising social changes brought about by rapid industrialisation in Japan (2). According to Kawana, Japanese detective fiction of this period articulates apprehensions about the social malaise or "diphtheria of modernity" (2):

> [W]riters of detective fiction depict the ambiguous figures of modernity, such as the tail [stalker], *moga*, scientist, spy, and demobilised soldier, in order to express the fast, opaque, and fragmentary condition of modern existence. . . . These figures embody the precariousness of the post-Enlightenment world where rationality has failed and the potential for total mayhem is an ever-present danger . . . . (15)

Ranpo's 1928 novella *Injū* [*Beast in the Shadows*] in particular demonstrates how frighteningly unstable and multiple social roles have become with the rise of a mass consumer culture in the major cities of Japan (although it does not do so through the figure of the supernatural monster). It also shows that Western empirical science and logic, the tools of the detective's trade, are unable to order, or "rationalise," these proliferating and changeable social roles. The narrator of *Injū* is a detective mystery writer who turns detective himself when he tries to determine who has been sending murderous threats to a young married woman. With the loss of feudal and rural social structures in the burgeoning metropolis of 1920s Tokyo, the narrator, the young woman, and her businessman husband are free to experiment with the multiple roles of sadist/masochist, detective fiction writer/reader, and criminal/victim. All of these roles are performed through the consumption of

commodities. For example, the young woman and her husband engage in sadomasochistic sex and voyeurism by using everyday items such as a riding crop, gloves, and an artificial hairpiece.

This playing with plural identities creates a great deal of confusion, which the narrator sets out to demystify. He initially thinks that the criminal is a fellow detective fiction writer named Ōe Shundei or Hirata Ichirō. However, he reconsiders his deductions upon finding a new clue and argues that Shundei is a fictional construct created by the woman's husband to frighten her. He then deduces that the husband was not actually killed by Shundei, and had died because of a bizarre accident during a session of voyeuristic S/M sex-play with his wife. The narrator later overturns his deductions again when he finds another clue. He accuses the woman of killing her husband, and inventing the persona of Shundei to create the impression that her husband was the one who invented the persona. By the end of the novella, the narrator (and the reader) is in a state of total incomprehension. The woman dies without ever confessing her alleged crimes, and the narrator is plagued with "terrifying suspicions" (276) that he might have been wrong:

> Yet how could I be certain now? Oyamada Rokurō was dead. Oyamada Shizuko was dead. And it seemed as if Ōe Shundei had disappeared forever without trace. Honda had said that Shizuko resembled Shundei's wife, but what sort of proof was "resemblance"? . . . . Half a year has passed since Shizuko's tragic death, but Hirata Ichirō has still not appeared and my awful doubts about what now cannot be changed deepen every day. (276-77)

Like the failed detective in an anti-detective novel, the narrator of *Injū* realises that the clues in the mystery can be rearranged in a potentially endless series of interpretations, thus leaving him no wiser at the end of the story than he had been at the beginning. Unlike Holmes in "The Man with the Twisted Lip," the narrator fails to restore epistemological order, and thereby fails to restore social order. The proliferating and unstable identities made possible by industrial capitalism and its accompanying mass consumer culture continue to haunt the narrator and the reader at the end of the narrative. Like *Injū* and Le Fanu's "Green Tea," *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* articulate anxieties

about the debilitating consequences of consuming commodities. Moreover, the manga share *Injū*'s deep scepticism of Western rationality's ability to contain the social transgressions arising out of commodity consumption.

Monstrous Mothers

Like *Kuroshitsuji*, *Count Cain* draws on Victorian Gothic fiction to embody the perceived dangers of insatiable consumption in the fantasy form of a frightening monster, which needs to be abjected for social order to be restored. Augusta, the deceased aunt of the detective protagonist Count Cain, rises from the dead to mastermind the crimes that Cain solves. As a ghost who returns from the dead to haunt the living, Augusta has much in common with the vampire. It is possible to read Augusta in relation to McNally's concept of "vampire capitalism." McNally reads contemporary vampire narratives as "fantastic depictions of global capitalism as a vampire-system that extracts and sells body-parts" in the form of commodified labour (9). Augusta is associated with a secret criminal organisation called "Delilah," which destroys human bodies in order to produce a new body for her. Like Dracula, Delilah acquires strategically situated plots of land around London in preparation for an occult ritual that would extract the life-energy of the city's denizens, and channel it into the creation of Augusta's new body. This vampiricism of Delilah certainly brings to mind the vampiricism of capitalism in McNally's reading. Like a vampire, Delilah and capitalism exploit human labour to produce things. The manga makes the link between Delilah and capitalism especially explicit when it depicts Delilah purchasing the plots of land in the guise of a real-estate company called Barabbas and Co.

However, Augusta herself is not a representation of vampire capitalism. Fred Botting, unlike McNally, reads the vampire as a metaphor for the voracious consumer who defers death to consume an ever-increasing amount of commodities (*Gothic Romanced* 86-87). Augusta is such a vampiric consumer. She first appears in the manga as a skull with a mantle wrapped around it (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7: Augusta's skull. (*Count Cain Series: Godchild*, Vol. 7, p. 188)

The withered skull, with its long, witch-like white hair, hollow eyes and gaping mouth, contrasts starkly with the pretty lace trimmings and cutesy ribbon bow on the mantle. This eerily incongruous union between an iconic symbol of death and a frivolous, ornamental commodity creates an uncanny frisson that obliquely points to the conjunction between destruction and consumption. For Freud, the uncanny is "that species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well-known and had long been familiar," and which has since been repressed (124). Augusta represents the uncanny return of repressed fears of young Japanese women neglecting their "traditional" roles as wives and mothers to indulge in their newfound freedom as individuals in a capitalist consumer society.

Unlike the other failed mother figures in *Count Cain* who love their children not too wisely but too well, Augusta produces children only in order to destroy them. She enjoys tormenting Cain, to whom she had given birth after an incestuous affair with her own brother, and Cain's half-brother Jizabel. She later feels that destroying her own family is not enough, and seeks to destroy the entire world for her own pleasure. Augusta's association with apocalyptic annihilation rather than fruitful (re)production brings to mind the conjunction between destruction and consumption emblematised in the skull with the mantle (Fig. 7). It implicitly points to the dangers of consuming commodities for one's own pleasure over and beyond any rational limits. Furthermore, Augusta's destruction of her children implies that such irrational consumption has especially deleterious effects on women's roles as mothers. Bad mothering in *Count Cain* is an oblique representation of the absence of mothering in Japan in the early twentieth century, and again in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

In depicting Augusta as a monstrous mother, *Count Cain* echoes the social panic and media frenzy of the 1980s and 1990s that played up fears of young Japanese women turning away from motherhood in order to pursue a self-centred consumerist lifestyle. In the 1980s and 1990s, the Japanese mass media ran sensationalised reports on what it perceived as a new breed of young Japanese women called the "Hanako-tribe" or *Hanako-zoku* (after the title of a young women's

fashion magazine). These Hanakos or "parasite singles," according to the media, lived with their parents in order to spend all the money they earned as "Office Ladies" on expensive designer goods. They also delayed marriage and motherhood in order to prolong this period of carefree consumerist adolescence.[41] Faced with the threat of women's empowerment (real or exaggerated), the male-dominated Japanese mass media, Kinsella argues, turned to attacking Japanese women in this way for applying themselves neither to corporate needs nor domestic duties, but to spending their disposable income on leisure (*Schoolgirls* 7). This stereotype of the selfish female consumer was applied to Office Ladies, *gyaru* (brash, delinquent young women), *kogyaru* (teenage *gyaru*), and *shōjo* schoolgirls (Kinsella, *Schoolgirls* 7).

This is not to say that Japanese women before the emergence of the Hanako stereotype engaged solely in child-bearing and child-rearing, and did not participate in consumption at all. Consumer goods industries actively targeted Japanese women after the Second World War, but they constructed Japanese female consumers as mothers who bought commodities, such as refrigerators and washing machines, for the household rather than for their personal use (Skov and Moeran 28). According to Lise Skov and Brian Moeran, this situation changed in the 1970s when the international oil crisis prompted the development of the service sector in the Japanese economy, which created more job opportunities for women.[42] The Western feminist movement in the 1970s also increased public interest in women's issues, and new youth subcultures such as the *shinjinrui* ("new human race") began to stress the importance of individuality and leisure. As a result of these developments in the 1970s, Japanese women became increasingly visible in the public sphere as workers with a significant amount of disposable income to spend on themselves. This prompted industry and

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[41] For more information on the Hanako phenomenon, see Jolivet; and the discussion of women's magazines in Tokuhiro 44-47.

[42] These job opportunities, however, were mostly limited to full-time clerical work (*ippan shoku*) or part-time and temporary work. Both forms of employment were lowly paid and provided virtually no possibility of career advancement. Tachibanaki Toshiaki notes that, while Japan's transition to a late capitalist economy in recent years has allowed more women to join the workforce, this does not mean that gender inequality has gone away. See the first chapter in Tachibanaki.

advertisers to appeal to Japanese women not only as consumer-representatives of the family but as individual consumers as well (Skov and Moeran 27-30).

In other words, anxieties about Japanese women's consumption in the 1980s and 1990s were not primarily concerned with the fact that Japanese women were consuming commodities, not least because they had already been doing so long before the last decades of the twentieth century. Japanese public opinion was more troubled by the fact that Japanese women were consuming commodities as individuals outside the institutions of marriage and motherhood, and that such individualistic consumption was threatening to displace the conventional female roles of wife and mother. In echoing these discourses on the decline of motherhood, *Count Cain* differs from "Green Tea" and vampire stories about consuming more than what one really needs. Augusta not only indulges in excessive consumption, but does so for her personal pleasure at the expense of her family. The monstrous Augusta thus embodies fears of Japanese female consumers putting self before family, and thereby breaking out of the boundaries of their "proper" social roles as wives and mothers.

Such anxieties about Japanese women's transgressive participation in consumption outside the home are not a recent development, and they can be traced back to the emergence of the *modan gaaru* ("modern girl") in Japan in the 1920s. As a stereotype created and sensationalised by the Japanese mass media, the *modan gaaru* or *moga*, much like the Hanako of the 1980s and 1990s, emerged in the context of a rapidly developing consumer culture, and became the icon of that culture and of the act of consumption itself (Sato 45-46, 49). The *moga*, according to the mass media of the time, made herself highly (and inappropriately) visible in public spaces through her shopping, eating, and general flânerie in the Ginza. Therefore, the *moga* did not conform to the normative gendered division between public spaces and the private home, and the dominant feminine ideal of *ryōsai kenbo* ("good wife, wise mother"). The *moga* was not only "anti-motherhood." She was a free-wheeling individual without any ties of filiation, obligation, or affection to family, friends, and lovers (Silverberg 246-47). Although public discourse on the *moga* in the 1920s was torn between

affirmation and condemnation,[43] the rise of cultural nationalism and the militarists' ascendance to power in the 1930s put an end to the *moga*, and prompted a return to the earlier Meiji ideal of *ryōsai kenbo* (Silverberg 264-66).[44] The Japanese militarist state actively discouraged Japanese women from engaging in individualistic consumption by placing women's magazines under tight control, and outlawing all vestiges of "Western decadence," including the permanent wave hairstyle much favoured by *moga* (Silverberg 266). In place of the "Westernised" lifestyle of individualistic consumption epitomised by the *moga*, the state idealised women's reproductive abilities, and championed the mother as the cornerstone of the family (Skov and Moeran 22).[45]

Count Cain seems to concur with such discourses that condemn Japanese women's individualistic consumption, and which promote motherhood. Augusta's ghost is vanquished by a trap set by Cain, and the manga series ends with a short scene depicting some of the main characters living happily many years after the destruction of Augusta. Cain's younger sister Merriweather has grown up, married Cain's friend, and is looking forward to giving birth to her first child. *Count Cain* thus ends with the symbolic victory of nurturing motherhood and happy families (I will say more about happy families later) over monstrous mothers and individualistic consumption.

In echoing 1920s and 1930s attitudes towards the *moga*, 1980s and 1990s media reports on the Hanako, and the tropes of Victorian Gothic, *Count Cain* reveals that the anxieties it articulates about individuals, and especially young women, consuming commodities are not unique to the

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[43] The lead article in the January 1927 issue of the women's magazine *Fujin kōron*, "Random Views on the Modern Girl" ["Modan gaaru zakkan"], featured comments from several women intellectuals who criticised the *moga* for being a vacuous consumer, unlike the thinking and politically active New Woman of the 1910s (Sato 54-55). The feminist journal *Nyonin geijutsu*, however, associated the *moga*'s transgressions of gender and class boundaries with revolutionary political militancy (Silverberg 254). The male intellectual Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke (who, incidentally, is one of the critics of Japanese detective fiction I quoted earlier in this chapter) approved of the *moga* as "an assertive, individualistic woman of the future" whose consumerism gave her "a previously unknown degree of agency" (Sato 61).

[44] Koyama Shizuko states that the ideal of *ryōsai kenbo* first emerged in the Meiji period as a distinctively "modern" ideology that channelled women's energies into the home to serve the needs of industrial capitalism and the nascent nation-state in Japan (49-50). The Meiji ideal of *ryōsai kenbo* justified the expansion of education for girls, but only insofar as it was necessary to produce educated wives and mothers who would effectively support their working husbands, and cultivate a new generation of good citizens for the nation-state (Koyama 32-35).

[45] The fascist state in Nazi Germany and Italy in the 1930s and early 1940s adopted similar policies, although they did not pin the blame for the social turbulence of the time on "Westernisation."

manga's contemporary context of production. These anxieties appear in late nineteenth-century Britain, in Japan in the early twentieth century, and again in Japan in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. The cultural forms that have emerged to assuage these and other anxieties about the destabilising effects of industrial capitalism have also been similar. Like the Holmes stories, Japanese detective fiction emerged in the 1920s to advocate Western science, logic, and the principle of rationalisation as a means of restoring the social order disrupted by industrialisation and the rise of a mass consumer culture. This happened later in Japan than in Britain, although Japanese readers had already been exposed to the detective mystery genre in the nineteenth century through rental bookshops and Kuroiwa Ruikō's translations.[46] This was because there had been less of a need for rationalising society before industrialisation took off in Japan during and after the First World War. With rapid industrialisation and the commodification of everyday life in Japan in the 1920s, Japanese detective fiction flourished like its earlier British counterpart.

Furthermore, reading *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* in relation to Ranpo's *Injū* shows that the tradition of Japanese detective fiction has produced texts in different historical periods that respond to the anxieties engendered by industrial capitalism in ways that similarly challenge Western rationality. By presenting its readers with a failed detective, *Injū* evinces scepticism about the ability of Western rationality to fulfil the need for social rationalisation in Japan in the 1920s. *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* express similar scepticism through the figure of the supernatural monster, which they have borrowed from *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, "Green Tea," *Dracula*, and other works of nineteenth-century British Gothic fiction. However, the manga series depart from their Japanese and British precursors when they represent the dangers of commodity consumption with much less affective charge than the earlier texts. *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* are postmodern Gothic texts that suggest that excessive and individualistic consumption has become banal, and therefore much less

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[46] Kuroiwa Ruikō translated, and liberally adapted, European and American works of detective fiction to critique the Meiji legal system (Silver 17-18), rather than explore the effects of industrial capitalism on Japanese society. Although Ruikō's translations were very popular, original detective fiction by Japanese writers did not flourish until Ranpo published his pioneering short story "Nisen dōka" ["The Two-sen Copper Coin"] in *Shinseinen* in 1923.

frightening by the early 2000s. *Count Cain* in particular turns away from using Western rationality to contain this form of transgression, which is not even particularly terrifying anymore, and proposes to restore social order by turning to irrational affect instead.

As postmodern Gothic texts, *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* adopt a stereotypically Gothic aesthetic that is almost completely lacking in uncanny affect. Both manga series feature plenty of old manor houses, decadent aristocratic characters, black-coloured costumes, and of course, supernatural monsters. However, the manga do not represent any of these Gothic motifs as particularly frightening. *Kuroshitsuji* even self-reflexively points to the clichéd nature of its own Gothic style. In the "Jack the Ripper" episode, the detective protagonist Ciel and his devil-butler Sebastian visit a mysterious character called The Undertaker to obtain information about the murdered prostitutes (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8: The Undertaker's shop. (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 2, p. 46)

The Undertaker's shop, with its coffins, cobwebs, and general dilapidated condition, is a "blank parody" (Jameson, *Postmodernism* 17) of the Gothic trope of the haunted house. The signboard of the shop is embellished with a giant death's-head, and a string of garlic hangs above the door as a decorative ornament, deprived of its former function as a guard against vampires in a place that already looks like a vampire's abode. The text here presents the traditional motifs of Gothic horror in an exaggerated and camp form that bathetically reduces these motifs to pure clichés devoid of any deeper meaning.

This rendering banal of the Gothic illustrates a process of simulation, whereby Gothic signs are stripped of their repressed meanings, and are transformed into superficial images that are more fantastic than frightening, and which self-consciously point to their own superficiality. Like the vampire and the zombie, these empty images keep "coming back to life" in the form of endless repetition, which further strips them of meaningfulness. With the commodification and circulation of such "undead" images in late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century consumer culture, the Gothic has become a commodity and a simulation of itself (Botting, *Gothic Romanced* 66-75). For Botting,

Gothic tropes and figures have "become too familiar after two centuries of repetition and see[m] incapable of shocking anew" ("Aftergothic" 298). Almost devoid of its former uncanny affect, the clichéd and commodified Gothic sign can no longer embody and assuage social anxieties (through its expulsion), including anxieties about the absence of any "sacred, final Meaning" within the postmodern condition (Botting, "Aftergothic" 292-96). The postmodern Gothic sign, according to Botting, can only hint obliquely at the "black hole" of signification that lurks beneath it ("Aftergothic" 292-296). In transforming the Gothic trope of the haunted house into an undertaker's shop, *Kuroshitsuji* self-reflexively recognises that its Gothicisation of the insatiable desire to consume commodities has itself become a meaningless commodity. The text thus undermines its own representation of commodity consumption as an object of horror, and suggests that consumption, like the Gothic, has become too banal to be terrifying anymore.

Likewise, the Gothic monster in *Count Cain* is much less fearsome than one would expect it to be, and this too implies that the excessive and individualistic female consumption that the monster symbolises has been normalised. Despite being the arch-villain of the manga series, the ghost of Augusta is not a particularly frightening character. It is only when she appears in the form of the skull wrapped with the mantle that she generates unease and anxiety in the reader. The text does not make Augusta's ghost haunt the narrative in a way that would have created suspense. In spite of being the mastermind behind all the mysteries in the series, the text makes only passing references to her as Cain's deceased aunt who had committed suicide, and she appears in full anthropomorphic form only in the final pages of the manga. Up till her appearance in the last few scenes of the series, the main characters and the reader are led to believe that Cain's father (Augusta's brother) is the criminal mastermind. The revelation at the end of the series that Augusta is the true villain therefore seems contrived, as if the denouement were tacked on to the narrative at the last minute.[47] The text's use of

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[47] Although the denouement seems to have been added on as an afterthought, this was evidently not the case as the artist of the series, Yuki Kaori, mentions in the *atogaki* (afterword) in Vol. 8 of the manga that she had intended from the start to make it difficult for the reader to discover that Augusta is the "hidden boss character" (*kakure bosu kyara*).

the *deus ex machina* ("god out of the machine") – or "spectre out of the machine" in this case – is jarring, and this makes the ghost of Augusta seem less frightening than she could have been. As a result of this loss of affect, the transgression that Augusta embodies fails to induce much anxiety in the reader. The text thereby implies that women's "monstrous" consumption of commodities has become mundane in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, and that although it is still feared as a threat to social order, the fear it stimulates has lost a great deal of intensity.

Happy Families

While its Gothic representation of dangerous consumption evokes only mild uncanny sensations, *Count Cain* generates a very different kind of affect, which it attaches to its depictions of intimate human relationships. The manga creates an opposition between the monstrous Augusta and the protagonist's community of allies. In doing so, it turns away from Western empirical science, logic, and rationalisation, and instead contains Augusta's transgression through the power of close friendships and affective familial ties. The text thereby suggests that the social instability engendered by Japanese women's consumption may be resolved not only by returning women to the role of "good wife, wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*), but also by creating a community unified by strong emotional bonds that to some extent transcend the social boundaries that divide people. The text thus subverts the detective fiction genre to propose not rationality, but a kind of irrationality as the antidote to the "diphtheria of modernity" (Kawana 2). In doing so, it reiterates the concerns of Japanese intellectual discourses on the organic community that were prominent in the 1930s and early 1940s.

Count Cain champions the affective community over Western rationality by drawing on the distinctive visual language of *shōjo* manga to produce intense affect that expresses the characters' emotions and evokes a corresponding emotional response from the reader. Scholars of *shōjo* manga often note the genre's highly emotional quality.[48] The *shōjo* manga artist Takemiya Keiko claims that the irregular and open frames of the panels in *shōjo* manga enable the "lawless" movement of emotion

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[48] See the chapter "Flowers and Dreams" in Schodt; Takahashi; and Shamoon.

across the page (qtd. in Shamoon 116). The *shōjo* culture critic Honda Masuko employs a similar motif to describe the aesthetics and ethics of *shōjo* manga. For Honda, *shōjo* manga (and *shōjo* culture in general) are characterised by a *hirahira* ("fluttering") movement in which meaning and selfhood are constantly floating around and crossing boundaries (35). Honda reads the ribbons and frills that abound in *shōjo* manga as visual signs of *hirahira*. Ribbons and frills are decorative and insubstantial, and thereby point to the nature of *shōjo* manga narratives as floating signifiers that "flutter" from meaning to meaning (Honda 28-31). Likewise, the lyrical rhetoric of *shōjo* manga, which is often presented on the printed page as free-floating text that is not framed by speech bubbles, is made up of floating verbal signifiers that have no fixed referent, and whose function is affective rather than discursive (Honda 31-33). Honda's theorisation of *shōjo* manga's visual language has much in common with Hélène Cixous and Luce Irigaray's psychoanalytic theories of *écriture féminine*. Like Cixous and Irigaray, Honda sees women's writing as inherently subversive. For Honda, the fluttering or flowing movement of *shōjo* manga collapses boundaries, and enables both self and other to be mutually transformed and to take on an endless array of meanings.

My reading of *Count Cain*, however, proposes that *shōjo* manga's aesthetics of the "flow" is more concerned with generating and transmitting the flow of affect than with self-reflexively acting out the flow of meaning. The floating visual and verbal signifiers of *shōjo* manga carry affect rather than meaning across boundaries. Honda's claim that the lyrical rhetoric of *shōjo* manga plays a primarily affective rather than discursive role is instructive, and this is the starting point for my analysis of *Count Cain*.

Count Cain often depicts key scenes in the narrative in a representational mode that I call *shōjo* manga's aesthetics of the "flow." Fig. 9 is drawn from Cain's point of view, and depicts Cain's half-brother Jizabel standing over the bloodied corpse of a young lady. The kneeling girl in the left-hand corner of the foreground is Cain's sister Merriweather.

Fig. 9: Cain comes face-to-face with his half-brother Jizabel. (*Count Cain Series: Godchild*, Vol. 1, p. 163)

The composition of the panel is organised along the lines of a contrast between the straight vertical and horizontal lines of the window and the curved lines of Jizabel's trench coat, the window curtain, and the long hair of the three characters. The boxy lines of the window frame a dark night scene, and this pitch-black square in the centre-left of the background acts as a foil that emphasises the predominantly white and "flowing" figures in the foreground. The flowing lines create a sense of movement on a two-dimensional plane, but this movement is simultaneously arrested in space and time. The long, wavy strands of the three characters' hair seem to be floating suspended in mid-air. This freezing of action gives the panel a tableau-like quality, which is further enhanced by the positioning of this panel as the sole panel on the entire page. The text thus produces a moment of "melodramatic stasis" (Shamoon 116-19) that encourages the reader to pause in his/her pursuit of plot development, to dwell on this particular image, and to be "swept away" emotionally by the flowing dynamism of the image.

Although *Kuroshitsuji*'s Gothic representation of commodity consumption is even milder than that of *Count Cain*, it too produces affect through the aesthetics of the "flow," and champions the importance of emotional ties over Western science, logic, and rationalisation. In the "Jack the Ripper" episode, Ciel and Sebastian discover that Ciel's aunt Angelina, better known as Madam Red, is one half of the duo behind the murders of the prostitutes. Madam Red attempts to stab Ciel, but she falters as she is overcome by her feelings of love for her nephew. Sebastian rushes to kill Madam Red but is stopped by Ciel (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10: Sebastian rushes to save Ciel from Madam Red. (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 3, p. 20)

In the uppermost panel in Fig. 10, the text depicts the lunging figure of Sebastian schematically as a flurry of jagged black streaks flowing diagonally across the panel. A similar action scene in a *shōnen* manga would most likely have been drawn with thin and straight motion lines to indicate movement, rather than with such flowing lines. *Kuroshitsuji*, which is published in a manga magazine that is

directed at both male and female readers, and which borrows generic conventions from *shōnen* manga, often uses motion lines in its action scenes (Fig. 11).

Fig. 11: Sebastian and Charles Grey attempt to out-speed each other. (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 11, p. 60)

The motion lines in Fig. 11 imitate the blurred effect that occurs when the shutter speed of a camera is not quick enough to fully capture the image of a moving object. Scott McCloud calls this aesthetic device "photographic streaking" (113). Although the motion lines in Fig. 11 are non-referential, their association with photography creates the impression that the static figures or objects on the page are moving in a "real" time and space. This illusion of reality encourages the reader to focus on the action unfolding in time and space – in other words, the plot development – and as such the reader's gaze is encouraged to move quickly from one panel to the next. By using thick, flowing streaks rather than motion lines to depict action, Fig. 10 shifts the emphasis from movement in time and space, and movement from panel to panel, to movement within the image in a single panel. This turns the panel into a tableau that is extracted from the sequence of panels that constitute the narrative, and which calls for the reader to contemplate it as a standalone image. In this way, the text encourages the reader to indulge in the affect generated by the single image, instead of focusing on the progression of the plot.

Both Fig. 9 from *Count Cain* and Fig. 10 from *Kuroshitsuji* associate the affect produced by the aesthetics of the "flow" with depictions of intimate human relationships. The scene in Fig. 9 represents the first time that Cain comes face-to-face with his half-brother Jizabel since the latter's disappearance at the end of the first instalment of *Count Cain*.[49] Cain and Jizabel have a complicated relationship characterised by a contradictory mixture of sibling rivalry, jealousy, and love, which is eventually resolved at the end of the series when Jizabel sacrifices his life for Cain. By attaching the

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[49] *Count Cain* first began as a series of episodic short stories from 1991-1994, and was put on hiatus until Yuki Kaori revived it under the title *Godchild* in 2001.

flowing affect generated in Fig. 9 to the larger story of Cain and Jizabel's fraternal relationship, the text implicitly persuades the reader to identify with the value that it places on family.

"Family" in *Count Cain*, however, is not restricted to blood and kinship relations. Cain is supported in his struggle against Augusta by a motley crew of characters, including his butler Riff, his adopted sister Merriweather, his friend and Merriweather's future husband Oscar, and his uncle Neil. These characters are united by strong ties of affection that transcend blood and kinship. In stimulating the reader's emotions through its aesthetics of the "flow," the text not only persuades the reader to identify with its valorising of the familial relations between the main characters, but also includes the reader in these relations. In this way, the text creates a community of characters and readers unified by strong emotional ties, and it presents this community as a countervailing opposition to the self-centredness of Augusta.

The text performs this inclusion of the reader in many of its affective scenes. Fig. 12 is taken from an episode where Delilah sends one of its assassins, a girl called Mikayla, to harass Cain. Mikayla is a clone created out of the DNA of one of Cain's cousins. When Mikayla proves to be no longer useful, the organisation decides to kill her. She is rescued by Cain but her artificially created body has reached its maximum lifespan and begins to rapidly degenerate. As she lays on her deathbed, Cain's sister Merriweather tells her that Cain would not have saved her if he had truly hated her (as she believes). Upon hearing this, Mikayla smiles with tears in her eyes, and instantaneously disintegrates into a cloud of dust.

Fig. 12: Mikayla dies after hearing that Cain cares for her. (*Count Cain: Godchild*, Vol. 7, p. 183)

The curving arc of Mikayla's falling nightdress frames Merriweather in the centre-right of the lower panel, and this focuses the reader's gaze on Merriweather's stunned expression. This encourages the reader to share Merriweather's shock at Mikayla's untimely death at the very moment in which she is accepted as part of Cain's family in an emotional rather than purely biological sense. However, the "flowing" elements in the *mise en scène* simultaneously direct the reader's affective identification

towards Mikayla, and evoke a sense of rapture as the material solidity of Mikayla's body vanishes into ephemeral dust. The folds and ruffles of Mikayla's empty nightdress curve gently upwards in the air, while the ribbons flutter and twirl in ornate patterns. The dust of Mikayla's body, which the text depicts as a soft mist, floats upwards into the air with the folds and ribbons of the nightdress. This upward flowing movement creates an uplifting affect that carries the reader's emotions, together with Mikayla's remains, into what feels like a transcendental realm of familial love.

The motif of flowing mist reappears in one of the final scenes of the manga series, where Riff dies with his arms around Cain. Riff, like Mikayla, is a clone whose body has reached its limit, and the bones of his arms in Fig. 13 are covered with the same misty dust as that in Fig. 12.

Fig. 13: Riff dies protecting Cain. (*Count Cain Series: Godchild*, Vol. 8, pp. 202-203)

The grey mist floats from Riff's arms in the central panel into the background of the two flanking panels. A panel, according to McCloud in *Understanding Comics*, acts as an indicator that time and/or space is being divided (99). In Fig. 13, the grey mist flows across the divisions of the panels, and fills the entire space of the two pages. The mist thereby evokes a sense of infinite time and space, suffused with the intense affect of Riff's love for Cain. This surfeit of affect seems to envelop the reader, encouraging him/her to immerse him/ herself in this "ocean" of familial feeling.

In constructing this affective community or "family" of characters and readers, *Count Cain* functions as a "happy object." Sara Ahmed argues in *The Promise of Happiness* that society defines certain things or forms of behaviour as "happy objects" that promise the individual happiness, and which should therefore be pursued as social goods (21, 29-30). The "happy family," for Ahmed, is one such happy object (45-48). *Count Cain* constructs the happy family as a happy object for both the characters within the narrative, and the reader outside it. In *Count Cain*, the harmony of the happy family is a corrective to the social disorder that the text implies has been caused by women's consumption of commodities. Moreover, the manga itself functions as a happy object around which a happy family gathers. The text gives happiness by enabling the reader to imagine that s/he is part

of an intimate community. Because it creates an immersive and emotional experience of reading that, to some extent, transcends the subject-positions of individual readers, *Count Cain* (and other similarly affective works of *shōjo* manga) is able to unite readers from different geographical and cultural contexts in a shared affective experience. Readers' imaginative participation in the happy family represented in the text thus becomes the basis for constructing a happy family of readers brought together by the collective consumption of the same text. Fan webpages and online forums are manifestations of such reader-families (Fig. 14).

Fig. 14: A Facebook fan page for Yuki Kaori, the author of *Count Cain*. The "About" section states that the page "gathers Kaori Yuki's fans from all over the world."

Count Cain's interest in the idea of the happy family as a response to the social disorder engendered by industrial capitalism parallels that of Charles Dickens' industrial novel *Hard Times* (1854). As discussed earlier, *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* articulate anxieties about vampiric consumption and monstrous women consumers, which are also expressed in Victorian Gothic fiction, public debates on the *moga* in Japan in the 1920s, and Japanese mass media reports on the Hanako syndrome in the 1980s and 1990s. The resonances between *Count Cain* and *Hard Times* suggest that the responses to these anxieties too are similar in nineteenth-century Britain, and in Japan in the early twentieth century, and in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

Hard Times revolves around two vastly different families. Mr Gradgrind brings up his children on the principles of empirical science, logic, and rationalisation. Referencing Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations*, he also teaches them the "first principle of [the] science" of (capitalist) political economy (73), namely, that "[w]hat you must always appeal to, is a person's self-interest" (383). These rational principles, the novel reveals, are the same principles that govern factory production in the fictional industrial city of Coketown in which the narrative is set. Mr Gradgrind eventually realises that these rational principles, which are the products of the industrial capitalist system and the means of that system's reproduction, have ruined his children's lives. The novel

contrasts the unhappy Gradgrind family with Mr Sleary's circus troupe. The troupe, like Cain's motley crew of allies in *Count Cain*, is united primarily by emotional ties of affection, rather than by blood and kinship relations:

> The basket packed in silence, they brought [Sissy's] bonnet to her, and smoothed her disordered hair, and put it on. Then they pressed about her, and bent over her in very natural attitudes, kissing and embracing her; and brought the children to take leave of her; and were a tender-hearted, simple, foolish set of women altogether. (52)

Like *Count Cain*, *Hard Times* rejects the idea that (Western) rationality is fully adequate to ensuring social stability, and presents the happy family as a happy object, which, when attained, would benefit society.

Japanese intellectuals in the 1930s and early 1940s similarly thought of the happy family as a social good, but they did so in the broader terms of the organic community. *Count Cain*'s evocation of an affective community of characters and readers much larger than that of the family in *Hard Times* echoes the themes and tropes of wartime Japanese communitarianism. Communitarian discourses, Harry Harootunian argues, emerged in Japan in reaction to anxieties about the *moga* and other social changes generated by industrialisation and the creation of a mass consumer culture in the 1920s (Harootunian 294). Both the manga and the communitarian discourses of the 1930s and early 1940s do not seek to achieve the "overcoming of modernity" (*kindai no chōkoku*) by turning to the rational restitution of social boundaries, as Conan Doyle's "The Man with the Twisted Lip" does.[50] Although they do not completely reject Western empirical science, logic, and the principle of rationalisation, they affirm the importance of building an organic community unified by intense emotional ties, which, to a partial extent, manage to "overcome" social boundaries. They challenge the idealisation of Western rationality that had begun in the days of "civilisation and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*) and

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[50] "Overcoming Modernity" ("Kindai no chōkoku") was the title of a symposium convened in July 1942 to discuss the world-historical meaning of Japan's recent history of capitalist modernisation and its participation in the Second World War. Intellectuals from the Literary Society (Bungakkai), the Kyoto School of Philosophy, and the Japan Romantic Group (Nihon Romanha) attended this symposium (Harootunian 34).

imply that rationality is ultimately inadequate as a symbolic solution to the "mysteries" of capitalist modernity.

Japanese intellectuals in the 1930s and early 1940s thought that the commodification of everyday life in Japan was radically destabilising social roles and increasing social alienation, and they sought to restore order via a return to an original and authentic Japanese "communal body" (*kyōdōtai*) (Harootunian 294). Neo-nativist ethnologists such as Yanagita Kunio and Orikuchi Shinobu, and social theorists such as Takada Yasuma drew on Ferdinand Tonnies' distinction between *gesellschaft* and *gemeinschaft* to propose a primordial Japanese racial community based on blood ties and ancient folk customs (Harootunian 304, 406, 411). Like *Count Cain*, these discourses on the organic community championed the trope of the happy family to oppose the perceived menace of Western individualism. The *Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan* [*Kokutai no hongi*], a government-backed treatise on the foundational tenets of the Japanese nation published in 1937, declares that "[o]ur country is a great family nation, and the Imperial Household is the head family of the subjects" (89-90). The relationship between sovereign and subject, the text asserts, is "bound with sympathies similar to those between father and child" (90). As a result of this deep familial relationship, "differences of opinion or of interests that result from one's position easily [merge] into one through our unique great harmony which springs from the same source" (98).

It is important to note here that this concept of a familial community, especially when applied to the creation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, did not entirely reject Western science, logic, and the principle of rationalisation. The Co-Prosperity Sphere was premised on the idea that each nation should have its "proper place" and specific economic responsibilities in a regional economic system with Japan as the industrial centre (Dower 264, 287-89). In other words, the familial community envisioned by Japanese intellectuals and the militarist state in the 1930s and early 1940s dissolved social divisions in a purely emotional rather than practical sense. The *Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan* captures this paradox succinctly when it proclaims that "[i]t is when this harmonious spirit [of familial bonding] of our nation is spread abroad throughout the world and

every race and State, with due attention to its appointed duties, gives full play to its own characteristics, that true world peace and its progress and prosperity are realised" (100). Nonetheless, there was no "proper place" for individualism in this simultaneously affective and rational system of socio-economic relations.

Count Cain, with its incorporation of the reader into an affective community of familial love, similarly rejects individualism and privileges the idea of the affective collective. However, the manga departs in significant ways from early twentieth-century Japanese discourses on the communal body. The happy family of readers that *Count Cain* and other similarly affective *shōjo* manga texts create is not based on race, folk traditions, or feelings of filial piety towards the Emperor as the patriarch of the Japanese nation. It is ironically based on the consumption of commodities, which the Japanese militarist state in the 1930s and early 1940s disapproved of (see also Chapter Two).

In echoing the concerns of 1930s and 1940s Japanese communitarianism in the 1990s and 2000s, *Count Cain* participates in a longstanding dialectic in Japan between idealising Western rationality and (partially) disavowing it in favour of the affective community. The text also updates this dialectic to square its championing of the affective community with commodity consumption, which has vastly increased since Ranpo's detective fiction and Japanese communitarian discourses began expressing anxieties about the rise of a mass consumer culture in the 1920s. The creation of an affective community based on consuming commodities such as *shōjo* manga certainly supports the Japanese state's current attempts to build Japanese economic power by exporting popular culture products. It also resonates disturbingly with imperialist imaginings in the 1930s and early 1940s of an East Asian "cooperative body" (*kyōdōtai*) unified by a common culture created and disseminated by Japan. Chapter Three discusses these issues.

The creation of a transnational readership of *shōjo* manga, however, also opens up the possibility of inspiring transnational political alliances built on the shared affective experience of familial belonging. David Palumbo-Liu recognises this potential in affective forms of contemporary

literature. In *The Deliverance of Others*, Palumbo-Liu argues that global capitalism produces and mobilises "oceanic feeling" to incorporate otherness into a homogenous set of human behaviours (137-138). Through this manipulation of oceanic affect, global capitalism creates global markets for its commodities. Palumbo-Liu is deeply sceptical about this commercially-driven use of affect. Nonetheless, he asserts that contemporary literature does suggest ways of subverting the affect produced in global media to reveal the social realities of marginalised groups in global capitalism (170). For Palumbo-Liu, contemporary novels such as Ruth Ozeki's *My Year of Meats* suggest that affect can be harnessed to inspire collective ethical action when it is employed to de-familiarise the reader's perspective, and to encourage him/her to engage with the lives of others without neutralising or exaggerating their differences (173-174).

   Count Cain takes a different approach to the politics of affect. Instead of presenting affective representations of others that prompt the reader to negotiate between identifying with and distancing him/herself from these others, the manga creates an affective community of readers out of the shared affective experience of reading. Like the affective power of global media in *My Year of Meats*, the oceanic affective experience of consuming *shōjo* manga can be appropriated to encourage feelings of human intimacy, which can in turn inspire collective political action in the service of chosen causes. *Shōjo* manga might even be part of what Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri envision as "the multitude against Empire." The multitude, according to Hardt and Negri, is produced out of a "postmodern" form of global capitalism in which communicating knowledge, information, and *affect* plays a central role (285, 394). Hardt and Negri argue that the multitude should appropriate these processes of communication to produce new social relations that will support a new mode of production, which will be based on cooperation rather than on private property (405-406, 410). Despite demonising the female consumer like its Victorian Gothic and 1920s Japanese precursors, *Count Cain* and other similarly affective *shōjo* manga communicate affect and construct affective communities through consumption, and it is ultimately through consumption that the manga can contribute to the multitude's subversion of global capitalism from within.

The next chapter turns from examining *shōjo* manga as a transnational (or even global) commodity, to examining the "serious" literary novels produced and exported worldwide by the British-based publishing industry. While neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga gesture towards a Japanese cultural and economic empire based on the global export of popular culture, the neo-Victorian adventure novel *Jamrach's Menagerie* points to the ways in which the British-based publishing industry exploits imperial patterns of trade established in the nineteenth century to build a new British Empire. In contrast to its Japanese counterpart, this British cultural and economic empire is centred on the export of "serious" literary fiction and other high cultural goods.

Chapter Two

Artists and Adventure Heroes: Rewriting Masculinity

In *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*, Martin Green argues that "the adventure tales that formed the light reading of Englishmen for two hundred years and more after *Robinson Crusoe* were, in fact, the energising myth of English imperialism," which "charged England's will with the energy to go out into the world and explore, conquer and rule" (3). Elaine Showalter makes a similar assertion about late nineteenth-century "English" adventure fiction for boys. For Showalter, "boys' fiction was the primer of empire" that sustained British (not English) imperialism (80). Adventure fiction was "important training" that enabled "[l]ittle boys who read" to "become big boys who rule" (Showalter 80).

Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British adventure narratives for boys, such as Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1857), Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883), and Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), often presented their male protagonists as heroes for their young (and sometimes adult) male readers to emulate. In doing so, these narratives inculcated attributes, such as martial valour, resourcefulness, and the ability to navigate unfamiliar terrain, that would enable their readers to do the work of empire-building with both skill and enthusiasm. In other words, these narratives constructed models of masculinity that encouraged the implied male reader to adopt specific forms of behaviour deemed appropriate to him "as a man," and which helped expand and maintain the British Empire. *King Solomon's Mines*, for example, glorifies Sir Henry Curtis' bloody feats on the battlefield, thereby encouraging the male reader to aspire to the same "gallant[ry]" and "great[ness]" (141) in his own imperialist endeavours in Africa and elsewhere in the British Empire.

Carol Birch's neo-Victorian novel *Jamrach's Menagerie* (2011) situates itself in the tradition of *King Solomon's Mines* and other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British boys' adventure fiction. However, it presents a different model of imperial masculinity adapted for the twenty-first century. Jaffy Brown, the male narrator and hero of *Jamrach's Menagerie*, is a proto-Modernist artist.

In rewriting the adventure genre as a Künstlerroman narrative of a young man's development into an artist, *Jamrach's Menagerie* celebrates and reaffirms the Western artist's privileged ability to appropriate non-Western cultures as inspiration for producing art. *Jamrach's Menagerie*, itself the product of such cultural appropriation, also participates in a process whereby the British-based publishing industry and literary critical establishment define global standards for evaluating literature, through the awarding of literary prizes. Being nominated for and/or winning these prizes often drives up an author's books sales, both domestically and in the global English-language book market dominated by publishers based in Britain and the United States. Taking its cue from *Jamrach's Menagerie*'s emphasis on artistic creation and its evocations of world trade in the nineteenth century, this chapter reads Birch's novel in relation to the British-based publishing industry's continuing domination in the global export of literature in the twenty-first century. Literary publishing, this chapter demonstrates, plays a significant part in establishing a new British Empire that specialises in exporting high culture to its former colonies and beyond.

Like *Jamrach's Menagerie*, *Kuroshitsuji* articulates an ideal of artistic masculinity. The butler Sebastian and several other good-looking young male characters in the manga represent a model of masculinity that approves of Japanese men obsessing over their appearances, following fashion, and otherwise engaging in the activity of beautifying themselves. These male characters, the manga implies, are artists who create their selves as works of art through the consumption of commodities, especially fashion, in the same way that dandies and male Aesthetes did in Britain and France in the nineteenth century. In idealising a twenty-first century version of the dandy and the Aesthete, *Kuroshitsuji* celebrates the power and freedom of Japanese male consumers to fashion their individual selves by consuming commodities creatively. The manga thereby challenges the post-World War Two hegemonic ideal of the salaryman (*sarariiman*), and its emphasis on selfless devotion to productive labour. This displacement of the salaryman with the supposed agency of the male

consumer occurs in the context of the collapse of the bubble economy in Japan in 1990.[51] While the salaryman model of masculinity served the needs of the postwar Japanese "economic miracle," this new consumption-oriented dandy masculinity is very much a product of corporate restructuring, the rise of the creative class, and the emergence of a flexible labour economy in Japan in the 1990s and 2000s.

Kuroshitsuji's promotion of dandy masculinity is part of a wider phenomenon of new Japanese masculinities emphasising creativity and individualism, which have recently emerged in response to the spread of "creative economy" discourse in Japan in the 1990s and 2000s. Chapter Three extends this discussion by looking at how the Japanese state has been encouraging the Japanese cultural industries since the early 2000s to export more television idol dramas, J-pop music, manga, anime, video games, and character merchandise to overseas markets. The creativity and individualism of the post-bubble dandy masculinity championed in *Kuroshitsuji* goes hand in hand with this policy of exporting Japanese popular culture to secure economic and cultural power for Japan after the "lost decade" of economic decline.

Lastly, this chapter links this post-bubble dandy masculinity to the history of masculinities in Britain and Japan from the nineteenth century to the end of the Asia-Pacific War. In the second half of the nineteenth century, forms of male behaviour constructed and contested in Victorian Britain travelled to Japan, where they were reconstructed and contested by Japanese men in similar ways. These competing masculinities that have appeared in Japan, like the conflicted attitudes towards Western rationality discussed in the previous chapter, make up a repeating pattern of emulating the West and asserting Japaneseness, this time played out in the struggle over defining how Japanese men should behave. As such, the increased interest in the "creative economy" and "creative" masculinities

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[51] From 1985 to 1990, the Japanese economy experienced exponential growth as a result of speculation in financial and property markets. In January 1990, the Bank of Japan suddenly increased interest rates, and this led to a fall in stock market and property prices. This in turn led to the freezing of credit, bankruptcies, and toxic loans in banks, which brought about a state of general economic paralysis (Tiberghien 38).

in post-bubble Japan is not entirely new, and can be traced back to transnational flows of ideas about gender in the nineteenth century.

Jamrach's Menagerie: The Adventure Hero as Modernist Artist

As a neo-Victorian adventure novel, *Jamrach's Menagerie* situates itself in the tradition of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British boys' adventure stories while breaking away from this tradition in portraying its central male character. The novel reproduces many of the familiar tropes of this tradition: a boy protagonist who is born to be a sailor; big-game hunting; tropical islands; exotic savages; and shipwrecks. Jaffy, the hero of the novel, sails to the East Indies on an expedition to capture a quasi-mythological "dragon," which is rumoured to live on certain uninhabited islands in the Malay Archipelago. The "dragon" in question is actually the Komodo dragon, a type of lizard that is very large, carnivorous, and capable of attacking human beings. Jaffy undergoes a series of trials, which include the hunt for the dragon, the dragon's subsequent escape on board the ship, shipwreck, and starvation on the seas. He eventually overcomes all obstacles to return to Britain to marry his childhood sweetheart. Although the novel replicates the conventional narrative patterns and motifs of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British adventure fiction for boys, its hero embodies a form of masculinity that aligns him more closely with the artist figures of Modernism than with popular action-adventure heroes such as Jim Hawkins, Allan Quatermain, and more recently, Indiana Jones.

Jaffy's relationship with animals is symptomatic of an imperial relationship between the white Western artist and non-Western places. Jaffy works as an animal-keeper for a man named Jamrach, who runs a business in London supplying zoos and collectors with exotic wild animals from far-flung places. Later in the narrative, Jaffy is assigned the task of caring for the dragon that his colleagues have caught. Although the novel distances the gentle-mannered Jaffy from his more aggressive hunting colleagues, and even likens his nurturing of the dragon to that of "a mother with a sick child" (169), he is nonetheless complicit in the exploitation of animals in the global wildlife trade. He ultimately serves the interests of Western traders like Jamrach who plunder the ecosystems of foreign

lands for profit, and who provide specimens for display, entertainment, and the production of zoological knowledge in Europe and North America.

In fact, the character of Jamrach is loosely based on the nineteenth-century London-based wildlife dealers Charles and William Jamrach and is also probably inspired by the Jamrachs' contemporary Carl Hagenbeck, whose company in Hamburg was the world leader in the global trade in exotic animals. *Jamrach's Menagerie*'s Jamrach thus links the novel's seemingly innocent story about a boy's adventure to the history of the animal trade. With the founding of the Museum National's menagerie in Paris in 1793, and the creation of the London Zoo in 1828, a large number of zoos opened primarily in Europe and North America in the nineteenth century to cater to increasing public interest in the scientific rationalisation of the natural world (Hoage et al 15-16; Mullan and Marvin 107-08). (This corresponded to the scientific rationalisation of human beings in detective fiction, as we saw in Chapter One.) This rapid expansion of zoos spurred the development of a global trade in live wild animals, and gave rise to specialist suppliers like Hagenbeck and the Jamrachs (Mullan and Marvin 137).[52]

In *Jamrach's Menagerie*, this appropriation of exotic wild animals parallels the appropriation of exotic symbolic images from non-Western places. These places are figured in the symbolic geography of the novel as the homogenous time-space of "the East." The dragon in the novel is both an animal and a synecdoche of this mysterious and supernatural land of the East. Upon "turn[ing] East" (119), Jaffy and his shipmates sail into "dragon time," where "[t]ime go[es] funny" (179). They enter a strange land of "dragonish" volcanic islands, which Jaffy speculates might be populated by a "[d]ragonish people" (139). This conflation of the dragon with the East implies that Jaffy, in establishing a form of mastery over the dragon, establishes a similar relation of control over non-Western places, peoples, and cultures.

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[52] For more information on the relationship between zoos and the animal trade in the nineteenth century, see also Nigel Rothfel's history of Hagenbeck's company, *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo*. According to Rothfels, by the 1870s, practically every major zoo, circus, and private collector anywhere in the world bought animals from Hagenbeck (9).

Jaffy sees non-Western places as rich sources not only of animals, but also of artistic raw material or "inspiration" that he draws on to construct his own selfhood as an artist. In the process, he distorts the non-Western places he visits into an Orientalist fantasy of a supernatural, enigmatic, and "dragonish" no-man's land, which passively awaits exploration and appropriation by the white Western male artist. This is a form of cultural imperialism that involves representing the landscape, objects, ideas, practices, and other things that make up the life-world of a faraway place as valuable and even superior to one's own life-world, so as to use these things as symbolic resources for one's artistic creation while denying the people of the foreign life-world the ability to represent their own world. Edward Said asserts that British and French imperialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was textual as well as material, because the practical execution of conquest and rule was inextricably intertwined with the production of knowledge about the East. In producing knowledge about the East, British and French Orientalist scholars imposed their interpretations onto foreign lands, peoples, and cultures, and this textual dimension of imperialism both produced, and was produced by, the material practices of imperialism (Said, *Orientalism* 17-18, 41). As Elleke Boehmer puts it, "colonial expeditions, inspired by reading, became themselves exercises in reading, or interpretational" (15).

Jamrach's Menagerie allegorises this textual aspect of Western imperialism, and points in particular to the textual colonisation of non-Western life-worlds in the production of Western art. The fact that the novel is set in the nineteenth century and written in the twenty-first encourages us to think about how this textual colonisation persists even after official decolonisation. Jaffy creates art, including his own identity as an artist, by colonising the symbolic resources of non-Western places and cultures. After surviving the shipwreck and starvation on the seas, Jaffy returns to Britain and gradually fashions a new sense of self out of his experiences in and of the East. He appropriates fragments of his encounters with the East with which he feels a particular sense of identification, and sublimates these fragments into a new calling as an artist/artisan who designs and builds "humane" homes for birds and small animals.

For example, at a village on the island of Sumba, Jaffy sees "birds everywhere, bright green flocks that shifted like turning wings against the deep blue sky" (138), and the sight convinces him that "[b]irds should be free" (138). At the end of the novel, Jaffy sublimates this fragment of his Eastern experiences into a compromise. He continues to keep birds in captivity but creates "nice houses" for them that are "unlike Jamrach's cages [which] were prisons" (335). In making these "humane" cages, Jaffy draws inspiration from the myriad bird cages that he saw during his travels in the East, and also from the "man with a milky eye [who] made bamboo cages for birds, domed on top and gorgeously painted" (169), whom he met on the island of Flores.

In an allusion to Hagenbeck's Animal Park (established in 1907), which was the first zoo to do away with cages and to organise enclosures on ecological principles, Jaffy also takes his experience of "the wild" (139) and channels it into the construction of a "wilderness" (336). Like the "humane" bird cages, Jaffy's "wilderness" simulates nature but is ultimately an artificial environment for domesticating animals. By appropriating and transforming these and other fragments of his experiences in and of the East, Jaffy crafts a new identity as an artist and regains a sense of direction in his life. In doing so, he domesticates the "wild" nature of the East, and turns it into a source of symbolic raw materials for his own purposes of artistic creation.

At the end of the novel, Jaffy reflects on the aesthetic process of crafting his Künstlerroman narrative (the novel itself) of his development as an artist in and through the figure of the East. He likens his tale of adventure and self-realisation to "a tangle of wool" (the proverbial seafaring yarn) that is full of "turnings and twistings" (331). He also describes his narrative as "broth" with "all sorts thrown in and floating, the things that don't fit, lost things, offshoots," jumbled together in the "waves of time and impression" (331). The image that Jaffy creates of his own narrative is one of chaos and flux. He claims that he will not order his disjointed experiences into a tidy narrative – the "tangle of wool . . . needs sorting out and winding into a ball, but I ain't doing it" (331) – but this is precisely what he does when he constructs a coherent new identity as an artist, and when he describes that construction in an artistic process of story-telling.

This process of putting disorderly fragments into a coherent whole echoes the aesthetic practices of Modernism, especially the practice of montage. Modernism, for the purposes of this chapter, refers to the avant-garde literary and artistic movements that emerged mainly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to propose "new" aesthetic strategies to represent the "new" conditions of everyday life. Jaffy's artistic appropriation and exploitation of non-Western places is linked to the ways in which Modernist artists from Western Europe such as Manet, Gauguin, and van Gogh spoke on behalf of non-Western peoples and cultures, exoticising and idealising them while using them as mute source material for art. *Jamrach's Menagerie* celebrates and perpetuates this privileged position of the white Western artist in the twenty-first century. Moreover, as a novel written by a female author, *Jamrach's Menagerie* suggests that the artist model of imperial masculinity that Jaffy embodies is now no longer restricted to men. Carol Birch occupies the same position vis-à-vis the non-Western peoples, places, and cultures that she describes in her novel as Jaffy does to the dragon and the East.

The novel's adoption of the aesthetic strategies and concerns of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Modernism also helps us to see how Modernism now functions as a benchmark for defining what counts as art and literature. It helps us think about how publishing houses based in Britain, one of the major centres of global English-language publishing, produce works that both define and meet such benchmarks. It prompts us to consider how such benchmarking facilitates the export of "serious" literary fiction to global audiences. As a product of the literary publishing industry centred on Britain, *Jamrach's Menagerie* points to and participates in the industry's global dominance in the twenty-first century, while alluding to the roots of that dominance in British imperialism in the nineteenth century.

Although *Jamrach's Menagerie* situates itself in the tradition of British boys' adventure stories aimed at a popular audience, it references stylistic forms, themes, and texts commonly associated with elitist Modernism. This impulse to distance Jaffy's adventure story from the supposed naivete of "light reading" and to align it with the "difficulty" of Modernist art signals the extent to

which Modernism has become a benchmark of literariness. *Jamrach's Mengaerie* gestures towards Modernist Künstlerroman narratives such as James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) and Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* (1927) in emphasising Jaffy's development from a young boy into an artist. It uses "stream of consciousness" techniques to represent Jaffy's interior discourse, especially when Jaffy is stranded at sea with nothing to eat:

> Blood. Taste. That's a good thing to do. Better than leather. A tiny filling. If I pull at the raw bits in this elbow crack, I can make it bleed, and the hurt's nothing. But that's hard to get to. If this one here at the back of my wrist gets bigger. I don't care about the salt and sting and lurch of fear, all I want is food, there never was anything else, nothing else at all. (251)

Most crucially, Jaffy's self-actualisation as an artist mirrors the characteristically Modernist art of montage or collage. Following the trauma of the First World War, many artists, including the German artist Kurt Schwitters, devised a new aesthetic practice based on transforming objects extracted from the "rubbish heaps" of everyday life (Schwitters, qtd. in Orchard 59):

> The artist creates his work by selecting, distributing and disforming materials. The disformulation of materials can already occur in their distribution on the picture plane. It is reinforced by dissection, bending, overlaying and overpainting. In Merz art the lid of a box, a playing card, a newspaper cutting become planes; twine, brushstrokes or pencil marks become lines; wire mesh, overpainting or glued down sandwich papers become a glaze; cotton wool becomes softness. (Schwitters, qtd. in Orchard 60)

Fig. 15: Kurt Schwitters, *Merzbild 32A. Das Kirschbild (The Cherry Picture)*, 1921. Assemblage. 91.8 x 70.5 cm

Like Schwitters' Modernist artist, Jaffy does not create his selfhood *ex nihilo* but rather by appropriating existing fragments from their social contexts, divesting them of their meanings, and inscribing them with new significance. Through this Modernist practice of montage, Jaffy, like the artist persona of T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922), "shore[s]" the "fragments" of his Eastern experiences "against [his] ruins" in the chaotic flux of his life (*Waste Land* line 430).

The narrative prefigures this act of self-creation through montage in an earlier scene where Jaffy encounters Jamrach's tiger. Jaffy momentarily loses a stable sense of who he is when the tiger takes him into its mouth. He feels as if he were "sinking underwater" in a "world [that has] turned upside down and [is going] by [him] in a bright stream" (10). Jaffy is rescued from this symbolic dissolution of the self by Jamrach – hence he begins his narrative with the declaration that "[he] was born twice" (3) – and he describes what he sees around him in his disoriented state:

> The crowd was like daubed faces on a board, daubed faces with smudged bodies, bright stabs of colour here and there, scarlet, green, royal purple. It heaved gently like a sea and my eyes could not take it in, it blurred wildly as if blocked by tears – though my eyes were dry – blurred and shivered and whirled itself around with a heaving burst of sound . . . . (11)

Jaffy's language is strikingly visual and painterly. He describes the crowd as if it were a painting, composed of "daub[s]" of paint and "stabs of colour" "on a board" (11). In particular, he describes the crowd as if it were an Impressionist depiction of urban life, characterised by short and quick brushstrokes, schematic depiction, pure colours and kinetic textures (Fig. 16).

Fig. 16: Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Place Clichy*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 65 x 54 cm

In the painting above, Pierre-Auguste Renoir has painted micro-fragments of representation that cohere on a macro level to form a picture of his affective experience ("impression") of the material reality around him. In a similar way, Jaffy pieces together fragments of his experiences in and of the East into a montage that makes up his new identity as an artist.

There are other moments in Jaffy's narrative that recall paintings by Paul Gauguin and Vincent van Gogh, two Modernist artists in the late nineteenth century who, like Jaffy, appropriated symbolic resources from non-Western places to create their art. Gauguin and van Gogh identified with non-Western places and cultures as an idealised Other, and sought to draw inspiration from this Other to create radically new forms of art for Western audiences. In an early scene in *Jamrach's*

Menagerie set in the Azores in the North Atlantic, Jaffy describes the tavern he visits in a style evocative of a Gauguin painting (Fig. 17).[53]

Fig. 17: Paul Gauguin, *Women of Tahiti* or *On the Beach*, 1891. Oil on canvas, 69 x 91.5 cm

The colours of the tavern scene are rich, bright and stark, the mood is warm and convivial, and the native women are sensual and exotic:

> The narrow lanes were fragrant with flowers. The walls of the houses were patterned, coloured. To a tavern – or was it a house? – I'll never know. A golden light spilled through a door. . . . Blossom billowed down the walls, hung over the narrow street, purple and white. We came to a room full of good will, the walls full of saints, the tables of men who laughed, and women far finer than the whores of Ratcliffe Highway. These women – these dark foreign women. Their black eyebrows, their brown skin, their complicated way of moving. . . . I looked around for [Tim], but the room span, lovely, colours, the fire, the red bandanna, the blue cloaks. (96-98)

In a later scene when Jaffy awakens on the deck of the ship and sees the stars above him, he describes them in a language that brings to mind the overwhelming cosmic magnitude of van Gogh's *Starry Night over the Rhone* (Fig. 18): "Sometimes it felt as if the stars out there, far from all land, were screaming. Hundreds of miles blaring at your head. So beautiful, that night, waking in the sky with the screaming stars all round my head." (187-88)

Fig. 18: Vincent van Gogh, *Starry Night over the Rhone*, 1888. Oil on canvas, 72.5 x 92 cm

Jamrach's Menagerie's allusions to the Impressionism of Renoir and the Primitivism of Gauguin and van Gogh are significant. These Modernist artists reacted against what they perceived as the worn-out academicism of Western art by looking up to non-Western places and cultures, and

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[53] Gauguin, however, set most of his paintings in Tahiti in the Pacific.

actively seeking to learn from their aesthetic modes of representation. For example, French Impressionist painters including Renoir, Edouard Manet, Claude Monet, and the American expatriate James Abott McNeil Whistler were very attracted to Japanese *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints. They saw *ukiyo-e* as a unique tradition, which could provide new ways of seeing that would rejuvenate the moribund arts of Europe and North America (Napier, *From Impressionism to Anime* 35-38).

Manet's portrait of Emile Zola, for example, shows the writer sitting at his desk, with an *ukiyo-e* print of a Kabuki actor pasted on the wall behind him, and a Japanese painted screen on his left (Fig. 19).

Fig. 19: Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Emile Zola*, 1868. Oil on canvas, 146.5 x 114 cm

Manet's painting pays homage to Japanese crafts for introducing new ideas on perspective, composition, and subject matter to the Impressionist artists in France, enabling them to break away from the tired conventions of French Academy art in the 1870s and 1880s. Intriguingly, the painting was done in 1868, the same year as the Meiji Restoration, which marked the beginning of Japan's intensive learning from Europe and the US. It is possible to see the idealised image of Victorian Britain in Japanese neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga as an appropriation of symbolic resources in reverse, or in other words, as a form of Occidentalism. Although *shōjo* manga's representations of Victorian Britain do contain elements of Occidentalism, they also (re)produce cultural and economic hierarchies of power that position Japan as eternally struggling to "catch up" with Britain, and more broadly speaking, Europe. As subsequent chapters will show, these representations, unlike Manet's portrait of Zola posing authoritatively with his Japanese curios around him, do not grant the Japanese *shōjo* manga artist the privileged ability to selectively appropriate and transform Victorian British culture into his/her own unique work of art.

Like Manet and the French Impressionists, Gauguin and van Gogh turned to non-Western places and cultures for symbolic raw materials that would enable them to produce new forms of Western art. They asserted that the Western world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century

was not only artistically but also spiritually bankrupt, and they idealised and exoticised non-Western places as an alternative to Western decadence. Gauguin saw in Tahiti a "primitive idyll, free from vice and baseness of all kinds, in contrast to the money-grubbing rancour he associated with Europe" (Thomson 133). Van Gogh similarly (mis)perceived Japan as a natural and communal paradise where artists "work[ed] together in supportive groups . . . while appreciating the natural world" (Napier, *From Impressionism to Anime* 45). The figure of Jaffy, as an adventure-hero-turned-Modernist-artist, reaffirms this power of the Modernist artist in the West to appropriate non-Western life-worlds as symbolic resources for artistic production, while reducing the social realities of these life-worlds to Orientalist fantasies of exotic crafts and primitive purity.

Jamrach's Menagerie: The Greenwich Meridian of Literature and the British (Book-Publishing) Empire

Jamrach's Menagerie's adoption of the Künstlerroman themes and fragmentation aesthetics of Modernism also helps us to see how the publishing industry and the literary critical establishment based in Britain have set up Modernist tropes and aesthetic strategies as a benchmark for judging a text's literariness. *Jamrach's Menagerie* was nominated for the Booker Prize, the Orange Prize for Fiction, and the London Book Award, and this fact is blatantly advertised on the cover of the book and on the publisher's webpage. The novel's nomination for these accolades suggests that Modernist themes and aesthetics now function as a global benchmark for deciding what gets called literature and what does not.

Beginning with the Booker Prize, literary prizes in Britain since the 1980s have become a major force that influences notions of literary value (Todd 95; Head 55-56; Squires, *Marketing Literature* 97). Although Dominic Head argues that critics have overestimated the Booker's influence in assuming that writers now set out to write generic prize-winning novels, he recognises that the Booker is more overt in "focusing . . . artistic innovation" on certain styles of writing than earlier forms of literary influence, which were more dissipated and harder to track (55-57, 64-71). In other

words, literary prizes in Britain play a significant role in determining what Pascale Casanova calls the "Greenwich Meridian of literature," a universally-accepted standard of literary value (Casanova 88). Literary prizes, Casanova asserts, recognise and reward a work's conformity to the Greenwich Meridian, and make this recognition known to the general public (146-47).

The nomination of *Jamrach's Menagerie* for three prestigious transnational literary awards both registers and reaffirms Modernism's centrality as the Greenwich Meridian of literature. In his study of transnational canonisation practices, Mads Rosendahl Thomsen notes that literary critics and readers around the world perceive the 1920s and the years immediately around that decade as having produced artists who are apparently "artistically purer, more radical and more talented than anyone following them" (50). As a result of this perception, Thomsen argues, critics and readers worldwide think of the Modernist works that these avant-garde artists have produced as defining a "new standard of writing" that "still defines the literary field and the idea of the potential of literature," and to which we still return (49-51). As a literary prize contender that aligns itself with the aesthetic strategies and concerns of Modernism, while distancing itself from the perceived unsophistication of popular adventure fiction, *Jamrach's Menagerie* reinforces this canonisation of Modernism as a global standard. It also reinforces the authority of literary prizes administered from Britain, and especially London, to effect this canonisation.

It is important to note here that the standards of literariness established by the authority of literary prizes do not always go unchallenged. The Booker Prize has a history of inciting public debate over differing standards of literary value (English, "Literary Prize Phenomenon" 170-71; Head 57). Nonetheless, as James English argues, public debate and controversy function as a form of publicity that raises the profile of the Booker Prize (and other similar prizes), and helps to increase sales of nominated and prize-winning books ("Literary Prize Phenomenon" 173). When there is no controversy, the Booker and other literary prizes in Britain confer prestige onto selected texts as exemplary works of literary art, and this too facilitates their sales both domestically and in book markets around the world. *Jamrach's Menagerie* participates in this economy of cultural prestige,

where literary prizes weave together the exchange of cultural capital and the exchange of money (English, *Economy of Prestige* 3-7). Although statistics on sales of the novel are not publicly available, the fact that the cover of the paperback edition proudly proclaims that the novel was longlisted for the Orange Prize suggests that the novel's publisher Canongate (an independent publisher with headquarters in Edinburgh and branches in London, New York, and Melbourne) is trying to cash in on the prestige of the prize nomination. Richard Todd's account of the history of the Booker Prize states that at some point between the late 1970s and the mid-1980s, being nominated for, or winning, the Booker began to translate into significantly higher book sales in Britain and abroad (103). A. S. Byatt's *Possession*, which won the Booker in 1990, sold over 250,000 paperback copies in Britain and export markets, and grossed over £1.75 million within three years of winning the prize (Todd 30). *Possession*'s commercial success in Britain, continental Europe, the US, and the Commonwealth prompted Warner Bros. to acquire film adaptation rights. The film, which I discuss in Chapter Four on the British heritage industry, was released in 2002.

Jamrach's Menagerie is part of this global circulation of books, in which the literary critical establishment and publishing industry based in Britain work symbiotically to produce prize-winning literary texts that meet and define global standards of literariness, and in which the industry reaps profits from exporting these literary texts to English-speaking audiences in the US, Europe, and crucially, the Commonwealth. Notwithstanding Chris Smith's enthusiasm for the British publishing industry in his manifesto *Creative Britain* (1998), the growth of the industry since the 1980s owes more to commercially funded literary prizes like the Booker (now sponsored by the Man Group of investment companies) and to corporate arts sponsorship than to state support, of which there has been little (English, "Literary Prize Phenomenon in Context" 174).[54]

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[54] Smith praises the recent successes of the British publishing industry, but does not mention any definite proposals for state support of the publishing industry in the speeches collected in *Creative Britain*. He only mentions that the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) will support the industry by continuing the longstanding practice of not imposing taxes (VAT) on books and newspapers (9). This disingenuous promise to implement a policy that had already been in place since the abolition of the "tax on knowledge" (newspaper stamp duty) in the 1850s stands in sharp contrast to the 100% tax relief and £90 million of National Lottery funds that the DCMS gave the film industry in 1997 (C. Smith 87).

Also, notwithstanding the fact that the "British" publishing industry in the twenty-first century actually consists of global media corporations, the industry remains "British" in its exploitation of patterns of trade established under British imperialism in the nineteenth century. As a result of a spate of mergers and acquisitions that started in the late 1960s and intensified in the 1990s, British and American publishers have become indistinguishable at the turn of the twenty-first century. As John Feather puts it:

> [I]t is increasingly the case that the concept of *British* publishing is not very meaningful. There are publishing houses based in Britain; there are some of which are wholly British-owned. But the large mainstream houses which produce most of the more than 10,000 new "British" titles every year are almost all a part of multinational conglomerates which have no real "national" identity in the conventional sense. (228)[55]

Nonetheless, the Victorian setting of *Jamrach's Menagerie* prompts us to see that the twenty-first century dominance of this Anglo-American book-publishing empire is predicated on colonial connections forged more than a century ago. At the end of the novel, the aged Jaffy describes the new world of *fin-de-siècle* Britain, where "[t]hings are very different now" and where "[y]ou can buy fruit in a sealed can, and meat from America" (341). Besides importing preserved food, British traders in Jaffy's late nineteenth-century world are also importing wildlife as they had done in Jaffy's youth:

> Mr Jamrach long since retired and Albert's got the old business, but these days it's me the real bird-fanciers come to, people from the Friendly and the Hand in Hand. Our shop's on the right-hand side as you go towards Limehouse. You can buy a parakeet or pair of lovebirds and a decent cage to put them in. (342-43)

Here, the novel highlights both Jaffy's continuing participation in the global trade in animals, and his production and sale of "art" (his bird cages) inspired by his participation in the animal trade. These twin emphases on trade and art encourages us to shift our focus from the trade in animals to the trade

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[55] See also Squires, "Novelistic Production and the Publishing Industry in Britain and Ireland" 184-86.

in art, and especially in books (the medium in which Jaffy's tale of artistic development comes to us) in the nineteenth century.

As Feather describes in *A History of British Publishing*, the nineteenth century marked the "internationalisation of the British book trade and of British culture" (186). Not only did British imperialism disseminate English as a global language, it also created export markets for British books, and enabled British publishers to establish their presence in countries where English was not normally spoken (Feather 183, 186). In the second half of the nineteenth century, British publishers began to move away from using local distribution agencies, and instead established their own overseas branches, especially in the colonies (Feather 186; Weedon 32). They also took advantage of the absence of tariff barriers within the British Empire to export large numbers of novels and school textbooks to the colonies (Weedon 32-33). Macmillan was the first to open a branch in India in 1863, where it dominated the market for textbooks (Weedon 32-33; Feather 187).

Although trade figures for the export of novels are less clear, other sources such as booksellers' advertisements and library catalogues suggest that British publishers exported a considerable number of novels to India in the nineteenth century (Joshi 39-41). According to Priya Joshi, a large proportion of these novels exported to India were popular fiction works rather than the canonical works of English Literature promoted by Anglicist imperial policies on education in India (4). As discussed in the previous chapter, the 1887 and 1888 catalogues of the Kyōeki Kashi Honsha rental bookshop reveal that British (and American) publishers based in London and New York were also exporting English-language fiction, both popular (detective mysteries) and literary (Shakespeare, Milton), to Japan in the nineteenth century.

The case of *Jamrach's Menagerie* points to the continuing export of prize-winning "serious" fiction, rather than popular fiction, in the twenty-first century by an Anglo-American multinational publishing industry that is "British" insofar that some major publishers are still based in Britain, and some, like *Jamrach's Menagerie*'s Canongate, are still wholly British-owned. The novel thus directs

our attention to the repetitions with a difference in the "British" export of high culture from the time of imperial education policies in the nineteenth century, to the rise of literary prize culture in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Despite intense competition from American-based publishers after the Second World War, British-based publishers, Feather argues, have never quite lost their former colonial markets (193). Now they share those markets with the American-based publishers that they have since merged with. *Jamrach's Menagerie* helps us to see that the current global dominance of Anglo-American literary publishing, which is also part of the recent shift in Britain to cultural commodity production, emerges out of a nineteenth-century history of British imperialism, the colonial book trade, and Britain's powerful position as the arbiter of high culture.

Kuroshitsuji: The Dandy and the Creative Consumption of Commodities

Like Jaffy in *Jamrach's Menagerie*, the male characters in the neo-Victorian manga series *Kuroshitsuji* embody a model of masculinity that is implicated both in the growth of the cultural industries in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, and in the flow of books and ideas under British imperialism in the nineteenth. In *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Mrinalini Sinha proposes studying nineteenth-century British masculinity not only with reference to conditions within Britain, but also in relation to the history of British imperialism in India (2-8). Material conditions in metropole and colony, Sinha argues, make up a unified "imperial social formation," which provides a "global social analytic" appropriate to the study of British masculinity in the nineteenth century (2). Following Sinha, my study of Japanese masculinity expands the frame of reference from the nation to the imperial social formation. British conceptions of what was appropriate behaviour for middle-class men travelled to Japan in the nineteenth century, and were both internalised and rejected by the Japanese as ideal forms of masculinity. This part of the chapter reads *Kuroshitsuji* in relation to this global history of competing masculinities.

The dandy was much vilified both in British middle-class discourse in the nineteenth century and Japanese right-wing nationalist discourse in the early twentieth century. *Kuroshitsuji* recuperates this much-maligned figure as the foundation for an androgynous masculinity that celebrates the agency of the Japanese male consumer to fashion his self by consuming commodities in innovative ways. Like Jaffy, the male characters in *Kuroshitsuji* practise an art of self-creation, but they do so in the style of the nineteenth-century dandy and male Aesthete, rather than in the manner of the Modernist artist. The consumption-based dandy masculinity of these male characters is diametrically opposed to the masculinity of the salaryman (*sarariiman*), which, until the 1990s, had been the hegemonic ideal in post-World War Two Japan. This dandy masculinity in *Kuroshitsuji* is a product of wider social conditions and discourses that challenged the salaryman model of masculinity after the bubble economy collapsed in 1990. By championing the dandy over the salaryman, the manga participates in the emergence of alternative masculinities that emphasise creativity, individualism, and consumption, against a backdrop of corporate restructuring, the spread of "creative economy" discourse, and increasing labour casualisation in Japan. In displacing the postwar ideal of the salaryman, the manga also upturns an earlier tradition of Japanese nationalist and imperial masculinities, which disapproved of Japanese imitating Western ways, and yet internalised nineteenth-century British models of work-oriented masculinity. In this way, the manga challenges not only the postwar salaryman model of masculinity, but also the salaryman's historical precedents from the Meiji period to the end of the Asia-Pacific War.

Kuroshitsuji is a Boys' Love manga, a subgenre of *shōjo* manga that first emerged in the 1970s, and which depicts idealised male homosexual or homoerotic relationships. Scholars of *shōjo* manga often argue that these idealised representations of male same-sex love speak to female readers dissatisfied with women's subordination in heterosexual relationships in contemporary Japanese society.[56] Boys' Love manga, the argument goes, facilitate female reader identification by depicting

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[56] In the 1990s, gay rights activist Satō Masaki criticised Boys' Love manga for appropriating male homosexuality in this way without engaging with the homophobia and identity issues that "real-life" gay men face in

their male characters as generally androgynous. There are plenty of critical accounts of androgyny in Boys' Love manga but this chapter's reading of *Kuroshitsuji* proposes a different approach. Existing studies of *shōjo* manga have used terms such as *ryōsei guyō* ("hermaphroditism"), *han'inyō* ("intersex"), *docchi tsukazu* ("ambivalence"), *seisa no nai* ("the absence of sexual difference"), and *jendaaresu* ("gender-less") to describe the androgyny of male characters in Boys' Love manga. Although they use different (and sometimes confusing) terms, these accounts posit two main ways of interpreting the social significance of androgyny in Boys' Love manga. McLelland, Kinsella, and Fujimoto Yukari see this androgyny as an attempt to combine traits associated with men and those associated with women to form an "intersexual" ideal that "unit[es] the best features of both sexes" (McLelland, "Love between 'Beautiful Boys'" 13).[57] McLelland and Fujimoto, as well as Keith Vincent and Ian Buruma, also read the androgyny of male characters in Boys' Love manga as a metaphorical pre-pubescent sexless-ness, which represents the Japanese female reader's refusal to "grow up" and accept her adult female sexuality (Vincent 65, 67, 76-77; Buruma, 118-24).

These two interpretations of androgyny in Boys' Love manga are not incorrect, but they examine this androgyny solely in relation to Japanese women's increasing unhappiness, since the 1970s, with women's disempowerment in heterosexual relationships. I attempt to arrive at a more historicist understanding of androgyny in *Kuroshitsuji*, which can explain the particular form that androgyny takes in the manga (and perhaps in other similar Boys' Love manga) in the light of social problems directly affecting men, rather than women, in Japan in the 1990s and 2000s. I therefore read the male characters in *Kuroshitsuji* in relation to the struggles over defining male behaviour that occurred in the wake of the bursting of the bubble in 1990, and also earlier in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Japanese society (Vincent 70, 74). For a summary of the "*yaoi* debates" (*yaoi ronsō*) between Satō, female fans of Boys' Love manga, and feminist critics, see Vincent.

[57] See also the chapter "The Love Between 'Beautiful Boys' in Women's Comics" in McLelland, *Male Homosexuality in Modern Japan*; Kinsella, *Adult Manga* 117-24; and the chapter "Toransujendā: Onna no ryōsei guyō, otoko no han'inyō" in Fujimoto.

For a similar conception of androgyny in the context of the Takarazuka revue, see the discussion of the *otoko yaku* ("male-role performer") in the chapter "Staging Androgyny" in Robertson.

Ciel, the aristocratic detective protagonist of *Kuroshitsuji* mentioned in Chapter One, often appears dressed in highly elaborate outfits that recall the nineteenth-century dandy in Britain, and especially the male Aesthete epitomised by Oscar Wilde. Wilde often borrowed design elements from nineteenth-century women's clothing, such as flowers, stockings, and velveteen fabrics, to create his distinctive outfits. These design elements, Talia Schaffer argues, might "to modern readers, see[m] unmistakeably female conventions," but they are also taken from "male-associated signifying systems" of dress, including male aristocratic fashion from earlier historical periods (45). Like Wilde, Ciel blurs the boundaries between male and female dress when his outfits reference European aristocratic dress from before the nineteenth century, when male dress was often made of the same materials and incorporated the same design elements as female dress. There is no radical difference between Ciel's usual appearance as a boy (Fig. 20) and his appearance when cross-dressing as a girl (Fig. 21). Both male and female costumes are adorned with ribbons, bows, ruffles, lace trimmings, and rose motifs.

Fig. 20: Ciel dressed as a boy. (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 1, p. 66)

Fig. 21: Ciel dressed as a girl. (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 2, p. 78)

Dandyism in nineteenth-century Britain represented the emergence of a "new kind of aristocracy," which, unlike the feudal aristocracy that had begun to decline with industrialisation, was based on cultural distinction rather than economic wealth or family lineage (Adams 23). Dandies distinguished themselves from others by cultivating their appearances, and consuming fashion in creative ways. Wilde, for example, borrowed stylistic elements from women's fashion to signal his association with women, but also sought to distinguish himself from women by demonstrating that he knew how to appreciate women's fashion as art, whereas women only knew how to appreciate fashion as fashion (Schaffer 40, 42). By claiming that he understood women's fashion better than women did, Wilde constructed the identity and profession of the male connoisseur or "art expert" for himself and his fellow male Aesthetes (Schaffer 42).

Ciel and the other male characters in *Kuroshitsuji* are not Aesthetes who are concerned with the philosophy and creation of art, but they do engage in a similar practice of self-creation through the creative consumption of fashion. These male characters look backwards to the nineteenth-century figure of the dandy, and forwards to the post-bubble Japanese male consumer who fashions his self by consuming fashion. Grelle Sutcliff, a transvestite *shinigami* (the Japanese version of the Grim Reaper), and his colleagues William T. Spears and Ronald Knox all wear the same uniform of black suit, white shirt, necktie, and spectacles, but they disrupt this sartorial conformity by introducing subtle elements of individuality into their appearances using clothing, accessories, and other commodities (Fig. 22, Fig. 23, and Fig. 24).

Fig. 22: Grelle explains that his "death scythe" looks different from other *shinigami*'s because he customised it. (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 2, p. 173)

Fig. 23: William T. Spears, from the Management Division of the Shinigami Despatch Agency. (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 3, p. 96)

Fig. 24: Ronald Knox uses his "death scythe" to kill a zombie. (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 12, p. 8)

For example, William wears a black necktie whereas Grelle wears a striped ribbon tied in a bow around his neck. All three characters carry "death scythes" (*desu saizu*) which, unsurprisingly, are modelled on household consumer goods, and which have been "customised" to suit their individual personalities (*atashi yō ni kasutamaizu shita no*). Grelle uses a chainsaw that matches the zigzagged shape of his teeth, whereas William uses an extendable rod with a pair of pliers attached at the end. Ronald's "death scythe" looks like a lawnmower. Like the dandy and the male Aesthete, the male characters in the manga create a distinctive sense of self by "customising" fashion. Like Wilde the male connoisseur of women's fashion, they also embody the dandy's and the male Aesthete's aristocratic "taste," a form of cultural capital that enables one to consume luxury goods as beautiful

objects of art rather than as mere fashion. The next chapter explores this concern with aristocratic taste in further detail.

In recuperating the nineteenth-century figure of the dandy in Britain, *Kuroshitsuji* celebrates the newfound power of the Japanese male consumer, since the 1990s, to fashion his self out of consuming fashion. Sebastian, Ciel's butler, embodies both the nineteenth-century dandy and the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Japanese *binan* ("beautiful man") who, like his British precursor, engages in intensive personal grooming and fashion as legitimate male pursuits. Up till the 1990s, mainstream Japanese society generally associated such investment in one's physical appearance with the young female figures of the Office Lady, the *gyaru*, and the *shōjo* schoolgirl (mentioned in Chapter One). *Kuroshitsuji* implies that such vanity, far from being confined to women, is now an ideal attribute that Japanese men should possess if they wish to be attractive to women. Grelle, speaking from the position of a male transvestite who wants to become a heterosexual woman, proclaims that he "likes a man who pays attention to his appearance" (*midashinami ni ki o tsukau otoko tte suki yo*).

The manga connects this image-conscious masculinity typified by Sebastian to the power that he wields against his opponents in the manga's fight scenes. In the "Jack the Ripper" episode, Sebastian defeats Grelle by using his tuxedo jacket as an unlikely weapon. He uses the thick cloth of his jacket to jam Grelle's chainsaw, thereby triumphing over his opponent by cleverly using an article of clothing for a purpose for which it was not designed. In showing how Sebastian wins the battle through his inventive use of an item of fashion, the text implies that this ability to consume fashion in unusual ways for one's own purposes is a kind of power, albeit one that is confined within the logic of consumer capitalism. The text also implies that this power, formerly open only to Japanese women, is now available to Japanese men as well. There is certainly an element of bathos in the resolution of the battle, but on the whole, the text celebrates Sebastian's innovative resourcefulness, as we will see in the next chapter where I discuss Sebastian's "invention" of the curry bun (*karee pan*).

Existing scholarly studies of Boys' Love manga conventionally treat androgynous male characters as both representations of the implied heterosexual female reader's ideal boyfriend, and figures for the female reader to identify with as idealised images of herself. As Matsui Midori argues, the androgynous male character in Boys' Love manga is the female reader's "displaced sel[f]," who represents the power and freedom that contemporary Japanese society denies to the female reader (178).[58] It must be remembered, however, that *Kuroshitsuji*, despite being a Boys' Love manga, is serialised in *G Fantasy*, a manga magazine that is targeted at both male and female audiences. My reading of *Kuroshitsuji* suggests that Sebastian and the other "beautiful boy" (*bishōnen*) and "beautiful man" (*binan*) characters in the manga embody an ideal of masculinity that addresses male readers as much as female readers. These characters encourage Japanese male readers to see themselves as consumers, who (if I may provide a different spin on Matsui's thesis) now have the power and freedom, formerly limited to young Japanese women, to construct new forms of selfhood through the creative consumption of fashion (Fig. 25).

Fig. 25: Young Japanese men join Japanese women in creating a highly individual personality by consuming fashion in creative ways. (Photography by Lola Rose for *Tokyo Faces*)

Kuroshitsuji: The Salaryman and Selfless Devotion to Productive Work

The photograph above (Fig. 25), which was featured in a December 2011 post on a Japanese street fashion blog called *Tokyo Faces*, shows a young Japanese man breaking from the conventions of mainstream male dress by wearing a bright yellow beret, black and yellow striped sunglasses, and a Coco Chanel-style tweed jacket paired incongruously with rolled-up trousers and red sneakers. In championing the power and freedom of Japanese male consumers to adopt such unconventional styles of dress, *Kuroshitsuji* participates in wider discourses and popular cultural practices that have

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[58] Other scholars have made similar arguments about female reader identification. See McLelland, *Male Homosexuality in Modern Japan*; Fujimoto; Vincent; Yamada; and Ōgi. It is important to note here that there is a gap between the target audience and the actual readers of Boys' Love manga. Not all actual female readers of Boys' Love manga are heterosexual. See James Welker's research on lesbian reader reception of Boys' Love manga.

emerged in post-bubble Japan. These discourses and practices call into question the hegemony of the post-World War Two salaryman (*sarariiman*) model of masculinity, and its demands on men to devote themselves to work and production rather than indulge in the pleasures of consumption. The term "salaryman" refers mainly to male white-collar employees of the state bureaucracy and large private-sector corporations who receive a monthly salary. According to Hidaka Tomoko, the term "salaryman," strictly speaking, refers only to the male white-collar employees of large companies that employ more than 1,000 workers (1), and who typically enjoy lifetime employment, seniority-based wage increments and promotions, and company-sponsored welfare benefits as a reward for their loyalty to the company (Dasgupta, "Creating Corporate Warriors" 119). In reality, the term "salaryman" has been applied to civil servants and even blue-collar employees as well (Dasgupta, "Creating Corporate Warriors" 119).

It is important to note here that the post-World War Two model of salaryman masculinity is not a monolithic entity that remained unchanged until it came under fire with the bursting of the bubble and the subsequent economic recession in the 1990s. Hidaka's interviews with three generations of salarymen show that salaryman masculinity underwent several shifts from 1945 to the present (6-8). Salarymen born before the end of the Asia-Pacific War were deeply influenced by wartime nationalism, and saw themselves as *kigyō senshi* ("corporate warriors"), who selflessly rendered their services to the nation by rebuilding the Japanese economy after the war (Hidaka 6-7). Salarymen from the baby boomer generation, however, entered the workforce when lifetime employment, seniority-based wages, and welfare benefits were already well-established practices in large companies. They saw themselves as *kaisha ningen* (Hidaka translates this as "company men" to emphasise the fact that these corporate practices applied mainly to male employees), who served their companies in exchange for these employment benefits (Hidaka 7).

Nonetheless, in general, the typical salaryman from 1945 to the collapse of the bubble economy in 1990 was a male white-collar employee, who dedicated his life to working for his organisation in return for a relatively generous income and job benefits, which enabled him to fulfil

his role as the sole breadwinner in a heterosexual marriage and family (Dasgupta, "Performing Masculinities" 119; Roberson and Suzuki 7-8; Hidaka 3). In other words, the salaryman archetype is primarily associated with production in the public domain of paid work, whereas his female counterpart, the *sengyō shufu* ("full-time housewife"), is associated with care-giving and consuming household goods in the home. Together, the salaryman, the *sengyō shufu*, and their children make up the archetypal middle-class family, which was up till the 1990s "idealised as the bedrock of national prosperity in postwar years" (White, qtd. in Dasgupta, "Salaryman Anxieties" 255). In reality, salarymen obviously engage in commodity consumption, for example, during karaoke and drinking sessions after work. Likewise, housewives often take up temporary and part-time jobs to supplement the family income, but the popular imagination of the archetypal Japanese middle-class family often downplays these realities.

Kuroshitsuji's celebration of the young Japanese man as consumer discards this sex-based demarcation of production and consumption, thereby paving the way for a rather cynical form of gender equality founded on commodity consumption. It also discards the basic assumption in salaryman masculinity that men should devote themselves selflessly to productive labour instead of pursuing individual self-satisfaction in consuming commodities. Grelle, William, and Ronald parody the salaryman archetype when they personalise the familiar salaryman attire of black suit, white shirt, and necktie by tweaking details and adding accessories (Fig. 22, Fig. 23, and Fig. 24).

The three characters' dandyism brings to mind the dandy in nineteenth-century Britain, who eschewed the middle-class male role of producer through his conspicuous consumption of clothing and accessories. The French Revolution, the decline of the aristocracy, and bourgeois notions of "separate spheres" for the sexes encouraged the British middle class in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century to define British middle-class manhood as practical, business-minded, and uninterested in fashion. This led to what J. C. Flugel calls the "Great Masculine Renunciation" in male dress (Breward 24-25; Shannon 22). From the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, British middle-class men gradually began to abandon ornamentation, to wear dark colours only, and

to dress in the same "uniform" of sombre frockcoat, plain shirt, and unadorned hat (Breward 24-25; Shannon 23-24). This shift away from the aristocratic male dress of the eighteenth century contributed to constructing what Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall call the "utilitarian male body" that was devoted to work rather than pleasure or physical beauty (Shannon 25). In the words of Flugel: "[M]an [in the early nineteenth century] abandoned his claim to be considered beautiful. He henceforth aimed at being only useful" (qtd. in Shannon 25).[59] The figure of the dandy in nineteenth-century Britain, epitomised by Beau Brummell in the early nineteenth century, and Wilde and Max Beerbohm in the late nineteenth century, rejected this championing of work and utility by consuming clothes and accessories that were obviously impractical and extravagant (Shannon 131-32). Likewise, Grelle's, William's, and Ronald's customisation of their workwear, Sebastian's cultivation of his appearance, and Ciel's sartorial referencing of pre-nineteenth-century European male aristocratic dress all reject salaryman masculinity's emphasis on economic production. As models for reader identification, these characters encourage Japanese male readers of the manga to imagine themselves engaging, not in productive work, but in the very different "work" of making themselves beautiful rather than useful.

In encouraging its male readers to perform what Laura Miller calls "beauty work" (38), *Kuroshitsuji* registers and participates in the ongoing decline of the salaryman ideal in Japan. When the bubble economy collapsed and the economic recession deepened in the 1990s, corporations retrenched large numbers of middle-aged salarymen in middle management. They also stopped hiring young men as salarymen, choosing to hire them as "freeters" (*furiitaa*) to do temporary and part-time work instead (Dasgupta, "Salaryman Anxieties" 260-61). As a result of corporate bankruptcies and restructuring, many Japanese men could not hold onto their salaryman status or become salarymen.

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[59] In reality, the Great Masculine Renunciation was not absolute, and British middle-class men in the nineteenth century did consume fashion, albeit rather inconspicuously. Christopher Breward argues that the mainstream male consumer did have a range of possibilities of cut, colour, and texture to choose from when buying clothes, and that this provided scope for expressing individual taste (25, 31). Brent Shannon similarly asserts that men's direct relationship with shopping and fashion was not as socially stigmatized as it initially appears, and that middle-class male consumers from 1860 to 1914 increasingly appropriated and transformed "effeminate" or "deviant" male consumer practices into normative masculine behaviour (10). This historical reality has been rendered invisible in both historical writings and current scholarship on fashion that emphasise the Great Masculine Renunciation (Breward 1-3; Shannon 2, 4).

When the employment system that had given rise to salaryman masculinity was thus destabilised, public opinion in Japan in the 1990s began to question on an unprecedented scale whether Japanese men should be aspiring to salaryman masculinity as an ideal (Roberson and Suzuki 9-10; Dasgupta, "Salaryman Anxieties" 260).

New models of masculinity such as the *otaku* ("male geek") and the *sōshokukei danshi* ("herbivorous man") have arisen out of this questioning of the salaryman ideal.[60] In her discussion of the book, television drama, and film adaptation of *Densha otoko* [*Train Man*], Susan Napier reads the fleeting appearance of a salaryman, who is quickly overshadowed by the *otaku* protagonist, as a symbol of the salaryman's loss of status in post-bubble Japan ("Where Have All the Salarymen Gone?" 164). For Napier, the salaryman ideal has been replaced by a variety of male archetypes, including the *otaku*, the "creative 'cooking man'", the aggressive young entrepreneur, and the androgynous *bishōnen* ("beautiful boy") ("Where Have All the Salarymen Gone?" 165). *Kuroshitsuji*'s celebration of the dandy masculinity of the *bishōnen* and the *binan* ("beautiful man") is shaped by this wider challenging of salaryman masculinity, and the emergence of alternative masculinities for young Japanese men since the 1990s.

These new masculinities are mostly based on consumption rather than production, and emphasise creativity and individualism, rather than conformity and selfless service to the company or nation. The emphasis on creativity and individualism, in particular, seems to stem from three global developments in the late 1990s and early 2000s: the global circulation of ideas about the creative economy and the creative class; the successes of the cultural industries in advanced capitalist economies (including Japan); and the growing desire of national and local governments worldwide to build on or emulate those successes. In his highly influential book, Richard Florida celebrates what he calls the "creative class," a class of individuals who, according to Florida, use their creativity to

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[60] Romit Dasgupta has discovered in his interviews with young Japanese men in the 1990s and 2000s that these new "ostensibly consumption-mediated, seemingly anti-salaryman masculinities" do not genuinely "dismantl[e] the work/production/masculinity nexus," which remains an increasingly elusive ideal co-existing with these new masculinities (*Re-reading the Salaryman* 159).

produce "meaningful new forms" that have economic value (68). Florida's conception of the creative worker has fed into the new post-bubble corporate ideal for Japanese men, which Romit Dasgupta describes as stressing creativity, individuality, and entrepreneurial daring ("Creating Corporate Warriors" 130; "Salaryman Anxieties" 263).

The emphasis on creativity and individualism also extends to new masculinities that have arisen outside the corporate world in the post-bubble period, and which are available to the male "freeters" (*furiitaa*) that Japanese corporations have been hiring in place of salarymen as low-wage flexible labour. As Sarah Brouillette argues, "creative economy" discourses such as Florida's often represent creative workers as individualistic artists, who find self-expression in their work, and who *want* to be flexible and to manage their own time (4). While this supposed freedom of the creative worker might sound like a positive development, Brouillette warns that it actually dovetails with neoliberal government policies that aim to create flexible labour markets where workers are lowly paid and have no job security (4). In Japan's case, the number of part-time, temporary, and contract workers had risen to one-third of the workforce by the mid-2000s, as a result of the 1990s economic recession, corporate restructuring, and the full legalisation of temporary staffing under the Obuchi and Koizumi administrations (Coe et al. 1092-93).[61] Not all male freeters in Japan engage in creative production at work, but some of them engage in creative consumption at play.[62] Although Sebastian in *Kuroshitsuji* is a butler in regular employment, his servant status distances him from the parody-salarymen characters, and reminds the reader that the dandy masculinity Sebastian embodies is not

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[61] Prime Minister Obuchi Keizō (1998-2000) passed the Amendment to the Employment Security Law and the Amendment to the Worker Dispatching Law in 1999, thereby legalising the use of temporary workers "dispatched" (*haken*) by temporary staffing agencies. In 2004, Prime Minister Koizumi Junichirō legalised the use of "dispatch" workers in the manufacturing industry (Coe et al. 1102).

[62] However, the Japanese creative or cultural industries do employ a significant number of (male) freeters. The Japanese anime industry has in fact been employing contracted freelance animators instead of full-time regular staff since the 1970s, when it became necessary to reduce labour costs to support the low cost of anime production (Mōri 34-35). Reports published in 2005 show that many Japanese animators now earn less than the minimum wage (Mōri 35). For Mōri Yoshitaka, these poor working conditions make Japanese animators "one of the prototypes of freeters in the 1990s" (30).

only a new model of corporate masculinity that is displacing the salaryman ideal, but also a new form of masculinity for men in non-regular work.

Miller notes that more young Japanese men since the 1990s have begun to engage in "beauty work," investing time, money, and effort in their appearance in order to become "beautiful" and attractive to Japanese women (38). Examples of such male "beauty work" include getting body hair removed at *esute* or "aesthetic" salons (Miller mentions a chain of salons very appropriately named Dandy House); dyeing and styling their hair; and shaping their eyebrows into thin and arched styles (38-47). Miller explains that in the 1990s, young Japanese women began to voice their preferences for well-groomed and stylish men, and to express revulsion at the salarymen archetype, now perceived as belonging to "an older generation of *oyaji* ("old men") de-eroticised by a corporate culture that emphasised a 'productivity ideology of standardisation, order, control, rationality, and impersonality'" (38). For Miller, growing male interest in "beauty work" since the 1990s has been motivated by this shift in Japanese women's perceptions of what is deemed desirable in Japanese men (38).

In a recent paper presented at the 2015 Annual Conference of the British Association of Japanese Studies, Kinsella offers a very different interpretation of the rise of dandy masculinity in post-bubble Japan. Although male cross-dressing (*josō*) has existed in Japan as a leisure activity since the early 1980s, Kinsella notes that the practice became widespread in the 2000s, and that an identifiable subculture of *josōko* (young male cross-dressers) working as waitresses and hostesses has emerged ("Male Cultural Reactions").[63] These *josōko* often work as temporary or part-time service staff in cafes targeted at anime and manga fans. Kinsella argues that these *josōko* are mostly young men from the lowest strata of the socio-economic hierarchy, and that they dress up as *kawaii* ("cute")

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[63] Male cross-dressing became a leisure activity in Japan in the 1980s, when men had more disposable income at the height of the booming bubble economy (McLelland, *Queer Japan* 214). Wim Lunsing notes that the most famous and longest-lasting *josō* magazine in Japan, *Queen* (*Kuīn*), was founded in the early 1980s. *Queen* is affiliated with the Elisabeth chain of clubs in Tokyo and Osaka, which was also established in the 1980s to provide assistance and privacy to men who wanted to dress up in women's clothing as a form of recreation (Lunsing 22; McLelland, *Queer Japan* 214).

girls in order to make a place for themselves as freeters in the post-bubble economy, where the service sector is dominated by female casual labour. At this stage, it is unclear whether this new *josōko* subculture is, at least partially, influenced by the androgynous male characters of Boys' Love manga, which first appeared in the 1970s and therefore predate the emergence of a flexible labour economy (for male workers) in Japan.[64]

The *bishōnen* ("beautiful boy") and *binan* ("beautiful man") characters in *Kuroshitsuji* register this rise of dandy masculinities across the social spectrum in Japan in the 1990s and 2000s, and also point to the possible imbrication of these new masculinities with the older tradition of male androgyny in *shōjo* manga. (This is an area in which more research can be done.) In shifting focus from economically productive work to the consumption-mediated "work" of self-fashioning, *Kuroshitsuji* champions the supposed freedom of both the male corporate employee and the male freeter to construct their individual selves by consuming fashion creatively. At the same time, the text obscures, and obliquely points to, the realities of short-term contracts, diminishing job benefits, and increasing job insecurity in the post-bubble Japanese economy.

Kuroshitsuji: Competing Masculinities in Late Meiji and Wartime Japan

The dandy masculinities of the 1990s and 2000s that *Kuroshitsuji* registers are actually part of a longer history in Japan that can be traced back to the nineteenth century. The text engages not only with current conditions in post-bubble Japan, but also with the history of competing Western, Westernised, and anti-Western masculinities that dates back to the Meiji period. The text's celebration of dandy masculinity is informed by the transmission of ideas and writings about male behaviour from Britain to Japan, as well as by Japanese responses to these ideas and writings from the nineteenth century to the end of the Asia-Pacific War in 1945. The Japanese version of the dandy first emerged in the Meiji period, having been imported from Britain, and was attacked by right-wing nationalists

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[64] Even before the collapse of the bubble economy, young Japanese women employed as Office Ladies under the "clerical track" (*ippan shoku*) were already seen as flexible labour in informal terms. Companies expected female employees to quit their jobs and focus on managing the domestic household once they were married. Salarymen, on the other hand, were given lifetime employment as "management track" (*sōgō shoku*) employees.

who sought to gain political legitimacy for their definition of "authentic" Japanese masculinity. *Kuroshitsuji* aligns itself with the historically maligned figure of the Westernised Japanese dandy against the salaryman and its links to the anti-Western, nationalist and imperial masculinities of the late Meiji and wartime periods. The text thereby perpetuates the logic of emulating the West and asserting Japaneseness that has characterised Japan's relations with the West since the 1850s. Yet it also modifies this logic when it re-contextualises and re-inscribes the nineteenth-century Japanese emulation of the British dandy as the newfound agency of the post-bubble Japanese male consumer.

As the term *kigyō senshi* ("corporate warrior") suggests, the post-World War Two figure of the salaryman is linked to the martial masculinity that the militarist state promoted to support Japan's imperialist wars in Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia in the 1930s and early 1940s. As Ueno Chizuko has pointed out, the postwar rhetoric surrounding the salaryman has explicit martial overtones. Not only are salarymen popularly called *kigyō senshi*, the discourse on salarymen also often uses expressions such as *messhi hōkō* ("selfless service"), *senpei* ("advance guard"), and *shijō senryaku* ("marketing battle strategy") that allude to military warfare (Ueno, qtd. in Dasgupta, "Performing Masculinities" 192). These allusions to warfare in a time of peace suggest that the wartime soldier model of masculinity was transplanted after the war into the context of economic production, and sublimated into the ideal of the "corporate warrior." Hidaka's interviews with salarymen born before the end of the Asia-Pacific War reveal that the interviewees' self-perception as salarymen has indeed been influenced by wartime nationalist propaganda on *yamato damashī*, "the Japanese spirit in which one fulfils one's obligations and serves the nation and Emperor, sacrificing oneself without fear of death" (6). These interviewees, Hidaka argues, see themselves as having transformed the mission of the solder into the mission of the salaryman, who sacrifices himself for the nation by working hard to rebuild the Japanese economy (7).

This wartime soldier model of masculinity was in turn influenced by earlier forms of nationalist and imperial masculinities in the late Meiji period, which advocated similar values of self-abnegation, subordination to the collective, and dedication to productive work. Morris Low argues

107

that from the late nineteenth century onwards, the Japanese state and mass media drew on what they perceived as the traditional samurai ethics of *bushidō* to construct a model of "authentic" Japanese masculinity that would promote loyalty to the Emperor and the nation-state (83). In the 1900s, Nitobe Inazō appropriated *bushidō* as the foundation for a Japanese imperial masculinity when he claimed that *bushidō* was the "motor force of our country" and the source of Japan's military success in colonial wars abroad (qtd. in Mason 72-74). In a move that evokes the postwar salaryman's sublimation of martial masculinity in an economic context, Nitobe claimed that *bushidō* was also the source of Japan's success in industrialisation (Mason 72-73).

This late Meiji discourse on *bushidō* intensified as Japanese imperial ambitions expanded in the 1920s and 1930s. The intellectual Yasuoka Masahiro asserted that cultivating the samurai spirit would enable young Japanese men to resist being corrupted by the comforts of urban living and the expanding consumer culture, which, as shown in the previous chapter, was also a source of unease in Japanese detective fiction of the period. *Bushidō*, according to Yasuoka, would teach young Japanese men to "forget themselves" (*botsuga*) in their absolute loyalty to the *kokutai* ("national polity") (Brown 109, 115-117). He thereby transformed the samurai code of *bushidō* into an embodiment of moral character opposed to the pleasures of consuming commodities, and which would support the *kokutai*'s empire-building and related military adventures (Brown 111).

This discourse on the invented tradition of *bushidō* from Nitobe to Yasuoka intersects with the late Meiji *bankara* model of nativist masculinity, and the late Meiji fascination with heroes and hero-worship, both of which, Jason Karlin argues, contributed to the rise of right-wing ultra-nationalism and militarism in the 1930s (Karlin, "Gender of Nationalism" 61; "Narratives of Heroism" 63).[65] The soldier model of masculinity of the 1930s and early 1940s, in other words, had precedents

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[65] *Bushidō* is an invented tradition. Michele M. Mason points out that "none of the samurai 'house codes' (*kakun*), philosophical treatises, and moral guidebooks produced during the centuries of samurai rule, taken together or separately, can be said to illustrate a comprehensive and consistent articulation of *bushidō*" (69). Nitobe's *Bushidō: The Soul of Japan*, published in English in 1900, was, as B. H. Chamberlain's contemporary review of the book explains, "fabricated out of whole cloth, chiefly for foreign consumption" (Chamberlain, qtd. in Mason 70). However, this chapter shows that Nitobe's invention of *bushidō* (and Yasuoka's) was extremely influential in shaping what the Japanese thought and still think of as ideal male behavior.

in the late Meiji period. In privileging the dandy over the post-World War Two ideal of the salaryman, *Kuroshitsuji* implicitly negates this long tradition of nationalist and imperial Japanese masculinities, which has given rise to postwar salaryman masculinity.

In reaction to the economic recession and general malaise that set in following Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), disillusioned young Japanese men cast off the earlier ideal of "civilisation and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*), and advocated a return to "barbarism" as an essential aspect of Japanese national identity (Karlin, "Gender of Nationalism" 68-70). These *bankara* men (*ban* means "barbaric") blamed what they saw as the contemporary Japanese fascination with material things on Western culture, and were therefore both anti-consumption and anti-Western (Karlin, "Gender of Nationalism" 68). They performed their rejection of consumption and Westernisation by adopting an unadorned and rugged appearance that was meant to express a supposedly authentic Japanese "sincerity" (*makoto*) (Karlin, "Gender of Nationalism" 68). They also called for the subordination of individual desires to national interests, and championed the idea of fighting Western imperialism in Asia (Karlin, "Gender of Nationalism" 74-76). In extolling sincerity of action over speech, romantic notions of imperialist adventure and self-sacrifice, and the simplicity of rustic tastes, *bankara* men in the late Meiji period associated themselves with the figure of the master-less samurai (*rōnin*) (Karlin, "Gender of Nationalism" 70). In this way, the *bankara* subculture constructed a form of masculinity that aligned itself with the invented tradition of *bushidō* to legitimate its values of anti-consumption, anti-Westernisation, anti-Western imperialism, and self-sacrifice for the Japanese nation.

Historical biographies, "adventure novels" (*bōken shōsetsu*), and "hero novels" (*eiyū shōsetsu*) targeted at adolescent male readers in the late Meiji period further promoted these neo-samurai values, thereby feeding into what would eventually become the soldier model of masculinity in the 1930s and early 1940s. Like nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British adventure fiction for boys, these Japanese stories encouraged their male readers to emulate historical and fictional heroes who embodied an ideal model of masculinity, which was, in this case, *bankara* masculinity (Karlin,

"Gender of Nationalism" 71; "Narratives of Heroism" 48). Karlin states that from the late nineteenth century onwards, hero-worship became an important tool in Japan for (re)producing forms of masculinity ("Narratives of Heroism" 48). There was increased popular interest in national heroes especially after the Russo-Japanese War, resulting in the emergence of Japanese adventure fiction for boys featuring heroic male protagonists (Karlin, "Narratives of Heroism" 54). For example, *Bōken sekai* [*Adventure World*], the most influential boys' adventure magazine of the late Meiji period, was launched in 1908 and targeted male middle school and high school students. It featured serialised adventure novels, "hero novels," reports on world exploration and travel, tales of bravery, and sports news (Karlin, "Narratives of Heroism" 54).

By promoting *bankara* masculinity as heroic, adventure novels and other texts that took part in the late Meiji discourse on heroes sought to mould Japanese boys into men who would serve the Japanese nation in expanding its empire (Karlin, "Narratives of Heroism" 48). *Bankara* masculinity was, then, a form of nationalist and imperial masculinity that was opposed to the West and its culture of consumption, and which called for selfless devotion to the Japanese nation and the work of empire-building. *Bankara* masculinity in the late Meiji period clearly influenced the soldier masculinity of the 1930s and 1940s, which, as Isolde Standish shows in her study of wartime propaganda films, drew upon similar reinvented samurai values of "sincerity" (*makoto*) and loyalty to the *kokutai* (Standish 35, 38-40). *Bankara* masculinity, via the soldier masculinity of the 1930s and 1940s, has also shaped the post-World War Two masculinity of the salaryman. It is therefore part of a long-running tradition of masculinities, which in recent years has come under pressure from the consumption-based masculinities that have risen to prominence in the post-bubble period. *Kuroshitsuji* participates in this contesting of tradition, and aligns itself not only with the figure of the dandy in nineteenth-century Britain, but also with the dandy in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japan, whom the *bankara* castigated for his imitation of Western ways.

Yet, despite their anti-Western bias, the *bankara* and soldier models of masculinity were shaped by British constructions of masculinity imported into Japan in the nineteenth century, which

they in turn transmitted to the post-World War Two archetype of the salaryman. This tradition of nationalist and imperial masculinities thus outwardly takes the side of "self-assertion" in the dialectic of emulating the West and asserting Japaneseness, while implicitly emulating and re-working aspects of Western culture.

For example, Oshikawa Shunrō, owner and editor of the magazine *Bōken sekai* [*Adventure World*], and author of numerous adventure stories celebrating *bankara* masculinity, had actually read English-language adventure novels and science fiction, especially translations of Jules Verne, when he was a student (Karlin, "Narratives of Heroism" 54). Like the British writers of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century boys' adventure stories, Oshikawa was frustrated with the Naturalist literary movement in Japan for disavowing idealism and fantasy in being excessively faithful to everyday reality. [66] Oshikawa was very likely to have been influenced by the ideals of British imperial masculinity articulated in British boys' adventure fiction when constructing his own version of Japanese imperial masculinity. The description of Danbara Kentōji, the hero of several Oshikawa adventure novels, in the 1904 novel *Shin-Nihon-tō* [*New Japanese Archipelago*] bears a striking resemblance to that of Sir Henry Curtis in Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*:

> And yet more gallant was the vision of Sir Henry, whose ostrich plumes had been shorn off by a spear stroke, so that his long yellow hair streamed out in the breeze behind him. There he stood, the great Dane, for he was nothing else, his hands, his axe, and his armour, all red with blood, and none could live before his stroke. (141)

Oshikawa's narrator introduces Danbara to the reader in very similar terms:

> At more than six feet tall with a body that looks to have been made of iron, he clutches a lion by the mane in his left hand as if it were a small calf and wields an eight-sided iron club in his

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[66] Haggard, for instance, criticised the American domestic novel and the French Naturalist novel for their emphasis on everyday reality ("About Fiction" 175-77), arguing that writers need to write about heroic endeavours, and that the imaginative realm of "romance" (adventure fiction) allows writers to explore transcendent subjects ("About Fiction" 179-80).

right hand. With the Siberian wind blowing his long hair, he endures the biting cold gusts that cut through the night. . . . With a flash of his eyes, he glares at the tower above before drawing up the iron club in his right hand and readying his body to smash the gate in one fell blow.

Who is this marvellous man? He is the realm's most fearless warrior and boldest knight – Danbara Kentōji. . . . Nothing, not even the most impregnable fortress, stands in his way. He fears no man. (Oshikawa, qtd. in Karlin, "Narratives of Heroism" 56)

Like Sir Henry, Danbara embodies qualities, such as the ability to master natural and human foes in a dangerous frontier world, which support imperialist expansion. Through late Meiji adventure novels such as Oshikawa's, *bankara* masculinity, as well as the soldier masculinity of the Asia-Pacific War that came after it, translated British imperial masculinity into Japanese imperial masculinity.

The *bankara* and soldier models of masculinity were also influenced (perhaps more indirectly) by nineteenth-century British notions of ascetic and work-oriented masculinity based on the principle of "separate spheres" for the two sexes.[67] They therefore formed the (rather extreme) corollary to the Meiji feminine ideal of *ryōsai kenbo* ("good wife, wise mother"), which was also influenced by contemporary Western, and especially British, studies on sexual difference and women's "natural" place in the home (Koyama 45-46). In calling on Japanese men to deny themselves the pleasures of consumption, and to dedicate themselves to working for the nation, *bankara* and soldier masculinities, as well as post-World War Two salaryman masculinity, invoke the ideal of hardworking manliness advocated by Thomas Carlyle. In late Meiji, it was not only boys' adventure stories featuring *bankara* protagonists that encouraged Japanese boys to learn from heroic role models. Intellectuals and middle-class reformers who were not part of the *bankara* subculture similarly promoted hero-worship as a means to inspire disaffected youth (Karlin, "Narratives of Heroism" 49). The journalist and

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[67] Davidoff and Hall claim that, beginning in the late eighteenth century, middle-class discourse on the family in Britain became a "language of public and private spheres," which allocated the public domain of paid work to men, and the private domain of the home to women (xiv-xv). In reality, the "separate spheres" were not all that separate. See Davidoff and Hall's introduction to the second edition of *Family Fortunes* for their response to criticism that claimed that they had confused ideology with material reality.

historian Yamaji Aizan was in particular inspired by Carlyle's *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (1841), which was first published in Japanese translation in 1898 (Karlin, "Narratives of Heroism" 50). Like Carlyle, Yamaji believed that learning about the actions and achievements of "Great Men" in the past would inspire men in the present (Karlin, "Narratives of Heroism" 50). Yamaji therefore wrote extremely popular historical biographies of Great Men to teach Japanese boys self-sacrifice and discipline, and to cultivate these boys into Great Men who would defy social conventions and state control to exercise their free will, and to thereby contribute to the building of a strong nation (Karlin, "Narratives of Heroism" 49-50, 52). Although it is unclear whether Yamaji read Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843), it is likely that he and other late Meiji intellectuals were influenced by Carlyle's elaboration of his Great Man model of masculinity in this later work.[68] It is also likely that the *bankara* and soldier models of masculinity were at least partially influenced by Carlyle's ideas, probably through Yamaji.[69] Yamaji did not identify himself as *bankara* but his political views were close enough to that of the *bankara* to make this very likely.

Carlyle's ideal of manliness in *Past and Present* is characterised by selfless devotion to productive labour. In *Sartor Resartus* (1836), Carlyle mocks the dandy for being "a Clothes-wearing Man, a Man whose trade, office, and existence consists in the wearing of Clothes" (248). In *Past and Present*, Carlyle proclaims that productive work, in contrast to the dandy's idle consumption of fashion, enables men to attain perfection and truth, even if it is done only for the sake of money (96). To this end, he exhorts men to persevere in their work in the face of hardship, and to become Great Men in doing so: "[T]hou will swallow down complaint, unreason, weariness, weakness of others and thyself – how much will thou swallow down! There shall be a depth of Silence in thee, deeper than this Sea. . . . Thou shalt be a Great Man." (199-200).

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[68] Jason Karlin has explained to me that Yamaji was not in the habit of naming specific texts whenever he discussed Carlyle's writings. Hence, there is no concrete evidence that Yamaji read *Past and Present*, but it is probable that Yamaji was familiar with all of Carlyle's major works (Karlin, "Request").

[69] The soldier model of masculinity promoted by the militarist state in the 1930s and early 1940s, however, did not condone defying state control to exercise one's free will.

Not only does Carlyle's championing of an ascetic work ethic parallel that of the *bankara* and soldier models of masculinity, his archetype of the Great Man, like the *bankara* and soldier, implicitly supports the acquisition of territories and the building of empires. In *Past and Present*, Carlyle implies that the highest form of work is work in the service of global exploration and colonisation. He cites Christopher Columbus as an example of a Great Man who gives himself to this work, and declares that a Great Man like Columbus is a "World-Soldier," who "in thy strong soul, as with wrestler's arms, shalt embrace it [the world], harness it down; and make it bear thee on – to new Americas, or whither God wills!" (200). Carlyle's ideal of the Great Man is therefore a form of imperial masculinity, whose demands on men to sacrifice themselves for the work of empire-building have been transmuted into Japanese imperialism from the late Meiji period to the end of the Asia-Pacific War, and (more indirectly) into salaryman masculinity after the Asia-Pacific War.

Kuroshitsuji's idealisation of the dandy, Carlyle's "Clothes-wearing Man," challenges this self-denying devotion to work and nation that has been transmuted from Carlyle's Great Man to the *bankara*, soldier, and salaryman models of masculinity. The text thus participates in the struggle between Westernised and (seemingly) anti-Western masculinities in Japan that has been going on at least since the "civilisation and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*) movement in the 1870s, if not earlier. According to Karlin, during the Meiji period, the state and nativist patriots articulated two competing ways of serving the Japanese nation, and correspondingly defined two competing forms of masculinity ("Gender of Nationalism" 42-44). This competition was most explicitly manifested in the late Meiji period in the opposition between the *haikara* and the *bankara*, and the styles of dress with which these two figures were associated.

Haikara ("high-collar"), as the name indicates, were men who wore high-collared shirts and other Western-style clothes and accessories. *Haikara* had evolved from *shinshi* ("gentlemen"), state officials of the early Meiji period who adopted Western dress to demonstrate to the Western imperial powers that Japan was civilised, in order to convince them to revise the unequal treaties that they had signed with Japan. For the early Meiji *shinshi*, wearing Western-style clothes was a form of loyalty

to the Japanese nation. However, the popular press began in the 1880s to satirise the *shinshi* and then the *haikara* for imitating Western culture and disavowing their native Japanese culture (Karlin, "Gender of Nationalism" 46-47). It also criticised the *haikara* for indulging in fashion, which the late Meiji popular consciousness increasingly perceived as a frivolous pursuit associated with women and effeminacy (Karlin, "Gender of Nationalism" 63-64, 67). The *bankara* challenged the political legitimacy of the *haikara* by adopting, as discussed earlier, a deliberately anti-fashionable style of dress to perform their antagonism towards the West, its imperialism, and its culture of consumption.

Kuroshitsuji's challenging of the salaryman archetype and celebration of dandy masculinity take the side of the *haikara* in the continuing opposition between *haikara* and *bankara* in a post-bubble context. Interest in *bushidō* has revived in Japan in recent years, resulting in a boom in writing about *bushidō* and Japanese national identity and national power (Mason 69). This "*bushidō* boom," Michele Mason explains, is part of wider right-wing nationalist efforts to abolish Article 9 in Japan's postwar Constitution, to downplay Japanese aggression in the Asia-Pacific War, and to promote the remilitarisation of Japan (69, 86). In other words, this "*bushidō* boom" is a contemporary reiteration of the *bankara*. Like his precursors from Nitobe to Yasuoka, and from late Meiji *bankara* to Second World War soldier, cultural commentator Hyōdō Nisohachi calls for Japan to become a military superpower by returning to the "traditional" ethos of the samurai. In *New Bushidō* [*Shin bushidō*] (2004), Hyōdō claims that the postwar Japanese nation lacks agency because it depends on the United States for military protection, and contends that Japan, in the spirit of the samurai, should acquire nuclear weapons to regain its agency (Mason 83, 85-86).

In contrast to these recent reincarnations of the *bankara*, the dandyism of the male characters in *Kuroshitsuji* recuperates the *haikara*. The male characters in the manga bring to mind not only the dandy in nineteenth-century Britain, but also the early Meiji *shinshi* and late Meiji *haikara*. In fact, many *shinshi* and *haikara* learnt how to cultivate the lifestyle of the dandy in Britain by reading etiquette books, many of which appear to be translated from British sources (Karlin, "Gender of Nationalism" 44-45). Although these Japanese etiquette books did not name their source texts, they

were very likely translated (and plagiarised) from British rather than other European sources. This is because Britain, as Brent Shannon notes in his history of British men's consumer culture, had overtaken France as the leader of fashion in Europe by the mid-nineteenth century (1-2). The 1869 guidebook *Seiyō ichiran* [*Overview of the West*] states that "one's undershirt should always be fresh, while gloves along with one's shoes should be clean, and neckties should be properly knotted" (qtd. in Karlin, "Gender of Nationalism" 24). These instructions resemble Beau Brummell's and Max Beerbohm's injunction to dandies to repudiate the flamboyant sartorial aesthetic of the eighteenth-century aristocracy in favour of "simplicity, understatement, and the reduction of dress to a few carefully selected essentials" (Shannon 130).[70] By reading etiquette books most likely translated from British sources, the *shinshi* and the *haikara* became Japanese versions of the dandy in Britain. *Kuroshitsuji,* in referencing the dandy and the Wildean Aesthete to construct its ideal of androgynous masculinity, privileges the dandy's and the Aesthete's Japanese counterpart, the *haikara*, over the *bankara*.

In doing so, however, *Kuroshitsuji* removes traces of the Westernised/anti-Western opposition that marked the struggle between *haikara* and *bankara* for political legitimacy in the late Meiji period. The text therefore perpetuates the pattern of emulation and self-assertion, while changing the pattern into a competition between production-oriented salaryman masculinity and consumption-oriented dandy masculinity. The text does not represent the post-bubble Japanese dandy's act of constructing his self through fashion as a distinctively Westernised form of behaviour. In fact, as we will see in Chapter Three, the text celebrates the creativity of the dandy in conjunction with its championing of the distinctively "Japanese" creativity of the manga, anime, and other popular cultural industries. However, when it comes to the question of taste, *Kuroshitsuji* explicitly links the figure of the dandy

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[70] This severe regulation of male dress down to the smallest details was meant to represent a kind of ascetic self-discipline (Shannon 130; Schaffer 46-47). Ironically, in this sense, dandy masculinity concurred with the anti-dandy, ascetic, and work-oriented masculinities advocated by Carlyle, the *bankara* subculture, and the Japanese militarist state in the 1930s and early 1940s.

and his consumption of commodities to Japan's history of Westernisation and the desire for Western cultural capital (also to be discussed in Chapter Three).

From Liberalism to Neo-Liberalism

In reworking the late Meiji figure of the *haikara*, *Kuroshitsuji* also reworks the Meiji intellectual Fukuzawa Yukichi's advocating of individual liberty and the spirit of independence into a celebration of the supposed freedom of the individual consumer. In *An Outline of a Theory of Civilisation* [*Bunmeiron no gairyaku*] (1875), Fukuzawa proclaims enthusiastically that, with the Meiji state's abolition of the feudal caste system, the individual was liberated from old hierarchies, and was now free to take on different social roles:

> Since daimyos now become peers, samurai become landed gentry, people can express their opinions to superiors, and men can get high-ranking positions on the basis of talent, it is also time for former ministers with salaries of 5,000 *koku* to become rank-and-file soldiers, for low-salaried *ashigaru* to become prefectural governors; for a wealthy merchant whose house goes back many generations to become bankrupt, for penniless gamblers to become government-backed merchants, for Buddhist temples to become Shinto shrines, and Buddhist monks to become Shinto priests. (227-28)

As shown in the previous chapter, Japanese society in the 1920s experienced this topsy-turvy confusion of social categories as frightening, and expressed its fears in detective fiction and in calls in the 1930s to return to lost ideals of "proper place" and the organic community. *Count Cain* reiterates these anxieties about people, especially young women, taking on transgressive social roles through the consumption of commodities, as consumer culture in Japan continues to expand in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

Kuroshitsuji does not articulate such anxieties about commodity consumption. It instead reiterates Fukuzawa's enthusiastic liberalism in the context of an expanding consumer culture and the emergence of a flexible labour economy in post-bubble Japan. While celebrating the ability of the

Japanese consumer to create new forms of selfhood through consumption, *Kuroshitsuji* also represents the tasteful consumption of commodities as specifically Western, and implies that the Japanese consumer is inferior to the West in the stakes of cultural capital. This contradiction, as the following chapter will show, inflects the Japanese state's current shift to cultural commodity production and export under the banner of "Cool Japan." While *Jamrach's Menagerie* registers the creation of a new British Empire based on the global export of literature and other forms of high culture, *Kuroshitsuji* participates in the Japanese state's ongoing project, since 2002, to obtain economic capital and "soft power" through the export, not of high culture, but of popular culture products such as the manga series itself.

Chapter Three

Emporium of Luxury, Empire of Cool: Imperialism, Commodities, and Cultural Capital

In "The Cargo of the *New Year's Gift*: Pictures from London to India to Japan, 1614," art historian Timon Screech examines the goods that the English East India Company (EIC) shipped to Japan in the early 1600s when it had first established contact with the Tokugawa shogunate, and was trying to persuade the Japanese to buy English products (115). The EIC sent woollen textiles; lead (for shot); diplomatic gifts including a golden cup, telescope and portraits of King James I; and European classical nude paintings (115-26). The EIC hoped to exchange the woollen textiles for Japanese silver, which it could then exchange for the spices it coveted in the East Indies (114). Unfortunately for the EIC, trade with Japan was not very successful, and the EIC eventually withdrew from its trading station in Japan in 1623 (115).

Although my focus is on Anglo-Japanese relations in the nineteenth century and after, Screech's account of seventeenth-century Anglo-Japanese trade is instructive. It is an unusual account of failure rather than success in trade, and it focuses on the exchange of art objects and luxury items (diplomatic gifts and paintings) rather than prosaic commodities (woollen textiles). Following Screech, this chapter examines Anglo-Japanese trade in the nineteenth century from a perspective that foregrounds commodities traded in small quantities, as well as the aesthetic dimension of these commodities traded. In other words, this chapter focuses on Japan's import of luxury goods from Britain (and Europe in general) in the nineteenth century in order to understand the emphasis that the neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga series *Lady Victorian* [*Redii Vikutorian*] (1999-2007) and *Kuroshitsuji* (2007-present) place on luxury goods in their narratives.

In his study of Japan's treaty ports in the second half of the nineteenth century, J. E. Hoare notes that British and European trade with Japan at the time was much less important in quantity and value than the trade with China (177). Susan Hanley states that Meiji Japan focused on importing Western technology, such as steam and electric-powered machines, which would help it "catch up"

with the West. When Japan did import Western objects that it did not "need," Hanley argues, it consumed these objects only as superficial and short-lived fads (173). In Hanley's view, the consumption of Western things such as Western-style umbrellas, shawls, bread and red meat was primarily on the level "of style and in no way constitute[d] radical cultural shifts" (174). Penelope Francks similarly argues that the import of Western manufactured consumer goods into Japan in the nineteenth century was limited, and that these goods therefore had little impact on the everyday lives of ordinary Japanese consumers (8-9, 77, 103). This chapter, however, contends that Western manufactured consumer goods did have a significant impact on Japanese society precisely because they were imported in limited quantities and consumed by elites as luxury goods. These Western luxury goods shaped how the Japanese in the nineteenth century understood what "high culture" was, and they encouraged the Japanese to acquire the Western cultural knowledge that they needed to appreciate high culture in the "correct" manner. *Lady Victorian* and *Kuroshitsuji* prompt us to think about how this history of "catching up" with the West in a cultural rather than technological sense has shaped the way in which the Japanese today continue to think of Japan's relation to "Western modernity" in terms of Japan's lack of Western cultural capital.

For *Lady Victorian* and *Kuroshitsuji*, "Western modernity" refers to the cultural capital required to consume Western-style luxury goods without appearing vulgar or ignorant. The two manga series embody the snobbery of Margaret Hale in *North and South* (1855), who "do[esn't] like shoppy people" because of their apparent lack of good taste (50). However, *Lady Victorian* and *Kuroshitsuji* represent the opposition between North and South not as a divide between classes within a nation-state, but as a divide between nation-states. They imply that Japan, despite having become a major economic power after the Second World War, still lacks this cultural capital that distinguishes Britain (and Europe more generally) as a global cultural power both in the nineteenth century and in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. The idealised depictions of Western-style luxury goods in the two manga are imbued with what the Japanese call *akogare* ("yearning," "aspiration") to possess this cultural capital, which the manga associate with the aristocracy in Victorian Britain.

Yet on the other hand, *Kuroshitsuji* compensates for this sense of Japanese cultural belatedness by suggesting that Japan possesses a different kind of cultural capital more suited to global flows of popular culture commodities in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. The manga thus gestures towards the creation of a Japanese cultural and economic empire based on the export of popular culture, which would complement, rather than compete with, the prestige of British high culture. The manga implies that Japan has an innate ability to hybridise Western and Asian cultures to produce popular culture products that appeal to consumers around the world and especially within Asia. In other words, Japan makes up in production what it lacks in consumption. *Kuroshitsuji*'s championing of Japan's supposedly unique talent for hybridisation echoes what politicians and cultural commentators in Japan have said in recent years about Japan's leading position in transnational flows of popular culture. These nationalistic representations of Japan as a popular cultural powerhouse in turn echo earlier nationalistic discourses that promoted Japanese imperialism in the 1930s and 1940s.

In reading *Lady Victorian* and *Kuroshitsuji* in relation to the Meiji project of "catching up" with the West and the project's subsequent transmutation into Japanese imperialism, this chapter demonstrates that the current emphasis on exporting manga, anime, J-pop music, television dramas and so on is not a purely contemporary phenomenon. Japan's turn to the "creative economy" after the bursting of the bubble in 1990 is refracted through these earlier historical developments, which, *Lady Victorian* and *Kuroshitsuji* suggest, can be traced back to the flow of luxury goods from Britain and Europe to Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Like their Victorian precursors, *Lady Victorian* and *Kuroshitsuji* are filled with household goods that appear to serve as nothing more than the backdrop to the story. These manga are rich in detail and often depict their characters surrounded by clothes, accessories, furniture, books, paintings, food and drink, carriages, and other objects that make up the paraphernalia of their Victorian narrative worlds (Fig. 26).

Fig. 26: Chapter One title page, *Lady Victorian*, Vol. 1.

In Fig. 26, for example, material objects vie with the characters for the reader's attention. The female protagonist Bell wears a frilly floral dress, shimmery fingerless gloves, and a long, flowing veil. She leans her elbows on floral cushions, and behind her is a large oval mirror reflecting her future husband Noel. Gauzy curtains frame both Bell in her boudoir and Noel's reflection in the mirror.

As Elaine Freedgood demonstrates in *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (2006), such objects in literary and cultural texts seem purely ornamental but actually tell stories of their own. Freedgood argues that the seemingly meaningless things that abound in the Victorian realist novel actually connect to material conditions in the text's context of production that have become obscure to the present-day reader. For Freedgood, objects in the Victorian realist novel are therefore repositories of repressed historical knowledge (20, 23-25). Furthermore, as Freedgood shows in her readings of mahogany furniture and checked cotton curtains in *Jane Eyre* and *Mary Barton*, these objects are often repositories of repressed imperial histories.[71] Likewise, objects in *Lady Victorian* and *Kuroshitsuji* are bound up with the history of Japan's importation of "Western-style" (*yōshiki*) commodities, such as printed cotton textiles, in the context of informal Western imperialism in East Asia in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Global Commodities I: Clothing and Textiles

Like most other *shōjo* manga, *Lady Victorian* places a great deal of emphasis on the rendering of characters' costumes. The manga often features full-body depictions of its female characters that take up the entire page, and which resemble fashion illustrations. The dresses worn by the character Lady Ethel are especially elaborate. The manga encourages the reader to identify with the lower-middle-class protagonist Bell, who looks up to the aristocratic Lady Ethel as an ideal to aspire to. In

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[71] See Freedgood 30-54, 55-80.

Fig. 27, the second panel from the right shows Bell looking in the direction of Lady Ethel with ecstatic admiration.

Fig. 27: Bell gazes upon Lady Ethel with admiration. (*Lady Victorian*, Vol. 2, pp. 22-23)

Bell wears a simple dark-coloured dress and checked cape. As the reader reads from right to left, his/her gaze travels from Bell to the object of her admiration, Lady Ethel. In contrast to Bell's relatively plain outfit, much of Lady Ethel's outfit seems to be made of different kinds of lace with intricate floral designs. The verbal text on the right of the image of Lady Ethel represents Bell's interior discourse, and it expresses Bell's admiration for Lady Ethel as a "first-ranking young lady of the Great British Empire who is more elegant than anyone else" (*dare yori yūga na daieiteikoku ichi no shukujo*). The medium close-up shot of Lady Ethel dominates the composition of the two facing pages, and the profusion of details in the panel encourages the reader's gaze to linger on Lady Ethel. Like Bell, the reader is arrested by the beauty of Lady Ethel and her clothes. The text thereby encourages the reader to share Bell's yearning to become a "Lady" (*redii*) like Lady Ethel.

By idealising Lady Ethel, *Lady Victorian* implies that being a "Lady" requires both the financial means and the cultural knowledge to consume luxury goods. In this way, the manga encourages the reader to desire not only to possess luxury goods, but also to know how to use these luxury goods in the "proper" fashion. Arjun Appadurai defines a luxury good as a commodity that requires specialised knowledge for its appropriate consumption (38). Luxury goods, according to Appadurai, are "goods whose principal use is *rhetorical* and *social*, goods that are simply *incarnated signs*" that signify that the owners of these goods belong to an elite social group, which possesses the specialised knowledge needed to consume these goods (38). Appadurai's definition of luxury goods draws on Pierre Bourdieu's formulation of cultural capital as knowledge that enables one to consume, use, comprehend, and appreciate objects, and to thereby gain social power (Bourdieu, "Forms of Capital" 96).

Although Appadurai does not theorise what the nature of the cultural capital required for consuming luxury goods might be, Werner Sombart's classic definition of luxury points us to the aesthetic dimension of luxury consumption. For Sombart, luxury goods give the consumer "sensuous pleasure" (60-61) that is "in excess of the necessary" (59).[72] Going back to Bourdieu, we can say that luxury goods require the consumer to possess a particular kind of cultural capital, which Bourdieu calls "the aesthetic disposition" or aesthetic "taste." This kind of "taste," according to Bourdieu, privileges the commodity's ability to please the consumer's senses over the community's practical function (Bourdieu, *Distinction* 3, 42). Furthermore, those who adopt such an aestheticist attitude towards commodity consumption constitute a "cultural nobility," which is able to translate its cultural capital into social power, thereby distinguishing itself from the lower classes in the society it inhabits (Bourdieu, *Distinction* 22-26). The aristocratic Lady Ethel embodies this "aristocratic" taste in her consumption of luxury goods in *Lady Victorian*. Bell's desire to become a "Lady" like Lady Ethel is in effect a desire to acquire not only the economic capital, but also the cultural capital to consume luxury goods, and to thereby join the ranks of the "cultural nobility."

Lady Victorian brings home this point in an early scene where Lady Ethel takes Bell to the Whiteley's department store. Whiteley's and other department stores in London, such as Harrods (to be discussed in Chapter Four), actually catered to mostly middle-class female shoppers in the nineteenth century (Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure* 3-4). The manga, however, portrays Whiteley's as a site of aristocratic consumption that attracts the likes of Lady Ethel. Bell laments that with the salary she earns as a governess, she cannot even afford a handkerchief at Whiteley's. Although the exorbitant prices of the luxury goods on sale play a significant role in excluding lower middle-class consumers like Bell, the text represents Whiteley's as a space of commodity consumption where prices do not appear to matter (Fig. 28).

Fig. 28: Lady Ethel and Bell go shopping at Whiteley's department store. (*Lady Victorian*, Vol. 2, p. 25)

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[72] Like Sombart, Christopher J. Berry and Maxine Berg acknowledge that the ability to give the consumer physical pleasure is one of the main characteristics of luxury goods. See Berry; and Berg.

Neither Lady Ethel nor the retail assistant mentions the prices of the goods that the latter recommends to the former. While this implicitly acknowledges that Lady Ethel has the economic resources to purchase all of the goods without difficulty, it also implies that Lady Ethel has the cultural capital to appreciate the goods for their aesthetic value, rather than their exchange value (price) or their practical functions. The retail assistant persuades Lady Ethel to buy the tiara she tries on by describing how well it brings out the colour of her hair and eyes. While Lady Ethel consumes luxury goods like the tiara primarily for their aesthetic qualities, Bell lacks the cultural capital to do the same.

Bell, unlike her idol Lady Ethel, is clearly uncomfortable around luxury goods (Fig. 29).

Fig. 29: Bell accidentally pulls a candlestick holder off its stand. (*Lady Victorian*, Vol. 2, p. 102)

As she watches Lady Ethel dance with her brother Lord Martin, Bell leans towards an elaborately carved candlestick holder perched precariously on an equally elaborately carved stand. Her hair gets caught in the candlestick holder, and she accidentally pulls the holder off the stand, causing both items of furniture to topple onto her. In a later scene, Bell trips over the elaborate evening dress that Lady Ethel has given her to wear when dancing at a ball. By highlighting Bell's painfully gauche ineptitude in consuming luxury goods, and contrasting it with Lady Ethel's effortless elegance, the manga demonstrates that being a "Lady" is inextricably tied to the proper consumption of luxury commodities.

The manga makes this connection between being a "Lady" and consuming luxury goods on a linguistic level as well. The characters' choice of words when describing anything that is related to being a "Lady" points to a semantic association between nobility of class, nobility of character, and material things. Bell's mother tells Bell "not to forget the dignity and pride of being a lady" (*redii toshite no kihin to hokori o wasurezu ni*) when she leaves home to work as a governess. With her mother's injunction in mind, Bell speculates about the class status of her employers, the Rum family. Bell thinks that she would prefer Mrs Rum to be "elegant and gentle" (*jōhin de yasashikute*). The entry for the word *kihin* (気品) in the *Taishūkan Kangorin* dictionary lists three meanings: "a

multitude of different things" (*banbutsu*); "moral character" (*kigurai*, *jinpin*); and "noble and dignified behaviour" (*kedakai omomuki*). *Kihin* clearly has the second and third meanings in the context of Bell's mother's injunction, but the first meaning is also significant, as I will show. Likewise, *jōhin* (上品) has three similar meanings in the *Kangorin* dictionary. *Jōhin* can refer to the upper-class or caste status of a person (*iegara ga yoi*, *jōryū kaikyū*), or the excellent moral character of a person (*hin ga yoi*), but it can also refer to goods that are of high quality (*jōtō na shina*). Both *kihin* (気品) and *jōhin* (上品) share the same *kanji* character *hin* (品, also pronounced as *shina*), which, like *kihin* and *jōhin*, refers to "hierarchies of things or people" (*mono ka hito no kaikyū*), "moral character" (*jinkaku*), and "material goods" (*shinamono*). Although Bell and her mother use *kihin* and *jōhin* to refer to a person's moral fibre and/or social status, the character *hin*/*shina* in these two words connects the abstract qualities of class and character that Bell and her mother are concerned with to material things, especially high-quality luxury goods.[73] Through this conjunction of semantic meanings, *Lady Victorian* suggests that, in order for one to have the moral character of a "Lady," one must ultimately be a member of the aristocracy; one must possess the economic capital to purchase luxury goods; and one must also possess the "aristocratic" cultural capital to consume these luxury goods without looking ignorant or vulgar.

The aspiration to acquire such cultural capital is intertwined with the history of trade in manufactured consumer goods between Japan and Britain (and Europe) in the second half of the nineteenth century. *Lady Victorian* places a lot of emphasis not only on the dresses that its female characters wear, but also on the materials of which these dresses are made. This emphasis on cloth, rather than simply on clothing, prompts the reader to connect the commodities that appear in the manga's Victorian narrative universe to the export of textiles and other luxury goods from Britain to

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[73] According to the ancient Chinese *Kangxi* dictionary, the *kanji* character *hin*/*shina* (*pin* in Mandarin) originally had two meanings which have shaped contemporary Japanese usage of the character. *Pin* refers both to the idea of categories, which includes moral character as a means of categorising people, and the material things that are put into categories. The usage of *hin*/*shina* in contemporary Japanese continues to exemplify this double meaning of the abstract and the concrete. I would like to thank Michael Tsang for bringing this to my attention.

Japan's treaty ports in the nineteenth century. When read in the light of this flow of Western goods into Japan, the desire for cultural capital that *Lady Victorian* articulates becomes a desire for the cultural capital necessary for consuming "Western-style" (*yōshiki*) commodities specifically.

With its Victorian setting and plethora of Western-style consumer goods, *Lady Victorian* implicitly points to how Westernisation in Japan in the nineteenth century not only involved adopting Western-style political institutions and capitalist economic practices, but also involved consuming Western-style commodities. The manga suggests that Meiji Japan understood "Western modernity" not only in political and economic terms, but also in cultural terms to signify the possession of aristocratic cultural capital that would enable one to consume Western-style luxury goods in a classy and tasteful manner. In looking back on this history of Westernisation in Japan in the nineteenth century, the manga perpetuates the desire for this cultural form of "Western modernity" in the late 1990s and 2000s. In encouraging the implied Japanese reader to identify with Bell's yearning to "catch up" with Lady Ethel, *Lady Victorian* suggests that the Japanese nation lags behind Britain (and Europe in general) in attaining cultural capital, and therefore lags behind these nations in attaining "modernity." Reading the manga in relation to the history of Anglo-Japanese trade in the nineteenth century thereby reveals that the flow of Western luxury goods into Japan, rather than being a matter "of style and in no way constitut[ive] of radical cultural shifts" (Hanley 174), has had a lasting impact on how the Japanese since the nineteenth century perceive their position in global hierarchies of cultural power.

Like the illustrations in Fig. 26 and Fig. 27, the front jacket cover of Volume Four of *Lady Victorian* (Fig. 30) draws the reader's attention to clothing and fabrics. It prompts the reader to connect the textiles that appear in the narrative to the textile trade between Japan and Britain (and Europe) in the second half of the nineteenth century. Fig. 30 depicts the male character Argent Grey (Lady Ethel's alter-ego) holding a peach-coloured dress with a rose motif pattern and white lace trimmings.

Fig. 30: Argent Grey holding a dress. (*Lady Victorian*, Vol. 4, front jacket cover illustration)

This dress is presumably one that he wears when performing as Lady Ethel, but the medium-shot framing of the image gives a fragmented view of the dress, and makes it look like a large piece of fabric instead. The dress thus loses its form and function as an item of clothing, and becomes a decorative element in the *mise en scène* of the image. By foregrounding the decorative over the practical, the manga transforms the dress into a luxury commodity whose aesthetic value takes precedence over its usefulness.

The manga also does this by alluding to the figures of the dandy and the male Aesthete in nineteenth-century Britain. The floral ornaments that Argent wears on the lapel of his coat and on his top hat queer his otherwise staid and practical gentleman's outfit, and bring to mind Oscar Wilde's experimentation with mixing male and female dress. Wilde, as discussed in the previous chapter, championed the male Aesthete's ability to appreciate women's fashion as an art form rather than as mere fashion. In referencing the dandy and the Aesthete, the illustration in Fig. 30 echoes their notions of aesthetic taste, and persuades the reader to see the dress that Argent holds as a beautiful work of art instead of a functional, or even fashionable, object. The dress, or rather, the piece of fabric, that takes centre stage in Fig. 30 is a luxury textile, and it encourages the reader to think about the connection between the manga's investment in the detailed depiction of textiles, and the textile trade between Japan and Britain (and Europe) in the nineteenth century.

Luxury cotton textiles featured prominently in exports from Britain and other European countries to Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Kawakatsu Heita, the cotton textiles made in Britain and those made in Japan were very different in texture, and were therefore used in different ways by Japanese consumers. As a result, there was no real competition between British and Japanese cotton textile manufacturers in the Japanese market (Kawakatsu 38-39). Most British cotton textiles had high yarn counts, which gave them a very fine texture, whereas the cloth produced by the Japanese indigenous cotton textile industry was coarser (Riello 282). In *Cotton:*

The Fabric that Made the Modern World, Giorgio Riello argues that the British (and European) cotton textile industries in the nineteenth century focused mainly on producing "middle-quality product[s]" for the "middle market" that was expanding in Europe and most of the world (280). However, British "middle-quality" cotton textiles became luxury commodities when imported into Japan. This was not because they were more expensive than Japanese cotton textiles (some types of British cotton textiles were actually cheaper), but because they had a highly refined texture, and were also used to mark the consumer's social distinction.[74]

Because of their light and fine quality, Japanese consumers did not use British cotton textiles for their everyday wear, and continued to prefer the coarser-grade cotton textiles produced domestically (Kawakatsu 38-39; Riello 282; Francks 99). Japanese consumers bought refined and bleached white cotton textiles (known as "shirting") from British and other European manufacturers primarily for making Western-style shirts, which they wore to signify that they belonged to the social elite. After the Meiji Emperor issued an edict in 1871, male government officials began to wear Western-style shirts to work as part of the official dress code in order to demonstrate how "civilised and enlightened" they were in contrast to the majority of Japanese people who continued to wear kimono (Fig. 31).[75]

Fig. 31: "The Progress of Civilisation," from John Russell Young's *Around the World with General Grant* (1879) (p. 477).

Besides British shirting and the Western-style shirts made out of this shirting, Japanese consumers in the nineteenth century consumed many other luxury textiles and commodities imported

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[74] Several types of British cotton textiles exported to Japan were considerably cheaper than those produced locally. In 1899, grey shirtings imported from Britain cost approximately ¥0.0687 per square yard, and white shirtings cost ¥0.1051 per square yard. In the same year, Japan exported its locally-woven *gasuitōri* and *chijimi* cotton cloth to China at approximately ¥0.2186 per square yard and ¥0.2913 per square yard respectively. All calculations of unit price are based on the data collected in the 1899 *Annual Return of the Foreign Trade of the Empire of Japan* (*Dai Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō*).

[75] As part of the Meiji state's "civilisation and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*) reforms, the Emperor issued an edict in 1871 ordering all high-ranking officials to wear Western-style clothes to work. By 1887, even officials in the provinces were wearing frock coats (Hirano 406-07).

from Britain and Europe to distinguish themselves as "modern." In her history of consumption in Japan, Francks remarks that most ordinary Japanese people in the Meiji period still wore kimono but wore Western-style accessories as symbols of "modernity" (98). The most popular symbols of "civilisation and enlightenment" in this period, according to Francks, included the Western-style umbrella, the pocket-watch, and the woollen shawl (98-99). The Meiji novelist Natsume Sōseki observed that "men would show off by dangling gold watches, wearing Western dress, growing beards, and interjecting English phrases when speaking ordinary Japanese" (qtd. in Hirakawa, *Japan's Love-Hate Relationship with the West* 120). Tamura Hitoshi's history of fashion in Japan reveals that in the Meiji period a *furoshiki* (wrapping cloth) in imported printed calico (most probably from Britain) was a highly desirable luxury item among the urban rich and the rural elite (qtd. in Francks 100).[76]

As the Whiteley's department store scene in *Lady Victorian* demonstrates, luxury goods in general require a high level of both economic and cultural capital for their consumption. Luxury goods are almost always very expensive. Although British shirting was cheaper than the coarse cotton textiles produced in Japan, many of the other kinds of textiles and commodities Japan imported from Britain (and Europe) were relatively pricey. In 1882, a yard of chintz or printed cotton imported from Britain cost approximately ¥0.064 per yard, which would have enabled one to buy an entire kilogram of soy sauce, which was by then widely consumed as a basic necessity in the cities. In 1899, printed cotton cloth from Britain cost approximately ¥0.1341 per square yard, cotton satins cost ¥0.1969, cotton velvets cost ¥0.4123 and *mousseline de laine* (dyed and printed) from France cost ¥0.4247.[77]

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[76] There is yet another node in this network of trade between Britain, Europe, and Japan, as calico was a prized luxury good made in India, and exported to Europe until the late eighteenth century, when British cotton textile manufacturers successfully copied Indian weaving techniques, and began the mass production and export of calico to countries such as Japan and even India itself. For a detailed account of this history of technology transfer and competition between the British and Indian textile industries, see Chapters 8 and 10 of Riello.

[77] Printed cotton cloth and cotton satins imported from Britain in 1899 were, however, cheaper than the *gasuitōri* and *chijimi* cotton cloth Japan exported to China in the same year. All calculations of value in this paragraph are derived from the trade statistics recorded in the 1882 and 1899 editions of the *Annual Return of the Foreign Trade of the Empire of Japan* (*Dai Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō*).

Forty-two gold and platinum pocket-watches, such as those Sōseki mentions in his description of Japanese adopting Western dress, were imported from Britain in 1899 at approximately ¥41.9057 per watch. Although these figures seem small by today's standards, one yen was worth a considerable amount of money in Japan in the nineteenth century. This is evident when we see that in 1899, Japan exported one rickshaw (*jinrikisha*) to France at a declared value of ¥48. These trade statistics indicate that the consumer goods Japan imported from Britain and Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century were relatively limited in number and relatively expensive. It is highly likely that these imported products were consumed by affluent Japanese as exclusive luxury goods that demonstrated their wealth and also, crucially, their "modernity."

Lady Victorian offers an alternative angle on the Meiji project of Westernisation when read in the light of this history of luxury consumption in nineteenth-century Japan. The text's emphasis on how one consumes, rather than simply what one consumes, encourages us to think that the "modernity" that Japanese consumers in the nineteenth century sought was the cultural knowledge required to consume Western luxury goods, rather than the consumption of Western luxury goods per se. As Francks reveals in *The Japanese Consumer* (2009), Japan had begun to produce its own versions of these imported Western products by the end of the nineteenth century (101-103). The watch shop of the founder of Seikō, the bakery and confectioner Fūgetsudō, and the pharmacy that later became Shiseidō had set up shops in the Ginza bazaars by the late nineteenth century, and were already selling Western-style products made in Japan (Francks 83). The *Annual Return of the Foreign Trade of the Empire of Japan* [*Dai Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō*] shows that by 1899, Japan was already manufacturing Western-style products such as beer, toothbrushes, "tooth-powder" and Western-style umbrellas and exporting these products to China and other Asian countries.[78] Seen in this light, *Lady Victorian* implies that what Japan lacked in the nineteenth century was not access to Western-style luxury commodities. The manga implies that what Japan really lacked was Western cultural capital.

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[78] See section entitled "Japanese Produce and Manufactures" ["Naikokusan"] in "Quantity and Value of Commodities Exported to Various Foreign Countries" ["Yushutsu hin kuni betsu hyō"] in the 1899 *Annual Return of the Foreign Trade of Japan* [*Dai Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō*], 144-194.

Furthermore, in encouraging the (implied Japanese) reader to identify with the protagonist's desire to attain such cultural capital, the manga implies that contemporary Japan, despite its postwar economic affluence, still lacks this cultural capital, and therefore continues to lag behind the West.

This desire expressed in *Lady Victorian* for the cultural capital of the West, rather than for Western-style luxury goods per se, has its historical counterpart in the opening of the Rokumeikan in 1884. The Meiji state built the Rokumeikan, a social hall where officials could hold Western-style balls, in a bid to make Japan appear civilised, and thereby persuade the European and American imperial powers to revise the unequal treaties they had signed with Japan (Hirano 407). As we can see from this *ukiyo-e* woodblock print from 1888 (Fig. 32), Meiji officials and their families wore Western dress to the Rokumeikan.

Fig. 32: Adolescent children of high-ranking state officials and members of the imperial court attending daytime dancing classes at the Rokumeikan ("Description"). Chikanobu Yoshu, *A Glimpse of Dignitaries Dancing* (*Kiken butō no ryakuke*), 1888. Woodcuts, ink on paper, 34.93 cm x 70.49 cm

However, according to Hirano Ken'ichiro, the Western-style ball gowns that the Japanese ladies wore were in an anachronistic *décolleté* style, which was already outdated in Europe by the 1880s (409). Clearly, the Meiji officials and their families could afford to buy the same ball gowns and other luxury goods consumed by the aristocratic classes in Britain and Europe, but their failure to properly imitate European ways of consuming these luxury goods points to a national desire to catch up with the West in terms of not only economic capital but cultural capital as well.

In articulating and perpetuating this desire to catch up with the West, *Lady Victorian* registers a paradoxical sense of time that is produced by Japan's encounter with Western imperialism and Westernisation in the nineteenth century, and which continues to fuel Japan's sense of inadequacy in relation to British (and European) cultural power in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. In other words, *Lady Victorian* suggests that contemporary Japan looks back to an imagined Victorian British past for a vision of Western cultural modernity that it projects into the future as an ideal to

attain. This manga fantasy of a "high-cultural" Victorian Britain is undeniably a product of cultural translation, but unlike the acts of hybridity Homi Bhabha discusses in *The Location of Culture* (1994), the idealised image of Victorian Britain in *Lady Victorian* does not acknowledge the agency of the Japanese to rework cultural meanings received from a former imperial power. Japanese neo-Victorian manga celebrate this power of hybridisation only when it comes to the Japanese production of popular culture, as the following section demonstrates.

Global Commodities II: Food[79]

Like *Lady Victorian*, *Kuroshitsuji* implies that Japan in the 2000s continues to lag behind Britain (and Europe) when it comes to knowing how to consume Western-style luxury goods. *Kuroshitsuji* too translates the class inequality that Bourdieu speaks of in his theory of cultural capital into an inter-national form of inequality between Japan and Britain, but it does so in a much more obvious way than *Lady Victorian*, and it does so through its representations of food.

Many of the food items that appear in *Kuroshitsuji* are, strictly speaking, not commodities. They are hand-made by the butler characters, Sebastian and Agni, for the personal consumption of their masters and their masters' guests. These food items are not produced for commercial exchange, and are not de-contextualised from the raw materials and human labour that go into their making. Nevertheless, *Kuroshitsuji* turns these food items into commodities through the way in which it visually represents these food items. The text often interrupts the flow of plot action to draw the reader's attention to the food items that appear in the *mise en scène*. It deliberately displays these food items to the reader in close-up shots, which are often accompanied by non-diegetic ribbon banner motifs that indicate the name of the dish(es) and the meal (breakfast, lunch etc.) that the dish(es) is/are served for.

Fig. 33: "Today's dessert: Apricot and green tea-flavoured *mille-feuille*." (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 1, p. 38)

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[79] This section of the chapter significantly revises previously published material. See Loh.

Fig. 34: "Today's snack: 'Orchard Fruits' cake with pear, plums, and blackberries." (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 1, p. 59)

Fig. 35: "Today's snack: Apple and raisin pie." (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 1, p. 102)

In directing the reader's attention away from the action occurring in these scenes to focus on these food items, the text detaches the food items from the plot and setting of the narrative, and turns them into objects of interest in their own right. This de-contextualisation of the food items mirrors the process of abstraction that is central to Marx's definition of the commodity. For Marx, an object becomes a commodity when it conceals the social relations that have shaped its production beneath an abstract exchange value (price) (Marx 120-26). This detachment of the commodity from its context of production makes the commodity appear independent of the human world and of human control (Marx 120-26). The commodity thus becomes a "fetish" that seems to exercise a mystical power of its own over human beings (Marx 120-26). By extracting food items out of their embedded location in the plot and setting of the narrative, and encouraging the reader to fixate on these food items, *Kuroshitsuji* performs the abstracting process of commodification, and transforms the food items it depicts into commodity fetishes.

Moreover, *Kuroshitsuji* transforms these food items into luxury commodity fetishes that are prized for their aesthetic qualities rather than for their usefulness. The text depicts food items in a highly realistic style that does not quite conform to what Murakami Takashi and others have called the Superflat aesthetic of manga and anime. The Superflat aesthetic is an aesthetic of commodification, where the extreme flatness of the manga or anime image points to how things are detached from their socio-economic context of production, and are "flattened out" into abstract signs of monetary value and social status. In his article on Superflatness in contemporary Japanese popular culture and pop art, Michael Darling describes "superflattening," in the context of contemporary Japanese consumerism, as a process in which "the essence of the coveted object – in this case a brand-name dress or purse – is transformed through hype and consumer demand into a stylised graphic object that

is almost nothing but a brand" (83).[80] The Superflat aesthetic in *Kuroshitsuji* registers this process of abstraction that "flattens out" objects into commodities. In Chapter One, I discussed how *Kuroshitsuji* employs a postmodern Gothic aesthetic to point to the commodified nature of the Gothic in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. The depiction of the Undertaker's shop (Fig. 8) is extremely planar. The figures of the characters, the shop door, and the coffin and tombstones flanking the door are positioned in a highly linear arrangement. The speech bubbles add to the planarity through their superimposition, also in a linear fashion, over the picture of the characters and the shop entrance. This horizontal composition directs the reader's gaze to move across the flat "layers" of the panel, taking in visual and verbal information from one side to the other, instead of moving toward a vanishing point in a Cartesian illusion of depth. The flatness of the image is further emphasised by the high black-and-white contrast and minimal use of shading, which diminishes the sense of three-dimensionality in the objects depicted.

While employing this Superflat style to allude to the "flattening out" of objects into commodities, *Kuroshitsuji* also uses a hyper-realistic style to depict food items. This decidedly non-Superflat style of representation transforms these food items into specifically *luxury* commodities that call for the consumer to appreciate them first and foremost for their aesthetic beauty. In Fig. 33, the ribbon banner motif, the ornamental border, and the speech bubble are Superflat elements layered onto the image of the dessert. The image of the dessert itself, however, is not Superflat. The dessert depicted in Fig. 33 is an apricot and green tea-flavoured *mille-feuille*. Like a Superflat image, the *mille-feuille* is made out of multiple flat layers (of puff pastry and cream) stacked one on top of another. However, the corners of each layer in the *mille-feuille* in Fig. 33 are not aligned neatly, and

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[80] Contemporary Japanese pop artist Murakami Takashi and other cultural commentators such as Sawaragi Noi and Azuma Hiroki (and Darling himself, in other parts of his article) have posited alternative interpretations that read Superflatness in relation to the "infantilism" of Japan's subordination to the US after defeat in the Second World War (Murakami), and to the "postmodern" playing with texts and images that *otaku* (male geeks) engage in (Azuma). See Murakami, "A Theory of Super Flat Japanese Art"; Azuma, "Super Flat Speculation" and *Otaku*; and Sawaragi Noi, qtd. in Murakami, "Superflat Trilogy" 151-61. Thomas Lamarre offers a critical overview of Superflat theory in Chapter 10 of *The Anime Machine*.

this deliberate imperfection gives a sense of structure to the dessert, and emphasises the materiality of the stacked layers, thereby creating a realistic illusion of three-dimensionality.

Likewise, the front jacket cover of Volume Two depicts food in a very realistic style that does not fit the Superflat aesthetic of the rest of the image (Fig. 36).

Fig. 36: Sebastian holds a tray full of pastries. (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 2, front jacket cover illustration)

The front cover shows Sebastian holding a three-tiered tray full of pastries while turning back slightly to look at the reader. Most of the image is Superflat. The thick black outlines that the manga artist, Toboso Yana, uses to render Sebastian's face and hair create an impression of flatness, and the background is in a single shade of white and has no vanishing point. However, the pastries and the plates are drawn in an almost photo-realistic style that makes the food stand out from the rest of the image. Toboso completely avoids using black ink outlines to render the pastries and plates, and instead uses shades of colour to demarcate the shapes of these objects. Toboso's use of colour to outline objects, and her highly detailed rendering of texture, give the depiction of food in Fig. 36 the realistic effect of a still-life in oils. By using the visual language of European high art, the manga turns the food items it portrays into beautiful luxury commodities. As in *Lady Victorian*, luxury goods in *Kuroshitsuji* are art objects that call upon the characters and the reader to acquire the aristocratic cultural capital needed to consume them for their aesthetic beauty rather than for their practical uses.

Like *Lady Victorian*, *Kuroshitsuji* maps class inequality in the consumption of luxury goods onto an inter-national hierarchy, and implies that "middle-class" Japan in the 2000s still trails behind "aristocratic" Britain (and Europe) in acquiring cultural capital. *Kuroshitsuji*, however, makes this point more explicitly than *Lady Victorian*. The characters in *Kuroshitsuji* are national stereotypes, and their interactions with each other allegorise a hierarchical system of international relations. The text sets up a contrast between the aristocratic protagonist Count Ciel Phantomhive and the nouveau riche businessman Harold West in terms of their consumption practices. This class-based opposition takes on national overtones when Ciel describes West as a *burando zuki* ("brand-lover"). The *burando*

zuki is a familiar Japanese stereotype, and it refers to a person who obsessively buys (or desires to buy) products from famous luxury brands, usually with the intention to show off. Despite his name, West represents the Japanese inability to consume luxury goods in an appropriately tasteful manner. When the furniture in his house becomes collateral damage in a fight, West makes it a point to name the brand of each household item as it is smashed to pieces (Fig. 37).

Fig. 37: West screams in agony as his furniture is destroyed: "Gyaaaa! The chest I bought at General Trading! . . . Stop! That's the one-of-a-kind galle lamp I bought at Thomas Goode's!" (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 4, p. 141)

Clearly, the brands of the items matter more to West than the items themselves. The text pokes fun at West for showing off his branded possessions even as they are being destroyed, and lampoons him for consuming luxury goods for the opportunities they give him to flaunt his wealth. *Kuroshitsuji* implies that the Japanese nation, like the laughable *burando zuki* who indulges in conspicuous consumption, lacks the cultural capital to consume luxury goods in a "proper" and tasteful manner.

In contrast, the aristocratic Ciel stands for Britain and its possession of the aristocratic cultural capital that Japan lacks. Unlike the crass and showy Harold West, Ciel possesses the aesthetic taste that enables him to appreciate luxury goods, such as the food items discussed earlier, for their aesthetic qualities rather than for their social value as status symbols. The first episode of the manga series opens with a stereotypically "English" scenario where Ciel's butler Sebastian serves Ciel a cup of tea. Ciel is able to identify the type of tea that Sebastian serves him simply by smelling its fragrance. Sebastian discreetly informs Ciel that the tea is from Royal Doulton, and that the porcelain tea set that he is serving the tea in is from Wedgewood, but Ciel makes no response.[81] Ciel evidently has the specialised knowledge of a connoisseur who prioritises the aesthetic qualities of the tea and the tea set over their brand-names. This contrast between Ciel and Harold West implies that contemporary Japan, like the middle-class Harold West, now has the economic means to buy luxury goods, but

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[81] The manga artist appears to have made a factual error here, as Royal Doulton (established in 1815) specialises in ceramic, glass, and crystal tableware and decorative items for the household, not tea.

lacks the crucial cultural knowledge of the "real" West, represented by Ciel, to consume these luxury goods.[82]

However, unlike *Lady Victorian*, *Kuroshitsuji* counters this sense of cultural inferiority by asserting that contemporary Japan possesses a different kind of cultural capital that will enable the nation to (re)gain economic and cultural hegemony in Asia and the world in the twenty-first century. *Kuroshitsuji* thus shifts the site of international competition for power from consumption to production. The manga contends that contemporary Japan, although it lacks the cultural capital in order to succeed in the former field of competition, has the cultural capital to occupy a leading position in the latter. It implies that the Japanese have an innate ability to hybridise Western and Asian cultures to produce popular culture products that have universal appeal.

Kuroshitsuji does this allegorically by juxtaposing the various characters that represent different nations as they seek to outdo one another in a curry-cooking competition. Three of the British competitors are eliminated for using bland store-bought curry powder. Curry powder, the text takes pains to explain to the reader, is a nineteenth-century Anglo-Indian invention. Imperial Britain, according to Colin Spencer's *British Food: An Extraordinary Thousand Years of History*, created its own version of Indian curry because it "felt itself to be far superior to any other nation in the world, and that like Ancient Rome before it, could steal with impunity any idea or culture it thought desirable" (280-81). *Kuroshitsuji*, however, implies that imperial Britain fails at hybridising Indian and British culture.

The Indian chef Agni, on the other hand, fails to even attempt to hybridise. He cooks a delicious and "authentic curry made by an Indian" (*Indojin no tsukuru honkaku karii*) but he does not win the prize. India, the text implies, is too traditional and therefore incapable of even attempting

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[82] It is often said that postwar Japanese society perceives itself to be homogenously middle-class. More than 75 percent of Japanese people identified themselves as middle-class in a national survey conducted in 1996. See McCargo 90.

cultural hybridisation, and this is consistent with the text's Orientalist representation of the Indian characters as backward and superstitious.[83]

The Chinese character Lau does not take part in the curry-cooking competition, but supports Sebastian by using his position as manager of the British branch of a Shanghai-based trading company to import fresh spices from India to Britain.[84] Here, the text alludes to the historical role that Chinese merchants played in the treaty port system in East Asia in the nineteenth century. Chinese merchants thrived in the intra-regional trade centred on Shanghai, which connected the various treaty ports and colonial ports in China, Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia.[85] Chinese traders, for example, bought British cotton textiles at Shanghai, and re-exported them to other ports in the region (Gipouloux 149-50). At Nagasaki, Japanese traders bought these British cotton textiles from the Chinese traders instead of buying them directly from British traders based at the treaty port (Hamashita 172). According to Hamashita Takeshi, Japan initially wanted to replace China as the centre of this intra-regional trade, but when it became clear that Japanese traders could not compete with Chinese traders in Japan, Korea, and elsewhere, Japan turned to industrial production instead, and sought to export its own versions of Western-style manufactured goods to China and other Asian markets, as we saw earlier in this chapter (23-24). Lau's indirect participation in the curry competition in *Kuroshitsuji* reflects this history of competition between Chinese and Japanese merchants in the nineteenth century. By restricting Lau's input to the shipping of raw materials, and excluding him from the creative process of cooking the curry, the text points to China's historic role as the middleman.

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[83] In an earlier scene, the Indian characters Sōma and Agni explain to Ciel why they have come to Britain, but break off abruptly to pray to a statue of the Hindu goddess Kali.

[84] Like the Indian characters Sōma and Agni, Lau is an Orientalist stereotype. He is an inscrutable and crafty Chinese merchant and secret agent of a Shanghai triad, whose physiognomy hints at his duplicity. Lau is almost always drawn with his eyes closed, and when his eyes are open, they are drawn as sharp and narrow. He is also drawn with very short and thin eyebrows, which contributes to the general impression of cunning. In the *Kuroshitsuji Character Guide* [*Kuroshitsuji kyarakutaa gaido*], Toboso Yana describes her character design for Lau as "quintessentially Chinese" (*chūgokujin teki*) (114). This stereotyping of Lau might be traced to the history of animosity between China and Japan, which grew out of Japan's imperial rivalry with China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, and later in the Asia-Pacific War of 1932-1945.

[85] Francois Gipouloux calls this intra-regional trading system the "Shanghai Network" (148-149).

Only the "Japanese" Sebastian is capable of hybridising Indian and British culture successfully to "invent" what is now known in Japan as the "curry bun" (*karee pan*) (Fig. 38). As a devil (*akuma*) masquerading as Ciel's butler, Sebastian technically does not have a nationality. However, he is marked as Japanese early in the manga series when he helps Ciel host a Japanese-themed dinner party complete with green tea and *gyūdon* (beef rice bowl).

Fig. 38: Sebastian invents the curry bun. (*Kuroshitsuji*, Vol. 5, p. 81)

According to the ANA Sky Web website, a bakery in Tokyo called Cattlea (Katoreya) claims to have invented the curry bun in 1927 as a type of "Western-cuisine bread" (*yōshoku pan*). Sebastian's curry bun wins the competition precisely for not being authentic. When making the curry paste for the bun, Sebastian adds British chocolate to Indian curry, and the text represents this as a felicitous mixing of British and Indian culture. When the Indian character Sōma tastes Sebastian's curry, he has an out-of-body experience where he is transported to a European-style ballroom. There, he sees an Indian man in a turban and traditional Punjabi attire waltzing with a white British woman in evening dress, and a white man playing a violin with an Indian man playing the drums. This metaphor of Britons and Indians dancing and making music together implies that Sebastian's curry successfully blends not only the flavours but also the cultures of Britain and India into a harmonious whole.

This is an important turning point in *Kuroshitsuji*'s representation of colonial relations between Britain and India. Before disclosing that Harold West is the mastermind behind the attacks on British expatriates who have returned from India, the manga encourages the reader to think that these attacks are perpetrated by angry Indians who seek revenge on Britain for colonising India. The successful blending of British and Indian cultures in Sebastian's hybrid curry bun implies that Japan, as the inventor of the curry bun, has the special ability to combine Western and Asian cultures to produce hybrid commodities that can resolve even the most difficult political tensions between nations.

Sebastian's triumph at the curry competition also implies that the hybrid commodities that Japan now produces have universal appeal, and thus serve as the source of a new global popular culture that supplants what was originally "British" culture, "Indian" culture and so on. This global popular culture in turn serves as the source of Japan's global economic and cultural power in the twenty-first century. Unlike many of the other food items featured in *Kuroshitsuji*, Sebastian's curry bun is not a luxury commodity. It does not require the consumer to be wealthy, and to have specialised knowledge in order to enjoy it. Queen Victoria awards the prize to Sebastian because his curry bun can be eaten without cutlery, and therefore can be eaten easily by anyone, regardless of age or social status. Rich and poor, and young and old, the Queen explains, have "equal access" (*byōdō*) to the curry bun. The text cuts from images of the Queen giving the prize to Sebastian, to images of children in the audience. Some of the children are struggling to eat the complicated curry dish that Agni has cooked, whereas the rest who are eating Sebastian's curry buns have a much easier time eating with their hands. Sebastian's victory thus implies that although Japan lacks elite forms of cultural capital required to *consume* luxury goods, it possesses a different kind of cultural capital that enables it to *produce* culturally-hybrid commodities that are accessible to everyone, especially to children. *Kuroshitsuji* thus reverses the hierarchy implied in the opposition between the "British" Ciel and the "Japanese" Harold West, and positions Japan as the leader in producing culturally-hybrid and democratic commodities, with Britain and Asia falling behind.

Moreover, *Kuroshitsuji* envisions Japan exporting these commodities to the world, thereby becoming a global economic and cultural hegemon. The curry competition is held at the Crystal Palace in conjunction with an imperial exhibition on Indian culture in the British Empire. This fictional exhibition clearly references the Colonial and Indian Exhibition organised by the Prince of Wales and the Indian colonial government, and held in South Kensington in 1886.[86] The "Japanese" Sebastian's victory over the British chefs in the context of an exhibition celebrating British imperial

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[86] The 1851 Great Exhibition was held in the Crystal Palace but it was not an imperial exhibition.

power suggests that Japan has surpassed Victorian Britain. Japan, it is implied, has become the new imperial power of what Queen Victoria in the manga calls the "new century" (*shin seiki*). Sebastian's victory suggests that Japan's newfound imperial power is based on the global export of commodities such as Sebastian's curry bun. It is not a coincidence that the imperial exhibition at which the curry competition is held occurs at the same time as an exhibition on world trade at the British Museum. It is also not a coincidence that after Sebastian wins the competition, Ciel makes plans to start selling curry buns. Elsewhere in the series, the text reveals that Ciel owns a toy-making company that produces "Bitter Rabbit" soft toys and anachronistic handheld video game devices. These "Victorian" toys bear a striking resemblance to the *kawaii* character goods and IT gadgets that Japan produces and exports in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. By associating its allegory of cultural hybridisation with evocations of world trade and contemporary Japanese popular culture products, *Kuroshitsuji* implies that contemporary Japan has supplanted Victorian Britain as the centre for producing and disseminating culturally-hybrid commodities with global appeal.

Kuroshitsuji thus participates in a type of nationalist discourse that emerged in Japan in the 1990s, and which has since contributed to the Japanese state's formulation of its "Cool Japan" cultural policy in the 2000s. Iwabuchi Koichi has called this type of discourse "trans/nationalist" because it is seeks to leverage on transnational flows of Japanese popular culture to construct a new national identity for Japan, and to enhance Japan's national power over its Asian neighbours (*Recentring Globalisation* 17, 52-53). In the 1990s, according to Iwabuchi, Japanese public opinion on Japan's role in transnational popular cultural flows asserted that Japan has an innate ability to hybridise foreign cultures (*Recentring Globalisation* 53). Japanese Asianist discourse in particular argued that although Japan and the other Asian nations share a common experience of hybridising Western capitalism, the regional popularity of the Japanese popular culture that emerges from this hybridisation indicates that Japan has been more successful at hybridisation than its Asian counterparts (Iwabuchi, *Recentring Globalisation* 69-71). Japanese Asianism in the 1990s posited Japan as a model for the rest of Asia to emulate, and argued that the distribution of Japanese popular

culture in Asia was the basis for Japanese leadership of the region in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century (Iwabuchi, *Recentring Globalisation* 69-71).

Influenced by such euphoric celebrations of the transnational flow of Japanese popular culture in the 1990s, the Koizumi government launched the Intellectual Property Strategic Programme [*Chiteki zaisan suishin keikaku*] in 2002 to develop Japan's creative industries. The IPSP, more commonly known as the Cool Japan campaign, was also influenced by New Labour's Cool Britannia campaign in the late 1990s (Iwabuchi, "Rethinking 'Japanese' Popular Culture"), and more generally by the concept of the "creative economy" that was circulating globally at the time. Since its inauguration in the early 2000s, Cool Japan has become a key part of Japanese state policy.

The Cool Japan project, according to Michal Daliot-Bul, seeks to capitalise on the global export of Japanese popular culture to create a new "cultural image" for Japan (249). Like the "trans/nationalist" discourses of the 1990s that Iwabuchi critiques, Cool Japan makes use of the transnational to re-articulate the national. Daliot-Bul argues that the Japanese state's campaign to create a "Japan Brand" to sell the products of Japan's creative industries is in effect an attempt to construct a new national identity after more than a decade of economic recession and social malaise (254, 259-261).[87] The Cool Japan project, like the Japanese Asianism of the 1990s, assumes that Japanese popular culture is the product of the Japanese nation's essentially superior ability to "bridge" Asian and Western cultures (Daliot-Bul 252-53, 259). Like its 1990s precursor, it claims that this inherent national genius for cultural hybridisation justifies Japan's leadership of Asia (Daliot-Bul 259). In a 2007 promotional video for the *Yōkoso! Japan* tourism campaign, then-Prime Minister Abe Shinzō proclaims that "Japan is ready to become the bridge between Asia and the rest of the world" (qtd. in Daliot-Bul 259). In representing Asia (India and China) and even Britain as lagging behind Japan in the production of culturally-hybrid commodities that enjoy global popularity, *Kuroshitsuji*

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[87] In May 2011, the Japanese state published the *Creating a New Japan* [*Atarashii Nippon no sōzō*] proposal, which extends the objectives of the Cool Japan project to include rebuilding the country after the Great East Japan Earthquake (Valaskivi 486-87).

reproduces and perpetuates these "trans/nationalist" discourses on Japan's apparently unique aptitude for "bridging" Asian and Western cultures.

Daliot-Bul contends that such "trans/nationalist" attempts to regulate popular cultural production for nationalistic ends will ultimately destroy Japanese popular culture by taking away its counter-cultural potential (262-63). For Daliot-Bul, the "cultural image" of "Cool" Japan that is created by the Japanese state is a sanitised version of the images of Japan that are created by Japanese popular culture driven by market forces (262-63). My reading of *Kuroshitsuji* suggests that Daliot-Bul perhaps overstates the division between market forces and official discourses. As the example of *Kuroshitsuji* shows, the Japanese popular culture that is created by market forces is clearly not "only economically motivated" and politically disinterested (Daliot-Bul 262), and is capable of supporting dominant official discourses. Moreover, *Kuroshitsuji*'s portrayal of Japan as the new imperial power that has supplanted Victorian Britain connects 1990s Japanese Asianist discourse and the current Cool Japan campaign to an earlier history of Japanese imperialism and the ideas that fuelled it. Reading the figure of Empire in *Kuroshitsuji* points to how Japanese Asianism and Cool Japan are re-workings of early twentieth-century nationalist imaginings that envisioned Japan as the centre of a cultural and economic empire in Asia.

In *Recentring Globalisation*, Iwabuchi notes that the Japanese Asianist claim in the 1990s that Japan has an innately superior ability to hybridise Asian and Western cultures can be traced back to key tropes in Japanese nationalist discourse in the 1930s and 1940s (55-56). The *Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan* [*Kokutai no hongi*] (1937), for example, exhorts its readers to "build a new Japanese culture by adopting and sublimating Western cultures with our national entity as the basis" (183). It proclaims that this cultural hybridisation is "made possible . . . by the profound and boundless nature of our national entity, so that the mission of the people to whom it is bequeathed is truly great in its historical significance" (183).

Imperial policy scholars and political philosophers from the Kyoto School [*Kyōto tetsugaku ha*] made similar assertions throughout the 1930s and early 1940s.[88] Christopher Goto-Jones notes that the Kyoto School disagreed with the ethnocentric assertion that Japan had a unique national essence that was tied to its racial homogeneity (102-04). The Kyoto School rejected what it saw as parochial "Japanism" (*nihonshugi*), and contended that Japan was hybridising Western and Asian cultures to form a new kind of modernity (Goto-Jones 102-04).[89] At the 1941 round-table discussion with four Kyoto School scholars on "The World-Historical Standpoint and Japan" ["Sekaishi teki tachiba to Nihon"], the discussants argued that Japan should embrace this hybrid modernity to play a leading role in world history (Goto-Jones 111). Nishitani Keiji, who participated in the round-table discussion, contends in his 1941 essay "Concerning the Worldview of the New Japan" ["Shin Nihon no sekaikan ni tsuite"] that "Japanese reason" hybridises Western scientific rationality with traditional Eastern religious and moral practice (389), and that this hybridisation would "becom[e] a fundamental motivating force in the formation of a worldview for the global future of mankind" (390).

This "worldview" that Nishitani refers to is theorised more fully in the Shōwa Kenkyūkai's 1939 publication *Foundational Intellectual Principles of the New Japan* [*Shin Nihon no shisō genri*].[90] This treatise declares that Japanese culture is intrinsically "inclusive" (*hōyō*), as the nation has had a long history of absorbing the cultures of China, India, and the West (26). It argues, however, that Japan does not "unify these cultures into a homogenous whole" (*tōitsu*), instead allowing the differences of each culture to co-exist (26). Cultural hybridity in this case refers to the encompassing of all differences, rather than homogenisation or cultural translation. As a result of this multicultural inclusiveness, the treatise claims, Japan has developed a unique "worldview," or ethos of

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[88] Tosaka Jun first coined the term "Kyoto School" in 1931 to refer to a group of philosophers based in Kyoto Imperial University, who were influenced by the writings of Nishida Kitarō, and whose ideas exhibited right-wing tendencies (Heisig and Maraldo vii).

[89] Nevertheless, there were intellectuals associated with the Kyoto School who believed that this ability to hybridise was part of Japan's unique racial-national essence. See Watsuji Tetsuro's essay "The Japanese Spirit" (1934).

[90] The Shōwa Kenkyūkai was a think-tank organised by Prince Konoe Fumimaro in 1930 to do research on political issues in Japan.

"cooperativism" (*kyōdōshugi*), which authorises it to play a leading role in creating a "cooperative body" (*kyōdōtai*) that unifies all East Asian nations into an organic community, while respecting their cultural distinctiveness (26).[91] This "cooperative body" is none other than the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, which Kyoto School founder Nishida Kitarō described in 1943 as a "worlds-within-the-world world formation [that] does not negate the uniqueness of each nation and people" (75).

Kuroshitsuji directs us to these early twentieth-century Japanese discourses on empire-building when it references nineteenth-century British imperial exhibitions. In the manga, Japan allegorically comes into its own as an imperial power in the context of a fictional exhibition on Indian culture in the British Empire. Peter Hoffenberg argues that British imperial exhibitions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century often represented the British Empire as an economic and cultural commonwealth, rather than as a system of political rule (21). These exhibitions depicted the British Empire as linking producers and consumers in an "imperial market which preserved and institutionalised racial and national distinctions" (Hoffenberg 21). They promoted the idea that each nation produced what it was best at, and exchanged its products for what it did not produce, thus forming an interdependent economic federation based on respect for cultural difference (Hoffenberg 24-26).

Japanese nationalist discourse in the 1930s and 1940s thought of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in very similar terms. The Co-Prosperity Sphere was premised on the idea that each nation in the regional economic system had its "proper place" that was determined by its distinctive cultural attributes (Dower 264). With the 1929 Great Depression, and the collapse of the liberal international order of laissez-faire capitalism and free trade, Japan increasingly moved towards creating a regional bloc for economic self-sufficiency (Duus, "Imperialism without Colonies" 64-

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[91] Although the Japanese words for "cooperative body" and "communal body" (organic community) sound the same (*kyōdōtai*), they are written differently in *kanji* characters as 協同体 and 共同体 respectively.

67).[92] Japan had already begun importing agricultural products and industrial raw materials from its non-industrialised Asian neighbours, and exporting manufactured goods (such as the coarse-grade cotton textiles mentioned earlier in this chapter) to these Asian countries before 1930 (Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism* 124-25, 131). Constructing the Co-Prosperity Sphere encompassing Japan and the countries of East and South-East Asia was an attempt to formalise and strengthen this existing economic relationship of core and periphery (Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism* 245-46; Dower 288-89). Despite its name, the Co-Prosperity Sphere was designed to ensure that Japan would benefit the most as the industrialised centre of this regional economic system.[93] Nationalist discourse justified this economic inequality by arguing that Japan had been given the "world-historical" mission to create the Co-Prosperity Sphere because of its unique talent for hybridising cultures while respecting their differences.

The Shōwa Kenkyūkai's *Foundational Intellectual Principles of the New Japan* argues that, in order for Japan to create the Co-Prosperity Sphere, it should "disseminate its culture of cooperativism to Asia as a universal principle, so as to spread enlightenment around the world" (*kono kyōdōshugi wa sono fuhen teki yigi ni oite tōa ni oshi oyobosare, sekai o kōhi subeki mono de aru*) (25-26). Miki Kiyoshi, one of the Kyoto School philosophers and President of the Culture Section of the Shōwa Kenkyūkai, similarly insisted that Japan should spread its spirit of cooperativism to its Asian neighbours. In "The Power of Culture" ["Bunka no chikara"], Miki argues that the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 has "world-historical" significance in bringing about the "unity of the Orient," and he asserts that the war with China is "really about 'life' and the 'power of culture' [to

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[92] Hoffenberg states that British imperial exhibitions that depicted the Empire as an economic and cultural commonwealth contributed to New Imperialism, and to the idea and practice of imperial federation in the 1880s (20). The similarity between late nineteenth-century representations of the British Empire as a commonwealth and Japanese imperialist visions of the Co-Prosperity Sphere indicates that Japan's movement towards creating an autarkic economic bloc in the 1930s and 1940s was part of a larger global trend that had already begun in the 1880s.

[93] The Co-Prosperity Sphere was a failure in reality (Duus, "Imperialism without Colonies" 69; Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism* 249-50). Southeast Asia contributed much less to Japan's economy than it had been expected to do (Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism* 249). Because Japan's economic needs were different from those of the European and American colonial powers in Southeast Asia, Japan attempted to restructure the economies of the Southeast Asian colonies, and this resulted in extreme inflation, unemployment, and food shortages (Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism* 249-50). Moreover, the manufacturing industry in Japan was over-stretched by military demands and could not supply consumer goods to the Southeast Asian colonies on a scale previously accepted as normal (Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism* 249).

unify the Orient] rather than territorial and economic domination" (Harootunian 394-96). In contradistinction to the race-based nationalism of Japanism, Miki and other like-minded intellectuals championed the idea that Japan, because it possessed a unique ability to hybridise cultures without erasing their differences, had been given a special mission in world history to create a "hybrid" East Asian empire unified by Japan's superior culture of "cooperativism." In celebrating the unifying "power of culture," this strand of Japanese nationalism in the 1930s and 1940s countered national and foreign perceptions of Japan as a cultural laggard trailing behind the West, and celebrated the cultural power of Japan as the key to creating a new world order of harmonious collectivism.

Seen in the light of this history of Japanese imperialism, *Kuroshitsuji*'s images of the crowd merrily eating curry buns at the imperial exhibition take on sinister overtones. I wish to clarify that the Shōwa Kenkyūkai called on Japan to transmit its culture of "cooperativism," which was supposedly a product of the nation's ability to hybridise different cultures, and did not call for the dissemination of specific culturally-hybrid practices and products. Nevertheless, the resonances between the Shōwa Kenkyūkai's political message and *Kuroshitsuji*'s representation of Japanese cultural power are instructive. This shadow that lurks in *Kuroshitsuji* of the Co-Prosperity Sphere and the nationalist ideas that legitimated it prompts us to see that 1990s Japanese Asianism, the Cool Japan campaign, and the manga itself all envision a global role for Japan, where the nation-state exports its popular culture to reclaim the cultural and economic hegemony in Asia that these discourses imagine Japan once had as an imperial power.

In "Undoing Inter-national Fandom in the Age of Brand Nationalism," Iwabuchi argues that the Cool Japan project is a form of "brand nationalism" in which the state brands popular culture as "national culture" in order to use it to enhance national political and economic interests (90). Both Iwabuchi and Daliot-Bul observe that in recent years, the Japanese state has been using the export of Japanese popular culture such as manga, anime, and J-pop music as an instrument of cultural diplomacy directed at dispelling resentment in Asia over Japanese colonial rule in the early twentieth century, and Japanese economic exploitation after the Asia-Pacific War (Iwabuchi, *Recentring*

Globalisation 75; Daliot-Bul 248-51, 256). *Kuroshitsuji* indirectly gestures towards this strategic use of Japanese popular culture when it suggests that Sebastian's curry bun is able to smooth over the rift between British colonialism and Indian anti-colonial resistance.

Daliot-Bul further argues that the Cool Japan campaign not only attempts to ease historical tensions in Asia, but also actively seeks to create and disseminate a positive image of Japan worldwide. For Daliot-Bul, spreading the "Japan Brand" worldwide is a strategy to acquire the "soft power" that would enable Japan to become a leader, not only of Asia, but also of the world (248-51, 259). Soft power, according to Joseph Nye, is the ability of the nation-state to influence what other nations want by shaping their people's values (160-76). In his 2002 article "Japan's Gross National Cool," Douglas McGray argues that the global popularity of Japanese popular culture has made Japan a cultural superpower (46). In McGray's view, Japan is not realising this potential that it has to exercise soft power. McGray argues (somewhat simplistically) that, unlike the American popular culture that the US exports to the rest of the world, Japanese popular culture does not reflect a stable set of Japanese values (47-48, 53-54). McGray calls on Japan to take advantage of the global popularity of its popular culture to transmit its values to the world, so as to regenerate itself as a political superpower (47-48, 53-54). The Japanese state's Cool Japan project attempts to put McGray's recommendation into practice (Yano 257-58).

Cool Japan is also a policy aimed at developing Japan's cultural industries after the bursting of the bubble and economic stagnation in the 1990s (Daliot-Bul 248-49). It aims to increase the export of Japanese popular culture to revitalise the Japanese economy, and to enhance Japan's global economic power (Daliot-Bul 249-50, 256). In seeking to gain both soft power and economic power by exporting popular culture, the Japanese state inadvertently recuperates early twentieth-century imperialist visions of Japan as the centre of an economic empire unified by a common culture produced by Japan, and disseminated, in the twenty-first-century version of these visions, through the global export of Japanese popular culture products. *Kuroshitsuji* champions this apparently unique aptitude of the Japanese nation for producing popular culture for global audiences, yet it also

represents Japan as embarrassingly lacking in Western aristocratic cultural capital. This paradox highlights how the recent pop-cultural "updating" of early twentieth-century assertions of Japanese uniqueness and Japanese economic and cultural imperialism grows dialectically out of the desire to catch up with the West in the field of high culture. This desire, *Kuroshitsuji* implies, has a long history that can be traced back to the trade in Western luxury goods in the nineteenth century.

Global Commodities III: Women's Magazines and *Shōjo* Manga

Anthony Faiola's article "Japan's Empire of Cool: Country's Culture Becomes its Biggest Export" (2003) repeats all the tropes of Japanese "trans/nationalism". It claims that Japan hybridises Western culture to suit Asian audiences, and that the global popularity of Japanese popular culture is giving Japan "a new kind of influence" in the world. This dream of an "Empire of Cool", however, does not appear to correspond to reality. The global popularity of Japanese popular culture does not necessarily translate into Japan wielding influence over the thinking and behaviour of people around the world. In studying the Taiwanese reception of Japanese television dramas in the 1990s, Iwabuchi discovers that contrary to what one might expect given the history of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, the Taiwanese viewers did not see Japan as an advanced model of Asian modernity that they should emulate (*Recentring Globalisation* 155-57). Instead, the Taiwanese viewers Iwabuchi interviewed saw Taiwan as occupying the same temporality as Japan in the modernisation process (*Recentring Globalisation* 155-57). In other words, the Taiwanese viewers did not think that Taiwan lagged behind Japan in a teleological model of civilisational progress. Iwabuchi's study suggests that Japan does not actually exercise hegemonic cultural influence in Asia (and the world), and only perceives itself as doing so. Christine Yano's study of the global consumption of Hello Kitty character goods yields similar findings. In *Pink Globalisation: Hello Kitty's Trek across the Pacific*, Yano observes that female consumers in different places in the world appropriate the image of Hello Kitty to signify different meanings (8, 20-24). As such, the global export of Hello Kitty and other Japanese popular culture products does not translate neatly into the Japanisation of the world (Yano 12-15).

Scholars of Japanese cultural studies are still debating over whether the global consumption of Japanese popular culture actually translates into soft power for Japan (Daliot-Bul 258). David Leheny raises the possibility that Japan exercises soft power by functioning as a model of Asian modernity for other Asian countries to aspire to – a possibility that Iwabuchi's study of Japanese television dramas in Taiwan challenges – but acknowledges that despite this yearning to catch up with Japan, other Asian nations would not necessarily support Japanese foreign policy goals (231-32). Lam Peng Er contends that Japan's soft power is limited primarily because the country has not been able to overcome anger in China and South Korea over Japanese colonial rule (357-58). Iwabuchi also remarks in his 2010 article on "brand nationalism" that the Cool Japan project has not been very effective in achieving its political objectives ("Undoing Inter-national Fandom" 91).

Besides inherent problems in assuming that the consumption of Japanese popular culture worldwide necessarily translates into Japanese cultural hegemony, there are also material factors that contribute to the gap between the cultural diplomacy objectives of Cool Japan and the reality of Japan's global influence. Roland Kelts's 2010 article "Japanamerica: Why 'Cool Japan' is Over" suggests that Cool Japan is failing not only because of state intervention in popular culture production, as Daliot-Bul argues (262-63), but also because the Japanese popular cultural industries are not particularly interested in attracting consumers outside Japan. Kelts criticises Japanese anime production studios and manga publishing companies for not setting up stalls at anime conventions in the US, and for maintaining only Japanese-language websites or English-language websites that are "amateurish, hard to navigate, and worst of all, dull – just the opposite of their vaunted products." Jennifer Prough makes a similar observation in her 2011 anthropological study of the *shōjo* manga industry. Prough states that since the early 2000s, the Japanese *shōjo* manga industry has slowly begun to take an interest in global audiences, but it is by and large still concerned mainly with the national market (142). According to Prough, "[m]ost exports have been and are still initiated by outside interest rather than internal motivation; consequently, these publishing houses primarily work through local publishers rather than distributing and translating themselves" (142). This apparent lack

of interest in exporting Japanese popular culture products is clearly at odds with the globalising impulses celebrated in *Kuroshitsuji*.

Unlike *Kuroshitsuji*, *Lady Victorian* indirectly registers the Japanese popular cultural industries' lack of interest in overseas consumers. The story of *Lady Victorian* revolves around the protagonist Bell's avid consumption of a fictional nineteenth-century women's magazine called the *Lady's Magazine*. *Lady Victorian* encourages the reader to see the *Lady's Magazine* as a metaphor for *shōjo* manga by drawing parallels between the magazine and the manga itself. Both the *Lady's Magazine* and *Lady Victorian* are targeted at women readers, and feature stories about romantic love in serialised form. The *Lady's Magazine* features romance novels written by Argent Grey (the alter-ego of Lady Ethel) in a serialised format. *Lady Victorian* was similarly published in instalments first in the manga magazine *Princess*, and then as *tankōbon* ("single-story") volumes. *Lady Victorian* also often deliberately blurs the distinctions between the fictional world of the romance stories serialised in the *Lady's Magazine* and the "real" world that its characters inhabit. By doing so, the manga reminds the (implied female) reader that "reality" in *Lady Victorian* is a fictional construct as well. This makes the (implied female) reader conscious that Bell's reading of the *Lady's Magazine* mirrors her reading of the *shōjo* manga, *Lady Victorian*.

At the end of the series, *Lady Victorian* makes the parallels between the *Lady's Magazine* and the genre of *shōjo* manga overt. After Bell's fiancé Noel is forced to forfeit his publishing rights to the *Lady's Magazine*, he decides to publish a new magazine catered specifically to the desires of *shōjo* ("adolescent girls"). Noel's decision to move on from publishing a generic women's magazine to an age-specific girls' magazine allegorises the historical development of *shōjo* manga, which evolved partly out of prewar *shōjo* magazines.[94] The title of Noel's new magazine, the *Girls' Dream*, in fact resembles that of the well-known *shōjo* manga magazine, *Hana to yume* [*Flowers and Dreams*]. By drawing these various parallels, *Lady Victorian* encourages the reader to see the story it tells about

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[94] See Shamoon for a history of *shōjo* manga that traces the genre's emergence back to prewar *shōjo* magazines.

nineteenth-century British women's magazines as a story about Japanese *shōjo* manga. This story about *shōjo* manga, however, elides the reality of *shōjo* manga's circulation outside Japan, therefore registering the *shōjo* manga industry's indifference to the overseas consumption of *shōjo* manga.

Lady Victorian does not claim that *shōjo* manga, like the curry bun in *Kuroshitsuji*, is one of Japan's popular cultural exports. The manga does not suggest that the *Lady's Magazine* circulates outside the national (British) boundaries of its context of production. All of the magazine's readers featured or mentioned in the text are British. If we read the *Lady's Magazine* as an analogy of *shōjo* manga, this suggests that *shōjo* manga likewise are produced solely for national (Japanese) consumption. It also suggests that *shōjo* manga are consumed by a wide range of readers within Japan because of the genre's ability to bridge the gap between female readers of different social status by mediating between high art and popular culture. Unlike the curry bun, which *Kuroshitsuji* implies is popular because it is not a luxury good that requires elite cultural capital to be enjoyed, the *Lady's Magazine*/*shōjo* manga in *Lady Victorian* has popular appeal because it translates the elite Western cultural capital associated with Western luxury goods into a form that is accessible to the majority of (Japanese) consumers. *Lady Victorian*, however, does not suggest that *shōjo* manga's ability to mediate between Western cultural capital and Japanese readers derives from an essentially Japanese aptitude for cultural hybridisation. The manga acknowledges the value of *shōjo* manga, while evading the nationalistic discourses on Cool Japan that appear in *Kuroshitsuji*. *Lady Victorian* therefore constitutes an alternative response to Japan's perceived cultural belatedness that does not end up reaffirming Japan's supposedly innate ability to hybridise Western and Asian cultures.

I have argued that *Lady Victorian* stimulates the (implied Japanese female) reader's desire to catch up with the West and acquire the cultural knowledge that would enable her to consume Western-style luxury goods in an appropriately tasteful manner. Through the analogy of the *Lady's Magazine*, *Lady Victorian* implies that the genre of *shōjo* manga conveys this desired Western aristocratic cultural capital to a popular Japanese audience. In the Victorian narrative world of the manga, the *Lady's Magazine* narrows the divide between aristocratic ladies and middle-class women by teaching

the latter how to behave like the former. Bell recommends the *Lady's Magazine* to a fellow governess as "having good taste" (*sensu ga ii*), thus highlighting the magazine's role in passing on the cultural capital that aristocratic ladies possess to middle-class female readers. For example, the lower-middle-class Bell refers to the *Lady's Magazine* for beauty advice on how to achieve fair skin like that of her idol Lady Ethel. Bell's enthusiastic reading of the fashion pages in the *Lady's Magazine* also enables her to give her opinion on which hat suits Lady Ethel best in Whiteley's, even though she has no experience in shopping for luxury goods. The manga implies that, by reading the *Lady's Magazine*, and by extension, *shōjo* manga, ordinary girls like Bell can learn how to appreciate Western-style luxury goods for their aesthetic qualities rather than their practical functions.

Lady Victorian also suggests that the *Lady's Magazine* and *shōjo* manga teach their (implied Japanese female) readers this aristocratic form of cultural knowledge through the aesthetics of their visual layout. *Lady Victorian* represents the *Lady's Magazine*/*shōjo* manga as a form of popular culture whose visual style mediates between high art and popular culture. This mediation, the text suggests, enables the *Lady's Magazine*/*shōjo* manga to translate the aesthetic sensibility that is characteristic of elite cultural capital into a form that is easy for ordinary readers to understand and internalise. The visual style of the *Lady's Magazine* follows a tradition of commercial art design first established by the engravings of William Blake, whose method of "illuminated printing" produced texts that were neither quite works of high art nor mass-produced commodities. It is also significant that within the narrative world of *Lady Victorian*, the publisher of the *Lady's Magazine*, Noel, originally trained as an engraver. The illustrated title page of the novel *Lady Bell*, which is serialised in the *Lady's Magazine*, shows the main character sitting sideways on a tree branch with a grassy field and a pavilion in the background (Fig. 39).

Fig. 39: The title page of *Lady Bell*, which is serialised in the *Lady's Magazine*. (*Lady Victorian*, Vol. 15, p. 47)

The image of the main character is framed by a rectangular arch composed of wooden branches, leaves, flowers, and vines. The title of the novel is written in English in an ornate, cursive font that

resembles handwriting. Some of these motifs reappear in a coloured illustration on the back jacket cover of Volume Fourteen (Fig. 40).

Fig. 40: Noel as a young boy. (*Lady Victorian*, Vol. 14, back jacket cover)

The illustration shows Noel as a child sitting on a chair partially framed by a rectangular border that appears to be made out of rattan twine. The space between the two vertical bars of twine on the left side of the border is filled with assorted flowers and leaves set against a light blue background. Bell appears in the illustration in the form of a fairy sitting on top of the large pink rose in the middle of the left border. The pastoral motifs, decorative borders, the combination of text and image, and the depiction of magical creatures inhabiting the same world as human figures in Fig. 39 and Fig. 40 bring to mind the visual iconography of Blake's *Songs of Innocence* (1789) and *Songs of Experience* (1794).

Fig. 41: "The Lamb" in *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*.

The colouring in Fig. 40 also closely resembles that of Blake's illustrations in *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience*. Fig. 40 was most probably done in Copic colour markers, which work on the same principles as watercolour paint. Manga artists who use Copic colour markers usually leave white spaces uncoloured, and apply layers of the same colour on top of the base layer to achieve darker shades and greater intensity of colour. Moto Naoko, the manga artist who drew *Lady Victorian*, seems to have avoided adding layers of colour, thereby allowing more of the white paper to show through the colour. This give the image a de-saturated tonal quality that looks very much like the light washes of watercolour that Blake uses in his "illuminated books." By referencing Blake's aesthetic, *Lady Victorian* associates *shōjo* manga with Blake's technique of "illuminated printing," and implies that *shōjo* manga, like Blake's "illuminated books," mediate between high art and popular culture.

Blake printed the outlines of the text and drawings in his illuminated books, but finished details by hand with pen and watercolour (Bindman 10; Viscomi 55). He also published a very small number of each book he made, so he was "never . . . able to produce a sufficient number for a general

Sale by means of a regular Publisher" (Blake, qtd. in Viscomi 60). Nonetheless, he was able to produce multiple copies to disseminate to a wider audience, and thereby make his reputation as an artist (Viscomi 60). By combining the technology of printing with the techniques of painting by hand, and by publishing a limited number of his works, Blake produced books that were neither quite mass-produced publications nor unique works of art (Bindman 7-8; Viscomi 60). By employing a Blakean aesthetic, *Lady Victorian* implies that *shōjo* manga, like Blake's "illuminated books," is an "aestheticised" popular cultural form that translates high art into an accessible medium for a popular audience. Furthermore, by referencing Blake as the precursor of *shōjo* manga in bridging high art and popular culture, the manga avoids alleging that *shōjo* manga's ability to mediate between Western aristocratic cultural knowledge and its popular Japanese readership is due to Japan's innate talent for cultural hybridisation. Unlike *Kuroshitsuji*, *Lady Victorian* does not claim that this alternative form of cultural capital embodied in *shōjo* manga is a uniquely Japanese attribute, which will enable Japan to achieve cultural and economic dominance by exporting its popular culture in the twenty-first century.

Although the export of Japanese popular culture does not seem to be helping Japan gain actual influence in international relations, it might be helping the Japanese economy gain some degree of actual economic power. The serialised romance novels Bell reads voraciously in *Lady Victorian* are penned by Lady Ethel's alter-ego, Argent Grey, whose first name, the manga tells the reader, means "silver" in French. As Argent's name suggests, stories for women make lots of money. In Chapter One, I argued that *Count Cain*, *Kuroshitsuji* and other similarly affective works of *shōjo* manga have the potential to create a transnational readership united by the shared affective experience of reading *shōjo* manga. This creation of a transnational readership resembles nationalist discourses in the 1930s and early 1940s that asserted that Japan had been given a "world-historical" mission to create an Asian "cooperative body" (*kyōdōtai*) unified by strong affective bonds. Although *Lady Victorian* does not suggest that *shōjo* manga circulate outside Japan, *shōjo* manga is a lucrative global commodity with a transnational readership. How does the global export of *shōjo* manga and other kinds of manga

contribute to Cool Japan's re-working of earlier attempts to build a Japanese economic empire based on the export of a common culture?

Although Prough states that the *shōjo* manga industry was still very insular at the time of her book's publication in 2011 (142), the manga industry as a whole appears to have taken a more proactive approach to translating and distributing *shōjo* manga and other kinds of manga to overseas audiences in the past few years. This might be partly due to state initiatives that have resulted from the Cool Japan Advisory Council's recommendation in 2011 to "convert cultural industries [from] domestic demand-oriented industries into external demand-oriented industries" (Valaskivi 495). Gisèle Sapiro's research on translation in the global book market indicates that an increasing number of titles are being translated from Japanese to other languages largely as a result of the overseas popularity of manga (423).[95] According to Square Enix's official website, *Kuroshitsuji* has sold 4 million copies outside of Japan to date. Major publishing companies such as Shueisha, Kodansha and Kadokawa Shoten have moved away from selling translation licenses, and have instead set up their own branch companies to translate and distribute manga to audiences outside Japan. For example, Shueisha and Shogakukan co-own VIZ Media, which is based in San Francisco, and publishes and distributes translated manga for English-speaking audiences in North America, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and South Africa. The Kodansha Group now includes overseas branch companies Kodansha USA Publishing, Kodansha Europe, Vertical Inc. (based in France), Kodansha Taiwan Media Group Co., and Kodansha Beijing Culture. This growing interest in translating and distributing manga outside Japan suggests that the export of manga is generating a significant amount of economic revenue for Japanese publishers and more widely, the post-bubble Japanese economy.

Furthermore, the export of manga to Asian markets in particular might be drawing on connections established during Japanese colonial rule in Asia from 1895 to 1945. Iwabuchi notes that

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[95] Sapiro's data shows that the average number of Japanese-language titles translated every year was approximately 200 in the 1980s, and increased twofold to 400 in the 1990s. Japan's share in the world market of translation has risen from 0.6% at the beginning of the 1990s to 0.9% in 2002 (Sapiro 423).

the export of Japanese television dramas to Taiwan is facilitated by social relationships forged under the shadow of the Japanese Occupation. Many of the owners and managers of the Japanese-language cable television channels in Taiwan, Iwabuchi discovers, learnt to speak fluent Japanese while living under Japanese rule, and they are now utilising their old connections with Japanese business circles to buy Japanese television programmes for broadcast in Taiwan (*Recentring Globalisation* 140). The translation and distribution of manga to Asian markets might be following a similar pattern.

It would be an exaggeration to say that Cool Japan has made Japan a global economic hegemon, especially since Japanese popular culture now faces stiff competition from its South Korean counterpart.[96] Nevertheless, it does appear that Cool Japan's return to earlier imperialist discourses championing Japan's privileged position as the economic centre of Asia might have a material basis. "Brand nationalism," as Iwabuchi argues, might not be very effective in generating soft power for the nation, but it is nonetheless deeply implicated in "uneven processes of cultural globalisation" that result in economic inequality between different places in the world ("Undoing Inter-national Fandom" 91). How much revenue does the export of Japanese popular culture products actually contribute to the Japanese economy, and where does the money go to? Who benefits from this inflow of foreign capital? These are questions that I will have to leave unanswered here because of constraints on time and space.

In her article on Cool Japan and the global trend of nation-branding, Katja Valaskivi argues that the practice of nation-branding not only affects how we perceive individual nations, but also changes how we understand the concept of the nation itself (499-500). Nation-branding encourages us to imagine the nation as a commodity rather than as a community (Valaskivi 499-500). A. S. Byatt's neo-Victorian novel *Possession*, which is the central focus of the next chapter, is deeply interested in this question of commodifying the nation. Byatt's novel pokes fun at the

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[96] In fact, the South Korean state started supporting the export of popular culture before the Koizumi administration embarked on the Cool Japan campaign in 2002. Since the 1997 Asian financial crisis, the South Korean state has played a key role in stimulating the speedy growth in the transnational consumption of South Korean popular culture (Kim 3-4). This current craze for South Korean popular culture is now widely known as the Korean Wave.

commodification of Britain, under the neoliberal imperatives of the Thatcher administration, into a heritage tourist destination that must compete with American cultural industries for "possession" of the heritage that brings in the tourists and their money. Japanese tourists and shoppers, as the following chapter will show, participate actively in this heritage industry that *Possession* describes and critiques. While building a pop-cultural empire on the one hand, the Japanese cultural industries support the British heritage industry on the other by stimulating Japanese consumers' desire for aristocratic cultural capital, which, as this chapter has shown, is a desire that grew out of Japan's encounter with Victorian Britain in the nineteenth century, and which pervades neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga today. Motivated by this compulsion to catch up with the West, Japanese consumers and the Japanese cultural industries contribute towards the making of a British "Empire of Culture" that is the complement to Japan's "Empire of Cool."

Chapter Four

Who Owns the Victorians?: *Possession***, Japanese Tourists, and the British Heritage Industry**

The preceding chapters have examined British and Japanese neo-Victorian texts in the light of the increasing importance of cultural commodity production and export in Britain and Japan in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Chapter Two discussed how *Jamrach's Menagerie* both thematised and was itself an example of how Anglo-American publishers based in Britain produce works that seek to conform to prevailing standards of literary art that still use Modernism as a touchstone to define what counts as "literature" and what is merely "popular fiction." As the case study of *Jamrach's Menagerie* suggests, the cultural prestige that comes from a work being marketed and received as literature gives publishers who work closely with the literary prize-awarding establishment centred in Britain an advantageous position in the global literary marketplace. Cultural capital is thus converted into economic capital.

Chapter Three shifted focus from high art to popular culture. By examining the significance of the seemingly trivial curry bun in *Kuroshitsuji*, Chapter Three demonstrated how the Japanese state, since the launch of Cool Japan in the early 2000s, has attempted (apparently without much success) to exploit the global popularity of Japanese popular culture products to reinvigorate the ailing Japanese economy. Chapter Three thus returned to the organic community of *shōjo* manga readers examined in Chapter One, and reframed this community as a cultural and economic empire predicated on the shared consumption of Japanese popular culture.

This final chapter shifts focus from the export of Japanese popular culture to the commodification of British heritage from the 1980s to the present. With half of the narrative set in nineteenth-century Britain and the other half in the Thatcherite 1980s, A. S. Byatt's neo-Victorian novel *Possession* (1990) not only draws parallels between the Victorian past and the novel's contemporary present, but also directs our attention to the increasing commodification of the Victorian past in Britain in the 1980s. Whereas Cool Japan aimed at creating a cultural empire

founded on exporting popular culture, the Thatcher administration and subsequent governments in Britain have instead cultivated a cultural empire specialising in heritage tourism, heritage luxury brands, "serious" literary fiction (as we saw in Chapter Two), and other high cultural forms.

The inclusion of an American antagonist in *Possession* also compels us to expand our viewpoint on this commodification of heritage from the national to the global. The threatening presence of American economic power in the narrative points to the connections that exist between selling the past in Britain and other cultural industry players outside of Britain. These are transnational connections which the 2002 Hollywood film adaptation of the novel further demonstrates. This chapter compares Byatt's novel to its Hollywood adaptation to examine how the British state since the 1980s has developed a "heritage industry" to replace Britain's dying manufacturing industries.[97] It demonstrates how this heritage industry, from the 1980s to the early 2000s, both competed and collaborated with US-based Hollywood film studios to claim ownership of cultural property, and to secure the economic revenue that comes with ownership. Unlike the American cultural industries, which were already well-established and highly successful, the nascent British heritage industry (and especially the heritage film and television industry) received official state support first under Margaret Thatcher and then under New Labour.

The second part of the chapter explores Japanese engagements with the British heritage industry in the 2000s by reading a variety of texts concerned with commodified British heritage, and especially heritage from the Victorian period. Japan's perceived lack of cultural capital, which has grown out of Japan's encounter with British imperialism in the nineteenth century, continues to shape the avid participation of the Japanese, especially young Japanese women, in the British heritage industry in the early twenty-first century. In the second half of the nineteenth century, British merchants brought material goods, and the cultural practices associated with these goods, to Japan through trade. On the other hand, Japanese officials and students travelled to Britain to learn from

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[97] Robert Hewison coined the term in his 1987 book, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*.

British civilisation at its source. This history of Anglo-Japanese interactions has given rise to asymmetrical cultural relations of power, which the Japanese cultural industries in the 2000s reaffirm, but also exploit to their own advantage. This chapter examines how the Japanese cultural industries channel the perception of Japanese cultural belatedness into the buying of Japanese cultural goods (such as manga and magazines), which in turn feed into the buying of British heritage commodities and the enrichment of the British economy.

The heritage industry in Britain, this chapter argues, does not work in isolation. United by the common objective of generating economic revenue out of cultural production, the British heritage industry forms networks of competition and collaboration with other cultural industry players in the US and Japan. Together, these cultural industries market the image of "Victorian Britain" to a global audience of tourists and customers. This chapter focuses on how this globalisation of "Victorian Britain" to Japanese consumers in particular is underpinned by an earlier history of globalisation that brought Meiji Japan into contact with Victorian Britain.

Before I begin, I want to clarify how I use the term "heritage" in this chapter. Heritage studies scholars have acknowledged that heritage is a highly amorphous concept that is so expansive that it can be "taken to include everything that people want to save" (Howard 1).[98] Heritage, as Peter Howard explains, is related to the concept of inheritance (6). Heritage refers to "circumstances or benefits passed down from previous generations" (Howard 6), and includes human-made material artefacts and buildings, natural environments, and intangible ideas and practices. As the word "benefits" implies, most people think of heritage as something that has not only been handed down from the past, but which is also valuable, and hence worth preserving as one's own property. As this "something" becomes heritage only when it is recognised as such (Howard 6), heritage is essentially not an object or a historical or political movement. It is a set of attitudes to, and relationships with the past, which sees the past as inhering in physical and intangible forms in the present.

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[98] See also Lumley 16-17; and Harrison 6-14.

This attitude towards the past can be found in many places around the world (Harrison14) but this chapter focuses on Britain in the 1980s and after as a moment in which heritage became especially prominent in government policy and public life. The Thatcher administration set up English Heritage and numerous local government agencies to oversee the preservation of important historic buildings and monuments throughout Britain. According to Robert Hewison, one of the many commentators on heritage in Britain in the 1980s, the number of museums and country houses open to the public grew exponentially with government support (73, 99-102). Today, heritage in Britain has become ubiquitous, taking the form of diverse things and practices ranging from "stately homes" and Battle of Bosworth re-enactments to Laura Ashley prints and "heritage" soap dishes.

This chapter also focuses on the particular relationship that Japanese consumers, and especially young women, have with the nineteenth-century past that influences their interactions with commodified British heritage in the twenty-first century. Heritage is often an economic commodity, but it is also a signifying practice that produces cultural meanings, such as local identities and national myths (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2-3). The second half of the chapter examines how three Japanese cultural texts produced in the 2000s represent Victorian Britain and the heritage it has left behind as embodiments of an idealised "English" aristocratic culture, and how these cultural meanings encourage the Japanese to not only consume, but also maintain British heritage in ways that benefit the British heritage industry. These romanticised representations of heritage, as well as the images of tasteful aristocratic consumption discussed in Chapter Three, help to sustain a new British Empire that is built, no longer on mining and manufacturing, but on the prestige of possessing cultural capital, and the production of high culture.

Possessing Culture as Property: A. S. Byatt's *Possession*

The trope of possession in Byatt's 1990 novel *Possession* has multiple meanings, but for the purposes of this chapter, I want to look at the possession or ownership of things inherited from the Victorian past. The plot revolves around two groups of academics, one British-led and the other

American-led, competing for ownership of a collection of secret love letters exchanged between two fictitious Victorian poets. In making the ownership of cultural property a central focus of narrative interest, the novel registers, and pokes fun at, the sudden burgeoning of the heritage industry and its notion of patrimony in Britain in the 1980s, the time period in which the contemporary part of the novel is set.

Although the novel suggests that the letters ultimately belong to no one and to everyone, the 2002 Hollywood film adaptation of *Possession* reveals a very different relation of ownership. The film affirms that the letters rightfully belong to the British nation-state, whose interests are represented in the narrative by the British-led group of scholars. This apparent respect for British ownership of national heritage, as well as the film's critique of American attempts to appropriate British cultural property, mask the fact that the film in itself, as a Hollywood adaptation of a novel written by a British author, is already an American appropriation of British cultural property. The aesthetics of the film, however, help to promote British heritage tourism. This contradiction demonstrates that the British heritage industry in the 1980s and after has been both competing and collaborating for ownership of cultural property with American-based corporations such as Warner Bros., the Hollywood movie studio behind the film adaptation of *Possession*. Comparing the novel and the film therefore prompts us to see the British heritage industry as more than a product of national decline, or a producer of national and local identities.[99] It reveals the transnational interactions between the British heritage industry and Hollywood, as they participate in the global competition amongst nation-states and corporations in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first century for ownership of culture and for the economic capital that ownership brings.

The novel *Possession* is set in 1980s Britain, and it points to the increasing commodification of heritage that was happening in Britain at that time, and which was theorised as the emergence of a heritage industry in Patrick Wright's *On Living in an Old Country* (1985), David Lowenthal's *The*

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[99] Hewison sees the British heritage industry as a product of national economic decline. For works that discuss how the British heritage industry produces national and local identities, see Wright; Dicks 121-25; and Chapman.

Past is a Foreign Country (1985), and Robert Hewison's *The Heritage Industry* (1987). Much of the existing scholarship on *Possession* treats the novel as an example of what Linda Hutcheon calls postmodern historiographic metafiction, and reads it in relation to theoretical questions of how we know and represent the past. John Su and Kate Mitchell briefly mention the British heritage industry (especially Hewison's analysis of it), but they are ultimately concerned with *Possession*'s stance on whether collecting heritage artefacts can lead to a truthful understanding of the past.[100] While this chapter is still interested in such questions of historical knowledge, it adopts a more materialist approach in line with the thesis' overall emphasis on cultural commodity production. This chapter puts the focus squarely on what *Possession* has to say about the commodification of heritage in Britain in the 1980s.

The setting of the contemporary part of the novel includes historic buildings which have become tourist destinations within the fictional world of the narrative. Roland and Maud, the two protagonists of the novel and leaders of the faction of academics that claims British ownership of the letters, stay at the Hoff Lunn Spout hotel when they attempt to retrace the poet Randolph Henry Ash's 1859 expedition to North Yorkshire. The hotel, the omniscient third-person narrator explains, had existed in 1859, and Maud "had found the hotel in *The Good Food Guide*, where it was recommended for 'Uncompromising fresh fish dishes, and unremitting if unsmiling good service'" (242). At the end of the novel, all of the characters put up for the night at the Rowan Tree Inn, another historic building that has been turned into a tourist destination "mentioned in all the Good Food guides" (487). Randolph Henry Ash's house in Bloomsbury has also been transformed into the "Ash Museum," and sits alongside numerous other real museums, galleries, and libraries whose names appear sporadically throughout the novel. The characters visit, or are said to have visited before, and own souvenirs bought from, the British Museum, the British Library, the London Library, the Tate Gallery, and the National Portrait Gallery. The British Museum, the Tate, and the National Portrait Gallery in

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100 For other works that place *Possession* in the category of historiographic metafiction, see Keen; and Hadley.

particular are both public institutions that preserve historical artefacts (especially artefacts that are classified as British national heritage), and major tourist attractions that generate revenue out of selling the experience of coming into close proximity with these historical artefacts. These repeated references in the novel to historic sites that have been preserved and converted into hotels and food and beverage establishments, and to museums that have been turned into tourist attractions, point to the increasing commodification of heritage in Britain in the 1980s. The novel thus registers the rise of the British heritage industry, which, as I will show later, the novel mocks for its false understanding of heritage as property that belongs exclusively to an individual, group, or nation-state.

The novel also points to the rise of the heritage industry in 1980s Britain when it consistently associates the idea of possession with questions of money. Ownership of the letters, the novel implies, is desirable at least partly because it would enable one to exploit the economic potential of the letters. The lawyer Euan MacIntyre assures Maud that she can justifiably claim legal ownership of all of the letters, but recommends that she sell the documents "to the British Library or somewhere acceptable" (437). Although Maud resists the idea of selling the letters, and wants to donate them to the university that she works in, her decision is still motivated by the desire to make money out of possessing the letters. Archiving the letters in the university's Women's Resource Centre, Maud argues, would attract funding to the Centre. The scholar characters also stand to make money out of the letters in the form of book contracts. When discussing how best to secure legal ownership of the letters, Euan reminds the British-led group of academics that ownership of the contents of the letters is distinct from ownership of the letters as physical entities. Professor Cropper, the American antagonist of the novel, desires to acquire both the physical letters and their copyright as he needs the copyright to produce an edition of the manuscripts, which he can then publish as part of his book, *The Complete Correspondence of Randolph Henry Ash*.

This desire to possess the letters in order to exploit their economic potential echoes the Thatcher government's rhetoric of enterprise and championing of the heritage industry in the 1980s. The Thatcher government promoted transforming heritage into a business in response to the decline

of the manufacturing industries, and the growth of the service and entertainment sectors (including the heritage film and television industry, which I will discuss later). The novel implicitly registers this economic situation through the figure of Roland's girlfriend Val, who moves from one temporary job to another until she abandons Roland for the lawyer Euan, the archetypal "yuppie" of 1980s Britain. As part of its campaign to create a new service-oriented economy dominated by the likes of Euan, the Thatcher administration set up local agencies to formulate economic development policies on the assumption that manufacturing was finished (O'Connor 31). With this objective in mind, local economic development agencies turned increasingly to "culture," including heritage, to generate economic capital for the British economy in place of the dying manufacturing industries (O'Connor 31; Hewison 95-97). Inspired by public policy studies such as John Myerscough's *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* (1988), which showed that public investment in "culture" engendered additional employment and spending on local amenities, local authorities began to link government spending on historic sites and museums to an economic agenda of developing visitor attractions (O'Connor 32). They actively encouraged tourists to visit historic sites and museums because tourism, even though it does not by itself provide all the funds necessary to preserve heritage, benefits the service industries that are centred around tourist attractions (such as transport, accommodation, catering, and retail) (Hewison 99).

Under the Thatcher administration in the 1980s, the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (more commonly known as English Heritage) received government funding to market the properties that it was responsible for as tourist destinations (Hewison 101). Using the language of enterprise, the first *Annual Report and Accounts* of English Heritage, which was set up under the National Heritage Act in 1983, outlines the various "market research" and "marketing and sales promotion activities" to which the organisation "attaches high priority" (12). The report states that English Heritage has, in its first eighteen months, "improv[ed] contacts with the travel industry" by advertising in tour operators' trade publications and attending trade shows (12). It also explains that the organisation has "improv[ed]" ticket and sales offices "to supply all the monuments open to

the public with an increased basic selection of popular, inexpensive items, as well as more specialised souvenirs," thereby increasing on-site sales (12-13). It is evident that English Heritage from its inception has sought to carry out its duty, set out in the 1983 Act, "to promote the public's enjoyment of . . . ancient monuments and historic buildings situated in England" (4) by turning heritage sites into tourist attractions complete with souvenir gift shops.

In transforming heritage into a tourism business, the Thatcher government also sought to reduce public heritage institutions' reliance on government funding in the long run. This privatisation of heritage was part of the Thatcher government's wider neoliberal reforms aimed at downsizing the civil service, reducing state regulation, and, as Thatcher described it in her memoirs, "channel[ling] more of the nation's talent into wealth-creating private business" (Thatcher 45-46). It is important to note here that most public heritage organisations in the 1980s, including English Heritage, continued to receive government funds, and were not sold off to private corporations in the same way as British Rail passenger services (in the 1990s) and more recently, the Royal Mail. However, the Thatcher government expected these public heritage organisations to behave as if they were private corporations, and to expand their commercial income so as to rely less on government funds.

Successive governments after the Thatcher administration have continued this policy of turning heritage institutions into a heritage industry. In the early years of English Heritage under Thatcher, the great majority of the organisation's income came from government grants-in-aid and only a small proportion from commercial activities. In the period 1983-1985, English Heritage received £49,910,000 as grant-in-aid, and only £2,460,000 from admissions and sales, and £151,000 from membership subscriptions, sponsorship and donations. By the end of the 1980s, English Heritage's trading income had risen to £6,621,000 in 1989, but the grant-in-aid it received had also risen proportionately to £66,249,000.[101] The proportions have since been reversed. In April 2015, English Heritage ceded its statutory functions to a separate government agency, Historic England,

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[101] For the full financial statements, see the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England's *Annual Report and Accounts* for the financial years 1983-1985 and 1988-1989.

and became a private registered charity, whose aim is to become completely self-financing by 2023. The current website of English Heritage shows that over the past decade, the organisation has doubled its commercial income, and now depends on government grants for only 14% of its total income (*English Heritage*).

The novel parodies this heritage-enterprise culture first cultivated by the Thatcher administration, and which has now become the status quo in the early twenty-first century. Roland's supervisor, Professor Blackadder, claims that the letters are British national heritage, and should therefore not be sold to the American Cropper, who intends to display the letters in his museum in the States.[102] Blackadder, despite being perceived by the other characters as characteristically Scottish rather than British, is a caricature of a British nationalist who "believe[s] British writings should stay in Britain and be studied by the British" (10). He lobbies the Ministry for the Arts to designate the letters as national heritage, and makes a clumsy appeal on television to the public to help ensure that the letters "stay in our country" because "they're part of our national story" (404).

The novel suggests that Blackadder, despite speaking the language of national heritage that the Thatcher administration was promoting in the 1980s, fails to convince the Ministry for the Arts to buy the letters for the British Library because the Thatcher administration was also applying free-market principles to national heritage institutions, thereby transforming these publicly-funded institutions into a commercial heritage industry. Blackadder is turned away by a government bureaucrat, who informs him that the Minister for the Arts "d[oes] not believe that it [the discovery of the letters] warrant[s] interfering with Market Forces," and that "[i]f the retention of these old letters in this country is truly in the national interest, . . . then Market Forces will ensure that the papers are kept in this country without any artificial aid from the state" (398). The novel thus points

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[102] Blackadder's name brings to mind the 1980s BBC television comedy series *Blackadder*, which was set in five different periods in British history: Richard III's reign; Queen Elizabeth's reign; the Regency period; the Victorian period; and the First World War. The television series is well-known for parodying historical personages and making fun of landmark historical events. The novel's allusion to *Blackadder* signals that it shares a similarly irreverent attitude towards preserving the past.

to, and pokes fun at, the Thatcher government's commodification and privatisation of heritage. The novel responds with humour to Hewison's lament in 1987 that museums, once seen in the Victorian period as "sources of education and improvement [that] were therefore free," are now "treated as financial institutions that must pay their way, and therefore charge admission fees" (Hewison 129).

This heritage industry, whose emergence in the 1980s *Possession* parodies, continues to thrive in the twenty-first century. In his 2008 book *The Heritage Obsession: The Battle for England's Past*, Ben Cowell states that more than two-thirds of the population in England visit heritage sites each year, and membership of the National Trust and English Heritage combined has reached more than four million (127). The size of the heritage economy is not easy to quantify (Cowell 133), but statistics from the *Heritage Counts* reports produced annually by English Heritage (up till 2015) suggest that the heritage industry is indeed big business for the British economy.[103] The 2010 report states that heritage is the key driver of inbound tourism to the UK, with more than 50% of inbound tourists visiting castles, churches, monuments, and historic houses (10). According to the report, the estimated tourist spending in the UK that can be attributed to heritage (including spending on food, accommodation, and admission fees to attractions) generates £7.4 billion of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per annum, and supports employment for 195,000 people (10). The 2014 report states that in 2011, heritage tourism in the UK created 393,000 jobs (742,000 jobs including natural heritage tourism), and £14 billion of economic output (£26.4 billion including natural heritage tourism) (11).[104] Heritage tourism, the 2014 report states, "contributes more to the UK economy than the advertising, car manufacturing or film industries" (11).

Because the heritage industry in Britain is such lucrative business, government agencies, public institutions, and private organisations are often keen to claim ownership of heritage, not only

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[103] The size of the heritage economy in Britain is not easy to determine as one would need to count the people employed by all organisations in the public, private, and voluntary sectors that have heritage responsibilities (for example, Historic England, the National Trust, local authorities, and amenity societies), as well as the people employed in subsidiary or contracted roles (Cowell 133).

[104] Tourist spending in general is the largest market in the UK economy. According to the *United Kingdom Tourism Report* for Quarter 4 in 2014, international tourism receipts for "travel items" (ie. goods and services purchased by, or on behalf of, the traveller to use or give away) totalled £21.8 billion in 2011 (21-22).

in order to protect it, but also to exploit its economic potential. This desire to claim ownership for economic reasons is clearly manifested, for example, in the British Museum's attempts to keep the Elgin Marbles in the face of Greek demands that the friezes be returned. Most supporters of the British Museum contend that the museum is protecting the Elgin Marbles on behalf of humanity, and they say nothing about how the artefacts draw tourists to Britain. However, when New Labour came to power in 1997 with a campaign to cultivate Britain's cultural industries, then-Heritage Secretary (and later Minister of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport and author of *Creative Britain*) Chris Smith made clear the new government's stance on the Elgin Marbles, and his remarks are telling. Smith asserted that the Labour government would keep the friezes in Britain because "[m]illions of visitors come every year to see them, not just from Britain but from everywhere around the world, and it would make no sense at all to split up the British Museum's collection in that way" (qtd. in H. Smith 7).

The novel *Possession* challenges the idea, implicit in the Elgin Marbles debate, that heritage belongs to a particular person, group of people, or nation-state. It thereby undermines attempts in the novel and, by implication, in the real world, to claim ownership of heritage, and to appropriate the economic capital that comes with this ownership. The novel suggests that the letters do not actually belong to anyone. It encourages the reader to identify with the British-led group of academics' efforts to prevent the American Cropper from gaining possession of the letters, but it ultimately does not support either side's claim to ownership. After the main characters have discovered and read the final letter written by the female poet, Christabel LaMotte, to Ash, the novel gives no further information about the characters' struggles for possession of the documents.

The novel implies that what really matters to the main characters is possessing knowledge about the lives of the two Victorian poets. By not telling the reader which character eventually gets to own the letters, the novel leaves the reader to be satisfied with possessing the knowledge gained from reading the letters, rather than possessing the letters vicariously through the characters. The declaration that the American scholar Leonora makes when she joins Roland and Maud's British-led

171

team encapsulates this sentiment: "I can swear in advance I'm not out to snatch any manuscript, covertly or openly. I only want to *read* the damn things." (478) The novel implies that the letters belong to no one and to everyone, as they are shared in the form of knowledge amongst all the characters who read the letters, and with the readers of the novel as well. In privileging the shared possession of knowledge over the exclusive possession of property, *Possession* refutes the idea that an individual or group, and especially a nation-state, can truly possess the remains of the past as its own property. It thereby challenges what is a crucial premise for commodifying the past in the heritage industry that has emerged in Britain since the 1980s.

Possessing *Possession*: The Hollywood Film Adaptation

The 2002 Hollywood film adaptation of *Possession*, on the other hand, ostentatiously acknowledges British national ownership of heritage. In doing so, the film obliquely points to how the British heritage industry both competed and collaborated with Hollywood from the 1980s to the early 2000s when the film was made. Key differences between the novel and the film bring to light this contradictory relationship between British writing, the Anglo-American publishing industry, the British heritage industry, and Hollywood film production. Although a perceived lack of cultural sophistication vis-à-vis the British motivates American (and Japanese) interactions with the British heritage industry, *Possession* and its film adaptation suggest that these interactions, in terms of economic relations of power, take the form of rivalry and cooperation rather than a unilateral relation of domination and subordination. The US does not simply flood the British market with American-made heritage films, and neither does Britain singlehandedly draw American tourists to its heritage attractions.

The film adaptation of *Possession* helps us to see how the British and American cultural industries compete for ownership of cultural property. It does so by paradoxically downplaying the competition between the British-led and American-led groups of academics, which was a central feature of the novel, and affirming that the British rightfully own the Victorian poets' letters as part

of their national heritage. In the novel, Roland is British, but in the film, he is an American hero who respects and protects British ownership of the letters from the illegitimate claims of his fellow American, Professor Cropper. Unlike his British counterpart in the novel, the American Roland disclaims any form of ownership of the letters. He does not feel that the letters belong in a vague sense to him as the person who discovered them. At the end of the film, he helps the British scholars stop Cropper from gaining possession of the letters. Roland thus proves to the British characters that he does not have what Maud in the film calls a typically American "take-what-you-want attitude," and that he is committed to protecting British ownership of cultural property.

Roland implicitly affirms that the Victorian poet Ash "belongs" to British national institutions such as the British Museum, which preserve and display artefacts classified as national heritage, and which recognise the status of historical figures as national personages. He assists Professor Blackadder in doing research on Ash in the British Museum, and has most likely also helped curate the British Museum's centenary exhibition on Ash's love poems, which in the film is the context in which he and Maud make their discovery of the letters. At the end of the film, Roland assures Maud that he will hand over the box that contains Christabel LaMotte's final letter to Ash, which Cropper had stolen from Ash's grave, to the British Museum. The film elides the legal struggles for ownership of the letters that feature so prominently in the novel. It creates the impression that the British Museum's, and by implication, the British nation-state's, ownership of the letters is perfectly natural and incontestable.

In affirming British ownership of cultural property on the level of the narrative, the film obscures the fact that it in itself is a product of an American appropriation of British cultural property, which occurred when the American-based movie studio Warner Bros. bought the film adaptation rights to Byatt's novel once it won the Booker Prize in 1990 (see the section on literary prizes in Chapter Two). The acknowledgement in the film narrative that the letters belong to Britain as part of its national heritage perhaps appeals to American audiences who do not want to think of the US as a neo-imperial power that uses its economic strength to appropriate the cultural property of other

nation-states. The novel *Possession* anticipates this reaction when the American scholar Leonora supports Blackadder's public appeal to keep the letters in Britain, professing that she, as an American, is "not acquisitive" and that "[t]he days of cultural imperialism are over" (404). The fact remains, however, that Hollywood, as one of the world's largest entertainment industries based in the US, has used its economic strength to purchase the rights to make a film adaptation of a literary work written by a British author, and to reap the economic profits that come from "possessing" the literary work in its filmic form.

In fact, *Possession* is not the only example of Hollywood appropriating British cultural property. Twentieth Century Fox released a film adaptation of British writer Alan Moore's graphic novel *From Hell* in 2001, and Warner Bros. released adaptations of Moore's *V for Vendetta* and *Watchmen* in 2005 and 2009 respectively. Moore's disdain for Hollywood is notorious, and he has been known to decline large payments from Hollywood for adaptations of his work. In a December 2012 interview with the *Guardian*, aptly titled "Why I Turned My Back on Hollywood," Moore refused to endorse the Hollywood adaptations of his graphic novels, proclaiming that:

> My main experiences in the past had been of the Hollywood variety, which was on many levels repulsive to me. Every film is a remake of a previous film, or a remake of a television series that everyone loved in the 1960s, or a remake of a television series that everyone *hated* in the 1960s. Or it's a theme park ride; it will soon come to breakfast cereal mascots. (qtd. in Lamont)

Notwithstanding Moore's disparaging of Hollywood, Warner Bros. reaped US\$132,511,035 in worldwide ticket sales of *V for Vendetta* (as of 6 July 2012), far surpassing the film's estimated production costs of US\$54,000,000 ("V for Vendetta").

While surreptitiously claiming American ownership of British cultural property, the film adaptation of *Possession*, however, simultaneously supports the British heritage industry by promoting Britain as a tourist destination. Comparing the novel to the film reveals this contradictory

relationship of competition and collaboration between British literary production, the British heritage industry, and Hollywood. The film style of *Possession* conforms to what Andrew Higson calls an "aesthetics of display." This aesthetic, Higson argues, is characteristic of what he calls "English" heritage films and television dramas shot in Britain in the 1980s and 1990s, and is well-suited to advertising the attractions of the British heritage industry. In *English Heritage, English Cinema*, Higson describes "English" heritage dramas of the 1980s and 1990s as a "cinema of attractions" that is primarily interested in "display[ing] [its] self-conscious artistry, [its] landscapes, [its] properties, [its] actors and their performance qualities, [its] clothes, and [its] often archaic dialogue" (39). In heritage dramas, Higson claims, camera movement is less concerned with following the movement of characters, and more concerned with showing the viewer period settings (38). Heritage dramas make extensive use of long and medium shots, which show the viewer more of the background, and long takes, which give the viewer more time to look at the background. They also often employ a "pictorialist" style of arranging the *mise en scène* to look like tableaux in art photography (38-39). These aesthetic strategies, Higson contends, transform narrative space into "space for the display of heritage properties" as spectacles for the viewer to admire (39).

The film *Possession* similarly puts heritage properties on display, thereby helping to market the attractions of the British heritage industry. Establishing shots that indicate changes of location in the film narrative often depict scenic landscapes seen from a far distance, with no people and vehicles visible in the shots. When the plot action moves to Lincoln, for example, the camera cuts to a high-angle, extreme long shot of the church where the female poet Christabel LaMotte is buried (Fig. 42). The grey ruins of the church are framed slightly off-centre in the shot by verdant green trees and fields, and a shining lake in the foreground. The church appears as a picturesque pastoral idyll devoid of human figures and vehicles.

Fig. 42: Establishing shot of the church in Lincoln where Christabel LaMotte is buried.

The film depicts Seal Court, the country house in Lincoln in which Christabel spends the last years of her life, in a very similar fashion (Fig. 43).

Fig. 43: Establishing shot of Seal Court, Christabel LaMotte's ancestral home.

In this extreme long shot of Seal Court, the country house has an air of romantic mystery. The white buildings of the house stand out against a background of rolling green hills and blue sky shrouded in mist. The house has a turret on the left, and its walls are covered with ivy. Like the earlier shot of the church, there are no human figures or vehicles in this shot. The image of the country house thus takes centre stage.

Both the shots in Fig. 42 and Fig. 43 precede shots of the characters within the setting. They are therefore divorced from character point of view, and are, as Higson describes, "displayed for the cinema spectator alone" (38). Like the images of food in *Kuroshitsuji* discussed in the previous chapter, the shots in Fig. 42 and Fig. 43, and other similar shots that put historic sites and beautiful scenery on display in *Possession*, are abstracted from the flow of plot action. In de-contextualising these images, the film reifies them into commodities, which the viewer consumes while watching the film. Moreover, these highly attractive images encourage the viewer not to be satisfied with simply viewing the images, but also to visit the historic locations where the film was shot. These shots bear a striking resemblance to the images found in heritage tourism marketing materials (Fig. 44 and Fig. 45).

Fig. 44: Kenilworth Castle brochure. (Obtained by the author at Kenilworth Castle on 30 May 2015.)
Fig. 45: The main page of the official website of Leighton Hall, which stood in for Seal Court in *Possession*.

Like Higson's "English" heritage dramas, *Possession* is particularly interested in achieving historical accuracy in period setting details, and shooting at historical locations rather than in studios. This "discourse of authenticity" based on historical accuracy and historical "reality" (Higson 42) intersects with the film's aesthetics of display to promote the heritage sites that the film features as

tourist destinations. According to Higson, producers and promoters in the 1980s and 1990s often claimed that the period buildings and objects that appeared in "English" heritage films and television dramas were historically accurate replicas or, even better, the real thing itself (41). In the director's commentary that is included in the DVD release of *Possession*, the director Neil LaBute repeatedly invokes the idea of historical "reality." The film was shot more often on location than on studio film sets because LaBute preferred to use historic sites mentioned in Byatt's novel. When discussing a shot of the Lincoln Cathedral seen from Maud's office window, LaBute explains that he tried to get landmarks like the cathedral on camera as much as possible to "give a sense of place." He adds that there is "[n]othing like a real view out of the window compared to a painted backdrop." Later in the commentary, he explains that filming near Thomason Foss in Yorkshire was difficult because of the rugged terrain, but he had chosen to film at that particular site because he "felt it was really important to be there" where Byatt had set her novel. Although the film was not made with sponsorship from the British Tourist Authority or local government tourism boards, it features historic sites in Britain prominently because LaBute was so committed to the specificity and "reality" of places. The film thus helps to advertise these historic sites to audiences around the world. Like LaBute who insists on the value of "being there" in a historic site rather than on a film set, the British heritage industry sells tourists the experience of "being there" in a historic site, or, in the words of English Heritage's marketing campaign, "stand[ing] where history happened" (*English Heritage*).

Many of the historic locations where *Possession* was shot are heritage attractions that are open to the public, and which charge admission fees. Appearances in heritage films and television dramas often help increase visitor numbers to heritage sites, thereby increasing the commercial income that these sites produce (Sargeant 308; Higson 57), and decreasing the British state's responsibilities in funding these sites. In 1995, after appearing in the British Broadcasting Corporation's adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* (famously starring Colin Firth as Mr Darcy), visitor admissions to the country estates of Sudbury and Lyme Park shot up by 59% and 42% respectively (Sargeant 308). By 1996, admissions to Lyme Park had increased by 178%, prompting the British Tourist Board (now known

as the British Tourist Authority or Visit Britain) to give its top award in that year to the television drama for its "outstanding contribution to tourism" (Higson 58).

More recently, *Downton Abbey* (2010-2015), which is co-produced by the British television company ITV and the US-based Masterpiece Theatre, helped transform its filming location, Highclere Castle, into a popular tourist attraction. A 2011 article in the *Independent* called this "[t]he Downton Abbey Effect," and examined how the National Trust's eighteenth-century Antony House has similarly benefitted from appearing in Tim Burton's 2010 film adaptation of *Alice in Wonderland* for Walt Disney Pictures (Sharp 16-17).

Possession is clearly not the only example of a heritage film or television drama shot in Britain that generates revenue for both its American-based producers and distributors, and the British heritage industry. Nevertheless, with its explicit emphasis on Anglo-American competition for the ownership of Victorian artefacts, *Possession* foregrounds Anglo-American relations in the British heritage industry, and provides a useful lens for thinking about the relationship between Hollywood and heritage attractions in Britain. Many of the heritage sites that appear in the film are business enterprises, which stand to gain when the film encourages viewers to extend their enjoyment of the film by visiting these sites. The establishing shot of the church in Lincoln (Fig. 41) was actually taken at Bolton Abbey, the historic family home of the Duke of Devonshire and a major outdoor visitor attraction that includes countryside walks, restaurants, a brasserie, tea rooms and cafes, and two gift shops (*Welcome to Bolton Abbey*). The standing ruins of the Priory, which stand in for the church in the film, are classified in the National Heritage List as Grade I. Grade I buildings are protected by law as buildings of "exceptional" architectural or historical interest ("National Heritage List").

Another similarly protected heritage site/tourist attraction that appears in the film is Leighton Hall in Carnforth, Lancashire, which provided the setting for exterior shots of Seal Court (Fig. 43 and Fig. 45). Leighton Hall is a Grade II* building (a "particularly important buildin[g] of more than special interest") ("National Heritage List"), and like Bolton Abbey, is open to the public at a charge.

According to the official website of Leighton Hall, the estate charges £7.75 for an Adult admission ticket "includ[ing] House Tour, access to gardens and parklands and birds of prey display (weather permitting)" (*Leighton Hall*). The estate also offers spaces to rent for weddings, special events, and corporate functions. Like Bolton Abbey, Leighton Hall is a commodified heritage site that its owners have made available to consumers at the price of an admission ticket or a rental booking fee. Likewise, Luton Hoo, a late eighteenth-century country estate where LaBute shot many indoor scenes, was restored and converted in 2007 into a five-star hotel, country club, and spa.

By displaying these and other heritage properties/tourist attractions as spectacles for the viewer to admire, the film encourages its audiences to visit these properties. In this way, the film, despite being a Hollywood product that takes advantage of the critical success of its British source text, allows the British heritage industry to take advantage of it in return. Knebworth House, one of the heritage sites featured in the film, acknowledges this transatlantic collaborative relationship. The country estate has taken advantage of its screen appearance to advertise on its website that it has been used as a filming location in *Possession* and numerous other films and television programmes (most notably the Oscar-winning period film *The King's Speech*), and is therefore even more worth visiting as a tourist destination. The website provides the viewer with a lengthy list of films shot at Knebworth, a montage of film posters, and a link to the movie trailer of *The King's Speech* (*Knebworth*). It proudly displays Knebworth's "diverse" and "extensive" filming history (*Knebworth*), not only to encourage film-makers to shoot on location at Knebworth, but also to entice viewers who have watched the films cited to visit the estate. The owners of Knebworth have also decorated one of the corridors in the part of the house that is open to the public with posters of the films that have been shot on location at Knebworth.

Moreover, the film adaptation of *Possession* implies that the past is fully knowable in the present, and as such it supports a particular attitude towards representing the past that critics have identified, and often attacked, as a dominant trend in the British heritage industry. I mentioned earlier that the establishing shots of the church and Seal Court (Fig. 42 and Fig. 43) are devoid of human

figures and vehicles. This absence of any objects that would indicate a specific historical period (clothing, motorcars etc.) in the *mise en scène* creates an aura of timelessness, a sense that the old church and country house buildings persist for all time. This sense of the timelessness of historic sites in the film dovetails with the heritage industry, which, as Bella Dicks describes in *Culture on Display* (2003), displays the past as a place that one can "visit" in the present (119). The film adaptation of *Possession* does not share the novel's recognition that knowing and representing the past "as it really was" is impossible. The novel suggests that the past can be "brought to life" only as a representation created out of the reader's imaginative interpretation of the textual traces of the past, hence there will always be an unbridgeable gap between past reality and present-day representations. The film, on the other hand, erases this gap between the past and the present. The Victorian past loses its distinctiveness as a historical context that is discontinuous from the contemporary part of the narrative, which is set in Britain in 2000. It becomes "visitable history" (Dicks 119), a past that inhabits the same time-space as the present, and which the film spectator can slip into and "experience" in much the same way that visitors to heritage centres "experience" the past through re-enactments.

The film dramatises this idea of a seamless connection between past and present, when it transitions between time periods by panning the camera from one part of a filming location showing the twenty-first-century characters to another part showing the Victorian characters, and vice versa, in a single take. In the scene where Roland and Maud travel to Yorkshire to retrace Ash and Christabel's journey in 1859, the camera first shows Roland and Maud's car travelling under the arch of an old railway bridge, and then pans upwards to show a steam engine crossing the bridge. The camera cuts to Ash and Christabel in a railway carriage, on the train that appears to have, in time-travel fashion, crossed the bridge seconds after Roland and Maud drive beneath it. Several shots later, when Ash and Christabel walk out of their hotel room in Yorkshire, the camera focuses on the closed door, and then shows a hotel staff member entering the room with Roland and Maud. The camera follows the characters as they move around the room, revealing that the layout of the room has

changed since the Victorian characters walked out of it a few seconds earlier.[105] All this action occurs within a single take with no cuts. This smooth transition between the twenty-first-century present of Roland and Maud and the Victorian past of Ash and Christabel creates the impression that the two time periods are contiguous. It suggests that the film spectator, like Roland and Maud, can literally walk into the past as a visitable place that exists in the present, and obtain unmediated knowledge of the past "as it really happened."

The film encourages the viewer not to question the representation of the Victorian past that it offers, and to become immersed in this audio-visual experience of the Victorian past "brought back to life" in the present. This mode of representing the past closely resembles that which Robert Lumley calls the "'heritage centre' approach" in the British heritage industry (22). Since the 1980s there has been a burgeoning of heritage centres, which, unlike the traditional museum, often prioritise visitor enjoyment and emotional identification with the past, over historical research and critical distance (Lumley 22).[106] Like a heritage centre dedicated to resurrecting the Victorians for present-day visitors, the film *Possession* erases the gap between past and present, and turns the past into a visitable place where the viewer can admire the heritage properties on display, and experience the past "as it really happened." In doing so, the film, while being an American appropriation of British cultural property, supports the British heritage industry in commodifying the past into a tourist destination. This in turn benefits American airlines, tour operators, hotel chains, and other American-based companies that make money out of tourism.

The film adaptation of *Possession* also points to Anglo-American collaboration in the British heritage film and television industry. *Possession* was mainly produced and distributed by three American-based studios, Warner Bros., Focus Features/USA Films, and Baltimore Spring Creek Productions, which stood to gain the most from the film's commercial success. However, the film

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[105] LaBute reveals in the director's commentary that this seemingly magical transformation was accomplished with the use of a film set with movable walls.

[106] See also Hewison's critique of the "new museums" in Hewison 88-98; and the chapter "Out of the Glass Case" in Dicks 144-69.

was also made with contributions from British film and television companies, which also stood to benefit from Hollywood's patronage. When the film was not shot on location, it was shot at Shepperton Studios ("Possession"), which is owned by Pinewood, a British broadcasting and media production company. The casting of extras was also done by a British company called Casting Collective ("Possession").

As the example of *Possession* suggests, period dramas made in Britain in the 2000s were often products of transatlantic collaboration. By the 1980s, the American market for Hollywood movies had become saturated, prompting Hollywood to invest in films designed for foreign markets in a bid to increase its profits (Higson 121). Many period dramas of the 1980s and 1990s that are classified as British productions were actually made possible by American co-financing, artistic collaboration, and/or distribution (Monk 177; Higson 122-23).

As Claire Monk asserts, the apparent Britishness of period dramas has never been a straightforward matter in the context of British cinema's subordination to Hollywood since the 1980s (176-77). The desire for cultural self-affirmation, Monk argues, has led British production companies to produce and market period dramas as national products that are concerned with the projection of national identity, and which are distinct from mainstream Hollywood fare (176-77). As a result, film audiences both in and outside of Britain in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first century have come to perceive period dramas "as *particularly* 'British,' [and] as *particularly* characteristic of British cinema and television" (Monk 176). Despite this attempt at national product differentiation, many period dramas made in Britain about Britain, such as *Possession*, are made by non-British directors and crew members, and with money from non-British companies, especially Hollywood movie studios (Monk 177).

Hollywood's investment in "British" period dramas since the 1980s appears to have been motivated not only by the drive to increase profits, but also by an American desire for "English" aristocratic cultural capital. In much the same way that *Lady Victorian* and *Kuroshitsuji* imply that

the Japanese should emulate the ways of the "English" nobility, Hollywood's interest in period dramas set in Britain and featuring British heritage sites seems to stem (at least partly) from the perception that Americans lack the taste and refinement of the British. Financing a period drama about Britain, and about the aristocracy in particular, becomes a way of accruing the aristocratic cultural capital of the British for the US. It is perhaps not a coincidence that many period films and television dramas that focus on the lives of aristocratic characters in Britain are financed, produced, and/or distributed by American media corporations, and that these period dramas are popular with American audiences. Notable examples include the 1981 Granada TV adaptation of *Brideshead Revisited*, which was rebroadcast on American television by the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) ("Brideshead Revisited"); *Pride and Prejudice* (2005) produced by Focus Features and Universal Pictures ("Pride and Prejudice"); *Jane Eyre* (2011) produced by Focus Features in association with BBC Films ("Jane Eyre"); and *Downton Abbey*, which, as mentioned earlier, is co-produced with the US-based Masterpiece Theatre, and distributed in the States by PBS ("Downton Abbey").

The perception that Americans lack the taste and refinement of the British can be traced back to American tourism to Britain, and in particular, to places associated with famous writers, in the nineteenth century. In her study of the nineteenth-century "invention" of Shakespeare's Birthplace in Stratford-upon-Avon, Julia Thomas describes how the auction of the birthplace in 1847 stirred up fears in Britain that the house might be purchased by wealthy Americans, transferred wholesale to the US, the "birthplace of the showman and the speculator," and turned into a vulgar tourist attraction (39, 52-57). The fund-raising campaign that called on the British public to save the birthplace cast the figure of the potential American bidder as a threatening Other, "a particular type of speculator with no ethical values or, indeed, taste" (Thomas 52). Simon Goldhill likewise observes that the cliché of the rich American tourist who is oblivious to, or baffled by, British manners has its roots in the nineteenth century (13).

These nineteenth-century anxieties about vulgar American tourists visiting, and even worse, buying over and degrading British heritage sites form a historical precedent for the anxieties

expressed by the British characters in *Possession*, who fear losing the Victorian poets' letters to the American Professor Cropper and his cheque book. The American film and television industry seems to have internalised this stereotype of the crass American, and to have invested in "British" period dramas as a means to gaining a share in the cultural capital of the British. This suggests that the dynamics between Hollywood, the British heritage film and television industry, and the wider British heritage industry in recent years have been shaped in part by Anglo-American cultural relations in the nineteenth century, and are therefore not entirely reducible to considerations of profit and loss.

Like the literary prize culture and the Cool Japan campaign discussed in previous chapters, these transatlantic connections between the British heritage industry and Hollywood form part of the global turn to producing, exporting, claiming possession of, and managing culture as property and commodity. Moreover, like the literary prize phenomenon and Cool Japan, these connections that intertwine the British empire of heritage and high culture with Hollywood's global movie empire are informed by the history of British imperial power in the nineteenth century.

Japanese Tourists in Victorian Britain: Japanese Participation in the British Heritage Industry

Old patterns of imperial power persist, albeit in a different form, in the present. In the second half of this chapter, I turn from Anglo-American connections to Anglo-Japanese connections in producing and consuming heritage commodities in the 2000s. These Anglo-Japanese connections, especially those that relate to heritage representations of Victorian Britain, are deeply affected by the unequal cultural relations of power established by informal British imperialism in East Asia in the nineteenth century.

As a decidedly transnational industry, the British heritage industry brings people from other nations to Britain, both in person as tourists, and as virtual customers who buy (and buy into the idea of) British heritage via heritage films and television dramas, luxury brand catalogues, and neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga. John Urry remarks that heritage is particularly important in British tourism, and that "Britain has in part come to specialise in holidays for overseas visitors that emphasise the

historical and the quaint" (140).[107] If Britain's past is "a foreign country," as the title of Lowenthal's book on the heritage industry puts it, it is one that appeals immensely, and is marketed aggressively, to visitors from foreign countries.

Japanese consumers, especially young women, participate actively in British heritage tourism and the wider heritage industry. In *English Heritage, English Cinema*, Higson departs momentarily from his emphasis on "English" (British) and American involvement in the heritage drama industry to mention a trip organised by a Japanese travel agency to England. In conjunction with the release of the heritage film *Mrs Dalloway* (1997), H.I.S. Japan offered a seven-day package tour that included tours of a country house and some of the locations featured in the film, a flower arrangement demonstration, and afternoon tea at the Ritz. The package tour, marketed as "The English Lady Experience," promised its participants the opportunity "to experience the life of an English lady," to sample "the atmosphere of the good old England where *Mrs Dalloway* is set," and to see "the traditional lifestyle, the noble culture, and a Victorian town" (qtd. in Higson 61).[108] In the same way that Ciel drinking "English" tea in *Kuroshitsuji* represents both the British nation-state and a culture of "Englishness", the package tour evokes an idealised image of England and "English" aristocratic culture that has become conflated with the idea of "Britain" in the Japanese popular imagination.

In the remaining half of this chapter, I turn my attention to Japanese popular culture texts about Victorian Britain published in the 2000s, and which are centred on a romanticised image of aristocratic "Englishness." I examine how these Japanese texts interact with the British heritage industry, and how this interaction is shaped by Japan's longstanding idolisation of Britain as the centre of aristocratic cultural capital, since its encounter with British imperialism in the nineteenth century.

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[107] See also Sargeant 308.
[108] Evidently the people who devised this package tour, and the people who made the movie that this tour was based on, have completely misunderstood Woolf's novel.

When *Lady Victorian* was serialised as *tankōbon* ("single-story series") from 1998 to 2007, the author Moto Naoko drew a series of *omake* ("bonus") manga to accompany the manga series.[109] The *omake* manga, serialised as a column under the title of "The Victorian Way of Life" ["Vikutoria jidai no arukikata"], provides readers of *Lady Victorian* with information on the historical context in which the manga series is set. In 2003, the publisher of *Emma*, a manga series about a maid-of-all-work in Victorian Britain, published the *Emma Victorian Guide* [*Ema Vikutorian gaido*], which was similarly intended to help readers better understand the manga's historical setting. In 2010, a Japanese publishing company, Takarajimasha, published a "mook" (*mukku*, short for "magazine-book") on the Harrods department store in Knightsbridge, London. The "mook," which is part product catalogue and part lifestyle magazine, showcases the store's long history since its establishment in 1849. What these texts have in common, besides their interest in Victorian Britain, is their participation in the British heritage industry. These Japanese texts, which I call "heritage texts," perpetuate the longstanding Japanese "aspiration" (*akogare*) to emulate the West, but do not counter their expressions of *akogare* with expressions of chauvinistic cultural nationalism. As such, they do not continue the pattern of emulating the West and asserting Japaneseness that is played out in the attitudes towards Western rationality in *Count Cain* (Chapter One); in the competition between *haikara* and *bankara* modes of masculinity (Chapter Two); and in the tension between the desire to become an "English Lady" and the desire to affirm Japanese Coolness in *Lady Victorian* and *Kuroshitsuji* (Chapter Three).

The desire to become an "English Lady" – in other words, to acquire the idealised "English" aristocratic cultural capital associated with Britain – motivates Japanese consumers, especially young women, to visit heritage tourist attractions in Britain, and to buy British heritage brands. In this way, the assumption, which first took root during the Meiji period, that "English" culture is an ideal that

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[109] Manga serialised in *tankōbon* format often include *omake* manga at the end of the volume, or interspersed between chapters, as a special "bonus" manga that is related to, but not directly part of, the main manga storyline. These *omake* manga often feature characters from the main narrative in "alternative universe" settings, or illustrate the manga artist's comments on the creative process and responses to reader feedback.

the Japanese should emulate continues to benefit the British economy in the twenty-first century, long after Britain has ceased to dominate trade in Japan and East Asia.

Besides *akogare*-driven consumption, Japanese participation in the British heritage industry also takes on the form of "management." The "Victorian Way of Life" column, the *Emma Victorian Guide*, and the Harrods catalogue suggest that the Japanese cultural industries, unlike Hollywood in the earlier discussion of *Possession*, often do not claim ownership of British heritage properties. They instead "manage" these properties on behalf of their British owners, maintaining the heritage status of British places and brands, while rendering their own presence invisible so that British heritage remains, at least on the surface, exclusively white and "authentic." Conversely, the Japanese cultural industries stress the Japaneseness of *chadō* ("tea ceremony"), *ikebana* ("flower arrangement"), and other cultural practices supposedly born out of Japan's long history of *sakoku* ("national isolation"), thereby creating an illusion of British and Japanese heritage as separate traditions that have no interaction with each other.

By performing the role of manager, and by encouraging Japanese consumers to visit British heritage sites and buy British heritage brands, the Japanese cultural industries draw on the allure of British heritage to sell their manga and magazines, while facilitating the British heritage industry's expansion into the Japanese market. They replicate the functions of the nineteenth-century treaty port system in opening up the Japanese market to British products, but this time, through entrepreneurial collaboration rather than gunboat diplomacy and unequal treaties. Whereas Japan in the nineteenth century imported British cottons, machinery, and luxury goods, Japan in the twenty-first century enriches the British economy by sending Japanese tourists on "English Lady" package tours, where, in their pursuit of an unreachable ideal of "English" aristocratic culture, they supply foreign capital in visiting heritage attractions, purchasing Great Works of English Literature, and shopping for souvenirs at Harrods.

Japanese Tourists in Thornfield Hall: Literary Heritage Tourism

In both the novel and the film versions of *Possession*, Roland and Maud inadvertently engage in literary heritage tourism as they attempt to retrace Ash and Christabel's 1859 expedition to Yorkshire. They visit Thomason Foss and an old jet jewellers' shop in Whitby, and in the film adaptation, they stay in the very same hotel room that Ash and Christabel had used almost 150 years ago. Roland and Maud's journey to the places that the Victorian poets had gone to constitutes a particular kind of heritage tourism, which involves visiting places of birth, houses, graves, and other locations associated with famous writers in order to "experience" the environment that has supposedly given rise to literary genius. Such literature-inspired tourism is a significant part of the British heritage industry, as we can see from the continuing appeal of Shakespeare's Birthplace in Stratford-upon-Avon, and the plethora of Blue Plaques in London, inviting the passer-by to visit Dickens' home on Doughty Street, Holborn, or the house on Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, where George Eliot died. Literary heritage tourism is also one of the main draws for Japanese tourists who come to Britain.

Jasper Fforde's rewriting of *Jane Eyre*, *The Eyre Affair* (2001), points to and pokes fun at the Japanese enthusiasm for literary heritage tourism to Britain. The protagonist of the novel is a detective named Thursday Next, who teleports into the fictional world of *Jane Eyre* to hunt down a master criminal who is "disrupting" the narrative. While inside the world of *Jane Eyre*, Thursday encounters "a Japanese couple, dressed in period costume but with one of them holding a large Nikon camera" and "a Brontë guidebook written in Japanese" (324). Thursday later discovers that Mr Rochester does tours of Thornfield Hall for the Japanese tourists whom Mrs Nakajima (the female tourist mentioned above) brings with her when she teleports into the novel. Rochester explains that he engages in this "extremely lucrative" business because "[c]ountry houses are not cheap to run . . . even in this [nineteenth] century" (331). Instead of depicting Japanese tourists visiting heritage attractions connected to Charlotte Brontë and *Jane Eyre*, *The Eyre Affair* features Japanese tourists wandering in and out of the fictional world of *Jane Eyre* as if it were a tangible tourist destination.

The absurdity of Japanese tourists walking around Thornfield Hall as if they were visiting a country house in the "real" world makes fun of the idea that "there [are] very few places that the tourist business ha[s]n't touched" (325). It also points to the fact that there were indeed many Japanese tourists in the 2000s visiting heritage sites in Britain associated with famous writers and literary works. The 2007 British Tourist Authority report *Japan Full Market Profile* shows that heritage was one of the top factors that influenced Japanese tourists' choice of destinations within Britain (Surman 196). In his 2009 study of Japanese tourism to Britain, Bronwen Surman demonstrates that Japanese tourists in the 2000s were especially active in literary tourism. Their desire to visit places associated with British books, films, and iconic characters such as Peter Rabbit has, according to Surman, made literary tourism one of the most rapidly growing sectors in the British heritage industry (196-97). The industry, together with local government authorities, also actively courted Japanese literary tourists in the 2000s. In 2006, the Northwest Regional Development Agency sent a delegation of representatives from the Cumbria Tourist Board, the National Trust, and tourism businesses to Tokyo to build relationships with tour operators and to "spread the word about the delights of the Lake District" such as Wordsworth's Dove Cottage and Beatrix Potter's Hill Top Farm (Surman 199).

At the Brontë Parsonage Museum in Haworth, the guidebooks are written half in English and half in Japanese (Surman 197), presumably in a bid to cater to the needs of Japanese tourists at the museum while attracting more to visit. In his account of his own literature-inspired travels across Britain in 2011, Simon Goldhill describes the crowds of Japanese tourists he sees at Haworth:

> Well, this street looks exactly like a Victorian Yorkshire street. . . . Except that . . . in front of us [there is] a tour of 30 Japanese schoolgirls giggling and pointing. . . . it is hard to imagine what Emily would have made of a crocodile of Japanese girls coming up the parsonage path. Haworth is probably the only parish church in Britain with signs in Japanese. (72)

The Japanese tourists wandering around Thornfield Hall in *The Eyre Affair* are an exaggerated representation of these Japanese tourists who come to Britain to visit the Brontë Parsonage Museum

and other historic sites associated with famous writers and literary works. Goldhill speculates that it is "our profound need to understand family dynamics, the search for self-expression and creativity, and the conflicts of gender, [t]hat keep us coming back to Haworth" (70). Perhaps the Japanese schoolgirls that Goldhill encountered came to Haworth for these reasons. However, a close look at some recent Japanese texts on Victorian Britain reveals that Japanese tourists, especially young women, might be travelling to British heritage attractions (including those with literary associations) for very different purposes.

Japanese Tourists in Harrods: Acquiring Cultural Capital

These Japanese texts, which I call "heritage texts" because of their participation in the British heritage industry, stimulate and capitalise on Japanese consumers' desire to acquire "English" aristocratic cultural capital. They encourage Japanese consumers, especially young women, to travel to heritage sites in Britain in order to acquire this cultural capital, thereby facilitating heritage tourism to Britain. The aristocratic cultural capital that these texts associate with consuming British heritage commodities includes the aesthetic disposition required to consume luxury goods as art objects (discussed in Chapter Three), as well as a more general knowledge of "English" aristocratic social customs. In promoting travel to Britain as a means of acquiring cultural capital, these texts draw on two earlier "internationalisation" (*kokusaika*) movements in Japan.

In 1991, the Japanese state launched the "Two-Way 21 Tourism Programme," which encouraged workaholic Japanese citizens to see taking a holiday not as a waste of productivity, but as "a conscious act of self-development" that would "benefit Japan as a nation, by contributing to world harmony" (Andersen, Prentice, and Watanabe 132). The Harrods catalogue, the *Emma Victorian Guide*, and the "Victorian Way of Life" column in *Lady Victorian* similarly represent tourism as an opportunity to learn from other cultures and improve oneself, but stop short of claiming that such self-improvement contributes to world harmony.

For the young Japanese women interviewed in Karen Kelsky's study of Japanese women's "internationalism" in the 1980s and 1990s, such self-improvement through travel is necessary if one wishes to join the ranks of the cosmopolitan elite. Young Japanese women, Kelsky's study demonstrates, have at least since the 1980s perceived Britain as "the home of a truly sublime sophistication, an apotheosis of 'class,' that is contrasted favourably to the 'coarseness' of the US" (Kelsky 6). In the 1980s and 1990s, Japanese women writers such as Saitō Minako, Igata Keiko, and Toshiko Marks (previously married to Lord Marks of the Marks and Spencer chain of department stores) wrote books on Britain with telling titles such as *Super Top-Classism* [*Chō ichiryū shugi*] (1993), *I, Who will Someday Live in Britain* [*Itsuka Igirisu ni kurasu watashi*] (1993), and *Britain the Rich, Japan the Nouveau Riche* [*Yutori no kuni Igirisu to narikin no kuni Nippon*] (1993) (Kelsky 123-126). Through their books and public talks, they exhorted fellow Japanese women to master the good manners of the "English" aristocracy in order to enter British society (and, more generally, white Western society), and attain upward social mobility (Kelsky 124). The Japanese heritage texts of the 2000s which I discuss in this chapter likewise idealise Britain as the epitome of class and taste, and encourage young Japanese women to cultivate "English" good manners. Furthermore, they explicitly link this acquisition of aristocratic cultural capital to visiting heritage tourist destinations in Britain.

The Harrods department store in Knightsbridge, London, appears in all three Japanese heritage texts as an icon of "English" aristocratic culture and a major heritage attraction that is associated with the Victorian period. Harrods and the West End had actually emerged in the mid- to late nineteenth and early twentieth century as shopping spaces catered to predominantly middle-class women, but the neighbourhood became known as London's premier shopping district partly because of its older connections with the elite classes (Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure* 3-4, 8-9). Members of the royal family, the aristocracy, and the landed gentry had made the West End their home since the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and had long practised highly public forms of aristocratic consumption and self-display in the neighbourhood (Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure* 8-9). The Harrods catalogue, the "Victorian Way of Life" column, and the *Emma Victorian Guide* draw on

these historical associations of the West End with "English" aristocratic culture, and encourage Japanese female consumers to emulate this culture through shopping, in much the same way that British middle-class women did in the nineteenth century.

The "Victorian Way of Life" column in Volume Three of *Lady Victorian* includes a special article on Harrods, where Bell, the protagonist of the manga, explains that the Harrods logo that appears in the main narrative is an anachronism. Gift boxes shown in the main narrative display the current Harrods logo (as of 2000 when Volume Three was published), not the logo that was in use in the 1870s, the time period in which the manga series is set. *Lady Victorian*'s use of the more recent Harrods logo points to the fame of Harrods amongst the manga series' target audience of young Japanese women.[110] It also informs the intended Japanese female reader that the Harrods whose logo she recognises in 2000 was first established in the Victorian period, and that it remains in 2000 as heritage that the Victorians have left for the reader in the present.

Harrods also features in the *Emma Victorian Guide* (2003), which similarly establishes Harrods' origins in Victorian Britain, and associates visiting Harrods with acquiring "English" aristocratic cultural capital. In an article on shopping places and practices in Victorian Britain, a character from the *Emma* manga series named Vivian Jones takes on the role of a guide and describes the nineteenth-century Harrods to the twenty-first-century reader. Vivian is the daughter of a nouveau riche merchant family that wants to enter the ranks of the nobility. The patriarch of the family desires his eldest son to marry the daughter of a titled gentleman, in the hopes that one day his descendants will inherit the title. Seen in the light of her family's attempts to join the aristocracy, Vivian's longing to shop at "the yearned-for Harrods" (*akogare no Harozzu*) establishes Harrods not only as Victorian heritage, but also as the place to go to if one wanted to adopt the ways of the aristocracy and "become a Lady" in both the nineteenth and twenty-first century. However, informed by a scrupulous

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[110] It perhaps also points to the fame of Harrods amongst manga artists. It is possible that Moto Naoko originally made a mistake about the logo when she was preparing the manuscript for the main narrative, but this is unlikely given the copious amount of research she did for the manga series.

commitment to historical accuracy (more on this later), the guidebook, through the voice of Vivian, informs the reader that Harrods is "slightly crass" (*sukoshi hin ga nai*) because it puts price tags on its goods, and sometimes holds bargain sales. Vivian's snobbery brings to mind the shopping scene in *Lady Victorian* (discussed in Chapter Three) where Lady Ethel goes to Whiteley's and purchases lavish accessories without her or the sales assistant making any distasteful references to how much the items cost.

The 2010 Harrods catalogue published by Takarajimasha recuperates Harrods from this accusation of being "slightly crass," and represents Harrods as a mecca of aristocratic "Englishness," to which the young Japanese woman should make her pilgrimage in order to "become a Lady." Like *Lady Victorian* and *Kuroshitsuji*, the Harrods catalogue depicts luxury goods (in this case, Harrods products) as art objects whose consumption requires the consumer to possess what Bourdieu calls aristocratic taste. Harrods products, the catalogue implies, are not simply very expensive commodities that the buyer can use to demonstrate how wealthy s/he is. The catalogue repeats, almost ad nauseam, that Harrods products are "elegant" (*yūga*), "refined" (*jōhin*), "of high standing" (*kōkyū*), even "noble" (*nōburu*).

Words used to describe Harrods products	Number of times mentioned
"elegant"	
優雅 (*yūga*)	5
エレガント (*ereganto*)	4
"refined"	
上品 (*jōhin*)	4

気品 (*kihin*)	1
品のある (*hin no aru*)	1
品よく (*hin yoku*)	1
"of high standing"	
高級 (*kōkyū*)	4
"noble"	
ノーブル (*nōburu*)	1

Fig. 46: Words used to describe Harrods products in the Harrods catalogue.

The catalogue encourages young Japanese women to travel to Harrods in London, and to emulate the ways of the "English" nobility by buying these "elegant" and "refined" Harrods products, and immersing themselves on the whole in an "elegant shopping experience" (*yūga na shoppingu*). In thus stimulating and capitalising on young Japanese women's feelings of *akogare*, the catalogue promotes heritage tourism to, and tourist spending in, Britain. The reader's introduction to Harrods begins with a virtual tour of the department store, with KIKI-san, a Japanese female model in her mid- to late 20s, standing in place of the young Japanese female reader whom the text explicitly addresses (Fig. 47):

Fig. 47: A doorman welcomes KIKI-san and the reader to Harrods. (*Harozzu to Eikoku ryū jōshitsu sutairu*, pp. 4-5)

Over an eleven-page photo spread, the reader follows KIKI-san as she is welcomed to Harrods by the doorman; as she admires the decorative tiled walls and ceilings in the Food Hall; as she samples tea blends in the Tea Shop; and as she has afternoon tea at the in-store Georgian Restaurant. The tour ends at the Gift Shop, which the catalogue recommends as a must-visit destination for international tourists looking for "elegant" and "refined" souvenirs. This virtual tour seeks to inspire the intended Japanese female reader to follow KIKI-san's example, and travel to Harrods in London to eat, drink,

and shop like the "English" aristocracy. It encourages young Japanese women to consume not only Harrods products, but also the Harrods department store as a heritage tourist destination that epitomises an idealised "English" aristocratic lifestyle.

Japanese Travellers in Victorian Britain: Learning Good Manners

Japanese people have in fact been travelling to Britain, and in particular, to heritage attractions, in order to emulate aristocratic tastes and customs since the nineteenth century. The Harrods catalogue builds on a longstanding practice of Japanese travel to Britain that can be traced back to the last years of the Tokugawa shogunate and the early Meiji period in the 1860s and 1870s. In *The Eyre Affair*, Thursday is shocked to find Mrs Nakajima and her travelling companion, Mr Suzuki, in the world of *Jane Eyre*. She exclaims incredulously, "Japanese? In mid-nineteenth-century England?", to which Mrs Nakajima retorts, "Why not?" (325). Although Thursday sees Japanese travellers as an utterly incongruous presence in "mid-nineteenth-century England," and by implication, mid-nineteenth-century Britain, there were Japanese people in Britain at the time, especially after the 1868 Meiji Restoration.

In 1862, the shogunate official Takenouchi Yasunori led a delegation to Britain and other European countries to negotiate delaying the opening of the treaty ports of Hyōgo and Niigata, and the port cities of Osaka and Edo (Tokyo). The Takenouchi mission included the young Fukuzawa Yukichi, who later drew on his experience of touring Europe to write *Conditions in the West* [*Seiyō jijō*], his best-selling introduction to Western civilisation (Cobbing 19). In 1863, five samurai from Chōshū escaped illegally to Britain, where four of them registered to study at University College in London (Cobbing 24). Two years later, the Satsuma domain illegally sent nineteen samurai to study in Britain (Cobbing 24).

Many of these early Japanese travellers to Britain, such as Inoue Kaoru, Itō Hirobumi, and Matsuki Kōan (later known as Terashima Munenori), became leaders of the new Meiji state when they returned to Japan. The Meiji state sent even more Japanese students to Britain in the 1870s as

part of its reforms to "civilise" and "enlighten" Japan. In 1872, it sent a diplomatic mission headed by Iwakura Tomomi to Britain (as well as other European countries and the US) to negotiate revising the unequal treaties, but the mission spent most of its time touring and observing political, economic, and social advancements in the West (Hirakawa, "Japan's Turn to the West" 463-64). By the early 1870s, Japanese students made up the largest Asian community in London, and even became a visible presence on the city's streets (Cobbing 89, 110). As Mrs Nakajima's retort "Why not?" suggests, Japanese people did travel to, and could be seen in, mid-nineteenth-century Britain.

Although most of these Japanese travellers in the 1860s and 1870s were not tourists on holiday, they acquired aristocratic cultural capital by travelling to Britain, in much the same way that the intended young Japanese female reader of the Harrods catalogue is encouraged to do. However, these nineteenth-century travellers acquired cultural capital mostly as a by-product of their visits. The majority of these travellers did not go to Britain intending to obtain knowledge of European art and aristocratic social practices. They went to Britain to study practical subjects related to government and industry, such as Law and engineering, and acquired this practical knowledge (partly) by visiting and observing new developments in nineteenth-century Britain. For instance, the diary of Nomura Fumio, one of the samurai the Satsuma domain sent abroad in 1865, records his wonder at seeing the new industrial technology of Victorian Britain as he sailed into the Thames:

> One warship was so magnificent as to surely have no equal throughout the five oceans. The houses slowly became grander in size and more densely packed as we passed through Greenwich. Here there were tall imposing houses of five or six storeys all in a line like the teeth of a comb. Huge sawmills, shipyards and other buildings stood together like trees in a forest, chimneys rose above them stretching towards the heavens, the whistle of a steam train could be heard, and although we had not even reached the port yet, I was already certain that no city in the world could rival such prosperity. (qtd. in Cobbing 62-63).

Kawaji Tarō, the director of a group of students the Tokugawa shogunate sent to Britain in 1867, expressed a similar sense of awe in his diary, when he wrote that "the criss-crossing networks of railways and telegraphs are truly the height of progress" (qtd. in Cobbing 63). Both the 1862 Takenouchi mission and the Iwakura mission ten years later went to coal mines, factories, the Bank of England, police stations, law courts, libraries, and schools to see the most up-to-date and "progressive" developments in government and industry (Hirakawa, "Japan's Turn to the West" 460-64; Cobbing 96-97).

Although these Japanese travellers went to Britain mainly to learn from its contemporary advances in state administration, technology, and manufacturing, along the way they also adopted "English" aristocratic manners and tastes as a means to achieving the commercial and military power that they admired in Britain and its Empire. The diaries of Japanese travellers to Britain in the 1860s and 1870s reveal that the travellers felt pressurised by British people to adopt British styles of dress on board the British ships they sailed in, at ports of call under British rule, and in Britain itself (Cobbing 82-85). The British exerted such social pressure on Japanese travellers even as late as 1913, when a Keio University professor of English Literature called A. Kawabata wore a *yukata* – Kawabata called it a "summer *kimono*" (51) – on board a ship sailing to Singapore en route to Britain. In his diary, written in English and published as *A Hermit Turned Loose* in 1914, Kawabata describes how he "read in their [English passengers'] countenances their disapproval of this bold protestation by the smallest minority, and at once remembered the English idea of uniformity with majority" (51). He foregoes his *yukata* for "the air-tight European dress which was devised for colder climes of Europe" (51). Despite "fe[eling] constrained in [his] European suit," he feels "easy in [his] heart in company [sic] of those exacting English people," and congratulates himself on his "anglification" (51). Kawabata's capitulation, as well as that of earlier Japanese travellers in the mid-nineteenth century, suggests that these Japanese travellers were aware that, in order for them to be accepted into "English" (British) society, and for Japan to be recognised as Britain's equal, they had to acquire not only practical knowledge, but also "English" aristocratic manners and tastes.

Moreover, much like the model Japanese tourist projected in the Harrods catalogue, mid-nineteenth-century Japanese travellers sought to learn "English" aristocratic manners, customs, and aesthetic sensibilities by visiting heritage attractions in Britain. On the one hand, these Japanese travellers gained practical knowledge of government and industry (partly) by visiting contemporary developments in nineteenth-century Britain, such as coal mines and cotton mills. On the other hand, when it came to obtaining cultural knowledge, they turned to places where the past was being preserved by the nascent heritage movement in Britain in the nineteenth century. For example, Nabeshima Taneko, wife of the last *daimyō* ("feudal lord") of Hizen, went to live in the historic city of Oxford, where, as Andrew Cobbing puts it, she "devoted her time abroad to learning the social graces of an English lady" (122). She also studied art as part of her efforts to cultivate all the "accomplishments" expected of aristocratic ladies in nineteenth-century Britain (Cobbing 136).[111] Taneko's eldest daughter, who was brought up in Oxford, later became one of the few Japanese women who knew how to dance European-style dances at the Rokumeikan balls in the 1880s (Cobbing 127). Kawabata too made a trip to Oxford in 1913, and later wrote in a letter that "[s]treet buses drawn by horses, 'New College' five hundred years old, were deeply interesting to see at the heart of a civilised country" (226). For these Japanese travellers to Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and for the Meiji officials who built the Rokumeikan discussed in Chapter Three, "civilisation" clearly was not limited to the newest advancements in science and technology, and to railways and factories. It included forms of aristocratic cultural knowledge such as good manners, ballroom dancing, and art creation and appreciation, handed down from the past and embodied in hoary historic places.

On the one hand, we can infer from the Harrods catalogue, as well as the neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga discussed in previous chapters, that the Japanese in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century no longer look up to Britain as the world leader in government and industry, and no longer

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[111] Kunizawa Shinkurō was another prominent Japanese art student of the time. He had travelled to Britain in 1870 to study Law, but because of failing health, he decided to specialise in art instead. A year after his return to Japan in 1873, he founded the Shōgidō art school in Tokyo, and pioneered oil painting in Japan (Cobbing 136).

wish to learn practical forms of knowledge from it. On the other hand, these Japanese texts reiterate the nineteenth-century Japanese practice of cultivating aristocratic cultural knowledge by visiting heritage attractions in Britain (and in Europe, more generally). They also suggest that the Japanese, despite having achieved a degree of economic development comparable to that of Britain in the twenty-first century, still perceive themselves to be lagging behind in terms of cultural capital. The desire to catch up with Britain, particularly through heritage tourism, shows that global economic hierarchies of power do not necessarily correspond to cultural hierarchies of power, although these two hierarchies were more closely matched when early Japanese travellers made their way to Britain in the nineteenth century.

Motivated by this desire to catch up, Japanese travellers to Britain in the nineteenth century devoted their time to "learning from the West." The 2010 Harrods catalogue similarly encourages learning. It does not only encourage its readers to learn "English" aristocratic etiquette and tastes by visiting heritage attractions (the Harrods department store) in Britain. It also teaches its readers these forms of cultural know-how, while intertwining its advice with the marketing of items from the Harrods brand. The catalogue thereby reassures its Japanese readers that even if they are unable to travel to Britain and visit the Harrods department store, they can still acquire "English" aristocratic cultural capital while remaining in Japan, simply by learning from the editorial content in the catalogue, and buying the Harrods products that it recommends. The catalogue exploits the longstanding Japanese desire to learn cultural knowledge from Britain to market the Harrods department store as a heritage tourist destination, and the Harrods company as a heritage brand whose products can be bought at its outlets worldwide.

The catalogue also draws on the widespread understanding in Japan that the *depaato* ("department store") is an "acknowledged exper[t]" that teaches Japanese customers about Western goods and the social practices that accompany these goods (Creighton 44). Japanese *depaato* such as Mitsukoshi, Takashimaya, and Daimaru first emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as "display palaces for Western imports, which the Japanese were eager to see and buy"

(Creighton 43).[112] They played a pivotal role in introducing Western food and dress to the Japanese by offering instruction in cooking, the use of cutlery, and table setting, and by hiring sales assistants to teach customers how to don Western garments (Creighton 46, 48). *Depaato* today continue to offer classes on Western cooking, art, languages, sports, and handicrafts, such as knitting, crocheting, and quilting (Creighton 50). By encouraging its Japanese readers to learn more about Western culture, and by alluding to the established role of *depaato* in facilitating such learning, the Harrods catalogue persuades Japanese consumers to look to Harrods as an authoritative source of knowledge about "English" aristocratic culture. In this way, it encourages Japanese consumers to participate in the British heritage industry, if not in person as tourists, then as virtual customers who buy Harrods products while remaining physically in Japan. Many Harrods outlets in Japan are in fact located within Japanese *depaato*, thus pointing to the close collaboration between Harrods and the *depaato* in Japan.[113]

The catalogue advertises Harrods products to Japanese consumers by intertwining marketing with pedagogy. Like the *Lady's Magazine* in *Lady Victorian* (discussed in Chapter Three), it teaches the reader how to consume Western-style luxury goods (which are, in this case, Harrods products) in an appropriately tasteful manner. The catalogue includes an article entitled "Welcome to English Teatime: How to Relax with Tea in the English Style" ["Eikoku ryū tiitaimu no kutsurogikata"], which promotes Harrods tea blends by outlining the different times in a day when one can enjoy a cup of tea. One can, of course, drink tea whenever one wants to, but the article teaches the reader that there are specific times in a day when it is appropriate to have "English" tea (called *kōcha* in Japanese). Early morning tea, according to the article, is to be had at half past seven in the morning, breakfast

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[112] Many of these *depaato* had started out as dry goods stores during the Tokugawa period (the origins of Mitsukoshi date back to 1673), but they began to remodel themselves along the lines of Western department stores in the late Meiji period (Creighton 43; Fujioka 1-3).

[113] The shop list on the official Harrods Japan website shows that the majority of Harrods outlets are located in Mitsukoshi, Takashimaya, Sogō, and Seibu department stores around the country. There is only one Harrods standalone store in the Ginza shopping district, the Japanese equivalent of the West End.

tea at half past eight, Elevenses at eleven, afternoon tea at three, and high tea at six in the evening (Fig. 48).

Fig. 48: The page on the right recommends that the reader have the Breakfast Strong blend of tea with ginger thins for "Early Morning Tea." (*Harozzu to Eikoku ryū jōshitsu sutairu*, pp. 24-25)

These specific times for consuming tea constitute "a tradition of English-style tea-time" (*dentō teki na Eikoku ryū tiitaimu*). This "tradition", the article implies, is a form of intangible aristocratic cultural heritage that the reader can learn to adopt by drinking tea at these specific times, and by drinking the specific Harrods tea blends that the article recommends. The article ends with a detailed, step-by-step guide that teaches the reader "how to make delicious tea, Harrods-style" (*Harozzu ryū, oishii kōcha no irekata*) (Fig. 49).

Fig. 49: A guide to "making delicious tea, Harrods-style" (*Harozzu ryū, oishī kōcha no irekata*) with step-by-step instructions and illustrations. (*Harozzu to Eikoku ryū jōshitsu sutairu*, p. 31)

While it persuades its Japanese readers to buy the tea blends and crockery necessary for "making delicious tea, Harrods-style," the catalogue also facilitates the buying process by stating the prices of all the products shown in Japanese yen, and providing a list of shops in Japan which stock Harrods items. It also provides the phone number of Harrods International, so that the reader may contact Harrods directly to make enquiries about the products in the catalogue. By mixing the teaching of cultural knowledge with the marketing of Harrods products, the catalogue directs Japanese consumers' desire for "English" aristocratic cultural capital to the consumption of Harrods products.

The *Emma Victorian Guide* similarly teaches its readers how to consume Western-style luxury goods in the "correct" manner, but it does not intertwine its educational function with the marketing of particular products from particular brands. Nonetheless, like the Harrods catalogue, it suggests that the art of making "English" tea is a form of "English" cultural heritage that Japanese women in particular should learn in order to "become a Lady," while drawing on existing notions of the relationship between Japanese women, the tea ceremony, and Japanese aesthetics. The guidebook

features a step-by-step lesson on "how to make perfect tea" (*kanpeki na kōcha no irekata*), which looks strikingly like the illustrated guide in the Harrods catalogue (Fig. 50).

Fig. 50: "The Definitive Twenty-first Century Edition!! How to Make Perfect Tea" (21 *seiki kettei ban!! Kanpeki na kōcha no irekata*). (*Emma Victorian Guide*, p. 106)

Two young female characters from the *Emma* manga series, one of whom is the daughter of a Viscount, and the other is from an aspiring middle-class family, play the role of "guides" (*shinan yaku*), while the narrator urges the reader to learn how to make good tea from these two "ladies" (*redi tachi ni, ocha no tatekata o naraimashō*). This guide to making tea is a blatant anachronism as the two ladies speak from their experiences as characters in a nineteenth-century fictional world, whereas the instruments for making tea and the method depicted are from the twenty-first century (*dōgū ya hōhō wa 21 seiki shishō*). Like the tea-making guide in the Harrods catalogue, this lesson in the *Emma Victorian Guide* presents nineteenth-century "English" aristocratic cultural knowledge as essential learning for the twenty-first-century Japanese female reader. In conveying this cultural knowledge to the intended Japanese female reader, the *Emma Victorian Guide* and the Harrods catalogue perform a pedagogical role similar to that of the *depāto*, and to that which *Lady Victorian* ascribes to the genre of *shōjo* manga as a whole (Chapter Three). This "educating" of Japanese consumers in effect channels their yearning for cultural capital into the purchasing of both British luxury goods (such as Harrods tea), and the Japanese cultural commodities (such as the Harrods catalogue and the *Emma Victorian Guide*) that teach one how to consume these luxury goods.

As the catalogue's and the guidebook's emphasis on tea suggests, this intertwining of the British empire of high culture and the Japanese empire of popular culture is inflected by the earlier intertwining of Britain and Japan in the global tea trade in the nineteenth century. In addressing Japanese female readers specifically, the guides to brewing "English" tea in the Harrods catalogue and the *Emma Victorian Guide* tap into the familiar association of Japanese women with tea and the tea ceremony (*chadō*). They do so, however, to market the "English" black teas (*kōcha*) sold by Harrods and other Western brands, not the green teas (*ryokucha*) that are produced domestically, and

that are drunk habitually and during the tea ceremony. Japanese women's close relation to the tea ceremony can be traced back to the late Meiji period, when the tea ceremony began to be taught in girls' schools. Late Meiji educators came to view learning the ritualistic hand actions (*temae*) of the tea ceremony as an important means of training girls to become future housewives (Kato 61, 64). The Common Girls' Vocational School [Kyōritsu Joshi Shokugyō Gakkō] in Tokyo, for instance, included the tea ceremony with cooking and sewing in its "domestic training programme" (Kato 64).

This transformation of the tea ceremony into an almost exclusively female activity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was initially intended to discipline women's bodies to serve the needs of men and the nation (Kato 61).[114] However, Japanese women since the end of the Second World War have turned the tea ceremony into a form of empowerment for themselves (Kato 5). Japanese women in the postwar period, Kato Etsuko explains, attend classes on the tea ceremony to equip themselves with knowledge of Japanese cultural "traditions," and thereby gain (limited) social authority as preservers of these "traditions" (Kato 5).[115]

The *Emma Victorian Guide* and the Harrods catalogue clearly draw on these existing meanings of tea and femininity in Japan. The guidebook revives the late Meiji notion that the tea ceremony is necessary training for Japanese women to become "good wives and wise mothers" (*ryōsai kenbo*), when it encourages the reader to learn how to make tea from manga characters who are "young ladies of marriageable age" (*otoshigoro no redi tachi*). The Harrods catalogue, on the other hand, plays up the tea ceremony's connotations of female empowerment, in depicting the young Japanese woman as an independent traveller and shopper. KIKI-san ambles around Harrods on her own, talking to sales assistants, selecting souvenirs, and enjoying tea and cakes, without being

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[114] Before the Meiji period, the tea ceremony was mainly practised by male priests and samurai.
[115] Girls' schools in the late Meiji period taught its students only *temae* to cultivate their supposedly weak mind-body control, and did not teach the myths about ancient practitioners of the tea ceremony, which are embodied in the utensils and art objects that surround the tea ceremony. This prevented Japanese women in the Meiji period from associating themselves with the authority of tradition (Kato 61). Kato argues that Japanese women were able to draw on this authority only in the postwar period, when the tea ceremony came to be seen as *sōgō bunka*, a synthesis of all aspects of "traditional" Japanese culture, and practitioners were expected to learn about these other cultural forms (ceramics, calligraphy, and so on) in addition to *temae* (Kato 5).

accompanied by men. While the Japanese tourism board now markets Japanese green tea and the tea ceremony as part of a distinctively Japanese cultural tradition, and while Japanese women appropriate this tradition to empower themselves, the Harrods catalogue markets "English" black tea as a source of a different form of cultural capital that is also empowering for Japanese women.[116] Like the discourse on Japanese women's "internationalism" in the 1980s and 1990s (Kelsky 2, 123-24), the Harrods catalogue implies that Japanese women, once equipped with the "English" cultural capital that comes with the purchase of Harrods products, can join the ranks of the cosmopolitan elite based in the West, and gain their independence from Japanese men.

Lastly, the *Emma Victorian Guide* and the Harrods catalogue tap into the late Meiji reinvention of the tea ceremony as a highly aestheticised ritual. At the height of the "civilisation and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*) movement in the 1870s, Japanese art was derided as old-fashioned, and sold off at low prices to Western museums – thereby helping to build what would later become the heritage industry in Britain and elsewhere – by old families in need of cash for the new monetary economy (Bleiler vii).[117] This was quickly followed by a backlash against excessive Westernisation, and the rise of cultural nationalism in the 1880s. Okakura Kakuzo was a prominent scholar who emerged out of this drive to defend Japanese "traditions," and in *The Book of Tea* (written in English for Western audiences and published in 1906), he reinstated the tea ceremony at the centre of a distinctly Japanese "tradition" of "Teaism." "Teaism," according to Okakura, is "a religion of aestheticism" and "a cult founded on the adoration of the beautiful among the sordid facts of everyday existence" (1). Tea-drinking in the *Emma Victorian Guide* and the Harrods catalogue is a similarly aestheticised performance, involving fancy porcelain tea services and complicated techniques of brewing. However, while Okakura understands "the beautiful" in everyday life to include nature and other simple things that can be enjoyed by the upper and lower classes alike, "the beautiful" in

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[116] The Japanese tourism authorities have in fact been marketing green tea as an integral part of Japanese "national culture" since as early as 1935, when the Board of Tourist Industry published *Tea Cult of Japan: An Aesthetic Pastime*, by Fukukita Yasunosuke, as part of a series of handbooks intended to "provide foreign tourists with accurate information regarding the various phases [sic] of Japan's peculiar culture" (see "Editorial Note" in Fukukita).
[117] See also Hane 107.

Japanese neo-Victorian representations of tea-drinking is not so democratic. It refers more narrowly to aesthetically-designed consumer commodities and the aesthetic taste required to consume these commodities, which are accessible only to those well-endowed with economic and cultural capital.[118]

Whereas Japan in the 1870s exported substantial amounts of green tea to Britain and the US, this idealisation of "English" tea in Japanese neo-Victorian texts marks the crucial shift in the global tea trade that began in the 1880s, when British and American consumers gradually turned from green teas produced in China and Japan, to black teas produced in the British colonies of India and Ceylon. Robert Hellyer highlights 1874 as the year in which Japan's green tea exports jumped to an unprecedented high, thus marking the beginning of Sino-Japanese competition in supplying green tea to Britain and the US, the two largest Western markets (187-88). However, due to growing fears that Chinese and Japanese green teas were adulterated with poisonous substances, British and American consumers in the 1880s started to switch to the "pure" and "safe" black teas produced in South Asia, where British companies controlled the planting and processing of tea (Rappaport, "Packaging China" 125, 136-37; Hellyer 188-89, 201). After 1920, Indian and Ceylonese teas steadily gained significant shares of the global tea market at the expense of Chinese and Japanese teas (Hellyer 188, 201), and "English" tea came to be brewed with black tea leaves rather than green tea leaves. By channelling Japanese women's desire for "Englishness" into the consumption of "English" tea, Japanese neo-Victorian texts, and the Harrods catalogue in particular, build on this *fin-de-siècle* global dominance of "English" black tea. They facilitate the import, rather than the export, of tea into Japan by British companies such as Harrods in the twenty-first century.

It is important to note at this point that not all Japanese texts that deal with the British heritage industry revolve around the "yearning" (*akogare*) for "English" aristocratic cultural capital. In June 1994, the manga artist of *Lady Victorian*, Moto Naoko, drew two short manga-style travelogues when

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[118] In the opening chapter of *The Book of Tea*, Okakura proclaims that Teaism "has permeated the elegance of noble boudoirs, and entered the abode of the humble. Our peasants have learnt to arrange flowers, our meanest labourer to offer his salutation to the rocks and waters." (2)

she travelled to Britain with her assistant. The travelogues were later published as *omake* manga in Volume Three of *Lady Victorian* in 2000. Surprisingly, in spite of *Lady Victorian*'s emphasis on emulating the manners and tastes of the "English" nobility, Moto's travelogues fetishise rural village life and the ordinary domesticity of the middle-class home instead.

The first travelogue depicts Moto and her assistant Tsukimi's visit to the Cotswolds, where Moto becomes fascinated with the "honey-coloured" (*hachimitsu iro*) cottages, full of the cuteness of "traditional" village life, rather than with the stately homes that embody unattainable aristocratic privilege. Upon arriving at her B&B, Moto exclaims, "Wow, it's so cute!!" (*Uwaa ka, kawaii~~*) (Fig. 51).

Fig. 51: Moto and Tsukimi arrive at their "cute" (*kawaii*) B&B in the Cotswolds. (*Lady Victorian*, Vol. 3, p. 183)

The manga depicts the B&B as a quaint, two-storeyed house with stone facing (presumably honey-coloured), and creeper plants on the walls. The drawing of the house is framed on two corners by non-diegetic rose motifs, which transform an otherwise ordinary B&B into an idealised image of a rustic, pastoral idyll. Moto and Tsukimi do visit an aristocratic country house (Sudeley Castle) the next day, and although Moto recommends the breath-taking view of the village seen from the castle, the castle itself does not appear in any of the illustrations. Instead of expressing *akogare* for "English" aristocratic culture, the travelogue idealises the cuteness and quaintness of rural village life in Britain.

The second travelogue, which describes Moto and Tsukimi's trip to Nottingham, idealises the ordinary domesticity of British middle-class life. Moto and Tsukimi lose their way while trying to find their B&B, and are rescued by a male passer-by, who invites them to his house. Moto excitedly takes up the opportunity to see what a "typical English home" (*Igirisu no ippan katei*) looks like, and is impressed by the clean and cosy bathroom of an "English middle-class home" (*Eikoku no chūryū katei*). Moto's admiration for the ordinary domesticity of "English" middle-class life extends to the male passer-by's car. Moto and Tsukimi are thrilled at the opportunity to ride in the man's Range Rover, their "ideal" car (*akogare no Rōbaa*). Their *akogare* for the Range Rover, and for the practical

and homely "English" middle-class life that it connotes, does not match the *akogare* expressed in the main narrative of *Lady Victorian*, as well as that in the Harrods catalogue and the *Emma Victorian Guide*.

Nevertheless, Moto's Nottingham travelogue does reaffirm the myth of "English" gentlemanliness, even if it does not articulate desire for aristocratic cultural capital. The man who helps Moto and Tsukimi politely addresses them as "ladies," and chivalrously offers to drive them to their B&B. The B&B landlady tells Moto and Tsukimi that they are lucky to have encountered a "real gentleman" (*honmono no shinshi*). In Moto's and Tsukimi's eyes, their male rescuer embodies "English" good manners, which have been passed down, the travelogue implies, from the nobility to the middle class. The travelogue thus reinforces the association of "Englishness" with aristocratic cultural capital in the Japanese popular imagination, even if it does not express *akogare* for this cultural capital. It also echoes a common trope in young Japanese women's attitudes towards "internationalisation" (*kokusaika*) in the 1980s and 1990s: the white trophy boyfriend/husband who is gentlemanly and kind to women, unlike "sexist" Japanese men.[119] As Takahashi Fumiko writes in *How to Date a Foreign Man* [*Gaikokujin dansei to tsukiau hō*] (1989):

> The first thing one thinks of regarding English men is the image of the gentleman [*shinshi*]. The custom of ladies first – giving way to women on elevators and trains, rising from one's seat when a woman stands up from or sits at the table – these are lovely manners, but we don't encounter them often outside of England. . . . But in England it is indeed difficult to find a man who is not a gentleman. (qtd. in Kelsky 162-163)

Japanese Housekeepers in Thornfield Hall: Managing Other People's Heritage

Besides encouraging Japanese tourists, especially young women, to "Visit Britain" and admire its heritage attractions (and its gentlemen), the Harrods catalogue, the *Emma Victorian Guide*, and the *omake* manga in *Lady Victorian* also maintain the heritage status of these attractions on behalf

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119 See Chapter Three on the "fetish of the White Man" in Kelsky.

of their owners, thereby performing a "managerial" role in the British heritage industry. At the end of *The Eyre Affair*, Mrs Nakajima and her husband retire to the fictional world of *Jane Eyre* permanently, and become the managers of Thornfield Hall while Jane and Rochester live in Ferndean Manor: "My husband retired and he and I manage the house these days. None of us is mentioned in the book and Mrs Rochester aims to keep it that way; much more pleasant than Osaka and certainly more rewarding than the tourist business" (354). Mr and Mrs Nakajima do not own Thornfield, but they "manage" it on the Rochesters' behalf. Mrs Nakajima's new role as manager suggests that Japanese collaboration with the British heritage industry in the twenty-first century takes the form not only of marketing heritage tourist destinations and products from heritage brands, but also of "managing" and maintaining the status of these things as heritage.

This up-keeping of British heritage on behalf of the British also requires Japanese "managers" to erase their presence, so that British heritage remains, at least in appearance, white and therefore "authentically" British. Mr and Mrs Nakajima take pains to ensure that "[n]one of [them] is mentioned in the book" (354), thereby effacing their presence in the narrative world of *Jane Eyre*. Even when she still worked as a tour guide before becoming manager of Thornfield Hall, Mrs Nakajima kept herself and her clients invisible in the narrative: "We touch nothing and never speak to Miss Eyre." (325). Mrs Nakajima's discreet housekeeping in *The Eyre Affair* is motivated by the need within the diegesis to avoid "disrupting" the narrative of *Jane Eyre*, but it also prompts us to ask: Can we think of the Harrods catalogue, the *Emma Victorian Guide*, and the *omake* manga in *Lady Victorian* as playing an invisible managerial role in supporting the British heritage economy?

The Harrods catalogue performs just such a managerial role when it actively constructs Harrods as a British heritage brand, thereby maintaining the heritage status of Harrods on behalf of the Harrods headquarters in London. In fact, Harrods is no longer a British-owned company, as it was sold to the Egyptian-born tycoon Mohammed Al Fayed in 1985, and then sold to the Qatari royal family's investment company in 2010. The catalogue does not mention these key changes in Harrods' recent history, thereby effacing not only the Japanese managerial presence, but also the Arab

ownership of cultural property in the British heritage industry. It instead foregrounds the long and continuous history of Harrods, tracing its origins to the opening of a small tea shop in the East End in 1834, and to the shop's relocation to its current site in Knightsbridge in 1849. In the opening pages of the catalogue, the narrator introduces Harrods as "a department store that has experienced the passing of 160 years" (*160 nen no toki o kizamu hyakkaten*), situated in "a building that exudes history" (*rekishi o kanjiru tatemono*) (Fig. 6).[120] The narrator explains that Harrods' practice of employing Green Men to open the door for customers has "remained unchanged since 1909" (*1909 nen kara tsuzuku ima mo mukashi mo kawaranai*), and that the Art Deco interior of the in-store restaurant has "remained exactly as it was when the restaurant opened in 1911" (*1911 nen ōpun tōji no omokage o nokoshi*). The catalogue's insistence on the apparently unchanging nature of Harrods creates the impression that Harrods is a timeless institution that has been handed down from the past and preserved in the present.

Like the article on Harrods in the *Emma Victorian Guide*, the catalogue also suggests that Harrods preserves "English" aristocratic customs from the past, such as afternoon tea, in much the same way that a heritage centre sells the commodified experience of "living" heritage.[121] The catalogue informs the intended Japanese female reader that, at Harrods, she can enjoy an "authentic" (*honkaku teki*) afternoon tea of cakes, scones, and sandwiches served on a "traditional" (*dentō teki*) three-tiered tray, as well as purchase "traditional tea" (this was written in English). The word "tradition" (*dentō*) in fact appears even more frequently in the catalogue than "elegant" (*yūga*) and "refined" (*jōhin*). In emphasising Harrods' preservation of "traditional" customs, the catalogue reaffirms Harrods' status as a British heritage brand on behalf of the main office in London.

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[120] The Harrods department store in Knightsbridge is classified as Grade II* on the National Heritage List.

[121] Jamie Shalleck states that afternoon tea, also known as "low tea," is "aristocratic in origins, the prelude to a late dinner – a light and expensive snack of pastries and insubstantial sandwiches to keep one going until a heavier meal at eight or nine in the evening" (91). It was apparently popularised to the middle class by Anna, Duchess of Bedford (Shalleck 91).

The catalogue is published by a Japanese publishing company, Takarajimasha, and appears to have been the initiative of the Japanese publisher rather than a project commissioned by Harrods. The catalogue's virtual tour of Harrods in Knightsbridge features the Archive Room, which, the narrator explains, Harrods opened to the editorial team only on special request (*tokubetsu ni ojama dekimashita*). The credits page gives special thanks to the staff of Harrods in London and Knightsbridge International, presumably for arranging this special access to the Archive Room and to other areas in the store. It therefore seems likely that the Japanese publisher approached Harrods to produce this catalogue, rather than the other way around. The Japanese publisher, however, has downplayed its involvement in maintaining the heritage status of the Harrods brand. Like Mrs Nakajima in *The Eyre Affair*, the Japanese publisher plays the role of the tour guide. It actively shapes how the tourist/reader perceives heritage attractions, while seeming to be merely an outsider who is given permission to visit (*ojama dekimashita*) the heritage properties that belong to someone else.

The Japanese publisher's effacement of its managerial role in the British heritage industry brings to mind the case of Tokyo Disneyland. Contrary to popular belief, the theme park is not owned by the American Walt Disney Company.[122] Tokyo Disneyland is owned and operated by a Japanese company, the Oriental Land Company, which the Walt Disney Company sold licensing rights to in 1983 in exchange for 10% of admission fees and 5% of revenues from food and souvenir sales (Raz 27).[123] Mary Yoko Brannen and Aviad Raz have argued that Tokyo Disneyland is a Japanese reinvention of the American Disneyland in California (Brannen 219; Raz 3-4), but what interests us here is the fact that the marketing campaigns of Tokyo Disneyland insist that this is not the case. When the theme park opened in 1983, Akiba Toshiharu, a spokesperson for Tokyo Disneyland, explained that "[w]e wanted Japanese visitors to feel they were taking a foreign vacation [to the US] by coming here, and to us Disneyland represents the best that America has to offer" (qtd. in Brannen 216). Since Tokyo Disneyland's opening, it has consistently claimed that it is a complete copy of the

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[122] I would like to thank Matsuoka Misato for bringing this fact to my attention.
[123] The Oriental Land Company is a joint venture between Mitsui Real Estate Development and Keisei Electric Railway (Raz 27).

American original (Raz 4), even though there are obvious differences. This downplaying of Japanese ownership to maintain Disney's "authentically American" brand image parallels the downplaying of Takarajimasha's involvement in producing Harrods as a British heritage brand.

In making the publisher's management of the Harrods brand image invisible, the Harrods catalogue fuels the myth that Victorian Britain, and the heritage that it has left behind, are exclusively white. On the one hand, the catalogue implies that Japanese consumers, regardless of how much cultural knowledge they learn, will never be able to fully incorporate themselves into this white world of "English" aristocratic culture. Yet on the other hand, it sets up whiteness as invisible, as a "transparent . . . signifier" (Kelsky 145) that transcends race to become a universal culture in which the Japanese (but not other non-white peoples) can participate.

The Harrods catalogue associates the aristocratic culture that Harrods embodies with Victorian Britain, which the text imagines to be exclusively white. This is partly due to the fact that Harrods relocated to its current location in Knightsbridge in 1849 during Queen Victoria's reign. However, Harrods has undergone significant changes since its beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century (including its transfer from British to Arab ownership), yet the catalogue flattens out this dynamic history into a heritage fantasy of a nineteenth-century Harrods preserved in the twenty-first-century present. The iconic department store in Knightsbridge that we are familiar with today is mainly the product of initiatives adopted in the early twentieth century. Harrods introduced now-famous features such as the decorative tiles in the Food Hall, the figure of the Green Man (doorman), and the in-store restaurant in 1902, 1909, and 1911 respectively. Yet the image of Harrods that the catalogue promotes is an idealised vision of the nineteenth century. The front cover of the catalogue displays a full-colour photograph taken in 2010 of the Harrods store front, and the photograph shows an anachronistic nineteenth-century-style horse-drawn cart stationed outside the store. A driver wearing a black top hat, green frockcoat, and yellow cravat sits on the front seat, holding the reins and carrying a long riding crop (Fig. 52).

Fig. 52: The front cover of the catalogue shows a horse-drawn cart standing outside the Harrods store front.

As the "History of Harrods" timeline in the catalogue demonstrates, Harrods has used many different types of delivery vehicles over the years, yet the catalogue features a nineteenth-century-style horse-drawn cart as representative of Harrods.

This reified image of a nineteenth-century Harrods preserved in the twenty-first century is one of exclusivity. The world of Harrods is open only to those who possess aristocratic taste and buying power, as well as those who belong to a certain race. The catalogue creates the illusion that Harrods, and by implication, Victorian Britain and British heritage, constitute a racially exclusive realm of white people. Apart from the Japanese model KIKI-san, the photographs in the "tour of Harrods" section do not feature anyone who is obviously not white. There are two Harrods members of staff featured who are racially ambiguous, but they can "pass" as white.[124] Japanese consumers, like KIKI-san, can only "visit" (*tazuneru*) this white world, not inhabit it (Fig. 46). If they wish to become "managers" of British heritage properties, like Mrs Nakajima, they must render their presence invisible, so as not to disrupt this illusion of homogenous whiteness. In emphasising the whiteness of Harrods, the catalogue feeds into the popular imagination of Victorian Britain and its heritage as exclusively white, and sustains the racist fantasy that prompts Thursday's surprise in *The Eyre Affair* on finding Japanese people in the "mid-nineteenth-century England" of *Jane Eyre*.

However, the catalogue also implies that this whiteness of Victorian Britain and its heritage is invisible in a different way. Whiteness in Japanese women's "internationalist" discourse in the 1980s and 1990s functioned, Kelsky argues, as "a transparent and free-floating signifier of upward mobility and assimilation in 'world culture'; it is the primary sign of the modern, the universal subject, the 'citizen of the world'" (145). "The modern" in neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga, as I have shown in Chapter Three, refers specifically to the possession of "English" aristocratic cultural capital.

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[124] One of Harrods' professional tea-buyers, Yousef Serroukh, appears to be of mixed Caucasian-Arab descent, and one of the cheese stall assistants in the Food Hall has brown skin and looks Malay.

Whiteness in the Harrods catalogue thus signifies an apparently universal aristocratic culture of good manners and taste, which originates from Britain, but transcends race and is accessible to all.

The catalogue article on "traditional English-style tea-time" (*dentō teki na Eikoku ryū tiitaimu*) (Fig. 48) tells the reader that the "culture of 'English' tea" (*kōcha bunka*) first flourished in Britain in the Victorian period, and gradually spread from the aristocracy to the industrial middle class to people from all walks of life in Britain, then to people around the world today.[125] Tea-drinking, the article implies, is thus both British heritage and a "style" (*ryū*) that can be adopted by non-British people outside of Britain. The catalogue teaches the intended Japanese female reader how to adopt this "style" of drinking tea, and encourages her to visit the Harrods Tea Salon in Nihonbashi where she "can savour the atmosphere of Britain while remaining in Japan" (*Nihon ni inagara ni shite Eikoku kibun o ajiwaemasu*). In representing the aristocratic culture that Harrods embodies as a lifestyle that is not racially or geographically delimited (and yet belongs to the British as their heritage), the catalogue implies that the Japanese can freely assimilate into this British-yet-universal culture.

The catalogue in fact implies that only the Japanese, amongst all non-white peoples, can do so. The photographs of the Harrods department store in the catalogue do not show any black members of staff and customers, or the crowds of Indian, Arab, and Chinese tourists one would normally encounter in Harrods on a typical day. Only KIKI-san the Japanese tourist is warmly welcomed by the kindly white doorman and the smiling white shop assistants into the white realm of "English" aristocratic culture. While *Kuroshitsuji* and the Cool Japan campaign assert that only the Japanese are adept at hybridising Western and Asian cultures to create a world culture of Cool, the Harrods catalogue implies that only the Japanese are capable of assimilating into the world culture of the West. Yet the racialised whiteness of this world culture keeps the Japanese on the margins, where they

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[125] This is inaccurate, as British consumers had started out drinking mainly green teas imported from China and later Japan (in the 1860s and 1870s), and had turned increasingly to black teas produced in India and Ceylon only in the 1880s (Rappaport, "Packaging China" 125, 136-37; Hellyer 188, 201). The tea that the aristocracy consumed as a luxury good, and which was later popularised, was mainly green tea. It is therefore possible to claim that the culture of drinking tea in general did flourish throughout the Victorian period, but strictly speaking, the culture of drinking "English" tea (*kōcha*), which is made with black tea, did not take off until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

struggle to catch up with a heritage fantasy of Victorian Britain, while never fully achieving the aristocratic cultural capital that fantasy emblematises.

In stimulating Japanese consumers' "yearning" (*akogare*) for this unreachable ideal, the Harrods catalogue, together with the *Emma Victorian Guide* and the neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga discussed in previous chapters, help to enrich the British heritage economy in the twenty-first century. The Hollywood adaptation of *Possession* does the same, but Hollywood makes its contribution to the British heritage industry explicit in marking the film as an American cultural product. Warner Bros. makes *Possession* its own when it turns the main character Roland into an American; when it casts American actors to play the lead roles (Aaron Eckhart as Roland and Gwyneth Paltrow as Maud); and when it gives top billing to those American actors.[126] The Japanese heritage texts, in contrast, perform their managerial role in the British heritage industry invisibly, without making any claims to ownership of British cultural property. This does not mean that these Japanese texts do not reinvent British cultural property, and in this sense "own" it through cultural appropriation and translation. What I am focusing on here is the fact that they do not foreground their acts of appropriation and translation in the way that the Hollywood adaptation of *Possession* does. They discreetly maintain the heritage status of British cultural properties such as Harrods, and encourage and facilitate Japanese consumption of these heritage commodities. In doing so, they (re)produce the universalism of an idealised "English" aristocratic culture tied to the consumption of heritage, thereby contributing to the creation of a cultural empire that fuels the British cultural industries, and generates wealth for the British economy in the twenty-first century.

In particular, these Japanese heritage texts (re)produce the universalism of English Literature, thus harking back to British imperialism in the nineteenth century when the study of the English language and of literature was disseminated as a universal norm to facilitate colonisation. Michael Gardiner argues that the body of knowledge we call English Literature emphasises heritage and

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[126] The official movie trailer does not even mention the names of Jeremy Northam and Jennifer Ehle, the British actors who play Ash and Christabel respectively.

canonicity and, as such, appears timeless and universal (2-3). This apparently universal cultural form, he contends, has a political unifying function (1-2). In *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (1989), Gauri Viswanathan demonstrates that the study of English Literature in British India in the nineteenth century performed just such a unifying function, when it inculcated "English" values in Indian colonial subjects to expedite socio-political control over the Empire, thereby creating "One Power, One Mind" (2-5). Thomas Babington Macaulay's infamous 1835 "Minute on Education in India," for example, called on the British government in India to fund the teaching of the English language and English Literature in order to consolidate British control over the country.[127] Teaching the Indians "English" (the language and the literature), Macaulay asserted, would "civilis[e]" them (4), and create a comprador class of indigenous "interpreters" who would share the same "English" culture as the British and would, it is implied, therefore be more willing to support British rule:

> We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, – a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. (7)

Byatt's novel *Possession* points to the continuing role of the discipline of English Literature in constructing a cultural empire based on a universalised British culture, which is in turn based on an idealised image of Englishness. Because of official decolonisation, this cultural empire in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century no longer corresponds to a political empire of formally administered colonies. Nonetheless, it continues to benefit the metropolitan British economy. At the end of the novel, Roland suddenly receives three job offers to teach nineteenth-century English Literature, and the (fictional) canonical Victorian poet Ash in particular, at the University of Hong Kong, the Free University of Amsterdam, and the Autonomous University of Barcelona. These job offers bring about a sense of spatial expansion and liberation for Roland. For most of the novel, Roland feels confined, both literally and figuratively, to his cramped basement flat in London, his

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[127] Macaulay was head of the Indian Law Commission from 1835 to 1838.

dying relationship with his girlfriend Val, and his dismal job prospects as an academic. When he receives the job offers, his perception of space shifts from the "dingy little room . . . of choking confinement" to the "open[ing]" of "[t]he world" (468). He is released from his possession by, and desire to possess, Ash and Christabel's letters, and he triumphantly tells Maud: "I've got three jobs. Hong Kong, Barcelona, Amsterdam. The world is all before me." (505) The novel champions this worldwide study of English Literature for liberating the characters from their parochial desire to claim ownership of heritage artefacts, and it celebrates the global sharing of knowledge. The letters, the novel implies, can be studied anywhere and by anyone with the aid of photocopies and microfilms.

The knowledge that the characters gain of the Victorian poets' lives and their works makes up part of the discipline of English Literature in which they are professional experts. This knowledge, which is shared so liberally with the rest of the world by the British-led group of academics in the novel, is in effect a form of British cultural imperialism that is not very much different from that proposed by Macaulay in the 1830s. The global dissemination of English Literature in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century by universities and cosmopolitan academics, typified by Roland in *Possession*, unifies people around the world under a British literary culture perceived as timeless and universal. This informal cultural empire reinforces English Literature's disciplinary power to define what counts as literature (what Casanova calls the Greenwich Meridian of literature). It also promotes the sale of canonical English Literature works, as well as contemporary literary works that aspire to canonical status, such as *Jamrach's Menagerie*, to audiences worldwide. Furthermore, it generates interest in historical places in Britain associated with canonical writers and works, thereby promoting literary heritage tourism and enriching the British economy, long after Britain lost the colonies that were once protected markets for its goods.

The *Emma Victorian Guide* helps construct this informal British cultural empire by maintaining and "managing" the canon of English Literature. The guidebook reinforces the canonical status of selected works of English Literature. It reaffirms the idea that English Literature, unlike Japanese literature or other national literatures, is a universal cultural form open to all to participate

in regardless of race, nationality, and geographical location. The guidebook's Further Readings list surprisingly recommends only literary works, instead of books on the history of nineteenth-century Britain, even though the guidebook is designed to help readers understand the historical context in which the *Emma* manga series is set. Almost all the works recommended are canonical works of English Literature (specifically novels) written between the early nineteenth century and mid-twentieth century. The list includes familiar "Great Books" such as Austen's *Emma* (which incidentally has nothing to do with the manga of the same name), *Jane Eyre*, *Wuthering Heights*, and *Great Expectations*. The guidebook asserts that these novels have timeless and universal appeal, which makes them must-read classics even in Japan in the 2000s. It describes the novels listed as "highly recommended works that the [implied Japanese] reader today will still find interesting" (*ima yondemo omoshiroi, osusume sakuhin*).

Jane Eyre, according to the guidebook, is a "love romance [story] that has been beloved by women around the world for more than a hundred years" (*100 nen ijō mo no aida, sekai jū no josei tachi ni aisarete kita rabu romansu*). Austen's *Emma* is an "entertaining novel that transcends time to bring enjoyment to the reader" (*jidai o koete tanoshimasete kureru goraku shōsetsu*). This insistence on the novels' ageless appeal echoes the illusion of timeless heritage and canonicity in the establishing shots of the church and the country house in the film adaptation of *Possession* (Fig. 41 and Fig. 42). The implied Japanese reader, the *Emma Victorian Guide* claims, will still be able to sympathise with the characters and situations in Austen's *Emma*, "while *Emma*'s world of dinner parties and balls is a far cry from our world in contemporary Japan" (*bansankai, butōkai, paatii nado, gendai Nihon de ikiru watashi tachi to wa kakehanareta sekai no hanashi de arinagara*). It is significant that the guidebook uses the word "while" (*arinagara*) instead of "but" or "despite." This implies that the difference between the aristocratic lifestyle depicted in *Emma* and the lifestyles of Japanese readers in the 2000s is not necessarily an obstacle to Japanese readers' enjoyment of the novel. The guidebook thereby points once again to Japanese *akogare* for "English" aristocratic cultural capital, while reaffirming the canonicity of Austen's novel.

Moreover, the guidebook tries to attach some of this aristocratic cultural capital to Japanese manga, especially *shōjo* manga, by representing several of the canonical English Literature works it recommends as precursors of manga. In other words, it legitimates Japanese manga as "high art" by tracing the medium's lineage to canonical English Literature works. For example, it describes the Bildungsroman plot in Austen's *Emma*, where the heroine's moral character develops through a romantic engagement, as the "prototype" (*genkei*) of *shōjo* manga. It also draws parallels between the romance of the protagonists in the *Emma* manga series, and Rochester and Jane's in *Jane Eyre*, as "romances which involve partners of mismatched class status" (*mibun no chigai no koi*). By representing canonical English Literature works as the aesthetic precursors of Japanese *shōjo* manga, the guidebook privileges these works as a universal standard which shapes other literary and cultural forms. Like Mrs Nakajima in *The Eyre Affair*, the *Emma Victorian Guide* thereby plays the role of the unseen manager, maintaining the heritage of English Literature, and disseminating it on behalf of the British heritage industry to Japanese audiences as universal culture that ultimately reinforces British cultural and economic power. It is perhaps as much the *Emma Victorian Guide* as "profound" psychological needs that brought Goldhill's Japanese schoolgirls to the Brontë Parsonage Museum (70), where they might have spent an afternoon acquiring "English" cultural knowledge of timeless and universal English Literature, while spending their pocket money on *omiyage* ("souvenirs") at the Museum gift shop.

Japanese Guidebooks to Victorian Britain: Writing and Learning History the Manga Way

The *Emma Victorian Guide*, however, does not simply serve the interests of the British heritage industry. The guidebook and the "Victorian Way of Life" *omake* manga in *Lady Victorian* represent a mode of writing and learning history that is different from academic history or the heritage centre approach of "bringing history to life." Besides teaching the reader the aesthetic sensibilities required to appreciate luxury goods as art objects, *shōjo* manga also teach a different kind of cultural capital: historical knowledge of Victorian Britain.

Emma is a manga series about a maid-of-all-work in Victorian Britain, and the *Emma Victorian Guide* is a "supplementary reader" (*fuku dokuhon*) that provides historical information about Victorian Britain, with particular emphasis on the history of domestic service, to Japanese-speaking fans of the manga. The *Emma Victorian Guide* is structured like an encyclopaedia, with short passages on topics relating to various aspects of life in Britain in the nineteenth century (food, clothing, transportation and so forth) (Fig. 53).

Fig. 53: (From top) the encyclopaedia entries on coffee (*kōhī*) and tea (*kōcha*). (*Emma Victorian Guide*, p. 84). Unlike the Harrods catalogue, the guidebook recognises the difference between black tea and green tea in the history of tea consumption in Britain.

The encyclopaedia entries alternate with "lectures" (*kōgi*) delivered by characters from *Emma*. Fig. 54 shows the Indian prince Hakim's lecture on trading relations between Britain and India in the nineteenth century.

Fig. 54: Prince Hakim's lecture on the history of Anglo-Indian relations, seen from the perspective of trade in (from right to left) black pepper and spices, cotton textiles, tea and opium. (*Emma Victorian Guide*, pp. 114-115)

Presenting historical facts through the voices of manga characters in this way blurs the boundaries between the historical context of nineteenth-century Britain and the fictional universe of *Emma*. This is how the guidebook performs a different mode of writing and learning history.

The *Emma Victorian Guide* addresses the reader in the manner of a tour guide, promising to lead him/her on a tour of the world in which the protagonists of the manga, William and Emma, live (*futari no sumu sekai e, goannai shimasu*). Obviously William and Emma live in the fictional world of *Emma*, but the guidebook takes factual information from historiographic sources about Britain in the nineteenth century, and presents it as if it were information about William and Emma's fictional world.[128] The guidebook is therefore not a guide to Victorian Britain, and certainly not a guide to heritage tourist attractions in Britain today. It is a guide to a liminal world that is both historical and fictional. The guidebook treats nineteenth-century objects such as tea, gas lights, corsets, and horse

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[128] The guidebook lists all sources consulted in a bibliography at the end of the book.

carriages as historical artefacts, and explains their presence in Victorian Britain. However, it also uses this historical information to explain the presence of these objects in the fictional universe of *Emma*. This is why the guidebook uses excerpts from the manga instead of photographs and drawings from the nineteenth century to illustrate what it says about the history of these objects.

The "Victorian Way of Life" column in *Lady Victorian* employs a similar tactic of blending history and fiction in teaching its readers the history of Victorian Britain. The author of *Lady Victorian*, Moto Naoko, is scrupulous about historical accuracy. She uses the column to convey factual information about the historical setting of the manga, as well as to inform the reader of anachronisms (such as the Harrods logo) that appear in the manga narrative. Like the *Emma Victorian Guide*, the column uses manga characters as narrators and models to present historical knowledge in an entertaining way. This makes historical knowledge accessible to a mass audience, and especially to young Japanese female readers, many of whom do not receive higher education in the more rigorous four-year universities dominated by men. The first instalment of the column features a set of four-panel comic strips on four nineteenth-century objects that appear in the manga narrative, with the protagonist Bell performing the role of governess and teaching the reader about these historical objects (Fig. 55).

Fig. 55: Bell teaches the reader about fish and chips, footmen, and work houses in Victorian Britain. (*Lady Victorian*, Vol. 1, pp. 206-207)

In blurring the boundaries between the historical context of nineteenth-century Britain and the fictional world of manga, the "Victorian Way of Life" column and the *Emma Victorian Guide* demonstrate that history can be written in a semi-fictional form, and more specifically, a manga form, that is accessible to non-academic readers.[129]

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[129] English-language graphic novels have also done this. Art Spiegelman's *Maus* (1986), which depicts the life of Spiegelman's Jewish father during the Nazi occupation of Poland, and Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis*, an autobiographical account of Satrapi's experience of the 1979 Iranian revolution, come to mind.

These two texts also demonstrate that it is possible to write popular history without "dumbing down." Like all the neo-Victorian texts discussed in this thesis, the *Emma Victorian Guide* and the "Victorian Way of Life" column feature commodities extensively. However, in contrast to the abstracted and aestheticised food items in *Kuroshitsuji*, and the reified images of timeless heritage in the film adaptation of *Possession*, commodities in the guidebook and column are historicised and demystified. In Fig. 55, Bell explains how fish and chips became a ubiquitous dish for the common people when white fish, such as cod, haddock, and whiting, began to be imported into Britain in large quantities and at low prices in the 1870s. The *Emma Victorian Guide* makes a more overt connection between food, trade, and British imperialism in the nineteenth century. The encyclopaedia entry on tea, as well as Hakim's lecture on Anglo-Indian trade in the nineteenth century (Fig. 53 and Fig. 54), explain that tea became a popular beverage in Victorian Britain because it was imported in large quantities and at low prices from India when it was under British colonial rule.

Despite being popular history texts aimed at lay audiences, the *Emma Victorian Guide* and the "Victorian Way of Life" column in *Lady Victorian* encourage a critical attitude towards the history of Victorian Britain, and especially the history of commodities. They encourage the reader to discover the provenance of the commodities that abound in neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga and the British heritage industry. Yet they also encourage the reader to fetishise these commodities as embodiments of "English" aristocratic cultural capital in isolation from their historical contexts. The Harrods catalogue, the *Emma Victorian Guide*, and the neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga discussed in previous chapters reveal that the unequal cultural relations of power established by British imperialism in the nineteenth century continue to shape Japanese consumption of British commodities. They also reveal how the Japanese manga and magazine publishing industry, in capitalising on these unequal cultural relations of power, take on an invisible management role in the British heritage industry. In perpetuating Japanese *akogare* for "Englishness" in their representations of Victorian Britain, these texts help to enrich the British economy in the twenty-first century, long after the treaty port system has been dissolved and Britain is no longer the preeminent trading power in East Asia.

Nevertheless, in conveying historical knowledge of Victorian Britain, the *Emma Victorian Guide* and the "Victorian Way of Life" column in *Lady Victorian* perform a significant pedagogical role that does not necessarily serve the interests of the British heritage industry. These texts teach the reader about a historical world that no longer exists, not about heritage that is preserved in the present. They share this knowledge of history with lay readers who might have been put off by academic historiography. In *Possession* (the novel), the British-led group of academics eventually realises that sharing its knowledge of the Victorian poets is more important than claiming ownership of the poets' letters. Murakami Rico, the writer who worked with the manga artist Mori Kaoru on the *Emma Victorian Guide*, expresses a similar sentiment in her postscript. Murakami professes that she does not feel particularly possessive towards the "things" (historical artefacts and cultural representations) that convey a sense of the past to her in the present. Instead, she desires much more to possess the knowledge of the past that these things bring (*mono ni taisuru shoyū yoku wa sonna ni nai no desu ga, shiritai yoku wa tsuyoi desu*), and to share this knowledge with her readers.

The *Emma Victorian Guide* and the "Victorian Way of Life" *omake* manga demonstrate that popular cultural texts are able to share a critical knowledge of history with a wide audience. The treatment of English Literature in *Possession*, as well as the Cool Japan policy of exporting Japanese popular culture, suggest that this global dissemination of knowledge may end up creating informal cultural and economic empires based on the shared consumption of authoritative texts. The *Emma Victorian Guide* and the "Victorian Way of Life" *omake* manga can easily fit into a neo-imperial framework where Japanese popular culture products become hegemonic in Asia because they act as a "bridge" conveying knowledge of the West to Asian audiences.

However, as products of Empire (in Hardt and Negri's sense of the term), the affective communities of readers created out of the shared consumption of *shōjo* manga may also use this shared critical knowledge of history to challenge the formation of cultural and economic empires. They may use this knowledge to demystify the ways in which they imagine the Victorian past, and to question the global cultural and economic relations of power that are (re)produced in and through

their imaginings of that past. This chapter, and the thesis as a whole, has attempted to use such historical knowledge of Victorian Britain and its relations with the world, to make sense of Japanese participation in the British heritage industry, and Japanese investment in the image of Victorian Britain more generally, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Reading Japanese neo-Victorian texts in the light of the global history of the nineteenth century helps us to see how the British and Japanese turn to cultural commodity production and export from the 1980s to the present is deeply informed by this earlier history of British imperialism and enforced free trade in Japan and East Asia, and the cultural hierarchies that have emerged from this history.

Conclusion

It is October 2015 in Singapore. It is Halloween, and the tropical weather is hot and humid. In the cool air-conditioned comfort of the five-star St Regis hotel, Samantha, a 29 year-old civil servant, is having a tea party with a small group of friends (Fig. 56 and Fig. 57).

Fig. 56: Sam and her friends celebrating Halloween at St. Regis, Singapore. Photograph courtesy of Bernadette Tan.

Fig. 57: Sam's Halloween Tea Party guests. Photograph courtesy of Bernadette Tan.

Samantha, better known to her friends as Sam, is wearing a black double-breasted jacket, a matching waistcoat, and a white cravat with ruffles. Her best friend Sheril, whose hair is dyed a fiery shade of red, is dressed in a red Lolita-style dress with matching deep red lipstick, a black jacket, and a large black floral headpiece pinned to her hair. Sam and Sheril's friends are similarly decked out in dark-coloured outfits that recall the fashions of Victorian Britain, but with a Gothic twist. Even Kevin, the only man in the group, has briefly put aside his role as photographer to step in front of the camera, and join the girls in dressing up for the tea party.

I first met Sam and Kevin when we were undergraduates at the National University of Singapore (NUS) in 2006. I quickly discovered that Sam shared my passion for Japanese manga and anime, and I got to know Sheril through Sam when we ran into each other at local anime and manga conventions. Sam and Sheril were especially active in "cosplay" (short for "costume play"), and they would often dress up as characters from anime and manga series, or in Japanese subcultural styles such as Lolita, Gothic Lolita, Gothic Aristocrat, and *mori gaaru* ("forest girl"). Kevin was not as

225

enthusiastic about anime and manga, but he had some knowledge of "the scene." Because he had a keen interest in photography, he was gradually roped in to take photographs of Sam, Sheril, and their cosplaying friends at conventions and private events, long after we had graduated from the university.

As Sam's Halloween tea party shows, the transnational networks created by the British heritage industry, Japanese popular culture, and the global history of the nineteenth century imbricate not only neo-Victorian texts, but also the people who consume these texts and engage in multiple forms of neo-Victorian "play." This thesis has argued that Japanese neo-Victorian manga articulate a particular desire to acquire "English" aristocratic cultural capital, and that this desire motivates Japanese consumers today to visit heritage tourist attractions in Britain, and to purchase luxury goods from British heritage brands such as Harrods. It has traced these current configurations in Anglo-Japanese relations to the history of informal British imperialism in East Asia, and to Japan's Westernisation and subsequent militarisation, from the mid-nineteenth century to the end of the Asia-Pacific War in 1945. Because of constraints on time and word limit, and because I have been trained primarily in literary criticism and not in sociology or anthropology, I have focused on textual analysis, and have chosen not to focus on issues of audience reception in this thesis.

In this final chapter, however, I turn briefly from texts to people, and from Britain and Japan to the small island-state of Singapore. Sam, Sheril, and Kevin (to a lesser extent) are fans of Japanese manga and anime, as well as English-language period dramas such as *Penny Dreadful* (2014-present) and *Downton Abbey* (2014-2015), which are made by British and American film and television companies (often in collaboration with each other). Sam, Sheril, and Kevin's consumption of these texts, as well as their fan practices (such as cosplay), direct attention to Singapore as yet another node in the global networks of British and Japanese cultural commodity production and export. Moreover, their interest in neo-Victorianism, and especially the Gothic, opens up a different perspective in thinking about how the British and Japanese cultural empires, one based on the export of high culture, and the other on the export of popular culture, are interconnected in the context of fan reception in Singapore. Although these two cultural empires do not directly compete in the same field of cultural

production, they are not autarkic economic empires in the way that the British colonial Commonwealth and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere were intended to be in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As the overlapping fandoms of Sam, Sheril, and Kevin indicate, these cultural empires overlap in faraway places, and in thought-provoking ways.

Sam and Sheril evince the same desire to "become a Lady" that pervades Japanese neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga. The two women are fans of Toboso Yana's *Kuroshitsuji* and Yuki Kaori's *Count Cain*, as well as of other manga by Yuki that are not set in Victorian Britain, but feature elaborate costumes with a European "period" aesthetic. In an email interview I conducted with Sam, Sheril, and Kevin in February 2016, Sheril explains that dressing up in Victorian-style costumes makes her feel like she has been transformed into an aristocratic Lady:

> I feel elegant. I don't want to be a princess. Rather, I want to feel like a refined aristocratic lady. It almost feels like when you put on the whole get-up, you get a different personality. You tend to carry yourself differently as well. I actually feel that's what a lady should feel and look like, although in today's world it probably sounds prudish.

"[D]ressing up for a tea party," according to Sheril, allows her to "relive the past," when having tea with friends was still considered "a fancy event." In other words, Sheril sees a "fancy" tea party as a type of social function that the aristocracy and the wealthy middle class in Victorian Britain participated in. Sam too sees dressing in Victorian-style costumes as an opportunity to imagine that "[she] still live[s] in a bygone era, where it's okay to swish around in fluffy dresses and tailcoats and frilly shirts without attracting lots of stares." For Sam and Sheril, dressing "up", rather than "down," has distinct class overtones, as it did in Britain in the nineteenth century. Like Sheril, Sam sees the Victorian period as a time when people – in particular, the aristocracy and the upper middle class – could dress "up" and enjoy a luxurious "aristocratic" lifestyle. For Sam and Sheril, performing a Victorian self by wearing Victorian-style costumes and holding tea parties in expensive hotels becomes a means of experiencing this bygone "aristocratic" lifestyle vicariously.

Like amateur re-enactments of historical battles, Sam and Sheril's neo-Victorian cosplay articulates an embodied relationship with the past, although it is considerably less demanding in terms of historical accuracy and physical endurance.[130] For amateur re-enactors and cosplayers such as Sam and Sheril, "the agency of historical investigation," as Jerome de Groot describes it in his study of the popular consumption of history:

> . . . is found in the individual and their experience of the everyday – of cold, hunger, discomfort, difference [or, in Sam and Sheril's case, of good food, luxury, and opulence] – rather than any grander, totalising conceptualisation of meaning, purpose or progress. History is consumed by the re-enactor . . . as something which may be put on, worn, a set of tools and behaviours which relate specifically in the first instance to the corporeal body and thence to "culture" or modes of behaviour. (105-06)

De Groot argues that acting out history "offers enfranchisement, a complexity of historical interaction which is missing in much academic or 'official' history" (106), and perhaps even in the manga versions of history that the *Emma Victorian Guide* and *Lady Victorian* present the reader with (Chapter Four). Yet, for de Groot, historical re-enactments also "presen[t] an inflexible positivism" (106), as they tend to reify particular interpretations of history into historical "reality." Sam and Sheril's neo-Victorianism, and especially their interest in the Gothic, exhibit a similar tension between reifying and rethinking the history of Britain in the nineteenth century.

As Sam's Halloween tea party demonstrates, the image that Sam and Sheril have of Victorian Britain is not only aristocratic, but also Gothic. In the interview, Sam and Sheril acknowledge that their perception of Victorian Britain has been shaped by Gothic forms of Victoriana, not only in Japanese manga and anime, but also in English-language period dramas. Both women enjoy *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* because "the stories are linked to Britain's dark and violent past" (Sheril), and

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130 According to Jerome de Groot, combat re-enactment is the most popular re-enactment activity within the Sealed Knot, Britain's largest re-enactment society (established in 1968). Although the Sealed Knot offers a range of "living history" activities such as basketry and cookery, the majority of the 6,000 members of the society are involved in staging battles (de Groot 105).

because "there's something dangerously charming about the idea that there's something dark lurking beneath the veneer of propriety" (Sam).

Fig. 58: (From left) Sheril and Sam cosplaying Sebastian and Grell from *Kuroshitsuji*. Photograph courtesy of Sheril Fazlinda Norzali.

Fig. 59: (From left) Sam and Sheril cosplaying as Sebastian and Ciel (disguised as a girl) from *Kuroshitsuji*. Photograph courtesy of Sheril Fazlinda Norzali.

They enjoy English-language period television dramas such as *Penny Dreadful*, *Dracula* (2013-2014), and even *The Tudors* (2007-2010), which is not set in the Victorian period, for the same reasons. For Sam, these period dramas, regardless of their actual historical setting, are "always rather Gothic and gloomy," as "there's a lot of intrigue and scandal, a lot of death and debauchery."

Gothic period dramas such as *Penny Dreadful* (which features Oscar Wilde's Dorian Gray and Mary Shelley's Victor Frankenstein as its main heroes) often reference and celebrate canonical works of nineteenth-century British Gothic fiction – Sam describes these works as "classic literature"

– and thereby associate themselves with the cultural prestige of English Literature on the one hand. On the other, as Sam notes in the interview, these Gothic period dramas emphasise the scandalous and the shocking, "which makes for interesting TV viewing," and thereby align themselves with popular culture's predilection for entertaining the masses. Sam and Sheril's enthusiasm for both the literariness and the sensationalism of English-language period dramas draws attention to this Gothic strand in Anglo-American heritage film and television production, which lies within the British cultural and economic empire of high cultural goods, but which occupies an especially liminal position between high and popular culture.

Sam and Sheril's interest in the Gothic elements of both Japanese neo-Victorian manga and English-language period dramas also shows that, when it comes to the Gothic, transnational flows of British heritage commodities and of Japanese popular culture intersect not only on the level of industry collaboration (as I showed in Chapter Four), but also on the level of fan consumption practices. Sam initially proposed a *Penny Dreadful*-themed Halloween tea party, but both Sam and Sheril and many of their guests came dressed in Japanese Victorian Goth subcultural fashions, and some even came dressed as characters from the Hollywood period horror movie, *Crimson Peak*, which was showing in cinemas at the time. For Sam, Sheril, and their friends, these different neo-Victorian texts and practices are not "British," "American," or "Japanese," but are part of a transnational corpus from which they draw to produce their own forms of Gothic neo-Victorian fandom. Although this thesis speaks in national terms of "British" and "Japanese" cultural commodity production (because of their geopolitical location and state involvement), such national distinctions hardly seem to matter when the cultural goods leave their site of production and enter into sites of consumption, at least in the case of Sam, Sheril, and their friends.

In Chapter One, I argued that the Gothic figure of the monster in *Count Cain* and *Kuroshitsuji* was not particularly frightening, and that it was therefore part of the wider "postmodernisation" of the Gothic into a collection of empty clichés. Sam and Sheril, however, find Gothic representations of Victorian Britain, whether made in Britain, the US, or Japan, still meaningful. Sam recognises that

the Gothic version of Victorian Britain that she sees in *Count Cain*, *Kuroshitsuji*, and *Penny Dreadful* is ultimately "a romanticisation of the Victorian era," which "has selected . . . only the 'sexy' and 'palatable' parts of Victorian Britain to depict." Nonetheless, this romanticised Gothic image of Victorian Britain does not have any less value for Sam, who asserts that "there's something beautiful and mystical about this darkness, about the tortured heroes/heroines in these fictional depictions of that era." Sam sees the gloom and doom of Gothic neo-Victorian texts as "beautiful," and her aestheticisation of the Gothic is influenced not only by the representations of aristocratic aesthetic taste in neo-Victorian *shōjo* manga, but also by the visuals of the Japanese Visual Kei rock music subculture. Both Sam and Sheril are fans of Visual Kei, and are familiar with the ways in which the subculture sublimates Gothic tropes of the vampire, the ghost, and blood and so on into objects of beauty (Fig. 60). (It is also not a coincidence that the Visual Kei music subculture emerged in Japan in the 1990s after the collapse of the bubble economy, when it became more acceptable for Japanese men to engage in the work of beautifying themselves, as shown in Chapter Two.)

Fig. 60: Front cover of a Visual Kei music magazine featuring the famous band Malice Mizer (now disbanded). All members of the band are male. The guitarist Mana (second from left) is often credited with popularising the Gothic Lolita look.

Sheril, on the other hand, thinks that Gothic fiction (both Victorian and neo-Victorian) holds up a mirror to the ugly underside of Victorian Britain. She applauds the fact that "[n]owadays the shows [English-language neo-Victorian films and television series] tend to show a little more realism," and explains that watching period dramas about Dorian Gray, Sweeney Todd, Holmes, and Jack the Ripper has changed her idealised perception of Britain, and especially London, in the nineteenth century:

> Originally, I've always had that one-sided idea that London would be so grand and beautiful, Kings and Queens and all that, but only through this other medium [Gothic and detective fiction], I realised that perhaps it was not always that beautiful, and that what I was thinking about was the romanticised version, not the reality.

While Sheril, more so than Sam, values Gothic representations of Victorian Britain for the insights they have given her into historical reality, both women turn to British heritage tourism to seek out deeper knowledge of the history of Victorian Britain. Sam went on a holiday in 2010 to London, where she visited many heritage attractions, including some that are associated with the Victorian period, such as the Old Operating Theatre Museum and the Jack the Ripper walking tour. Sheril is a frequent visitor to London, and in the interview, she states that she has "always been attracted to the historical parts of London." Sam and Sheril reaffirm the principle, heavily marketed by the heritage industry in Britain, that it is important to "stand where history happened," as the English Heritage slogan has it. Echoing Neil LaBute's preference for shooting *Possession* on location rather than in a studio, Sam signed up for the Ripper tour because "there's nothing quite like exploring the actual crime scenes . . . and places associated with the Ripper case, in the dark of night no less." Likewise, Sheril participated in a walking tour in London inspired by ghost tales in 2014, and she felt that the tour "g[ave] [her] a sense of being transported back in time," as she stepped on "the same cobblestones that Victorian people once walked on."

Moreover, like the implied Japanese female consumer that the Harrods catalogue addresses in Chapter Four, Sam and Sheril visit heritage attractions in Britain to "learn" and improve themselves. Sheril states that she tries to make every trip to London "an enjoyable and educational one." However, unlike the implied Japanese female consumer discussed in Chapter Four, Sam and Sheril seem less concerned with learning aristocratic tastes and customs, and are more interested in learning about "how people of that [Victorian] time lived." Sam, for instance, visited the Old Operating Theatre Museum because she is "fascinated by Victorian medicine and surgery," and she found it "both horrifying and interesting to learn about how Victorian doctors worked, and what the medical system was like at that time."

Sam and Sheril both feel that they have learnt valuable knowledge about Britain in the nineteenth century from their visits to heritage attractions. However, their knowledge of Victorian Britain, and of Britain today, is very much inscribed within the limited parameters of the heritage

industry in Britain. Their perception of Britain in the twenty-first century is a familiar heritage image of a country that has preserved its past amidst times of change:

> Sam: It's [Britain] a lovely country steeped in a lot of history, culture and myth. . . . However, because of such a deeply-rooted sense of history and culture, with globalisation today it also faces the challenge of integration and establishing a sense of identity – of what it means to be "British."

> Sheril: I like how Britain has preserved its history, and has not sugar-coated it. Britain has a good mix of both old and new. I suppose it is unique in its own way, but really I think the history gives it so much character.

This is precisely the image of "heritage Britain" that the heritage industry encourages tourists to come to Britain in search for, and to leave the country with.

Moreover, Sam and Sheril's fascination with the Gothic underside of Victorian Britain, regardless of whether this underside is real or romanticised, feeds into a set of dichotomous stereotypes that often make up our conception of "the Victorian." In *The Victorians in the Rearview Mirror*, Joyce argues that attempts to "correct" contemporary idealisations of the Victorian period often end up reifying a set of binary oppositions about the Victorian period (5-7). Recovering marginalised Victorian cultures in response to the glorification of Victorian progress and "Victorian values," Joyce contends, often assumes that there was a normative Victorian culture that was the opposite of the marginalised (6). Joyce recognises that these dichotomous stereotypes of "normative" and "marginalised" Victorian cultures might not be wrong in themselves, but the assumption that they are two halves that add up to definitive knowledge of Victorian Britain is deeply problematic (8). In turning to *Penny Dreadful*, Ripper tours, the Old Operating Theatre Museum, and other Gothic forms of neo-Victorianism for historical knowledge of Victorian Britain, Sam and Sheril maintain this opposition between the respectable and squalid faces of Victorian Britain. Sheril in fact gestures towards this dichotomy when she points out in the interview that:

What stands out most [in *Penny Dreadful*] is its portrayal of different classes and social standings. On the one hand, you have a beautiful set, and then on the other, you have a set that looks like the filthy streets of old London. The busy streets, muddy roads, or dark and eerie areas.

Yet Sam and Sheril are not passive consumers, and their negotiation between the different images of Victorian Britain that they receive from Japanese manga, English-language period dramas, and heritage attractions in Britain opens up space for rethinking conventional perceptions of Victorian Britain. Speaking from her past experiences as a tourist visiting heritage sites in Britain, Sheril mentions in the interview that "[t]here are some Victorian-era areas that still give off that quiet and eerie feeling that makes you feel alone." Instead of privileging this experience as her definitive understanding of the "reality" of the Victorian street, Sheril negotiates this image of the empty and alienating street with the image of the street she encounters in *Penny Dreadful*:

> I think the best example [of a period drama that portrays different classes] I can think of right now is *Penny Dreadful*, where you can see that these two worlds actually collide, and are not separate as it is in shows that tend to focus on the upper class living everything the upper-class way.

> *Penny Dreadful* shows different classes of people coming together, and the contrast is shown when an upper-class man like Dorian Gray steps out into the streets of London, and around him you can see what the people of London are like. A true mix of social classes in one space.

Far from being a world divided between the upper and lower classes and their respective spaces, the Victorian Britain that emerges from Sheril's negotiation between these two different experiences of the Victorian street is a single space. In this single space, or "street," the individual is simultaneously estranged and classless, and part of a crowd where different classes come into close contact and interact with one another. Despite her earlier praise for the dichotomous portrayal of upper- and

lower-class spaces in *Penny Dreadful*, Sheril actually disrupts this binaristic view of Victorian Britain, and opens up alternative ways of thinking about the history of Victorian Britain.

Sam and Sheril's avid interest in Japanese neo-Victorian manga and Anglo-American period dramas also raises questions about the contexts in which they consume these texts. How can we relate their fan practices of consumption to political, economic, and social conditions in Singapore, and to Singapore's connections with the rest of the world? Most Singaporeans of Sam and Sheril's generation speak English as their first language, albeit with differing levels of proficiency. The country has a highly advanced capitalist economy, which has been performing very well in recent years, and Internet penetration and smartphone usage levels are amongst the highest in the world.[131] English-language period dramas from Britain and the US are widely accessible to Singaporean audiences through free-to-air and cable television, DVD box sets, on-demand digital media streaming providers such as Netflix, and a plethora of illegal online streaming and downloading websites. This extensive availability of English-language period dramas in Singapore points to just how intensively the country is connected to global communications networks and global flows of Anglo-American and Anglophone cultural goods.

Singapore is also highly connected to regional flows of Japanese popular culture in East Asia, which, contrary to what one might expect, do not conform to a centre-periphery model of outward dissemination from Japan to the rest of Asia.[132] Like many Chinese Singaporean fans of Japanese manga, Sam reads Mandarin translations of manga imported mainly from Taiwan. These translations from Taiwan (as well as those from Hong Kong) are written in traditional Chinese script (*fanti zi*). Up till fairly recently, Chinese Singaporean manga readers also had access to Mandarin translations in simplified Chinese script (*jianti zi*), which most Chinese Singaporeans learn at school, but the

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[131] For a commentary on Singapore's recent economic boom from a British perspective, see McRae. According to the 2015 Global Technology, Media, and Telecommunications (TMT) survey by Deloitte, Singapore ranks highest globally for smartphone penetration, with nine out of ten correspondents having access to a smartphone ("Smartphone Penetration" 1).

[132] Chua Beng Huat made intra-regional flows of popular culture in East Asia the focus of his important study, "Conceptualising an East Asian Popular Culture."

Singapore-based publishing house that produced these translations folded in 2014. While Sam reads manga in Mandarin, Sheril, who knows neither Japanese nor Mandarin, reads manga in English. She reads both official translations published by US-based companies such as Tokyopop (also now defunct), and unlicensed online "scanlations" produced by English-speaking fans around the world. In addition to manga, anime, and English-language period films and television series, Sam and Sheril also enjoy pop music and television dramas from South Korea, which have recently become immensely popular in Japan as well. I could go on adding to this list of cultural commodities and transnational flows, but instead I would like to leave the reader with some questions. How do these overlapping networks of production and circulation affect the ways in which fans such as Sam and Sheril interpret the texts they consume? And how do their interpretations of these texts affect their view of the world they inhabit?

Also, does the global history of the nineteenth century have anything to do with the consumption of Japanese neo-Victorian manga and English-language period dramas in Singapore in the twenty-first century? Singapore was a British colony from 1819 to 1963, and was occupied by the Japanese during the Asia-Pacific War from 1942 to 1945. The spectre of Japanese imperialist aggression lurks in the shadows even as Singaporean fans enthusiastically consume Japanese popular culture. When asked about her perception of Japan today, Sheril rather euphemistically laments that, "[u]nlike Britain, it [Japan] hides parts of its history, and the Japanese people do not really know how their country and ancestors have affected people in the past." For Sheril, Britain evidently does not "hide" or "sugar-coat" the less pleasing parts of its history. Yet neither Sheril nor Sam makes any reference in their answers to the ways in which neo-Victorian period dramas and British heritage attractions address (or do not address) the history of British imperialism in the nineteenth century. This history appears to have become strangely invisible in the consciousness of Singaporean fans such as Sam and Sheril, despite Singapore's colonial past.

Does this suggest that Singaporeans implicitly regard British colonial rule as a positive stage in Singapore's history, when the country as we know it today was "founded" by the "civilising"

influence of the British? Has the discipline of English Literature, so crucial to the "civilising mission" of the British Empire, shaped the ways in which Singaporeans in the twenty-first century consume English-language period dramas set in Victorian Britain? As mentioned in Chapter Four, Viswanathan argues in *Masks of Conquest* that the British actively cultivated the study of English Literature in India in the nineteenth century in order to mould the values of their Indian subjects, and thereby exercise a Gramscian form of "rule by consent" over the Empire. A similar situation occurred in Singapore towards the end of the nineteenth century. Faced with the increasing need "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern," as Macaulay put it in his 1835 "Minute on Education in India" (7), the British colonial administration in Singapore in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century followed the earlier example of British India, and formalised the study of English Literature in schools (Holden 35). English Literature was a compulsory subject for prospective teachers trained in Singapore in the 1920s (Holden 35). When Raffles College opened for classes in 1928, one of its first appointments was a professor in English Language and Literature (Holden 35). Raffles College later evolved from a teacher training school into the University of Malaya, and then into the National University of Singapore, where the Department of English Language and Literature continues to exist to this day.

This teaching of English Literature in Singapore in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Philip Holden explains, was intended to complement technical competence in the English language with the internalisation of British ways of thinking and acting, which would in turn foster allegiance to the British imperial state (Holden 35). Although the discipline of English Literature no longer plays this role of colonial acculturation in post-independence Singapore, Holden observes that traces of this colonial legacy remain in the English Literature syllabi of Singaporean educational institutions:

> There is a clear line of inheritance from the colonial Cambridge Higher and Junior Certificates, first introduced in Singapore in 1891, to the present-day Singapore Cambridge GCE "O" and "A" levels. The Cambridge Higher and Junior Certificates at the turn of the century featured

authors such as Shakespeare, Milton, Burke; Byron and Scott were added after a complaint by members of a commission that produced the 1902 Kynnerserley report. . . . In the current Ministry of Education "A" level syllabus, one compulsory paper is devoted to Shakespeare, and while it is possible to choose a paper in Contemporary Writing that includes African or Caribbean writers such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Derek Walcott, most junior colleges elect to teach the papers in Chaucer and Other Major Authors, Literature of the Victorian Age, Twentieth Century Writing, or Comment and Appreciation, all of which draw heavily upon canonical British texts (40).

Has this colonial heritage shaped Sam, Sheril and Kevin's consumption of *Penny Dreadful* and other neo-Victorian heritage dramas? Does the prestige of English Literature, which draws Japanese tourists to heritage attractions in Britain (as discussed in Chapter Four), likewise draw Singaporean viewers to period films and television shows adapted from canonical works of English Literature? Or is it the case that Singaporean consumers, like Damrosch's "postliterary" American college students, are losing interest in reading canonical literature ("English" or otherwise), and that the British cultural empire now depends on visual adaptations of literary works, rather than the works themselves, to exercise hegemony over its erstwhile colonial subjects? Do the visual adaptations encourage Singaporean viewers to read the "original" works, and thereby expand the British cultural industries' overseas markets for both period dramas and literary fiction?

Sam first read the Holmes mysteries, *Dracula*, *Frankenstein*, and other Gothic and Victorian literary works that have inspired the period dramas she now enjoys when she was a teenager. These works were not part of her school's syllabus, and she read them in her free time out of interest. She did, however, study *The Picture of Dorian Gray* formally when she wrote a comparative essay on literary representations of homosexuality for her *Chinese* Literature class in junior college ("A" level). Both Sheril and Kevin encountered these literary works in abridged form when they were primary school students. Sheril remembers that her primary school library stocked simplified versions of literary works, and that was how she was introduced to *Frankenstein*. Kevin believes that he read the

Holmes stories, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, *Dracula*, and *Frankenstein* in abridged form when he was a child before he studied these works formally at school, as his family kept many books at home. For Sam and Kevin, reading the "original" literary works came before reading the manga series and watching the period dramas inspired by these works. Sheril, on the other hand, remembers watching the Hollywood film *Mary Shelley's Frankenstein* (1994) when she was very young, and that "a lot of [her interest in the Gothic when she was growing up] came from TV, movies or plays" rather than books. To what extent then, or should we say, in what different ways, has the study of English Literature in Singapore, as a form of colonial heritage whose origins in British imperialism have been forgotten, influenced Sam, Sheril and Kevin's consumption of Japanese, British and American neo-Victorian texts in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century?

To borrow the metaphor of the tangled ball of yarn from *Jamrach's Menagerie*: There are many threads in these transnational networks of cultural commodity production and export, and this thesis has attempted to unravel and weave some of these threads into a narrative about Anglo-Japanese relations in the nineteenth century and in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Many other threads remain, as this conclusion demonstrates. Although attempts to examine this multiplicity of threads will necessarily be localised and partial, by weaving as many of these threads together as possible, we may arrive at a more comprehensive, though never complete, understanding of how transnational interactions of texts and people in the past have shaped transnational interactions of texts and people today. By implicitly making connections between the nineteenth century and the present, global neo-Victorianism stages this project for us.

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