

*The Tourist Library Series:*

**Defining a Collective Japanese Nation for Foreigners in the 1930's**

by

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As the idea of empires and colonization grew increasingly unwelcome within the international community, Japanese government officials strove to present Japan as an equal among imperial powers in the years leading up to WWII. To promote this image, the Japanese government increasingly focused on making Japan an attractive site for international tourism. And so, in 1935 the government's Board of Tourist Industry created *Tourist Library Series (TLS)* (1935-1942) to explain and advertise Japan to foreigners. Unlike other tourist literature that focused on presenting Japan as an attractive and interesting tourist destination, *TLS* focused on providing its readers with an adequate understanding of Japan's unique culture. The series, authored by recognized authorities, ranged in topic from stamps and tea ceremony to architecture and religion, to explain the "essence" and defining principles that made up a "Japanese national culture". In doing so, the series departs from the general trend in tourist literature to focus on what can be experienced or purchased by foreign visitors to Japan. Rather, the *TLS* describes a Japan that transcends time and place. I contend that *TLS* demonstrates a unique approach, but one very much in concert with other efforts by the Japanese government and its representatives, to place Japan as an equal among imperial nation's leading up to WWII. Furthermore, by examining *TLS* I hold that invaluable insight can be acquired on how tourism's potential to represent Japan could be successfully maximized through the narrative format.

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## 1.0 Chapter One: Introduction

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are marked by assertions of national identity by western imperial nations. As a burgeoning imperial power, Japan was drawn into the competition to be taken seriously as a nation with a meaningful past and a promising future.<sup>1</sup> One important means of asserting its identity and value was through the promotion of tourism, an effort which increased on the eve of WWII and continued throughout the war years.<sup>2</sup> This thesis investigates one important publication from that period, the English-language *Tourist Library Series* (1935-1942), published by the Japanese Government Railways' Board of Tourist Industry.<sup>3</sup>

Whereas most Japanese tourist publications focused on presenting Japan's image as an attractive tourist destination through travel itineraries, maps, and brief cultural or historical explanations,<sup>4</sup> the *Tourist Library Series (TLS)* is a collection of forty booklets of around eighty to one hundred and twenty pages each focused on providing its readers with an adequate understanding of Japan's unique culture. Its volumes were authored by prominent recognized authorities on various subjects ranging from stamps and tea ceremony to architecture and religion,

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Ravina *To Stand with the Nations of the World: Japan's Meiji Restoration in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Tessa Morris-Suzuki. "Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan", *Beyond Ainu Studies: Changing Academic and Public Perspectives.*, edited by Mark Hudson, Ann-Elise Lewallen, and Mark K. Watson. N.p (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016).

<sup>3</sup> *Tourist Library Series*. Vol. 1-40. N.p (Board of Tourist Industry, 1934-1942).

<sup>4</sup> This information is based on my analysis of Board of Tourist Industry tourist publications discussed in Chapter Three. Please see Chapter Three for specific book titles and citations

to explain the “essence” and defining principles of these subjects that make up a “Japanese national culture”.<sup>5</sup> In doing so, the series departs from the general trend in tourist publications to focus on what can be experienced or purchased by the contemporary foreign tourist in Japan.<sup>6</sup> Rather, *TLS* endeavored to present Japan beyond the context of tourism in a manner largely transient of time and space.<sup>7</sup>

This thesis introduces and situates the *Tourist Library Series* within the greater context of Japan’s self-representation on the world’s cultural stage. I contend that *TLS* demonstrates a unique approach, but one very much in concert with other efforts by the Japanese government and its representatives, to place Japan as an equal among imperial nation's leading up to WWII. Furthermore, by examining *Tourist Library Series*, I hold that invaluable insight can be acquired on how tourism’s potential to represent Japan could be successfully maximized through the narrative format.

The thesis is comprised of four chapters: Introduction, Chapter Two, Chapter Three, and Conclusion. Chapter Two introduces the larger historical context behind the Japanese government’s efforts to represent Japan on the international stage. In particular, I draw attention to international exhibitions and “living villages”. In order to understand how the Japanese state employed international exhibition and how they influenced the tourism industry, one must first understand why exhibitions were chosen to represent Japan. Chapter Three focuses on the *Tourist Library Series* as well as its pricing, distribution, and advertisements. The main concern in the

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<sup>5</sup> *Tourist Library Series*. Vol. 1-40.

<sup>6</sup> Again, please see Chapter Three for the analysis of specific guidebooks on which this claim is based.

<sup>7</sup> *Tourist Library Series*. Vol. 1-40.

chapter is a comparison between the *TLS* and other tourist literature published by the Board of Tourist Industry around the same time, in order to elucidate the differences between the *TLS* and works focused more specifically on selling Japan as an exotic yet comfortable, safe, and “advanced” travel destination.

The Chapter Four, the Conclusion, explores how the major points of the previous three chapters fit into the larger narratives of 1930’s Japan, tourism, national identity creation, and national identity promotion. It emphasizes how the *TLS*, though a product of the state, is not as blatant of a mouthpiece for state agenda as other representations of Japan presented in the previous chapters, such as exhibitions and guidebooks. Finally, it points out that the *TLS* represents a key moment in the historic evolution of representing Japan abroad, when presenting Japan to foreigners superficially became educating foreigners on Japan and Japanese culture.

## 2.0 Chapter Two: Establishing a Collective Japanese Identity as an Imperial Power in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

From the late 1800's through World War II, global powers contended against one another to justify claims to international power as well as to superior military prowess, culture, technology, and more. Japan was a late arrival to this arena, and its rise coincided with the global decline of imperial identity in favor of nation-state identity. Around the late nineteenth century, on the international stage, imperial powers began defining their polities in terms of nation-states, as opposed to empires.<sup>8</sup> In order to adjust to the Western rules of play, Japan needed to transform itself into a nation-state, and, "...nation-states asserted an essential cultural identity between ruler and ruled", which would bind people together through communal connections of culture, language, religion, and tradition.<sup>9</sup>

Like many Western nations, the Japanese government also employed industries under its command, such as world's fairs<sup>10</sup> and even museums,<sup>11</sup> to present Japan the nation on the world stage. Japan continued using exhibitions for this purpose into the twentieth century,<sup>12</sup> and Japanese

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<sup>8</sup> Ravina, *To Stand with the Nations of the World*, Introduction.

<sup>9</sup> Ravina, *To Stand with the Nations of the World*, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Robert H. Kargon., Karen Fiss, Morris Low, and Arthur P. Molella., *World's Fairs on the Eve of War: Science, Technology, and Modernity, 1937-1942* (Pittsburgh PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 3-4.

<sup>11</sup> Noriko Aso. *Public Properties: Museums in Imperial Japan* (London;Durham;: Duke University Press, 2014), Introduction.

<sup>12</sup> Kargon.,Fiss, Low, and Molella., *World's Fairs on the Eve of War*, Chapter 5.

government officials soon started to utilize the tourism industry as another means to promote its equality among Europe and the United States.<sup>13</sup> In the words of Tessa Morris-Suzuki:

“By the 1930s, Japan was beginning to develop a conscious tourism policy, which focused not just on the tourist as a source of commercial profits, but also on tourism as a way of presenting ‘Japan’ both to its own citizens and to the outside world. In this sense, tourism played an important part in the creation of the vision of ‘Japanese culture,’ just as it had also played a central role in the creation of visions of British, Spanish, and other cultures. The worsening military conflict in China only increased enthusiasm for the promotion of tourism as a means of countering what was seen as negative foreign, particularly American, ‘propaganda’ about Japan’s role in Asia.”<sup>14</sup>

This chapter argues that leading up to the Second World War, the Japanese government clearly employed international exhibitions and “living villages” to demonstrate the Japanese Empire’s equality among imperial nations. Furthermore, I show that the government would later follow the same strategy in its handling of the tourism industry.

## **2.1 Japan as Viewed from Abroad**

At the end of the Meiji Restoration, the government’s first goal was to reverse the unequal treaties and to resist Western colonialization. However, since the mid-1800’s, Japanese government officials faced stereotypes and negative misrepresentations of Japan abroad, which

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<sup>13</sup> Morris-Suzuki, “Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan”.

<sup>14</sup> Morris-Suzuki, “Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan”, 53.

ultimately lowered impressions of the capabilities in the mind of Western leaders. These representations were created largely by Europeans and Americans who characterized Japan as “backwards”, uncivilized, weak, and feminine. Traces of this image carried over into the twentieth century and some still haunt Japan to this day.<sup>15</sup>

Some of the first representations of Japan came through artifacts, especially those put on display at Asia booths at international exhibitions, where booth owners placed Japanese art, textiles, and many other knick-knacks or odds and ends next to other goods from across Asia.<sup>16</sup> The quality of the goods displayed dismayed Japanese leaders. Fuchinobe Tokuzō, a member of the Japanese mission sent to Europe and the United States, for example, referred to the booth with Japanese goods at the 1862 London Exhibition as a junk shop with poorly made, cheap goods.<sup>17</sup> Displays of Japanese goods at international exhibitions eventually evolved into “living displays” of Japanese shops or towns. One such attraction was the “Japanese Village” display at Knightsbridge, England in 1885, which was held independent of a world’s fair. This live display presented the native Japanese tea-girl and Japanese artisan in their natural environment, by rebuilding an entire Japanese village, wooden beam by wooden beam. The popularity and large crowds of Knightsbridge’s village reflected the growing interest in Japan. However, it ultimately

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<sup>15</sup> Ravina, *To Stand with the Nations of the World.*, Introduction.

<sup>16</sup> Scholars believe the earliest such display of Japanese goods was the 1845 Japanese Exhibition in Leiden. Lorraine Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan: Discovering a 'New' Land* (Leiden: BRILL, 2009), 48-49.

<sup>17</sup> Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan*, 49.

became a roadside attraction reminiscent of carnival freak shows where patrons could quell his or her curiosity about Japan while making racial comparisons.<sup>18</sup>

Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera *The Mikado* (1885), which was based in part on the Knightsbridge Japanese village.<sup>19</sup> used the growing interest in Japan for entertainment with limited attention to accurate portrayals.<sup>20</sup> The producers of the opera made no attempt to accurately portray language, culture, or dress, but rather relied largely on the Victorian imagination of what "the Orient" entailed. Though wildly inaccurate, "...*The Mikado* served as the basis of knowledge of what 'Japanese' meant", and so whether accurate or not it created the standard definition of "Japan" in Europe.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, its comical portrayal of Japan made Japan the brunt of jokes with every performance across Europe and America.<sup>22</sup> Its extreme popularity<sup>23</sup> led its insulting, patronizing, and Orientalizing mis-portrayal to become the most prevalent image of Japan

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<sup>18</sup> Josephine D. Lee. *The Japan of Pure Invention: Gilbert and Sullivan's The Mikado* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 43-45.

<sup>19</sup> Lee. *The Japan of Pure Invention.*, 5 & 20.

<sup>20</sup> For an in-depth study of *The Mikado*, please see: Lee. *The Japan of Pure Invention*.

<sup>21</sup> Lee. *The Japan of Pure Invention.*, viii.

<sup>22</sup> Lee. *The Japan of Pure Invention.*, Introduction.

<sup>23</sup> Besides the 1885 *The Mikado*, one of the many sources of representing Japan in Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century included the 1904 opera *Madame Butterfly*. Before the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), *Madame Butterfly* created a humiliating and pitiable representation of Japan through Cho-Cho-san, the leading Japanese lady who is deserted by her American husband. Despite the Japanese victory at the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, the western populous continued to flock to productions of *Madame Butterfly* to see a sadomasochistic subjection of Japan. Information from: Cantoni, Linda, and Betsy Schwarm. "Madame Butterfly." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2014).

internationally.<sup>24</sup> *The Mikado* also inspired the theme of later Japanese villages, such as the 1886 Boston Horticultural Halls Japanese village attraction. The Japanese Village Company, a direct importer of Japanese goods, directed this display, with permission of the “Imperial Japanese Government”. Adults could pay fifty cents to see one of the daily viewings called the “Domestic Drama of Japanese Life”<sup>25</sup>, where one could see tea girls and “dainty maidens” based on *The Mikado*.<sup>26</sup> Portrayals like these objectified and feminized Japan as they contrasted the Asian nation to European masculinity and power. This of course contradicted the Japanese government’s desire for equality and respect in the eyes of imperial powers.<sup>27</sup> This “beautiful geisha girl” image of Japan persisted until around the 1920’s.<sup>28</sup> These images were echoed as well in the United States at the Boston Horticultural Hall’s teahouse, which animated “Japan” as a beautiful woman, a dress-clad man, or a child-sized man. Clearly, the international image of Japan in the late 1800’s was not one of equality, admiration, nor respect.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Lee, *The Japan of Pure Invention.*, xiv.

<sup>25</sup> Other main attractions included watching Japanese artisans while they worked and comical scenes of child sized adults who carried babies. More information can be found in the attraction’s brochure at Ella Sterling Mighels. *Explanation of Japanese village and its inhabitants* (New York, N.Y.: J.B. Rose, 1886).

<sup>26</sup> Ella Sterling Mighels, *Explanation of Japanese village and its inhabitants* (New York, N.Y.: J.B. Rose, 1886).

<sup>27</sup> Ravina, *To Stand with the Nations of the World*.

<sup>28</sup> Prof. John K. Walton, ed. *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), 121-122.

<sup>29</sup> Sepp Linhart, “*Niedliche Japaner*” oder *Gelbe Gefahr?: Westliche Kriegspostkarten, 1900-1945 = “Dainty Japanese” or yellow peril? : Western war-postcards, 1900-1945*. (Wien: Lit Verlag, 2005).

## 2.2 Japan Presents Itself

At the same time as these foreign representations of Japan circulated widely, Japan was in the process of creating a competitive, and more favorable, image of itself. This move, however, coincided with the Great Depression, a situation exacerbated by labor activism, and anticolonial movements.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, following World War I,<sup>31</sup> empires begin to call themselves nation-states and redefine themselves in regional and pluralistic terms.<sup>32</sup> The Japanese government, as a still emerging imperial power, thus needed to redefine the still new Japanese Empire in similar terms.

Since Europe possessed “superior” culture, Western powers argued that “lesser” cultures must turn to Europe for guidance on what being a true civilization entailed. As a result, a Japanese “nation” would need to prove its ability to advance enough to achieve nationhood status, otherwise other imperial powers would argue for the subjugation of Japan.<sup>33</sup>

One of the initial ways in which Japan began to claim a spot as a global power was participation in international exhibitions. At exhibitions countries could passively compete in demonstrations of national advancements and feats, and nations showed off any and all

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<sup>30</sup> Kate, McDonald, *Placing Empire: Travel and the Social Imagination in Imperial Japan*. (University of California Press, 2017), 85.

<sup>31</sup> Author of *Placing Empire* (2017), Kate McDonald, argues that World War I is the turning point when imperial powers change from empires to nation-states.

<sup>32</sup> McDonald, *Placing Empire*, xiii.

<sup>33</sup> Ravina, *To Stand with the Nations of the World*, 6.

achievements they considered praiseworthy, especially industrial ones.<sup>34</sup> The earliest example for Japan may be the Japanese Exhibition held in 1845 in Leiden, which focused on Japan with selections of Japanese artwork.<sup>35</sup> However, after the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese government began their world's fairs endeavors in earnest by marketing Japanese goods at expositions in Paris, London, and Philadelphia during the height of the Western fashion craze for Japanese goods.<sup>36</sup> As interest in Japan grew, so did the number of exhibitions with Japan-specific sections, including the 1853 Dublin *Exhibition of Industrial Arts*, the 1854 Pall Mall *Gallery of the Old Water Colour Society*, and the 1862 London *Industrial Exhibition*. The 1862 London exhibition marked an important shift: all previous exhibitions treated Japan and China as one entity, but this exhibition presented Japan as an individual country. From then onwards, major international events in the West represented Japan. As a result, the general foreign public gained greater access to Japanese goods, which in turn inspired more interest in Japan.<sup>37</sup> However, members of a Japanese mission in London during the exhibition did not view it so enthusiastically. As mentioned above, mission representative Fuchinobe Tokuzō criticized the poor quality and choice of merchandise.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, the Japanese government needed to step up its efforts in representing Japan favorably to improve its status on the international stage.

Eventually, through the initiative of Japanese officials to correct the European and American conceptions of Japan and the popularity of Japanese wares in Europe and the United

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<sup>34</sup> Aso. *Public Properties*, 24.

<sup>35</sup> Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan*, 45.

<sup>36</sup> Lee. *The Japan of Pure Invention.*, 3.

<sup>37</sup> Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan.*, Chapter 2.

<sup>38</sup> Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan*, 48-49.

States, Japan began to put on its own international exposition booths abroad. This began with the 1867 Paris *Exposition Universelle*, which included the first Japanese collection independently organized by the Japanese. In contrast, to the 1862 London exhibition, the 1867 collection was much bigger and included the highest quality of Japanese wares with a wider variety. The Paris Exhibition also marked perhaps one of the earliest “living displays” of Japanese life intended to educate the Parisian public on Japan. This display included a teahouse with three geishas inside, which created a mob outside, as the public could not actually enter, but rather watched the women through glasses. Thus, the attempts to educate Europeans on Japan became more elaborate as they transitioned from showing Japan via cheap, nonrepresentational objects to depicting Japan through elaborate displays.<sup>39</sup>

This use of a living display, rather than static goods alone, marked the beginning of the inbound Japanese tourism industry’s history. As the Japanese government continued to devise ways to show that Japan was indeed a civilized “nation” capable of running its own empire, the tourism industry developed its own methods for educating foreign tourists of what “Japan” actually consists. Significantly, the Japanese government and the tourism industry both were responding to international images of Japan. In response to these foreign misperceptions of Japan, both wanted to demonstrate Japan’s positive characteristics to imperial powers.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, interest abroad in learning about Japan continued to grow in the late nineteenth century, because of exhibitions like the 1867 Paris Exhibition, and the 1878 Universal Exhibition, which caused a fashion craze

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<sup>39</sup> Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan*, 50.

<sup>40</sup> These statements are based on my overall understanding of the tourism industry in Japan, after reading all materials listed in the bibliography, but particularly from 2017 *Placing Empire* by Kate McDonald.

in Paris and London for all things Japanese (e.g. goods, architecture, art style, etc.). The Japonisme fad then turned into a craze for travel to Japan, and by 1872 Thomas Cook had included a tour of major Japanese cities in his firsthand experienced around the globe tour.<sup>41</sup>

Similarly, after the 1867 exhibition, information on Japan and the selling of Japanese merchandise, both genuine and fake, skyrocketed. As time passed, Japonisme spread throughout society with all society women possessing a *salon japonais* and department store catalogues incorporated a Japanese catalogue. With the success of the 1867 fair and other exhibitions abroad, the time came for the Japanese government to organize exhibitions on its own turf, so to speak, and show the world its accomplishments.<sup>42</sup> Across Japan the Meiji government was creating public parks in three major cities; Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto; for the purpose of holding exhibitions. This was a reversal of construction order compared with their European and American models, where parks emerged from the sites of earlier expositions. The Japanese designed the parks and their exhibitions to function as proponents of culture, education, and industry—three essential important factors for establishing Japan as a “nation.”<sup>43</sup> Kyoto’s former imperial palace in particular became the sight of numerous exhibitions put on by the Kyoto Exhibition Company starting in 1873, thus merging the three key purposes of exhibitions under one roof for one Japanese nation.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan*, 50.

<sup>42</sup> Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan*, 51.

<sup>43</sup> Morgan Pitelka and Alice Y. Tseng. *Kyoto Visual Culture in the Early Edo and Meiji Periods: The Arts of Reinvention* (London: Routledge, 2016), 106.

<sup>44</sup> Pitelka and Tseng. *Kyoto Visual Culture in the Early Edo and Meiji Period*, 99 & 111.

Using the Imperial Palace grounds as an exhibition site offered a rallying symbol of national identity for the Japanese. Since Kyoto had been the imperial capital until it moved to Tokyo in 1868, ordinary Japanese had not been able to enter the imperial palace grounds. By allowing ordinary people to openly tour palace buildings at the exhibitions, the fairs enabled ordinary Japanese to connect with their common Japanese heritage on the grounds associated with their historical head of state, a connection important for the development of a national identity. This post-Meiji restoration unification of “Japan” created a more coherent image than that which had been on display in exhibits prior to 1868.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps the most illustrative event of this kind was the Industrial Exhibition in 1895. Held in Kyoto to celebrate the city’s 1100<sup>th</sup> anniversary, it showcased the Biwa Canal project.<sup>46</sup> The timing of the exhibition also coincided with international recognition for the canal project, such as the project’s reception of the Telford Medal<sup>47</sup> and the construction’s publication in *Scientific American* (1888).<sup>48</sup> In fact, the fair took place not long after the United States Bureau of Foreign Commerce officially reported on the construction of the Biwa Canal.<sup>49</sup> By featuring the Biwa

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<sup>45</sup> Pitelka and Tseng. *Kyoto Visual Culture in the Early Edo and Meiji Period*, 99-111.

<sup>46</sup> F. Brinkley, *The Kyoto industrial exhibition of 1895 held in celebration of the eleven hundredth anniversary of the city's existence. Written at the request of the Kyoto city government* ([Place of publication not identified]: [Printed at the "Japan mail" Office], 1895).

<sup>47</sup> Lake Biwa Canal Museum of Kyoto. *Lake Biwa Canal Museum of Kyoto*. Kyoto: Department of General Affairs, Division of General Affairs (Kyoto City Waterworks Bureau, 2017).

<sup>48</sup> Sakuro Tanabe, "Engineering in Japan—the Kioto-Fu Canal Works." *Scientific American* 58, no. 18, (1888), 273.

<sup>49</sup> United States. Bureau of Foreign Commerce. *Canals and Irrigation in Foreign Countries*. (United States, 1891), 63-64.

Canal in the exhibition, the Japanese government meant to show the international community of Japan's technological prowess. Additionally, a book intended for English-speaking foreigners interested in the exhibition was published about it.<sup>50</sup> Thus, the Meiji government used the exhibition to entice international tourists and tout Japan's accomplishments—both cultural and technological.

This exhibition was recognized in foreign newspapers, including in the *New York Times*, which mentioned it in a March 1895 article. The article noted the importance Kyoto held as the former and ancient capital of Japan but also the center of modern technological achievements. Furthermore, the article mentions that the exhibition is Japan's fourth exhibition, suggesting that Americans kept in touch with Japanese exhibitions. It also suggests that the exhibitions were shaping the American understanding and conception of Japan as a growing international power.<sup>51</sup>

Even though the true golden age of international exhibitions lasted until the very early twentieth century, the Japanese government continued to value exhibitions. An exhibition, officially known as the Grand International Exposition of Japan, was planned for 1940 for Yokohama to celebrate the 2600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the accession to the throne of Emperor Jimmu. This event would have coincided with the planned 1940 Tokyo Olympics. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry was to supervise the Yokohama exhibition the Association of Japan International Exposition was to sponsor it. Plans for the exposition drew on examples from foreign expositions, such as the 1926 Sesquicentennial International Exposition in the United States that

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<sup>50</sup> F. Brinkley, *The Kyoto industrial exhibition of 1895 held in celebration of the eleven hundredth anniversary of the city's existence. Written at the request of the Kyoto city government* ([Place of publication not identified]: [Printed at the "Japan mail" Office], 1895).

<sup>51</sup> "Industrial Exhibition at Kyoto." *New York Times* (1857-1922), (1895).

celebrated the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence and the 1900 Universal International Exposition of Paris that marked the turn of the twentieth century. The planned exhibit likewise created a way for Japanese to feel a common sense of heritage and pride for their nation. Simultaneously, it celebrated the cultural and historical achievements of the Japanese Empire, which would further recommend Japan's place as an imperial power on the international stage.<sup>52</sup>

The exposition's English pamphlet explains that exhibits would include, "...elaborate and comprehensive exhibits of all vital aspects of national life, past and present, in order to show the Japanese and their guests from abroad what Japan has accomplished..." , how Japan will develop.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, the exhibits were meant to show Japan's place in the world in comparison with other countries. Most fundamentally, the 1940 exposition would show the "miracle" of how Japan transplanted Western civilization but combined it with the "Spirit of Japan" to create economic, industrial, and social progress.<sup>54</sup> This event never came to pass, due to the outbreak of war with China. However, the extensive plans make clear that Japanese powerholders saw the exposition as a tool for displaying to the world Japan's rich culture, as well as its modern scientific and technological capabilities. This is clearly evident in the event's pamphlet, which makes many comparisons with western expositions, and it elaborates on the many influences western expositions have had on Japan's participation in and creation of expositions.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Nihon Bankoku Hakurankai Kyokai, *2600 Japan International Exposition: Grand International Exposition of Japan, March-August 1940* (Tokyo: Association of Japan International Exposition, 1937) 7.

<sup>53</sup> *2600 Japan International Exposition*, 9.

<sup>54</sup> *2600 Japan International Exposition*, 7, 13, & 22.

<sup>55</sup> Kargon, Fiss, Low, and Molella, *World's Fairs on the Eve of War*, Chapter 5.

At the same time, as the Japanese Empire accumulated colonies, government officials began to create exhibitions sections, or entire exhibitions, about its colonies. For example, exhibition corners in European exhibitions were used to display Japan's colonization conquests, like the 1903 Taiwanese teahouse where "dainty maidens" in native costume served oolong tea. This teahouse booth presented Taiwan and the Taiwanese in the same way that Europeans and Americans had Orientalized Japan and the Japanese just some twenty years earlier. Moreover, the Japanese government used the teahouses to publicize Japan's ability to civilize other nations as a colonizer, just as many Western powers had already done.<sup>56</sup>

Another earlier example is a "Taiwanese Pavilion" that became both a staple of international exhibitions and the prototype for all subsequent Japanese colonial pavilions since the days of the 1877 exhibition held in Ueno Park. This was Japan's first domestically hosted international exhibition to promote industry. Two such pavilions then became part of the very popular "human exhibits" on the Taiwanese and Ainu at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition in England where both peoples were depicted as saved from uncivilized ruins.<sup>57</sup>

Then, the Japanese government also meant for the exhibits to be a show of their growing colonial power, as demonstrated by a lengthy description of Japan and its protectorates and colonies in an edition of *The Times* that discussed the 1910 exhibition. This supplement on Japan proudly proclaims how Japan saved Taiwan from, "...a pitiful state of savagery...", and transformed it into a paradise where anyone would want to enjoy being a citizen with protected

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<sup>56</sup> Prof. John K. Walton, *Histories of Tourism*, 120.

<sup>57</sup> Ayako Hotta-Lister and Ian Nish, eds, *Commerce and Culture at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition: Centenary Perspectives*. (Leiden: BRILL, 2012), 79-83.

rights.<sup>58</sup> These planned exhibits were a way for the Japanese government to create a united image of Japan for foreigners, and its subjects, as well as to demonstrate Japan's "right: to be an imperial power over "savage", unsophisticated peoples--like western powers were to their colonies.<sup>59</sup>

Within this context of presenting itself to the world, we also witness the development of a domestic tourist industry, one that celebrated Japanese domestic and colonial spaces as interesting, developed, and civilized destinations for both domestic and international travelers. Tessa Morris-Suzuki remarks that by the 1920's the Japanese travel magazine *Tabi* touted "national tourist sites", which reflected an increase in tourism and a shift towards meeting domestic tourism needs. She argues that Japan developed a conscious tourism policy by the 1930's that aimed to use tourism to represent Japan and Japanese culture to itself and foreigners.<sup>60</sup>

One further piece of the complicated puzzle to Japanese identity in the 1930s is the validity of anthropology as a tool for arguing national superiority, and thus the right to be an imperial power. In Japan, cultural, ethnological and physical anthropological studies grew with the Japanese Empire's expansion during the early 1900's.<sup>61</sup> More importantly, observing different cultural groups for pleasure began to reorganize in the form of mass tourism, which was embraced in the 1920's by Japan's growing urban middle class. The Japan Tourist Bureau's *Tabi*, written for a Japanese audience, in 1924 reflects this growth in domestic tourism with its descriptions of

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<sup>58</sup> Hotta-Lister and Nish, *Commerce and Culture at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition*, 84.

<sup>59</sup> Hotta-Lister and Nish, *Commerce and Culture at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition*, 84.

<sup>60</sup> Morris-Suzuki, "Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan"

<sup>61</sup> Physical anthropology in particular became the central focus of the Department of Anthropology, created in 1939, at Tokyo University. Similarly, the Japan Ethnology Society, created in 1934, promoted professional research. Morris-Suzuki, "Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan"

national tourist sites as well as colonial destinations. In addition, it described other foreign attractions like the Canadian Rockies. The Japan Tourist Bureau, formed in 1912, originally existed for the needs of foreign tourists but expanded to meet domestic travelers' needs and interests. Clearly, the tourism industry was expanding and reworking its objectives.<sup>62</sup>

As Japan's international image increasingly worsened with the military conflict in China, the Japanese increasingly turned to tourism as a means for combating abroad Japan's negative image concerning its activities in Asia. As a result, a central tenet of Japanese tourism policy became showing tourists, domestic and international, the Japanese nation's 'three-thousand-year history'. This part of policy then influenced every aspect of tourism's infrastructure planning of tourist attractions, such as buildings, folk crafts, folk legends, traditional customs, ceremonies, etc.—all topics central to the *Tourist Library Series*, which was conceived and implemented in this complex milieu.<sup>63</sup>

Morris-Suzuki notes that in this context, attention shifted to “traditional” elements rather than the modern achievements that Japanese officials had been highlighting.<sup>64</sup> The abortive 1940 Yokohama Exposition and the 2600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the ascension of Emperor Jimmu also resonate with this assertion. Additionally, Kenneth Ruoff notes that the anniversary of Emperor Jimmu caused an increase in attention to national history, and what Ruoff deems “imperial history,” which acted as a unifying glue to unite Japanese national identity and citizens. Officials in turn used it to cement the details of the government's version of Japanese imperial history, so that it could no

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<sup>62</sup> Morris-Suzuki, “Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan”

<sup>63</sup> Morris-Suzuki, “Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan”, 53.

<sup>64</sup> Morris-Suzuki, “Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan”, 53.

longer be disputed.<sup>65</sup> The subtle shift in focus for tourism policy to Japan's history would also explain why the expressed mission of the *Tourist Library Series*, a series nominally designated for tourists, was to create a detailed picture focused on Japanese culture and history, instead of focusing on typical tourist information like attractions, transportation, and goods, a topic we will turn to now in Chapter Three.

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<sup>65</sup> Kenneth J. Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith*. (Cornell University Press, 2014), Chapter 1.

### 3.0 Chapter Three: The Board of Tourist Industry and *Tourist Library Series*

The *Tourist Library Series* (1934-1942) represents an anomaly in tourist literature of its time. The forty-volume series of 80-120-page booklets are authored by recognized authorities on topics ranging from birds and education to kabuki and food, to explain the “essence” and defining principles of these subjects that make up a “Japanese national culture.” Its volumes do not present Japan through locations, experiences, nor goods. Rather, the Japan of the *TLS* is a cultural concept free of blatant tourism promotion and state agendas--lifting it out of the kinds of situational context reflecting its precarious relationship with western powers on the eve of WWII. Rather, the *Tourist Library Series* exemplifies the Japanese government and its representatives’ efforts to present an image of Japan as an equal among imperial powers in a unique way that at once complements other tourist works and makes claims for a “timelessness” that wrests it from that competition.<sup>66</sup>

This chapter introduces the Board of Tourist Industry (BTI), creator and publisher of *TLS*, and its place within the tourism industry. This is followed by an introduction to the *TLS*, including an overview of the many topics and a brief discussion of its authors. The third section consists of in-depth comparisons between other BTI publications and *TLS*. These other publications include standard tourist guidebooks, such as *An Official Guide to Japan* (1933) or *Pocket Guide to Japan* (1939); quasi-guidebooks, such as *Three Weeks’ Trip in Japan* (1938?)<sup>67</sup> and *Annual Events in Japan* (1938); subject based guidebooks, such as souvenir guidebooks and Japanese art guidebooks; and informational guidebooks on Japan, such as *The Lure of Japan* (1934) and *Japan*

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<sup>66</sup> *Tourist Library Series*. Vol. 1-40

<sup>67</sup> The exact publication year for this book is unknown but is believed to be 1938 or 1939.

*for the Young* (1937). Each comparison explores how one topic is treated across publications from those that give the topic the least attention to the *TLS*, which provides an intimate examination of what that topic means to Japan beyond the realm of tourism.

### **3.1 The Board of Tourist Industry**

In an effort to solicit foreign tourism and generate revenue, the Japanese government began a complete refurbishing of the tourist industry beginning in 1893 The Welcome Society of Japan, also known as Kihin-kai (貴賓会). This voluntary society was established to promote tourism and convince hotels to improve their facilities. It also distributed English guidebooks and maps, improved tour guide quality, and created famous historic site tourism routes. However, in 1906, the nationalization of Japanese railway companies, the Society's most important financial backers, resulted in the loss of funding for The Welcome Society. Without all necessary funds, and with various disruptions to operations caused by the railway nationalization, the society headed toward complete collapse.<sup>68</sup>

To replace The Welcome Society, government railway official Yoshio Kinoshita founded the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB), now known as the Japan Travel Bureau, in 1912. As a semi-governmental entity for tourism promotion, JTB's mission was to continue revamping the tourist

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<sup>68</sup> Koichi Nakagawa, "Prewar Tourism Promotion by Japanese Government Railways". *Japan Railway & Transport Review* (1998), 22-27.

industry as well as to increase Japan's holdings of foreign currency to finance the Russo-Japanese War.<sup>69</sup>

The formation of the JTB also coincided with the Japanese government's first-ever inbound tourism policies, which involved selecting routes for international tourists and developing destinations.<sup>70</sup> It also reflected a need to help the economy recover from the Great Depression, which had slowed Japan's technological expansion, and government officials still saw expanding foreign tourism as a chief way to bring in foreign currency. In 1930 the government created the Board of Tourist Industry (BTI) as the new organization for tourism management and poured even more money into improving tourism infrastructure.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, the creation of the BTI was part of a long transition aimed at improving tourism infrastructure and increasing foreign currency income, which were both a part of the larger modernization and imperial project.

However, BTI's creation did not replace the JTB.<sup>72</sup> The government gave the BTI the key role in developing tourism infrastructure, including foreign tourism. Part of its portfolio included

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<sup>69</sup> Nakagawa, "Prewar Tourism Promotion by Japanese Government Railways", 22-27.

<sup>70</sup> Sunamoto, Fumihiko 砂本, 文彦. "Kokusai Kankō" no Soshiki to Tosi Shisetsu Seibi Kadai Kokusi Kankō Seisaku ni Tomonau Toshi Shisetsu Seibi ni Kansuru Kenkyū Sono 1 「国際観光委員会」の組織と都市施設整備 課題国際観光政策に伴う都市施設整備に関する研究 その 1. ["THE COMMITTEE OF TOURIST INDUSTRY" AND URBAN FACILITIES: A Study on the Development of Urban Facilities in the Tourist Industry Part 1] Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Keikaku Kei Ronbunshū 日本建築学会計画系論文集, (January 1998), 187-94.

<sup>71</sup> David Leheny. "By Other Means': Tourism and Leisure as Politics in Pre-war Japan." *Social Science Japan Journal* 3, no. 2 (2000), 171-86.

<sup>72</sup> Actually, it was the JTB, renamed as The Greater East Asian Travel Public Corporation (Tōa Kōtsū Kōsha) in 1943, that took over the BTI and its production of *Tourist Library Series* in 1943, because the government abolished

taking command over JTB, which already created tourism ads, tourist guide offices, the tourist magazine called *Tabi* and informational pamphlets. This included the activities and publications of the Japan Culture and Tour Association, which the JTB had fully absorbed by 1934.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, in the Japanese language travel magazine *Kokusai Kwanko*<sup>74</sup> (国際観光) the BTI explains that in the 1930's it began collaborating with Japan Tourist Bureau and Kokusai Kwanko Kyōkai, which published *Kokusai Kwanko*, to help speed up progress within the tourism industry.<sup>75</sup>

BTI was to act as a consultative body for further improving the public assistance to the hotel industry by making it more systematic.<sup>76</sup> It was divided into two departments, the first for advertisement and the second for general affairs. It also oversaw three boards for investigation into 'tourist resorts', 'hotel enterprises', and 'treatment of tourists'.<sup>77</sup> The BTI initially focused on

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BTI sometime after Pearl Harbor. David Leheny. Information from: "'By Other Means': Tourism and Leisure as Politics in Pre-war Japan." *Social Science Japan Journal* 3, no. 2 (2000), 171-86.

<sup>73</sup> Leheny. "'By Other Means', 171-86.

<sup>74</sup> This was the transliteration chosen by the magazine at the time of publication.

<sup>75</sup> *Kokusai Kankō* 国際観光 [International Tourism] Tōkyō: Kokusai Kankō Kyōkai, 東京：国際観光協会, (April 23, 1935), 142.

<sup>76</sup> Sunamoto, Fumihiko 砂本, 文彦. "Kokusai Kankō" no Soshiki to Tosi Shisetsu Seibi Kadai Kokusai Kankō Seisaku ni Tomonau Toshi Shisetsu Seibi ni Kansuru Kenkyū Sono 1 「国際観光委員会」の組織と都市施設整備課題国際観光政策に伴う都市施設整備に関する研究 その1. ["THE COMMITTEE OF TOURIST INDUSTRY" AND URBAN FACILITIES: A Study on the Development of Urban Facilities in the Tourist Industry Part 1] *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Keikakukei Ronbunshyū* 日本建築学会計画系論文集, (January 1998), 187-194.; Leheny. "'By Other Means', 171-186.

<sup>77</sup> *Kokusai Kankō* 国際観光. [International Tourism] Tōkyō: Kokusai Kankō Kyōkai, 国際観光協会, (April 23, 1935.), 142.

creating expensive western-style hotels of top quality, focusing specifically on “international tourist hotels”, that met international standards for, “...size, comfort, responsiveness, and management style”.<sup>78</sup> However, due to special fiscal laws, only the BTI’s administrative expenses were covered by the government, which did not give the BTI authority to carry out funding assistance related to these institutional improvements.<sup>79</sup> Eventually, with the government still facing financial difficulties from the Great Depression, the plans for creating western-style hotels of the highest quality fell through, and the BTI turned to promotional materials for international audiences,<sup>80</sup> including revisions of guidebooks on Japan and travel posters.<sup>81</sup>

A 1935 article in *Kokusai Kwanko* explains the government perspective on how this process was conceptualized. In “Japan’s True Image” (「日本の真の姿を」), Kokusai Kwanko Kyōkai committee member Tokichi Tanaka (田中都吉) notes a recent shift in the type of tourist Japan was attracting. Foreign tourists of the 1930’s were members of high society with wealth and, more importantly, influence, as well as an appetite for learning about Japan in more depth. These guests should be sought after and warmly welcomed, he said, because they wanted to learn more about Japan and because they held influence as wealthy elites. Significantly, the article also

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<sup>78</sup> Leheny. "'By Other Means', 182.

<sup>79</sup> Sunamoto, Fumihiko 砂本, 文彦. "Kokusai Kankō" no Soshiki to Tosi Shisetsu Seibi Kadai Kokusi Kankō Seisaku ni Tomonau Toshi Shisetsu Seibi ni Kansuru Kenkyū Sono 1 「国際観光委員会」の組織と都市施設整備 課題国際観光政策に伴う都市施設整備に関する研究 その 1. ["THE COMMITTEE OF TOURIST INDUSTRY" AND URBAN FACILITIES: A Study on the Development of Urban Facilities in the Tourist Industry Part 1] Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Keikakukei Ronbunshyū 日本建築学会計画系論文集, (January 1998),187-194.

<sup>80</sup> Leheny. "'By Other Means', 171-86.

<sup>81</sup> Nakagawa, "Prewar Tourism Promotion by Japanese Government Railways", 22-27.

emphasizes the importance of everyday Japanese citizens' participation in properly learning about Japan and Japanese culture themselves, so that they could help in teaching incoming tourists about Japan.<sup>82</sup> Just two years earlier, the BTI's meeting minutes record that their advertising policies, such as in *National Geographic Magazine* and *Harper's Bazaar*, also aimed at the relatively “ブルジョア”, or bourgeois.<sup>83</sup> Therefore the BTI's main target appears to have been the more financially affluent classes.

### 3.2 The Tourist Library Series

The BTI created the *Tourist Library Series* in 1934 to serve tourists on brief holiday in Japan who did not truly understand the country in any depth upon leaving. Originally, the BTI intended for the series to reach over 100 volumes,<sup>84</sup> but by 1942 the series had reached only forty.<sup>85</sup> In 1943, JTB, renamed The Greater East Asian Travel Public Corporation, took control of the series, and according to JTB, the original series was so highly reputable that national and international demand for volumes increased until there was no stock of the original series left. As a result, JTB took that opportunity to begin renewing the series through revisions, reprintings,

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<sup>82</sup> Tanaka, Tokichi 田中, 都吉. *Nihon no Shin no Sugata* "日本の真の姿を." [The True State of Japan] *Kokusi Kankō* 国際観光 Tokyo: Kokusi Kankō Kyōka .東京 : 国際観光協会, (April 23, 1935), 8.

<sup>83</sup> Kokusai Kankō Inkai 国際観光委員会 Kokusai Kankō Inkai Gijiroku 国際観光委員会議事録 [International Tourism Committee Meeting Minutes]. 第8回8, (1933).

<sup>84</sup> Yasunosuke Fukukita, *Tea Cult of Japan: An Aesthetic Pastime*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1934).

<sup>85</sup> Nyozeikan. Hasegawa, *Japanese National Character* (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1942), 2-5.

additions to the original *TLS*, adding and deleting volumes where it saw fit.<sup>86</sup> The volumes of the JTB reprint series remained in print at least until the 1960's and 1970's,<sup>87</sup> with some volumes still in print by other publishers as of the early 2000's.<sup>88</sup> This study focuses on the original series, because it provides a better representation of the BTI's activities and portrayals of Japan in the 1930's than the subsequent JTB series. Printed on each volume was the price 50 sen, or .5 yen, and a 1940 article in *The Japan Times* confirms this price.<sup>89</sup> In a 1940 New York Times article the price was 35cents per volume at a seller called P.D. and Ion Perkins.<sup>90</sup> By comparison, *National Geographic* sold for 50cents in 1940.<sup>91</sup> That same year, the average household income was \$1,368.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Tadanari Mitsuoka *Ceramic art of Japan*. (Tokyo: Japan Travel Bureau, 1953).

<sup>87</sup> To list just a few examples:

Tadanari Mitsuoka *Ceramic art of Japan*. (Tokyo: Japan Travel Bureau, 1960).

Yasunosuke Fukukita, *Tea Cult of Japan* (Tokyo: Japan Tourist Bureau, 1961).

Issotei Nishikawa, *Floral Art of Japan*. (Tokyo: Japan Travel Bureau, 1967).

Saburō Ienaga *History of Japan* (Tōkyō: Japan Travel Bureau, 1971).

Shutaro Miyake, *Kabuki Drama*. (Tokyo: Japan Travel Bureau. 1971).

<sup>88</sup> To list a couple examples:

Tadanari Mitsuoka, *Ceramic Art of Japan* (Mill Press, 2011).

Yasunosuke Fukukita, *Tea Cult of Japan: An Aesthetic Pastime* (London: Routledge, 2014).

<sup>89</sup> *The Japan Times* (The Japan Times & Mail). "Tourist Brochure Outlines Sculpture: Influence of Buddhist Art Seen on Japanese Masters." (March 4, 1940), 6.

<sup>90</sup> "Books and Authors." *New York Times (1923-Current File)* (Oct 20, 1940), 100.

<sup>91</sup> "The National Geographic Magazine." *National Geographic Magazine*, vol. LXXVII, no. Six (June 1940).

<sup>92</sup> Diane Petro. "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime? The 1940 Census: Employment and Income." *Prologue Magazine* (Spring 2012).

These numbers are particularly notable because of the quality of the product – the *TLS* volumes were printed on high-quality paper.<sup>93</sup> All volumes included photographs, and one volume even had samples of Japanese paper. Furthermore, even into the 1940s, when paper was scarce, each booklet was made with good quality, but the price remained at fifty sen from 1934 to 1942.<sup>94</sup> This suggests that profit was less motivation than creating and widely disseminating a high-quality product

However, it remains unclear how many booklets in the original series the BTI actually sold and how popular the series became. As mentioned above, the JTB claims that the booklets became so popular that stock of the original series ran out by 1943. *The Japan Times* supports the esteemed reputation of the original series in a 1940 article praising its accomplishments, quality, and contents as a series any library could find valuable and beautiful.<sup>95</sup> Despite this, no other hints to the popularity of the series exist in any of the other few articles in *The Japan Times* archives from 1933 to 1943.<sup>96</sup> We do know that the volumes were advertised in both in Japan and the US. A 1935 ad in *Kokusai Kankō* dedicates an entire page in English to the BTI English publications on Japan,

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<sup>93</sup> *The Japan Times* (The Japan Times & Mail). "Tourist Brochures Take Up Armour, Angling in Japan: 31 Booklets" (Government Agency on Japanese Culture, September 2, 1940), 4.

<sup>94</sup> *Tourist Library Series*. Vol. 1-40.; *The Japan Times*, "Tourist Brochures Take Up Armour, Angling in Japan", 4.

<sup>95</sup> *The Japan Times*, "Tourist Brochures Take Up Armour, Angling in Japan", 4.

<sup>96</sup> *The Japan Times*. (1933-1943).

including *TLS*, which was then followed by a page long English explanation by the BTI on its role in the tourist industry.<sup>97</sup>

Sellers carrying the booklets were varied. Agents listed on various booklets are inconsistent but include Maruzen; Tōa Tourist Bureau Tokyo; Kyo Bun Kwan Ginza, Tokyo; and Japan Tourist Bureau Tokyo.<sup>98</sup> Maruzen also published certain volumes of the series along with the BTI, such as the 1936 edition of *Japanese Drama*.<sup>99</sup> Thus, *TLS* appears to have been offered by a variety of sellers in Japan, and perhaps by a variety of publishers. However, information on where the booklets could be purchased in the United States is limited. One article from 1940 from *Journal of Bible and Religion* suggests readers try the Japan Institute for obtaining a volume of the series.<sup>100</sup> The inscription by a former owner of *Japanese Game of Gō* (1939) held by the University of Pittsburgh's library system notes that it was acquired from the Japan Institute<sup>101</sup> in January of

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<sup>97</sup> *Kokusai Kankō* 国際観光 [International Tourism] Tōkyō: Kokusai Kankō Kyōkai, 東京 : 国際観光協会 (April 23, 1935.), 141-142.

<sup>98</sup> Zenchi Iwadō, Tamotsu. *Children's days in Japan*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1941).; Kyōsuke Kindaichi. *Ainu Life and Legends*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1941).

<sup>99</sup> Yoshio Yoshikawa, *Japanese Drama* (Tokyo: Maruzen Company, 1936).; Yoshio Yoshikawa, *Japanese Drama*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1936).

<sup>100</sup> Teresina Rowell, "Oriental Bibles and Backgrounds." *Journal of Bible and Religion* Vol. 8, no. 3 (1940), 142-146.

<sup>101</sup> The Japan Institute was discontinued on December 9, 1941, as the United States government had frozen all Japanese credit in America—three years *after the institute's establishment*. For more information see:

*Japan Institute, Inc. New York City. The Japan institute profoundly regrets to announce that due to the freezing by the United States government of Japanese credits in this country and the difficulty of obtaining the release of funds ... we have made the unhappy decision of discount.* New York, 1941.

1941.<sup>102</sup> As mentioned above, P.D. and Ion Perkins was also selling the series and advertising the sale in the *New York Times*.<sup>103</sup> Lastly, the BTI also apparently gifted some of its tourist literature to academic institutions. For example, the BTI gifted *Annual Events in Japan*, a non-TLS book, to the University of Pittsburgh in October of 1938.<sup>104</sup> Likewise, the BTI gifted a copy of the *TLS*, *Japanese Postage Stamps* (1940), to the University of Hawaii in April of 1941.

The volumes of the series range widely in topics. Figure 1, from the final booklet in the series, *Japanese National Character* (1940),<sup>105</sup> provides a full list of the titles and authors of the original *TLS*. The topics generally fall under overarching categories such as art, nature, and daily culture, but many do not. This diversity speaks to the breadth of the *TLS*' interpretation of Japanese culture.

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<sup>102</sup> Fukumenshi Mihori, Zenchi Tamotsu Iwadō tr, *Japanese Game of "Go,"* (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1939).

<sup>103</sup> "Books and Authors.", 100.

<sup>104</sup> *Annual Events in Japan*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1938).

<sup>105</sup> Hasegawa, *Japanese National Character*, 2.

By incorporating such a variety, the series as a whole also managed to offer a more complete image of Japan than any single guide could. However, this is by no means coincidental. In fact, in its prefacing editorial note in every *TLS* volume, the BTI states that every volume<sup>106</sup> would be coordinated so that, “by studying the entire series, the foreign student of Japan will gain an adequate knowledge of the unique culture that has developed in [Japan] through the ages.”<sup>107</sup> In other words, the BTI intended to present Japan as holistically as possible so that foreign readers would understand it

TOURIST LIBRARY	
<i>Volumes Already Published</i>	
1. TEA CULT OF JAPAN	By Y. Fukukita, B. A.
2. JAPANESE NOH PLAYS	By Prof. T. Nogami, D. Litt.
3. SAKURA (Japanese Cherry)	By M. Miyosi, D. Sc.
4. JAPANESE GARDENS	By Prof. M. Tahai,
5. HIROSIGE AND JAPANESE LANDSCAPES	By Prof. Yone Noguchi, D. Litt.
6. JAPANESE DRAMA	By B. T. L.
7. JAPANESE ARCHITECTURE	By Prof. H. Kisida, D. Sc.
8. WHAT IS SINTO?	By Prof. G. Katō, D. Litt.
9. CASTLES IN JAPAN	By Prof. S. Ōrai, D. Litt. and Prof. M. Toba.
10. HOT SPRINGS IN JAPAN	By Prof. K. Huzinami, M. D.
11. FLORAL ART OF JAPAN	By Issōtei Nishikawa
12. CHILDREN'S DAYS IN JAPAN	By Z. T. Iwadō, B. A.
13. KIMONO (Japanese Dress)	By Ken-iti Kawakatu
14. JAPANESE FOOD	By Prof. Kaneko Tesuka
15. JAPANESE MUSIC	By Katumi Sunaga
16. ZYUDO (ZYUZYUTU)	By Zigorō Karō
17. FAMILY LIFE IN JAPAN	By Syunkiti Akimoto
18. SCENERY OF JAPAN	By T. Tamura, D. Sc.
19. JAPANESE EDUCATION	By Prof. K. Yosida, D. Litt. and Prof. T. Kuigo
20. FLORAL CALENDAR OF JAPAN	By T. Makino, D. Sc. and Genzrō Oka
21. JAPANESE BUDDHISM	By Prof. D. T. Suzuki, D. Litt.
22. ODORI (Japanese Dance)	By Kasyō Matida
23. KABUKI DRAMA	By Syūtarō Miyake
24. JAPANESE WOOD-BLOCK PRINTS	By Prof. S. Huzikawa, D. Litt.
25. HISTORY OF JAPAN	By Prof. K. Nakamura, D. Litt.
26. JAPANESE POLK-TOYS	By Tekiho Nishizawa
27. JAPANESE GAME OF "GO"	By Hukumenshi Mihori
28. JAPANESE COIFFURE	By R. Saitō, D. Litt.
29. JAPANESE SCULPTURE	By Seiroku Noma
30. JAPANESE POSTAGE STAMPS	By Yokichi Yamamoto
31. JAPAN'S ANCIENT ARMOUR	By Hatirō Yamagami
32. ANGLING IN JAPAN	By Meizi Maturaki
33. JAPANESE PROVERBS	By Otoo Huzii, D. Litt.
34. SUMO—Japanese Wrestling	By Kōzō Hikoyama
35. JAPANESE BIRDS	By Prince Nobusuke Takatukasa
36. AINU LIFE AND LEGENDS	By Kyōsuke Kindaiti, D. Litt.
37. JAPANESE FAMILY CRESTS	By Yuzuru Okada
38. JAPANESE INDUSTRIAL ARTS	By Seiri Okura
39. HAND-MADE PAPER OF JAPAN	By Bunayō Zyugaku
40. JAPANESE NATIONAL CHARACTER	By Nyozekan Hanegawa

Figure 1: List of Tourist Library Booklets

<sup>106</sup> By 1940, new editions and volumes of the *TLS* changed the exact wording of their statement to, “...the foreign student of Japan will, we hope, gain a general knowledge of the country and its people”. This change first appears in booklet number 30 *Japanese Postage Stamps* (1940). --Yamamoto, Yokichi. *Japanese Postage Stamps*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1940).

<sup>107</sup> Fukukita, Yasunosuke. *Tea Cult of Japan: An Aesthetic Pastime* (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1934), 1.

comprehensively. The *Tourist Library Series* was unique in addressing in depth the cultural identity that the Japanese government endeavored to present to, and have acknowledged by, other imperial powers.

Although published by an organization dedicated to tourism, only some of the *TLS* booklets are directly relevant to tourism, such as *Hot Springs in Japan*, *Scenery of Japan*, or *Floral Calendar of Japan*. The others address diverse aspects of Japanese culture, particularly daily culture, that the typical tourist would rarely encounter on a short visit to Japan. For example, *Japanese Coiffure*, *Japanese Family Life*, *Japanese Food*, and *Japanese Education* all provide insight into the daily lives of the everyday Japanese. Additionally, the other booklets that are connected peripherally to tourism dedicate entire volumes to subjects normally only passingly enjoyed by tourists, such as *Castles in Japan*, *Japanese Gardens*, *Sakura*, and *Japanese Armor*. Finally, in the booklets *History of Japan* and *Japanese National Character*, the foreign reader is offered a look into the historical developments that shaped the nature of Japan.<sup>108</sup>

The Japan presented by the series is also unique in authorship. Every volume is written by a recognized authority of that particular topic. For example, the author of *Japanese Buddhism* is the celebrated D.T. Suzuki, well-known for his English literature on Buddhism in Japan. Dr. Kyōsuke Kindaichi of *Ainu Life and Legend* is a respected scholar of Ainu linguistics. The author of the volume on Judo is the sport's founder Jigorō Kanō.<sup>109</sup> The booklet on tea was, Yasunosuke Fukukita, who had by 1932 published *Cha-no-Yu: Tea Cult of Japan*.<sup>110</sup> Most of the authors

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<sup>108</sup> Hasegawa, *Japanese National Character*, 2.

<sup>109</sup> Hasegawa, *Japanese National Character*, 2.

<sup>110</sup> Fukukita, Yasunosuke. *Cha-no-yu: Tea Cult of Japan*. (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1932).

translated the books themselves into English. By articulating the image of Japan through the words of Japan's leading thinkers of the 1930's, *TLS* clearly demonstrates a serious and meticulously planned attempt to represent Japan to western audiences.

### 3.3 The *Tourist Library Series* and Other BTI Tourist Literature

This study focuses on how the topics of tea ceremony, Shinto, and nature are treated by the *Tourist Library Series* and other works published by BTI. In particular, I compare the *TLS* to *An Official Guide to Japan* (1933)<sup>111</sup> as well as other guidebook types. Quasi-guidebooks act like tourist guidebooks in that they suggest possible routes and experiences for the tourist to enjoy but are meant as a cultural guide to Japan. Two quasi-guidebooks will be referenced here. *Three Weeks' Trip in Japan*, whose publication year is estimated as 1938 or 1939, recounts in dialogue form the experience of a presumably fictitious American couple's trip to Japan. This includes photographs and the couple's imaged reactions to seeing Japan or the tour guide's imagined responses to the couple..<sup>112</sup> Then, *Annual Events in Japan* (1938) presents descriptions of various annual events by date or time of year, because, "...in order to understand the Japanese people, it is recommended that the foreign visitor become acquainted with festivals and other annual

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<sup>111</sup> *An Official Guide to Japan with Preparatory Explanations on Japanese Customs, Language, History, Religion, Literature, Fine Art, Architecture, Music, Drama, etc., etc.; A Handbook for Travellers* (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1933).

<sup>112</sup> *Three Weeks' Trip in Japan*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1938/1939?).

events...”<sup>113</sup> Then, for subject-based guidebooks, comparisons draw from *ABC of Japanese Art* (1937), which provides descriptions, photographs, and historical background for various types of Japanese art, including architecture<sup>114</sup> and *Souvenirs: What and Where?*(1938/1939), which the BTI created in order to direct foreign tourists to quality souvenirs.<sup>115</sup>

I also compare TLS to informational guidebooks, works that are less focused on travel. These instead include descriptions of attractions and experiences contextualized by explanations of Japanese culture and character. *The Lure of Japan* (1934), for example, includes information about seasonal sights and experiences, suggested cities and national parks, general predatory information (i.g. transportation, etiquette, food, how to dress, what not to do, etc.), in addition to Japanese cultural accomplishments.<sup>116</sup> *Japan for the Young* (1937) provides descriptions of experiences and sights in Japan along with cultural explanations. It also includes sections on Japan’s modern accomplishments such as international power and modernized industries.<sup>117</sup> Of the other aforementioned BTI tourist literature, the approach of informational guidebooks resembles the *TLS* the most. However, their representations of Japan are still deeply rooted in the tourist experience, and thus contrast with *TLS*.

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<sup>113</sup> *Annual Events in Japan*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry. 1938), 3.

<sup>114</sup> Noritake Tsuda *ABC of Japanese Art*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1937).

<sup>115</sup> *Kokusai Kankō* 国際観光 [International Tourism] Tōkyō: Kokusai Kankō Kyōkai, 東京 : 国際観光協会 (April 23, 1935.)

<sup>116</sup> Shunkichi Akimoto, *The Lure of Japan*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1934).

<sup>117</sup> *Japan for the Young* (Tokyo: The Dai Nippon Printing Co., Ltd.,1937).

### 3.3.1 Tea Ceremony

*An Official Guide to Japan* (1933) presents the tea ceremony very briefly. Its explanation extends little past the information necessary to prepare the reader for a trip to Japan. This includes a page-long history of the tea ceremony dating back to tea's introduction to Japan from China and ending with the introduction of Zen Buddhism to Japan and the establishment of a fully constituted tea ceremony by the time of the Ashikaga Shogunate (1336–1573). This passage does not explain the philosophical developments of tea ceremonies over time, nor does it explain how Zen Buddhism's teachings influenced it. A few more pages describe the visual arrangement and content of a tearoom followed by a general outline of the procedures and etiquette. There is limited explanation about the significance of the setting, and there are no images. The section also only briefly mentions the philosophies behind these proceedings. Instead, it explains the experience of the tea ceremony. The description ends with a list of where one can see famous tearooms, which provides the name, location, and historic establishment of each. Thus, the guidebook presents the ceremony as something interesting to see or experience, with only brief information concerning its cultural significance.<sup>118</sup>

The other section of the work pertaining to tea is its section on ceramics. Three-fourths of its less than one-page description on Japanese ceramics focuses on the history of ceramic developments in Japan as it pertains to tea ceremony utensils, particularly *Seto* ware. This passage then ends with locations of the best-known kilns. Here, the carefully crafted utensils especially

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<sup>118</sup> *An Official Guide to Japan*.

designed to fit the esthetics and principles of the tea ceremony are treated as material works of art, and their ritual function is largely ignored.<sup>119</sup>

The *ABC of Japanese Art* similarly treats tea ceremony as a visual experience for the contemporary traveler. In its two-and-a-half-page ceramic arts section, it divides the world of Japanese ceramics into pottery designed for tea ceremony and pottery designed for feudal lords. The half-page explanation of tea ceremony ceramics mentions *jō-ō-shigaraki* wares then focuses on *shino* ware, by mentioning its founder and providing a straightforward physical description. Then, the text moves on to mention the historic establishment of *raku* ware. These styles represent only three of the pottery styles used in the tea ceremony. No explanation is given as to why these styles represent *cha-no-yu* aesthetics nor how they influenced the tea ceremony aesthetics and philosophies. *ABC of Japanese Art* concludes with locations of still operating famous kilns and where to buy inexpensive daily utensils. In the second part of the book that is dedicated to art centers, museums, and collections where there are also references to see places associated with important moments in tea ceremony history, such as the Silver Pavilion and Daitoku-ji, but with very little historical contextualization.<sup>120</sup> In a similar manner, *Souvenirs: What and Where?* (1938?) does not offer deep explanations on the aesthetic philosophies behind the tea ceramics it is recommending for purchase, nor does it provide any pictures. The book presents the ceramic tea ceremony utensils as a commodity and as art, but this souvenir guide includes a wide variety of

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<sup>119</sup> *An Official Guide to Japan.*

<sup>120</sup> Tsuda, *ABC of Japanese Art.*

ceramic styles associated with the tea ceremony in its index, which better reflects the wide variation in tea ceremony utensil styles and aesthetic principles.<sup>121</sup>

As a cultural accomplishment of Japan, tea ceremony is briefly described in *The Lure of Japan* and *Japan for the Young*. The roughly three-page entry, including a photograph, in *The Lure of Japan* spends a little over one page establishing the underlying philosophical technical complexity of the tea ceremony, and it suggests that proficiency in the ceremony requires both understanding and mastered skill. It does not, however, expound on this philosophy. Significantly, it compares tea ceremony's complexity to that needed for hosting a western tea party. However, the section ends by pointing out that Zen Buddhism is at the core of the tea ceremony, unlike the "mere social virtue" or "art of pleasing" in the core of western tea gatherings.<sup>122</sup> The passage goes on to quote Okakura Kazuō, author of *The Book of Tea*, to establish that tea ceremony is the worship of everyday beauty and the spirit of eastern democracy. At the same time, the passage does not elaborate on how the tea ceremony embodies this beauty or spirit. There is no allowance for any depth of cultural explanation in the guide-like format of the book.<sup>123</sup>

Like *The Lure of Japan*, *Japan for the Young* also presents tea ceremony as, "...one of the main forms of Japanese culture".<sup>124</sup> The section consists of two long paragraphs, the first describing the adoption of tea ceremony as a pastime, and casual hobby throughout the ages rather than its personifications as a way of life or as an embodiment of Japanese culture. The second paragraph describes the tea house layout and very basic procedures, much like the description of

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<sup>121</sup> *Souvenirs: What and Where?* (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, (1938/1939?)).

<sup>122</sup> Akimoto, *The Lure of Japan*, 301.

<sup>123</sup> Akimoto, *The Lure of Japan*.

<sup>124</sup> *Japan for the Young*, 46.

*An Official Guide to Japan* but shorter. There is no mention of underlying principles (e.g. simplicity, precise movements, rustic beauty etc.) in the procedure explanation.<sup>125</sup> Lastly, it provides a list of suggested further readings, and among these is the *TLS' Tea Cult of Japan*.<sup>126</sup>

By contrast, the BTI's *Tea Cult of Japan*'s narrative style articulates the underlying principles of *cha-no-yu*, a term which it seems to prefer over tea ceremony, because it is a format concerned with more than the basic facts. Its almost eighty pages include introductory information, history, training, etiquette, modern innovations, and Zen simplicity philosophies.<sup>127</sup> Not much is known about the author, Fukukita Yasunosuke, other than that he was a businessman who became interested in the tea ceremony and took lessons in his spare time. He was inspired by Okakura Kakuzo's famous *The Book of Tea*, and soon began writing his 1932 book *Cha-no-Yu: Tea Cult of Japan* to educate those who have no knowledge of the tea ceremony on its basic procedures and enjoyment value.<sup>128</sup>

Fukukita's narrative approach allows for the foreign student to understand a core phenomenon of Japanese culture more deeply, as well as allows for more space to emphasize the artform's importance to Japanese culture. *Tea Cult of Japan*'s opening paragraph emphasizes that *cha-no-yu*, is an embodiment of Japanese culture:

“Nothing is more closely associated with the arts and crafts of Japan than cha-no-yu,...It as a subject requires a life-long study to appreciate fully the underlying subtle aestheticism, with its manifold bearings upon religion, literature and philosophy...A

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<sup>125</sup> *Japan for the Young*.

<sup>126</sup> *Japan for the Young*, 134.

<sup>127</sup> Fukukita, *Tea Cult of Japan* (1934).

<sup>128</sup> Fukukita. *Cha-no-yu*.

knowledge of *cha-no-yu*, however slight will therefore be highly useful to understand and adequately appraise the home life of the Japanese people”.<sup>129</sup>

In other words, it presents tea ceremony as a serious avocation steeped in religious and philosophical ideals and therefore worthy of consideration, and by extension, respect, from westerners who attribute such “seriousness” with cultural value.

The work implies that understanding the values of *cha-no-yu* equips the novice to more fully understand other aspects of Japanese culture: “Those who have taken lessons in *Cha-no-yu* may forget much of what they have learned...but the training received...will save them from many a faux pas, even when making an ordinary call in the Japanese home”.<sup>130</sup> Fukukita suggests, therefore, that the philosophy underpinning *cha-no-yu* is equivalent to a guiding principle of Japanese society, one that, if understood even partially, will equip the reader to interpret Japan. This point was emphasized by none of the above factoid-based guidebook passages.

*Tea Cult of Japan*'s description of the history of *cha-no-yu* highlights important people and moments in the art's past, which demonstrates how history has impacted *cha-no-yu* and how *cha-no-yu* has impacted Japanese history. In explaining its origins in Zen monastic practices, the booklet explains that the cup of tea allows practitioners of the tea cult worship nature and appreciate art. It also touches on Shukō, the father of tea ceremony as *cha-no-yu*, and Jōwō who solidified the principles of refinement and simplicity in the ceremony. By both highlighting historic points of philosophical evolution and defining those principles of philosophy, *Tea Cult of*

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<sup>129</sup> Fukukita, *Tea Cult of Japan* (1934), 6.

<sup>130</sup> Fukukita, *Tea Cult of Japan* (1934), 19.

*Japan* presents the tea ceremony as a culture concept with deep religious roots that has carried in the same traditions into the present—and remained an honored practice through the ages.<sup>131</sup>

*Tea Cult* also provides detailed explanations of *cha-no-yu* procedures, which, it emphasizes, take years of training. It also points out that tea ceremony procedures are grounded in practicing exact forms, execution styles, and guiding principles that all require strict adherence. Moreover, it underlines that the rules and procedure are also idealizations or appreciations of a Japanese sense of beauty.<sup>132</sup> It further makes the assertion that, “the Japanese people of the present day live essentially in the same way as their ancestors have done for centuries, for which, if one is to live correctly, training is necessary.”<sup>133</sup> Whereas the BTI’s other guidebooks represent Japan in descriptions of tea procedures in ways that present the tea ceremony as an interesting fact that tourists might see but not experience beyond ceramics purchases, *Tea Cult of Japan* represents the tea ceremony as a Japanese cultural philosophy or phenomenon, one that requires discipline and thought, and one that connects Japan to an equally disciplined and thoughtful past.

*Tea Cult* does not include a section on places to see tearooms, utensils, or associated locations, nor does it offer suggestions for souvenirs. It in effect dislocates the practice from tourist destinations, focusing rather on formal procedures for using utensils and principles behind utensil aesthetics. By situating tea ceremony as a serious philosophical practice, the booklet removes it from the casual world of tourism. Furthermore, the narrative style brings this explanation beyond basic facts to describe how the Japanese view and understand the practices. In its argument that to

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<sup>131</sup> Fukukita, *Tea Cult of Japan* (1934).8-12.

<sup>132</sup> Fukukita, *Tea Cult of Japan* (1934).

<sup>133</sup> Fukukita, *Tea Cult of Japan* (1934), 13.

understand Japan one must understand its key cultural components thoroughly, it suggests to foreigners that Japan is more than beautiful sites and objects underneath the surface. Behind the visual there is an inner mindset or understanding of life that is different than, yet equivalent to, western cultures, and therefore must be properly studied and understood like western cultures. By choosing to produce a work of tourism literature in not yet another guidebook, the BTI made a deliberate choice to present Japan in a new format to foreigners. It wanted foreigners to understand the tea ceremony, and other aspects of Japanese culture, in a way that guidebooks clearly were not fulfilling.

### 3.3.2 Shinto

The variety of engagements with Shinto offers another example of the reframing of the role of the “tourist” of Japan, particularly because Shinto, rather than Buddhism, was such an important tool for the government’s depiction of Japanese identity in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>134</sup> *An Official Guide to Japan* contain a two-and-a-half-page description of Shinto as a religion. It begins with explaining the importance of Shinto to imperial lineage and national loyalty to the imperial house, which acknowledges Shinto as a fundamental part of cultural identity reaching beyond the context of tourism. Another very short paragraph about offerings is included then followed by three short paragraphs on purification types. These paragraphs do not explain why purification is important, but meaning present facts related to procedures of cleansing and exorcising.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> I refer here to the *shinbutsu bunri* movement of the Meiji Era. Helen. Hardarce, *Shinto: A History*. (New York: Oxford UP, 2017), Ch. 12.

<sup>135</sup> *An Official Guide to Japan*.

The passage then very briefly outlines some of the important shifts in Shinto over time: early Shinto with no code of ethics or filial piety, influence of Confucianism, influences of Buddhism in kami and buddha amalgamations, and 18<sup>th</sup> century pure Shintoism. These stages simply name each shift and provide a basic definition on it. The conclusion provides an overview of statistics for Shintoism today and Shinto marriages in a way that portrays Shinto like any other religion of its time. While *An Official Guide* outlines some of the evolutions in Shinto philosophy and explains Shinto's role in imperial lineage, it does not address Shinto as the established national religion nor its role in state activities. Then, throughout *An Official Guide's* five-hundred-plus-page suggested route section, Shinto shrines and festivities are treated as mere tourist attractions. Descriptions of suggested shrines on the various travel routes generally include the deity and its purpose along with physical features and statistics, while festivities describe what people do to celebrate.<sup>136</sup> In summary, Shinto is portrayed here as an eternal concept with a long coherent history that is embedded in everyday life, much as Christianity and its churches and festivals were in Europe and North America.

*Annual Events in Japan* provides general descriptions, dates, and locations of festival activities. And so, this guide in particular treats Shinto as a feature of Japan to plan to see rather than understand.<sup>137</sup> *Three Week's Trip in Japan* likewise treats Shinto as a feature of Japan for tourists to experience. The book's imaginary couple visits various shrines on their travel routes, while they or their guide comment on the purpose or physical appearance of the shrine. Their tour guide occasionally points out facts that connect the shrine to national culture, such as at Meiji

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<sup>136</sup> *An Official Guide to Japan*, 1933.

<sup>137</sup> *Annual Events in Japan*.

Shrine he points out that emperor Meiji is revered by all Japanese subjects and that the outer shrine grounds will be used as the focal point of the 1940 Olympics.<sup>138</sup> However, these facts convey no further insight into how the philosophies of Shinto embody Japanese national culture and character.<sup>139</sup>

*ABC of Japanese Art* treats Shinto as a visual feature of Japan. In its architecture section, Shinto takes up approximately one and a half pages. ABC calls Shinto architecture the embodiment of Japanese national spirit and provides a paragraph of primitive Shinto architectural examples. There are no images nor physical descriptions of Shinto buildings, only mention of which deity inhabits each shrine. *ABC of Japanese Art* suggests that by visiting these shrines, the reader will experience inspirational and sacred feelings. The section somewhat puzzlingly concludes with a physical description of Nara's Kasuga shrine, and it mentions that the *gongen-zukuri* style of Kitano shrine and Osaka Hachiman shrine were influenced by Buddhist architecture.<sup>140</sup> All factoids in the guidebook-style designed to insight or placate the reader's curiosities.

Meanwhile, *The Lure of Japan* does not discuss Shinto, mentioning it only briefly in a passage on the uncleanness of birth in premodern Japanese culture. However, the guidebook mentions shrines in its sections on Japan's seasonal attractions and great cities. Thus, *The Lure of Japan* presents Shinto in the form of tourist attraction and does not emphasize its importance nor philosophies within Japanese culture.<sup>141</sup> Of the aforementioned guides, the six-page section on Shinto in *Japan for the Young* offers the best attempt at explaining what Shinto means to Japanese

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<sup>138</sup> *Three Weeks' Trip in Japan*, 14-15.

<sup>139</sup> *Three Weeks' Trip in Japan*.

<sup>140</sup> Tsuda, *ABC of Japanese Art*.

<sup>141</sup> Akimoto, *The Lure of Japan*.

culture. It begins by describing the great number of shrines and temples a visitor to Japan encounters and provides statistics on the number of shrines and temples in Kyoto. However, the text quickly shifts to explaining that Shinto is the “national cult of all Japanese,” as seen in the small shrines present in Japanese homes.<sup>142</sup> It describes Shinto’s role in imperial lineage and loyalty to the imperial house, as well as the concept of kami and the evolution of kami worship into ancestor worship, but not what those facts mean to the understanding Japanese people have of life and religion. A description of the daily work of shrines concludes the section, but it does not discuss principles behind these physical features and practices. Other sections in *Japan for the Young* focus on Shinto festivals and rites of passage. In general, its passages show more of an attempt to explain Shinto as a cultural concept than any other guidebooks. Interestingly, it references the *TLS’ What is Shinto?* for more information on Japan in its back section.<sup>143</sup>

By comparison, *What is Shinto?* addresses the cultural significance of Shinto from its preface. Its author, Doctor of Literature Genchi Katō, calls Shinto Japan’s “spiritual blood or bone” and claims that no other religion practiced in Japan can be understood without a knowledge of Shinto.<sup>144</sup> Additionally, Katō asserts that, “the knowledge of a foreign tourist who visits Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines here and there in Japan, who studies Japanese religion, Japanese art and architecture, and Japanese literature, will be comparatively valueless if he lacks an adequate knowledge Shinto”.<sup>145</sup> The booklet continues with, “don’t say that you know Japan, until you

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<sup>142</sup> *Japan for the Young*, 54.

<sup>143</sup> *Japan for the Young*.

<sup>144</sup> Genchi Katō, *What Is Shinto?* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1935), 7.

<sup>145</sup> Genchi Katō, *What Is Shinto?* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1935), 7.

have gained some knowledge of Shinto”<sup>146</sup> Thus, *What is Shinto?* presents and reinforces Shinto as a cultural concept essential to understanding Japan and Japanese culture beyond the basic facts—an echo of Fukukita’s assertion regarding *cha-no-yu*.

The introductory chapter maintains this emphasis in its explanation of kami and sect versus state Shinto. Throughout the booklet, however, state Shinto is Katō’s true focus. He calls Shinto a unique manifestation of Japanese morality with an internal burning religion. It explains that this “holy fire” within Shinto creates the religious loyalty and patriotism the Japanese feel towards the emperor.<sup>147</sup> In the final chapter, Katō relies on recognizable, non-Japanese authorities to support his point. He first cites Lafcadio Hearn’s definition of national Shinto as the religion of loyalty. Katō then quotes a Harvard Professor Royce’s general explanation of religion, to explain the devotion Shinto inspires in the Japanese people towards their sovereign —the exact quote including, ‘however, far you go in loyalty, you will never regard loyalty as mere morality. It will also be in essence a religion. Loyalty is a source not only of moral but religious insight...’.<sup>148</sup> Thus, *What is Shinto?* argues that loyalty is Japan’s “essence” and essence is Shinto, Japan’s “national religion”.<sup>149</sup> In asserting that Shinto is a key component of Japanese culture and identity, Katō effectively makes the same argument Fukukita made for *cha-no-yu*, but with more ideologically charged consequences: Shinto’s synergistic and inextricably intertwined relationship with Buddhism is erased; it is held up as an immortal presence linked to the “Japanese spirit,” and as such, it is comparable to the monolithic Christianity of the west.

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<sup>146</sup> Katō, *What is Shintō?*, 7.

<sup>147</sup> Katō, *What Is Shinto?*, 15.

<sup>148</sup> Katō, *What Is Shinto?*, 65.

<sup>149</sup> Katō, *What Is Shinto?*, 65.

Part II, entitled “Salient Features of Shinto”, elaborates on the philosophical evolution of Shinto. For example, the first section explains that Shinto before the mythological accounts, such as the *Kojiki*, created the founding philosophies of Shinto and Japan’s relationship with nature. Similarly, Emperor Jimmu taking command of the “land of reed and plains” marks the establishment of the Japanese Empire that has continued with unity for 2600 years.<sup>150</sup> Therefore, *What is Shintō?* perpetuates a mythical ideology that in turn supports the legitimacy of Japan’s emperor, in addition to Japan’s identity as a nation. With Buddhism’s influences ignored, the repetitive rhetoric of Japan’s unbroken national identity and imperial lineage is reinforced, and it suggests to the reader that the inner mindset of Japan has always been framed by these ideals. The narrative approach of the booklet clearly sets *What is Shintō?* apart from all other BTI tourist literature, because it educates the reader with ideology in ways that the guidebooks never could. Likewise, the narration style further encourages the idea that to understand Japan long explanations are necessary in order to come to the same conclusions of understanding as those presented in *What is Shintō?*.

### 3.3.3 Flora Scenery and Japanese Flower Culture

In the following comparisons, *TLS* booklet *Floral Calendar of Japan* (1938), was chosen to isolate nature from other topics of Japanese scenery (i.g. cities, castles, farmland, etc.), as well as to narrow down nature to flower culture.<sup>151</sup> *TLS* booklet *Sakura (Japanese Cherry)* (1935), was not chosen as the *TLS* book of comparison, because it is too narrow of a topic to analyze in the

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<sup>150</sup> Katō, *What Is Shinto?*, 28.

<sup>151</sup> Tomitarō Makino and Genziro Oka, *Floral Calendar of Japan*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1938).

guidebooks.<sup>152</sup> *TLS* booklet *Floral Art of Japan* (1936), was not chosen, because it is about *ikebana*.<sup>153</sup> *Ikebana* is an artform in and of itself and would be another topic of comparison entirely. *Japanese Gardens* (1936), another *TLS* booklet, is also an artform of its own, but it could have been used to address presentations of nature.<sup>154</sup> However, the lack of flower culture in guidebooks and the inclusion of an entire Japanese flower culture book in *TLS* offers a more interesting comparison.

In *An Official Guide to Japan*, the relationship that Japanese culture holds with nature is hinted at throughout the text. Flower culture in particular is not isolated in any way from other scenic or natural features presented. Instead individual sections on flora include, landscapes, gardens, and flower arrangement. The travel route section of the book frequently suggests natural flora scenic spots, especially national parks. However, the descriptions of national parks particularly focus on the location, size, and maps of parks. Even the section dedicated to Japan's geographic features do not discuss Japan's flora. Therefore, *An Official Guide to Japan* presents merely the minimal facts that interests tourists, in addition to information that ought to promote interest in Japan.<sup>155</sup>

By comparison, *The Lure of Japan* includes a forty-some page section on the attractions of Japan's four seasons, and this section references which flowers bloom during which times of year. For example, the section on autumn calls chrysanthemums one of the three beauties of a Japanese fall. Later in the same section, chrysanthemums receive over a page of explanation. The

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<sup>152</sup> Manabu Miyoshi, *Sakura: Japanese Cherry* (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1935).

<sup>153</sup> Issōtei Nishikawa. *Floral Art of Japan*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1936).

<sup>154</sup> Matsunosuke Tatsui *Japanese Gardens* (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1936).

<sup>155</sup> *An Official Guide to Japan*.

explanation includes not only a physical description of the flower but also its symbolism in the crest of the imperial family, and it goes on to describe the emperor's annual chrysanthemum party. In addition, it describes the chrysanthemum doll festival and Kabuki flower costumes. However, all three of these explanations of chrysanthemums role in Japanese culture frame them as events to witness or experience. In other words, they become explanations of potential attractions to see in the fall.<sup>156</sup> In a similar manner, *Annual Events of Japan*, in one sentence describes the imperial chrysanthemum party as an annual event to view in the fall. All other references to flowers, such as sakura, within this guide, emphasize their occurrence as something tourists should plan to see when planning their trip to Japan. The references do not explain the cultural significance or aesthetic philosophies behind the celebrations of these flowers.<sup>157</sup>

*ABC of Japanese Art and Souvenirs: What and Where?* do not include sections on Japanese flora.<sup>158</sup> Comparatively, *Three Weeks Trip in Japan* does not dingle our discussions of flora, and it does not specify a season or seasonal scenery.<sup>159</sup> *Japan for the Young* covers many nature subjects including bonsai, moon-viewing, insect listening, ikebana, and more in a section on aspects of Japanese culture, but flowers are not singled out as a major topic beyond ikebana. Another section elaborates on what aspects make the Japanese Landscape charming, including hot springs, mountains, and seas but not flowers. The book even has an entire section for explaining

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<sup>156</sup> Akimoto, *The Lure of Japan*.

<sup>157</sup> *Annual Events in Japan*.

<sup>158</sup> Tsuda, *ABC of Japanese Art.; Souvenirs: What and Where?.*

<sup>159</sup> *Three Weeks' Trip in Japan*.

Japan's relationship, physically and culturally, with Mt. Fuji. However, no section elaborates on Japan's flora culture, Japanese flower aesthetics, or Japanese flower metaphysics.<sup>160</sup>

In contrast, the entire volume of *Floral Calendar of Japan* dedicates itself to presenting the concepts of Japanese culture behind the appreciation and celebration of flowers. Like the *Annual Events in Japan* and *The Lure of Japan* the booklet is divided into times of year, namely months. However, each chapter is not a list of description of events to experience nor is it strictly a description of what flowers are visible during those months. Rather each month presents the flora associated with that month and how it reflects the sentiments and cultural understandings of nature and seasons. For instance, its account of chrysanthemum mentions the use of this flower in the imperial family crest, but it takes that opportunity to explain that every family in Japan has a family crest and that those crests are mostly derived from flower and leaf designs.<sup>161</sup>

Furthermore, it argues here that the widespread custom of using plants to create family crests, "...perhaps constitutes proof of the deep relation between plants and [Japanese] national life".<sup>162</sup> Therefore, *Floral Calendar of Japan* presents celebrations and uses of flowers as insights into the deep relationship Japanese culture possess with nature. In contrast to the guidebooks, *Floral Calendar of Japan* does not mention the imperial chrysanthemum tea party or the chrysanthemum doll festival. Instead it spends its remaining four pages showing photographs of Japanese chrysanthemum varieties and explaining the naturalization of chrysanthemums from China. In this section it also details the wide variety of chrysanthemums carefully cultivated and

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<sup>160</sup> *Japan for the Young*.

<sup>161</sup> Makino and Oka, *Floral Calendar of Japan*.

<sup>162</sup> Makino and Oka, *Floral Calendar of Japan*, 71.

treasured by the Japanese and the imperial family. Thus, once again the *TLS* presents what guidebooks view as attractions and visual features of Japan as aspects that makes up Japanese national culture.<sup>163</sup>

In summary, *TLS* demonstrates that the narrative style and unique approach of the series allows for a different kind of representation for Japan. It allows for its foreign readers to gain further insight into the essence of Japanese culture and way of life. Whereas, both the brief introductory format and tourism centered presentation of the BTI's guidebooks do not offer adequate insight into how subjects like tea ceremony, Shinto, or flower culture comprise Japan's cultural essence. In addition, it creates an image of Japan that is rich in unbroken tradition and ritual that is as alive and applicable as it was in ancient Japan. By presenting Japan in this manner, it establishes a uniform national identity for not only Japan but also the past. As a result, the BTI has created a series designed to promote Japan as a modern nation with a well-established national identity, rather than just another guidebook or tourist publication. Long narrations also encourage the notion that Japan cannot be understood, or more importantly judged, without due study beyond superficial facts. A shift to the *TLS* style, one not obviously profitable, also reveals that the BTI felt that there was something lacking in its countless guidebooks. By extension, this suggests that the Japanese government continued to seek more in-depth ways of having foreigners learn about Japan. Prior to the *TLS*, guidebooks with their brief explanations and factoids were the BTI's main source for disseminating the image of Japan. Then, after the *TLS* started in 1934, we also see later guidebooks designed to emphasize the cultural aspects of Japan over travel routes and information. For example, the *Japan for the Young*, *Three Weeks Trip in Japan*, *ABC of Japanese Art*,

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<sup>163</sup> Makino and Oka, *Floral Calendar of Japan*, 71.

*Souvenirs: What and Where?*, and *Annual Events* were all first published between 1937 and 1938. Furthermore, this shift coincides with the establishment of the BTI, which began its work improving tourism infrastructure in 1930.

The government's shift toward more detailed and educational materials for presenting Japan internationally continues today. For example, the KAKEHASHI Project is a recent government program designed to, "...enhance international understanding of the 'Japan brand' ...[and] to promote deeper mutual understanding among the people of Japan and the United States...",<sup>164</sup> through experiences of Japan's culture, advanced technologies, and education systems. These experiences involve educational lessons from experts on Japanese culture and on-site trips to Japanese education institutions, such as museums and schools, as opposed to typical tourist sites.<sup>165</sup> The Japanese government's KAKAHASHI Project therefore relies on presentations by recognized authorities on culture and accomplishments to encourage a respected image of Japan abroad, much like the design of the *TLS*.

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<sup>164</sup> The Japan Foundation. "KAKEHASHI Project - The Bridge for Tomorrow." Japan Foundation.

<sup>165</sup> This information I draw from my own experience as a participant in the KAKEHASHI Project.

## 4.0 Chapter Four: Conclusion

As demonstrated in the previous chapters, *Tourist Library Series* (1934-1942) is just one small fraction of Japanese self-representation on the world's international stage leading up to the Second World War. Furthermore, *TLS* employs a unique approach, though one very much still in concert with other efforts by the Japanese government, and its representatives, to present Japan as no less than equal among imperial powers. The below reflects on ways the *TLS*, and other promoters of Japan's image leading up to World War II, reflect the larger narratives of 1930's Japan, tourism, national identity creation, and national identity promotion. In addition, I argue that *TLS* was unique amongst its contemporaries, not only for its format, but because it was not as blatant of a mouthpiece for state agenda. I then contend that an evolution is visible in how much information the state has deemed necessary, or adequate, for presenting Japan to foreigners, so that they may understand Japan's image appropriately.

As explained in Chapter One industrial, technological, and even cultural achievements were so vital in presenting a modern nation's image that world's fairs pivoted around these factors by the late 1800's. Moreover, these achievements came to define national identity in the nineteenth century, and national image promotion during this time became the demonstration of those accomplishments.<sup>166</sup> Japan's own participation or creation of world's fairs quickly became a necessity for the state to repel the ever-present threat of foreign imperialism and change the

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<sup>166</sup> Aso. *Public Properties*, 24.; F. Brinkley, *The Kyoto industrial exhibition of 1895 held in celebration of the eleven hundredth anniversary of the city's existence. Written at the request of the Kyoto city government* ([Place of publication not identified]: [Printed at the "Japan mail" Office], 1895).

unequal treaties. The mere Japanese art objects and trinkets first sold at foreign fairs in the second half of the nineteenth century were not only goods for making profit but also representations of Japan's artistic and constructive abilities.<sup>167</sup> Through the art and traditional craft objects, the world could see that Japan was both "civilized" and artistically capable enough to produce fine arts similar, if not equivalent, in quality to western fine arts.<sup>168</sup> However, the original Japanese, or generic Asian, goods booths were planned and staffed by foreigners, creating less than equal representations of Japan in comparison to the western powers.<sup>169</sup>

The underlying motives for *TLS* differed little from exhibitions. Both existed to represent Japan abroad, in order to improve Japan's image in the eyes of westerners. However, *TLS* differs from exhibitions in what it provides its readers. Rather than a display of or list of accomplishments, *TLS*' approach presents Japanese cultural aspects and achievements so as to explain the inner workings of the Japanese mind and society. Its portable format gave foreigners the opportunity to continue learning and reading about Japan's cultural achievements at any time for as long as they possessed booklets. Foreigners time and again can look to the *TLS*, and like a diploma they could physically demonstrate their understanding Japan by pointing to the booklets as certification.<sup>170</sup> Whereas, exhibitions were in nature temporary, and they educated foreigners only as long as they remained open, until later exhibitions eventually became museums in Japan and elsewhere.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan*, 48-50.; Ravina, *To Stand with the Nations of the World*, Introduction.

<sup>168</sup> Lee. *The Japan of Pure Invention*.

<sup>169</sup> Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan*., Chapter 2.

<sup>170</sup> *Tourist Library Series*. Vol. 1-40.

<sup>171</sup> Aso. *Public Properties*, Introduction.; McDonald, *Placing Empire*.

Furthermore, *TLS* does not emphasize Japan's latest industrial or technological achievements. Rather, its booklets present Japanese culture and tradition as unbroken practices from ancient times until today.<sup>172</sup> Exhibitions though, focused only on the latest changes and achievements, until after World War I when they shy away from concepts of progress to ideas of national identity and patriotism.<sup>173</sup> *TLS* appears to reflect the shift toward presentations of national identities and ideologies, because its booklets frequently refer to the cultural aspects they explain as aspects of Japanese national culture. Thus, *TLS* is unique in approach yet in concert with its contemporaries in what it emphasizes.<sup>174</sup> In this way, *TLS* does not reflect the blatant state agendas like exhibitions in that *TLS* was not overtly devoted to reversing the unequal treaties, demonstrating Japan's westernization, or proving Japan's technological evolution capabilities—all key components in defending Japan's self-rule and colonization rights.<sup>175</sup>

“Living villages” and “living displays” are exactly like exhibitions in the way they differ from *TLS*. They are temporal and focus on the modern achievements that Japan's colonized peoples lacked. For instance, the Taiwanese teahouses and pavilions displayed the Taiwanese as inferior to the Japanese and thus required Japanese assistance to modernize.<sup>176</sup> Similarly, Ainu “living villages” treated the Ainu way of life as a spectacle and oddity in comparison with the

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<sup>172</sup> *Tourist Library Series*. Vol. 1-40.

<sup>173</sup> Kargon, Fiss, Low, and Molella, *World's Fairs on the Eve of War*, Introduction.

<sup>174</sup> *Tourist Library Series*. Vol. 1-40.

<sup>175</sup> Ravina, *To Stand with the Nations of the World*, Introduction.

<sup>176</sup> Prof. John K. Walton, *Histories of Tourism*, 120.; Hotta-Lister and Nish, *Commerce and Culture at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition*, 79-84.

modernized Japanese way of life.<sup>177</sup> The “living villages” therefore represented state agenda and did so in a manner far more obvious than the *TLS*. *TLS* rarely mention Japan’s colonies. The *TLS* booklets *History of Japan* (1939)<sup>178</sup> and *Japanese Postage Stamps* (1940)<sup>179</sup> are two that actually openly, briefly discuss them. The series largely ignores Taiwan’s status as a colony, except on the rare occasions when the geographic parameters of Japan are mentioned, such as in *Japanese Birds*.<sup>180</sup> Then, *TLS* booklet *Ainu Life and Legend* (1941) was written by Kyōsuke Kindaichi a learned and respected linguist of the Ainu language. He did not present the Ainu to reaffirm state interests in modernizing or controlling the Ainu, nor did he present the Ainu as a primitive culture or a sideshow. Perhaps the only moment he establishes Ainu as unquestionably under Japanese authority is when he argues that Ainu villages have long been indistinguishable from Japanese villages.<sup>181</sup> This manner of presenting Ainu culture, and the dedication of an entire book to Ainu, demonstrates that *TLS* is not a blatant mouthpiece for presenting Ainu as “inferior” to the Japanese.<sup>182</sup>

While profit was undoubtedly part of any tourism policies of the Japanese government during the financial difficult 1930’s, *TLS* shows less concern or drive for state agendas for

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<sup>177</sup> Morris-Suzuki, “Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan”

<sup>178</sup> Kōya Nakamura, *History of Japan*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1939).

<sup>179</sup> Yamamoto, *Japanese Postage Stamps*.

<sup>180</sup> Nobusuke Takatsukasa, *Japanese Birds.: Illustrated by Z. Kobayasi* (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1941).

<sup>181</sup> Kindaichi goes on to say that since recorded history, the Ainu have one by one pledged allegiance to Japanese rule.

<sup>182</sup> Kindaichi, Kyōsuke, *Ainu Life and Legends* (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1941).

increasing holdings of foreign currency. With its higher quality material<sup>183</sup> and authorship, while simultaneously maintaining the same price over a period of steadily increasing economic difficulty, the *TLS* appears to be a genuine attempt to make a quality series about Japanese culture widely attainable. If the series was a strict tool of state agenda, then its production and price would have been designed to result in more profit. Instead, the series prioritized content, as seen in its use of recognized authorities and lengthy booklets.<sup>184</sup>

Thus, contrasts occur between *TLS* and BTI guidebooks, which clearly promoted inbound tourism to Japan—and thus more inbound profit. The BTI's 1933, *Official Guide to Japan*, as a guidebook, BTI designed it to lure foreigners into traveling to Japan with promises of modern comfort and convenience, while enjoying the many beautiful tourist attractions. It focused on the commercialism and modernization that would draw in tourists, money, and western interest.<sup>185</sup> To compare, the *TLS* booklets were not a simple remake of earlier guidebooks on traveling to, and spending money in, Japan. They were the BTI's attempt to create a new authority on Japan so that tourists could adequately understand Japan. Additionally, the series does not disseminate Japan's comforts or modern conveniences to market the country throughout the series. *TLS* also does not emphasize any suggested services, shops, industries, etc. associated with each Japanese cultural aspect, in order to promote foreign national spending in Japan. For example, *Japanese Drama* (1936) discusses newer theater forms performed and includes pictures of the physical buildings, but it does not promote them as tourist attractions for the reader to visit.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> *The Japan Times*, "Tourist Brochures Take Up Armour, Angling in Japan", 4.

<sup>184</sup> *Tourist Library Series*. Vol. 1-40.

<sup>185</sup> *An Official Guide to Japan*.

<sup>186</sup> Yoshio Yoshikawa, *Japanese Drama*. (Tokyo: Board of Tourist Industry, 1936).

Other BTI guidebooks, such as the late 1930's *Souvenirs: What and Where?*, also promote foreign spending in Japan. As its name gives away, the book is all about the promotion of Japanese goods. If foreigners went home with quality Japanese goods recommended by a state published book, then foreigners would both spend money and leave with an object that continued to promote Japan, and its goods, in a positive light long after they return home. Thus, producing a book like *Souvenirs: What and Where?* would be a highly profitable enterprise politically and financially.<sup>187</sup>

Long descriptions and lists for tourist attractions, both key for drawing in tourism, appear in the content and format design of every BTI guidebook discussed in Chapter Three. The BTI designed their guidebooks to bring in more foreign currency by selling Japan's attractive scenes and tourist attractions throughout every page, such as *An Official Guide to Japan*'s five hundred pages on travel routes is essentially a list of attractions and destinations.<sup>188</sup> The late 1930's *Three Weeks in Japan* closely resembles the recommended itineraries of *An Official Guide*, because in essence it is the story of a couple following a planned itinerary to see suggested attractions. *Three Weeks' Trip in Japan* takes the idea of attractions to see in Japan a step further though, by often giving a narrative on how a site represents something about Japan (i.g. the people's relationship with the emperor, an important event in history, etc.)—all information that pushes the government's desire to represent Japan as a place equally as pleasant to visit as any western power.<sup>189</sup> *Annual Events in Japan*'s entire content focuses on events in coordination with dates, so that potential travelers can find a time of year with events that interest them—it lures foreigners to

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<sup>187</sup> *Souvenirs: What and Where?*.

<sup>188</sup> *An Official Guide to Japan*.

<sup>189</sup> *Three Weeks' Trip in Japan*.

travel not to learn. At the same time, it demonstrates the richness and sophistication of Japan's culture to attract foreign interest.<sup>190</sup> Whereas, *TLS* does not offer suggested itineraries nor emphasizes annual attractions.<sup>191</sup> *Floral Calendar of Japan* does contain information on annual flower scenes and events, but this information is more educational with its strict attention to facts about flowers or flower culture. Thus, *TLS* narrative style does not blatantly solicit foreign attention using cultural events.<sup>192</sup>

*The Lure of Japan* contrastingly contains an entire section on times of the year in Japan and what can be seen or experienced during those times.<sup>193</sup> Comparatively, *ABC of Japanese Art* dedicates its entire second part to suggested places to see prime examples of Japanese art and architecture.<sup>194</sup> Both act as obvious promoters of commercial tourism and Japan as a worthy tourist destination for foreign travelers. However, *Japan for the Young* takes a different approach to attractions in Japan by exploring what is interesting or captivating about scenes in Japan.<sup>195</sup> All of the above guidebooks all work with state agenda to promote an appealing image of Japan and to incite more revenue, especially incoming foreign currency. They also all include educational sections on Japanese culture and Japan, but these section work to inspire interest in Japan and to work to promote a positive, luring image of Japan.

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<sup>190</sup> *Annual Events in Japan*.

<sup>191</sup> *Tourist Library Series*. Vol. 1-40.

<sup>192</sup> Makino and Oka, *Floral Calendar of Japan*.

<sup>193</sup> Akimoto, *The Lure of Japan*.

<sup>194</sup> Tsuda, *ABC of Japanese Art*.

<sup>195</sup> *Japan for the Young*.

By contrast, *TLS* is entirely about educating its readers on Japan and Japanese culture. It does promote the rich cultural image of Japan, but the booklets are not strict propaganda for state sponsored Japanese identity. The unique approach of the series centers on helping foreign students of Japan better understand Japan through its explanations, rather than overtly working to fulfill state interests in presenting Japan on the world stage. *TLS*, with perhaps the expectation of *Japanese National Character* (1942),<sup>196</sup> does not spend long winded paragraphs convincing the reader that Japan is a wonderful, fascinating, and exemplary place. Likewise, the series almost eliminates tourism and travel from discussion, and it mentions locations purely in how they relate to a cultural aspect being explained. Rather, the series uses its ample space to thoroughly explain Japan's interior life and culture without blatantly dwelling on the promotion of Japan's international standing or tourism industry.<sup>197</sup>

In summary, *Tourist Library Series* does incorporate subtle hints of state agenda, particularly the promotion of Japan's rich, longstanding culture. The series was not a catalogue of attractions or experiences in Japan to promote interest in traveling to Japan. Likewise, it was not an obvious promotional tool for advertising travel or increasing tourism revenues. *TLS* was also not a transparent advocate for Japanese imperialism or Japanese industries. However, as demonstrated above, other institutions that promoted Japan, act far more blatantly as tools of state objectives. Furthermore, from the above analysis, I contend that an evolution can be seen in the extent to which the state wanted foreigners to understand Japan. First, the state was satisfied with

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<sup>196</sup> Hasegawa, *Japanese National Character*.

<sup>197</sup> *Tourist Library Series*. Vol. 1-40.

representing Japan with Japanese art or craft objects abroad.<sup>198</sup> Then, Japanese objects alone were not enough to represent Japan properly, and Japanese government officials sent Japanese to create and man exhibition booths.<sup>199</sup> As the nineteenth century progressed, representations of Japan through Japanese goods turned into live demonstrations of life in Japan with Japanese teahouses or “living villages”.<sup>200</sup> From there, the 1930’s saw Japanese inbound tourism shift to being predominately about profit alone to about profit and representation.<sup>201</sup>

However, as stated by the Board of Tourist Industry, tourism alone was not enough to represent or understand Japan, and so tourism literature was necessary. Guidebooks then progressed from the general descriptions of Japan in the 1933 *An Official Guide to Japan* to the more thorough presentations of Japan in *The Lure of Japan* (1934) and *Japan for the Young* (1937). Even tourist itineraries experienced a more thorough presentation of Japan for foreigners if you compare the general travel routes of *An Official Guide to Japan* with the itinerary travel story of *Three Weeks Trip in Japan* (1938/1939). Then, the *Tourist Library Series* (1934-1942) takes the idea of tourism out of education on Japan to present an entire series of eighty to one hundred-twenty-page volumes explaining different aspects of Japanese culture in a long and narrative format. Furthermore, the BTI states that to adequately understand Japan, all the volumes in the originally planned one hundred volume series should be read, implying a thorough study of Japan

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<sup>198</sup> Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan*, 48-50.

<sup>199</sup> Lee. *The Japan of Pure Invention*.

<sup>200</sup> Prof. John K. Walton, *Histories of Tourism*, 120.

<sup>201</sup> Morris-Suzuki, “Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan”.

was needed to understand it. Now today we see the Japanese government push for foreigners to buy Japanese goods, watch Japanese shows, travel Japan, and study abroad there.<sup>202</sup>

Another example of this evolution in how much of Japan should be presented to foreigners is the KAKEHASHI Project, mentioned in Chapter Three. Not only does this ten day exchange program want students to visit key cultural sights in Japan, but it also involves attending lectures on Japan and Japanese culture along with many hands on workshops and events where students participate in Japanese culture (i.g. Okinawan dancing, Okinawan musical instruments, Japanese metal, tea ceremony, kimono wearing, etc.). The program even encourages the participating American students to make lifelong bonds with the Japanese students they meet on the trip, and the program encourages the American students to continue making life-long friendships with more and more Japanese people for the rest of the students' lifetimes. Affiliates of the program then send follow up surveys and in-person interviewers to measure how the trip impacted the students' lives and relationship with Japan. As the years pass, the program also has even organized alumni events across America to keep students connected to Japan and remind them of their experience with KAKEHASHI.<sup>203</sup> Therefore, the basic understanding of Japan presented to foreigners has evolved from Japanese goods to complex educational trips. *Tourist Library Series* represents a key moment in that historical evolution when the tourist industry became a part of educating foreigners on Japan.

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<sup>202</sup> William M. Tsutsui, *Japanese popular culture and globalization*. (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2010).

<sup>203</sup> Information on the KAKEHASHI Project I take from the below citation and my own experience as a participant in the project in June 2014. The Japan Foundation. "KAKEHASHI Project - The Bridge for Tomorrow." Japan Foundation.

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