

PICTORIAL MAPS AND THE RISE OF MODERN RESORT IN ŌISO IN THE MID-MEIJİ PERIOD

Mengfei PAN¹

Abstract

This study explores three pictorial maps produced in the mid-Meiji period (1868–1912) featuring Ōiso and the relationship between these maps and the rise of Ōiso as a modern resort. Ōiso was a town located on the highway Tōkaidō connecting Edo (or Tokyo after 1868) and Kyoto. It became a modern seaside resort after the late 1880s. Previous studies on visual and cartographic representations of towns and cities in Japan, for example, *Kindai nihon no shikakuteki keiken* [Visual experiences of modern Japan] (Nakanishi and Sekido 2008), have already narrowed the analytical focus and shifted away from the metropolises to provincial cities and hot spring towns. However, some questions, such as the social functions of these materials, remain unexplored. This study analyzes three maps and argues that these maps highlight Ōiso as an attractive place, particularly by featuring its villa residents from the high society. Visually, they resemble the conventional *meisho zue* [pictures of famous places] developed in the Edo period (1603-1867) and share with other city/town maps produced in the Meiji period in showing preferences for bird's-eye views and emphasizing symbols of modernity such as railroads and electricity. The depiction of villa clusters is a remarkable feature of the three maps. However, rather than encouraging actual visits to the villas, the mapmakers – the local shop owners and administrators – achieved in producing these maps as souvenirs and creating a public desire for the lifestyle of high society.

Keywords: pictorial maps, modern resort, Meiji Japan, tourism studies, sociology.

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1. Introduction

This study explores three pictorial maps produced in the mid-Meiji period (1868–1912) featuring Ōiso and the relationship between these maps and the rise of Ōiso as a modern resort. Ōiso was a town located on the highway Tōkaidō connecting Edo (or Tokyo after 1868) and Kyoto. It became a modern seaside resort after the late 1880s. Previous studies on visual and cartographic representations of towns and cities in Japan, for example, *Kindai nihon no shikakuteki keiken* [Visual experiences of modern Japan] (Nakanishi and Sekido, 2008), have already narrowed the analytical focus and shifted away from the metropolises to provincial cities and hot spring towns. However, some questions such as the social functions of these

¹ Mengfei Pan, Faculty of Tourism and Community Development, Kokugakuin University, pan.mengfeiii@gmail.com.

materials, remain unexplored. This study analyzes three pictorial maps produced between the late 1880s and 1900, and cross-examines them with guidebooks and other documents of the time².

Drawing and reflecting upon critical tourism studies and sociology developed by Dean MacCannell and John Urry, this study argues that these maps were produced as souvenirs, mediating between the middle class and the high, and creating a public desire for the lifestyle of the high society. Visually, they resemble the conventional *meisho zue* [pictures of famous places] developed in the Edo period (1603-1867) and share with other city/town maps produced in the Meiji period in showing preferences for bird's-eye views and emphasizing symbols of modernity such as railroads and electricity. The depiction of villa clusters is a remarkable feature of all three maps. However, rather than encouraging actual visits to the villas, the mapmakers – the local shop owners and administrators – were more interested in idealizing the town and presenting it as a place accommodating the high society.

The article starts with a theoretical discussion on the relationship between media, “tourist gaze”, and the rise of tourism among a wider demography by drawing prior tourism and sociological theories and cultural historical studies. It then shifts to an overview of Ōiso with a focus on its transformations in the Meiji period and explains why it is chosen for case studies. The three maps were then analyzed textually and contextually. This study demonstrates how the mapmaking engaged with the development of railways, the emergence of tourism, and the rise of modern resort. It sheds light on that visual and cartographic materials were more than representations but contributes to producing a tourist gaze in the mid-Meiji period.

2. Tourism maps as markers and tourist gaze

Prior studies in critical tourism studies and sociology have critically explored the phenomenon of tourism. The most prominent works include Dean MacCannell's *The tourist: a new theory of the leisure class*, and John Urry's *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. These two works help us understand the production of a tourist attraction and the case of Ōiso and its maps in the Meiji period.

In *The tourist*, MacCannell conceptualizes tourist attraction as an empirical relationship between a triad: a tourist, a sight, and a marker (MacCannell, 2013). According to this theory, a sight is collectively reckoned and “collected by entire societies” and a marker is “a piece of information about a sight” such as guidebooks, informational tables, souvenir matchbooks (MacCannell, 2013: 41-43). The mechanical reproduction of the markers, for example the “creation of prints,

² The Japanese term, *zu*, in the titles of the three prints, literally means “picture.” As all three contain compass marks that are absent in graphic illustrations, this study sees them as maps, despite that their graphics adopt deformed bird's-eye views rather than modern cartography.

photographs, models of effigies,” contributes to the sacralization of the sight (MacCannell, 2013: 45). Adopting a semiological approach, he views tourist markers as symbols with the capacity to transform the meanings of the sights (MacCannell, 2013: 132-133). The tourist markers signal the featured sites as places worth seeing, sacralize them, and play a role in the production of tourist attractions.

While MacCannell’s theory is structuralistic and focuses on the effect of markers, Urry’s work is more encompassing, inter-linking tourism with socio-cultural contexts. Urry examines the rise of mass tourism and traces its origin to the seaside resorts and the social stratification in the early nineteenth century Britain (Urry and Larsen, 2011). By drawing Michel Foucault’s concept of “gaze” that internalizes a subject an awareness of control and actualizes a “disciplinary society” (Foucault, 1997), Urry discerns a “mass tourist gaze” at work, or “‘discourses’ which established and sustained mass tourism (Urry and Larsen, 2011: 32)³. He also draws Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of “distinction” (Bourdieu, 1984) to understand how the places one travelled to and the people one travelled with could make a social distinction of what group one belonged (Urry and Larsen, 2011: 40). Urry’s work provides a theoretical tool for understanding what Alain Corbin depicts in his *The lure of the sea: the discovery of the seaside in the Western world 1750-1840* (Corbin, 1995). Corbin shows how the aristocrats and “public distingué” from the high society first arrived at the seashores, socialized and developed their own circles, and how the bourgeois and merchant class came later and attempted to emulate the former (Corbin, 1995). Meanwhile, Urry’s “tourist gaze” demonstrates how the “social tone”, or “social hierarchy” among different resorts, set some privileged resorts apart from other “manufacturing resorts” (Urry and Larsen, 2011: 40).

Both MacCannell’s and Urry’s approaches are non-representational, reading the tourist markers not just as mirrors but also charged with intentions and social implications. This study follows this approach and traces a historical case of the specific location of Ōiso, a town transforming from a pre-modern post station into a resort catering to urban needs in the final years of the nineteenth century. Through examining the texts and contexts of three Ōiso maps, it demonstrates how the maps functioned as tourist markers and mediated the relationship between different social classes.

3. Why Ōiso and an overview

Ōiso is chosen for the following three reasons. As one of the earliest modern seaside resorts in Japan, this case study sheds light on the similarities and differences with

³ Urry’s concept of “tourist gaze” is more complex when he approaches to the transformations afterwards.

those in Britain and Western Europe, as studied by Corbin and Urry. Second, the metropolises of Tokyo/Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka have attracted considerable scholarship in cartography and urban studies. However, provincial cities and towns lack sufficient attention. This study aims to reveal the characteristics of the growth of a town into a destination for medical treatment and later a suburban retreat for the urban residents from Tokyo or Yokohama from the mid-Meiji period. Finally, the three maps, to be analyzed in detail later, are the very first examples of bird's-eye views (*chōkan-zu*) that highlight the local villa residents.⁴ A study of these Ōiso maps also helps us understand the early form and function of tourist markers in relation to the particular social tone of and tourist gaze towards Ōiso in the final years of the nineteenth century.

Located in the central southern area of Kanagawa Prefecture and facing the Sagami Bay, Ōiso faces the Pacific Ocean. It boasts splendid views of both the sea and Mt. Fuji, and is close to the city of Edo/Tokyo (approximately 70 km). In the Edo period, it prospered as the eighth post town along the highway Tōkaidō leaving Edo for Kyoto. *Ukiyo-e* paintings and local gazettes featuring Tōkaidō and the larger Sagami Province (today's Kanagawa Prefecture) in the Edo and Meiji period often highlight its historical relics related to the monk and poet Saigyō (1118-1190) who made a stop at Ōiso on his travel, and Tora Gozen (1175-1245), a prostitute who lived in Ōiso and became remembered through the popularization of the tale of Soga brothers.

The post town suffered a severe recession in the mid-nineteenth century owing to political turmoil and declining travel between Edo/Tokyo and Kyoto. It was revived after the late 1880s, first as a place for medical recuperation, and then as a tourist destination with the development of railways and the emergence of tourism (Nakamura, 2022). Promoted by physician and Army Surgeon General Matsumoto Jun (1832-1907), sea bathing in Ōiso was established in 1885 and the railway station opened in 1887. Matsumoto built his house in Ōiso in 1886 and a hospital-cum-hotel Tōryū-kan [Edifice of praying dragon] in 1887. He further invited over his friend and politician, Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922), whose Ōiso villa was established in 1887.

With the cultural campaigns led by Matsumoto, the rising social acceptance of sea bathing, and the development of railways, Ōiso became a popular destination for sea bathers seeking medical treatment⁵. The number of summer visitors exceeded 50,000 (*Tanka-rō shujin*, 1895: 18). Huge lodges such as Shōsen-kaku [Pavilion for inviting saints] and Shōrin-kan [Edifice of pine groves] along with smaller inns, and other supportive commercial facilities attracted throngs of visitors with means.

⁴ A later case is those of Atami, Shizuoka Prefecture, produced after 1890s. See Sekido, 2008.

⁵ Matsumoto mobilized *kabuki* plays, commissioned *nishiki-e* paintings featuring the kabuki actors, and developed local confections to increase its attractions. See Nakamura, 2022.

The social networks of Matsumoto and Yamagata were another incentive for the prominent politicians and industrialists to build their holiday residences in Ōiso and strengthen this network⁶. For examples, Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909) moved his Sōrōkaku [Edifice of blue waves] from Odawara to Ōiso in 1896, and Saionji Kinmochi (1849-1940) built Rinsō [Neighboring villa] in 1899, named after its position to Itō's house. The number of villas grew steadily, from a dozen in the 1890s to 150 in 1908 (Soshiroda and Watanabe, 1995: 20). Asakura Seiken depicts the clusters of the villas in his 1922 *Guide to Ōiso* [*Ōiso annai*],

Until the first year of the Meiji era, badgers and foxes lived in the mountainous area. Wild boars were also found on rare occasions...After the opening of the sea bathing, the noble gentlemen and wealthy merchants [kinshi fuko] arrived. They purchased mountains and land, carved hills, buried valleys, created gardens, and turned them into places for recuperation or respite. All of a sudden, foxes' and raccoons' nests transformed into a charming town [kinkyō] of huge villas and mansions. (Asakura, 1922: 25-26)

The social network echoes the resorts on the seashore in France, which developed in the mid-nineteenth century. As described by literary scholar Yamada Toyoko, it was an age of railroads and villas, and the resorts served as “traveling salons” [idō suru saron] for the urban elites (Yamada, 1998: 68-71). These *kinshi fuko* were also significant patrons who initiated and financed the construction of local infrastructure such as new roads and schools. Their support accelerated the modernization of the *kinkyō* where they enjoyed a getaway from the clamor of the city and networks with the distinguished neighbors.

4. Mapping the high society

Three maps, “Sōyō Ōiso eki zenzu” [Overview map of Sōyō Ōiso Station/Town] (1888; Fig. 1), “Sōyō Ōiso ichiran no zu” [Overview map of Sōyō Ōiso] (1891; Fig. 2), and “Kanagawa-ken Ōiso meisai zenzu” [Overview map of Ōiso, Kanagawa Prefecture] (1894, revised in 1900; Fig. 3) vividly show the transformations of Ōiso. They are cartographic versions of the list of “*kiken shinshi no bessō*” [villas of men of estate] in the local guidebook (for examples, Ichinō Ikkyō Dōjin, 1889: 42-43; Kawada, 1907: 20-23), or *shinshi roku* [Directory of gentlemen] which was first published by the club Kōjun-sha in 1889⁷.

⁶ See Koyama and Arai, 2020 for the social networks among the villa residents and Satō, 2015 for the political meanings of villa architecture.

⁷ Kōjun-sha's *Shin shiroku* was compiled based on the amount of paid tax. Its first edition of 1889 includes 23,000 names (Kōjun-sha, 1889).



Figure 1. Overview map of Sōyō Ōiso Station/Town, 1888. 34×51cm
Image courtesy: Kanagawa Prefectural Library



Figure 2. Overview map of Sōyō Ōiso, 1891. 36×51 cm
Image courtesy: Kanagawa Prefectural Library

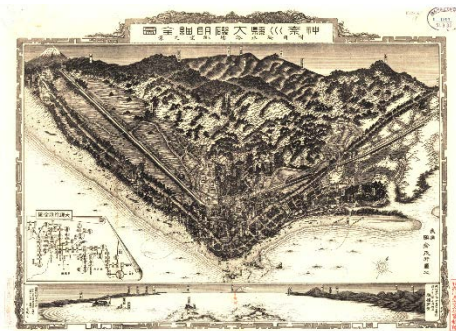


Figure 3. Overview map of Ōiso, Kanagawa Prefecture, revised in 1900. 39×55 cm
Image courtesy: Kanagawa Prefectural Library

These maps visualize the geographic proximity of villas and the expansion of villa districts. While eight villa owners' names appear in the 1888 map, the 1891 map labels 50, and the 1900 map displays 70⁸. The 1888 map illustrates a villa cluster at

⁸ These numbers are the sum of numbers of “house land” [teichi] or “owned land” [shoyūchi], where the villas were likely to be built, in the maps.

the foot of mountains, north of the train station. The two successive maps revealed how the villa districts expanded westward and south-eastward. A close textual examination leads to other findings about the connections between the maps and the conventional representations of local places and the differences among the three.

4.1 A textual analysis

The three maps share their size, adoption of a bird's-eye view and vantage point from the sea, and format as woodblock/copper-plate prints (see the information summarized in Figure 4). The graphic depiction, composition, and labelling of the mountains and places of attraction echo those of *meisho zue* established in the Edo period (Goree, 2020). Despite some small traces that follow modern cartography such as the inclusion of compasses and abstraction of railroads, the three Ōiso maps are pictorial. The 1888 map, in particular, resembles one depicting Hosone-yama in *Owari meisho zue* [Famous Places of Owari; 1840s] by Odagiri Shunkō (1810-1888) (Fig. 5) in which the mountain is placed at the center serving as the background of the picture, against which the shrines and temples at the foot of the mountain are highlighted in a space closer to the viewers (Okada, 1880: 70). The similarity between the 1888 map and an illustration titled *Ōiso no zenzu* [Overview picture of Ōiso] in the 1889 guidebook *Ōiso meishō-shi* [Famous places in Ōiso] (Ichinō Ikkyō Dōjin, 1889) (Fig. 6) is also striking. The authors of the 1888 map and *Ōiso meishō* illustration may have referred to each other and followed the established visual pattern in the Edo period to present the site's charm.

However, these maps differ from *meisho zue* in introducing varying vantage points or incorporating multiple pictures into one sheet to emphasize the presence of Mt. Fuji and ocean views. Mt. Fuji is turned leftward near the frame of the 1888 map. The 1891 and 1900 maps place Mt. Fuji straight near the top left of the graphics. Thus, Mt. Fuji directs visual attention to the left side of the graphic, where the new villas in the western area are positioned. The panoramic ocean views are highlighted in all three maps, corroborating the comments by writer Nozaki Sabun (1858-1935) and Doctor Takashima Yoshisaburō (n.d.). Nozaki highly praises the picturesque view from the beach, showing Enoshima Island on the left and Mt. Fuji behind other mountains on the right (Nozaki, 1894: 599). In his guide of sea bathing, Takashima states Ōiso as the most luxurious site for sea bathing for its location at the center of the coastline with an extremely wide view (Takashima, 1899: 64).

The islands near the coastline, and the peninsulas of Miura and Bōsō are also included in the 1888 and 1891 maps, but they are upside-down. The 1900 map separates the panoramic ocean view in the natural direction at the bottom. Thus, the 1888 and 1891 maps encourage viewers to rotate the maps to enjoy the contents, while the 1900 map fixes the reading position with illustrations and literary labels in the same direction, reflecting a modern visual perspective.

Another difference from *meisho zue* is their remarkable emphasis on the railways and electricity. In addition to the hills, islands, local temples, shrines, and historical places such as Shigitatsu-an, a hut built in the late seventeenth century commemorating Saigyō, and a rock associated with Tora that *meisho zue* would be interested in presenting, the three Ōiso maps highlight a steaming locomotive placed near the center of the illustration that comes from the east, indicating that it is bringing passengers from Yokohama or Tokyo to Ōiso. The 1891 and 1900 maps include the railway route charts, thus providing convenience to the actual or potential visitors. The expanded and complicated web of the 1900 map shows the enhanced access to Ōiso⁹. While electronic power, a significant symbol of modern life, is signified by a dozen poles along the railroad on the 1888 map, the 1891 map adds singular cable lines and the 1900 map uses multiple lines to signify development.

Title	Production Year	Author	Issuer	Sales Agency	Size	Color
Sōyō Ōiso eki zenzu [Overview map of Sōyō Ōiso Station] 相陽大磯驛全圖	1888	Miyake Masayuki 三宅政之	Miyake Tōbee 三宅藤兵衛	n/a	34×51 cm	multi-colored
Sōyō Ōiso ichiran no zu [Overview map of Sōyō Ōiso] 相陽大磯一覽之圖	1891	Edited and printed by Shōda Jihei, Kaisei-sha 改正舎正田治兵	Shōda Jihei, Kaisei-sha	Miyake Tōbee	36×51 cm	black and white
Kanagawa-ken Ōiso meisai zenzu [Overview map of Ōiso, Kanagawa Prefecture] 神奈川県大磯明細全圖	Revised in 1900 based on 1894 version	Edited and printed by Miyake Masayuki. Drawn by Kensai Shigeyuki 顯齋茂行	Miyake Masayuki	n/a	39×55 cm	black and white

Figure 4. Detailed information of the three maps in the collection of Kanagawa Prefectural Library

⁹ The travel time between Shimbashi, Tokyo and Ōiso was also shortened from two hours and twenty minutes in 1887 to two hours in 1900.

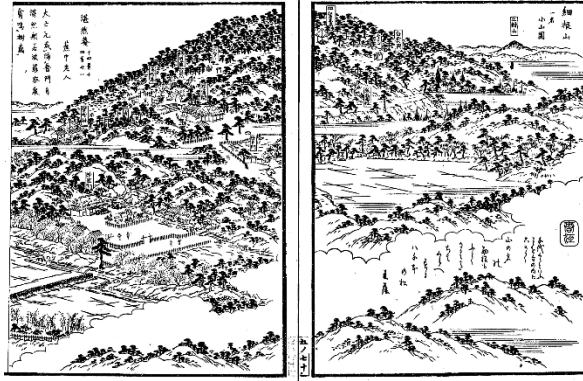


Figure 5. *Owari Meisho zue*, by Odagiri Shunkō, 1840s.
Reproduced in Okada 1880: 70. Image courtesy: National Diet Library, Japan



Figure 6. Overview of Ōiso. Ichinō Ikkyō Dōjin 1889: no pagination.
Image courtesy: National Diet Library, Japan

The visuality of the 1900 map is the most dramatic of the three. The contour of the coastline is deformed into a right angle near the center bottom of the graphic, which accentuates Terugasaki Beach at the tip. The railroad was connected directly to the foot of Mt. Fuji, reflecting a distorted view of its geographical position. The dense lines of clusters of houses and trees enhance the visual contrasts, animating and adding energy to the picture.

4.2 As souvenirs and “tourist markers”

The three maps romanticized the town by highlighting its scenery, modern infrastructure, and clusters of villas. The Ōiso Municipal Museum speculates that the maps were sold as souvenirs at the time (Ōiso Municipal Museum, 2014: 2)¹⁰. Sekido

¹⁰ The price is shown as 10 *sen* in the 1891 map, about that of seven cups of *soba* noodles at the time.

Akiko examines similar bird's-eye view maps of Atami produced in the 1890s and asserts that they were made as souvenirs and advertisements (Sekido, 2008: 47). In the Edo period, as travel was a luxury limited to those of means, some exquisitely made city maps such as *Edo kirie-zu* [area maps of Edo city] by the publisher Kinrindō, along with *ukiyo-e* pictures of famous places, had been popular souvenirs (Tokyo Metropolitan Library, 2012).

As railway travels to and a-few-day stay at Ōiso were expensive, only those with means could make the trip. According to the newspaper *Chōya shimbun*, the demography of the summer travelers to Ōiso in late 1880s were government officials, students, and gentlemen (*Chōya Shimbun*, 1889a: 2). Masaoka Shiki (1867–1902), a renowned *haiku* poet who was studying at the preparatory school of the Imperial University at the time, should have been one of the student visitors, although his stay was off-season in November. He wrote about his four-day stay, and this essay offers us some clues about the tourist behaviors.¹¹ After arriving at Shōrin-kan, he read a local guidebook to learn the geography and historical relics (Masaoka, [1889] 1925: 198). With his friend, he visited the historical places, enjoyed the ocean and island views, and took photos at a local photo studio (Masaoka, [1889] 1925: 209)¹². Guidebooks and photos were important media that composed Masaoka's trip.

Although Masaoka did not mention any of the three maps, they could have served roles similar to those of the guidebooks and photos. All of them were “tourist markers” as conceptualized by MacCannell that signaled the featured sites as places worth seeing (MacCannell, 2013). In the case of the pictorial maps, the depictions of splendid mountains and ocean and inclusions of historical places established an image of Ōiso as a place with natural sceneries and history. The lodging facilities and railway access on the maps further highlight Ōiso as a welcome resort. Together with other markers such as guidebooks, photographs, and postcards, Ōiso maps prepared the readers at the time by providing knowledge and images, served as souvenirs, and constituted the tourist experience.

4.3 Shop owner and local administrator as mapmakers

An influential family in Ōiso who also ran a local shop was involved in the production and sales of the three maps. Captions in the maps show the following production information: Miyake Masayuki as the painter and author, Miyake Tōbee as the issuer of the 1888 map; Miyake Tōbee as the sales agency of the 1890 map; and Miyake Masayuki as the editor, printer, and issuer of the 1900 map. The Miyake family is known for its ancestor, Miyake Zenbee (n.d.), a benevolent person who

¹¹ It was a draft written in 1889 and published first in 1922 after his death.

¹² The photo studio is probably Endō shashinkan which was the only one listed in the local guidebooks (for example, Kawada, 1907: 18–19) and took typical pictures of men and women in swimming suite with a background of the sea as souvenirs. A later version of this essay revises that Masaoka purchased photo postcards (Masaoka, [1889] 1933: 175).

built a local storage reservoir for agricultural use at his own expense in the early nineteenth century. A stone tablet was built in 1828, commemorating Zenbee's good deeds. This monument is introduced in the local guidebook and can also be seen in the 1890 and 1900 maps (Ichinō Ikkyō Dōjin, 1889).

A grandson of Zenbee, Tōbee (n.d.), followed the philanthropic spirit and built another pond for the local community in the mid-nineteenth century (Takahashi, 1983). Tōbee had been heavily involved in local administration. He served as the head of households [*kochō*] of three units in Ōiso in 1882 and the town counselor [*chōkai giin*] in 1892. He supported the establishments of the National Diet in 1880 (Ōiso Municipal Museum, 2018: 5) and a local school called Eiwa gakkō in 1889, the relocation of Shōsen-kaku in the early 1890s (Tomita, 2019), and the construction of a new road in 1906, which aimed at enhancing the connection between the train station and the western area.¹³

In addition to the maps, Tōbee had been involved in producing and selling local guidebooks. He was the sales agent of the 1888 *Kaiyoku yōran* [Guide of sea bathing], editor of the 1889 *Ōiso meisho annai* [Guide to famous places in Ōiso], and issuer of 1922 and 1928 *Ōiso annai* [Guide to Ōiso]¹⁴. Tōbee's eldest son, Masayuki, was the issuer of *Ōiso shi* [Gazetteer of Ōiso] in 1907, in which Masayuki himself is mentioned as a bookstore owner (Suzuki, 1996: 43; Kawada, 1907: 19). A guidebook published in the same year, *Natsu no Shōnan* [Shōnan in summer], mentions that the commodities sold at Miyake shōten [Miyake shop] was owned by Tōbee and its commodities included sea bathing equipment, scenery postcards, books, magazines, and stationeries (Miyake 1907). Nakanishi and Sekido's works have pointed out that bookstore owners played a significant role in creating city and town maps in Japan (Nakanishi, 2008: 24; Sekido, 2008: 47). As probably the only bookstore in Ōiso at the time, the Miyake family was a prominent cultural player in promoting the Ōiso as a tourist destination¹⁵.

Miyake Tōbee's local influence was amplified by his role as a local administrator. His name appears in the Ōiso division of a *shinshi roku* attached to 1903 *Yokohama hanjō-ki* [Sketches of Yokohama] with another people: Miyadai Kenkichi (1844-1914) – a local inn owner who collaborated with Matsumoto in establishing the sea bathing and served as a *kochō* in 1895, Itō Hirobumi, and entrepreneur and politician Nakajima Kumakichi (1873-1969) (Yokohama shinpōsha chosakubu, 1903: 530–

¹³ The Eiwa School was not realized. The road would later receive the name Tōkan [Resident-General's] Road as it connects with the villa of Itō Hirobumi, who served as the Japanese Resident-General of Korea between 1905 and 1909.

¹⁴ The 1889 *Ōiso meisho annai* mentions that it was sold with another map “Sōyō Ōiso zenzu” (Overview map of Sōyō Ōiso) with one character missing from the title of the 1888 map “Sōyō Ōiso eki zenzu”.

¹⁵ A list of wholesale and retail shops in Ōiso in 1901 mentions that there was only one dealing books (Ōiso-chō, 2008: 183).

531). While Miyake Tōbee and Miyadai Kenkichi were local administrators, Itō and Nakajima were prominent figures at the Cabinet whose residences were shown in the 1900 map. Although the inclusion criteria for this *shinshi roku* remains unclear, this list testifies Miyake and Miyadai's position as central figures in the local community with political and economic power.

It is noteworthy that the mapmakers emphasize the villa residents and associate Ōiso with these members of the high society. A demographic gap exists between the mapped residents and targets of the maps. For the former, the villas were part of the tools they needed in order to socialize and confirm their status (*Chōya Shimbun*, 1889b: 2). As Soshiroda, Watanabe, Yasujima's work has also pointed out, holiday villas in the newly developed resorts including Ōiso, Kamakura, and Odawara were a symbol of status (Soshiroda, Watanabe and Yasujima, 1985). For the latter, who were only visualized as anonymous strollers on the maps, a short stay was already a luxury. Although they were so attracted by the social tone of Ōiso, they could only utilize the more affordable rental villas as the best way to imitate the high society's lifestyle (Ōya, 2007: 106). The pictorial maps instigated a longing to the lifestyle of the members of a high society, and strengthened this hierarchy between the visualized villa owners and those who were satisfied with viewing the pictures and spending a few days next to these aristocrats and politicians. The tourist gaze, not yet of the mass but bourgeois, was stabilized through the making, circulation, and consumption of the maps.

5. Conclusions

This study has demonstrated how the three pictorial maps of Ōiso served as tourist markers that advertised the town and mediated the relationship between difference social classes. They signaled the sights worth seeing and illustrated the modern life of Ōiso with railway access, electricity, and sea bathing and other commercial facilities. Over the twelve years from 1888 to 1900, the growth of villas in the maps vividly testifies Ōiso's rise as an ever-growing town where *kinshi fuko* established their villas. However, as intended to serve as souvenirs for tourists from a lower class, they reflected the desire of the latter to imitate the former's lifestyle. The Ōiso in the mid-Meiji period, shares with its Western counterparts in the function as a referent of status. However, the "manufacturing resorts" for the industrial class and mass tourism that occurred in Britain from the latter half of the nineteenth century as Urry analyzes, would wait two more decades in Japan when railways and increased leisure time of the low class fueled their mobility. In the final years of the nineteenth century when the three maps were made, Ōiso was among a few resorts, setting divisions between those who could built a villa and those could not only spend a few days, and between the summer visitors at the rental villas or lodges and those for whom travel was beyond their wildest dreams.

These maps would continue to function as tourist markers in the twenty-first century. They are included in books on local history, used for guided tours, and are displayed at multiple sites including local festival venues and local museums. These historical maps highlight the distinguished residents in the past, celebrate the history of the town, instigate imaginations towards a certain past, and renew a tourist gaze towards Ōiso. The new roles of the maps invite another study.

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The author

Mengfei Pan is Assistant professor at Faculty of Tourism and Community Development, Kokugakuin University. She earned her PhD degree with a thesis on the art networks in Ueno area in the Meiji period from the University of Tokyo. Major publication includes “Tōkyō Shitaya Negishi Oyobi Kinbō-zu and the Symbolism of Community Mapping in the Late Meiji Period”, *Japan Review: Journal of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies*, 37, pp. 123–150. Her main research interests lie in exploring the relationship between visual culture, place, and identity, with a focus on the modernization process in Japan.