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# Commerce and Craft in the *Illustrated Companion to Murray's Japan Guide-Book*

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## Abstract

*A Handbook for Travellers* published by the British publisher John Murray, was one of the leading guidebook series in the 19th century, covering not only Europe but also popular ports of call. The fourth edition of Murray's guidebook on Japan, *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (1894), has a photo album titled *Illustrated Companion to Murray's Japan Guide-Book* (1894), which serves as an addendum and is not found in any other books in the series. Although it has '*Murray's Japan Guide-Book*' in the title, the album was published not by John Murray but by Kazuma Ogawa, a Japanese photographer. This paper discusses the conversion and adaptations in photographic formats made for different purposes by comparing his other works on a companion album.

As it is a 'companion' piece, it had a role in promoting the guidebook and helped achieve commercial value. Simultaneously, it put Ogawa's photographic craft works into mass production. Rather than taking new photographs for the work, Ogawa adapted works from his other colotype prints, which was his speciality, and introduced halftone printing, which was cheaper and could be mass-produced. This was his second introduction of a halftone print, but it was employed from a more commercial perspective. Ogawa also reorganised and published this guidebook supplement into a two-volume photographic collection for Japanese readers titled *Nihon Hyakkei* (『日本百景』 *A Hundred Views in Japan*, 1894). He changed the form again and expanded countrywide readerships.

Ogawa took advantage of the opportunity to produce a photo book as an addendum to the guidebook, transforming expensive technical work into a more commercial product for a Japanese audience depending on its intended use. This transition in format not only broadened the readership but also added new value to the same work, and expanded the possibilities of photography.

**Keywords:** *Illustrated Companion to Murray's Japan Guide-Book; A Handbook for Travellers in Japan; Nihon Hyakkei; Kazuma Ogawa; Photography*

## Introduction

The 19th century was a period of development in the travel industry and Japan became a popular port of call when it opened its ports to the powers. Guidebooks were one source of information for those who travelled to Japan. In particular, *A Handbook for Travellers* series published by the publisher John Murray was a leading guidebook (1). The series was famous for its wide range of information, from practical information (e.g. actual routes and fees) to academic knowledge (e.g. a list of celebrated personages or even that of gods and goddesses).

The fourth edition of the guidebook contains a photo album called *Illustrated Companion to Murray's Japan Guide-Book* (1894). Similar to Murray's guidebook, it has a red binding and a title in gold. Each photograph has page numbers from Murray's guidebook describing the sections represented by the photo.

However, Murray did not publish the *Illustrated Companion to Murray's Japan Guide-Book*.

The colophon states that the printing press and publishing sales office was ‘Ogawa Photo Press Branch’ (小川写真製版所支店), and that the compiler and publisher was ‘Kazuma Ogawa’ (小川一眞) (2). Kazuma Ogawa (1860–1929) was a photographer who studied in the United States and worked with foreigners in Japan, such as William K. Burton (1856–1899), who designed Ryounkaku, and geologist John Milne (1850–1913), on photography and bookbinding. 「小川写真製版所支店 (Ogawa Photo Press Branch)」 was a printing house run by Ogawa, which suggests that this photo book was planned and published under Ogawa’s leadership.

The reason that the Japanese were able to produce an addendum to Murray’s guidebook is related to copyright issues. At the time, Japanese copyright was held by the author and could be transferred (3). The authors of the guidebook, Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935) and William Benjamin Mason (1858–1923), transferred the copyright to Rokuichiro Masushima (増島六一郎, 1857–1948), who in 1885 became the first headmaster of the Igirisu Law School, the predecessor of the current Chuo University (4). Masushima was closely related to Ogawa in that he became Ogawa’s guarantor. This relationship may have led Ogawa to become the publisher of the fourth edition of *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, enabling him to produce a photographic collection.

A detailed booklet on Ogawa was published by Akiko Okatsuka in 2022, but there is no mention of the *Illustrated Companion to Murray's Japan Guide-Book*, although its Japanese edition *Hihon Hyakkei* (『日本百景』) (1894) is mentioned in the chronology at the end of the book.

However, this work provides evidence of Ogawa’s search to expand the significance of photography, and is also important in considering the marketing strategy of how to market a guidebook, a work aimed at people who come to see Japan from the outside. This paper explores the relationship between the *Illustrated Companion to Murray's Japan Guide-Book* and *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* as well as its marketing strategy.

## 1. Chamberlain’s Commercial Intentions: Connecting Guidebook and Photography

Some might think that the *Illustrated Companion* would have referred to Murray’s completed guidebook and prepared the photographs accordingly, but this is not the case. For example, concerning Hakone, the third edition of *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* states: ‘Hakone is cooler, 1,000 ft higher, affords more privacy, and has a charming lake where one may bathe, boat, and go on water picnics’ (5).

In the fourth edition, a line is added: ‘The view of Fuji, too, and the reflection of Fuji in the lake (Hakone no Saka-Fuji) form a great attraction’ (6). The 23rd photograph in the *Illustrated Companion*, ‘Fuji for Lake Hakone’, shows a view of Mt Fuji from the lake, where the lower right-hand corner is marked ‘MURRAY’, p. 130 (7). This suggests that Chamberlain added a description to match the photograph of the *Illustrated Companion*, and that there was some correspondence between the two men during the production of the guidebook.

Let us start by discussing *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* to reveal Chamberlain’s marketing strategies. W. B. C. Lister states the following about the third edition, which was the first Murray guidebook undertaken by Chamberlain:

This handbook was a unique title in the series in that it was printed in the country concerned (to secure Japanese copyright), and the marketing of the work was entirely in the hands of the two authors, save for a small part of each edition advertised and sold by Murray in London. The final seven editions of Japan were effectively published by Chamberlain and Mason themselves, merely using Murray’s name as a "flag of convenience." (8)

Chamberlain used the Murray name as a ‘flag of convenience’ which means ‘a flag indicating that a

vessel has been registered under a foreign flag to avoid certain duties, charges, etc.’ (9), and it also implies that though Chamberlain used the name ‘Murray’s Handbook’, a large part of the marketing was in his hands. Chamberlain attempted to reduce the price of the fifth edition from 20 shillings to 15 shillings (10), indicating his involvement in its sales.

Chamberlain asked Murray to publish 5,000 copies of the fourth edition (11), which has published more than 5,000 copies (12). This is almost double and five times the circulation of the third and second editions, respectively. Chamberlain published more than twice as many copies of the third edition as the second edition by Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929) and Albert George Sidney Hawes (1842–1897) (13). This suggests that his style of marketing the guidebook was successful and that the sales performance gained here gave momentum to the mass publication of the fourth edition.

To expand his marketing to the fourth edition, he considered expanding the number of readers of the guidebook. The preface of the *Illustrated Companion* is as follows.

Murray’s Guide-Book to Japan being in the hands of every intelligent traveller and foreign resident, I hope to render a service to the public by the issue of this little album of views of the most interesting and most beautiful places therein mentioned. A reference is given in each case to the page of Murray (4th Edition) where the description will be found. By the mutual light which text and illustration thus throw on each other, even those persons who are prevented from visiting every place themselves, may obtain some idea of the natural and artistic beauties with which our dearly loved Japanese fatherland is so richly dowered. (14)

Ogawa declared the name and edition and mentioned that ‘intelligent travellers and foreign residents’ own the guidebook and wish to serve ‘the people in general’. As mentioned above, the fourth edition has been published more than twice as many times as the third edition, and it is inferred that the authors of the guidebook must have overcome the limitations of simply targeting the readily available audience.

If there was a photo book corresponding to the fourth edition, it would have provided a new way to enjoy querying photos and descriptions, even if you had an earlier edition. In addition, because photographs can be enjoyed simply by looking at them, it would have been a good opportunity for people to develop an interest in the guidebook. Thus, photo books have the potential to increase the number of sales.

The copyright reverted to the authors, Chamberlain and Mason, from the fifth edition, and no further photo books were produced after the fourth edition. However, using photographs was not the only way Chamberlain marketed his work.

Ogawa, together with Burton and Charles Dickinson West (1847–1908), a professor at Tokyo Imperial University, founded the Photographic Society of Japan to develop and improve photographic techniques in Japan. Chamberlain’s name appears on the membership list of 1894 (15) and 1895 (16), when the fourth edition was published.

The Photographic Society of Japan published both Japanese and English versions of its bulletin, and nearly 40% of its members were foreign residents. Some members may have wanted to tour scenic areas for photography, and English speakers who enjoy photography may have been keen to incorporate it into their guidebook’s readership.

Chamberlain’s membership in the Photographic Society of Japan was intended to broaden the buying audience. There were more advertisements in the sixth edition than in any of the other additions. It contained advertisements in photo studios, several of which were run by members of the Photographic Society of Japan when Chamberlain was a member. It can be seen that this network of the Photographic Society of Japan financially supported the guidebook series from the fourth edition onwards.

From the above, it seems that the *Illustrated Companion* was planned to promote the sales of the large print of *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* and to broaden the target audience to include more than just tourists. By linking guidebooks with photography, Chamberlain aimed to broaden the buying public and attract sponsors. He was a pioneer in the coexistence of guidebooks and photography, which became common among later generations.

## 2. Ogawa's Marketing Strategy: Craft and Commerce

The previous chapter examined the intentions of Chamberlain, the author of *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, towards the *Illustrated Companion to Murray's Japan Guide-Book*. The following section discusses Kazuma Ogawa, the creator of the photo album.

It can be considered that the scenic locations throughout Japan were an ideal subject for Ogawa to create his work. Based on the advice of Nagamoto Okabe (1855–1925), the godfather of Ogawa's photo studio (Gyokujunkan), Ogawa produced collections of photographs of Japanese scenic spots for foreigners, publishing *Sights and Scenes on The Tokaido* and *The Hakone District* in 1892 and *The Nikko District* in 1893.

The two volumes published in 1892 were also in Chamberlain's possession and remained in the University of Tokyo. Chamberlain used maps and other information from photo albums as references when he produced the fourth edition. This suggests that Ogawa could have shown his work to Chamberlain and explained his concept of album-making.

Furthermore, the subject allows the reuse of photographs that have already been taken, and the *Illustrated Companion* is based on many of Ogawa's previous photographs. For example, 'Pilgrims to Fuji' has the same photograph in Plate XI of *Sights and Scenes on The Tokaido* (1892). 'Yomeimon Gate, Nikko', 'The Red Bridge, Nikko', 'Oratory of Iemitsu's Mausoleum, Nikko', and '39. Nikko' are from *The Nikko District* (1893).

Plate V of *Sights and Scenes on The Tokaido* contains the same photographs as *Scenes From the Chiushingura and the Story of Forty-Seven Ronin*, which Chamberlain owned. There is a difference between this case and the case adopted for the *Illustrated Companion*, entitled '9. Graves of the Forty-Seven Ronins'. There are also differences in printing techniques between the two; the book of Tokaido and the book of Chiushingura are both printed using collotype printing, but the *Illustrated Companion* is printed using halftone printing.

According to George C. Baxley, an antiquarian bookseller who handles many of Ogawa's works, the halftone printing is of a lower quality than the collotype printing, but it can print faster and cheaper, and thus he insists 'this book as Kazumasa Ogawa's first significant entry into the mass marketing of photographic images' (17). In collotype printing, Ogawa's speciality produces exquisite, near-photographic images by direct plate-making from the negative; it can only print approximately 500 sheets per plate (18). *The Illustrated Companion* which includes 100 plates costs 2.50 yen, while the collotype album *Sights and Scenes on The Tokaido* which contains 20 plates with 44 images, costs 5 yen. This suggests that using the halftone print allowed the authors to reach a wider audience at a lower price and was likely a 'significant entry into the mass marketing of photographic images'.

Seeing this conversion in another way, he turns his special craft and delicate technique into a mass-produced product that can be offered at a lower price. Ogawa transforms his craft into a commodity. Subsequently, Ogawa continued to modify his work. At the beginning of the 20th century, Ogawa published *The Russo-Japanese War Photograph Album* (1904–1905), which was printed in both collotypes and halftones. According to Okatsuka, the collotype version was produced by military personnel and a few others, whereas the halftone version was produced by the general public (18). While Ogawa was mastering collotype printing, he was also adding to mass production.

The adoption of halftone printing took place partly because the technology itself was also new at the time. The first halftone work printed by Ogawa was *Ayame-San: A Japanese Romance of the*

*Twenty-third Year of Meiji (1890)* (1892). This romantic novel by James Murdoch is illustrated entirely with photographs. In the preface, William K. Burton, who took the photographs, mentions ‘So far as I am aware this is the first book that has been illustrated with a true half-tone photomechanical reproduction printed with the letterpress’ (19). In other words, Ogawa opened new possibilities for the use of halftone printing with letterpresses in *Ayame-san*.

In 1893, Ogawa travelled to the United States as a member of the Universal Photographic Fair, held in conjunction with the World’s Columbian Exposition, and photographed the exposition site (20). According to Okatsuka, Ogawa recognised the usefulness of halftone printing, which was gaining popularity in Chicago. Ogawa purchased printing machinery and equipment, a set of printing materials, and Arnold’s photographs of the Expo site in the USA, and held a photographic exhibition upon his return (21). Ogawa opened a reticule-printing business in 1894, the year *Illustrated Companion* was published. It was considered to be a good advertisement for Ogawa’s new printing business, with 100 halftones.

The overlapping market objectives of the two – Chamberlain to promote *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* and Ogawa to advertise his new business – have important implications in terms of the representation of Japan. The first is that it gives the work of a foreign author in the form of photographs. Ogawa published *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893) as a supplement to architect Josiah Conder’s (1852–1920) *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893). This describes what the Japanese gardens described in *Landscape Gardening in Japan* look like, by using collotype pictures. In this way, Ogawa participates in the representation of works written in English about Japan with his photographs. The first difference between this work and that of *Illustrated Companion* is that the *Supplement* is independent of *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, and the *Supplement* itself has its own text by Conder.

The pictures are printed in collotype, and the binding is also more focused, indicating that it was produced with more money. However, this work is more expensive and targets a limited segment of the population – the intelligentsia with a deep interest in Japanese culture. The *Illustrated Companion*, by contrast, is aimed at the same audience that picks up Murray’s guidebooks, which had often been found in the hands of visitors to Japan, and expanded its readership beyond the knowledge base. At the time, there were optional tours to Japan, so tourists such as the Globetrotter could view a large number of photographs within the album by Japanese photographers.

As the preface mentions ‘even those persons who are prevented from visiting every place themselves, may obtain some idea of the natural and artistic beauties with which our dearly loved Japanese fatherland is so richly dowered’ (22), the sheer volume of photographs also means that it can contribute to raising awareness of Japan to those who have not yet visited the country.

The ability to sell the book cheaply was also considered important in the dissemination process. As mentioned above, some of Ogawa’s collotype photo books cost 5 yen, the same as the starting salary of a public primary school teacher in Tokyo in 1893 (23). In other words, collotype-printed photographic books were extremely expensive for the Japanese and were considered inaccessible to many people.

However, if the photobooks were sold at a lower price, it could be expected that the opportunities to see them would increase. Ogawa reorganised the *Illustrated Companion*’s photographs, adding titles in Japanese, and published them in two volumes, entitled *Nihon Hyakkei* (『日本百景』) (1894). According to the colophon, *Nihon Hyakkei* was published on the same day as the *Illustrated Companion*, indicating that a Japanese edition was envisioned during the production stage (24).

Although the two books contain the same photographs, the order of the photographs is different. The *Illustrated Companion* was published in the order in which Murray’s related sections appeared, whereas the route of *Nihon Hyakkei* was divided. This may be a result of considering which picture to use for the climax. Fuji, a symbol of Japan, and the people who climbed it at the end of the book

seem to have had the effect of impressing the viewer with ‘the natural and artistic beauties of our dearly loved Japanese fatherland’. By using halftone printing, Ogawa was able to reorganise a photographic collection that had been produced for an overseas market in a way that was more compliant with Japanese tastes and to give it back to the Japanese reader.

The *Illustrated Companion to Murray's Japan Guide-Book*, therefore, was a perfect venue for Ogawa to showcase his experience and stock of work, as well as his newly introduced halftone printing. The introduction of halftone printing enabled Ogawa to reach a wider, as halftones could be mass-produced at a lower cost than collotype printing. It also gave Japanese people the opportunity to view hundreds of photographs taken by Japanese photographers in the form of *Nihon Hyakkei*.

## Conclusion

The *Illustrated Companion to Murray's Japan Guide-Book* can be considered an attempt by Chamberlain, the author of *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, and Ogawa, the producer of the photo book, to expand their market. The fact that the copyright was held by Chamberlain rather than John Murray linked *Murray's Guide-Book*, one of the leading guidebooks to Japan, with photography. The use of halftone printing, which can be mass-produced, made it easier for travellers to experience Japan as captured by Japanese photographers. It was also possible to deliver their work to the Japanese people.

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