

*Touring China: A History of Travel Culture, 1912–1949*

YAJUN MO

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The historiography of Chinese tourism has so far focused on the travels of imperial literati, the “revolutionary pilgrimages” of the Red Guards, and the rise of tourism, both domestic and foreign, since the 1990s. Neither the Maoist state nor its Nationalist predecessor made an effort to develop tourism as a means to forge a fit and patriotic citizenry, as did the Soviets, the Nazis or the Fascists. Yajun Mo’s *Touring China* makes the case that although the weakness of the Nationalists prevented them from such an effort, the commercial development of domestic tourism, linked to the agenda of nationalist intellectuals, was more significant in strengthening the sense of a national space amidst the territorial fragmentation of the Republican era than previously thought.

Only the first chapter of the book, however, is about the development of actual tourism. Although the first travel agents, sightseers and holidaymakers in early 20th-century China were Westerners, the adoption of the work-free weekend and public holidays created leisure time for urban elites, which domestic businesses, notably the China Travel Service (CTS) with its close ties to the Nationalist government, were eager to exploit. Apart from domestic package tours and hotels, CTS arranged overseas travel – including for pilgrims to Mecca – and educational packages in China for overseas Chinese children. The book’s first chapter argues that businesses such as CTS helped create a national canon of tourist destinations. As subsequent chapters reveal, it relied heavily on the classical canon of scenic spots but added sites related to “revolutionary” history (as defined by the Nationalists) and to ethnic minorities, thus prefiguring the PRC’s tourism scripts that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s.

The rest of *Touring China* is about how travel writing contributed to the imagining of a national space in Republican China despite the reality of political fragmentation and foreign occupation. While the second chapter deals with guidebooks and travel magazines intended for a wider readership, the remainder of the book relies largely on the travelogues of scholars, officials and businessmen about areas either geographically remote or politically sequestered from the Chinese heartland: the Northwest, the Southwest, Manchuria and Taiwan. Mo’s reading of these travel narratives focuses on the various ways in which they affirmed the incorporation of places into national space and history: from archaeologists caught between better-equipped foreign colleagues-cum-competitors and local strongmen in Xinjiang, to explorations of Yunnan and Guizhou by Chinese intellectuals displaced to the southwest by Japanese occupation, to travellers impressed but unsettled by the Russian- and especially Japanese-led modernization of Manchuria and Taiwan.

*Touring China* persuasively shows how travel writing in the Republican era brought remote parts of China, previously seen as something of a barbarian wilderness, into national history and geography in ways that show remarkable continuities with the PRC’s post-1989 tourism canon. In this sense, the book has unearthed a “missing link” between imperial and post-socialist travel. The light it shines on an early period of modern Chinese travel writing is particularly interesting when it is presented next to contemporary European, American and Japanese narratives, as in chapter five. But the homegrown “travel culture” that the book’s subtitle and the introduction

promises to show is left unexplored, and one doubts to what extent it existed. The social history of Republican-era travel remains to be written, if only to find out whether Chinese visitors to Manchuria learned the difference between the Chinese Eastern Railway's Soviet officials and the White Russian residents of Harbin – a difference apparently unnoticed by travel writers concerned with Russian imperialism.

PÁL NYÍRI  
[p.d.nyiri@vu.nl](mailto:p.d.nyiri@vu.nl)

*Chiang Kai-shek's Politics of Shame: Leadership, Legacy, and National Identity in China*

GRACE HUANG

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The thought driving Grace Huang's refreshing, abundantly evidenced and clearly written analysis of Chiang Kai-shek's approach to leadership is that he weaponized shame. In explaining her argument, Huang turns to the legend of Goujian, the king of the state of Yue during the Spring and Autumn period. Taken prisoner by the king of the state of Wu, Goujian suffered humiliation after humiliation without complaint, gained his freedom through a display of feigned loyalty, patiently strengthened Yue, and in the end avenged his disgrace. The Goujian story was well known during the late Qing and the Republic. Chiang Kai-shek made use of it: he had the proverb *woxin changdan* ("to sleep on brushwood and taste gall"), which is a reference to it, painted on the walls of the Whampoa Academy. After the humiliating defeat of his forces at Jí'nan in Shandong province during the 1926–1928 Northern Expedition, he stated in front of troops that if he would be able to endure humiliation like Goujian, he too would avenge his defeat. His diary had a standard entrance under the heading "wiping out shame." Undoubtedly, and unsurprisingly given China's position in the world and the state of the country economically, overcoming humiliation was on Chiang's mind.

According to Huang, Chiang Kai-shek embodied a narrative of shame to induce deep change in Chinese culture and society. Like Goujian, he decided to bide his time, adopting a policy of "first unification, then resistance" when confronted with Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931. He used that time to strengthen the military, promote economic development, improve communications, build schools and universities, and overcome his domestic enemies. By launching the New Life Movement in the mid-1930s, which promoted the virtues of propriety, justice, integrity and shamefulness (*li, yi, lian, chi*) derived from the *Guanzi*, he fought the ways in which he judged the China of his day embarrassingly fell below Western standards, ranging from unhygienic habits, slovenliness and bureaucratic slackness to an absence of national pride, a lack of civic mindedness and a dearth of patriotism. These strategies paid off during the 1937–1945 War of Resistance, Huang suggests, when they helped China defeat Japan.

Huang bases her analyses on the diaries of Chiang Kai-shek which are now available in their original at the Hoover Library of Stanford University as well as the 84-volume *Draft Notes for Chiang Kai-shek's Biography* (*Jiang gong shilüe gaoben*).