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Travel and Tourism in Meiji Era Japan

Representations of Japan in travelogues and guidebooks during the opening of the country

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Abstract

In this thesis, I analyse English and Japanese travelogues and guidebooks on Japan in the Meiji era (1868-1912) with a focus on Northern Japan, specifically Yokohama, Tokyo, Nikko, Niigata, and Aomori. The English primary sources, that of Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten tracks in Japan* and Ernest Satow's *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan* are comparatively analysed together with the Japanese primary sources, that being the travelogue *Autumn in Ryomo* by Tokutomi Roka, and the guidebooks The *Great Japan Train Guide to Famous Places* (大日本汽車名所) and *Japan National Railway Tourist Information* (日本全国鉄道名所旅行案内).

The thesis statement I have worked with is "How is Japan in the Meiji era experienced and written about by foreign and Japanese travellers." With this, I have analysed the writings of the primary sources to find how they describe the landscape, culture, people, and general travel recommendations in their writings. In the travelogues of Bird and Roka, they write about their experiences travelling, depicting the scenery and experiences in Northern Japan. Where Bird often notes her cultural encounters and the hybrid cultures travelling on the "unbeaten tracks" through the nature of Japan on an anthropological journey, Roka focuses on the poetic journey in the Japanese tradition of Tabi as well as the usage of English traditions that influenced Japan at the time, as he describes his journey to the Ryomo region in autumn.

The guidebooks present the respective authors' recommendations for travel in Japan through the interest and bias of their authors and the cultural and technological development of Japan during the Meiji era. Satow's guide, being one of the first English guides on Japan, often presents the traveller with detailed information on the Shrines and Temples, as these are the primary interest of the author. He has a deep understanding of Japanese history and culture and presents the primary locations for visit to experience an "authentic" Japan. The Japanese guidebooks present a modernizing Japan through railway travel, combining the traditional concept of travel, Tabi, with the faster and more accessible travel, Ryoko, whilst still adhering to the poetic traditions. They share Satow's interest in religious locations as important cultural sights for tourists, but unlike Satow, in areas such as Aomori, they are able to draw on the distinctive Japanese by quoting the poet Saigyo in advertising the area.

Acknowledgements

I will first and foremost thank my supervisor, Ulrike Spring, who has guided and inspired me throughout my work with this thesis. I am eternally grateful to have been able to work with her on the themes of this thesis, as her guidance and interest have kept me always wanting to research more. I would also like to give a special thanks to my Japanese language teacher, Urara Nakai. Her teachings helped me to properly read and understand the sources I have worked with, and her assistance with grammatical notes and tremendous enthusiasm have been of immense value.

In writing this thesis, I was able to travel on an archive visit to Yokohama and Tokyo, thanks to the help of the University of Oslo, to be able to access many of the primary sources. I would then like to thank the staff at the Yokohama Archive of History for helping me access the amazing writings of Ernest Satow and for their general helpfulness and kindness during my visit there. A special acknowledgement will be given to the staff at the Japan Travel Bureau Foundation's Library of Tourism Culture in Tokyo, who have gone above and beyond in helping me find and access the Japanese guidebooks, and for their wonderful hospitality during my visit and amazing email correspondence throughout my work.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family for letting me develop my niche interest and supporting me through all my journeys.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

> Days and months are travellers of eternity. As are the years that pass by. Those who steer a boat across the sea, or drive a horse over the earth till they succumb to the weight of the years, spend every minute of their lives travelling.[1]

Such starts Matsuo Bashō his travelogue *The Narrow Road to the Deep North*, documenting his poetic journey through northern Japan in 1689. Basho describes the sights and sceneries of his journey through haikus frequently found in the text to highlight the nature, emotions, and specific situations. He travels through nature and to shrines, temples, and roadway houses, often with a focus on references to the poetic history of the areas, where he gazes at locations that have been described in much older poetry in the genre of travel writings, as he composes his own description of the scenes. He demonstrates his knowledge of important monks and poets tied to the locations and poetic traditions of the area, while he himself compose haikus describing his experiences and encounters that would cement this work as one of the most important writings when talking about travel through the nature of Northern Japan, and to the whole genre of Japanese travel writing itself, being referenced and utilised by other travellers traversing the area ever since. Basho's haikus give a beautiful yet melancholic depiction of not only the nature and the people, but of the whole concept of the journey itself. Even when he has concluded this long and hard journey and reached the shrine of his destination, he still wishes to continue his journey, as he concludes this work with this haiku:

> As firmly cemented clam-shells
> Fall apart in autumn,
> so I must take to the road again,
> Farwell, my friends.[2]

Travel writings and traditions of the journey such as this are where much of my interest and fascination with travel and tourism in Japan stems from. It presents Japan as an old country that requires knowledge of these traditions to fully understand the nature and the cultural sights gazed upon, and presents the concept of travel as something deeply emotional that ties you to the history that surrounds you, as you reflect upon yourself through poetry. However, much of this would come to change as Japan opened itself up to the surrounding world in the

[1] Matsuo Basho, *The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches*, trans. Nobuyukio Yuasa (London: Penguin Group, 1966), 97.
[2] Basho, 142.

1800s, after secluding itself for about 250 years. Thus, the curiosity that sparked this thesis came to be, to understand how this landscape would be perceived by foreigners coming to this land unfamiliar with these traditions, and how Japanese writers of the time dealt with the traditions in combination with modernisation and foreign influence.

The thesis statement I will be working with is "How is Japan in the Meiji era experienced and written about by foreign and Japanese travellers". With this, I mean that I will analyse travelogues and guidebooks by foreign travellers in Japan during the opening of the country in the Meiji era (1868-1912) in comparison with that of the local Japanese equivalents. I will analyse and present my findings of how the new foreign tourists to Japan wrote about their journey and the sights they gazed upon, how foreign guidebooks recommended experiencing the sights for tourists to travel, experience, and understand Japan. I will also investigate how these texts share similarities or differ with that of Japanese travellers at the time, and how the Japanese concept of travel changed as the country experienced rapid modernisation and was receiving influences from new foreign contacts in aspects such as technology, architecture, clothing, literature, and other cultural markers.

Sources and scope

The primary sources I will be using in this thesis are split into English language sources and Japanese. In these 2, we also find the distinction between travelogues and guidebooks. For the English language sources, I will be looking at Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* from 1880 and Ernest Mason Satow's *A Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan* from 1881. Isabella Bird's text is a collection of letters she wrote to her sister about her journey in Japan that she wanted to reformat into a book and publish to provide readers with accurate information on the newly opened country of Japan. Bird is a special traveller in Japan in the Meiji era, as she was able to obtain a special passport that lets her travel through Northern Japan off the beaten path that usual travellers and tourists would take, to see the more wild, natural, and "authentic" interior of the country. As a botanist, she was able to identify and describe the flora she encounters during her journey, and her style of writing gives the reader a deep understanding of her experience as a traveller in Japan, as she does not shy away from being direct with her feelings towards her surroundings and encounters, be it positive or negative. Ernest Mason Satow is also an important figure in the Meiji era, working as a British consul, and later becoming the British minister to Japan. in his time, he

was often pointed towards as being one of the most knowledgeable foreigners on Japan, as he held a deep understanding and appreciation towards the people and the culture. After writing a guidebook specifically on the town of Nikko in 1875, he published a larger handbook on central and northern Japan in 1881 which he wrote in the style of the John Murray guidebooks, as one for Japan did not exist at the time. Filled with important preliminary information, maps, route and road information, and detailed description of the sights he deemed important for the traveller to visit, this guide provides us with an understanding of what the tourist experience would be should a tourist in the Meiji era utilize the book, and the more personal opinions of the writer as what locations and information he chose to include (and exclude) gives us a picture of travel and tourism through the eyes of Ernest Satow.

The Japanese language sources I will be analysing are Tokutomi Roka's *Autumn in Ryomo* from 1893, and the guidebooks *Great Japan Train Guide to Famous Places* (大日本汽車名所) from 1891 and *Japan National Railway Tourist Information* (日本全国鉄道名所旅行案内) from 1898. These texts have been chosen on the grounds of their value to a comparative analysis with the English language guides, for their extraordinary contents, such as layout, coverage, and style of writing, and for their popularity and wide usage from Japanese travellers of the time. Although they are published some years later than Bird and Satow's texts, I have chosen these specifically for how they are able to depict and describe the changes of the Meiji era. Any earlier texts would not contain an extensive railway network, Yokohama would be a much smaller city, and the modern tourist concepts would not have had the time to properly set in the country. These texts then present a country that is in the phase of development, rather than at the start of this change. The writer and traveller Tokutomi Roka's travelogue are presented as a travel letter on the autumnal changes of the Ryomo region, as he takes the reader with him on a poetic report of the sights of the region during a period when Japan is going through a lot of changes, both in the literal sense of the changing seasons but also with the deeper meaning of the country's cultural changes from foreign influence. In both the railway guides, we find a new form of travel that has been introduced to Japan with the new technology of the railway, as travel could now be conducted much quicker and leisurely than it had before when travel was closely connected with a long and solitary journey on foot or horseback. In these guides, we will be following the train tracks from Yokohama through Tokyo, and then on the north-eastern coast of Japan through Sendai, and ending in Aomori. These guides do a thorough job of presenting the traveller with noteworthy sights and attractions, both modern and historical, in the areas of every train

station on the route, such as the Yokohama harbour, the poetic traditions tied to Aomori, and most shrines and temples found in the districts the train passes through. As such, these guides will give us insight into the route through Northern Japan in the Meiji era with the noteworthy sights and attractions along the way, and presents the new modern changes alongside the important historical sights and knowledge needed to fully appreciate this tour through the area.

What I wish to add to the scientific field of the history of travel and tourism in Meiji era Japan are the unique perspectives and results gained from comparatively analysing these sources, and to bring attention to areas and texts that are not often utilised in the field. Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* has before been analysed by authors such as Kanasaka Kiyonori in his *Isabella Bird and Japan: A Reassessment*, which will be utilised in my analysis of her text, and the same applies to Tokutomi Roka's text analysed by Susanna Fessler in *A Letter from the Past and the Present: Tokutomi Roka's 'Autumn in Ryomo'*. There is however little work that has been done on Satow's guidebook in comparison to his other works, and the Japanese guides also deserve a historical analysis to bring them into the research field.

I will be limiting this thesis to the area of Northern Japan, and focus mainly on the areas of Yokohama, Tokyo, Nikko, Niigata, and Aomori. Yokohama and Tokyo are here chosen because of their starting point for many of the travellers first arriving in Japan, and the historic importance of these cities in the Meiji era. Yokohama was then a wholly new city based on a fishing village that grew drastically with the opening of the country, as foreign administrative and trade centres were placed in the city, large areas for foreign settlements were built, and Japanese government investment in the port of Yokohama as an opening to the world. Tokyo also bears several similarities to Yokohama's development in the Meiji era, but with the addition of it becoming the country's capital, when it had been Kyoto in the era before, giving the city a new status of centrality during this period. Nikko is also an important location to include in an analysis of travel and tourism in Japan, as the Tomb of the emperor Tokugawa Iyeyasu, the first in the line of rulers through the Edo period (1603-1867), is an important cultural and historical sight for both local and foreign travellers in Japan, and has long stood as one of the country's most important sights. My reasoning for choosing to specifically analyse the area of Northern Japan is its importance in the Japanese poetic tradition, such as in Basho's journey, its role as an "unbeaten track" in Isabella Bird's journey through the area, and its general lack of representation in travel literature otherwise. This area

contains several locations of historical note that makes it interesting to analyse with the theme of travel and tourism in the Meiji era, such as Aomori being an important port for travel between Japan's main island and Hokkaido, and Niigata as one of the early treaty ports open to foreign trade in 1860.

Structure

In Chapter 2, I will present the relevant theoretical works important to my analysis, to establish the groundwork for how my sources will be analysed, and the methodology of this thesis. Two of the most prominent theoretical works I will be utilising is here that of Eric Zuelow's *A History of Modern Tourism* and John Urry and Jonas Larsen's *The Tourist Gaze.* These have been chosen as they are some of the most important works in the general field of tourism research and will be utilized in my analysis to provide vital definitions, genre contexts, and theoretical terminology to fully understand the primary sources and to understand the writers' experience of travel and tourism. Chapter 3 will then go on to present the important historical context for the Meiji era, the events that led up to Japan's opening to the world, and the internal effects and developments it led to. Here I will present the general information that is needed to understand the period, but also to understand the situation the primary sources find themselves in, as these are applied to this chapter to specifically understand them in the context of the Meiji era.

Chapters 4 and 5 will be the main chapters for the analysis of primary sources, where the former will keep its focus mainly on the English sources and the latter will be a comparative analysis with the Japanese sources. For chapter 4, I will first look at Isabella Bird's text where I have divided the analysis into two themes that I have found most central in her writings of the chosen locations; "Hybrid Cultures and Authenticity" and "Cultural Encounters." In these, I will analyse how she views the hybrid cultures in Meiji era Japan that are born from the influences and settlements of Westerners with that of the more traditional Japanese and thus her views on the "authentic" Japan, and then her encounters with the Japanese culture through people, sights, and locations. For Ernest Satow's guidebook, I will analyse the text under the two headlines "What is described and how?" and "What isn't described and why?" This is to understand the person Ernest Satow in where he chooses to place his focus, which locations and sights he recommends the tourist to visit, and which he

has chosen to leave out, and understand how he writes the guide in relation to his knowledge and interest.

In Chapter 5, the final chapter before the conclusion, the Japanese texts will be analysed comparatively with the English language sources to understand the similarities and differences between them, and to get a greater picture of how travel and tourism were presented in travelogues and guides when Japan went through major changes in the Meiji era. Here I will first be looking at the *Great Japan Train Guide to Famous Places* with its beautifully illustrated railway map, and *Japan National Railway Tourist Information* with its larger amount of written information on the areas. These texts will be used together to compare with Satow's guide to fully cover the same areas chosen for this thesis and to get a greater understanding of the recommended sights and attractions along the railway as it was constructed in northern Japan during the Meiji era. Tokutomi Roka's *Autumn in Ryomo* will then be analysed in comparison with Isabella Bird's descriptions as a Japanese counterpart to the more personal descriptions of travel in the nature and towns of northern Japan.

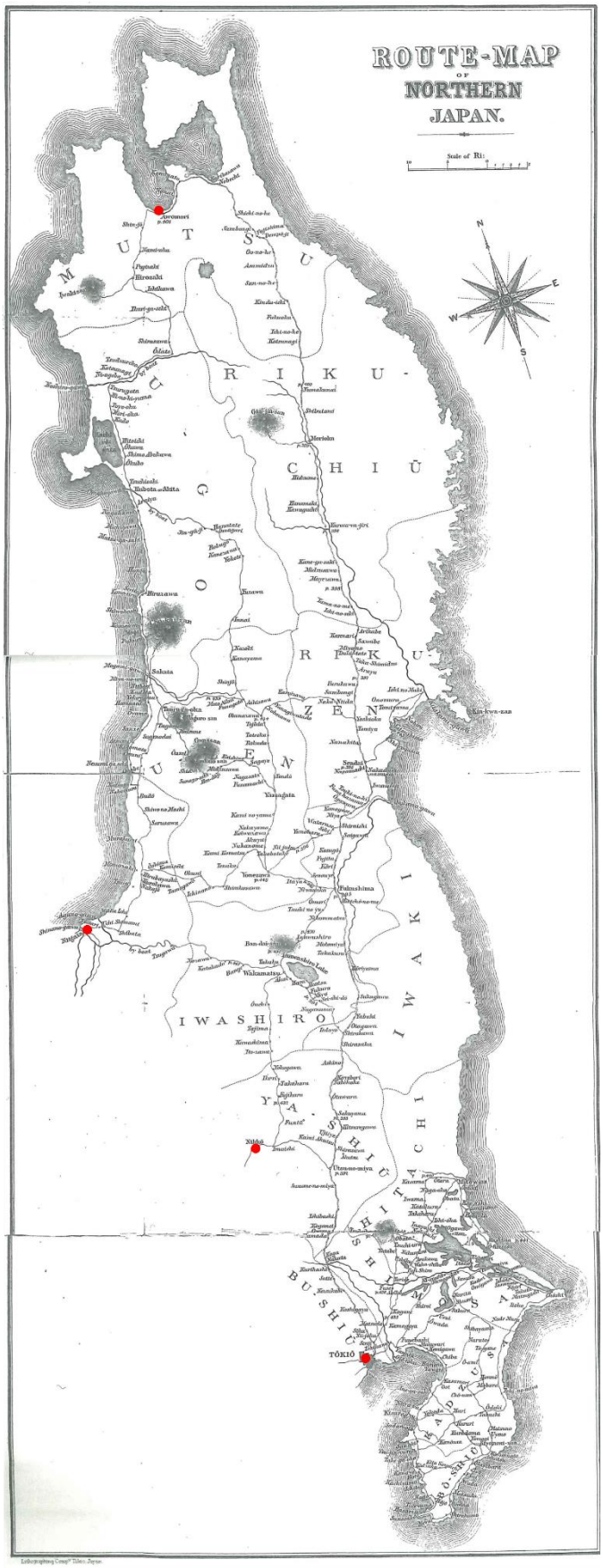

Figure 1 Ernest Mason Satow, A Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan, 1st ed. (Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh, 1881). Route Map of Northern Japan

Chapter 2 – Theory and Methodology

To be able to analyse the different kinds of travelogues I will be looking at in the later chapters, I will here be establishing the parameters and definitions to work within. It will be relevant for the reader both to understand what I deem as important to understand tourism and analytically work within. The types of text that will later be analysed are in different genres, such as letters and guidebooks, and also originate from different cultures. Both these points require different types of theoretical frameworks to be able to fully understand and work with them. Travelogues by Japanese and British authors can share many similarities in being about travel and tourism, what they write about and who writes them, but stem from vastly different cultural backgrounds with their own distinct traditions.

Two of the main works I will be using in this thesis are *A History of Modern Tourism* by Eric G.E. Zuelow and *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* by John Urry and Jonas Larsen. Their theories and definitions of "(modern) tourism", "the tourist gaze", Guidebooks etc. will be utilized for setting the ground works of my later analysis. The methodological tools these works provide are essential for working with travel and tourism, as they give clear definitions of important terms and concepts and a comprehensive timeline of important developments in its history. Zuelow's book is a historic work following the developments of tourism from the 1700s up until today, touching on various major development in the industry, such as steam-powered ships and trains and the emergence of the guidebook. John Urry's work, with the 3rd edition written with Jonas Larsen, is a sociological research on the many aspects of their term "The Tourist Gaze." This works presents the relevant theories and terms for analysing the tourist gaze, as well as the more specific aspects of the gaze such as architecture and photography and describe in detail how these are constructed, how they affect tourist and their gaze, and how to work in the field of study. Though many later parts of this work are focused on present-day tourism, these early definitions and terms are relevant for all tourism analysis and are often utilized in this thesis.

First, we need to establish a definition of what "tourism" is and what it entails. For this, Urry and Larson put out a nine-point definition in their book to be used as a baseline for further, more specialised analysis of the subject. Although this definition is more tailored towards today's tourism, it still provides a valuable framework for historical analysis, as it states clearly what tourism is at its core. Looking at their first point, they state:

> Tourism is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organised work. It is one manifestation of how work and leisure are organised as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in 'modern' societies. Indeed, acting as a tourist is one of the defining characteristics of being 'modern' and is bound up with major transformations in paid work. This has come to be organised within particular places to occur for regularised periods of time.[3]

Although the latter part of the point is more concerned with tourism in later modern society, it still gives us a basic framework to look at tourism in history. They present a focus on opposites of work in everyday life and the leisure of travel. However, it is not enough to define something simply as the opposite, as this would not give us a precise enough answer, with endless possible explanations of what the opposite of "regulated and organised work" is. As Urry and Larson go on to describe in their points, tourism also entails the movement in the form of travel, and that the stay is meant to be temporary with the knowledge that one will return home and back to the ordinary every day after the travel is done. Similarly, Zuelow defines in his introduction modern tourism as this: "In essence, it is travel in pursuit of pleasure and an escape from everyday realities."[4] Here again, we see the juxtaposing of tourism and the every day, reinforcing the aspects of distinction between the everyday and travel. Tourism as a pleasure is heightened, and the break from the every day noted as an escape. From these, we can deduce the definition of tourism as travel for the sake of leisure and pleasure, breaking with the ordinary everyday life but with the intent to return to it afterwards.

Both quotes by Urry & Larson and Zuelow mainly focus on defining tourism in later modern society, where the former takes on present-day tourism and the latter describes the evolution of tourism from the 1700s until today. However, they still hold relevance in texts I will later analyse from the Meiji era, Japan's modernisation era. In Zuelow's chapter on "The Grand Tour", he states that the many travellers in Europe during the end of the 18th century are to be considered the first modern tourists.[5] Urry & Larson also date modern tourism back to this period, more precisely around 1840, for when "(…) that peculiar combining together of the means of travel, the desire for travel and the techniques of photographic reproduction, becomes a core component of western modernity."[6] During this period of a rising tourism

[3] John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 3rd ed. (London: SAGE, 2011), 4
[4] Eric G. E. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism* (London: Palgrave, 2016), 9
[5] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism,* 15
[6] Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0, 14*

industry, we also find the emergence of packaged tours from the likes of Thomas Cook, and the guidebooks by Baedeker and Murray aimed at the middle-class tourist and travellers, showing a rapid development of both the technologies and cultures of Tourism.[7]

These new types of tourists differed quite a lot from their predecessors, closely following their guidebooks to the experiences deemed worth doing and the sights worth seeing, often in guided groups. They followed their guidebooks thoroughly, to a fault when many only travelled the beaten track and with their face well planted in the guide's pages, doing what they were told.[8] The writer Stefan Zweig describes these cynically in his essay "To Travel or be 'Travelled'" as such:

> So, to be 'travelled' in this manner, one must be content to pass before numerous novelties without actually experiencing them at all (…) They see things worth seeing, certainly, but twenty car loads daily see the same wonders, each sees what the other sees and the guide who is responsible for providing explanations always offers the same method of delivery (…) what they take home is nothing but the righteous pride of having recorded with their eyes some church, or painting more a sports record than the sense of any personal maturation and cultural enrichment.[9]

Here, the Modern tourist is criticised for not actually experiencing the destinations they travel to, but rather just passing through whilst glancing at the "Sights to be seen." Everyone sees and experiences the same, with little individual thought or reflection on what to do next, just following along a beaten path. Zweig points out that they are missing the aspects of uncertainties and challenges that are vital for travel and life as a whole. These modern tourists did not experience the culture as directly as those who came before, and their form of leisure travel was more like an amusement park ride quickly going from one sight to another until its done.

To understand these new travellers, it is also important to understand the new genre of guidebooks that evolved during the 1800s, how they are structured, their contents, and their purpose. These types of guidebooks evolved with the rise of the railway and the middle-class tourist, catering to this new audience and often following the railway routes. They became an essential part of every traveller's journey, as they provided vital information about where to travel, what to see, and how to gaze at the sights, and gave them historical and cultural

[7] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism, 78*
[8] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism,* 79
[9] Stefan Zweig, *Journeys* (London: Pushkin Press, 2019), 67.

background information in order to better understand the significance of their surroundings.[10] David M. Bruce, in his chapter on the guides by Baedeker, describes these types of handbooks as being constructed by five fundamental parts:

> a preface, an introduction, one or more specialist commentaries on the (high) cultures of the country, maps (both of the railway network and the geographical areas covered as well as town plans and panoramas), and a comprehensive, mainly geographical index as a basis for elaborate cross-referencing.[11]

One of the most prolific authors and publishers of such guidebooks was John Murray II (1778-1843) and the John Murray Company. He started writing and publishing guidebooks in 1836 aimed at this new audience, covering many central destinations in Europe. The John Murray guidebook soon became a staple in the genre and was expanded upon by many other writers under the company name to cover even more destinations throughout the 1800s. In Ernest Satow's guide to Central and Northern Japan, he prefaces by stating that his book was written in the style to that of Murray, as one on Japan did not yet exist. Later on, on the guide's 5th edition publication in 1899, it was published by the John Murray company and displayed the name "Murray's hand-book to Japan" on the iconic red cover. Although the first edition of Satow's guide that I will later be analysing is not the one published by Murray, it is important to see the context of the brand's impact on the genre, as independent writers and publishers were following the standards and formula of Murray, as it was what the tourist of the time expected when reading a guidebook.

For my analysis, I will be looking at Isabella Bird, which is a little hard to place as a "tourist" in the traditional sense, according to the theories and definitions listed above. She writes about her travel in letters as a travelogue, and very early on is set on publishing her writings to document both the concrete facts about Japan and her own opinions on the sights she witness. Her travels to Japan did not resemble her contemporaries of growing modern tourists. She does however share many similarities with the culture that came before, that of "The Grand Tour." The Grand Tour had its peak from 1748 to 1789, when Europe was in a period of relative peace, and it was safe and possible for the children of the upper classes to travel around the continent.[12] It was an important part of the education of the children of the

[10] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, 76–77.
[11] David Bruce, 'Baedeker: The Perceived "inventor" of the Formal Guidebook-a Bible for Travellers in the 19th Century', in *Giants of Tourism*, ed. Richard W. Butler and Roslyn A. Russell (Wallingford: CABI, 2010), 97.
[12] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, 21.

elites and nobles, where they would travel abroad to the culturally important cities in Europe with a tutor. It was seen as something that was good for them to do, both as education and for their well-being. While the parents wanted foreign languages, politics, and cultures to be an important part of their children's education, the travellers of the Grand Tour often returned as hybrids of their own English culture and a general European-ness.[13]

The Grand Tour was not only performed by young men but also by women, as a way for them to escape their male-dominated societies and spheres. Here, independently-minded women could travel more freely and explore the arts and cultures of Europe, and further develop themselves outside the social norms of Britain. However, even though this opportunity could have been benefitting for many upper-class women, Zuelow points out the concerns at the time of what would happen to these culturally developed women, many even questioning why they would need it as women did not usually hold higher positions, resulting in adventurous women being an exception at the time, and not something common.[14] Very few women at the time was thus able to set out on The Grand Tour, or even independently travel. As I will analyse the travel of Isabella Bird, it is important to keep in mind that in her journey, she was an exception to the usual traveller in gender and circumstances, even when packaged tours became more viable.

However, by the 1800s, the Grand Tour was a concept of the past, replaced by the more accessible, streamlined, and developed concept of the modern tourism. During the time of Isabella Bird, one could more easily travel abroad for a short period of time just for the sake of leisure. But even though the culture and means of modern tourism were well established in her time, she avoids many of these modern norms, following a more challenging path on the unbeaten tracks. She travelled the interior of Northern Japan with a guide, Ito, and directly consulted the foreign experts on Japan in Tokyo on the travel rather than utilize guidebooks, most likely due to a lack of them at the time. Bird did not travel to Japan only to see the sights, but rather to experience travel in the interior nature of Japan, to meet its people, and for her writings to contribute to the new scientific and general knowledge of Japan in England and the West. As the country was still new to Western travellers, little tourist information had been written and published in English at the time of her travels. One of the first major guidebooks written on Japan was published just one year after Bird would publish her travelogue. The author, Ernest Mason Satow, published his guide in 1881, after having

[13] Zuelow, 28.
[14] Zuelow, 27.

published his English guidebook only on the Nikko region in 1875. Satow was known by Bird during her travel as one of the most knowledgeable Englishmen on Japan at the time, in which she consults him on cultural information for her travel.[15] In Satow's preface and recommendation of books on travels in Japan, he mentions Bird and her *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, showing his appreciation of her work and deeming it interesting and useful for travellers to the country.[16]

As we now have looked at the definitions of tourists and travellers that I will be working with, it is important to establish how to analyse their experiences within a theoretical framework. For this, I will be utilising one of the most important Theories in the study of tourism, that of Urry & Larsen's "tourist gaze." This is used to analyse how tourist view their surroundings and experiences while travelling to foreign cultures. The Gaze describes how a destination is viewed and portrayed as a tourist destination before and under travel, with how they look at it for leisure. It is exemplified in their theoretical introduction as "When we 'go away' we look at the environment with interest and curiosity. It speaks to us in ways we appreciate, or at least we anticipate that it will do so. In other words, we gaze at what we encounter."[17] They go on to explain how the social constructs of what is experienced are made by professionals in their fields, in order to give the traveller, or the "gazer", the necessary information and prerequisites for their travels and their gazing. Examples of this would be Tourism organisations constructing and promoting their destinations, guidebook authors, and photographers/illustrators.

As tourism itself requires the movement of people from one place to another in a limited time, the Gaze involves the relations of the people travelling and how they experience the places for themselves.[18] The visual medium has always been important for tourists and travellers to acquire a knowledge of not only what a place looks like, but what in that place is worth looking at and how to look at it. For the modern tourist in the 1800s, this would mean sketches and paintings, postcards, and guidebooks (both visual and textual.)[19] Much of this can be found in my selection of primary sources, such as Isabella Bird's sketches of people

[15] Isabella Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan - An Account of Travels in the Interior, Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrine of Nikko and Ise - Volume 1*, vol. 1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 31.
[16] Ernest Mason Satow, *A Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan*, 1st ed. (Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh, 1881). III, XV
[17] John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 3rd ed. (London: SAGE, 2011), 1.
[18] Urry and Larsen, 21.
[19] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, 85–87.

and places, Murray and Satow's guidebooks and their visual and textual descriptions of Japan, and Roka's travelogues and the poems in the Japanese tradition connected with famous sights. Bird's sketches capture what she sees in the moments of her travels, what she finds interesting and deems important for the reader to see and not just read, such as the first sketch being the famous Mt. Fuji.[20] This aligns with the Japanese tradition, where Fujisan is an important depiction in Japanese art and travel.

The tourist experience is a complex combination of senses and thoughts/knowledge that make up their travels. As such, different types of travel require their own set of knowledge and preliminary information for the destination to be experienced to its "fullest". For travellers to Japan in the early Meiji era, where information was scarce, texts with impressions and information about the country from writers such as Bird and Satow were important for visitors to understand the culture they were visiting. Such information can be obtained from tourist advertisements showing where to visit, what to do, and how to act, but can also come from a deeper knowledge of the destination of *what* it is they are looking for and gazing at. This cultural information is gained by other means than advertisements, such as from literature, historic knowledge, and cultural knowledge directly communicated to them through other sources, and changes the way the traveller experiences the sights and attractions to a deeper level than they would have otherwise. On this, Urry and Larson point to the example of Wordsworth's "different eyes" in order to experience and process the nature of the Lake District properly, as it required "a slow and gradual process of culture."[21] They go on further to list different kinds of Gazes that describe these specialised situations and experiences that require different knowledge before visiting and different theoretical viewpoints for analysis. Some examples here would be the Romantic Gaze, where the traveller focuses on solitude, privacy, and spiritual relationship with what is gazed upon, and the Anthropological Gaze which focuses on being able to place what is gazed upon in historical and cultural contexts.[22] I bring up these two examples, as they can represent some of the travellers I will be analysing in my later chapters, where Isabella Bird's journey in Japan can be placed under the Anthropological Gaze, while that of the Japanese traveller Tokutomi Roka can be described as a Romantic Gaze. In these situations, the level of preliminary information on the destination is vital for what type of gaze they travel and write

[20] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:13.
[21] Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 18.
[22] Urry and Larsen, 19–20.

under. For Isabella Bird, Japan is mostly unknown, and she travels to experience something that, within her culture of knowledge, is mostly unknown, and thus her gaze is of scientific interest in the botanical and cultural aspects of Japan, and built on recently acquired information from early travel guides and advice from experts. For Tokutomi Roka, his gaze is built on the tradition of Japanese history and culture, and with the poetic knowledge of both Japanese and English writes, gazes at the landscape of Japan through the eyes of the poetic tradition as something that is old but changing.

One important expectation tourists have when travelling is the opportunity to see (or gaze) and experience the authentic. Dean MacCannell wrote on this, stating "The rhetoric of tourism is full manifestations of the importance of the authenticity of the relationship between tourists and what they see."[23] They want to see the "real" culture, or at least what they presume to be real. These expectations of what is the authentic are often made up and communicated by actors in the tourism industry. What is really meant by authentic can be harder to determine, if authenticity in tourism really exists. The types of historic authenticity tourists expect to find when gazing upon a location can be described in 4 types: That it looks like time has passed appropriately and developed accordingly, that it looks old even though it is mostly constructed by newer buildings, that what is gaze upon really is as old as they look and have always been there, and that it is authorised as authentic and part of that place's heritage by the relevant organisation.[24] A problem with the tourist gaze and the expectations it creates for travellers before their trip is in those situations where what they are led to expect (by text and photos) does not match up with what they actually experience. Urry and Larson bring up the example of Martin Heidegger travelling to Greece and finding it disappointing, as it appeared too similar to Italy, having been led to believe (and expect) that there would be something more unique, something distinctly Greek for him to gaze at as his ship drove by.[25] We will also find such examples in the primary sources of this thesis. In Isabella Bird's letters, she expresses a distinct distaste towards the buildings in Japan that are of "Western styles" rather than the traditional Japanese, as she views them as lesser copies that ruin the scenery. After travelling for a while, she starts to find solace in the nature in Northern Japan, and as she returns to her first destinations of Yokohama and Tokyo, she is able to view them in a much more positive light as she has learned about Japan during her travels, and her

[23] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2013), 14.
[24] Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 11.
[25] Urry and Larsen, 16–17.

expectations of what is “Authentically Japanese” have changed. For Ernest Satow’s guidebook, being one of the most knowledgeable on Japan at the time, often guides the reader toward essential historical, cultural, and religious sights, such as Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples. These sights are important staples of Japanese travel and were thus an important part of the traveller’s expectations of an authentic Japan. In my analysis, these will show us the expectations vs. reality of authenticity that Isabella Bird experiences, and the construction of an “authentic” journey to Japan through the essential sights that the tourist will come to expect from Ernest Satow’s guide.

While the tourist’s main goal is to escape their everyday life, many will, ironically, travel to gaze upon other cultures every day to get a sense of the “real” culture of their travels. Since anything can be an attraction of interest for tourists to go gaze upon, these ordinary scenarios are often developed into what is referred to as “Staged Authenticity”, being performed for the travellers as authentic for the cultured they have travelled so far to see, whereas the real authenticity is still obscured to them behind this performance.[26] What can be perceived as staged authenticity for Japan in the Meiji era would then be the performance of old rituals or traditions with the intent of entertaining the tourist, rather than them being performed for their actual utility, such as Shinto or Buddhist rituals or cultural performances in old clothing, in this period where Japan was modernising.

The theories I have talked about are mostly concerned with the traditions and development of western travel and tourism. Even though much of this is still relevant for the broader strokes of my analysis of Japanese travel literature on Japan, it is vital for me to also look at its distinct traditions and how they developed during the opening of Japan to the west in the Meiji era.

A lot of the traditions of the Japanese travelogues are based upon the writings of famous poets in history, both recent and ancient, such as the Haikus by Basho in his “The Narrow Road to the Deep North” in the Edo Period (1603-1868.) In this example, the Poet travelled from Tokyo (then named Edo) to the northern interior of Japan, he himself following in the footsteps of figures such as the Kamakura Period (1185-1333) poet Saigyo. In this travel sketch, Basho writes a text describing his journey and locations, where he writes haikus on events or scenes that inspire him. Many of the locations he travels to have previously been gazed upon and described in poems by famous poets of old, where Basho includes these

[26] Urry and Larsen, 10.

relevant poems, often himself writing a haiku in response.[27] The tradition he follows is that of a poetic travel through Japan, where locations are visited for their historic and poetic value based upon the works of the old masters. This form of Japanese traditional travel writing is called Kiko Bungaku[28], described by Susanna Fressler as "Dependent on precedent and natural imagery; authors are expected to write of scenery already firmly established by earlier writers or artists, albeit with their own personalized flourish."[29] The writings focus more on the nature they view rather than the journey itself, where the nature around him is entwined in every description he gives in his Haikus, even those of interactions with other people. It is in the genre's traditional style to write travel literature as memoirs or diaries, rather than correspondence in an epistolary style.[30]

As with many aspects of Japan, so did the style of writing travelogues change during the Meiji era by western influences. When Tokutomi Roka wrote his *Autumn in Ryomo* in 1893, he favoured a more western style of travelogue rather than the traditional Japanese, though some elements are still retained. It's written more as a report of his journey with his personal commentary, with only 2 poems included.[31] The changes in Japan's traditions of travel by western influences can also be found in the Language. With the modernisation of transportation, people could travel by means of trains (and later cars) instead of primarily on foot, and the journey itself became something different from what it had been before. The journeys of the famous poets travelling on foot such as Basho are described with the Japanese word *Tabi* (旅), with the modern Meiji era travels using the word *Ryoko* (旅行).[32]

The concept of Tabi is a complex tradition in Japan. It is a word that does not translate well into English but can be approximated to the word "Journey" instead of words such as "Trip", with it being more associated with a specific type of feeling a"d tradition of travel. Ryoko describes this new type of travel for the sake of primarily leisure, while Tabi concerns itself with a more challenging journey on foot, and is more introspective whilst following in the

[27] Basho, *The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches*. 36-43

[28] 紀行文学 – Travel Literature

[29] Susanna Fessler, 'A Letter from the Past and the Present: Tokutomi Roka's "Autumn in Ryomo"', in *Traditions of East Asian Travel*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 169.

[30] Fessler, 170.

[31] Fessler, 170.

[32] Sylvie Guichard-Anguis, 'Introduction - The Culture of Travel (Tabi No Bunka) and Japanese Tourism', in *Japanese Tourism and Travel Culture*, ed. Sylvie Guichard-Anguis and Okpyo Moon, Japan Anthropology Workshop Series (London: Routledge, 2009), 5.

footsteps of other famous travellers, rather than just moving along like a passenger.[33] Although the modern ways of travel have taken over (and for the Meiji era, were starting to take over), the concept of Tabi as a mindset for travel that is deeply rooted in Japanese culture. Much of this is fuelled by a historical nostalgia, where the Japanese travel to their famous historical locations in order to associate with the more comfortable bygone era than a confusing present. It has been described as a travel both in space and time, often focused on the nostalgia towards the Edo period, as a time with little western influence and pre-industrial.[34] Even though the easier leisure travel was growing in popularity, many still held on to the more traditional, challenging, and poetic travel that Tabi held. This is something we will find in analysing the primary sources from Japanese travellers in Japan, where even with the new western influences this tradition is still underlying (and might even be found more prevalent due to the foreign influences!) For foreign travellers such as Bird, this will be almost wholly irrelevant, as her cultural background and traditions of travel do not have the same basis. Even though England has traditions of challenging journeys, and Bird herself chooses to take on the challenge of the interior of Japan on its "Unbeaten Track", she will never be able to see the locations and sights for the same historical and cultural value as her Japanese counterparts. These aspects become important when analysing the Japanese text of Tokutomi Roka's *Autumn in Ryomo* with that of Isabella Bird's "Unbeaten Tracks" in chapters 4 and 5, as we are able to see these differences in how the journey and landscape are perceived in direct comparison.

With these definitions, parameters, and theoretical frameworks introduced and established, I will go on to analyse Isabella Bird's letters and Ernest Satow's guidebook as tourist and travellers to Japan during the 1800s, and will later on compare these to those of the Japanese sources, that being Tokutomi Roka as a traveller, and "Great Japan Train Guide to Famous Places" and "Japan National Railway Tourist Information" as guidebooks published for tourist on the railway through northern Japan. We can then understand the theoretical context of these types of travellers and travel writings and their audience, as the newly established tourist would travel in Japan. They are placed in this chapter as these types of travellers and tourists, and with the theories of The Tourist Gaze and that of Tabi and Ryoko (which will also be presented further later on), their writings can be understood to their fullest.

[33] Guichard-Anguis, 3–4.
[34] Guichard-Anguis, 13.

Chapter 3 –Japan in the Meiji Era - Japan opens and travel ensues.

The Meiji era opened up Japan to the rest of the world, and with it, many foreign government officials and curious travellers turned their eyes towards the country. From the dramatic arrival of Commodore Perry with his black ships until Travellers like Isabella Bird roamed the land, Japan went through many important political changes which allowed for the country to be opened to foreigners, as well as adapt itself to a more international existence. In this chapter I will be looking at the historic contexts of Japan's closure, its opening in the Meiji era and connections to the West, in regard to the foreign travellers I am researching, Isabella Bird and Ernest Satow, and their writings. Although there were many foreign travellers coming to Japan in this period, the two I have chosen are for the reasons that I view them as exceptional in their field, Satow for writing the first travel guide book on Japan and his deep knowledge on the country after having worked as a consulate, and Bird for having written many travelogues on other parts of the world and contributing to the knowledge of Japan by exploring the unbeaten track of the deep north.

Japan periodizes their eras according to the ruling emperor or clan currently on the throne. As opposed to Western traditions, Japan names its eras either just before starting them or during the first few years, with an announcement of the name and spelling, and what it is meant to symbolise. The two I am mainly talking about in this paper are the Tokugawa (or Edo) period from 1603 to 1867 when the Tokugawa shogunate ruled Japan, and the Meiji era from 1868 to 1912 when the Emperor Meiji ruled. For context, it is also worth explaining the meaning of "Shogun" and "Shogunate", that being the ruling military leader of Japan during the Tokugawa period, in which the emperor was reduced to mere symbolic power.

I present these contexts above on the political situations, changes, iconography, and influences of the early Meiji era that led to the fall of the Tokugawa period and opening of the country not just as a backdrop for Satow's guide and Bird's travel, but for an understanding of why these travels happened and why they are significant both during their publications but also for analysis today. These contexts are not only important for the following chapter of a deeper primary source analysis of these foreign travellers, but also to understand the following native perspectives. Although their situation and traditions differ, Tokutomi Roka's travel letters and the Japanese railway guidebooks I will be analysing are all deeply influenced by the revolutionary changes of the Meiji era and the meeting with these Western travellers.

Japan was closed off to the world for around 250 years, during the Tokugawa period, under the policy named *Sakoku*, meaning closed country. The country closed down at the start of the Tokugawa period, due to the ruling power's views of foreign influences being a damage to the country. Technology such as guns and (perhaps most importantly) foreign religions such as Christianity were viewed as fracturing the power of the Shogun. The policies were put in place gradually throughout the early 1600s, resulting in Japan being closed off to most foreigners, with exceptions in the port of Nagasaki where trade would be conducted with China and the Dutch, though under strict supervision, going as far as to check every Chinese book that entered for references of Christianity, as Marius Jansen describes the circumstances as "Japanese paranoia about Christianity was never relaxed"[35]

Even though Japan was generally closed off during the Tokugawa period, some foreigners were able to view and visit the country, although mostly limited to designated areas in Nagasaki. However, leading up to the Meiji era, a few other attempts were made by foreign individuals to contact Japan, without any luck. These attempts, in addition to influences that lead to the establishment of Sakoku, lead to a generalised negative and antagonistic view of foreigners, resulting in an issue by the military leader (called Shogun or Bakufu) declaring in 1825 that "Henceforth, whenever a foreign ship is sighted approaching any point on our coast, all persons on hand should fire on and drive it off."[36] These tendencies were not new, as similar policies existed in the 1600s during the start of the Sakoku.

After America had established trade with China in 1834 under the direction of President Andrew Jackson, the US representatives were instructed in 1845 to attempt to send missions over to the nearby Japan. Although the Americans at this time attempted to approach with their ships in Tokyo Bay, they were declined, as foreign relations would only happen at the port of Nagasaki, and as the US representatives had no authority for further action, turned away.[37] In 1853, the United States sent a more planned and prepared envoy to Japan to attempt to establish communication and trade and to open the country. Commodore Matthew C. Perry was chosen for the assignment, read up on all he could find on Japan, and travelled towards Tokyo Bay with a letter from the United States President, interpreters, and the iconic 4 dark-hulled warships of 61 guns and 967 men.[38] These ships, larger than any in Japan, are

[35] Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 91–92.
[36] Jansen, 266.
[37] Jansen, 275.
[38] Jansen, 277.

often used in Japan as a symbol of their meeting with "The West" (or the US), bearing the name Kurofune (黒船).[39] Perry was able to (forcefully so) establish communications with Japan for the United States.

During the meeting with the American Commodore Perry, the Shogun Ieyoshi fell ill, dying after they had left. The following leader, whilst having a more negative view of these foreigners, was unable to mobilise a proper military resistance for when the Americans returned the next year, forcing them to sign the planned treaties, later on leading to the signing of the Harris treaty.[40] This treaty by Townsend Harris was a trade agreement presented directly to the Shogun to combat the trade with European imperialists that was viewed as potentially dangerous (such as a British trade in Opium as had happened in China), and to give America a larger footing in Japan, resulted in this 1858 treaty which opened 5 ports for American residence and trade.[41] A decade after, the Tokugawa Shogunate would fall, leading to the start of the Meiji era. As the Tokugawa period started with internal turmoil leading to the closure of the country, so did the Meiji era start off leading to its change of power, a new constitution, and opening of the country to foreigners. This movement is what is referred to as The Meiji Restoration, restoring the power from the Shogun to the Emperor. The 1860s was a period of turmoil, revolutions, and war to unite the country under the Emperor and away from military power. The fall of Tokugawa not only ended the around 250 years of isolation, but also 700 years of warrior rule, forcing a centralization of the state around the emperor instead of the Shogun and other warrior leaders in their own domains.[42] The Meiji constitution, which came into effect in 1889, showed much influence of other constitutional monarchies in Europe at the time, and was debated in the National Diet and drafted in the early Meiji era (in and around the same timeframe which the travels and publishing of foreign travelogues and guides I am analysing were happening), bringing Japan closer to the west due to by large of the foreign influences.[43]

Although Japan was closed off to travellers during the Tokugawa period, some were able to enter and document their findings through the reasoning of scientific research. Many of these

[39] Translation: Black Ship
[40] Ernest Mason Satow, *A Diplomat in Japan: The Inner History of the Critical Years in the Evolution of Japan When the Ports Were Opened and the Monarchy Restored*, Cambridge Library Collection - East and South-East Asian History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 44–45.
[41] Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 283–84.
[42] Jansen, 294.
[43] Jansen, 395.

came to the country onboard Chinese or Dutch trader ships to Nagasaki. Two of the most noteworthy examples here are the German physician Engelbert Kaempfer who in the 1690s was able to secretly map his route to the city of Edo (modern-day Tokyo), and the Swedish botanist Carl Peter Thunberg whose documentation of Japan in the 1770s contains the records of over 800 species of plants.[44] Most of the published works on Japan in Europe (and later in the USA), were written in Dutch, as by the late Tokugawa period they had maintained over 200 years of trade monopoly, which they documented in various ways in their native tongue (and in some instances, even communicating with the Japanese in Dutch!) This resulted in that when Commodore Perry was preparing for his mission, he consulted the Dutch writings on Japan he could find in America, and took with him a Dutch-Japanese translator to carry out the negotiation.[45] Thus, leading up to the opening of Japan (and in the early Meiji Era), although there existed some documentation on the country, little was written in English, and the early English travellers that would later arrive were some of the first to document it in the language.

The foreign travellers in Japan I am looking at are not all of the same sort. Bird's travel, although not a modern tourist, travelled the interior of the land for pleasure and health, and to produce her writings as a contribution to the larger foreign knowledge of the country. Ernest Mason Satow was in Japan on official business and later became the British consulate. Even though he spent most of his time in Japan on official business, staying in Yokohama, he was also a traveller and wrote one of the first English travel guides to Japan. I bring up these two to exemplify that the travellers that came to Japan in the early Meiji era, although primarily on either official business or leisure, are hard to place in a locked category as they did a combination of different works. The official business in Japan often opened opportunities for leisure and discovery, and the travellers often found themselves writing important works of study.

There is a point to bring up that these travellers at the time of their writing are not a proper representation of the general traveller and tourist in Japan. The modern foreign tourist would not be found in Japan until closer to the start of the 1900s, as knowledge of Japan started to spread, and essential technological advances (such as the construction of the railway network in the 1870s) made travel more accessible. As such, these early travellers were exceptional in being able to document their experiences on the subject of travel and tourism. They were by

[44] Jansen, 84.
[45] Jansen, 275–77.

almost no means average tourists, travelling in Japan and writing about their experience for other means than just leisure. Bird's mission was not only for her health, but as with many of the foreigners flocking to Japan when it opened in the Meiji era (and for a select few during the Tokugawa period before) she was travelling to scientifically document Japan, for her this being the flora and the culture, with a special interest in the aborigines Ainu people of Hokkaido. For Satow, his role was primarily the position of British Consul, but being one of the most knowledgeable foreigners on Japan and the Japanese, took on the work to write his travel guide for central and northern Japan in 1881. However, there are important aspects of their works that give a good representation of a more general foreign (mostly British) traveller, and they helped put in place frameworks that would apply to others following in their footsteps. Satow wrote his guidebook to be utilised by other travellers coming to Japan, for them to read before and under their trip to know where to go and what to see on the journey (as discussed in my chapter on theories on the subject of the function on guidebooks), which not only gives us insight into what he himself deemed worth viewing and his opinion and knowledge, but also what framework the average traveller in 1881 and later would be travelling with and what they would experience. Bird's writing, although many of her later letters follow roads the average traveller would not go, showed a first-hand account of important cities and attractions, such as Yokohama, Tokyo, Nikko, Niigata, and so on. Although Bird was an exceptional traveller, her *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* still give a good representation of what others of her kind would experience and how, and she is a good representation of the Western style of travelogue traditions which will at a later chapter be compared to her Japanese contemporaries' style at the time.

It is important to point out that the Westerners travelling to Japan and publishing their writings were breaking new ground as the "first" to travel to this land after it had been so closed off for 200 years.[46] They were discovering Japan for the West and writing about what they saw and discovered. Isabella Bird writes in her Preface and introduction to *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* that the purpose of publishing the letters originally written to her sister as books is to clear up many of the misconceptions about Japan that existed in England and to contribute with new information that she discovered in her travels.[47]

[46] Lorraine Sterry, 'Constructs of Meiji Japan: The Role of Writing by Victorian Women Travellers', *Japanese Studies* 23, no. 2 (2003): 167, https://doi.org/10.1080/1037139032000129702.
[47] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:1.

Japan was a popular destination for women travellers upon its opening, both for its cultural appeal as "something drastically different" from their own culture and for its safety as a woman traveller. Women in England found appeal in the Grand Tour as an escape from the oppression of the social norms of their own cultures, and experience freedom from the male-dominated society of the 1700s.[48] During the UK's Victorian age, women were travelling all over Europe (with some travelling beyond it), but many accompanied their husbands either on leisure or on official business such as diplomatic missions or military postings.[49] As for the safety of women travelling in Japan, Bird touches on this in a footnote to her letters. Whilst staying in Kasukabe in Saitama on her way from Tokyo to Nikko, she comments on her fears of robbery, that the silent sliding doors in her room did not have locks, and a general fear of others in the *yadoya* (A Japanese inn) and the noises in the night. However, in a footnote written after her journey, she comments "(…) I believe that there is no country in the world in which a lady can travel with such absolute security from danger and rudeness as in Japan." [50] This safety made Japan a popular travel destination for women travelling either alone or in company. It's worth noting that this safety was not exclusive to women, but a general safety because of the country's low crime rate. Bird also notes that after her earlier yadoya scare, she was approached by two police, assuring her that "I am known and registered, and that a government which, for special reasons, is anxious to impress foreigners with its power and omniscience, is responsible for my safety."[51] This shows that safety from crime was not just a cultural phenomenon, but was ensured to the travellers at the time by the Japanese government, in order to make Japan a safe and appealing travel destination for foreigners.

However, during the opening of Japan in the Meiji era, the foreigners travelling inside the country were not able to roam wherever they wanted. Japan was mapped out in "Foreigners Free Movement Zones (外国人遊歩区域)", which were described by the "Foreigners Free Movement Regulations (外国人遊歩規定)", limiting where foreigners could travel freely in the country without special permissions.[52] The area foreign travellers could roam freely within was limited to the open ports as described in the parameters of the law, but this was

[48] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, 27.
[49] Sterry, 'Constructs of Meiji Japan', 171.
[50] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:91.
[51] Bird, 1:92.
[52] Kiyonori Kanasaka, 'Aspects of Bird's 1878 Visit to Japan', in *Isabella Bird and Japan: A Reassessment* (Renaissance Books, 2017), 77.

further specified and visualized in maps published by the government and cities, such as the map of Yokohama showing its outer boundaries, and a triangulated map for travellers to consult.[53] By 1876 the railways were beginning to be introduced in Japan, making travel to cities such as Kyoto much faster and more accessible, which ended up including it in the regulations as well.

Isabella Bird was able to bypass these laws and restrictions through a foreign interior travel permit, referred to by her as a passport. She explains her circumstances as such:

> Passports usually define the route over which foreigners is to travel, but in this case Sir H. Parkes has obtained one which is practically unrestricted, for it permits me to travel through all Japan north of Tôkiyô and in Yezo without any specific route.[54]

Further on in the same letter, she explains that the passport can be applied for reasons of "Health, botanical research, or scientific investigation", all of which were reasons for Bird's travels. As she describes at the beginning of her preface, the reason for her travel to Japan was a recommendation for her health. Having interest and experience in botanical research, in addition to her goal of meeting and documenting the Ainu People of Yezo (Hokkaido), such a permit with free access to travel was easily granted for her journey. Her passport explained its purpose and limitations in both Japanese and English, and that travellers that did not present it to law enforcement when needed would be arrested and forwarded to their respective consul. We can, however, view this exception as particularly valuable in two ways, as her descriptions of the areas open to everyone (Yokohama, Tokyo, Nikko) provide a detailed descriptive narrative of the attractions other travellers would also view, she is also able to present the reader the value of what she finds outside these areas, in the nature of northern Japan, such as in the mountains, forests, villages, and towns that are generally restricted for other foreign travellers. Whereas the start to the journey can be comparatively analysed with most other foreign and native writings on the areas, the northern sights are largely unique to her as a foreign writer but can be compared to native travels of those areas, both contemporary and of older writings in the canon of Japanese traditions.

I would like to note that even before he wrote the travel guide I am analysing, Satow wrote and advised on the subject of travelling in Japan, and often pops up in Bird's letters. For her

[53] 'Map of the Foreigner's Walking Area around Yokohama 1871 (Yokohama Port Archives)', accessed 4 November 2022, http://www.kaikou.city.yokohama.jp/document/picture/09_05.html.
[54] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:80–81.

travel, she packs with her his “Anglo-Japanese Dictionary”, and whilst visiting the shrine of Nikko she thanks his help (presumably from advice before her journey) for getting to see the most important object of interest there. However, the one description of Satow from Bird’s writings I deem the best example of his character and importance for foreign travellers and knowledge of Japan in the early Meiji era comes from a footnote she added after her travel from when she was first introduced to him: “Often in the later months of my residence in Japan, when I asked educated Japanese questions concerning their history, religions, or ancient customs, I was put off with the answer, ‘You should ask Mr. Satow, he could tell you.’”[55] This phrase also appears in a later letter, uttered by Bird’s Japanese travel companion and guide, upon being unable to explain the festival Tanabata (in which Isabella Bird puts in a footnote in detail the origin and mythos of the celebration, and how it is celebrated, as was her mission to provide foreign readers with this new information on Japanese culture.)[56] These two English sources are then connected in that the people who wrote them were aware of each other as travellers and knowledgeable of Japan, and important sources of information about the country to other travellers coming to the country early in the Meiji era as the country had just opened up for them. They are in some ways pioneers of travel and information about Japan as so many of these early travellers were.

[55] Bird, 1:31.
[56] Bird, 1:372–73.

Chapter 4 – Primary source analysis of foreign travels and travel guides.

For this chapter, I will be looking at the Primary sources of Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* and Ernest Mason Satow's *A Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan* both as representatives of travellers in Japan during the Meiji era in their own respective genres to guide and introduce this newly opened country to others, but also as the eyes of some of the first foreign travellers there. As such, we have to look at not only what they describe and what they include in their writings, but how it is described, where their focus/bias is placed, and what they leave out and why.

This chapter is structured where I will first look at the letters of Isabella Bird, then Satow's Guidebook, and conclude with a specific part to compare and contrast (although this will happen in smaller parts during my analysis.) This separation of the texts is to give them both the full focus they deserve, and their respective genres demanding them to be analysed in different ways with different tools. The letters of Isabella Bird follow her journey through Japan from Yokohama to Hokkaido through the interior of Northern Japan, where they are written from her direct perspective of her experiences on her 1878 journey. Ernest Satow's 1881 guidebook is written in the style of the popular Murrays guidebooks. Both these sources cover many of the same areas, that being the areas of Northern Japan, with areas in the Kanto, Chubu, and Tohoku regions, and I will in these focus on the areas of Yokohama, Tokyo, Nikko, Niigata, and Aomori. The difference here is Bird's later letters covering her journey in the Hokkaido and her meetings with the Ainu people, and Satow's guide including "Central Japan" with the Kansai region with Kyoto. The areas that differ will not be directly included for analysis, but segments and citations will be referenced where relevant. My reasoning for choosing these areas can be split between Yokohama & Tokyo and the region of Northern Japan. Yokohama and Tokyo were often the starting point for travellers coming to Japan in the Meiji era, arriving at the port of Yokohama and travelling to Tokyo, where many either stayed as their main destination or used this as a setting of point for journeys across Japan. As such, the descriptions of Yokohama and Tokyo can be easily compared between the writings of Bird and Satow, and in the next chapter to that of the Japanese guides. For northern Japan, my choice is based upon its lack of representation in travel literature, as most guidebooks and travellers chose to focus on only the major cities of Japan (such as Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka), and the areas between Tokyo and Sapporo are often forgotten. Isabella Bird used the title "Unbeaten Tracks" to describe her journey through this area, but when we later will be looking at the Japanese writing on the area, there is a lot of history and tradition tied to these

areas the western travellers coming to Japan in the Meiji era view as more "Wild" and "untouched".

For the analysis, I will start with Bird's text, with Satow's afterwards, following the publishing chronology of the 1878 letters, and then the 1881 guide. It is worth noting that they are both somewhat involved in and aware of each other's texts and experiences in Japan. As will be shown in the analysis, both writers quote or mention each other several times in these works, leading to portions of Satow's guide best analysed following Bird's text, where she describes her meetings with Satow and his reputation, and how Satow in his guide refer to Bird and her then published book. When analysing these texts, it is important to be aware of who Satow was when reading Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* as he is often referenced, and then understand Bird's text when reading Satow's guidebook as he uses parts of her knowledge in his writings.

Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* – an analysis of a foreign traveller in the newly opened country of Japan.

The framing Bird uses for the two volumes of her published letters is explained in her preface and introductory chapter. Her journey started as a trip for her health, where she wrote letters home to her sister about her travels, what she saw and what she experienced. However, during her journey, she decided her writings be worthy of being published as an addition to the Western knowledge of Japan, as she mentions in the preface "(…) It was not till I had travelled for some months in the interior of the main island and in Yezo[57], that I decided that my materials were novel enough to render the contribution worth making."[58] She also mentions here that her final chapter will be purely fact-based, and as we see in the introductory chapter this is also mostly faced based in order to clear up outdated knowledge and misconceptions about Japan in the West.

For my analysis, I want to look at the themes of "Cultural Encounters" and "Hybrid Cultures and Authenticity." These themes are important for understanding Isabella Bird's writings on Japan in the context of her as a traveller to the newly opened country and culture of Japan,

[57] Yezo, or Ezo (蝦夷) is the old name for referring to the areas north of the Japanese main island, currently named Hokkaido.
[58] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. VII

and as a traveller experiencing Japan through her own eyes, opinions, and preconceptions vs the reality that she witnesses and writes about on the journey.

Hybrid Cultures and Authenticity

Yokohama

Isabella Bird writes her first letter to her sister in the Oriental Hotel in Yokohama on May 21, 1878. On the voyage inn, she gets a good view of Mt Fuji, which she is thoroughly impressed by, resulting in her first drawing in the book, followed by describing it as such "I never saw a mountain rise in such lonely majesty, with nothing near or far to detract from its high and grandeur." [59] This beautiful nature scene of the country is quickly contrasted by her more negative reaction to the city of Yokohama, as she bluntly states "Yokohama is not imposing in any way – these hybrid cities never are."[60] Her reasons here seem to be the combination of the traditional Japanese styles not impressing her *at this point* combined with a negative view of the buildings in the more distinct foreign styles such as the British Consulate, which she calls "Imposingly Ugly."[61]

Before I continue to look at her description of Yokohama, I would like to note in connection to the above paragraph her negative first impressions of Japan with my wording of "at this point" on Isabella Bird's general view of Japan and the Japanese and how it evolves through the book, as is the genre of publish travel letters that document the person experience and changing perspectives, so did her opinions later change. As she is a rich source of knowledge of the interior of northern Japan in the early Meiji era, and with her later in the books showing great sympathy and appreciation for the Japanese people, it is important to note her early, negative opinions on the subject, and remember that she is still a product of her time, that of a higher class English woman in the 1800s travelling and meeting people of another ethnicity than herself. With this, I want to bring up her first description of the Japanese she sees on the streets of Yokohama (accompanied by a drawing of 3 people at a travelling restaurant) which reads as such:

[59] Bird, 1:13–14.
[60] Bird, 1:15.
[61] Bird, 1:15.

> The first thing that impressed me upon landing was that there were no loafers, and that all the small, ugly, kindly-looking, shrivelled, bandy-legged, round-shouldered, concave-chested, poor-looking beings in the streets had some affairs of their own to mind.[62]

Here she focuses negatively on the physical descriptions of Japanese people she sees, referring to them as "beings" rather than people. This segment is the strongest example of Bird's prejudice on her arrival to Japan. We can see how her views change during her journey to be more positive, for example in letter 14 during her travel on the "Unbeaten Tracks" after Nikko, when she learns of how foreign travellers in the treaty ports are treating the Japanese people and how children in the country side are afraid of her as a foreigner because of these rumours , she writes "The people are so kind and courteous, that it is truly brutal in foreigners not to be kind and courteous to them."[63] We can see that travelling in the country, meeting the people and learning about its customs changes her attitudes towards them, but it is still important to note what her negative views were at the start of her journey to understand her as a person that is a product of her time and its world views, but also how travel and meetings with people can change a person's views.

Bird's impressions of Yokohama are mostly negative ones, not only because of her above-mentioned distaste of the hybrid architecture and culture, but also for what can be described as a culture shock of how sudden and rapid these unknown sights and experiences she undergoes. As she writes on her second day in Yokohama (and Japan as a whole), when expressing her distaste for the "dull" city and her loneliness, her feelings are as such:

> (…) I am suffering mainly from complete mental confusion, owning to the rapidity with which new sights and ideas are crowing upon me. My reading of books on Japan, and the persistent pumping of my Japanese fellow-voyagers for the last three weeks, might nearly as well have been omitted, for the country presents itself to me as a complete blur, or a page covered with hieroglyphs to which I have no key.[64]

This mental confusion in the culture shock she experiences could play into her negative views on the city at this point, as a later description of the Yokohama Bluff on June 7th describes the nature of the Bluff more positively. This is after having spent some time in both Yokohama and Tokyo, getting more accustomed to the country, viewing it in a more positive and curious light, rather than this negative, shocked, and confused experience she has. With describing

[62] Bird, 1:17.
[63] Bird, 1:156.
[64] Bird, 1:23.

the nature of the bluff and the view of Mt. Fuji there, she uses words such as "Pretty" and "Magnificent", concluding the segment with "Japan is a great empire with a most ancient and elaborate civilisation, and offers as much novelty perhaps as an excursion to another planet!"[65] Here we see a larger appreciation of the country and its culture and an excitement and curiosity to travel and explore. I will also note that in her shock she mentions that nothing she has read about Japan prepared her for the confusion and blur she experiences, which plays into her reasons for wanting to publish these letters for other curious travellers to prepare them for these kinds of experiences, but shows later that it does get better.[66]

It is worth bringing up how much of these new sceneries in this unknown country was written about, both by Bird and by similar English travellers. In Lorraine Sterry's text *Constructs of Meiji Japan: The Role of Writing by Victorian Women Travellers*, she writes of how these writers deal with the first sights of Japan by "(…) rendering an unknown Japan familiar through comparison with a known England and Europe."[67] She brings up two examples from Alice Frere, a traveller to Japan in 1865, comparing the sea of Yokohama to that of the Mediterranean and the garden hedges to those of England.[68] The way Frere, Bird, and their contemporaries use what is familiar to them from Europe to describe what they see in Japan, can be described as seeing Japan through a European lens, and can be used to make sense of the unknown circumstances they are placed in. As Bird's first encounter with Japan in Yokohama shows us, the unfamiliarity of Japan comes as a shock to her, and it would not be unreasonable to presume that travellers would go after what they are familiar with to be able to make sense of this new world and describe it to their fellow English and/or Europeans. This is found in her special notes on the European-style buildings that she goes out of her way to comment on, and views them as lesser to the styles they are imitating. Her comments on the scenery of nature differ here, as they are almost always described in botanical terms rather than in reference to the European comparison.

Bird travels from Yokohama to Tokyo on May 24th, and returns on June 7th to find a suitable guide for her travel and to prepare for the journey. She travels between the cities by train and compliments the stations and trains, which were built by English engineers in 1872 in an English style. In describing the looks and features of the stations, she mentions the ticket

[65] Bird, 1:45.
[66] Bird, 1:vii-viii
[67] Sterry, 'Constructs of Meiji Japan', 177.
[68] Sterry, 177.

clerks being Chinese, guards and train drivers being English, and the officials being Japanese in European clothing. However, later in the letter, she degrades these Japanese, saying "The Japanese look most diminutive in European dress. Each garment is a misfit, and exaggerates the miserable *physique*, and the national defects of concave chests and bow legs."[69] This again plays into her early negative views of Japan and the Japanese, but it also shows again her distaste for the combination of cultures she witnesses in Yokohama. The distinctly Japanese buildings and nature, and the more "authentically" built English train station, she views as more positive and beautiful, but it's the combination and imitation in she finds in the heavily foreign-influenced treaty port that dislikes. This is mentioned in her first meeting with the city in Letter I as she describes the city "Yokohama does not improve on further acquaintances. It has a dead-alive look" and concludes the letter with "I long to get away into real Japan."[70]

Bird's appreciation for Yokohama (and Japan in general) is found more in the nature surrounding the city rather than what is in it. On her train ride, she describes the nature she sees as such: "(…) and though the *Sakura* (wild cherry) and its kin, which are the glory of the Japanese spring, are over, everything is a young, fresh green yet, and in all the beauty of growth and luxuriance."[71] She also describes the neighbourhoods outside Yokohama, in the areas before Kanagawa, as "beautiful" and "picturesque."[72] Bird's botanical interest is often shown in her letters, describing much in detail the plants and nature scenes she comes across on her travel, often in a more positive light than the description of cities, villages, or people. Although she has just missed the Chery Blossom season, and her chance to participate in the Japanese tradition of Hanami (花見) – Flower Viewing – the spring nature of the outskirts of Yokohama still shows its beauty, and she comments on the missing Sakura as it is an important nature sight of the country in the season. Seasonal plants play an important role in Japanese travel writings, which will be better exemplified in my analysis of the Japanese primary sources.

In Yokohama, Bird also comments on the large Chinese population, noting that of the 2500 Chinese living in Japan, 1100 of these are in Yokohama. Today, we can find in the city a large Chinatown, an important sight for any tourist to the city. In Bird's time, however, the

[69] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:27.
[70] Bird, 1:20.
[71] Bird, 1:27.
[72] Bird, 1:28.

Chinese population was just settling in, and she comments on how "The Chinese immigrant is making himself indispensable."[73]They are hard workers and can be found in all types of work in the city, and Bird describes them as business oriented. However, as with the Japanese, she comments negatively on their appearance and mannerisms, commenting on how they "squeeze" their employers of money, and compares them to the Japanese as such "Japanese politeness is almost servile in its attitude and expression, the Chinaman is independent, almost supercilious."[74] She does, however, end this segment by saying "A more industrious and thriving nationality does not exist in Japan."[75]

Niigata

When Isabella Bird writes about her stay in Niigata, there is a more religious focus specifically on Christianity than what is usually found in the text, as when she arrives meets with the Christian Missionaries of the town. Where in many of her descriptions of villages and towns in northern Japan the focus is more on the people and the sights, and religious locations like shrines and temples are described more as something to gaze upon rather than religious in nature, here in Niigata the narrative of religious influence on Japan takes the main focus. In between her letters from Niigata, she includes a chapter titled "Notes on missions in Niigata." It is in these sections Bird gets to witness more directly the influences of Western workers on the culture of Japan, though she is here more positive towards it. She states the purpose of her visit as "The main object of my Journey to Niigata was to learn something of the Medical Mission work by Dr. Palm"[76] The purpose of these medical missions was to remove "superstition and foreign drugs" in favour of providing information about the modern western medical practices such as "common sense and improved hygiene."[77] Bird describes Niigata as one of the largest towns of Northern Japan, with a population of 50.000, but also notes that it is a treaty port without foreign trade and little foreign presence.[78] Even so, both the medical and Christian Missions are described as going well in some areas, but describes the local religion's stance as such: "In Buddhist places dislike of the foreigner, his religion, and his medicine, are often equally strong; while in Shinto places the two first are matters of indifference, and the last is eagerly sought."[79] But even as things seem to develop in what

[73] Bird, 1:45.
[74] Bird, 1:47.
[75] Bird, 1:47.
[76] Bird, 1:200.
[77] Bird, 1:200.
[78] Bird, 1:197; Bird, 1:213.
[79] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:202.

Bird views as a favourable course for the area, she ends her letter with a footnote stating that after writing, the town was hit by Cholera, and she describes the local's reaction as ”(…) as ignorant people were readily made to believe that Christians had poisoned the wells.”[80] The local population riot against both the missions present in Niigata, but Bird hopes that they will still be able to take foot in the town again. What is interesting to read in her letters from Niigata, is how she here embraces the hybrid cultures forming in Japan in the Meiji era in comparison to her earlier comments. Whereas in Yokohama she is negative to the buildings imitating Western architecture, she is adamant about the ideas of the West being important to bring to Japan. About the Christian missions, she comments that it is accepted by the Shinto, but that the Buddhists of the area are hostile towards such a Hybrid of religions. On the other mission, however, we find the Western medical practices wanting to completely replace the local, as it is seen as superior towards the ”superstitions” of Japan. We then have to distinguish between sights/the visuals of Japan and the cultural/technological aspects that are being influenced by the West, and how Bird writes of them. The culture, people, buildings, and historical sights of Japan are something she (after some time) truly enjoys when she sees them as something more “authentic”, rather than when European architecture is imitated and placed in between the Japanese (which I will look more into in the next section in Tokyo). For the cultural and technological influences from the West such as medicine, comfort, and food, she is more of the opinion that these are to be improved upon, both to make the journey of the general Western traveller better, and to (in her view) make the life of the Japanese better. The Hybrid culture is then something she appreciates not in the sights of Japan, but something in the culture and knowledge of the people, to make the experience of existing in Japan for both the Japanese and the visiting travellers and tourists better, with the medical knowledge and the religion to make the people more in line with Westerners are used to.

Tokyo

In letters 4 and 8, Isabella Bird provides a description of the city of Tokyo, what she sees and experiences, and her opinions. The former is framed as her drive through Tokyo as she reflects upon what she views as she drove to the Foreign Concession.[81]Here, she gives insight into her first experiences of the city and shows her opinion on the architecture and people. The latter is focused on the area of Asakusa, the Sensō-ji temple, and the surrounding areas.

[80] Bird, 1:206.
[81] Bird, 1:32.

She describes the city as "dull and dismal" and points out her major problem "I am much astonished by the aggressions made here by Western architectural ideas."[82] This can be connected to her remarks on the western style buildings of Yokohama, that of being bad imitations, with Tokyo described as "Europeanised or Americanised" and comparing it more with "the outskirts of Chicago or Melbourne than an Oriental city." For this, we can draw connections with expectations travellers to Japan have about the country from established preconceptions, what they deem as "less authentic", and how Japan was influenced by the West. When Bird comes to Japan in 1878, the Meiji era was already in its 10th year, and contact with the outer world had been established for some time. This was no longer the "untouched" land that was found when contact was first made, as the major cities had been influenced by the foreign visitors and knowledge gained by locals in the last few years. On authenticity, we can draw connections with that of John Urry and Jonas Larsen's writings on authenticity and how "The tourist is a kind of contemporary pilgrim, seeking authenticity in other 'times' and other 'places' away from that person's everyday life."[83] As mentioned in my "Theory and Methodology" chapter, the expectations of the traveller are established by media such as travel literature and art. However, as Bird mentions in her introduction, she found much of the factual material outdated. Her perception of what would be a more "Authentic" Tokyo would then be based upon information on the city made before this westernization, explaining how she felt disappointed that it did not feel like an "Oriental city." It is then with her writings and drawings that she provides her descriptions and views on how the city looked in 1878, and how the reader's expectations of Tokyo would then be more towards a "hybrid city" as she has so negatively described, and that she finds what she expects to be the authentic Japan in the countryside, on the "unbeaten tracks" away from the treaty ports that are more affected by foreign travellers and influences.

Tokyo isn't just influenced by the West in its architecture, as Bird also writes about the cultural influences she observes in the city. She describes Tokyo life as not that different to home, and she is able to enjoy Afternoon tea with fellow Englishmen.[84] During this, she also notes the different colleges with different foreign staff, classes, and other direct influences. Here we find English and English-speaking instructors, and British and German heads of staff, as well as "French Military Commission teaches European drill and tactics to the

[82] Bird, 1:34.
[83] Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 10.
[84] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:40–41.

army."[85] This again shows Bird the systematic influences from the West on the educational and military facilities in Japan, and that not only do the buildings of Tokyo look more Western, but also the knowledge of Japan aligns themselves.

Cultural Encounters

Bird's reason for her second visit to Yokohama is to find a suitable guide for her journey on the unbeaten tracks. It is worth commenting on, as her descriptions of the people she interviews contribute to her impressions of the Japanese people, but also because of the person she ends up choosing is an important character in the rest of her writings. For her servant, she needs a Japanese person who can speak intelligible English and is known to the areas of the unbeaten track of Northern Japan. Many of the people she interviews do not know more English than the simplest questions she asks, and many have only travelled the Tokaido Road[86] in central Japan, and mainly from Tokyo to Kyoto and Nikko. The person she settles on turns up last minute without anyone having recommended him, but speaks English well and has travelled through Northern Japan to Hokkaido (although on the eastern route, whereas Bird would travel on the western), named Ito Tsurukichi (伊藤鶴吉). Bird alludes to their future endeavours as such: "His name is Ito, and you will doubtless hear much more of him, as he will be my good or evil genius for the next three months."[87] Kanasaka Kiyonori wrote about the relationship between Bird and Ito in his book *Isabella Bird and Japan*, as Bird's previous journeys had been in the English-speaking world, and that this journey would not be possible without an interpreter of both language and culture. He points out that even though he could express himself in English and had botanical experience, the most likely reason for her choice was his earlier relationship with the British army and employment in the Marines was decided by the agency of Harry Parkes.[88]

Before she sets out on her journey, Bird takes up the importance of the "Food Question", which bears importance not only to her own journey, but as general information on the food and diet of Japan, which we will see again in Satow's guide. The food of Japan is drastically

[85] Bird, 1:40.
[86] The Tokaido Road is one of the most famous historical roads in Japan, going from Tokyo to Kyoto by the southern coast.
[87] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:50.
[88] Kiyonori Kanasaka, *Isabella Bird and Japan: A Reassessment*, trans. Nicholas Pertwee (Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 85–87, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781898823520.

different from that of England at the time, and recommendations of where to find Western types of foods and what to bring would be important to many travellers. As she writes in this segment, "The 'Food Question' is said to be the most important one for all travellers, and it is discussed continually with startling earnestness, not alone as regards my tour."[89] She describes the situation as dire and that of life and death. The food foreign travellers are most commonly used to can be found in some hotels in larger resorts that cater to foreigners, but products such as bread, butter, wine, and beer are mostly unobtainable, with the Japanese diet consisting of rice, tea, eggs, fish, and vegetables. Here she notes that "(…) the fishy and vegetable abominations known as 'Japanese food' can only be swallowed and digested by a few, and that after long practice."[90] Food is an important aspect of her travel, and the availability of familiar foods almost entirely disappears as she gets off the beaten path, and she has to resort to Japanese food such as rice, vegetables, and (when available) fish. For many of the travel writings and guides to Japan, it is often recommended to bring canned food, but in a footnote Bird recommends those following her on the rougher parts to not encumber themselves with this and only bring "Liebig's extract of meat"[91] without expanding on the reasoning on this.

These impressions of Yokohama of Bird's writing are sadly the only ones in her letters, as even though she re-visits the city in her later Letter XLIX on September 21, this is right after a typhoon has hit, obscuring and flooding the city, and she quickly sets off for Tokyo again. Although she mentions during her visit that the city does not require a second visit, we never know how the journey could have changed her view on Yokohama and its people.

Bird travels the city of Tokyo (and much of Japan in general) in *Jinrikisha* and *Kuruma*, the latter described in her glossary section as "A *jinrikisha* or man-powered carriage; lit. a "wheel" or "vehicle,"[92] although several of the kurumas she describes travelling with are single-horse powered.[93] In Tokyo, she is escorted to the house of the British Legation, built in an English style but with Chinese and Japanese servants, and a dog she feels "(…) represents the dignity of the British Empire."[94] It is here she first mentions the Japanese secretary of

[89] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:50.
[90] Bird, 1:51.
[91] Bird, 1:50.
[92] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. xxii
[93] Translation note: The Japanese word *Kuruma,* written with the Kanji 車, can be translated to the English word "Cart", but in todays language is used in relation to the modern cars.
[94] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:31.

Legation, Mr. Ernest Satow, a central figure in British (and Western in general) knowledgeable people on all things Japanese, known by many foreign travellers and native Japanese. Bird notes that the knowledge of Japan is not entirely owned by Satow, as there are many others working in the consulate. She does however emphasise the important work these foreigners do for Japan, as she writes:

> Indeed it is to their labours, and to those of a few Englishmen and Germans, that the Japanese of the rising generation will be indebted for keeping alive not only the knowledge of their archaic literature, but even of the manners and customs of the first half of this century.[95]

Although negative of the architecture, Bird finds great pleasure in the more botanical areas of Tokyo. A trip on 29 May to the Fukiage Gardens, the gardens of the Emperor open to the public, lifts her spirits immensely, and her description of the sight, people, and culture at this point is described more positively as beautiful and a pleasure. She puts special weight on the beauty of the women and their Kimono, as the park is filled with families. Two observations of Bird and her writings here are her quoting of a Japanese Poem during her description of the sleeves of the Kimono, and her comparison of the families she sees here to similar English families. The poem is an "ancient" poem translated by Mr. F. V. Dickens, in his book *Japanese Lyrical Odes* from 1866. The poem in particular is originally by Kyohara no Motosuke (908-990), a famous Waka-poet from the Heian era, and it reads as follows:

> When last each other we embraced,
> A solemn vow of faith we swore,
> And sealed it with the tears that chased
> Adown our cheeks, our drenched sleeves o'er –
> That we our oath would fail to keep
> When th' waves o'erleapt S'ye's pine-crown'd steep.[96]

It is fascinating to see Isabella Bird quote classical Japanese poetry in such a way, as to follow Japanese traditions. It is not uncommon for Western travellers to also quote and use poetry in their writings where it is found relevant. However, here Bird draws from the Japanese canon and tradition, as to use the poem to exemplify the uses of the sleeves to wipe tears. The use of a famous Japanese poem by a highly regarded poet of the past to exemplify and poetically describe the sight she witnesses shows Bird's knowledge of Japanese culture

[95] Bird, 1:31.
[96] Frederick Victor Dickins, *Hyak Nin Is'shiu :Bor Stanzas by a Century of Poets* (Smith, Elder and Company, 1866), 23.

and traditions both in general and specifically in Japanese travel writings, where the tradition is to use old famous poetry do describe scenery or scenarios.[97]

The second thing to point out here is that as she observes the Japanese families in the park, she compares them to the families of Saturday afternoons at home. She notes that men and women walked separately and not as a family group, both carrying and taking care of children. On the atmosphere of the people in the park, she writes "All looked happy, but there was nothing like frolic, and the quiet, courteous behaviour contrasted remarkably with that of a Saturday afternoon crowd at home."[98] A final observation on this situation is her note on the security, as there were no policemen in the park, but it is still safe and quiet there. This goes back to her previous point of Japan being a generally safe country to travel in.

The last two descriptions from Bird on cultural sights in Tokyo I want to look at before she sets out on her journey to Nikko is that of her experience at a Noh Theatre and the Shrine of Asakusa, as the former gives insight to the reader on a traditional cultural experience in Japan (that of their art of theatre), and the latter being, in my opinion, one of the most important cultural sights for travellers in Tokyo both in the Meiji era and today.

Bird visits the Shintomi Theatre[99] on a formal invitation to view a Japanese play. This type of theatre play is what is called "Noh" or "Nō", a medieval lyrical drama, where Bird describes performances as lasting from morning until nightfall. Even on the arts of theatre Bird describe a Western influence. Whereas traditionally going to the theatre was enjoyed mostly by the middle and lower classes in public, she points out that Japan is following the Western example, and quotes from a newspaper that going to these new theatres "would, as in Europe, be a means of recreation worthy of the highest in the land"[100] and would unite the higher and lower classes in the community of entertainment. Bird describes the Theatre building and the play itself in great detail in her Letter VII, but sadly does not find it entertaining. Although she appreciates the dresses the performer wear and acknowledges the historical and cultural values, her own opinion on it reads as follows:

> Mr. Chamberlain, the scholarly author of the paper on this performance (…) tried to rouse me to some enthusiasm about this ancient lyric drama; but in spite of his explanations, the

[97] At the end of letter 5, we also find this poetic quote "the lotus blooms round every azure creek." However, this is not attributed to any author, so it is uncertain if it is composed by herself or if this is also a reference to the Japanese canon.
[98] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:39.
[99] Also known as the Morita Theatre, located in Asakusa, destroyed in the Great Kanto earthquake of 1923
[100] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:53.

> splendour of the dresses, and the antique dignity of the actors, I found it most tedious, and the strumming, squalling, mewing, and stamping by which the traditional posturing are accompanied, are to a stranger exasperating.[101]

From this, we can see that this type of traditional cultural performance does not appeal to her as a "stranger", a foreigner travelling to Japan and witnessing their many cultural aspects for the first time. The pleasure was found more with the experts on the culture that have studied and lived with it for some time now and are more accustomed to it, such as those accompanying her and are explaining it for her to understand.

As mentioned, in a separate letter she also describes the nature and cultural sights of the Sensō-ji temple (浅草寺) in the Asakusa area of Tokyo. "Once for all I will describe a Buddhist temple, and it shall be the popular temple of Asakusa, which keeps fair and festival the whole year round,"[102] she starts her letter with, which we will later see contrasts the writings of Ernest Satow, as he places his focus on the temples of Tokyo a lot more than Bird. This temple is dedicated to the god Kannon (Written in the text as "Kwan-non"). For the temple, she describes the architecture, statues, treasures, and other sights she sees there, as well as the people visiting. It is also worth noting that on the first page of this letter is an extensive footnote on the history of the god, provided (again) by Mr. F. V. Dickens, on how it came to Japan and the legend itself. She describes the temple in extensive detail, but rather plainly, as in her opinion "(…) in design, roof, and general aspect, Japanese Buddhist temples are all alike."[103] Although these are her first impressions of the temple, later in the letter upon describing the area as "dim, dirty, crowded halls," she adds another footnote stating that "I visited this temple alone many times afterwards, and each visit deepened the interest of my first impressions."[104] Here we see that the first visit to one of Tokyo's most prominent tourist attractions is not something that immediately impresses her, but rather something that she learns to appreciate more upon further visits. This demonstrates how the journey through Japan has changed her views on the cultural aspects, as she is now more knowledgeable on the subject and can appreciate it to its fullest. This could also come from her impatience to witness the nature of Japan, as she often finds the cities of Yokohama and Tokyo uninteresting and lacking in natural sights, as she is eager to set off on the journey on the

[101] Bird, 1:60–61.
[102] Bird, 1:62.
[103] Bird, 1:62.
[104] Bird, 1:70.

"Unbeaten tracks". As with my former observation of the Noh Theatre, those who understand Japanese culture and history more than the first-time traveller are able to appreciate these important tourist attractions more. It is in this we find the importance of Bird and Satow's publications, to teach the first-time reader what to appreciate, why, and how, as this is the important role of travel and tourist literature such as letters and guides.

Around the Asakusa temple, Bird finds interest in the other attractions, especially in the gardens. "The temple grounds are a most extraordinary sight. No English fair in the palmiest days of fairs ever presented such an array of attractions."[105] She writes as she starts her descriptions, as she observes the attractions and the people.

What really attracts Bird, as it usually does on her journey, is the gardens and the plants. In describing the gardens, she not only describes the flowers and plants she sees, but also teaches the reader about Japan's traditions connected with flowers, and which symbolises which season/month. She uses these examples for important floral sights in Japanese culture: "Camellias in January, plum-blossoms in early March, cherry-blossoms in April, the sacred lotus in July, and chrysanthemums in November."[106] as well as different flower viewing events (such as Hanami), and the usage of flowers in the emblems of many families (such as the emperor using an open chrysanthemum). Her knowledge of what flowers and plants are important to the Japanese culture, and *when* is a crucial aspect of not only Bird's botanical knowledge of the country but also of its culture and traditions. When comparing the writings of Mary Fraser's travel to Usui in 1890, the wife of the 1889-1894 British Ambassador to Japan, to that of the Japanese traditions found in Tokutomi Roka's writing (which I will look at in the next chapter), Susanna Fessler points out how she focuses on the *wrong* plants from what the Japanese traditions say she is 'supposed' to look at when describing scenes of nature according to season and locations. She writes "It does not matter, from a Japanese standpoint, that she did indeed see these flowers blooming in Usui. What matters is that Usui was not known for these flowers, so they should be beneath notice in a travelogue."[107] Whereas Fraser wrote about the flowers she saw, Bird informs the reader of what flowers are the important ones in connection with the seasons, showing not only her knowledge of the plants she is observing in the moment, but also her knowledge of the culture around the flora of Japan.

[105] Bird, 1:73.
[106] Bird, 1:75.
[107] Fessler, 'A Letter from the Past and the Present: Tokutomi Roka's "Autumn in Ryomo"', 179.

Nikko

To start her journey from Tokyo to North Japan, Bird first travels to Nikko, a town famous for its shrines and tombs belonging to the famous Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu, the first Military leader in the Tokugawa line who ruled Japan during the Edo/Tokugawa period. As she arrives in Nikko on June 13, she describes her encounter with the town as such "This is one of the paradises of Japan! It is a proverbial saying, 'He who has not seen Nikko must not use the word kek'ko'[108] (splendid, delicious, beautiful)."[109] This is reiterated later on, as she in a later letter writes "I have been at Nikko for nine days, and am therefore entitled to use the word 'Kek'ko!'"[110] In contrast to her experiences in Yokohama and Tokyo, Bird's impression of Nikko is very positive from her arrival, and only gets more impressed after having stayed there for over a week. This encounter with a smaller town, outside of the larger cities, shows Bird's appreciation for the towns that are not as affected by the "Hybrid Cultures", and how her gaze has changed whilst travelling in Japan for about a month.

Much of Isabella Bird's descriptions of Nikko are in her detailed tour through the temples, shrines, and tombs. These descriptions stand out from the rest of her writings, which she comments on as "I have reduced my description to the baldness of a hand-book in absolute despair."[111] The narrative she presents in her writings on Nikko is a much more fact-based and detailed guided depiction of the shrines as if read from a museum pamphlet or described by a guide. She sometimes uses opinionated wordings to comment on the sights, but as she commented, it mostly resembles the descriptions of a handbook, lacking her usual focus, opinions, and gaze. In exploring these locations, she often mentions having help from Satow to go over the most important locations of Nikko. It is not stated directly what she means by this, but from her packing list and previous meeting with him, we can presume this could stem from either his direct recommendations or following his guidebook to Nikko which had been published 3 years before her arrival.

Bird's stay in Nikko shows her growing appreciation for the Japanese culture and is an encounter that develops her gaze on Japan, as we can see that after this visit, she starts to see Japan in a more positive light rather than in a negative comparison to Western aspects such as

[108] It is worth mentioning that in her packings she mentions bringing along Satow's Anglo-Japanese dictionary. The definition she provides here seem to be from this dictionary. This is also another connection between my two subjects, and once more shows Satow's important knowledge as a foreigner in Japan.
[109] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:81.
[110] Bird, 1:108.
[111] Bird, 1:116.

architecture and clothing. Whereas her descriptions of cultural sights in Tokyo were often depicted negatively in comparison with the nature, here, she described the Shogun's tomb as such: "Within, wealth and art have created a fairyland of gold and colour; without, Nature, at her stateliest, has surrounded the great Shogun's tomb with a pomp of mournful splendour."[112] Here, Bird expresses her admiration for the cultural sight, both in its décor and in the nature surrounding it. This is not a building imitating Western architecture, but rather something uniquely Japanese with a long and important history, and is surrounded by nature. These aspects make Nikko a gateway for Isabella Bird away from the major cities of Japan into the parts of the country less influenced by foreign imitations (although she is still on the "Beaten Tracks" as Nikko was (and is) a popular tourist destination for both local and foreign travellers.)

Aomori

Isabella Bird's stay in Aomori is short and only warrants her describing the town in half a letter, as she only passes through the town when travelling from Kuroishi (just south of Aomori) to Hakodate (the southernmost town in Hokkaido and the primary port for entering the region.) As she travels towards Aomori, she finds the outskirt villages dirty and poor, whilst describing the nature in her usual positive light, especially in the autumn colours. Whilst in Kuroishi, she describes the autumnal scene as such:

> In autumn, when its myriads of star-leaved maples are scarlet and crimson, against a dark background of cryptomeria, among which a great white waterfall gleams like a snow-drift before it leaps into the black pool below, it must be well worth a long journey.[113]

Even though Bird does not find the appeal of the villages in the areas that she stays in, she points out here that the journey so far North is worth taking just for these sublime autumn scenes. The nature of northern Japan is often regarded as the most beautiful during this period, and Bird provides a first-hand account to the reader confirming this. This is in stark contrast to what we find in the description of the city of Aomori, as she describes it as "a town of grey houses, grey roofs, and grey stones on roofs, built on a beach of grey sand, round a grey bay - a miserable-looking place, though the capital of the *ken*."[114] When looking

[112] Bird, 1:113.
[113] Bird, 1:389.
[114] Bird, 1:394. Translation note: Ken (県) is the Japanese word used for Prefectures, and is placed after the prefectures name, such as Aomori-ken. This is a system of governing that was established in Japan in the Meiji era after the absolving of the previous Han system.

at Aomori, Bird primarily looks at its function as a town in connection with Hakodate, and not as a town worth travelling to or describing as a tourist destination. Here we can see that she puts away her usual gaze as a tourist, as she often applies different types of gazes throughout her journey. As John Urry and Jonas Larsen wrote about in their theory of *The Tourist Gaze,* there are many different ways to gaze at the landscape, sights, and attractions based upon factors such as expectations, knowledge, and the means and reason for travel. During her journey, we can find examples of the "Spectatorial Gaze" upon gazing briefly at the landscape during transit (such as on her train rides and upon horseback), and the "Anthropological Gaze" during her visit to Nikko and descriptions of the smaller villages.[115] For her visit to the city of Aomori, however, she does not gaze at the landscape and sights of the town as a tourist, but merely as a traveller passing through. This is then closer to a "Spectatorial Gaze", as she only witnesses it in passing, but her negative experiences of the town almost diminish even this, as if she does not even consider the sight worthy gazing upon. Her experience in the town is an annoyance for her, as she does not find the food appealing, and is several times approached by police demanding to see her passport. The accumulation of all this is what makes Bird change her gaze when travelling through Aomori, as we can find her usual, more positive tourist gaze on the nature in the outskirts and again when she arrives in Hakodate.

Ernest Mason Satow's *A Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan* – an analysis of early foreign travel guides to Japan and its author.

Satow's Guidebook is written in the narrative of a Guidebook for new travellers to Japan, specifically the towns and roads of Central and Northern Japan, from Kobe, Osaka, and Kyoto, up to Aomori on the tip of Japan's main island. In this narrative, Satow guides the reader through his recommended areas, sights, attractions, and routes between the towns, and gives the reader insight into the historical and cultural contexts and how to experience them. Although the genre is often fact and commercial-based, much of Satow's writing radiates with his personality, expertise, and bias. His deep knowledge and interest in the history, religion, and culture of Japan are everywhere to be found, from his introductory information to every town and road description.

[115] Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0,* 20.

For my analysis, I will look at "What is described and how" and "What isn't described and why." Whereas Isabella Bird follows a set path through Northern Japan, limiting her writings to the areas she visits on her journey, Satow's guide is written to give the reader general knowledge of all of (or most of) the areas of Central and Northern Japan. There is then a selection process of what areas, attractions, and sights to include in the limited space of the guide, and a decision has to be made by the author of what to *not* include either for the lack of knowledge on the area, or for the author or audiences' disinterest in certain areas and sights. For this first section, I will look at Satow's descriptions and recommendations for travellers in Japan, and in connection with the theoretical literature, to understand the text's connection with its genre, audience, and author. In the second section, I will look at the more lacking descriptions to understand what Satow chose not to describe or recommend, where his expertise and interests do not stretch themselves, to get a full picture of the guidebook, its author, and the audience who would have used the book during their travel to Japan.

What is described and how?

To understand what is described and how, we not only have to look at the audience of the book, but also Satow as a person. This is to make sense of who the reader is, what type of traveller they are, and what is important to include for them to be able to navigate a travel in Japan. We also need to understand who person of Ernest Mason Satow is and why he recommends the places he writes about and where he chooses to place his focus. Here we will look at his bias of interest, experience, and knowledge, and how they reflect on what he includes in the guide and how he describes the sights and attractions. By analysing the guidebook in conjunction with the person Ernest Satow, as a work not only constructed by the genre but coloured by the personality of the author, we will get a better understanding of how the guide is written and why.

Satow starts his guide with some general information worthy of knowing before travelling to Japan, such as geography, weather, what to wear and pack, information about money, and so forth, as was common for the genre at the time since he was following the style of the Murray guides. A few interesting segments here are the two on "Treaty Limits" and "Passports." On the former, Satow describes the limited areas of major open port cities (Yokohama, Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka, Niigata) according to the English Treaty of 1858, where foreigners can freely walk about without a specified permissions in the form of passports. In the latter, he informs

the reader of where and how to apply for these specific passports and the prices, as they can be purchased to gain access to specific cities such as Hakone and Atami. To be able to travel outside the treaty zones more freely, one has to apply for the "Foreigner's Domestic Passport" at a consulate with the reasons being "'for benefit of health' or 'scientific investigation.'"[116] This is the passport that, as previously mentioned, is what Isabella Bird used to traverse the interior of northern Japan and travel on the "Unbeaten Track." In his later descriptions of the roads between the cities written about, whilst he presents many different routes and roads, Satow does not take into account which passports would be most in use by the general traveller to Japan. He rather focuses on covering as much important information on all the major roads between the towns of (as in the name) Central and Northern Japan, showing us that the audience of this work is not only those bound by the limits of the Treaty Ports, but also those with access to the whole of Japan through the Foreigner's Domestic Passport.

Some minor notes from his recommended luggage are his reminder for travellers not to forget "Note-books and writing materials; pencils"[117] as to recommend the traveller to remember to write about their experiences and what they see (although this is purely speculation from my part, I find it in consistency with the British tradition of travel writings I have looked at during my research, and to that of Japan being a newly opened country for the reader at the time provided ample opportunity for documenting for both personal reasons and for others to read) and his comments on the food. The final note here we can see in connection with Bird's "Food Question", whilst here the recommendation comes from someone that has already travelled in Japan, in comparison to Bird writing on it before she sets out. The food recommendation is mainly for "The tourist whose object is to see as much of the interior as possible, and especially to those who wish to explore the mountainous parts of the country"[118] he notes that even those who eat Japanese food should bring along provision when travelling through poor villages where food is scarce. I bring this forward, as to show that even though he mainly recommends bringing along European food the same way as Isabella Bird did, he does make a mention of foreign travellers who are able to eat Japanese food, whereas many guides would otherwise only focus where to get recognisable European food, as they would often describe Japanese food as hard for foreigners to palate. We can often find Bird

[116] Satow, *Handbook for Travellers*. XII - XIII
[117] Satow. XVI
[118] Satow. XVIII

describing her few encounters with Japanese food negatively, so Satow's recommendation of always carrying Western-type food when in the rural areas even for those who usually have no problem with Japanese food presents a common opinion for foreigners in Japan on the culture's food. Satow then is aligned with what is usually expected for foreigners writing about food in Japan, but does make a note that not all tourists coming to Japan have the same palate and can be more adventurous in their taste.

The first major section of the Guidebook is on the City of Tokyo, and as with many other guidebooks, both contemporary and today, this is the largest section of the book. Satow starts by providing general information and recommendations of the city, such as transportation prices, restaurants, inns, museums, gardens, seasonal festivals, and so forth. The most interesting of his recommendations here, as a writer of a guidebook for general travellers, is that of shopping, as he explains that "The visitor must not expect to find large establishments for the production of Japanese objects of art."[119] Instead, Satow provides an almost four-page list of recommended artists in different fields, such as bamboo workers, painters, silk mercers, and doll makers, with their names and location for the traveller to seek out those whom he deems the best in their field. Instead of presenting general shopping districts, such as Nihonbashi, Satow instead lists the expert merchants he deems most worthy for the traveller to visit should they wish to purchase souvenirs. As I will show in the next section, Satow has a distaste for the shopping in Nihonbashi, so his recommendation is then for the traveller not to do their shopping in such a crowded district with many different stores, but rather to seek out the best quality stores in Tokyo spread around several districts.

A final note on this introductory information on the City of Tokyo unexpectedly comes at the end of his writing on the history of the city. In commenting on how the city has changed from when it was first a fortress sometime before 1456 to the rapid changes that is experienced in the country during the Meiji era, Satow brings in his own opinions on the changes in the general sights in the streets as such:

> (…) at the same time, the disappearance of the two-sworded men, the displacement of the palanquin (kago) by the Jin-riki-sha, the adoption of foreign dress by a considerable number of the well-to-do classes, and the European style of wearing the hair, which is now almost

[119] Satow, 2.

> universal, have robbed the streets of the picturesque aspects which was formerly so great an attraction to the foreign visitor.[120]

Here, Satow sets the reader up for disappointment when it comes to what is traditionally expected by tourists to Japan vs the reality of the changes both in culture and technology that came to Japan during the Meiji era. The quote also shows us the important aspect of *authenticity* in the tourism industry. Dean MacCannell, when writing about "staged authenticity" writes about the tourist interest in getting "in with the natives" to see the real and "authentic" destination and experiences, described as a "quest for authentic experiences, perceptions, and insight."[121] However, in search for the "authentic" the general tourist always finds themselves in a staged setting, a tourist destination. What is meant by "authentic" can often be difficult to pinpoint, as its meaning changes from person to person, and in space and time. However, in Satow's quote, he explains exactly what he puts in the expectations of an authentic Tokyo, and tells the reader that this does not exist anymore. He places the authenticity in the historical aspects of Japan and connects it mostly to the time of the Edo period, when the cultures and technologies of Japan felt more untouched and not as influenced by foreign contact as it does in his time of writing the Meiji era.

As Satow clearly shows in his introductory information, his interest in Japan lies in the historical and cultural aspects, and what is (or was) uniquely Japanese. This is also clear to the reader when looking at the locations and sights he recommends and how he writes about them. The two main attractions Satow writes about throughout the whole of the guide, are the historical monuments and the religious structures of both Buddhism and Shintoism, with these often being in unison. An example of this is in his section of the area Shiba, where he for almost 4 pages writes a detailed guide on the temples of the area, describing in detail what the reader is gazing at down to the detail of materials used, and the related history to the temples. In this segment, Satow guides the reader along the area in extreme detail, often using descriptions such as "Walking some way along the avenue, and turning up to the [left] over a little bridge, the side entrance to the Tombs of the 7th and 9th Sho-guns is reached."[122] and "glancing upwards at the gorgeous panelling of the ceiling, we reach the oratory, where the decorations are on a similar scale of magnificence."[123] This guidance, close to hand-

[120] Satow, 8.
[121] Dean MacCannell, 'Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings', *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 602.
[122] Satow, *Handbook for Travellers*, 15.
[123] Satow, 16.

holding the reader through the sights, is a typical trait of the guidebook genre of the time. As Satow noted in the preface that the guide is written following the traditions of Murray, the Tourist Historian Eric Zuelow describes the writing of guides by Baedeker and Murray as such:

> The tourists' task was to stand where they were told in order to view a site in a particular way, to visit only specified sites/sights, and to understand the cultures they were gazing upon through pre-defined lenses – to consume what was around them in a particular manner.[124]

This can be by today's standard be viewed as an audio-guide in written form, as the reader of Satow's book is to follow in his footsteps throughout Tokyo, read about the history of what is in front of them, and look at it in the way the author wants them to look at it and which details to note. This way of writing is consistent in almost all of the Guidebook, only giving way in segments where no historical or religious locations are around for Satow to describe, such as on the roads connecting towns and villages, especially in Northern Japan.

The descriptions above mostly focus on cultural sights, but as the guide takes the reader outside the city to its environs, Satow starts to describe the natural sights. When writing about the roads, he mainly focuses on what they pass through, such as villages or valleys, but on a few occasions provides a sense of the nature in the area and what the traveller can expect, such as in the section "Futago and Mariko" where a portion of the road is given this description: "The latter part of the road commands a striking view of Fuji, and a fine panorama of the surrounding country."[125] Following this, in an attempt to keep to his primary interest and focus of the guide, he briefly mentions the Renko-ji temple, but the structure is described as being "in utterly dilapidated condition."[126] Although only a short mention of this temple is given, it shows that even in areas where he does not recommend a visit to the temples, it is still important to him to mention their existence. And although in later editions of the guide, such as the 2nd and 3rd, where most locations are given longer descriptions, this section remains largely unchanged, as his short comments on what *isn't* there, an almost non-sight in its lack of recommendation, take priority over any detailed description of the nature. Instead of giving the traveller reading the guide a sense of the scenery they would pass

[124] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, 79.
[125] Satow, *Handbook for Travellers*, 45.
[126] Satow, 45.

through on this road, his fascination with the temples takes priority, even when it is a location he actively dissuades.

Satow's description of Yokohama changes the structure somewhat from what he established when writing about Tokyo. Whereas the introductory part of general information is relatively the same, what follows is more of a guide on the roads of Yokohama, how to get to different locations, and what sights can be found in relation to these routes. Although the chapter on Tokyo was labelled "Route 1" and Yokohama being labelled "Route 2", this focus on the *routes* when travelling in Central and Northern Japan becomes more apparent from this chapter onwards. In Tokyo, he named the segments after what area of the city he was writing about, while in Yokohama the segment naming structures reads as "Yokohama to Kanazawa, Kamakura, and Enoshima."[127] Other than his introductory recommendations of shops, inns, a garden, and restaurants, there is nothing directly in the city of Yokohama that Satow writes about, instead writing about areas such as Yokosuka and Kamakura that lie outside the city (but still within the borders of the treaty limits.) Even still, when writing about these areas, Satow does not stray away from his usual recommendations, such as under "Environs of Yokohama" as he describes the area of Tomioka "is much to be recommended as a holiday resort, with good sea-bathing (…) Very pleasant accommodations can be had at the temples of Kei-san-ji (on the beach), Ju-mio-In, and Cho-sho-ji a little higher up."[128] Even when the guidebook takes the tourist along to seaside areas fit for bathing, Satow's main point of recommendation is always the temples.

Nowhere is Ernest Satow's interest in writing about and recommending the temples and shrines more fit than his segment on the town of Nikko. This being the location of some of the most famous Shrines and Temples in Japan, the guide covers the town and its surrounding areas in great and long detail, guiding the reader through the Shrines, Tombs, neighbourhoods, and roads, often providing historical contexts and facts deemed relevant. However, what is important to keep in mind for this section, is that this is not the first time Satow has written about Nikko. In 1875, he published the shorter guidebook *A Guide to Nikko* which acts as sort of a precursor to this larger guidebook. When comparing this chapter on Nikko with his 1875 guide, I found many overlaps in his texts, showing that he used much of his original work in his larger 1881 guidebook. To show an example, in writing about the origins of the road "rei-hei-shi kai-do", in his guidebook to Nikko he words himself as such

[127] Satow, 53.
[128] Satow, 51.

"The title implies that he was the regular (rei) envoy (shi) sent to offer up the gohei, or shreds of paper attached to a long wand, which are to be seen in this as in every other Shinto shrine"[129] while in the Guide to Central and Northern Japan, he writes "The title implies that he was the regular (rei) envoy (shi) sent to offer presents (hei) at the chapel in front of the tomb."[130] The main difference found between the two examples is in the ending, whereas Satow's guide exclusive guide to Nikko goes into more detail, the more general guide to Central and Northern Japan simplifies it by removing the descriptions of the rituals. This example is found several times in this chapter, where the text of his previous guide is reused and altered to be shorter and use a simpler language (i.e. less Japanese words and terminologies) to appeal to a more general audience of travellers to Japan in the guide book, with the Nikko guide book being more specialised.

What isn't described and why?

Some of the interesting parts of Satow's travel guide are not only what is written, but what he purposefully leaves out. In travelogues, such as Isabella Bird's text, it is more natural to leave out parts of the journey that is not of interest or noteworthy to the writer, and that does not create an interesting text for the reader. In guidebooks such as Satow's, however, the audience is the general tourist to be used as a guide for their travels, and what is then left out has a larger impact on the reader in the context of the genre. It is in looking at and analysing what is written of in a travel guide vs what attractions, sights, and locations the author leaves out that we find what the work's full perspective is.

An interesting find when analysing the letters of Isabella Bird with the guidebook of Ernest Satow, is a segment when describing the road between Niigata and Aomori, in the mountains of Yonezawa, where Satow opts to use Bird's text on the roads rather than from his own experience or knowledge. He adds a footnote at the start of the segment stating, "From Miss Bird's "Unbeaten Tracks."[131] This, in connection with recommending the book as essential travel literature in the introductory information, shows Satow's appreciation for her work and presents it as an important work on travelling in Japan, especially on the country roads, without directly commentating on it. Where Bird several times in her work quotes and

[129] Ernest Mason Satow, *A Guide Book to Nikko* (Yokohama: [s.n.], 1875), 4.
[130] Satow, *Handbook for Travellers*, 402.
[131] Satow, 451.

paraphrases Satow and the information he has provided her, either directly, through earlier published writings or by word of others, Satow chooses here to use a longer paragraph directly from her work, as her descriptions of the road and the area of Yonezawa are of great value to anyone traversing this path. It is also worth noting that this segment is not changed in the second edition of the guide released in 1884, and is still found quoted in its full.

As we have seen, Satow's main interest lies in that of the temples and places of historical importance, which he describes in great detail. However, many typical tourist attractions such as general shopping and places for souvenirs are few, especially outside of his recommendation of masters of crafts. One interesting note, however, is in a small segment on the Nihonbashi district of Tokyo. On this shopping district, Satow simply writes "In this district there is little to arrest the traveller's attention beyond the general aspects of what is the busiest portion of the city, filled with shops, market places and go-downs."[132] The rest of his description of the district only consists of the descriptions of an area that "may" have belonged to the famous William Adams[133] and information about the nearby Suitengu Shinto Shrine. The negligence of this shopping district which he himself describes as "the busiest portion of the city" reflects not only the author's bias towards these locations but also a fault of the genre at the time. As Zuelow writes on guidebooks, "Nineteenth-century tourism was often about the commodification of specific panoramas, built environments, and literary reference points as mediated through texts" and "Europeans grew interested in the historic value of certain structures. This is reflected in guidebooks' expanded efforts to carefully describe architectural features and historic associations."[134] What is found here, is that Nihonbashi's short description comes from both Satow's interest and that of the general tourist travelling to Japan in 1881. We can also presume that, as he describes it as the busiest portion, it would be generally known by the travellers through other means, or that they at least would find it naturally as a crowd-heavy location by following a stream of people, wishing therefore to utilise his expertise knowledge on Japan to recommend the more specialised stores (as we saw in his introduction) rather than the general shopping area. In doing so, Satow is able to draw from his own experiences of the area, and rather draw the reader towards the locations he has found to be the best, and not waste any time in this area.

[132] Satow, 14.
[133] William Adams is a famous British Pilot that travelled to Japan in 1600, becoming the first of his countrymen to do so, and becoming an advisor for the Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu
[134] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, 79; Zuelow, 82.

Niigata and Aomori are the two smallest of the towns I have chosen for my analysis, where Niigata gets about one and a half pages, whilst Aomori only gets half a page. The guide is more concerned with the roads leading to and away from these towns than what is actually in them, whereas the larger cities in Central Japan are detailed in the descriptions of what is found in and around them.

For Niigata, Satow describes what is to be found in the town, but his language does not hint at recommendations for anything to do. He even points out that "The Buddhist temples are numerous, but there is nothing that calls for special remarks about them."[135] In his description of Niigata, it appears more like a town connecting Tokyo and Nikko to other locations of Northern Japan, such as Aomori and the Island of Sado. Satow's description of Aomori suffers the same, as this is described as a connection between the main island and Hakodate in Hokkaido. Even though the town has 11.000 inhabitants, he comments that "no particular industry is carried on at this place, but a considerable trade passes through."[136] For his description of Aomori, or rather the lack of it, no sights or attraction of any kind is to be found here. This is not a town for a *tourist* to travel to, but for a *traveller* to pass through on their way to Hakodate. There is no culture or tradition here for Satow to write about, but Niigata and Aomori are still important towns in how they connect Northern Japan for travellers and have deserved their inclusion in the guide for the roads they connect.

A final note of interest on this subject is how little Satow writes about the guide itself outside of its publications. Whilst analysing Satow's guide and Bird's writing of him, I was able to compare the dates and timeline with his diary, where he often wrote about his meetings with others, his journeys travelling in Japan, work, and other life events. What I found here was that Satow does not seem to ever mention starting his research/writing for the guide, as he only brings it up once to shortly mentioning that he has received his first 50 authors' copies of the guide, and that it is soon done as it is only missing the maps.[137] There is also the fact that although Isabella Bird dates all her letters and writes of specific instances when meeting Ernest Satow, he does not return this gesture, as on the same dates in his own dated diary never mentions his meetings with her (in the instances there even is an entry for the day.)[138]

[135] Satow, *Handbook for Travellers*, 220.
[136] Satow, 401.
[137] Ian Ruxton, *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Mason Satow, 1870-1883* (Routledge, 2015), 382.
[138] Such as in and around her Letter III dated May 24th.

Conclusion - How do foreigners write about Japan?

The most important aspect to have in mind when reading both these texts as information on travel and tourism to Japan in the Meiji era is the *audience*, the reader and (potentially) traveller, both their common audience and areas of usage and the separate, such as travellers wishing to go to Japan collecting preliminary information, and/or tourist in the country as they read the works. The main goal of Isabella Bird's published letters is, as she describes in her preface, to clear up outdated misconceptions and facts about Japan and to provide information on the country to the general knowledge of her readers in the West. She documents her travels not only to bring the general scientific and cultural knowledge of Japan to the English language, but also to introduce Japan to the readers as a travel destination and a journey, as one of the early travellers to the country, with her special focus on that of the "Unbeaten Tracks" of northern Japan.

For Ernest Mason Satow's handbook for travellers, the purpose is to provide a typical guidebook for the newly opened Japan, as one in the main style at the time did not exist yet. In his writing, we can see that his audience is not only the typical tourist travelling to the major cities such as Yokohama and Tokyo within the treaty limits, but also the traveller who is able to travel outside those borders and explore the northern regions of Japan's main island. Satow guides the reader in great detail through what he deems the most important sights and attractions of the cities and towns, and provides the traveller with deep information on the different roads and routes, and what can be found along the routes such as natural or cultural sights worth gazing at.

Although both texts are formed by their genres, and the culture and traditions of the writers, they both display the personalities and interests of the authors clearly. Bird's love for nature and people is found all along her journey, on the "Unbeaten Tracks" and in the major cities. She does not hide her opinions on the sights and attractions she writes about in her letters, such as her strongly negative views of the hybrid cultures in Yokohama and Tokyo vs her appreciation and enthusiasm towards nature sights and the décor in the temples and tombs of Nikko. Satow, on the other hand, is mainly fascinated by the Shrines, Temples, and the historical contexts of Japan's travel destinations.

An important point I want to conclude on is what these works would learn the reader at the time, during the period when Japan was opening up to the world for the first time, and foreign travellers were curious about this "new and unexplored" country. Bird's letters show her

cultural encounters with many aspects of Japan; the nature, the people, and the culture. It shows her experiences of how Japan is in 1878 through her journey travelling through the major cities and to the "unexplored" regions of Northern Japan, showing the Western audience what to expect and what to know about the areas. Satow's guide follows the purpose of the genre at the time, namely to tell the reader what to experience and how, guiding them along and explaining what is in front of them. However, his own personality is also important to what is (and isn't) presented to the reader, as the guide mainly takes the reader through the temples and shrines with provided historical contexts. Here the reader is taken on a sort of guided tour through a museum of culture, religion, and history that has till now been completely unknown to them. In analysing these works, we are also witness to the different tourist gazes they use, and (in Isabella Bird's case) how they change. We often find usage of an anthropological gaze and a romantic gaze of tourism in Bird's travel, as well as the more pleasure and play aspects of tourism and sightseeing in Satow's guide. The importance of these works, I would say, is then how they build bridges from their English culture to the Japanese, as travel and tourism will lead to knowledge and friendship.

Chapter 5 - Analysis of Japanese Travel Literature

To understand the previously analysed text of Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* and Ernest Satow's *A Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan* as travelogues and tourist guides to a new and foreign culture, I will in this chapter compare them to the native Japanese counterparts in the Meiji era (1868-1912). Japanese travel is built upon its own set of traditions in where to travel, how to travel, and how to write it. These descriptions and writings differ quite a lot from those of the foreign travellers from the previous chapter, as these are written by and for travellers more familiar with the land and traditions, more connected with the culture (and literature such as poetry) of Japanese travel. The Meiji era is an important period in Japanese history where many aspects are influenced by the new connections with foreign cultures, and how travel is performed, experienced, and written about is no exception.

As I mentioned in Chapter 2 on Theories, important aspects of travel in Japan in the Meiji era are the concept of Tabi (旅) as the traditional, lonesome, and poetic journey, and the cultural and technological influences from the West. This changes not only how travel is done, with the construction of the railway making travelling faster and easier, but also how travel is written. We see that not only with how travel is written (with the epistolary style being influenced by Western writing)[139] but also in the emergence of the new word Ryoko (旅行) for modern leisure travel in contrast to the hardship of Tabi.[140] Even though some traditions and feelings of travel from the older tradition of Tabi are still remembered and performed, the travellers that follow the guides I will be analysing in this chapter follow the concept of the Ryoko type of travel. The importance of Shinto Shrines and Buddhist temples is prevalent through it all, as well as some mentions of poets and the poetic, almost as traces of the poetic monks writing about their pilgrimage travels in the Tabi tradition found in the DNA of the modern leisure travel through Japan that Ryoko, which offered to a new and wider class of travellers the ability to travel in the modernizing Japan.

I will be looking at the *Great Japan Train Guide to Famous Places* (大日本汽車名所) from 1891, which covers the areas between Himeji near Kobe and Osaka up to Shiogama near Sendai in the North. My reason for choosing this guide is its remarkable illustrations and maps and the interesting information and perspectives it provides on the areas of the early

[139] Fessler, 'A Letter from the Past and the Present: Tokutomi Roka's "Autumn in Ryomo"', 170.
[140] Guichard-Anguis, 'Introduction - The Culture of Travel (Tabi No Bunka) and Japanese Tourism'. 5

Japanese railway. Although short, many of the areas the guide writes about are presented in a unique way that differentiates it from the Western guides previously presented. I will also be using the *Japan National Railway Tourist Information* (日本全国鉄道名所旅行案内) from 1898, written by Toramatsu Ogawa and published by the company Ogawa Shoeido. Published 7 years after the other guide, this contains a more detailed description of the cities, as well as containing more cities as the railway network had been expanded in the time since the Great Japan Train Guide was published. As such, it will be used with the *Great Japan Train Guide to Famous Places* as a supplement to the cooperative analysis with Isabella Bird and Ernest Satow's texts.

For this comparison, I will be using the Great Japan Train Guide to compare the locations of Yokohama and Tokyo, in addition to the city of Sendai, and I will be using the *Japan National Railway Tourist Information* for the descriptions of Nikko and Aomori, as they are not featured in the formerly mentioned guide.

An important theoretical point of note for this analysis is the genre of the guides. These are both travel guidebooks (and pamphlets) focused on railway travel in Japan. However, they do not follow what David M. Bruce presented as fundamental elements of tourist handbooks. These elements, often based on railway networks, would be:

> A preface, an introduction, one or more specialist commentaries on the (High) culture of the country, maps (Both of railway network and the geographical areas covered as well as town plans and panoramas), and a comprehensive, mainly geographical, index as a basis for elaborate cross-referencing.[141]

Although these elements are found in Satow's guide, they are for the most part not present in both the Japanese guides, and they vary in what they contain. Whilst the *Great Japan Train Guide* contain maps with commentaries on the culture and sights of the country, *the Japan National Railway Tourist Information* contain more detailed commentaries. While we can view the missing elements as a flaw in the Western standards of the genre, there is the argument that it is not in their purpose to contain it. *The Great Japan Train Guide* is in the form of a pamphlet to be easily distributed and brought along by the traveller, with the information on the locations being short, to the point, and informative, so a preface, introduction, and index would not be needed and just be superfluous.

[141] Bruce, 'Baedeker', 97.

Lastly, I will analyse the text *Autumn in Ryomo* by Tokutomi Roka in comparison with Isabella Bird's previously analysed travel writings. Tokutomi Kenjiro, (1868-1927), as Roka was his pseudonym for writing, was the seventh child of a prominent Samurai family in Kyushu, and the younger brother of newspaper publisher, historian, and politician Tokutomi Soho.[142] Having received an education in both East-Asian classical writings as well the Western classics being introduced to Japan at the time, Roka became a prominent writer of the time, with a style that combines both the Japanese and Western traditions. His travels of the Ryomo region were published in his brother's newspaper in November of 1893, reporting on the scenery of the locations as he travelled through coloured in the colours of Autumn.[143]

When writing about Tokutomi Roka and the genre of Japanese travel writing, I need to point out the choice of the author in relation to the gender aspects of Japanese writing tradition, as this is important to keep in mind when reading Japanese travelogues to fully understand what he chooses to focus on and his style of writing. As Japanese is a very gendered language, having different words, phrases, and ways of speaking that are viewed as distinctly gendered to masculine or feminine (such as different ways for Men and Women to say I/me, that being "Ore" and "Atashi" respectively), the culture of writing travel also have gendered distinctions between how Men and Women described their travels, what they saw, and which genre they primarily wrote in. Laura Nenzi writes on this in "Women's Travel Narratives in Early Modern Japan: Genre Imperatives, Gender Consciousness and Status Questioning", and describes the Japanese women writers as such:

> More detached and reluctant to reveal their true colours, female travellers of all social standings carefully layered their travelogues strata upon strata of elusive poetry, quotes from the classics, ephemeral expressions and oblique hints. They frequently shunned direct involvement or confrontation with the subjects of their writing, and concealed their true opinions behind the convenient veils of tradition.[144]

Women travellers were often confined to writing in the genre of Diaries, and although the genre is usually more autobiographical, it was still written with more restraint to adhere to the gendered norms of how to express their experiences of travel and their opinion. On the other

[142] Fessler, 'A Letter from the Past and the Present: Tokutomi Roka's "Autumn in Ryomo"', 168.

[143] Kiyoto Fukuda, ed., *Meiji kikō bungakushū / Fukuda Kiyoto hen.*, Shohan., 初版., Meiji bungaku zenshū 94 (Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 1974), 386.

[144] Laura Nenzi, 'Women's Travel Narratives in Early Modern Japan: Genre Imperatives, Gender Consciousness and Status Questioning', in *Traditions of East Asian Travel*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 46.

hand, Men wrote about travel with cruder language and a focus on the more down-to-earth details. On this, Nenzi also lists examples of male travellers writing about their experiences with sweat in the summer heat, stomach problems, toilet paper salesmen, and the size of the local rats.[145] Although these examples are surely outliners, cruder and more obscene than what is normally written, I bring them up to show that these subjects and formulations would be acceptable for men to write, but were not deemed correct for women to write.

These points are important to keep in mind when we read and analyse Tokutomi Roka's *Autumn in Ryomo* not just to understand his style of writing and commenting on the sights and experiences, but to understand what is distinct to his writing as a man and what would be different in a women traveller at the time. His text is not nearly as crude as the examples provided above, but we will see him clearly express his feelings about the natural landscape and culture of the time. Even though we see him use poetic allusions, they are in place to directly back up his feelings and opinions rather than to mask his true intentions.

***Great Japan Train Guide to Famous Places* (大日本汽車名所)**

This railway guide is in the form of a pamphlet for travellers on the Japanese railway, originally released in 1889 and reprinted in 1891.[146] The text is written by Higuchi Shozaburo and published by Akashi Chushichi, a famous publisher in Osaka.[147]

Each page is divided into 2/3 text about information on the locations and 1/3 on top depicting a drawn map showing cities and towns, and their railway connections. It is meant to be used by travellers either planning their journey or to consult on their travels. Much of the descriptions of the guide are short and to the point. The locations marked on the map are written on the page below with the names in framed and a short description of nearby sights and attractions following. It contains very little meta text other than dates published, author, and copyright information on the final half-page. The writing of the guide is often short, with many locations just naming the important sights and attractions of the area with little to no explanations. This shows that the guide is mostly used by Japanese travellers that are already

[145] Nenzi, 46.

[146] 明治廿ニ年十一月十三日, 明治廿四年四月一日, 廿 translated here as the old Hyogai Kanji as a radical for 20.

[147] 赤志忠七, in the text by the name Akashi Chugado as 赤志忠雅堂

familiar with these attractions (at least by name), or as a recommendation for them to seek out further information.

For this analysis, I will start partway through, on the city of Yokohama and the areas of Tokyo, then follow the route to Northern Japan. Yokohama is given its own larger section of 6 lines, whilst the areas of Tokyo are split into different regions depending on the train stations there. These areas are Omori, Shinagawa, Shimbashi, Ueno, Oji, and Akabane.

The three main aspects of Yokohama that the guide recommends are the market, the shrines and temples, and the Bay area. The market of Yokohama is described as the "Top rated marked of the five ports"[148] The beauty of Yokohama's nature and culture is brought forth with the recommendations of sights of Nogeyama Park and the Iseyama Shrine, in addition to many modern bridges in the area. The bay of Yokohama is described as an active port connecting the city through the many passing ships and ends the segment by mentioning landmarks such as the pier, a lighthouse with a shining red light, and a Lightvessel guiding ships.

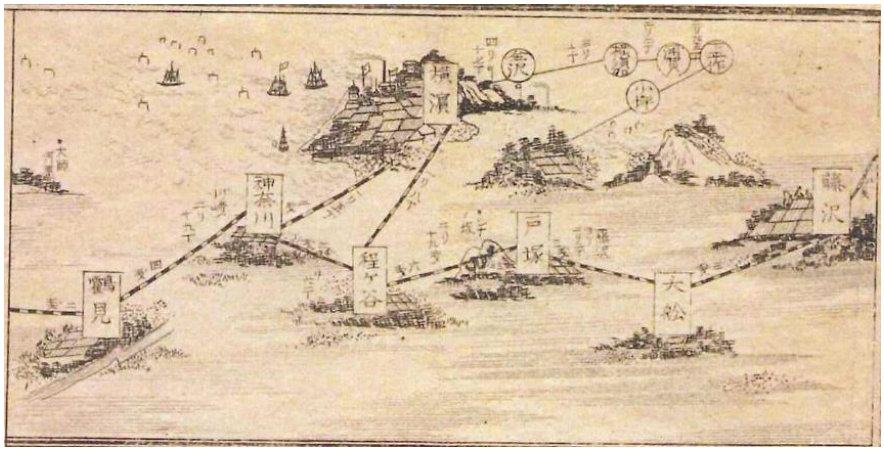

Figure 2 Shozaburo Higuchi, 大日本汽車名所 (Great Japan Train Guide to Famous Places) (Osaka: 赤志忠雅堂, 1891), 6, Yokohama

Although short and concise, we can draw some reflections on the area of Yokohama as a travel destination. At this time, Yokohama is an important port city for foreign relations, such as trade and the port-of-arrival for travellers. The town's nautical aspects are important in the latter part of the descriptions, with the pier and lighthouse being important sights for the traveller to visit. This is also evident on the map on the page, showing 3 large ships anchored

[148] 五港の第一等の互市場殷賑輻湊の地ふて "Five Ports" possibly referring to the five major ports of Japan: Tokyo, Yokohama, Kobe, Nagoya, and Osaka.

outside Yokohama.[149] The main draw for travellers to Yokohama is here the market, as it is described as the best in all the port cities. This would provide the travellers both passing through or staying to purchase local products and souvenirs such as Japanese Omiyage (お土産). The two natural and cultural sights mentioned, the park and the shrine, show us the importance of history/religion and nature in Japanese travel, which is common for the travel writes at the time (as we will see with Tokutomi Roka later) and in the tradition of the poet writing Tabi (such as Matsuo Basho in his journey in "The Narrow Road to the Deep North.)

In contrast, the descriptions from Isabella Bird's letters and Ernest Satow's Guide which was presented in the last chapter, were much more lacklustre. The description of the harbour are the nautical elements are not found in those descriptions, as Satow mostly writes about the temples and Bird about the buildings of Western architecture (and her distaste of these.) Bird is a first-time traveller to Japan, and for her everything about Yokohama is a haze as she arrives. Although Satow is an expert on Japan at the time, his own interest in the historical and cultural takes up much of his recommendations generally through the guide. In this railway guide, however, the author is more known on the city of Yokohama as a destination (or a temporary stop) for travellers. The description is more general in its recommendations, which gives the traveller knowledge of the most important sights in different genres, shopping, nature, religion, and the nautical (which, for the Japanese, is what the city was known for, being the port to the world.) Where in Satow's guide the focus is (as of most of his guide) on the temples and the shrines, this guide takes more into account the diversity of the city of Yokohama, presenting markets and the sights of the harbour in addition to religious sights, giving the traveller more types of gazes to witness.

Whilst Yokohama has its own section, Tokyo is split into the districts containing the railway stations that the traveller would pass through on their journey. These segments vary in size, where Shimbashi is the longest consisting of 6 lines (same as all of Yokohama) and Akabane is the shortest with just 1 line.

Omori, a small station in south Tokyo close to the border of Kawasaki, is only focused on the shrines of the area. This description reads similar to Satow's guide, pointing out the major shrine in the area and other, smaller additional shrines worthy of noting; "There is a Fusha Shrine in the Yaguchi village of Honbu. In addition, there are shrines such as Ikegami

[149] These nautical images are also important to the city of Yokohama to this day, with images of western ships of the era found all over the streets, showing its historical value to the city.

Honmonji and Suzugamori Hachimangu in the district."[150] Although this is a small area that most travellers only pass through, such as Isabella Bird's train ride from Yokohama to Tokyo, its inclusion in this guide shows its importance as a railway station stop (of which this guide aims to include descriptions of all.) Even though there is not much to do here as a traveller, the Shrines still stand as important cultural sights for those in the area, just as Satow describes the Shinto Shrines in similar areas. From this, we see the importance of the shrines in Japanese travel writings, both foreign and native, especially in the areas that lack the more modern tourist sights. In the Edo period (1603-1867), whilst conforming to the travel traditions of Tabi, one very common reason (or excuse) for travel was the pilgrimage to the temples and shrines. Although they were not always the main focus of interest of the traveller, many chose to visit these locations during their travels to perform religious duties, and as such many pleasure districts formed around the religious locations.[151] The importance of visiting the local shrines and temples still lingered in the culture, both for religious reasons, and to seek the entertainment that was around them. So when this guide writes only of the shrines of Omori without pointing out any other specific tourist spots, it could be to adhere to the traditions of religious and spiritual travel from the Tabi tradition, to generally recommend the entertainment and pleasure districts around these locations, or that there is simply not anything other noteworthy in the area then these shrines (although the shrines can be destinations and sights enough themselves!)

Shinagawa and Shimbashi are the largest sections of the Tokyo area, showing that these stations are not only important for the traveller's transit, but also important cultural areas of Tokyo at the time. They are described as famous and central locations, and we get descriptions of the alternate internal railway routes in Tokyo from these stations to the next 2 stations of Ueno and Oji. They both come with a plethora of recommended locations, sights, and attractions. For Shinagawa, the harbour facing Tokyo Bay is presented with ships anchored just outside, similar to the description of Yokohama, as well as 9 temples and shrines between here and Shimbashi. For the Shimbashi area, it is described more as a transit area, where it is not much interesting exactly here, but you can reach other locations easily; "From here, going north to the Imperial Palace, you will find many small and medium-sized

[150] Shozaburo Higuchi, *大日本汽車名所 (Great Japan Train Guide to Famous Places)* (Osaka: 赤志忠雅堂, 1891), 6. (新田神社)い本部の矢口村小有府社あり (池上本門寺)(鈴ヶ森八幡宮) 等郡中小有り

[151] Guichard-Anguis, 'Introduction - The Culture of Travel (Tabi No Bunka) and Japanese Tourism', 10.

famous sights in the Kyobashi area of the city, and many in the Nihonbashi area."[152] The guide goes on to (again) list shrines and temples, as well as the Azumabashi Bridge. These descriptions of Tokyo reminisce quite a lot of those found in Satow's guide, with the style of listing the important shrines and temples in the area being similar. This guide, however, lacks the other locations that would be interesting for travellers coming to Tokyo, such as the Imperial Palace not being specifically recommended, but being used as a marker for how to get to other areas such as Nihonbashi. As we saw in Isabella Bird's description of Tokyo, she spends some time in the castle gardens and around the castle itself, describing it as a pleasant experience as she walks around and experiences the plant life and family outings. During her visit to the Fukiage Garden, they are open to the public at a ticket fee, she describes it as "a noble specimen of the perfection to which the Japanese have brought landscape-gardening."[153] From her descriptions, we could deduce that this is one of the areas few urban areas she truly enjoyed and recommends for the reader to visit. This is a location of particular interest to foreign travellers as an example of the beauty of Japanese gardens, but is not mentioned in this *Great Japan Railway Guide to Famous Places*. Its negligence could be due to the author's bias in which recommendations to write on the limited space of the pamphlet, or due to the distance of the location from a train station covered by the guide, as the more general area north of the castle is recommended.

With Ueno and Oji we find some variety in the listing of shrines, as these are more focused on nature and culture. For Ueno, the Ueno Park and Museum are the primary locations of focus and are described as "quite magnificent and beautiful"[154], while Oji mentions a festival specific to the locations. Whereas the first of the Tokyo locations are comparable to that of Ernest Satow's writing, these natural and cultural descriptions with the words "Magnificent and beautiful" fit more in line with Isabella Bird's experiences of these areas of Tokyo, such as that of the Fukiage Garden and the nature around Asakusa shrine (in contrast to the more urban areas she describes negatively.) The view of Tokyo this guide presents is a very segmented one, with shrines and temples being the main focus, but with pockets of natural beauty to be found in locations such as Ueno. Even though these descriptions are short and

[152] Higuchi, *Great Japan Train Guide*, 6. 扨(皇城)い此より北 小して市街い京橋區を脛て日本橋區の(日本橋)小至る名勝多きが中小

[153] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1:35.

[154] Higuchi, *Great Japan Train Guide*, 6. (上野公園)(博物館)い側ら小有 り頗る壮観美あり又上野國前橋への気車を発せり

leave out many of the locations described in the two foreign writings, they present the city as varied and beautiful in many of its aspects. It does, however, not point out the major sights of Tokyo as a whole, such as what was found in its description of Yokohama, and is a flaw of its segmentation of the city by train stations, where Tokyo is not presented as one whole city in the same way, but rather as separate segments. Many areas such as east and west Tokyo are therefore left out in favour of following the railway going almost straight from south to north, including Asakusa, which was an important location for both Bird and Satow, and as mentioned above the Castle and its surrounding areas.

After Tokyo, this guide differs quite a lot from that of Bird's travel letters and Satow's guidebook. Whereas both foreign texts travel to Nikko and then north-west to Niigata, the *Great Japan Train Guide* turns east and follows the train tracks along the east part of the Tohoku region. Here it follows the route that corresponds to the Tohoku Main Line, but stops just after Sendai. Although this area does not overlap with foreign sources, I would like to bring up this description of Sendai. It is a large city with its own interesting history and iconography, such as one of Japan's most famous regional rulers, the one-eyed Dragon Date Masamune (1567-1636) from the Edo period. It is, however, seldom written about in travel and tourist literature of the time (and even today!) where most either travel along the east coast on the "Unbeaten Tracks" or skip the region entirely.

Sendai is famous for its castle, the Aoba Castle, and its importance in the previous historical period as a fortress upon a mountain. In the guide, the castle as an important symbol of the city is shown as it is referred to as such: "[Sendai] The urban area of Miyagi District is a former castle town with about 30 small towns."[155] The guide goes on to list several of the famous tourist attractions of Sendai, such as the Hirose River, Tsutsujigaoka Park, and the Tagajo Monument from the Nara period (710-794), but do not provide descriptions for them, only their names. The main focus for Sendai in the guide is here the natural sights and the historical structures that are distinctive to Sendai and its History. With this description of Sendai, we can see that it is an important and highly recommended travel destination for tourists on the Tohoku train line. It is, however, a destination not often found in foreign travel writings at the time, as it is not a treaty port, and as such not easily accessible to foreign travellers without a specific passport.

[155] Higuchi, 8. [仙臺] い同國宮城郡の都會地旧城市小て町數も凡そ三拾餘ありて人民富院を

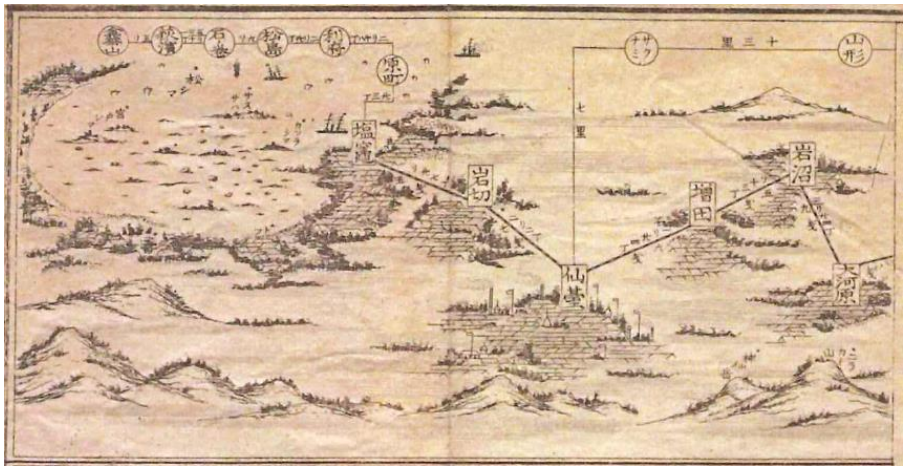

Figure 3 Shozaburo Higuchi, 大日本汽車名所 (Great Japan Train Guide to Famous Places) (Osaka: 赤志忠雅堂, 1891), 8, Sendai

***Japan National Railway Tourist Information* (日本全国鉄道名所旅行案内)**

This guidebook, made for the national railway of Japan in 1898 by Toramatsu Ogawa, gives the traveller insight into the cities and stops for Japanese tourists travelling on the railway. Although it does not contain a map, the first 15 pages contain photographs of famous sights throughout Japan, such as castles, temples, shrines, skylines, and Torii gates.

The town of Nikko is described in greater detail for about 5 and a half pages, with a great focus on the Shrine of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) and some descriptions of the natural sight around it. This portion of the Japanese guides reads very similar to Satow's guidebook (which then again is similar to Bird's description, as she was much assisted by him), going into great detail about the look and origins of details in the shrine and temples. The guide starts off by pointing the reader towards the most famous temples and religious attractions, such as those containing the Kannon Buddha statues and shrines. What is also interesting in comparison to the Western guide is the recommendation for lodging. To accommodate the foreign traveller, guides such as Satow's would point the reader towards the new, more Western styles of hotels, in addition to the more traditional Japanese-style inns, though as we read in Isabella Bird's experiences, the latter was not often highly recommended. In the *Japan National Railway Tourist Information*

guidebook, only the Japanese Inn, the Ryokan, is mentioned. The Ryokan is often furnished with tatami mat flooring and Shoji paper sliding doors and was an important part of travellers who wished to experience the traditional living of Japanese travel and tourism experience.

Even though Bird found the experience uncomfortable, the experience of a Ryokan would change during the Meiji era, as it took on the influence of Western-style hotels. The major changes in the Ryokan at the time of this guides publication would be the combination of the Sleeping, eating, and bathing facilities, which had before been scattered, into one.[156] Sylvie Guichard-Anguis writes in her chapter *Japanese Inns (Ryokans) as Producers of Japanese Identity* that these types of inns appeared with the construction of the railway during the Meiji era, and shifted the use of inns merely being shelters along the road to the purpose of leisure.[157] The inclusion of the Ryokan recommendation shows the modernisation of travel and tourism in Japan during the Meiji era along the railway, especially in the tourist-favourite and culturally important location of Nikko.

Aomori is in this guide explained in more detail than we see for both the foreign guides. In fact, the descriptions of the *Japan National Railway Tourist Information* book present Aomori in a more positive light as a tourist destination, in contrast with Isabella Bird's negative description and Satow's short and lacklustre. Aomori's connection with Hakodate in Hokkaido, which was prominent in Bird's letter, is also present early in the text, as it is an important town connecting the main island of Japan to the new prefecture of the northern island. As so, it is in this called "The North Gate of the main road."[158] The nature around Aomori is also mentioned here, such as the rivers and beaches, in addition to other nearby famous places. [159]

The outer shore of Aomori is described as beautiful not only by the writers of the guide, but is presented as a place written about by famous poets of ancient times: "The outer shore is a place where ancient poets sang, where the scenery is quite stunning"[160] The example they present is that of a poem by the famous Heian era poet Saigyo (1118-1190), one of Japan's most famous nature poets, often referred to by other famous travellers and poets, such as Basho in his Edo period travels.[161] Using Saigyo in the guide's description of the nature in Aomori is not only a reference to the work itself and its connection with the location, but also

[156] Sylvie Guichard-Anguis, 'Japanese Inns (Ryokan) as Producers of Japanese Identity', in *Japanese Tourism and Travel Culture*, ed. Sylvie Guichard-Anguis and Okpyo Moon, Japan Anthropology Workshop Series (London: Routledge, 2009), 79.
[157] Guichard-Anguis, 78.
[158] Toramatsu Ogawa, *日本全国鉄道名所旅行案内 (Japan National Railway Tourist Information)* (Tokyo: 小川尚栄堂, 1898), 162. 北門の要道にして戸五千餘堤川克境を環流し北は函館と海
[159] It is worth noting here that the name "Aomori" can be directly translated to "Blue Forrest", but no forest is presented in the nature descriptions/recommended sights.
[160] Ogawa, *Japan National Railway Tourist Information*, 163.
[161] Basho, *The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches*, 152.

the tradition of the poetic natural descriptions and acknowledgement of famous poets from earlier periods that have described the same areas.[162] This inclusion of the poetic tradition of travel writing we see here is not present in the foreign sources I have analysed, as it requires a knowledge of Japanese culture, history, and tradition that is not expected to be found in either of the authors or their audience of English travellers. Rather, these types of poems and their inclusion in travel literature are uniquely Japanese, and connects modern travel and scenery with that of the older Tabi traditions of travel and the beautiful natural sceneries of history.

The final note on Aomori worth bringing forth is its final line, describing the nearby area of Oma. This is the northernmost point of Japan's main island of Honshu, on a peninsula in the Aomori prefecture. Even though it is a small settlement, the guide describes the location as such: "[Oma] is located a little over one mile north of Aomori and has a promising future ahead."[163] This description is not only fascinating on its own in this guide, but also in contrast to the descriptions of Isabella Bird. In her letters, there is a sense that Aomori is simply a location to pass through on her way to Hokkaido, only being described as a port at the time. Here, however, areas outside of the main city of Aomori are being presented as promising locations for the future of the area. Although Oma today is a fishing port slightly smaller than Aomori in 1898, the guide's presentation of not only what *is* but what *could be* in the future is an interesting note to include in a travel guide that is not present in foreign writings, and in contrast to the otherwise focus on the historical aspects of Japan.

Tokutomi Roka's *Autumn in Ryomo*

Tokutomi Roka wrote about his travels in 1893 to "Ryomo", a historic region of Japan that includes areas of Gunma and Tochigi prefecture, north of Tokyo. The specific areas he writes about visiting here are Usui Pass, Myogi, Nikko, and Shiohara. His travels here during the autumn colour the landscape with unique natural and cultural sights, as he writes about his experience in travelling through the towns and mountains, but with a main focus on the nature of the region. The travel has been described by Susanna Fessler as "unremarkable, as countless others had made similar journeys before"[164] but points out the uniqueness of how the travel is written, combining both Japanese and English traditions in the genre. What we

[162] Fessler, 'A Letter from the Past and the Present: Tokutomi Roka's "Autumn in Ryomo"', 169.
[163] Ogawa, *Japan National Railway Tourist Information*, 163. 青森より北一里餘程にあり前途望めるなり
[164] Fessler, 'A Letter from the Past and the Present: Tokutomi Roka's "Autumn in Ryomo"', 167.

can find in the text when reading it in the context of the Meiji era is how Japan was changing and modernizing both technologically and culturally due to foreign influences, but with a comparative analysis with Isabella Bird's writings, we can find what is still distinct in how Japanese and western travellers write about their travel and what they chose to focus on and comment.

As the title suggests, it is not only the region of Ryomo that is in focus in Roka's writing, but the season of Autumn and how it changes the different landscapes. As he describes the trees of Usui Pass, he paints the reader a picture of the sight of autumn colours unique to the season and region, as the cherry, persimmon, and maple trees are presented as such: "All of these trees are dyed by the wind and dew, and some turn yellow, others red, pale pink, crimson, light red, brown, or dark brown."[165] These colour descriptions are concurrent throughout the text in all the sights he sees, as they are the primary colours of the season. In comparison, Isabella Bird's description is more focused on the flora in scientific terms, as her botanical background provides an analysis of the plants that she finds in the different areas, as opposed to Roka's more poetic approach to the natural scenes viewed during travel. This shows a districting in tradition and intent of writing. Whereas Roka utilizes the Japanese poetic traditions tied to travel and the area of Usui Pass, Bird's intent of travel is to document something entirely new to both her and her reader, and focuses then on the plant life she encounters in Japan with a more scientific approach rather than describing how the colours paint the landscapes. There is one exception to this in her description of the nature outside Aomori, which she recommends a visit to in autumn when the scenery is at its best, but this is an exception to her writing style and does not have the same depth that Rokas's descriptions of autumn contain. This is also timed with the seasons of travel, where Roka is focused on specifically describing the autumn scenery, while Bird travels through Japan on a more general note in spring and summer.

Tokutomi Roka's writings are filled with the poetic traditions of Japanese travel writing, as he often provides references, quotations, and other allusions to the poetic. When describing the above-mentioned scenery of the colours of the trees in Usui Pass, he remarks on his loss for words on its beauty with his lack of being able to describe it in poetic dictations: "When I

[165] Tokutomi, Roka, 'Ryomo no Aki', in *Meiji kikō bungakushū / Fukuda Kiyoto hen.*, ed. Kiyoto Fukuda, Shohan., 初版., Meiji bungaku zenshū 94 (Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 1974), 161. 木と云ふ木は皆風露に染められて、或は黄となり、或は紅となり、淡紅となり、茜となり、褐色となり、鳶色となり、焦茶の色となり、此 等の木が峯勢

saw this, I regretted not having any poetic talent."[166] Even though he is not confident in his poetic prowess, earlier in the text he mentions and quotes two famous Chinese poets, Wei Yingwu and Meng Jiao, and uses his knowledge of their works to describe the scenery. After these remarks, Roka also goes on to quote two poems in English, which Fessler has identified as being from two William Wordsworth poems.[167] In this, we can see Roka's knowledge of both the old Chinese traditions of poetry (as the old Chinese poetry is also considered an important part of Japanese canon and tradition) and the early 1800s British poems.

One of the most direct comparisons we can make of Roka and Bird's texts is on the visits to Nikko. In Bird's visit to Nikko, her main focus was on that of the shrines, providing a detailed description of her tour in a guide-like way. In her experience, the main take from Nikko was the cultural experiences, where the natural sceneries next to the shrine provided a positive relief for her. In Roka's writings, however, the main focus of Nikko is the natural scenery, with the shrines only glossed over at the end. As throughout the whole text, trees, mountains, rivers, and lakes are the primary interest of Roka, as the intent of the writing is to document the nature and colours of autumn rather than the cultural constants. In the Japanese tradition, when writing about travel, the seasons (and the seasonal) play an important part in describing the scenery, where what is unique and traditionally connected to the season the travel takes place in should be the main focus, and what is not should be ignored or downplayed. As Fessler puts it, "The rule of thumb when writing travelogues, then, was to ignore or play down the seasonally incorrect referents, even if they occupied a prominent part of the landscape; and, regardless of awkwardness, mention the correct seasonal referents whenever possible."[168] In Roka's travel in Nikko, we again meet the aforementioned maple, cherry, and birch trees, and the colours of red and yellow in the leaves and sunset being Roka's focus of description, rather than the Shrine. Other than tradition, this difference also stems from the previous cultural knowledge and experiences from both authors, as Bird visits Nikko (and Japan as a whole) for the first time, and experiences it primarily as a *tourist* rather than a *traveller*, exploring and writing of it as a typical tourist visiting a curtail cultural sight of their travel. Whereas Tokutomi Roka experiences the region of Ryomo with the

[166] Tokutomi, Roka, 163. 段の錦の色を一時に呼び覺し来るを見たる時には、小生は唯詩才のなきを恨み候。
[167] Fessler, 'A Letter from the Past and the Present: Tokutomi Roka's "Autumn in Ryomo"', 175.
[168] Fessler, 179.

knowledge of Japan in general as a local[169] and of what changes and is unique to the time and space, Isabella Bird views the country through her Tourist Gaze as an outsider visiting the larger culture as a whole for a limited time.

Conclusion

The travel writings from Japan in the Meiji era show distinct changes in several aspects, such as technological changes as to how the country is shaped and how travel is conducted, and cultural changes in how travel is written. With the two railway guides, we can see how the railway map shape the travel routes for the general travellers and tourist engaging in the new form of Ryoko leisure travel, which areas are brought forth as recommendations for a visit and what attractions and sights are focused on. In comparison with Isabella Bird's travel letters and Ernest Satow's Guidebook, we find that many locations are described drastically differently, such as Yokohama having a focus on the harbour and the nautical, and Aomori being presented with its poetic roots (as per the Japanese tradition) and a positive look at the region's future development.

For the travel letters, we find that Tokutomi Roka, as a native of Japan, is aware of the importance of the seasons and the poetic traditions when writing his travels. The intent of writing *Autumn in Ryomo* was to provide a travel letter to be published in the newspaper, and presented the nature of the historic region painted in the colours of autumn. In his writings, Roka demonstrates his knowledge of Japanese poetic tradition, as well as directly quoting from English language poems from William Wordsworth. From this, we can see how Roka was a traveller rooted in the Japanese tradition of writing travel, as well as being influenced by the Western culture and knowledge that is coming to Japan during the Meiji era. By comparing this text with Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks*, we can understand the difference in focus and style of writing between foreign and native travellers in Japan, as well as the differences in local traveller's and foreign tourist's focus, such as what we find in comparing their writings on Nikko.

[169] Tokutomi, Roka, 'Ryomo no Aki', 163. Although, when admiring the autumn leaves of Usui, he meets with a local who does not notice the same specialness of autumn as Roka, as he notes "They live surrounded by autumn leaves, and without making any poems or songs, they probably don't even use any words of admiration", describing their more mundane and day-to-day view on what he views as beautiful.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

Writing about one's travel is important, not just for sharing the experience and thoughts at the moment, but as a remnant of the period it is written, both for the personal aspects of the writer and as a small glimpse of the world at the time of writing. Tourism can be defined as travel for the sake of leisure, and as Eric Zuelow notes "it is travel in pursuit of pleasure and an escape from everyday realities."[170] Although tourism can seem a trivial subject to some, it provides us with an understanding of many different aspects of culture, technological developments, and the people (the individuals) of the historical periods and locations we analyse them in. Travel is an ever-changing concept, and in combination with different cultural encounters, gives us new understandings of history should we change the individuals and locations we choose to look at in our research. Such is seen when comparing foreign and local in certain time periods, as they provide different views and interpretations of the sights they gaze upon based on their preliminary cultural knowledge and how they experience their concepts of travel and tourism. For the period I have been analysing, The Meiji era (1868-1912), tourism has been composed of many other aspects than simply for leisure, as motivation to travel differs from what we see today. Travel was more strongly seen as something that was good for you, both health-wise and for expanding one's cultural knowledge. For travel to Japan in this period, the motivation for foreign travellers to visit was often based upon research, and to contribute new knowledge of this newly opened country to the general cultural sphere, rather than simply for leisure. Thus, as we analyse the travellers to and in Japan during the Meiji era, we can find these concepts of travel and tourism actively changing as Japan was introduced to the larger world, and foreign travellers set their sight on this largely unknown culture to learn through the experience of travel and tourism.

The Thesis statement I have worked with is "How is Japan in the Meiji era experienced and written about by foreign and Japanese travellers." The travels of Isabella Bird and Ernest Satow's Guidebook show some of the first look at Japan after opening its ports to the outside world in about 250 years. For the analysis, these were compared against the Japanese counterparts of the Meiji era to not only see where they differ and/or align, but to also see the local sources for their own unique traditional background that is being influenced by these new travellers coming to the country. on both sides, however, these are exceptional sources, travelling and writing about their travels in ways that largely differed from the usual tourists

[170] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, 9.

of the time. Isabella Bird's travel is focused on the "unbeaten tracks", which is away from the usual routes that English travellers at the time would usually take, as her focus and interest is on the nature and culture outside of the larger cities. In doing so, she encounters people that have never met Europeans, and she encounters natural landscapes yet to be written about in the English language. For Tokutomi Roka, he is a traveller in an old country that is changing before him, and due to his education and knowledge is able to incorporate the new cultural knowledge from the West in his style of writing, differentiating the work from other Japanese travel writings of the time by incorporating aspects of English traditions with his Japanese. These travellers are thus exceptions to their peers, but it is these exceptions that make their perspectives worthy of comparative analysis.

During the 1800s travel and tourism in Europe evolved from the older traditions of The Grand Tour to modern tourism, with many different industries, technologies, and cultures forming around these new travellers. The Grand Tour, which had its heights during the 1700s, was based upon the youth of the upper classes travelling abroad to the major cities of Europe for the sake of the education provided by the experiences of travel, under the oversight of teachers and guides. This became a concept of the past when travel became easier with technological and cultural developments of the time, such as steamships and package tours. Of the new developments, the Guidebook became an essential tool for every traveller going abroad. It told the traveller what they should see and how to see it. These guidebooks also gave insight into the culture of the destination needed to understand what they were gazing at as the guide followed them along to the principal sights and attractions. For this analysis, I have not just presented the information of an early guidebook to Japan, but that of the first one written in the style of the John Murray company (the frontmost guidebooks at the time) by Ernest Satow, as one by Murray themselves did not exist at the time.

Japan in the Meiji era (1868-1912) was a unique travel destination for both foreign and local travellers. As the country was opening up to the outside world after the arrival of Commodore Perry and his black ships in Tokyo Bay in 1853, a lot of cultural and technological changes would come in place with this new communication, starting the modernisation of Japan. From the Meiji Constitution of 1889, similar to the constitutional monarchies in Europe at the time, to the construction of the railway with the help of English Engineers, Japan was being influenced by and took knowledge from the outside world, changing and developing itself into a modern nation. Travellers in Japan at the time could witness these changes as they

happened; as the foreign visitors could see the country for the first time, the Japanese travellers experienced these new developments in the context of the strong tradition of travel and travel writing from the periods before, such as the poet Basho's "The Narrow Road to the Deep North" from the Edo period (1603-1867) descriptions of the journey through Haiku.

To analyse travel and tourism is not just an analysis of the institutions, technologies, information, and networks that make it possible, but the meetings of people and cultures. Isabella Bird travels through the newly opened Japan whilst learning about the culture, nature, and people. By applying John Urry and Jonas Larsen's theory of "The Tourist Gaze" to the analysis of Bird's journey, we can find that the more she experiences and views Japan, her opinion develops to be more positive than when she arrives, resulting in a changing Gaze through her travels through Yokohama, Tokyo, and Northern Japan. Her negative views on the "hybrid culture" of the cities upon arrival are later replaced by a more loving view of the culture and people as she experiences the locations she deems more "authentic", nature, and encounters with the Japanese people, such as villagers and her travel companion Ito. In Ernest Satow's guidebooks, we find the meetings with the culture of Japan through his descriptions of sights and attractions, recommendations, and the cultural and historical information he presents to the reader. Although not directly human interactions, this book instructs how and where to meet with the uniquely Japanese culture, and its detailed explanations help the traveller understand this new cultural meeting and experience. Satow was at the time often talked about as one of the most knowledgeable Westerners on Japan, country and culture, something he demonstrates with his detailed descriptions of the locations and sights he has picked out as worth the attention of the traveller. The guide is filled with his personality, in the choices of attractions, which are most often that of religious and historical in nature, such as Shinto Shrines and Buddhist Temples, and how he shows enthusiasm or disinterest in his descriptions. The role of the genre of guidebooks helps to establish and enhance the individual's tourist gaze, as it presents them with preliminary information for experiencing the sights, as it then carefully guides the reader through what to gaze at and how. Satow's guidebook then gives the reader insight into the distinctly Japanese elements along their travels and presents how to best experience them, which is with the historical and cultural knowledge of the sights to build a conception of authenticity in the cultural sights they are gazing upon. Satow's guide then has the function of then giving the traveller a sort of anthropological gaze on their journey in Japan.

While the English language sources write about the experience of travelling to a newly opened land for the first time, the Japanese sources show the other side of the opening of Japan; the modernization. In the English text, the new travellers to Japan experience a country that is very new to them, evidently old in history and culture, but that is modernising as they experience it. This is in contrast to the Japanese authors, who mainly experience the longer traditions of Japan and its importance in culture, traditions, sights, and locations, and is seeing before their eyes how it is rapidly changing during the Meiji era due to the foreign influence. These experiences can then be viewed as something new that still has strong connections to the past (for the foreign perspectives) vs. something old that is turning new and modern (for the local perspectives), as both parts experience the same locations at the same time, but from different spheres of knowledge and traditions, making the gaze on the modernisation in their conveyance and focus noticeably different.

Both the guidebooks that were analysed, *Great Japan Train Guide to Famous Places* (大日本汽車名所) from 1889 and *Japan National Railway Tourist Information* (日本全国鉄道名所旅行案内) from 1898, shows how Japan modernized through the introduction of the Railway. This presents a new type of travel significantly different from the period before, as travel now becomes faster and more accessible. This brings forth cultural shifts in the travel culture of Japan, such as the older concept of travel, Tabi (旅), which represents a poetic and solitary journey, being taken over by the new concept of Ryoko (旅行) which represents the faster and more common travel primarily for the sake of leisure.

In the writings of Tokutomi Roka's *Autumn in Ryomo,* we find a travelogue more in line with the older traditions of Japanese writings. However, as Bird is a traveller through a new land, Roka is a traveller through an old country that is turning new with the modernization and Western influences of the Meiji era. These influences are not just apparent in the environment he traverses, but also in his style of writing, adapting English traditions of writing travel with the traditions of the Japanese travelogue. This shows that it is not only the way that travel is performed that is changing in the Meiji era, but also how travel is experienced and written about. Although Tokutomi still retains the poetic Japanese style of writing his travel, with many allusions to the canon of travel writings and poems from legendary writers, he is an experienced world traveller, and has experienced European travel and travel traditions, which is incorporated in his writings as both Japan and its style of writing is changing under the foreign influences of the Meiji era.

But what have we learned from these analyses, and what value do they serve, other than pointing out the obvious that "Japan was changing in the Meiji era due to Western influences" through the lens of travel and tourism literature? Although the lens of travel and tourism itself gives a down-to-earth and human view on larger world events and developments through the perspectives of the leisure of regular (and during the later 1800s, the middle class) people, there is something deeper and more expansive to be found when comparing both foreign and local travellers of a long-secluded country and culture. With the examples from my analyses, I have compared the early English writers travelling in Japan with their contemporary counterparts in Japan. With this, we can see not only what the foreign writers observe, recommend, and choose to write about in terms of locations (sights and towns) and attractions, but what they chose *not* to write about, include, and what they deem uninteresting and not worth experiencing. This juxtaposed with Japanese writing of the time shows the similarities and differences between the cultures of where they travelled, how they travelled, and how they experienced travel. In this, there is also the difference in the gaze that the writers view Japan through. While Isabella Bird travels through northern Japan with an anthropological gaze, to scientifically view the nature and document her experiences on the unbeaten tracks, Tokutomi Roka utilizes a romantic gaze in his travels in the Ryomo region as he poetically describes the autumn scenery. By analysing the Western and the Japanese travel writing against each other, we see how Japan was changing for the people traversing it, and how the cultures interacted with each other, influencing and changing their understanding of themselves and the world at large. In Isabella Bird's text, we find the scenery of Yokohama and Tokyo influenced by Western technologies and styles. For her, these changes to Japan are viewed as a negative influence, especially when compared to her experience on the "unbeaten track" in Northern Japan, where during her journey the influences and modernisation are less direct and visible. In the Japanese guidebooks, we find the new concept of travel represented, Ryoko, as the experience of travel is drastically changing in the Meiji era. The journey through Japan is now more accessible for people with the introduction of the railway network that the guides follow, but they still hold the poetic traditions of Tabi strong, such as to bring forth the importance of Poets such as Saigyo in the city of Aomori.

It is then also important to point out the potential faults in this thesis, as a change of the primary source material could result in a difference in perception of the time from other authors. Had I analysed foreign texts from other languages than English, the traditions and

cultural foundation would be quite different. There is also, as earlier mentioned, the point of the travellers (both foreign and local) both being exceptional in their style of writing, their route, and their focus. With a change of the author, either to a more "ordinary" traveller or slightly skewed in time either earlier or later, the results of this analysis would drastically differ. As Japan changed during the 45 years of Meiji, technologically and culturally, so did the travellers that roamed the land, and their perspectives on their surroundings.

As an ending, I would like to express an interest in further research on the topic of travel and tourism in Meiji Era Japan. There are many more sources worth looking at that did not fit into this thesis. As I have focused on two English language sources covering Northern Japan, there is the possibility to look past these boundaries to get a full look at Japan, and to also analyse other language sources (a limitation of my own language abilities). Travel and tourism literature from the Meiji era exists in mass in many different languages as travellers from all over the world excitedly explored the country, and provides many different experiences and descriptions of Japan rooted in their own traditions and the time they are produced. All of them contain their own interesting perspectives on the theme and can give us a better understanding of the period, locations, and the people travelling in them.

To understand "travel and tourism in the Meiji era Japan" is to better understand travel and tourism in Japan today. Not only does it give us insight into which attractions and sights have been prevalent for the 150 years since Japan's opening (and even before) and are still relevant today, but it also helps us understand the locations themselves better. The Western, 1800s-style nautical imagery found all over the streets of Yokohama makes sense when we understand it as the starting point for many of the first foreign travellers coming to Japan. Furthermore, the cities in Northern Japan such as Aomori often excluded in English language travel and tourism literature, and in contrast how it is written about in Japan, makes sense when we are aware of the early negative (and disinterested) description from English writers, vs the traditions and culture associated with the town in Japanese. One of my main inspirations for this paper was to bring attention to travel and tourism in the Tohoku region, and to Northern Japan in general, and with a new understanding of English and Japanese experiences and traditions associated with the area, I hope that this will inspire further interest, either in research or leisure.

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