

Discourses on Japan at the End of the Nineteenth Century in *Murray* Guidebooks

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Introduction:

This study explores the changing representations of Japan in *Murray* guidebooks from the 1880s to 1910s, and discusses the extent to which these representations are part of Orientalistic discourses on Japan. While studies of tourist brochures, newspapers and other media have opened up analysis of Western representations of 'Others' in tourism, the tourist guidebook has gained less attention. Ali Behdad and others argue that since the nineteenth century guidebooks have presented non-Western societies within an Orientalist framework; focusing on their past, ignoring their present, and placing them in strict contrast to the West.¹⁾ *Murray* was arguably the most widely read and influential guidebook series on Japan in English in this period. This study analyzes the introductory section of three *Murray Japan* guidebooks, focusing on how Japan is portrayed temporally, or in terms of time. The aim of this thesis is to help build an understanding of how English-language touristic discourses on Japan have changed over time in accordance with historical and social shifts, and whether these discourses should be thought of as Orientalistic.

PART 1: THEORY AND BACKGROUND

1. *The Tourist Guidebook*

Tourism in most post-industrial consumer societies is reaching a point where almost everyone can and does travel abroad, meaning that international tourism has become a major strand of popular consumerist culture. Despite this, research on the influence tourism medias have on our understanding of foreign 'Others' has been slow to develop. In recent decades, studies of travel brochures, newspaper articles and other media,²⁾ as well as efforts to develop theory on the topic,³⁾ have opened up the way for such research.

Analyses of tourist guidebooks have been few in number and belated, with most conducted since the 1990s, despite the multi-levelled importance of guidebooks. Firstly, guidebooks have been near essential for internationally destined tourists in the nineteenth and twentieth century, and function as key mediators between the traveler, host and destination. Secondly, they are a rich

source of information for understanding dominant discourses about a given destination and its people, while also being an influential media in the dissemination and development of such discourses. However, while it is a central tenet of this paper that guidebooks are an underestimated and powerful media, it must be acknowledged that they are just one source of information on foreign countries, and include discourses that flow through a great number of other media. In addition, as their content is not simply passively received but at times critically evaluated and the target of reader feedback, the reader is always engaged in a two-way “dialog” with a guidebook.⁴⁾

2. Orientalism, Temporality and Guidebooks:

Pioneered by Edward Said, postcolonial theory has developed as one of the most insightful bodies of theory on analysis of representations and discourses in the West about non-Western ‘Others.’ Much of this theory focuses on ‘Orientalist’ discourses, or discourses in which a large section of the non-Western world, often referred to as the ‘Orient’, is generalized about and represented as being homogenous, as well as inferior to the West. At the heart of Orientalist discourses is the theme of temporality, or how this Orient is represented in terms of historical and developmental time. According to Edward Said, in representing Oriental societies, Orientalist discourses focus on and glorify the society’s ancient history, while the contemporary conditions of the society are either denigrated as inferior to its glorified history and to the present of the West, or ignored completely.⁵⁾

Ali Behdad has applied postcolonial theory to the study of guidebooks.⁶⁾ Behdad describes the concept of Orientalism as follows: it has discursive heterogeneity; is multi-directional, contradictory, and dispersed; and constantly incorporates new discourses.⁷⁾ For Behdad, such a conceptualization of Orientalist discourses acknowledges their complexity and resilience over time. According to Behdad, with the rise of mass tourism in the nineteenth century touristic discourses emerged as the dominant discourses on the Orient.⁸⁾ At this time, the tourist guidebook developed as one of the key discursive modes of such discourses. The rise of touristic Orientalist discourses and the inclusion of the non-specialist, the so called ‘common tourist’, resulted in the Orientalist’s claims of exclusive knowledge being challenged, and led to representations of the Orient shifting away from academic and political discourses stemming from a wish for colonial domination, to touristic discourses centred on a desire for the exotic.

For Behdad, these touristic discourses are inseparable from the spread of the Western tourism industries, so that Orientalist discourses have been ‘strategically reconfigured’ in a way in which the West is in a position of amplified power.⁹⁾ There are, however, severe limitations in the applicability of Behdad’s theory of Orientalist touristic discourses to studies of Japan. The primary factor is that Western tourism companies, apart from some airlines and hotel chains, have very little economic

presence in Japan. While it seems difficult to apply the more critical side of his theory, Behdad's conceptualization of the relationship of power between Orientalist discourses and the Western tourism industry is beneficial in understanding how the modern tourist guide has evolved historically, and how it is connected to discourses on the non-Western 'Other.'

3. *The Application of Orientalist Discourses to Japan*

The lack of a long political and economic history of dominance by Western countries over Japan makes it contentious as to how theories of Orientalist discourses can be usefully applied to discourses on Japan. Richard Minear concludes his study on this topic by finding that an Orientalist discourses on Japan exists, and that this may provide a refutation of the link between Orientalist discourses and colonization.¹⁰⁾ However, Minear also proposes that Orientalist discourses may have formed during the colonial domination of other 'Oriental' countries, and become set and rigid by the time Western countries came to deal with Japan. This is the starting point that many subsequent analysts of Western representations and images of Japan have taken.¹¹⁾

The argument that Orientalist discourses have 'shifted' to include Japan can be supported if we look at the nexus of power in discourses on Japan in English in the nineteenth century. British scholarship was at the centre of study and discussion about both colonialism and about Japan in the English language in the mid to late nineteenth century (including, Ernest Satow, Basil Chamberlain and George Sansom). This indicates that discourses on Japan were strongly influenced by Orientalist discourses emerging out of other colonial encounters between Britain and the non-Western 'Orient', however it is difficult to judge the degree of this influence. While it is not clear to what extent nineteenth century English language discourses on Japan were essentially 'Orientalist' in nature, as Elliott argues, discourses on Japan are a fruitful source of study in broadening our understanding of discourses on the non-West in this period.¹²⁾

While postcolonial theory can be useful in understanding how countries and societies are represented, the author of this thesis has endeavoured to take into account a number of weaknesses of such theory, as discussed in *Orientalism: A Reader*.¹³⁾ The first is in regard to local historical and social context, which tends to be overlooked in the attempt to find links to unequal international economic and political relations. This concern has prompted the author to attempt to take relevant historical, sociopolitical and economic relationships between Japan and English-speaking countries into account, as well as the history of those discourses and the biography of the writers and publishers involved. Second is the issue of essentialization of societies. While terms such as 'the Orient' and 'the West' are employed here, these are not intended to refer to clearly defined locations, but are considered judgement-loaded and subjective concepts. Subsequently, reference to 'discourses from the West' are generally avoided, with the focus instead placed on English language or

Anglophone discourses. The author has also attempted to take into account the argument that Orientalist discourses are not monolithic or unidirectional, but diverse and the result of two-way (though unequal) discourse between nations and societies.

4. Previous Studies

In an analysis of the 1993 *Lonely Planet India* guidebook, Bhattacharyya argues that Lonely Planet's guide has become hegemonic as an information source for travellers in India, and that it largely follows Orientalist discourses.¹⁴⁾ This hegemony, based on dominance of the guidebook market, is backed up by a narrative form that presents the guide's representation as definitive, leading to alternative representations of India going unseen. Through an analysis of both text and pictorial/photographic images, Bhattacharyya finds typical Orientalist discourses in which past and traditions are glorified, and the present (untouched by modernity) is exoticised.

Like Bhattacharyya, in his analysis of the 2005 *Lonely Planet Cambodia* guidebook, Tegelberg also finds that discourses of authenticity focus on the destination's ancient past.¹⁵⁾ Tegelberg argues that this past, positioned in the ancient high culture of the Khmer and symbolized by the Angkor temples, is largely a reproduction of French colonial discourses on the country, and continues to ignore the plight of the local Cambodian.

Looking at post-war French guidebooks, Roland Bathes offers an additional insightful analysis of the dynamics of representation in guidebook texts.¹⁶⁾ According to Barthes, the French *Guide Bleu* guidebooks are so that "the human life of a country disappears" so that they are part of the backgrounds of sites and the picturesque views.¹⁷⁾ They represent the destination (in this case Spain) as lacking in a present, enabling the guide to ignore contemporary political realities (Spain at this stage is controlled by the authoritarian dictatorship of General Francisco Franco) and latently support those in power.

While the above studies focus on the twentieth and twenty-first century, Toshio Yokohama's in-depth analysis of British reviews and magazines between 1850 and 1890 covers roughly the same period and intellectual milieu as the current paper.¹⁸⁾ Yokoyama finds that despite Japan's increasing modernization and westernization, articles on Japan in the period continued to emphasize Japan's exoticism and strangeness, in other words difference from the West. Rather than focus on reporting about the realities of Japan's present, he found that they focus on representing Japan as a place in which everything is opposite to the West.

5. Britain and Early Modern Forms of Tourism

The records of adventurers such as Marco Polo and John Mandeville in the 13th and 14th centuries mark a turning point for travel writing in Europe.¹⁹⁾ At this stage, the focus of writings shift

from the pilgrimage and crusade discourses to those of observation and exploration in lands of an Oriental 'Other.' From the 16th century, travel writing started to take on political and commercial significance, driven by colonialization of non-European countries. Sponsors of journeys demanded such writings, their publication leading to public support for state-led journeys of discovery and colonization, and to interest amongst the population in migrating to colonies themselves. The interest in an empirical expansion of knowledge became increasingly important, behind which lay the desire for economic and political expansion through the invasion and colonization of foreign lands.²⁰⁾

The seventeenth and eighteenth century Grand Tour is another pivotal development in travel and travel discourses in Britain.²¹⁾ The Grand Tour was something of a rite of passage for young aristocratic English men following University graduation, with the aim of preparing them to take on leadership roles on return. Parents hoped it would introduce their children to the correct manners, educate them about classical Europe, and helped them establish social networks with others of the same elite social class. The reality of much Grand Tour travel was less high-minded, and a reputation of scandalous and shameful behavior eventually led to the end of the custom.²²⁾ As the Grand Tour was essentially limited to the very wealthy, these young men were usually accompanied by a 'governor', someone who would act as a guide, so that written guidebooks were largely unnecessary during this period. For the English, travel to Italy was used to reinforce nationalistic sentiment, with the British Empire being portrayed as the inheritor of the legacy of the ancient Roman Empire.²³⁾ From this period, therefore, we can see a lopsided emphasis in Britain on the history and traditions of foreign countries while traveling.

Conflict between France and Britain at the end of the 18th century brought about a massive decrease in travel to Europe and led to the development of domestic tourism in Britain.²⁴⁾ This helped bring about the rise of Romanticism, out of which concepts central to English-language tourist discourses emerged, such as the *picturesque* and *sublime*. Such aesthetic concepts became important in the touristic discourses of Japan from the nineteenth century.

6. *The Nineteenth Century: Rise of the Modern Age of Tourism in Britain*

When conflict ended in the early nineteenth century, British again traveled to the European continent and the 'picturesque' romantic gaze was increasingly directed outside of Britain. International tourism slowly became a reality for larger groups of people, though it was still limited to the upper and upper-middle classes. Still, increases in income amongst the middle and lower classes, as well as increases in the amount of leisure time, which itself was founded on the emerging division of work and leisure, meant people from a wider range of classes could travel domestically.²⁵⁾

The rapid development and spread of transportation technology such as steam ships and trains

gave extra impetus to the development of mass tourism in early nineteenth century Europe. With this technology, an increasing number of people could travel cheaper and faster than ever before. New institutions catering for tourists also arose, such as the railway timetable, travel agents such as Thomas Cook, and tourist guidebooks such as *Murray* and *Baedeker*. *Murray* was to publish the most authoritative English guidebooks for Japan from the 1880s until the early twentieth century, while the outbreak of World War One halted Baedeker from creating their own guidebook for Japan.²⁶⁾

In this period, however, most British holidaymakers still traveled domestically. Following the spread of train services across the UK, seaside resorts developed rapidly, so that by 1911 approximately 55% of people were visiting them each year.²⁷⁾ It was at this stage that a 'resort hierarchy' arose, whereby beach resorts were divided from one another based on the social class of visitors. While there were beach resorts for the wealthy upper class, many of this class chose to leave the UK, and even Europe entirely, creating an identity for themselves as adventurous travelers by traveling to distant and 'Oriental' destinations such as Japan. This was enabled through the relative stability and safety of the seas and destination countries, which was in turn founded on the colonization of many non-European countries by Western powers.

Many of the tourists of this period wanted to travel as cheaply and efficiently as possible in a small amount of time. The modern guidebooks helped to fulfill this desire, and as a result their contents became increasingly practical and full of various types of information designed to be empirical and objective. At this stage, guidebooks (a comparatively impersonal and objective media), and travel literature (a comparatively personal and impressionistic media) began to separate.²⁸⁾ Still, travel literature and travel guidebooks were often used together, as highlighted in a 1860s quote from American artist William Story, where he points out that "Every Englishman abroad carries a Murray for information, and a Byron for sentiment, and finds out by them what he is to know and feel at every step."²⁹⁾

At the turn of the century, new forms of travel writing developed as the moralistic and physical superiority of European colonial powers became increasingly questioned.³⁰⁾ Romantics and early modernist travel writers such as Wilfred Blunt and Lafcadio Hearn were able to develop a stream of travel writing that criticised aspects of the spread of Western culture and power and venerated the traditional 'essence' of the non-Western. Hearn was highly influential in the creation of the image of Japan, painting Japan as a source of mystery, aestheticism, wisdom and tranquility.

Some authors of this period, such as Robert Louis Stevenson, were engaged in what Helen Carr describes as "salvage travel writing", attempts to depict what the writer sees as a race or culture dying due to the influence of the stronger culture of the West.³¹⁾ Such writings were informed by the discourse of Social Darwinism, which grew out of Darwin's *The Origin of the*

Species (1859) (also published by *Murray* publishing), and academics such as Herbert Spencer, who attempted to apply different theories of evolution to the social existence of humans, including culture. This discourse was so widely held that by the late nineteenth century the idea of the superiority of 'white' race and culture, and the ultimate extinction of 'non-white' culture, had become a dominant discourse of imperialism not only in the UK, but throughout most of the English-speaking world.³²⁾

7. *Foreign Tourists and 19th Century Japan*

From 1858, foreign tourists were limited to the five ports of Yokohama, Hakodate, Kobe, Nagasaki and Niigata. Following this, entrance to both Tokyo and Osaka also became possible. In 1869, a visa was created which allowed foreigners to access hot-spring areas for health reasons,³³⁾ and this became used for general sightseeing also.³⁴⁾ This was the beginning of a gradual increase in foreign tourists' access to inland 「内地」 Japan, leading to the 1874 *Foreign Inland Travel Certificate* 「外国人内地旅行免状」, and further loosening of restrictions in 1875.³⁵⁾

The first English-language guidebooks on Japan were released in the 1860s and 1870s. This kicked off a peak in guidebook publication on Japan in English. The British *Murray* guidebooks were arguably the most influential and widely read in English from the 1880s to 1910s.

8. *Pre-Murray Guidebooks on Japan: Late 19th Century*

Most of the guidebooks about Japan written between the 1860s and 1880s were small booklets.³⁶⁾ The length and depth of information expected from *Murray* and *Baedeker* type guidebooks would only be reached with Satow and Hawes' 1881 guidebook, which would be taken into the *Murray* series from its 2nd edition in 1884.

According to Nagasaka, we see a general shift in the target readership across this 15-year period, from guidebooks for residents to those for tourists.³⁷⁾ Keeling's 1880 guidebook was the first to concentrate solely on a tourist readership,³⁸⁾ and seems to have appeared in response to the popularity of the round the world tour began by Thomas Cook in 1872, and which visited Japan from 1873.³⁹⁾ Nagasaki makes the point that most travelers to Japan at this time, including those using the *Murray* guides, were cultured, educated and wealthy.⁴⁰⁾

PART 2: MURRAY GUIDEBOOKS AND GUIDEBOOK ANALYSIS

1. *Murray Publishing and the Murray Guidebook Series*

The *Murray* publishing house was established in London in 1768 by the first of many generations of John Murrays. The *Murray* guidebook series, started in London in 1836 by John Murray II

and III, dominated the travel guidebook world in Britain throughout much of the nineteenth century. *Murray* publishing was able to gain a place at the centre of the intellectual world in nineteenth century England, and published books by a range of influential figures that included Lord Byron, Jane Austen, Charles Darwin and his *On the Origin of Species*, and colonialist-explorer David Livingstone.⁴¹⁾ The *Murray* guidebooks were therefore closely connected to the leading authors of romanticism, evolutionary-scientific theory, exploration and colonialism and other popular, political, social and scientific movements of the period.

In the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, the ascendancy of the *Murray* guides reached its peak, and by the 1880s *Murray* guides were being outsold by the English editions of their biggest competitor, the German based *Baedeker*.⁴²⁾ In 1901 the entire *Murray* series, excluding those for *Japan* and *India*, as they were not fully owned by *Murray* publishing, was sold to the future owners of the *Blue Guide* series. World War One brought a substantial drop in the number of overseas travelers from Britain, and finally led to the end of the series under the *Murray* title.⁴³⁾

Murray guidebooks, along with those of the German *Baedeker*, are seen as the founders of the modern tourist guidebook in Europe. In this style of guidebook, authors attempted to give a minimum amount of personal, impressionistic and subjective descriptions, and be as objective, practical, and dry as possible. Users came to depend on the guidebooks greatly, so that reliability was a key to their success. *Murray* guidebooks encouraged feedback and information from readers, further increasing their claims of credibility and authority.

Murray guidebooks had a great influence on the activities of tourists at the time. As a result, some owners attempted to improve the write-up of their establishment and some governments and political groups made attempts to have them censored.⁴⁴⁾ Possessing a *Murray* guidebook became seen as essential for many travelers during the peak of popularity of the *Murray* series, so that *The Times* called it a “guide, philosopher and friend.”⁴⁵⁾

The *Murray* guides have a format that remained relatively stable over the life of the series. They generally begin with a small introduction to the country, which is one of the few sections where expressive language is used. This is then followed by general descriptions, such as on transportation, costs, visas, health, accommodation, language, climate, and also cultural information such as art and religion. Following this is specific information about the destination that is based on a series of different routes, and typically includes information about the main sights, restaurants, transportation and accommodation. As can be seen, they incorporate a broad body of information from many fields.

The price of *Murray* guides put them out of the reach of all but those in the middle and upper class. According to Gretton, the average *Murray* guidebook was approximately equal to an agricultural laborer's weekly wage, while the *Murray* guides for Japan were almost double this.⁴⁶⁾ The

Murray guidebooks were written for the serious, educated and affluent traveler by members of the educated British middle and upper classes and, in Gretton's words, therefore "reflect their interests and attitudes."⁴⁷⁾ The authors of the *Murray* guidebooks have often been respected British experts on the history or culture of the destination. According to Gretton, they generally are conscious to treat the culture and people of the destination with respect, and avoid xenophobia.⁴⁸⁾

2. *The Murray Guides to Japan*

The growth in popularity of ocean cruising led to the inclusion in the *Murray* guidebook series of guides for countries outside of the European continent, such as Japan (from 1884) and New Zealand (1893).⁴⁹⁾ In all, there were nine editions of the *Murray* guidebook for Japan, all of which were, at approximately 500 to 600 pages in length, relatively detailed.

The 1st edition, written by Ernest Satow and A.G.S. Hawes, was not actually part of the *Murray* series, but was a guide later taken under the *Murray* umbrella. This guidebook was the only detailed English guidebook on Japan at the time, and was in such high demand that it prompted *Murray* to get the book's rights in order to publish a 2nd edition. This 2nd edition had a run of 1,000 copies. Despite its success, this edition would be the last for Satow and Hawes, due to what Gretton explains as "various arguments" with John Murray III.⁵⁰⁾ What these arguments were over Gretton does not make clear, but could have been based on disagreements concerning price and independence; Gretton notes that Chamberlain himself would later complain to John Murray III about the expensive price of the guides, and from an early stage ensured that his editions of the guide would be independent of the publishing company.⁵¹⁾

Subsequent guidebooks were written by Basil Chamberlain and W.B. Mason, with Chamberlain as lead author. Chamberlain and Mason's *Murray* guidebooks were a great success, and sold 5,000 copies for the 4th edition in 1894 alone. It was extended in 1899 to cover developments in railway lines, and to include Formosa (Taiwan), which Japan had taken following the war with China in 1895.

In many ways, the *Japan* guides were typical of the *Murray* series, and in some aspects they encapsulated the positive points of the series more than any of the other *Murray* guidebooks. For example, typifying the *Murray* guidebook series tendency to be written by academic experts, the lead authors of these guidebooks, Satow and Chamberlain, have been recognized as two of the most important figures in studies of Japan and in relationships between Japan and Britain at the end of the Edo and during the Meiji period.

In other ways, the *Japan* guides were atypical of the *Murray* style. Firstly, the *Japan* guides were unique in that they were printed in the country concerned (in order to gain Japanese copyright), and most of the advertising included was of Japanese companies. As Gretton explains,

from the switch to Chamberlain from the 3rd edition, John Murray III published the books for Chamberlain at a 10% commission, with the guides printed in Japan, then books for the British market bound by *Murray* in London, and those to be sold in Japan bound by Kelly and Walsh in Yokohama. Additionally, the marketing and publishing of the guides was effectively left to the authors, indicating that the use of the *Murray* brand was partly simply for convenience. Actually, the *Japan* guides were the only guides in the *Murray* series that were never owned by *Murray*. As a result, Gretton states, the book is “more closely allied to the country it describes than any other in Murray’s series.”⁵²⁾

While the authors of the *Japan* guides had some measure of independence from the publishing company, on the other hand they stuck closely to the *Murray* format, both in their focus on practical information and in the actual structure of the books themselves. In addition, the audience for the guidebooks was similar to the general audience of *Murray* guides (as evident in the high price tag), and the authors clearly felt it beneficial, for sales and reputation, to situate themselves within the *Murray* brand.

3. Lead Authors: Ernest Satow and Basil Hall Chamberlain

Ernest Satow, Gretton tells us, was “one of the most eminent diplomats ever to write a guide-book.”⁵³⁾ Born in 1843, Satow was a key British diplomat in Japan from the 1860s, an important Japanologist and founder of the Asiatic Society of Japan, a highly skilled Japanese linguist who, amongst other things, co-wrote foundational English-Japanese dictionaries.⁵⁴⁾ During his time as a British representative in Japan and China, on and off until the early twentieth century, Satow was witness to such pivotal events as the Shimonoseki battle, birth of the Meiji period, the Sino-Japanese war, Boxer Rebellion, and the Russo-Japanese war. One of the many extraordinary experiences he had in Japan was when as part of the British delegation led by Harry Parkes, he survived an attack by anti-foreign samurai on the way to their first official meeting with the Meiji Emperor in Kyoto.⁵⁵⁾ He subsequently played an important role in establishing political relations between Japan and Britain. Satow was also the author of one of the earliest English guidebooks on Japan, *A Guide Book to Nikko* (1874).

Basil Chamberlain was born in 1850 in England and, like Satow, is one of the most well known British Japanologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Professor Emeritus of Japanese at the Imperial University of Tokyo from 1886, Chamberlain was an early translator of Japanese poetry and other classics. Primary amongst his publications is the widely read and influential *Things Japanese*, which was first published in 1890, and was from the 3rd (1898) to the 5th edition (1905) also published by *Murray*.⁵⁶⁾ This book itself is referred to as essential reading for those coming to Japan in all the editions analyzed here. The personal and professional relationship

between Satow and Chamberlain seems to have been quite strong, as evident in the fact that Chamberlain was at the top of Satow's acknowledgments list in the preface to the 1st edition (1881).

4. *Method of Guidebook Analysis*

In order to gain a general view of the evolution of the *Murray* guides over time, the 1st, 4th and 8th editions have been analyzed. The introductory sections (about 100 pages) of these editions of *Murray Japan* guidebooks were analyzed in order to understand how they represent Japan temporally. Key words picked up for a) were 'traditional', 'modern', 'ancient', and this provided a basis for discussion of whether Japan was portrayed in a typical Orientalist framework of contemporary decline and past splendor, or some other framework. Topics considered to have a role representing a traditional or modern Japan, such as *hara-kiri* and pre-industrial lifestyles, were also picked up for discussion. Terms such as 'West', 'Asian', 'authentic Japan' were also focused on in order to ascertain whether Japan was framed in a typical Orientalist discourse in which the West and the East are polar opposites, or otherwise.

5. *Satow and Hawes Guidebook: 1st Edition (1881)- Nostalgia for 'Old Japan'*

Satow and Hawes' nostalgia for an 'old Japan' and fear of its extinction is vividly portrayed in the section on Tokyo's history.

the disappearance of the two-sworded men, the displacement of the palanquin 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 universal, have robbed the streets of the picturesque aspect which was formerly so great an attraction to the foreign visitor.⁵⁷⁾

This passage reveals an attraction to the 'old Japan,' and a dislike of it being mixed with or replaced with Western culture. This not only reflects the preferences of the authors, but those of the British visitor to Japan at this time. We see this objection to the influx of 'European-like' scenery again in the guide, such as when we read about, "The unsightly rows of brick buildings which extend from Shim-Bashi to Kio-Bashi."⁵⁸⁾

The first passage also tells us something about the meaning of the 'picturesque' in touristic discourses on Japan. As Littlewood points out in his study of images of Japan, here it seems to mean 'like a picture', and like this simile, is of a 'traditional' Japan sealed in time.⁵⁹⁾ Westernization threatens to wrench such scenes out of their timelessness, and in a sense, shatter this image.

The guidebook has over five references to *hara-kiri* (ritual suicide) and on attacks and murders, even giving guidance to where these occurred. This reveals the interest of the authors in

such events, but also how they anticipated the interest of the guide's users. *Hara-kiri* had become known in England by this time, knowledge the authors rely upon when they use the Japanese term without explaining its meaning.⁶⁰⁾ British diplomat and writer, A. B. Mitford, had helped make *hara-kiri* known in English through *Tales of Old Japan*. His most in-depth description is of the *hara-kiri* of an officer commanded to do so by the Emperor for ordering the foreign settlement in Hyogo to be fired upon in 1868.⁶¹⁾ This officer's *hara-kiri* was observed by both Mitford and Ernest Satow, who were chosen as the two representatives of the British legation, and was later also described in Satow's 1921 book, *A Diplomat in Japan*. In this book, Satow mentions that the event was "distorted" in the English press, in which Satow and Mitford's attendance was described as "disgraceful" and un-Christian, to which he replied that the event was "decent and decorous."⁶²⁾ Satow's comments reflect the mixed feelings regarding *hara-kiri* in Britain at the time.

In the preface to *Tales of Old Japan*, Mitford informs the reader that the book is an account of how feudal Japan "has passed away like a dissolving view,"⁶³⁾ displaying, as can also be seen in the book's title itself, a sentiment of loss and fascination with a Japan of the past. In Mitford's book, the samurai are described as a remnant of this old Japan, and are compared to clansmen of "Edinburgh in the olden time," indicating that this fascination with Japan's past is also one of a yearning for a lost British past. It is conceivable then, that references to such events in the *Murray* guidebooks would have evoked ambiguous images of the noble, loyal but savage warrior of 'old' Japan, but also images of an 'old' Britain of pre-industrial, chivalrous and romantic times.

These descriptions, and the general sense of fear that Japan's 'old' culture is being lost and rapidly replaced by that of Europe, is especially surprising when we consider the experiences of the guide's primary author, Ernest Satow. Satow was not only witness to the case of *hara-kiri* mentioned above, but arrived to work in the British Legation in Edo just a year after it was attacked by samurai in 1862, and was personally part of a British delegation that was attacked by a group of samurai in Kyoto less than 20 years before the guidebook was published.⁶⁴⁾

6. *Chamberlain and Mason: 4th and 8th Editions (1894, 1907)- Old Giving Way to the New*

The introduction to the 4th edition begins with a description of Japan and Japanese history, most of which is repeated in the 8th edition. According to this description, Japan had been "secluded for over two centuries" and was "burst open by the American expedition in 1853-4" and since then feudalism was replaced by centralized autocracy, and Western style education, while European "dress . . . manners . . . amusement" were adopted. Summing up this history, the authors state that, "In short, in every sphere of activity the old order gave way to the new."⁶⁵⁾

The authors continue with, "Fortunately for the curious observer . . . she continues in a state of transition still retaining characteristics of her own." This passage, and others like it, describe Japan

as losing its traditions, moving from 'old' Japan to 'new', but unlike the previous edition, also emphasizes continuation of some traditions. In addition, this passage serves to feminize Japan, a typical aspect of Orientalist discourses, highlighting Japan's helplessness, weakness and the tragedy of 'her' loss.

Interestingly, the saving grace for Japan is found amongst the "lower classes," whose dress, manners and beliefs have been the most resilient to change.⁶⁶⁾ Nonetheless, the urgency of this threat to 'old Japan', which is presented to the reader as on the path to inevitable extinction, prompts the writers to state that: "Those who wish to see as much as possible of the old order of things should come quickly."⁶⁷⁾

The idea that Japanese culture is slowly disappearing in the face of European culture is part of discourses of the non-Western 'Other' that assumes the superior strength of European race and culture. As discussed in the section on Orientalism, the idea that non-Western races and cultures were doomed was widely held in the UK and USA. Applied to the case of Japan, the commonly drawn conclusion was that social evolution makes the eventual disappearance of Japanese culture unavoidable.

7. Japan's Traditions as Resilient

The claim that Japan is being Westernized and 'old Japan' is disappearing is, however, not made in the introduction to the 8th edition (1907). The 8th edition instead has a description of the war with China and its "successful issue", which, the authors tell us, led to a rise in Japan's "prestige. . . in the community of nations as a power to be counted with," and that: "Another point has become clear as of late years- Europeanisation, after all, is not to carry everything before it."⁶⁸⁾ Following this, the reader is told that, "Japan, though transformed, still rests on her ancient foundations."⁶⁹⁾

Unlike the 4th then, the 8th edition does not predict the disappearance of 'old Japan', and instead confirms the continuation of Japan's traditions. This, it seems, reflects the recognition of Japan on near-equal terms after the growth of its colonial, military and international political power built on success in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty (1902). The description of Japan in regard to time, traditions, and how authentically 'Japanese' Japan is, then, shifted during this period, from one in which Japanese culture was located in the historic past, to where it was also positioned as contemporary.

The reader is encouraged to explore Japan's less touristed places; to be inquisitive and find out about the so-called 'real Japan.' Those who are interested in learning about "Japanese life", readers are informed, should find that travel in second-class trains gives "far more subject-matter for their investigations."⁷⁰⁾ They are also told they should "avoid the Foreign Settlement in the Open Ports," outside of which you may see "theatres, wrestling, dancing-girls, and the new Japan of European

uniforms, political lectures, clubs, colleges, hospitals, and Methodist chapels, in the big cities.” Here we find that these later *Murray* guidebooks portray urban Japan as of having stark contrasts between ‘old’ and ‘new,’ and ‘East’ and ‘West.’ This contrast is represented as unfavorable, and as something that is threatening a ‘pure’ Japanese tradition and culture.

8. The ‘Picturesque,’ and ‘Traditional’ in Touristic Representations of Japan

Chamberlain and Mason recognize the importance of the ‘picturesque’ in describing Japan for visitors:

But Japan is more especially the happy hunting ground of the *lover of the picturesque*. With the symmetrical outlines of its volcanoes, with its fantastic rocks, its magnificent timber which somehow, even when growing naturally, produces the impression of having been planted for *artistic* effects, with its *tiny* shrines and *quaint* hostelrys constantly placed so as to command *vistas that delight the eye*, this *beautiful land* is a fitting abode for the *most esthetic of modern peoples*. Every variety of scenery, from the *gracefully lovely* to the *ruggedly grand*, is here to be found.⁷¹⁾ (My italics)

Not only the visitor, but the hosts themselves, then, are depicted as lovers and appreciators of art and beauty, in a land described here as something akin to an aesthete’s utopia.

As discussed earlier, Romanticism was an important element in the creation of the touristic image of Japan, especially in Britain. Romanticism was partly a reaction to industrialism and the massive shift of the population to polluted and over-crowded cities in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Areas glorified by this ‘romantic gaze’ were believed to have both unspoiled natural beauty and home to a traditional and pre-industrial culture. The attention to detail and craftsmanship found in Japanese arts and crafts, and the small independent family businesses with long histories and other ‘pre-industrial’ styles of living, clearly appealed to such travelers. As a result of such interests, there is great importance placed on the traditional side in touristic representations of Japan.

Following Satow’s lead, Chamberlain and Mason describe people who commit *hara-kiri* as acting in, “the manner of an ancient Japanese hero.”⁷²⁾ Again, *hara-kiri* and loyal samurai, it seems, were perceived to be of great interest to many visitors to Japan at this time. As described earlier, the central attraction of such stories is that they symbolize an ‘old’ Japan that is lost or in the process of being lost. The samurai and *hara-kiri* are used as symbols to differentiate Japan from the West, mark Japan as ‘uncivilized,’ but also to connect to a romantic lost ‘old’ Europe of feudal times, and morals of loyalty and honor, values seen to have diminished in post-industrial societies.

9. *Summary of Analysis and Conclusion*

The *Murray* guidebooks focused on dry and practical content, but also incorporated some impressionistic descriptive language that reflected the ideals and aesthetics of Romanticism. Ideas such as the 'picturesque' suspended the Japanese scenery, which included Japanese people, in an ideal Oriental and exotic 'old' Japan. The *Murray* guidebooks reflect this pattern, by both praising symbols of Japan's traditions while generally warning of what is seen as the destined destruction of this 'weaker' culture by the 'stronger' culture of the West. As a result, 'genuine' Japan is located in 'old Japan' and in representations that symbolize weakness, frailty and delay, such as smallness, quaintness and pre-industrial lifestyles. However, such representations changed as Japan became militarily successful, resulting in the durability of Japan's traditions being re-emphasized.

This thesis reflects many of the complexities of the modern touristic discourses in the English language. By considering the history of tourism, and the historical background and ideological movements that *Murray* guidebooks materialized from, it has been the aim to not criticize, but consider them as emerging from, then holding a leading role in, the touristic Oriental discourses of Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

It was found that while the touristic Orientalist discourses on Japan have shifted and changed in response to historical, political and social changes and ideological trends, they contain some of the key aspects of Orientalist discourses that Said and Behdad point out. While similarities between Japan and English-speaking countries are at times noted, on the whole the division between Japan as part of the exotic 'East', distinct from the familiar 'West' of English-speaking countries, is maintained. This is sustained through a variety of representations, many of which revolve around concepts of time. Early *Murray* guidebooks glorified Japan's past and traditions, and their distress over what the authors saw as Japan's destined Westernization. This revealed Japan as delayed and weak, while the West and Western culture were portrayed as strong and advanced. In the last *Murray* edition, Japan's military successes at the turn of the twentieth century were generally praised, and used as evidence to argue that Japan's traditions were durable. While we see a slight shift from fear of extinction of 'old' Japan to a confidence in its resilience, still this description also functioned to separate Japan from the West; as unique and exotic. Similar to Yokohama's conclusions,⁷³⁾ it was found that rather than recognize the similarities between Western countries and Japan in their colonizing missions, growing sense of nationalism, and development of a modern military and industry, the authors portrayed such changes as being essentially Japanese and exotic in nature.

Endnotes

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- 2) Selwyn, T., 1996.
- 3) Morgan, N., & Pritchard, A., 1998.
- 4) Bhattacharyya, D., 1997, p. 372.
- 5) Said, E., 1978.
- 6) Behdad, A., 1994, 37.
- 7) Behdad, A., 1994, 9–11.
- 8) Behdad, A., 1994, 37.
- 9) Behdad, A., 1994.
- 10) Minear, R.H., 1980.
- 11) Dower, J.W., 1986; Littlewood, I. 1996; Wilkinson, E. 1991; Kato, M., 2010.
- 12) Elliott, A., 2010.
- 13) Macfie, A. L., 2000.
- 14) Bhattacharyya, D., 1997.
- 15) Tegelberg, M., 2010.
- 16) Barthes, R., 1972, 75–76.
- 17) Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Anette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 75–76.
- 18) Yokoyama, T., 1987.
- 19) Hulme, P., & Youngs, T., 2005.
- 20) Said, E., 1978, 80.
- 21) Buzard, J., 2005.
- 22) Buzard, J., 2005.
- 23) Buzard, J., 2005, 40.
- 24) Buzard, J., 2005, 45.
- 25) Urry, J., 1990, 20.
- 26) Mendelson, E., 1985, 390.
- 27) Urry, J., 1990, 18.
- 28) Buzard, J., 2005, 49.
- 29) Quoted in Buzard, J., 2005.
- 30) Carr, H., 2005, 78.
- 31) Carr, H., 2005, 82.
- 32) Hofstadter, R., 1992, 172.
- 33) 横浜開港資料館, 1996.
- 34) Chamberlain, B.H., & Mason, W.B., 1894.
- 35) 横浜開港資料館, 1996, 21–25.
- 36) 長坂契那, 2010, 101–115; 荒山正彦, 1991.
- 37) 長坂契那, 2010, 101–115; 荒山正彦, 1991, 108.
- 38) 長坂契那, 2010, 101–115; 荒山正彦, 1991, 110.
- 39) 長坂契那, 2010, 101–115; 荒山正彦, 1991, 111.
- 40) 長坂契那, 2010, 101–115; 荒山正彦, 1991, 111.

- 41) Zachs, W., 1998.
- 42) Gretton, J.R., 1993, xlii.
- 43) Gretton, J.R., 1993, xlii–xliii.
- 44) The 1845 Murray guide to Spain was censored, and fears of censorship influenced the *Russia* guides of the 1840s. Gretton, J.R., 1993, xxiii.
- 45) Quoted without citation in Gretton, J.R., 1993, vii.
- 46) Gretton, J.R., 1993, xxxviii.
- 47) Gretton, J.R., 1993, xxxviii.
- 48) Gretton, J.R., 1993, xxxviii.
- 49) Gretton, J.R., 1993, x.
- 50) Gretton, J.R., 1993, xxvii.
- 51) Gretton, J.R., 1993, xxvii.
- 52) Gretton, J.R., 1993, xxvii.
- 53) Gretton, J.R., 1993, xxvi.
- 54) Satow, E. & Masakata, I., 1875.
- 55) Satow, E., 2006, 359–362.
- 56) It went through six editions and is still being republished today. Chamberlain, B.H., 2007.
- 57) Satow, E. & Hawes, A.G.S., 1881, 8.
- 58) Satow, E. & Hawes, A.G.S., 1881, 8.
- 59) Littlewood, I. 1996, 64–66.
- 60) Satow, E. & Hawes, A.G.S., 1881, 334.
- 61) Mitford, A.B., 1871, 283.
- 62) Mitford, A.B., 1871, 379.
- 63) Mitford, A.B., 1871, 3.
- 64) Satow, E., 2006, 359–362.
- 65) Chamberlain, B.H., & Mason, W.B., 1894, 1.
- 66) Chamberlain, B.H., & Mason, W.B., 1894, 2.
- 67) Chamberlain, B.H., & Mason, W.B., 1894, 2.
- 68) Chamberlain, B.H., & Mason, W.B., 1894, 1–2.
- 69) Chamberlain, B.H., & Mason, W.B., 1894, 2.
- 70) Chamberlain, B.H., & Mason, W.B., 1894, 12.
- 71) Chamberlain, B.H., & Mason, W.B., 1894, 12.
- 72) Chamberlain, B.H., & Mason, W.B., 1894, 327, 325.
- 73) Yokoyama, T., 1987.

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