論　文

Victorian Images of Meiji Japan: Isabella Bird and the Significance of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* among Other Travel Accounts by Western Visitors to 19th Century Japan

Julie Joy Nootbaar

INTRODUCTION

Isabella Bird was a travel writer of Victorian England known for her many publications on her travels to places in the far corners of the world, notably *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. She described the countries and cultures she visited with a keen and critical eye which appealed to her audience of readers, the large number of people in the late 19th century Europe and America who were curious about the so-called exotic lands of the world. Isabella came to Japan in 1878 after extended journeys to North America, Australia and New Zealand, and Hawaii, and went on to travel in other parts of the world including many regions of East and Central Asia as well as Africa. In all, she published ten books of her various travels.

The late 19th century was a time during which ever-increasing numbers of Europeans and Americans traveled the globe for leisure purposes in search of adventure, knowledge, and improvement of health. Political expansion and the spreading of Christianity had initially brought Westerners in contact with the people and lands beyond the continents of Europe and North America, and the resultant exposure to faraway countries and cultures whetted the curiosity of a wider number of people with the time and the means to see the world. This trend, together with improvements in methods of transportation and communication, led to a burgeoning travel and tourism industry by the end of the 19th century.

It was during this period that Japan opened up to relations with the West and the world, and the once secluded nation became the focus of interest to people all over world. Numbers of businessmen, scholars and specialists, together with government officials and representatives from Europe and North America found themselves in this newly opened yet still exotic country, and travelers soon added Japan to their itineraries. Interest in Japan spread quickly, and the large number of books published on Japan during this period attests to its popularity with the general public in the West.

Among the ten books Isabella Bird published on her travels, her book entitled *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880) is a significant contribution to the numerous volumes published on Japan during her day. In this book, she gives the readers an account of her observations of the people and conditions as she traveled through the rural areas of the country which were mostly ignored by visitors from the West who were also writing about their experiences in Meiji Japan.

THE LIFE OF ISABELLA BIRD

Isabella Bird was born in Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, England on October 15, 1831. Her mother, Dora Lawson Bird, was a clergyman's daughter and her father, Edward Bird, was an evangelical minister for the Church of England. She and her sister Henrietta, with whom she shared a strong, life-long bond, were educated at home by their mother as the family was moved around due to her father's profession. Isabella was sickly throughout her childhood and had a fibrous tumor removed from her spine at age eighteen. Following the conventional wisdom of those days, for the improvement of her health, "Isabella's physician had prescribed 'a change of scenery' and 'as much time spent outside as possible'" (Watson, 2002). A trip with her family to the Scottish Highlands not only brought her healing from her ailments, but also gave Isabella her first writing opportunity as she began to publish anonymous accounts of her travels in various publications.

Isabella's first trip abroad, again for the purpose of improving her health, was at age twenty-two when she sailed to Canada and on to the United States for an extended period. Her first book was an account of her travels in the United States published in 1856 by John Murray entitled *An Englishwoman in America*. As becoming a professional writer and working to make money was not an acceptable vocation for a good Christian woman in Victorian England, Isabella was ambivalent about her success as a travel writer. But following the publication of this book at age 26, "Isabella had discovered a way of using her talents by traveling and writing. She could then donate her earnings to help others and do good" (Kaye, 1999:35). She had found a way to keep herself physically and mentally in good health while doing something meaningful, providing her with the means to live by as well as to perform charitable work.

After the death of her father, Isabella moved to Edinburgh with her mother and sister, which would remain her home between travels for the rest of her days. In 1873, her ailing health took her next to Australia and New Zealand, from whence she was headed to San Francisco. Instead, she found herself in Hawaii, then known as the Sandwich Islands, where she spent six months before heading to California and Colorado. The account of her stay in Hawaii was published in 1875 as *Six Months Among the Palm Groves, Coral Reefs and Volcanoes of the Sandwich Islands*. The book of her serialized accounts of her travels in Colorado were published in 1879 under the title of *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*. By the time of the publication of this book, Isabella had already traveled to Japan and would publish *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* in 1880, From

Japan, she went on to Asia, including Shanghai, Hong Kong, Saigon, and the Malay States, then sailed on to Egypt, all being regions barely explored by Westerners and even less traveled by women. Her later publications included *The Golden Chersonese* (1883), *Korea and her Neighbors* (1898), and *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond* (1900).

Isabella's earlier works were all written in the form of letters to her beloved sister Henrietta, who was not only her confidante but also tended to the affairs of their shared home. After Henrietta's death in 1880, a few months before the publication of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, Isabella consented to marry her long-time suitor, family physician John Bishop. The marriage, however, lasted only five years until his death, after which time she took up traveling again, heading to India and Tibet and on to the more treacherous areas of Central Asia. She later traveled to East Asia again and made her final trip abroad to Morocco in 1901. Isabella Bird died peacefully in bed in Edinburgh on October 7, 1904 at the age of 72.

Isabella almost always traveled alone. She preferred to visit places not yet spoiled by Western influence and was keenly interested in getting a taste of what life was really like for the people of whichever place she happened to be, and she had no interest in playing to the current European trend of romanticizing and generalizing the so-called quaint or exotic cultures of the non-western world. She was an explorer of the most pioneering kind, yet to the end she adhered to the societal norm of behavior for women of the late 19th century and had a "fear of being thought of as an outspoken feminist or radical" (Kaye, 1999:141). Yet she ventured out alone on horseback into the wilds at a time when books of proper conduct warned of the dangers of propriety involved when a woman travels alone: "There is no situation in which a lady is more exposed than when she travels, and there is no position where a dignified, lady-like deportment is more indispensable and more certain to command respect" (Hartley, 1874:34).

WOMEN AND TRAVEL IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

Victorian woman who refused to follow the dictates of the societal norm were mocked by society itself, and Isabella was always aware that she must be seen as a proper lady. "Isabella felt that conforming to society's rules was important, even though her attempts to live that narrow life always made her ill. She wanted to preserve her image as a modest, well-bred lady, traveling merely for her health, and did not want to appear as a radical or improper" (Kaye, 1999:141). Yet it was during this period that women's position in society began to be contested, a trend that is supported by the increasing numbers of women like herself who were venturing out to foreign lands and writing about what they saw and experienced.

"The surge of women travelers and their accounts of foreign adventure occur... at a historical moment when the meaning and boundaries of women's sphere were contested and increasingly indefinite" (Schriber, 1997:50). Until this time, women traveled most often to accompany their male counterparts. Travel for leisure in itself, the beginnings of tourism, had come to be an acceptable pastime for Europeans since the development

of the 'Grand Tour' of Europe in the 18th century, and took on "an entirely new significance with the rapid global expansion of the European colonial powers during the 19th century" (Chambers, 2000:4). "Whatever reasons were proclaimed for going abroad in the nineteenth century, travelers set out in part because their culture sanctioned and encouraged it. Travel was a ritual, a 'cultural performance' to which importance, respectability, and meaning attached" (Schriber, 1997:16).

In the second half of the 1800s, the invention of improved modes of transportation, great steam liners and railroads in particular, facilitated travel to all corners of the globe, and made travel for Europeans and Americans of both sexes much more feasible. This soon grew into a booming tourism industry catering to the well-to-do, especially to "the needs and tastes of the 'lady'" (Schriber, 1997:22). And new printing technology, which had created a thriving book reading culture, naturally opened up opportunities for writing and publishing in all fields, catering not only to male readers but also to a great number of female consumers.

At a time when most travelers wrote about their travels in the same way as modern travelers take photos or videos, for publishers, "travel materials simultaneously satisfied and shaped public demand for news from abroad and for stories of adventure and feats-rendered yet more sensational if undertaken by a woman" (Schriber, 1997:31-2). It was during this period that Isabella Bird lived and found a wide audience for the books on her many travels, and most especially her travels in Japan.

WESTERN INTEREST IN MEIJI JAPAN

This period also coincided with the opening of Japan to the West in the latter half of the 19th century after a period of seclusion lasting over 250 years. As merchants, government representatives, and scholars from Europe and America began to arrive to Japan for work and political purposes, Japan became the object of interest to their countrymen and women back home. "The publication of books, both factual accounts and fictional novels set in Japan, were very numerous in Europe at this time" (Pedlar, 1990:201). In fact, the number of books on Japan published in the years from the late 19th century to the first decades of the 20th century in the United States and Europe is enormous, with seemingly every aspect of the society and culture being covered.

Books such as *The History of Japan: from the earliest period to the present day* by Francis O. Adams (1874) ; *Japanese Girls and Women* by Alice Bacon (1891) ; and *Japan: a Record in Colour* by Mortimer Menpes (1901), on the Japanese arts are just a few of hundreds published during this period to satisfy the curiosity and interest of European and American readers. Many people also wrote of their travels and living experiences in Japan, including Edward Warren Clark, *Life and Adventure in Japan* (1878); Arthur H. Crow, *Highways and Byeways in Japan: the experiences of two pedestrian tourists* (1883) ; and *Eight Years in Japan, 1873-1881: Work, travel and recreation* (1883) by E.G. Holtham. Travel guides on Japan also emerged during this period, notably *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan* by Satow and

Hawes (1881) and the John Murray guide *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* by Basil Hall Chamberlain (1891), both written by famous authors on Japan. It was also during this period that the well-known Lafcadio Hearn began to publish his many works on Japan.

Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880) differed from the others for several reasons. For one, she was a very early foreign visitor to Japan, and one of the few who ventured beyond the main cities. As the country was officially opened to the world only ten years earlier in 1868, by 1878 there were still relatively few travelers who made Japan one of their destinations and most visitors there were sent on government or business assignments. The small number of travelers during this period was also due to the fact that until the 1890s, foreign travelers in Japan were restricted from freedom of movement outside the major cities and resorts into the 'interior', which was how "the Victorians rather charmingly described anywhere beyond the Treaty ports and their immediate vicinity" (Cortazzi, 1987:vii).

Baroness Annie Brassey, who published *A Voyage in the Sunbeam: Our home on the ocean for eleven months* (1878), was given such a limited view during her family's one month stay in Japan in 1877 that she commented that, "travelers who want to see Japan should do so at once for the country is changing every day, and in three years more it will be so Europeanised that little will be left worth seeing" (Pedlar, 1990:195). She obviously did not have the opportunity to visit the majority of the country, which was still largely untouched by the current efforts at modernization.

Those who came to Japan for work-related purposes, or who came to accompany spouses on work assignments were also not exposed to the 'real' Japan, because not only was their movement restricted to certain areas but their hosts were eager to display how much Japan had progressed in the years since the Meiji Restoration and were anxious to move beyond their so-called backward ways. These official visitors, most commonly government delegates or professionals invited to work for the modernization of the country, were given the royal treatment and provided with comforts beyond the normal Japanese standard. Therefore most accounts of this early period were limited to those who experienced only the most privileged, progressive, and Westernized enclave of the society and never ventured beyond it.

An example of this can be found in *The Land of the Morning: an account of Japan and its people by* W. Gray Dixon (1882), who came to Japan to teach engineering. In it he gives a description of what he saw in Yokohama:

> The brilliant light of the morning revealed a scene like an English suburb, except that the houses were mostly of wood and plaster and invariably provided with verandahs, and the shrubbery here and there contained such tropical trees as the palm or banana in a semi-developed state... It was Sunday, and from a neighboring house, the residence of some lady missionaries, could be heard the strains of an American organ discoursing a Christian hymn...
>
> The Settlement, or business part of the foreign town, is like a piece of a western

American city. The streets are somewhat narrow; out there are numerous handsome shops in which almost any European article can be obtained, and the public buildings are of respectable appearance. (Cortazzi, 1987:86-7)

Others were attracted to the so-called quaint and exotic aspects of traditional Japan, and many visitors were charmed by the picturesque scenery. Mary Crawford Fraser, who published *A Diplomat's Wife in Japan* in 1899, fills her account with many depictions of the scenery, describing in one place the then popular resort of Atami as "a seaside nest lying in the arms of two green hills, that slope down on either side of it (fragrant with lilies just now) to the gentle sea, that breaks in one long roll day and night on the smooth sands" (Cortazzi, 1987:221).

Long-time Japan resident Lafcadio Hearn had a great fondness for the traditional side of Japanese culture and preferred to emphasize this over the current modernization efforts. He did not arrive in Japan until after 1890 when foreigners were no longer restricted to their movement and much progress had been made by the government to bring Japan closer to the Western ideals of modern society, but he chose to write on the quaint and romantic aspects of Japanese folk culture for various American publications of the day. However, his love for the country biased his views: "He knew the faults of his countrymen by adoption, although he preferred to emphasize their virtues" (Cowley, 1991:14), and his writings focused more on the esoteric and gave few reliable descriptions of life at the time.

His work is "full of words, colors and misty outlines, but lacking in pictures of daily life. Hearn complained in a letter that he knew nothing about the smallest practical matters: 'Nothing, for example, about a boat, a horse, a farm, an orchard, a watch, a garden...'" (Cowley, 1991:10). Even his attempts at portrayal of ordinary life focus on a romantic ideal. In his essay entitled Haru, Hearn describes the life of the main character as follows:

Except for such small pleasures and excursions, Haru went out seldom. Her only living relatives, and also those of her husband, were far away in other provinces; and she had few visits to make. She liked to be at home, arranging flowers for alcoves for the gods, decorating the rooms, and feeding the tame gold-fish of the garden-pond, which would lift up their heads when they saw her coming. (Goodman, 1991:359).

Thus, the view that the world was given of Japan in the late 19th century to the turn of the 20th century was largely a very limited one, obscured even further by a romantic image of the quaint and exotic so in favor with Europeans and Americans at the time. Whether the writers intended to or not, practical restrictions as well ideological priorities led to the publication of accounts of what life was like in Japan during the Meiji era which could not be said to be accurate portrayals of what the conditions were in the rural areas which made up the majority of the country.

Isabella Bird, on the other hand, while viewing Japan as a primitive culture which could

still be considered exotic, did not focus on praising Japan for its efforts at modernization, nor did she attempt to further the popular image of Japan as a quaint and picturesque idyll. Rather, she was determined to see the 'real' Japan, and, as she says in her Preface, make an "honest attempt to describe things as I saw them" (p.3). Isabella "lived among the Japanese, and saw their mode of living, in regions unaffected by European contact" (p.1), and because of this was able to give a different view of Japan than had been presented in other publications of the time. The book was written in the form of letters to her sister Henrietta, and:

> Some of the Letters give a less pleasing picture of the condition of the peasantry than the one popularly presented, and it is possible that some readers may wish that it had been less realistically painted; but as the scenes are strictly representative, and I neither made them nor went in search of them, I offer them in the interests of truth, for they illustrate the nature of a large portion of the material with which the Japanese Government has to work in building up the New Civilisation. (p.2)

Her account of what she saw greatly differed from what was currently being published, and "indeed, her rice-roots description of rural life so differed from the customary globe-trotter's glowing pictures of quaint, cherry-blossom-pretty Japan that her publisher suggested she tone them down which, fortunately, she refused to do!" (Barr, 1984:XIX-XX).

ISABELLA BIRD'S *UNBEATEN TRACKS IN JAPAN*

Isabella Bird was a keen and critical observer with no special attachments or false sentiments about any country she visited, including Japan. In *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, she notes everything from the cost of a cup of tea at an inn to the condition of the roads, from observations of the people she saw to descriptions of the landscape she traveled through, in such un-biased, minute detail that it was as fascinating to readers of the time wanting to learn more about faraway Japan as it is to scholars of the modern day interested in a Victorian view of Meiji culture and society beyond the surface of progress and modernization.

Isabella arrived in Japan in the spring of 1878 just as the government had decided to take "a more liberal approach to travel (which) enabled foreigners to make excursions regularly outside the treaty ports. They were then permitted to make journeys into the interior of Japan for reasons of 'health, scientific investigation, or urgent business'" (Hoare, 1994:47-8). She managed to obtain a passport for travel into the interior for scientific investigation, which "did not define exactly the route she was to follow but permitted her to travel in northern Japan and Ezo (Hokkaido)"(Cortazzi, 1987:234).

With this in hand, and with her Japanese interpreter and escort Ito at her side, Isabella Bird set out on her adventure along the 'unbeaten tracks of Japan', traveling north from Tokyo to Nikko, then on through Fukushima, Yamagata, Akita, and Aomori Prefectures,

and crossing the Tsugaru Straits to explore Hokkaido. Although traveling with a Japanese escort, a main concern for a Victorian woman traveling alone in any country was safety. But she was advised while in Tokyo by the acting consul Mr. Wilkinson that "it is perfectly safe for a lady to travel alone" (p.11). In fact, native women travelers in Japan were a common sight as pilgrimages to shrines had been popular for centuries and "women and children actually outnumbered men" (Chambers, 2000:7) on these pilgrimages.

After traveling for a while in Japan, Isabella realized that she had little cause for concern:

> In many European countries, and certainly in some parts of our own, a solitary lady-traveller in a foreign dress would be exposed to rudeness, insult, and extortion, if not to actual danger; but I have not met with a single instance of incivility or real overcharge, and there is no rudeness even about the crowding. (p.106)

She had other practical concerns as she set out on her journey, including the very important issue of food:

> The 'Food Question' is said to be the most important one for all travelers... The fact is that, except at a few hotels in popular resorts which are got up for foreigners, bread, butter, milk, meat, poultry, coffee, wine, and beer, are unattainable, that fresh fish is rare, and that unless one can live on rice, tea, and eggs, with the addition now and then of some tasteless fresh vegetables, food must be taken, as the fishy and vegetable abominations known as 'Japanese food' can only be swallowed and digested by a few, and that after long practice. (p.23)

As Victorians were "conservative in their tastes and Japanese food did not always find favour" (Cortazzi, 1987:254), Western travelers beyond the settlements such as Tokyo, Yokohama, Kobe and the like, and the resort areas such as Hakone, Kamakura, and Lake Biwa were recommended in one of the earliest published guidebooks on Japan, *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan* by Satow and Hawes (published in 1881, three years after Bird's journey), "not to depend entirely on the resources of the country, but to take a small supply of (food supplies), for use in mountainous districts, where the fare is not only of the poorest description, but also frequently very scarce" (Cortazzi, 1987:257). Although Isabella did take with her a bare minimum of food supplies, her account is full of comments such as, "I found nothing that I could eat except black beans and boiled cucumbers" (p.98) and "I took my lunch- a wretched meal of a tasteless white curd made from beans" (p.151).

Along with the warnings about food that she received while in Tokyo and Yokohama, Isabella had also been advised that "legions of fleas and the miserable horses are the great drawbacks of Japanese traveling" (p.11), and indeed comments frequently on these two subjects. On the subject of fleas, Satow and Hawes's *Handbook* states that "The

mats of the rooms at the inns and the quilts which form the bedding, in summer invariably swarm with fleas, and unless some prevention is used, the traveler will probably pass sleepless nights" (Cortazzi, 1987:248). At one inn, Isabella writes, "Beetles, spiders, and wood-lice held a carnival in my room after dark, and the presence of horses in the same house brought a number of horse-flies. I sprinkled my stretcher with insect powder, but my blanket had been on the floor for one minute, and fleas rendered sleep impossible" (p.91).

While railroads were quickly being built between the main cities in Japan, Isabella's route took her along roads and pathways of often the crudest kind. As she got deeper north where the roads were especially bad and often mountainous, she relied on horses which were not trained for riding, and she often had to walk. In the middle of her journey she comments, "I have now ridden, or rather sat, upon seventy-six horses, all horrible" (p.169). But she set out from Tokyo towards Nikko (the only well-known place she visited along her way) on roads by what she calls *kuruma*, carried by runners, and on the way gives a description of the road and the passing villages with the brutal honesty with which she continues to display throughout the book.

> The road, though wide enough for two carriages (of which we saw none), was not good, and the ditches on both sides were frequently neither clean nor sweet. Must I say it? The houses were mean, poor, shabby, often even squalid, the smells were bad, and the people looked ugly, shabby, and poor, though all were working at something or other. (p.40)

In fact, Isabella rarely had kind words for the architecture and appearance of the houses and inns where she stayed, remarking on their lack of walls, good lighting, and furniture, as well as the lack of privacy. At one inn, she states, she was unable to write her letters to her sister because the conditions at the inn prevented her from doing so:

> I tried to write to you, but fleas and mosquitoes prevented it, and besides, the *fusuma* were frequently noiselessly drawn apart, and several pairs of dark, elongated eyes surveyed me through the cracks; for there were two Japanese families in the room to the right, and five men in that to the left. I closed the sliding windows, with translucent paper for window panes, called *shoji*, and went to bed; but the lack of privacy was fearful, and I have not yet sufficient trust in my fellow-creatures to be comfortable without locks, walls, or doors! (p.44)

She is even less complimentary in her descriptions of the physical appearance of the people. On their physique, she notes "the national defects of concave chests and bow legs" (p.15). And she often comments on the terrible skin maladies that seem to afflict a great number of people, at one point writing that, "It is painful to see the prevalence of such repulsive maladies as *scabies*, scald-head, ringworm, sore eyes, and unwholesome-looking eruptions, and fully 30 per cent of the village people are badly scarred with

smallpox" (p.81).

And while she deplores the look of Japanese people in Western clothes, saying they look "more like monkeys than men in their European clothes" (p.163), she also is critical of the attire worn by the rural people:

> The men may be said to wear nothing. Few of the women wear anything but a short petticoat wound tightly round them, or blue cotton trousers very tight in the legs and baggy at the top, with a blue cotton garment open to the waist tucked into the band, and a blue cotton handkerchief knotted round the head. From the dress no notion of the sex of the wearer could be gained, nor from the faces, if it were not for the shaven eyebrows and black teeth... I can hardly believe myself in 'civilised' Japan. (p.88)

Yet, as harsh as Isabella is on the people, in the same breath she compliments their industriousness and hardworking nature. She calls them "independent and industrious people" (p.91), and often remarks on the way the people she passes by in the towns and villages always seem to be hard at work. She describes the people she comes into contact with as "kind and courteous" (p.92), and frequently observes the services rendered to her by her attendants as being nothing but the best, with comments such as that they "had served me kindly and faithfully, (paying) me many little attentions" (p.54).

Isabella compliments as well the behavior of children and the good treatment they receive from their parents, with comments being made to this effect many times during her account:

> I never saw people take so much delight in their offspring, carrying them about, or holding their hands in walking, watching and entering into their games, supplying them constantly with new toys, taking them to picnics and festivals, never being content to be without them, and treating other people's children also with a suitable measure of attention. Both fathers and mothers take pride in their children. (p.80)

On the behavior of children she notes that, "I have never yet heard a baby cry, and I have never seen a child troublesome or disobedient. Filial piety is the leading virtue in Japan, and unquestioning obedience is the habit of centuries" (p.198).

Isabella is also quite taken with the beauty of the natural surroundings, calling one area, for example, "an enchanting region of beauty" (p.138), and describing another in her usual rich detail:

> ...With many flowering trees and shrubs which are new to me, and with an undergrowth of red azaleas, syringa, blue hydrangea- the very blue of heaven- yellow raspberries, ferns, clematis, white and yellow lilies, blue irises, and fifty other trees and shrubs entangled and festooned by the wistaria, whose beautiful foliage is as

common as that of the bramble with us. The redundancy and variety of its living greens, dripping with recent rain, were enhanced by the slant rays of the afternoon sun. (pp.89-90)

The reader wonders, with such critical descriptions juxtaposed with favorable impressions, what kind of overall opinion Isabella gained of Japan through her travels. But since she thrived on adventure and hardship and delighted in the primitive and exotic, one must only conclude that she did like the Japan that she discovered.

CONCLUSION

Unbeaten Tracks in Japan is such an interesting and significant book because it gives the readers a view of rural Japan in the late 1870s, as the country was beginning the process of modernization in the urban areas. As Europeans and Americans of the late 19th century, both men and now women, were increasingly traveling the globe in search of exotic lands, and many more of their countrymen back home were eager to read about such places, Isabella Bird told her readers in concrete detail what it was really like at the time in Japan.

Isabella spared her readers the romantic images which were so popular at the time of the places and aspects of the country most often experienced by foreign visitors, and brought them closer to understanding what the life and conditions were in the as yet largely unexplored rural areas which made up the majority of the country. And she was able to do this in an unbiased, honest manner not always found in accounts written by other visitors to Japan of her day. She said, "I write the truth as I see it, and if my accounts conflict with those of tourists who write of the Tokaido and Nakasendo, of Lake Biwa and Hakone, it does not follow that either is inaccurate. But truly this is a new Japan to me, of which no books have given me any idea, and it is not fairy-land" (pp.87-8). And readers, both then and now, are grateful to Isabella Bird for her account of this.

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