The Early Modern Origins of Japanese Tourism

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1. INTRODUCTION

During 1990 more than ten million Japanese traveled overseas, setting a new milestone for tourism abroad. In Japan's early modern, or Tokugawa period, however, travel outside the country was prohibited as part of the so-called national seclusion edicts. This meant that travelers were confined effectively to the islands of the Japanese archipelago. National energies, which had been directed increasingly outward during the second half of the sixteenth century, were consequently redirected inwards.

A number of foreign observers, from Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco and John Saris early in the seventeenth century, to Englebert Kaempfer and Charles Thunberg in the eighteenth, and later observers such as Rutherford Alcock and Townsend Harris remarked on the frequency with which the Japanese traveled. Kaempfer [1906, 2: 330], for example, wrote of the "great numbers of people, who daily travel on the roads" and said that it was "owing partly to the Country's being extremely populous, partly to the frequent journies, which the natives undertake, oftener than perhaps any other nation, either willingly and out of their free choice, or because they are necessitated to it." While the process of urbanization and the redistribution of labor through migration accounted for considerable movement of people, the Japanese traveled with increasing frequency for other reasons as well. Kaempfer [1906, 2: 35] noted early on that the Japanese were "very much addicted to Pilgrimage." While a number of scholars have emphasized the religious meaning of pilgrimage in the Tokugawa period,[1] this paper will focus on the phenomenon from the perspective of recreation or leisure. While no one should discount the religious component of the act, pilgrimage during this early modern era underwent a process of secularization whereby it became little more than sightseeing

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1) See, for example, Foard [1982] and Davis [1983, 1984]

for many people. In addition to pilgrimage, journeys to hot springs resorts for pleasure, as well as hydrotherapy, became quite popular.

Many scholars contend that leisure was a phenomenon born from the Industrial Revolution. While that concept was perhaps not fully developed until the postwar years, large numbers of commoners in the Tokugawa period engaged in travel for enjoyment rather than out of necessity for the first time in Japanese history. Due to political controls on movement, pilgrimage was the form of travel of which government officials were most tolerant. Ise, Zenkôji, Kompira, the Shikoku eighty-eight temple circuit, and the Saikoku thirty-three temple circuit were the major destinations for many wayfarers. Despite the religious element in pilgrimage, the multi-destinational nature and increasing length of trips, along with the development of a culture of movement, are indicative of an important recreational component. Pilgrimage was also often combined with trips to hot springs, such as those at Arima, Atami, and Hakone.

A considerable scale of movement was possible for a multiplicity of reasons. Of foremost importance was the precondition of peace: the Tokugawa restored order to a country that had been embroiled in civil war for more than a century and established a stable polity (*bakuhan taisei*) that endured for 265 years. With the pax Tokugawa, the natural industry of the people could be directed towards constructive labors—a process that Hayami Akira has called Japan's early modern "industrious revolution." The economy took off on an extended period of growth, population increased rapidly, and the requirements of alternate attendance (*sankin kôtai*) stimulated tremendous social and economic changes of national significance. In taking control of the country's central arteries and extending its authority over the provincial domains, the Tokugawa government established a well developed system of overland communications, and the *daimyo* followed their lead with similar efforts in the domains. All of these changes, among others, contributed to the rise of travel and its emergence as a form of recreation among the masses—a national pastime.

2. THE TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE

An integrated and well developed transport infrastructure was essential to the development of travel as recreation. In the early years of the seventeenth century the Tokugawa *bakufu* moved quickly to take control of overland communications, establishing post-horse systems on a number of central arteries that were later known collectively as the Five Highways, or Gokaidô (the Tôkaidô, Nakasendô, Oshû kaidô, Kôshû kaidô and Nikkô kaidô. The major arteries in this road network, which ran from Shirakawa in Fukushima to Osaka in the Kinai region, came under bakufu jurisdiction regardless of the territory the routes traversed. Transport services were available at the more than two hundred post stations which dotted the trunk highways and branch roads. The maintenance of the communications infrastructure and the transport of official cargo were made possible through

the corvee labor of villages lying along or near the thoroughfares.

The communications system was developed primarily to meet the political needs of the nascent government and in advance of the needs of natural economic conditions. Given this purpose, priority usage was granted to its officials and those vassals, the *daimyo*, on official duty. Reflecting the Gokaidô's nature as a *bakufu* monopoly, a three-tiered system of rates for transport services was established in which commoners, by paying a negotiable rate (*aitai chinsen*), in effect subsidized the lower fixed rate (*osadame chinsen*) and free (*muchin*) services offered various government officials and specially-designated parties [VAPORIS 1986: 377-342].

Although the Gokaidô post system was developed to meet Tokugawa government needs, stations were allowed to service commoners when not undertaking official duties. While not foreseen by transport planners, the communications network in part made it possible for commoners to take to the roads in large numbers, and thus contributed to the development of travel and tourism. Besides fulfilling their main function as transport centers, the post stations also served as rest stops, information communications centers and recreation areas. In addition to the inns established to accommodate official travelers, lodging catering to the growing needs of commoners were established at post stations by private entrepreneurs.

The communications infrastructure was, in contemporary terms, well developed—an interpretation that is at odds with Meiji historical revisionism which has traditionally condemned various aspects of Tokugawa life as "feudal" or backward. The travel accounts of foreign observers like Kaempfer and Thunberg attest to the fact that conditions in Japan were better than those found in Europe; independent European travel accounts also support their conclusions. To give but one example, the Swedish physician Olof Willman [1970: 56] was so impressed with conditions on the Tôkaidô that he wrote, "Probably no other road in the world costs as much as this."

Good road conditions were maintained at least on the major roadways, as the Gokaidô was symbolic of the *bakufu* and reflected its authority. The absence of wheeled traffic, which was responsible for the great disrepair of contemporary European roads, is important in explaining why it was possible to maintain conditions in a better state in Tokugawa Japan. The reason for this cannot be attributed to allegedly poor road conditions or geographical constraints, as is often asserted, but lies rather with the problem of keeping traffic flow free of interruptions and roads in optimum condition for official travelers and communications.

3. CONSTRAINTS ON TRAVEL

A number of factors acted as restraints on the full development of tourism, or travel for leisure or recreational purposes. These factors were political, economic, and social. Political controls were effected primarily through the mechanisms of checking stations, or *sekisho*, and travel permits. Fifty-three checking stations were established on the Gokaidô in the first decades of the seventeenth century.

Their initial purpose was military—to control the movement of the defeated forces backing the Toyotomi side at Sekigahara in 1600—but later it was expanded to include the monitoring of general traffic, the transport of guns, and compliance with the institution of alternate attendance. This policy is popularly known as *iri-deppô ni de-onna*, or "in-bound guns and out-bound women." Not only did the *bakufu* monitor traffic on its road network, but it attempted to direct its flow as well. Travelers were instructed to keep to the main highways and were forbidden to cross rivers at any but the designated crossing place. The movement of women was further channeled into certain routes, where it could be more easily monitored: it was prohibited for any but local women to pass through twenty out of the fifty-three *sekisho*.

In order to pass through the checking stations one of two types of travel permits was required. Transit permits (*sekisho tegata*) were issued by designated *bakufu* officials and *daimyo* for passage through a particular station. The other type, known simply as passports (*ôrai tegata*), were generally issued at shrines and temples and by village officials and innkeepers and were more convenient in that they could be used for passage through as many stations as needed. Passports were used most often for pilgrimage and recreational travel, including trips to hot springs. Unlike the situation with transit permits, there appears to have been no regulations dictating the issuing of passports, nor does it appear to have occurred on behalf of, or under the supervision of, central or local government authorities [VAPORIS 1987: 219-268].

Travel permits were, in principle, inspected at the checking stations and in some cases a physical examination of women or young boys was necessary to verify that the identity of the person described in the permit matched the person before the checking station authorities. Constraints on the issuing of transit permits were in part overcome by the widespread availability of passports, which appear to have been much easier to obtain. Many who did not obtain permits—either because of the inconvenience and delay involved, or from the knowledge or suspicion that they would not be granted one—still traveled without them, bypassing the checking stations illegally by using side roads, or crawling through holes in the palisades surrounding the checking stations. This is what a rural *samurai* (*gôshi*) from Shônai domain, Kiyokawa Hachirô and his party did—and they were accompanied by a group of thirteen women who had spent the previous night in the same inn [KIYOKAWA 1982: 39-40]. Furthermore, officials at the checking stations on the Gokaidô became increasingly reluctant to enforce the letter of the law in regulating the passage of travelers. At Hakone, for example, those commoners caught climbing over or through the palisades, or wandering in the off-limits zone surrounding the *sekisho*, were rarely prosecuted. These acts were tantamount to the very serious crime of "*sekisho* smashing" (*sekisho yaburi*), yet were usually downgraded to the non-punishable act of "entering the brush" (*yabu-iri*) [HAKONE KOMONJO WO MANABU KAI 1976-1978].

Permits and checking stations were necessary to implement the travel regula-

tions issued by the *bakufu* and domains. These regulations were issued frequently from the middle of the Tokugawa period, when the volume of travel increased significantly, and were mainly inspired by economic rationale. As pilgrimage was a principal objective for travel by commoners, it is not surprising that most regulations were directed at it. Some of the ways in which domains sought to regulate pilgrimage were by: 1) setting certain economic qualifications for the issuance of travel permits; 2) determining when and where travel was allowed; 3) determining who was allowed to travel; and 4) the length of time as well as the number of times a person could travel. Not every domain used all of these methods, but a number of them were common to many.

These restrictions were aimed at limiting the time that peasants would be away from their fields, and also the amount of money that would be spent outside of the domain. Their effectiveness was largely uneven. No doubt political regulations had some effect in restraining the numbers embarking on long-distance travel, but with punishments against offenders largely formalized, and government officials content to issue and reissue prohibitions, they functioned more like sumptuary legislation.

The best way to restrict the numbers leaving the domain on pilgrimage would have been simply to ban it altogether. Nevertheless, only a small number of domains went so far as to take this unpopular step—and even then the ban was usually for a limited duration. Bans were effected only as a last resort because of the sacredness of the act and the fear that government, in the words of the late Tokugawa political economist Kaiho Seiryô, "would lose the hearts of the people." When a domain government did prohibit pilgrimage, its motivation appears to have been primarily economic—to prevent the outflow of domestic resources.

That women travelers came under greater political constraints than men is evident from a reading of domain regulations. A point that needs further investigation, however, is that the political constraints on the full participation of women in travel and tourism were strengthened by social, particularly familial, pressures. Of course one way that women might try to temporarily relieve the greater social pressures they came under was to ignore all legal procedures for traveling; in other words, to fail to carry permits and travel and side roads, bypassing *sekisho*. In many instances the permission of the househead or employer was also not obtained.

There are a several interesting cases of this phenomenon, known as *nukemairi,* in the diary Saiyûsô, written by Kiyokawa Hachirô [1982], who became very active in later Tokugawa politics. A little more than a week out of his hometown in Shônai domain, Kiyokawa's party, which included his mother, a servant, and temporarily his aunt, spent a few nights at an inn in Sendai. The innkeeper's wife intended to see the party off as far as Kameda, about five miles down the road, but decided instead to travel with them all the way to Zenkôji in Shinano. Her husband, who also worked as a city official, was away on business at his time. The woman sent her servant back to inform the household of her intentions, and Kiyokawa himself wrote a letter of explanation to the husband. A few days later a

manservant sent from the wife's maternal household caught them all by surprise. He carried a letter from the woman's old mother which expressed her concern about the long trip (it would require about ten days round-trip) and the impropriety of leaving home without permission while her husband was away. The innkeeper's wife was indignant and remained determined to go on. Nevertheless, she felt that she could not rudely shake off the messenger, since he was sent by her mother. The wife argued, "I understand that even though I am on a pilgrimage there is good reason for people to be upset with me because I left home without permission. However, the trip will not take many days, so please ask them to manage without me until I return." But, the faithful servant declined to return home alone. The woman became exasperated since the man refused to leave her side, and finally she gave up, returning home with him. In tears at having to go home, she said, "Since it is my mother's wish, it is unavoidable. Still, to have come this far and have to return is truly regrettable."[2]

Kiyokawa's mother and aunt themselves had left on pilgrimage to Ise without informing anyone. After eight days on the road, the aunt became increasingly worried about leaving home in that manner. In this case, too, family members (the aunt's brothers) sent someone to bring her back. Kiyokawa tried to assure his aunt that her affairs would be looked after by her siblings. Nonetheless, because of fear that the family (*honke*) would get terribly upset, she turned back. The very next day a letter came from Kiyokawa's father telling him that everything was fine at his aunt's household, for her not to worry, and that she should by all means continue on her journey. The father said that "her relatives might complain for a while, but in the final analysis no one could deny that it was a good thing for her to make a pilgrimage to Ise" [KIYOKAWA 1982: 17-19]. While these cases are only from one diary, they are suggestive of the types of pressure brought to bear upon women, even those on pilgrimage, during which social norms of expected behavior ordinarily were suspended.

Beyond the economic rationale which underlay political regulations on travel, the monetary requirements of taking a recreational trip imposed a natural curb on that activity. Personal financial limitations, however, could be overcome in part by participation in a religious confraternity (*kô*), in which economic resources were pooled to send a number of members on pilgrimage on a periodic basis. Alms-giving, especially during years of *okagemairi,* further broadened the social spectrum of participants in touristic activity. Even during non-*okagemairi* years, travelers like Kiyokawa Hachirô, who was on his way to Ise in 1855, gave alms to a group of boys on the same journey he encountered by paying for their night's lodging [KIYOKAWA 1982: 183]. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, alms-giving appears to have become institutionalized on the Ise Road leading to the shrine by the same name. The same phenomenon already existed on a smaller scale on the Shikoku pilgrimage circuit as well.

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2)   This account is based on Kiyokawa [1982: 20-35].

4. TOURISM, LEISURE, AND PILGRIMAGE

Tourism is a fuzzy concept. As Erik Cohen [1974: 530-542] has stated, "The universe of tourist and non-tourist roles are vague and there exist many intermediate categories." The Japanese case, as we shall see, lies somewhere among these "intermediate categories"; in other words, Tokugawa travelers fulfilled partial tourist roles. Cohen defines a tourist as "a voluntary, temporary traveler, traveling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round-trip." The aspect of permanency is rather loosely defined: a traveler is a tourist "as long as he still possesses a permanent home to which he intends to return eventually, even if he stays away for many years." Secondly, the factor of voluntariness implies that the traveler is "neither politically forced nor emotionally compelled to leave his place of abode." The tourist's travels must further be round-trip and not one-way. Less clear cut, though, is the qualification that for a trip to qualify as tourism it must be "relatively long." This minimum distance necessarily varies from culture to culture and within a specific culture over time. Regardless, there is a minimal distance that the average traveler would have to cover to experience "a sense of pleasurable change and novelty." In a traditional society such as Tokugawa Japan, even relatively short trips would qualify as tourism. A fifth qualification is that the tourist is on a "non-recurrent trip," meaning one on which he is not well accustomed and does not engage in on a regular basis. Lastly, there is the issue of purpose: the tourist trip is non-instrumental; it is for pleasure, recreation, and culture. It is this expectation of pleasure derived from novelty that Cohen sees as distinguishing the tourist from other traveler roles.

There are a number of types of travelers who fulfill partial tourist roles, for example students on study trips and business travelers, but here we are concerned with two other categories that apply best to Tokugawa Japan. By this I mean pilgrims and thermalists. Pilgrimage and tourism are often intimately related. As Victor Turner [1978: 20] and others have suggested, aspects of each type of behavior are an important part of any one journey. Cohen [1974: 542] calls pilgrimage "a form of 'religious tourism,' combining elements of pilgrimage with those of ordinary tourism." Secondly, there are the thermalists, or people who "take the waters" at spas or hot springs resorts. This form of travel was popular not only in Tokugawa Japan, but in contemporary Europe as well. In England and Japan, the hot springs combined their roles as health and pleasure resorts, with the healthy probably outnumbering the sick.

Tourism and leisure are interrelated. In fact, we might define a tourist as "a person at leisure who also travels" [NASH 1979: 4]. A person at leisure is: free from primary obligations of a material, social, and personal nature imposed by society; and secondly, he is not motivated basically by gain nor utilitarian, ideological or missionary purpose. Leisure, then "appears to be distinguished by a search for a state of satisfaction—a state that is sought as an end in itself. This ac-

tivity is of a pleasure-seeking nature....The prime condition of leisure is the search for a state of contentment" [DUMAZEDIER 1968: 248-250]. It follows from this, then, that if a utilitarian or ideological purpose governs some human activity, such as travel, then it is only "semi-leisure" rather than wholly leisure.

Like the concept of tourism, "leisure" also partially fits the case we are considering here of early modern pilgrimage and other types of travel. While there is no perfectly equivalent term, the contemporary phrase *yusan,* frequently used in the expression *yusan tabi,* conveys the same concept of "pleasure-seeking." Traveling for pleasure assumes that there is "some experience available 'out there,' which cannot be found within the life-space and which makes travel worthwhile" [COHEN 1979: 182]. In some cases it involved a desire to escape from the constraints of everyday existence, a time when one could flee from the "bill collectors at the end of the month.... and [cleanse] one's life of care" [JIPPENSHA 1960: 323].

Tourism "suggests that culturally-sanctioned reasons or goals exist for leaving home to travel" and that these have changed over time [SMITH 1977: 15; GRABURN 1977: 24]. In a traditional society such as Tokugawa Japan, those reasons, as we have said, were pilgrimage, an act that the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines as a "journey to a sacred place as an act of religious devotion," and convalescence at hot springs; on the other hand, the rewards of modern tourism might be seen in terms of "mental and physical health, social status, and diverse, exotic experiences" [GRABURN 1977: 24]. Thus, we must recognize that these two principal forms of travel were not entirely free of utilitarian or ideological motivations. To argue otherwise would be to deny the fact that pilgrims traveled to accumulate grace, to perform a vow, to give thanks to the divinities for blessings bestowed and that thermalists sought cures for their ailments at hot springs.

Nevertheless, since the government (*bakufu* and the domains) refused to acknowledge the merit of leisure or even semi-leisure, there were only two sanctioned forms of travel, pilgrimage and travel to hot springs. In contemporary Britain, "men and women, eager for a holiday, liked to have a sound moral excuse for their enjoyment" [McKENDRICK and PLUMB 1982: 283-285]. This statement holds true for Tokugawa Japan with one slight change: in the Japanese case "liked" should be read "needed to." Commoners had no other choice but to follow accepted channels when applying for permission to travel, unless they were to go on *nukemairi.*

Because of the desire for a "sound moral excuse" for their leisure activities, the first holiday centers in eighteenth-century England grew up at spas such as Bath, Tunbridge Wells, and Scarborough. Toward the end of that century, the spas began to decline and people began to accept in a frank manner the idea of a "holiday for holiday's sake" [McKENDRICK and PLUMB 1982: 283-285]. The expression *yusan tabi* implies the same about Tokugawa Japan.

5. TRAVEL AS RECREATION

Government did not recognize the concept of tourism, and therefore discourag-

ed all recreational or touristic travel. In Kaga (1708), for example, residents in rural areas were told that: "Sightseeing or the making of pilgrimages to temples in Kanazawa is of no worth (*muyô*). The same is all the more true for long-distance travel."[3] But because domains were more tolerant of pilgrimage to Ise, for many the trip there, whether officially sanctioned or not, became an excuse to travel. Authorities in Aizu Wakamatsu (1745) complained that:

> No matter how much we issue edicts to the contrary, great numbers set out from our domain every spring under the pretext of making a pilgrimage to Ise, but instead use the trip as an occasion for sightseeing [KASEI JIKKI KANPON HENSAN IINKAI 1982, 8: 611-612].

In the face of widespread flouting of the permit process and violations on bans on pilgrimage, domains seemed at a loss as to what to do. From Hirosaki in 1792 we hear that:

> Despite the prohibitions, year after year people continue to go on pilgrimage to Ise. This is reprehensible. Henceforth we will enforce the law strictly [HIROSAKI SHISHI HENSAN IINKAI 1963: 651-652].

Akita had the longest-running ban on pilgrimage of any domain, but early in the nineteenth century authorities there reported that:

> Many domain residents have been leaving without travel permits year after year, even though this has been repeatedly prohibited [IMAMURA 1971: 362].

In the recreational tourist trip, Cohen [1979: 184] tells us, "the intent and meaning of the religious voyage is secularized; it loses its deeper, spiritual content. Though the tourist may find his experiences on the trip 'interesting,' they are not personally significant. He does not have a deep commitment to travel as a means of self-realization or self-expansion." For example, after traveling all the way to Ise, some Japanese "pilgrims" did not even bother to pray at the Inner Shrine. In one of Saikaku's works, a peasant girl working in Osaka as a servant left without permission of her employers with a manservant in the same household, a cooper and an old woman. The author informs us that:

> None of the group had any real interest in the pilgrimage itself. At Ise they failed to visit the Inner Shrine or the sacred beach at which homage is paid to the Sun, stopping only at the Outer Shrine for a few minutes and purchasing as their only souvenirs a purification broach and some seeweed [IHARA 1978: 97].

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3) Hanpôshû zoku Kanagawa hen, quoted in Shinjô [1982: 725].

In other words, Ise was a brief stop where one prayed at the Outer Shrine and obtained the obligatory *ofurai*, "an indulgence box," tied under the brim of the hat before the forehead, which acted like a travel permit for those who left home without one [Kaempfer 1906, 2: 37]. While quite characteristic of modern tourism, it appears that Tokugawa tourists just as well could be more concerned or involved with "on-site markers"—for example, placards, plans, appropriate souvenirs—than the sites themselves, "as though they were checking off a list of having truly visited the approved sights by the mere recognition of their markers" [GRABURN 1983: 46].

While the ostensible purpose of many travelers like Kiyokawa Hachirô's journey was a pilgrimage to Ise (his travel diary begins: "The day to set out on pilgrimage to Ise had finally arrived"), he was in no special hurry to get there, taking a very leisurely thirty-eight days to make the trip. And once at Ise there was no shortage of entertainment. In the renown district of Furuichi many tea houses, brothels and play houses were concentrated. Kiyokawa noted that here were "the most interesting brothels in the land." According to one account, a particular house of assignation built on a grand scale employed more than one thousand women [FUJITANI 1980: 70-71]. For those not seeking carnal pleasure, taking in a performance of *Ise ondo,* a type of dance that according to Kiyokawa [1982: 61-64] could not be seen in the three metropolises, was a "must." Once the pilgrimage was completed, Kiyokawa and his party continued on their journey for five more months, visiting most of the major tourist sites in the land (e.g., Zenkôji, Ise, Kyoto, Nara, Osaka, Arima hot springs resort, Ama no hashidate, Kompira, Itsukushima and Iwakuni, Nagoya, Edo, and Nikkô, spending more than two months in major urban centers where his mother fully indulged herself in the popular theater. Yamamoto Mitsumasa's study of travel diaries shows that pilgrims tended to follow set itineraries when sightseeing in Edo, with visits to places such as Yoshiwara, the domain residence compounds close to the Shogun's castle (known as *daimyô koji*), and Asakusa.

While Kiyokawa's was an exceptional journey, trips of several months were quite common by the nineteenth century. The increasing length of trips are a direct indication of the recreational nature of Tokugawa travel. With nominal pilgrims stopping at more places for sightseeing, Ise appears less as a destination and more like just a major attraction of the journey. For Kita and Yaji of *Hizakurige,* as well as the large number of named and anonymous travel diarists, it was as much the pleasures of the trip, the local delicacies, the entertainments, even the women, that made the trip worthwhile.

6. THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF TRAVEL

Evidence of the development of tourism or the commercialization of travel in Japan, as elsewhere, is "one of the incontestable signs of growing affluence" in society. In Japan, as in contemporary Britain, this can be discovered by the late seventeenth century, and by the late-eighteenth tourism was "becoming an industry with

great potential for growth" [MCKENDRICK and PLUMB 1982: 265].[4]

The types of establishments in post stations give evidence of this commercialization. The entrance to the stations were lined with eating and drinking establishments catering to travelers. Walking through the settlement, the weary traveler was assaulted by the sales pitches of women from the inns and teahouses, who sometimes forcibly tried to drag prospective patrons into their establishments. In deciding at which inn to stop for the night the traveler had quite a selection, and to a certain extent the type of lodging he would choose was determined by the amount of cash he had. Commoners not on a shoestring budget would most likely head for a *hatagoya,* a full-service inn. With an average of fifty-five of them per station on the Tôkaidô (for comparison, there were twenty-seven on the Nakasendô and Oshû kaidô, the competition among the inn women (*tome on-na*) for customers was understandably fierce. For those on a tight budget, establishments with no frills, known as *kichin-yado,* literally "firewood inns," offered rock-bottom prices. The inns and teahouses offered more than a place to rest: prostitution was an "industry" of great economic importance to the post stations. For some stations (like Akasaka or Mishima), the prostitutes appear to have been the main attraction that drew travelers. As a *bakufu* official, Tanaka Kyûgu, declared, "Those stations with them [i.e., prostitutes] prosper, those without them fall into economic decline."

In addition to the entertainments offered in the post stations a variety of other services were available. The traveler had the choice of whether to walk to the next station, ride on a horse, be carried on a palanquin, or have a porter or horse bear his load. These services were offered by establishments lining the road running through the post station. Stores or young peddlars sold a variety of goods to travelers, such as straw sandles and fans (some of which doubled as travel guides). Post stations and urban centers all had specialty products (*meibutsu*)—natural and cultural products as well as religious talismans—that provided nourishment to travelers or served as souvenirs and gifts. At post stations, and particularly at ports, it was possible to send excess baggage on ahead.[5] When traveling over water, for example, between Fushimi and Osaka, or Miya and Kuwana, food boats (*tabemonobune*) brought refreshments to passengers.[6] Furthermore, personal travel guides were routinely available at the major shrines and temples, as well as in urban centers.

In the early nineteenth century lodging organizations of regional scope emerg-

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4) This quote refers to leisure in general, but can be fairly applied to the specific case of tourism.

5) Kiyokawa sent baggage a number of times during his journey: for example, unnecessary clothing from Nagoya to Kyoto and Edo; 150 small plates of *Bizen-yaki* to Osaka; porcelain from Owari home to Shônai as *omiyage* [KIYOKAWA 1982: 55, 87, 159, 170].

6) Kiyokawa [1982:82], traveling from Fushimi to Osaka, complained that because it was raining, no food boats were operating. There is a woodblock print of a food boat in Hiroshige's ôban Tôkaidô series of Kuwana.

ed, such as the Naniwa League (Naniwa-kô), with its headquarters in Osaka, the "Three Metropolises" League (Santo-kô), with its head offices in Edo, Osaka and Kyoto, and the Edo-based Eastern League (Azuma-kô). Establishments belonging to these organizations offered the traveler the guarantee that no inn harlots were employed there. Moreover, these organizations acted almost like a modern-day AAA (American Automobile Association) of sorts, with identification cum credit cards that entitled users to lodge at any member inn without paying money, and provided a source of information on travel-related matters. Travelers could determine which establishment they might want to stop at by consulting a detailed directory of member businesses or by searching for the league's logo hung out in front of the inn. Kiyokawa and his party stayed at member inns on at least two occasions and received information at the headquarters in Osaka on which boat companies were reputable for their voyage to Miyajima, Iwakuni and back [KIYOKAWA 1982: 82].

Lastly, a large body of travel-related literature was published to meet the popular demand created by the growth of touristic activity. This literature included fictional accounts such as the mid-seventeenth century *Tôkaidô Meishoki* and the early nineteenth century *Hizakurige,* the illustrated guide books (*meisho zue*) of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, printed travel itineraries, single-sheet maps and guides to famous places, and the how-to-travel handbook, Ryokô Yô-jnshû (Precautions for Travelers) [YASUMI 1810; VAPORIS 1987]. Board games with travel themes (*dôchû sugoroku*) also attest to the recreational nature of the activity.

7. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have sought to outline the historical development of travel in Tokugawa Japan, focusing on the recreational nature of pilgrimage and journeys to hot springs resorts. The concepts of tourism and leisure, while not fitting the early modern Japanese case in an exact manner, both apply. Japanese travelers can be said to have fulfilled partial tourist roles in their trips to Ise, Hakone and other popular sites. Of course, the constraints which prevented the full development of tourism and leisure would only be removed in the postwar era.

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