

Following Marco Polo's Dream: Japan in the Western Imagination from Perry to Pan-Pacific Peace

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Abstract

From the time of Marco Polo's journey to the East, Japan has had an important place in the Western imagination. This paper will consider the visual record that Marco Polo inspired, particularly as it can be seen during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. It was a time when Japan opened to the West, and when an unprecedented number of foreign tourists began to experience the country firsthand. Much of the material discussed in this paper was part of a larger consideration of the topic exhibited in the Faculty of Letters' Museum at Aichi Gakuin University. The exhibition was sponsored by the Culture of Travel Research Group, a part of the Faculty's Institute of Cultural Studies.

Keywords: Japan, visual culture, travel, tourism

Introduction

In Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities* (1974) a fictional Marco Polo describes to an elderly Kublai Khan the cities in his vast empire. His descriptions weave the factual with more subjective, hidden impressions to help the ruler imagine far-off places he has never seen. From the time that the actual Marco Polo described it as a Kingdom of Gold, Japan has had a significant place in the Western imagination. This paper will look at the rich variety of visual images of Japan produced by Western travelers, or produced for those travelers. These images helped introduce Japan to the world, helped people around the world to understand Japan, and helped them, in short, to imagine Japan. This paper will look at visual material produced by and for western audiences during the close to a century after Japan's "opening" to the years just preceding the Second World War.

First, the paper will look at the legendary Marco Polo and consider his broad influence. Although Polo never came to Japan, the words he wrote about Japan first sparked the Western imagination and challenged travelers to find it for themselves. Although missionaries during the "Christian Century," along with Dutch merchants out of Nagasaki left important visual images of Japan, this paper will jump to the first large-scale Western travel to Japan and its antecedent: Commodore Perry and the visual record of his expedition to Japan. The official record of expedition, written after Perry's return to America, was filled with striking images of Japan created primarily by two talented artists. The focus will then shift from images

produced by Westerners to look at guidebooks and other material produced for Western travelers to Japan during the Meiji Period and early Taisho Period. In addition, Francis Brinkley's *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature*, a series of books filled with carefully chosen visual images that showed Japan as a peaceful country of great beauty with a long and proud history will also be considered. Finally, this paper will touch on tourist material from the beginning of the twentieth century produced for Western travelers to a particularly wonderful place in Japan: the Chubu Region. Through this visual record, produced by travelers or by those people hoping to welcome travelers, we can see Japan as they saw it, and as they hoped others would begin to imagine it.

Marco Polo Imagines Japan

Certainly there are very few people in the world today who have never heard the name Marco Polo (1254–1324). It's a name that has become synonymous with travel and adventure. In the words of John Man, one of his many biographers:

Marco Polo is perhaps the world's most famous traveler, and his account of his journey from Venice to the court of Kublai Khan, ruler of the world's greatest land empire, is the most famous travel book ever written. His *Travels* is famous for three good reasons: (1) because it was the first to open central China and Asia to the West, (2) because of its scale and (3) because of its essential truth. (Man, 2009)

Marco Polo, the man who introduced Japan to the West, has inspired generations of travelers for over 700 years. A brief look at the man, his legendary journey and his legacy is instructive in its simplicity. He was born in Venice in 1254. His father, Niccolo, and his uncle, Maffeo, travelled widely as merchants. At the age of 17, Marco travelled with his father and uncle to Asia. They left in 1271. They travelled east along what we now know as the Silk Road. In China, Marco met Kublai Khan, the ruler of the Mongol Empire. Marco spent many years working near Kublai Khan. About 25 years after he left Venice, Marco returned.

The story is remarkably simple, but its imaginative reach through the subsequent centuries has been great. Marco Polo's visual legacy, however, began long after his death. We have little idea what he even looked like because no first-hand portraits of him, made when he was alive, survive today. One portrait of a young Marco Polo, often used to illustrate the story of his journeys, was made in Germany in 1477, 153 years after his death. Another portrait of Marco as an old man was made in Italy in 1574, 250 years after his death.

The visual record of his journey, furthermore, begins long after the fact. One particularly lovely version in the Bibliotheque Nationale de France, is called the *Livre des Merveilles du Monde*. Illustrations begin with Marco leaving Venice with his father and uncle.

Marco went into great detail about Kublai Khan. The artist(s) of *Livre des Merveilles du Monde* likewise depict Kublai in a variety of situations: on the battlefield; during a hunting excursion. He looks very comfortable riding in this little house on top of the elephant. The

artist(s) had probably never seen a real elephant, so the depiction seems a little unusual today. It is about as big as a horse, has feet like a cat's and a trunk like a trumpet.

Marco Polo introduced Europeans to China. It must have been a shock for them: China was bigger than any country in Europe, had a larger population, was more technologically advanced, and had in many ways a more advanced civilization. Similarly, Marco's description of Japan must have been equally surprising. Although he never went to Japan, he was the first Westerner to write about it:

Chipangu is an Island toward the east. It is 1500 miles distant from the Continent. A very great island it is. The people are civilized, and they are Idolaters. I can tell you the quantity of gold they have is endless. The Palace of the Lord of this Land is entirely roofed with fine gold. Moreover, all the pavement of the palace, and the floors are entirely of gold, the windows are also of gold. (Yule, 1926)

There are two important points in Marco's words about Japan that must have inspired Europeans: The first was that the Japanese were not Christian. This must have been an inspiration to Christian missionaries. The second point was that Japan was filled with gold. This must have been an inspiration to merchants throughout Europe.

Marco spends that last part of his description of Japan telling about the failed Mongol invasion of Japan. It was a reminder to Europeans of the fact that this small island on the other side of the world repelled the Mongol Horde of the Great Khan, not once but twice. Again, the European artist(s) of *Livre des Merveilles du Monde* drew what they knew: Japan looks very much like a European city. Although some soldiers are still firing arrows, others are already in retreat.

In the nineteenth century, with the expansion of European empires around the world, and a renewed interest in Asia in particular, a resurgence of interest in Marco Polo's journey began. The definitive English-language edition of Marco Polo's *Travels* from that period was edited by Sir Henry Yule (1820–1889). Yule had served in the British East India Company in both India and Burma (today Myanmar), and used his extensive network of friends and associates to confirm details of Marco Polo's story. His 1871 edition of *Travels* was approximately 850,000 words: Polo's text was about 100,000 words, and the notes and commentaries by Yule himself were over seven times that. Today there are numerous translations of *Travels* for readers throughout the world. In English alone, along with Yule's edition which is still in print, readers can choose from many different translations. (cf.: Komroff, 1930; Latham, 1958; Harris, Marsden and Wright, 2008)

It's not surprising that Marco Polo's story still inspires young people today. It's the ultimate adventure story. As Man observes:

There's another reason for the fame of *Travels*: It is a real-life fairy story. An ordinary boy is plucked from home by his father, and taken to an unknown region where he is presented to the richest and most powerful man in the world, who becomes his mentor. And as a result he acquires wealth and stature and finally, by turning his story into a

book, a sort of immortality. (Man, 2009)

Today, over 700 years after his death, publishers still understand that Marco Polo will attract the attention of young people who dream of adventure and yearn to see faraway lands, and versions of the story for young readers abound. (cf.: Herbert, 2001; Holub, 2007; Hardy-Gould, 2010)

In the late twentieth century, a number of small, private expeditions attempted to retrace Marco Polo's journey from Venice to China and back again.

In the early 1960s, while still a student at Oxford university, Tim Severin tried to retrace Marco Polo's route on a motorcycle during his summer vacation. He had many adventures and misadventures (including falling from his motorcycle and breaking his leg), but because of a visa problem, he was unable to enter China. Returning to Oxford several weeks after the Fall Semester began, he was still able to graduate due to the fact that his professors were so impressed by his feat. (Severin, 1964)

Another student from Oxford University attempted the same journey during his summer vacation in 1986. William Dalrymple, successfully made it to China and even returned to Oxford before the Fall Semester began. His book about his journey, *In Xanadu* (1989) was the first book of his long literary career, a career which continues today. (Dalrymple, 1989)

In the early 1990s, two Americans from New York, Denis Belliveau and Francis O'Donnell, recreated Marco Polo's journey. They insisted on doing it in a way that, as best they could, resembled the journey that Marco Polo had made. That meant only traveling by land or sea: No airplanes. Their adventure became a popular TV documentary. (Belliveau, 2008)

Japanese-American Michael Yamashita, an award-winning photographer for National Geographic magazine, retraced Marco Polo's journey in 2003. The result was a feature length documentary, and a book of Yamashita's photographs. (Yamashita, 2004)

Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry & *Narrative of the Expedition...*

When US Commodore Matthew C. Perry and his fleet of "black ships" approached Edo Bay in July of 1853, it triggered a series of events that eventually led to the Meiji Restoration and the momentous changes that happened in Japan during the second half of the nineteenth century. The cultural encounter that occurred between Japan and the West, in this case the United States, would later take place on a grand scale, but in 1853, when Perry and his crew first arrived in Japan, and a year later when they returned, the encounters were on a smaller, more intimate, face-to-face scale. In these encounters, people of both countries—one ancient and bound in tradition, another brash, new and ambitious—tried to make sense of the strange and surprising foreign cultures they saw before them. (Dower 2008)

Perry is quick to point out in the introduction to his narrative the debt he owes to Marco Polo, who brought Japan "to the knowledge of the European world." (Perry, 1857) To the legacy Perry could add a first-hand visual record. Rich visual material documenting this

historic encounter exist on both sides. On the American side, a massive, extensively illustrated, 3-volume account of the Perry Expedition was published beginning in 1856. The entire title in English was:

Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, Performed in the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under the Command of Commodore M.C. Perry, United States Navy by Order of the Government of the United States

In it we can find a wonderful array of images which provided its enthralled Western audience with an eye-witness, contemporary glimpse into Japan for the first time.

Perry's crew included two talented artists, the German-born painter, William Heine (1827–1885) and the photographer Eliphalet Brown, Jr. (1827–1885).

Heine was only 25 years old when he joined the Perry Expedition. Of the 90 color lithographs in Volume 1 of *Narrative of the Expedition...*, the majority were from drawings or watercolors that Heine made in Japan. A number of pictures include Heine as he was actually sketching.

Heine's ability to sketch a scene in the Western style must have been fascinating to many Japanese. We can see him, for example, after he had attracted a small crowd of interested children. A Japanese official is chasing away another small group of children, perhaps in order to allow Heine a chance to do his work in peace.

Daguerreotype photography, the forerunner as our cameras today, was a completely new technology when Brown joined the Perry Expedition with his own Daguerreotype camera and photographic processing material. Heine sketched one picture in which we can see Brown, with his large, upright Daguerreotype camera taking a picture of three people. Although we don't know for sure, as Dower (2008) suggests, perhaps the picture that he was taking was the one that served as the model for the lithograph titled "Afternoon Gossip Lew Chew."

Perry's visual record was not without its controversy. One lithograph of a public bathhouse in Shimoda caused a minor scandal when *Narrative of the Expedition...* was first published. Many Americans at the time were shocked by the sight of men and women bathing together. The lithograph was subsequently removed from later editions of the *Narrative of the Expedition...*

One of the goals of Perry's expedition was to conduct scientific research, for example to record the notable plants and animals that they observed along the way. Volume 2 showed the flora and fauna that they found in and around Japan. (Fig. 1) Volume 3 of *Narrative of the Expedition...* is perhaps the

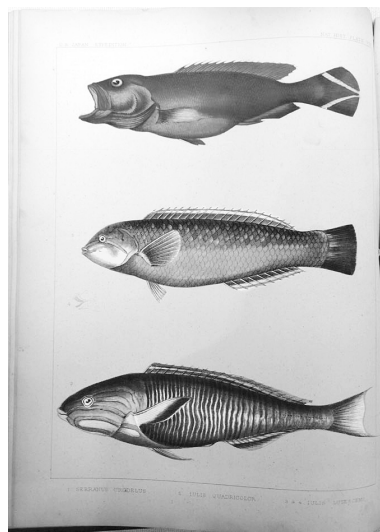


Figure 1: Perry, *Narrative* Vol. 2
(Private collection)

least interesting volume to the general reader today. It is a collection of astronomical charts made by the sailors to help them with navigation.

Guidebooks for Foreign Travelers to Japan

In Perry's wake, during the Bakumatsu and Meiji periods, foreigner travelers streamed into Japan. Most were neither explorers or diplomats, missionaries nor merchants. A large number of these new foreign visitors to Japan were simply riding a wave that gripped much of the late nineteenth century. They were the "globetrotters" who were making the most of the boom in international travel. At the same time, Japan was eager to show that it was a worthy destination. More importantly, however, it wanted to demonstrate that it was modern and developed and ready to take its place among the ranks of "civilized" nations. Initially, foreigners were restricted from traveling outside of the treaty ports (Nagasaki, Yokohama, Hyogo, Niigata and Hakodate), but with the Meiji Restoration in 1868, travel throughout Japan became more common, and as train service became more widely available, foreigners could be seen traveling in many parts of Japan.

Guidebooks played an important role. Helpful guides began to be produced to help travelers to Japan understand the country and its people, and plan their journey. The guides ranged from general guidebooks, to those produced by travel-related Japanese businesses like train and shipping companies, hotels, or the organizers of specific events.

John Murray III and the Murray Handbooks

From the mid-seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, wealthy Europeans embarked on what came to be known as the "Grand Tour," long educational trips throughout Europe usually ending in Rome. They were early study-abroad students, and a number of travel narratives, like Mariana Starke's *Letters from Italy* (1800) helped these travelers on their journey.

John Murray III (1808–1892) had a copy of Starke's book with him as he traveled through Europe. (His family's company was Starke's publisher.) He saw its great potential, but was bothered by the dearth of other practical guides that could help travelers like himself tour Europe. Murray's grandfather had established a successful publishing company in London, and when the publishing house fell to him, he began to publish a series of handbooks giving advice to travelers in countries throughout Europe. His guidebooks provided travelers with advice on what to pack, where to go, where to stay, what to eat, and what was worth seeing. *Murray's Handbooks*, with their distinctive red covers, were compact, easy to carry, and close to indestructible. They also had helpful features like detailed fold-out maps. (Parsons 2007) We can easily find Murray's influence on our guidebooks of today like the Lonely Planet series or *Chikyu no Arukikata*. (Garfield, 2013; Parsons, 2007)

Another important element of his guidebooks about which Murray was adamant was that they be written by experts in the field. At the end of the nineteenth century the John

Murray publishing house produced a guidebook focusing exclusively on Japan. *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (1894) was written by Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935) with contributions from Lafcadio Hearn. (Chamberlain, 1894) Chamberlain taught at the Tokyo Imperial University and was considered a leading “Japanologist” of the day. His book, *Things Japanese* (1890), was an exhaustive encyclopedia on Japan, Japanese people and Japanese culture, and is still a valuable reference today.

Tourism and Travel by Train

Four years after the Meiji Restoration, in 1872, train service between Tokyo and Yokohama began. The steam locomotive traveled at a top speed of 33 kph and took about 55 minutes to make the one-way trip from Shimbashi to Yokohama Station (now Sakuragicho). Seventeen years later, in 1889, the Tokaido train line was completed. Trains left Tokyo for Osaka once a day for a journey that took roughly 20 hours. Fast, efficient and comfortable train service has always been central to the Japanese government's promotion of tourism. *Japan Imperial Government Railways: Handy Travellers' Guide* (Japan Imperial Government Railways, 1914) was not only a travel guidebook for foreigners, but also an advertisement for Japan's modern train system. The text proclaimed that:

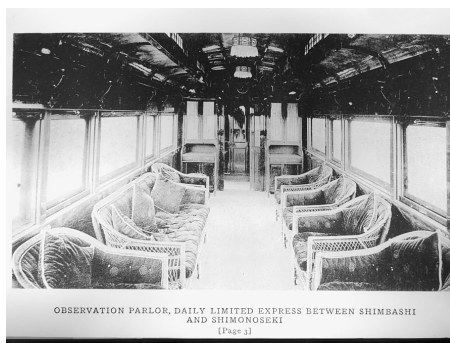


Figure 2: *Handy Travellers' Guide*
(Private collection)

No effort has been spared to introduce all the improvements taught by science and experience into the train accommodations, not to speak of the contrivances to ensure the safety of railway traveling.

Photographs inside *Japan Imperial Government Railways: Handy Travellers' Guide* promoted train travel in Japan. For example, the Observation Parlor in the Limited Express service from Shimbashi to Shimonoseki which “...is softly carpeted and tastefully furnished with cushioned wicker chairs and divans.” (Fig. 2)

The Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB)

In 1912, a semi-governmental organization called the Japan Tourist Bureau (later The Japan Travel Bureau or JTB), was established to help improve and promote tourism in Japan. It was established by a former government railway official, Yoshio Kinoshita (1874–1922), who had studied in Europe and the United States. JTB is now one of the largest travel agencies in the world. (Nakagawa, 1998)

Tourism in Japan has always been closely tied to the train system. When it was established, JTB was operated under the direction of the Japanese Government Railways, which managed the state-owned train system.

Although many foreign tourists who came to Japan had most likely heard of the Tokaido

Road, few were familiar with the Japanese landscape that passed in front of their eyes when they rode the train from Tokyo along the Tokaido line. The helpful illustrated maps in JTB's *From the Car Window* (1937) not only pointed out for interested passengers stations along the line, but also landmarks and other points of interest in the landscape. The stretch from Nagoya to Sekigahara (Fig. 3), for example, showed Nagoya Castle and a small factory, pointing to the historical importance and industrial renown of the city; Gifu had its cormorant fishing and paper lanterns; Ogaki, its eponymous "big persimmon"; and Sekigahara had two small crossed swords, harkening to the critical battle fought there centuries before. The text on the right-hand page gave more detail to the illustrated map and further suggestions on how travelers could enjoy the area if they chose to disembark. (*From the Car Window*, 1937)

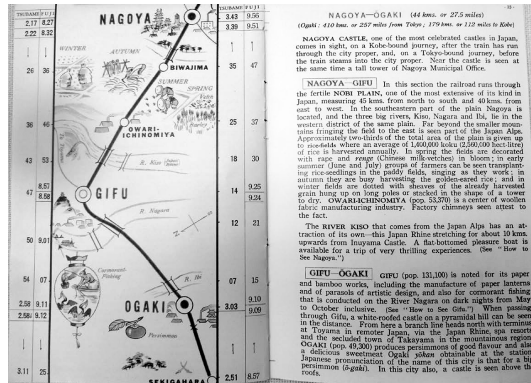


Figure 3: *From the Car Window* (Private collection)

The Welcome Society of Japan

In 1893, a private organization called The Welcome Society of Japan (*Kihinkai*) was established to promote foreign tourism in Japan. It arranged guided tours, encouraged hotels to improve their facilities and services, and persuaded tour guides, translators and interpreters to improve their skills. They also produced English-language guidebooks like *Useful Notes and Itineraries for Travellers in Japan* (1910). The Society was financially supported by businesses involved with the foreign tourist trade. Inside *Useful Notes and Itineraries for Travellers in Japan* we can find advertisements from railways and international shipping companies, department stores and other businesses that profited from foreign trade. Shibusawa Eiichi, whose entrepreneurial zeal helped him to found a myriad of Meiji-period business ventures, and earned him the sobriquet of "father of Japanese capitalism," acted as the Society's vice-president. (Fig. 4) His involvement was perhaps unsurprising: What better way to attract foreign capital than by guaranteeing the ease, efficiency and security through which tourists could bring it in themselves? (*Useful Notes...*, 1910)

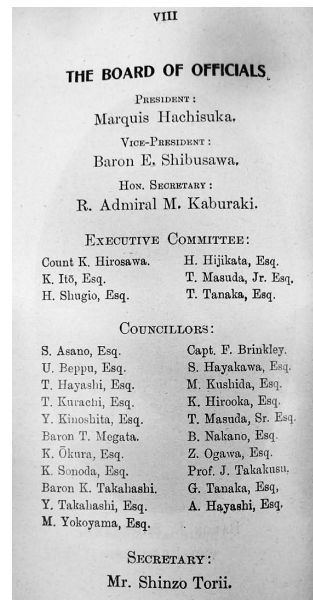


Figure 4: *Welcome Society of Japan* (Private collection)

The Grand Hotel

The Grand Hotel in Yokohama was one of the first western-style hotels to serve foreign guests in Yokohama. It was located on "The Bund," a stretch of buildings associated with the foreign community facing the sea (across from what is now Yamashita Park). The establishment has had its challenges: It was built in 1873, destroyed in the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923, and then reborn as the Hotel New Grand in 1927. The Hotel New Grand is in the same location and is still attracting guests today.

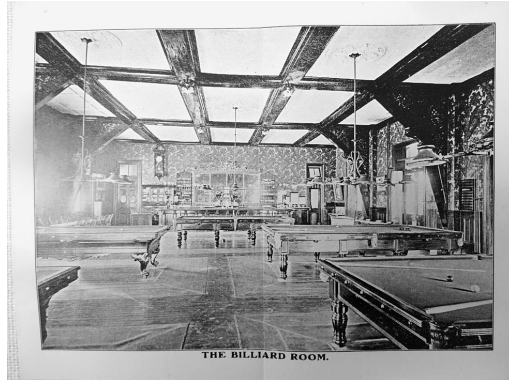


Figure 5: *The Grand Hotel* (Private collection)

The Grand Hotel Limited: Guide Book for Yokohama and Vicinity was one of the first guides for foreign tourists produced not by a governmental agency or travel association, but by a hotel, ostensibly for its foreign guests. In this case, the guide was designed to give guests practical information about traveling and sightseeing in and around Yokohama. Interestingly, the visual information provided focused on the hotel rather than the sightseeing. Interspersed throughout the guidebook were photographs of the hotel and its extensive western-style accommodations, like its spacious billiards room. (Fig. 5) The visual material reminded guests that wherever they travelled in Japan, the familiar comforts of the hotel would be an integral part of their stay. Another useful feature of the guidebook was the "Anglo-Japanese Conversation for Tourists" section, including (in English with romanized Japanese equivalents) conversational words and phrases, greetings, and conversations for travelers. Situations varied from "At a Hotel," to "At the Railway Station" and "Engaging a Jinrikisha." Visitors could try their hand at Japanese with useful phrases like, "Good day" (*Konnichi wa*), "Good evening" (*Komban wa*), "How is your father?" (*Go-sompu-san wa ikaga de gozarimasu ka*) and "He is very well." (*Goku-jobu de arimasu*). (Amenomori, 1905?)

We Japanese

Sennosuke Yamaguchi, founder of the Fujiya Hotel in Miyanoshita, Hakone, having worked for a hotel in Yokohama, saw the need for a resort-style hotel that would cater to foreign visitors to Japan. The Fujiya opened in 1878. Since that time, the hotel has served many guests, including celebrities like Charlie Chaplin and John Lennon. Although the buildings have changed since it first opened, the Fujiya Hotel is still in operation today. (Fujiya Hotel)

We Japanese was first produced by the Fujiya Hotel in 1934 and went through a number of editions until the 1960s. More an encyclopedia than a guidebook, the book contained detailed information about Japan and the Japanese such as Japanese history, religion, arts, culture and customs.

Sennosuke Yamaguchi's son-in-law, H.S.K. Yamaguchi (1882–1944), married into the family, but hailed from another well-known family of hoteliers who founded the Kanaya Hotel in Nikko. He managed the Fujiya Hotel from 1907 to 1944, and oversaw the publication of *We Japanese*. The 1964 edition (most likely the final edition) combined three separate volumes into a single volume. (Fujiya Hotel)

NYK Line

Today, Nippon Yusen Kabushiki Kaisha (or NYK Line), is one of the largest shipping companies in the world, with over 800 ships to its fleet. It began its history in 1870 as Tsukumo Shokai, a shipping company founded by the Tosa clan. Later, as Mitsubishi Shokai (founded in 1875), the company started a passenger shipping service from Yokohama to Shanghai. NYK Line was founded from the merger between Mitsubishi Shokai and another shipping company in 1885. (NYK)

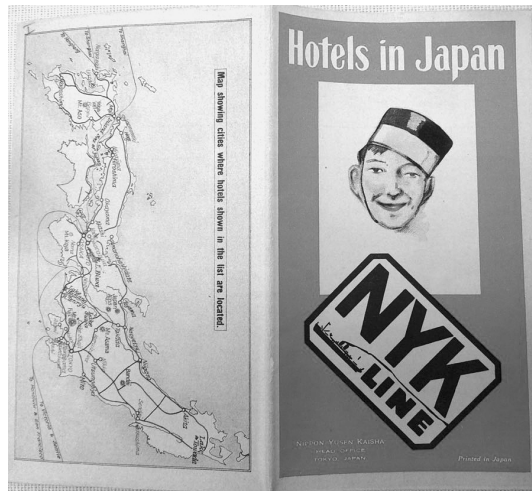


Figure 6: NYK Line (Private collection)

By 1936, NYK Line operated passenger lines that went all over the world: to Europe (the trip took approximately one month), North America (the trip took about 10 days), Australia, and South America. Like the Imperial Government Railway before it, the NYK Line provided tourist information for its passengers travelling to Japan. One handy brochure (Fig. 6) gave foreign travelers in Japan useful contact information for a variety of different services, from hotels and foreign consulates to department stores, movie theaters and even golf courses. When the brochure was produced in 1936, for example, a single room at the Nagoya Hotel cost ¥6 a night. It would take a guest seven minutes to walk to Nagoya Station; alternatively, they could go by taxi (at a cost of ¥1) or by jinrikisha (three sen). (*Hotels in Japan: NYK Line*, 1936)

World Engineering Congress of 1929

In 1929, Japan held the World Engineering Congress. It was organized by the Engineering Society of Japan, with (in the Society's words) the goal of promoting:

international cooperation in the study of engineering science and problems in all its branches, and (cultivating) a feeling of brotherhood among the engineers of the world.
(1929 *World Engineering Congress*)

About eight hundred presentations were made by engineers from all over the world. The *Guide-book of Excursions*, with 20 separate guidebooks to areas in Japan, helped conference attendees plan their sightseeing after the conference. It was an early example of “industrial

tourism,” much like what JETRO promotes today to visitors interested in Japanese manufacturing, craft and *monozukuri*. (JETRO) Each guidebook provided information about popular sightseeing spots as well as sites that might be of particular interest to engineers (like factories, mines and hydroelectric dams). The guidebook for Nagoya and the Chubu area, for example, introduced Nagoya Castle, but also The Nippon Beer Brewery (featuring photographs of its Malting and Brewing Houses and its “Mashing Room”), and the Oi Hydroelectric Plant (with photographs of the Oi Dam—the first of its kind in Japan—its High-Tension Switch Plant and its generator room). (*1929 World Engineering Congress*)

The “Tourist Library” Series of The Board of Tourist Industry

In 1930, the Government of Japan established the Board of Tourist Industry (*Kokusai Kankou Kyoku*) as a division of the Japanese National Ministry of Railways with the aim of attracting foreign tourists to Japan. The Board printed English-language versions of the booklets for tourists and distributed the material in Japan and abroad. In order to introduce Japan to foreign tourists, the Board published a short series called the “Tourist Library”, introducing various aspects of Japanese history, culture and daily life. The book series included such topics as “Japanese Gardens,” “Japanese Castles,” and “Japanese Postage Stamps.” By the early 1940s, as many as 40 titles had been published. The Board of Tourist Industry was disbanded in 1942. (Tatsui, 1936)

Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature

Captain Francis (Frank) Brinkley (1841–1912) spent much of his career introducing, and explaining about, Japan to the West. *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature* (1901) was the culmination of his long and distinguished career. He wrote, edited and oversaw the design of this multi-volume series which covered a wide range of topics, including Japanese history, art, literature, religion, economy, international relations, social customs and traditions.

In the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Brinkley was one of the foremost interpreters of Japan and Japanese culture for Western audiences. During his life, he had been a military officer, a teacher, a journalist and foreign correspondent, a scholar and translator, and the owner, publisher and editor of a successful English-language newspaper, *The Japan Mail* (which merged with *The Japan Times* in 1918). (Hoare, 1999)

Brinkley was born into an Anglo-Irish family and attended Trinity College, Dublin. After graduation, he became an officer in the Royal Artillery of the British Army. Although he came to Japan briefly in 1866, when he returned to Japan the following year, at the dawn of the Meiji Era, he perhaps never imagined that he would spend the rest of his life here, never returning to the country of his birth.

Brinkley married the Japanese daughter of a former samurai of the Mito domain. Although the marriage was recognized under Japanese law at the time, its validity was not recognized by the British authorities. Brinkley challenged this policy in a British court and won, thereby ensuring that the validity of Japanese marriages would be recognized by the British government. This ruling was an important step toward the international recognition of

Japanese laws and the abolition of the “uneven” treaties that Japan entered into during the mid-nineteenth century. Brinkley died in Japan in 1912, so his life spanned the full length of the Meiji period. (Hoare, 1999)

As a Westerner with an intimate knowledge of Japan, one gained from his long residence here, Brinkley was in a unique position to know the sorts of images of this country that Westerners wanted to see. The images we can find in *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature*

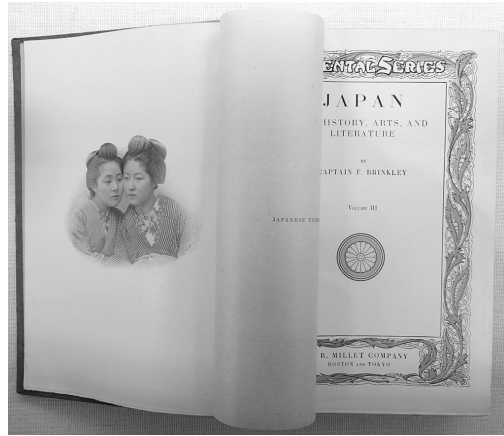


Figure 7: Brinkley, *Japan* (Private collection)

showed a country that was fascinating, exotic, traditional, industrious and non-threatening. (Fig. 7) The project was also heavily subsidized by the Meiji government, which provided the book’s publisher with financial assistance during its publication. Therefore, *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature* also presented an image of Japan that the Meiji government wanted to promote abroad. *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature* gives us a good example of what, at the beginning of the 20th century, the West thought about when they thought about Japan.

Tea Gardens in Nagoya

In 1935, 120 members of the Garden Club of America came to Japan to tour tea gardens and learn about Japanese gardening techniques and tea ceremony aesthetics. They stopped in Nagoya and subsequently toured close to twenty private gardens before continuing on to Kyoto and Nara. A number of English-language books, like *Tea Gardens in Nagoya* (1935) were produced to accompany the tour. The tour, and the books related to it, introduced many Americans for the first time to Japanese gardens and the Zen Buddhist aesthetic that influences them.



Figure 8: Hirokoji—“Broadway” of Nagoya (Private collection)

Guide to Nagoya (1929) provided foreign visitors with information about sightseeing in Nagoya, and one- or two-day excursions outside Nagoya, to places like Ise or Takayama. It also provided information about accommodations in Nagoya, at hotels like the Nagoya Hotel (which was in business from 1895–1945), where guests could stay in a double room for 7 yen a night (or 60 yen a month), and eat dinner for 2.50 yen. (Fig. 8, *Guide to Nagoya*)

The Pan-Pacific Peace Exposition

The Pan-Pacific Peace Exposition was held in Nagoya from March to May 1937 and ran for 78 days. The purpose of the exposition was to “stimulate the development of industry and culture... and promote peace.” That peace could be achieved through international commerce and trade was, in 1937, an arguably outdated notion. The exposition was, however, extensive, boasting over 13,000 exhibits. The colorful,



Figure 9: Pan-Pacific Peace Exposition (Private collection)

birds-eye view map, which stretched across the front and back covers of the exposition pamphlet (Fig. 9), gave no hint of growing clouds on the horizon, clouds which would soon threaten the founding ideals of the exposition itself. (The Pan-Pacific Peace Exposition)

Conclusion

By the time the exposition had begun, Japan had been involved in intermittent fighting in China for six years. A little over a month after the exposition closed, with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937, full-scale war broke out between China and Japan. In English, the bridge is named after Marco Polo, who described it in detail in his *Travels*. During the war, focus on international tourism was shifted away to other concerns. When large-scale tourism began again in the late 1940s, a renewed interest in portraying Japan could be seen. That will be the topic of subsequent research.

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