

The Artists Stretch Their Legs:  
The “Sketch-Tour” Books and Other Developments  
in Japanese Graphic-Arts of the Early Twentieth Century

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*To Charles H. Mitchell*

Although Japanese graphic art has long enjoyed world-wide popularity, many aspects of book illustration and single-sheet print history remain neglected. The time period from the end of the Edo Period to the end of the post-war Occupation has only recently begun to be studied systematically, but book and magazine illustration remains little known, particularly the thirty years from 1890 to 1920.

From 1914 to 1920 *shin hanga* (artisan produced prints) brought about a spectacular renaissance in shingle sheet print activity. Takehisa Yumeji, Ito Shinsui, Hashimoto Goyo, Kawase Hasui and Yoshida Hiroshi gained quick popularity both within Japan and among foreign collectors.

But the excellence of even the first *shin hanga* prints gives no apparent clue as to where these works germinated, the background which gave the artists, artisans and publishers confidence in the rightness of a print “revival” which would break new ground.

Quite simply, the germination did not take place in single sheet prints themselves, but in the graphic art of books and magazines. From shortly before the turn of the century, this graphic art between covers developed in many directions. Some of these are only tenuously connected with the print renaissance; others were clearly models for, or even the pioneer examples of what came to be called *shin hanga*.

The *sōsaku hanga* (self-produced prints) movement began quietly at the turn of the century. Historically important *sōsaku* prints go back to Yamamoto Kanae’s earliest work (1904), but gained impetus only after the first publication of the magazine *Hōsun* (see Figs. 2, 16, 17) in 1907. The *sōsaku hanga* artists developed patiently, nurturing themselves mainly from one another’s support. Their pioneer efforts were often produced with the assistance of artisans, interestingly enough, and like *shin hanga*’s beginnings, *sōsaku hanga* largely originated in books and magazines.

The years from 1890 to 1915 were intensely busy for book and magazine publication. Many stylistic changes took place as book illustrators trained in *yōga* (oil painting and watercolors) gradually gained prominence over artists trained in traditional Japanese painting.

Technical developments occurred too. Color lithography (including photo-lithography), zinc-plate prints, even “gelatin prints” (a kind of mimeograph) became used with sophistication. The woodblock medium itself expanded its capacities as block carvers and printers found ways to achieve effects similar to lithography, pastels and especially the translucent overlays of color so important to the watercolor medium. The centuries’ old Western technique of publishing woodcuts with printing presses gained acceptance in Japan at least by 1911 (see Figs. 34, 35), and such inexpensively produced woodcuts enlivened many mass-produced publications.

This period of ferment in book and magazine illustration prepared the ground for the print resurgence of the Taisho Period. There are no standard references on this period, even in Japanese, so the material included here should not be considered comprehensive. Still, it is representative of several important trends.

The oldest book illustrated here is the *haiku* anthology *Yamashiro Meisho Fūgetsu Shū* of Meiji 18 (1885). This two-volume anthology includes *haiku* poems solicited from all over Japan, an old tradition, illustrated with scenes from the area around Kyoto. Figure 6 is an illustration of Saigyō-an, a humble hut reconstructed at the sight of a similar dwelling of the 12th century poet-priest Saigyō. The soft colors, often without outline are typical of Shijo-Maruyama book illustration, as is the tradition of poems accompanied by evocative pictures. The artist, Okajima Seikō (1828–1877), was a student of Yokoyama Seiki, and is therefore in the mainstream of Shijo artists. It will be noted that the artist died some eight years before the book was published. The book is actually a re-working of *Tama Hiroi*, a *haiku* anthology of 1861. At some point after 1861 the woodblocks for the illustrations of *Tama Hiroi* were passed on to Torii Shichiya, who published the present book. Some illustrations were altered, and the book, now retitled *Yamashiro Meisho Fūgetsu Shū*, was published with a completely new set of poems.

Publication of *Yamashiro Meisho Fūgetsu Shū* reveals the continuing acceptance, at least in the Kyoto-Osaka area, of the Shijo-Maruyama tradition of book illustration. The soft washes of color and the avoidance of outline blocks are hallmarks of this tradition. In this sense, the block cutters and printers of Japan were already prepared for the advent of woodcut versions of Western water colors.

The next year, 1886, saw the publication of *Bokusui Sanjukkei Shi*, a collection of thirty poems on the Sumida River in and near Tokyo, with accompanying illustrations. This appealing little book (18×11 cm.) is illustrated with black woodcuts, following ink paintings by *nanga* artists such as Taki Katei, Fukushima Ryūho, Watanabe Shoka and Okuhara Seikō. Figure 7 shows a small ferry crossing the river by Okuhara Seikō (1837–1913). Her illustration, like many others in the book, suggests direct familiarity with the place illustrated, whether or not sketches were made on the spot. Other

**Note:** Unless otherwise indicated, books are stitch-bound in the traditional Japanese manner. Height precedes width. Books are measured using the cover size as standard unless otherwise indicated. Print sizes are measured by the full size of the print, margin included, unless otherwise indicated.

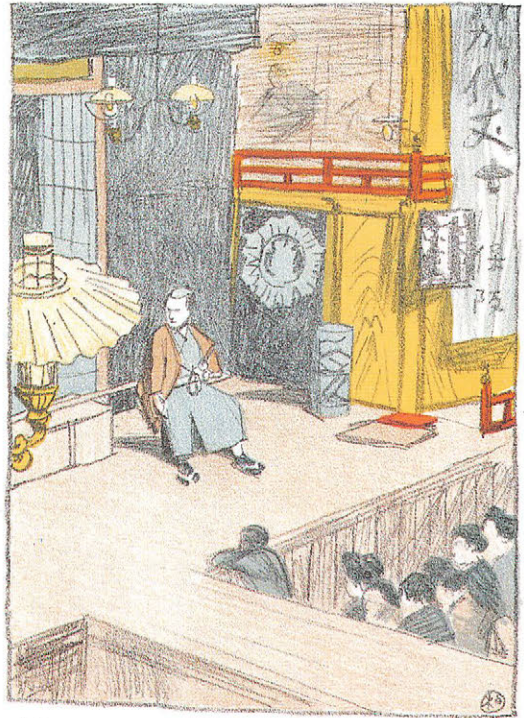
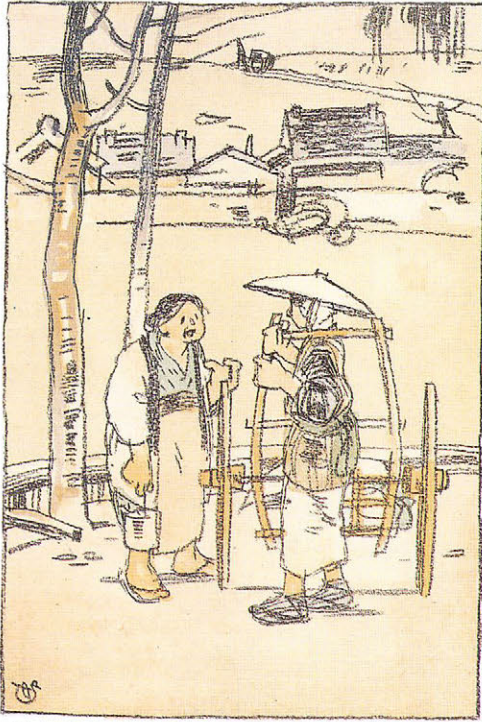


Figure 1. Ōta Saburō. Color lithograph from *Hikobae* (1911). 22.6 × 15.1 cm.

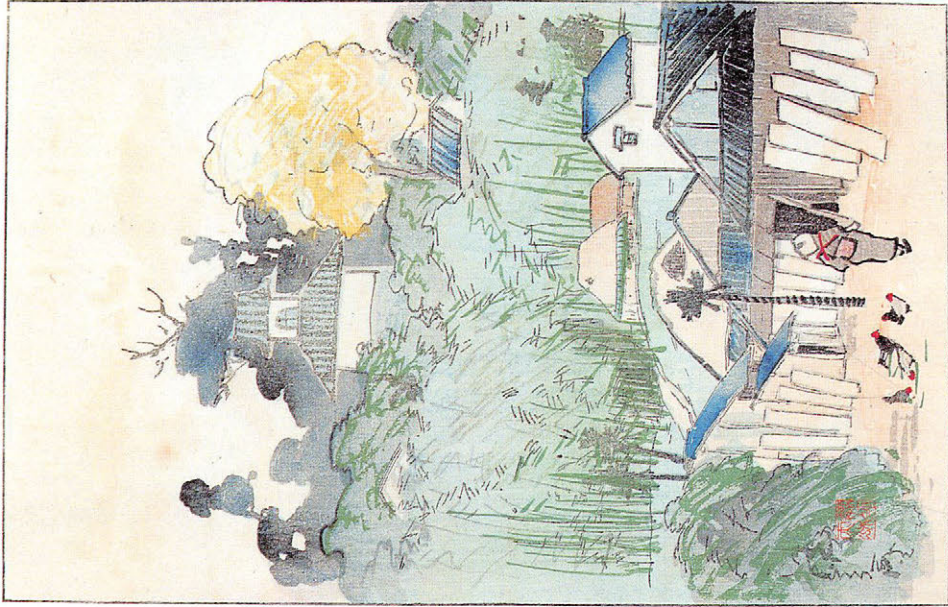
Figure 2. Ishii Hakutei. Color lithograph from *Hōsun*, III, 8 (1909). Page size: 30.8 × 22.7; image size: 16.7 × 12.1 cm.

Figure 3. Taniguchi Kōkyō. Color woodcut from *Heian Meisho* (1900). 25.1 × 31.7 cm.



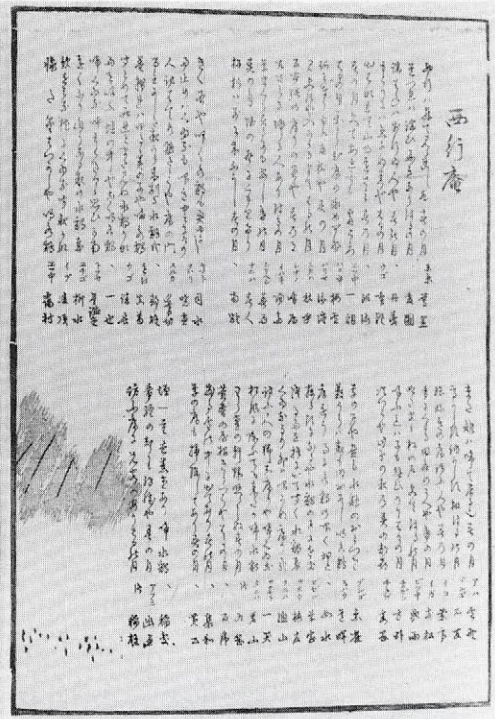
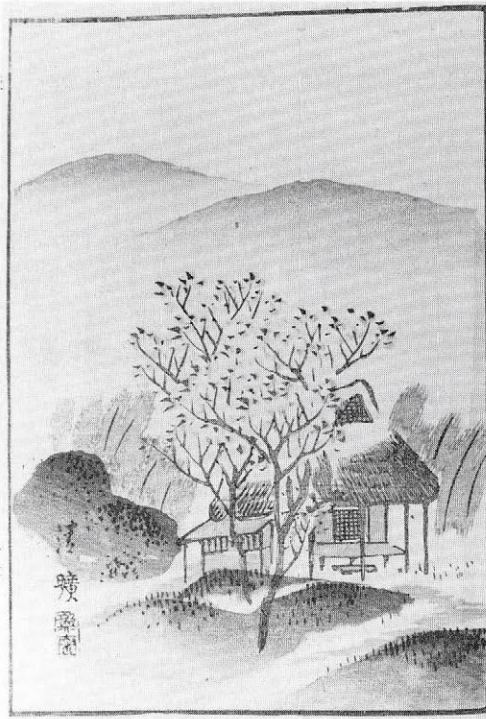
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Figure 4. Nakazawa Hiromitsu. Color woodcut from *Gejusansugi "Suketchi"* (1905). 24.2 × 15.9 cm.

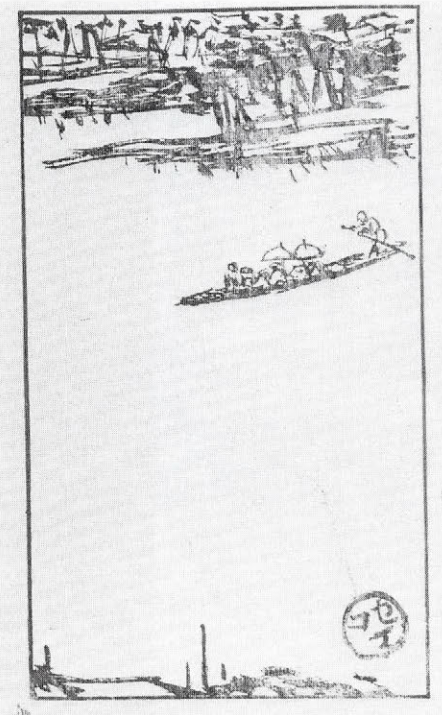
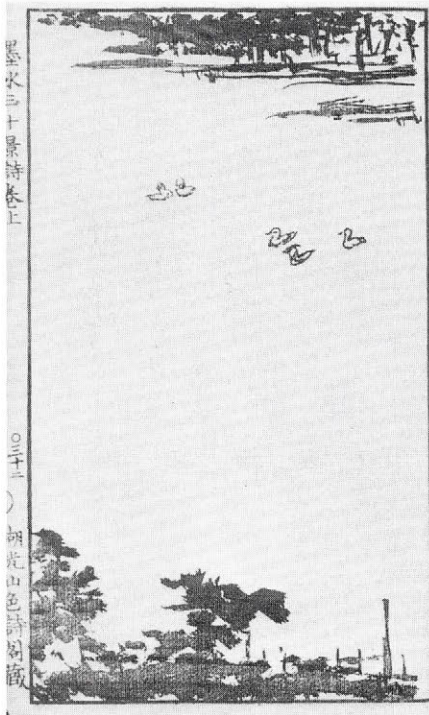


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Figure 5. Akamatsu Rinsaku. Color woodcut from *Hanshin Meisho Zue* (1917). Paper size: 39.4 × 26 cm.; image size: 29.2 × 18.5 cm.

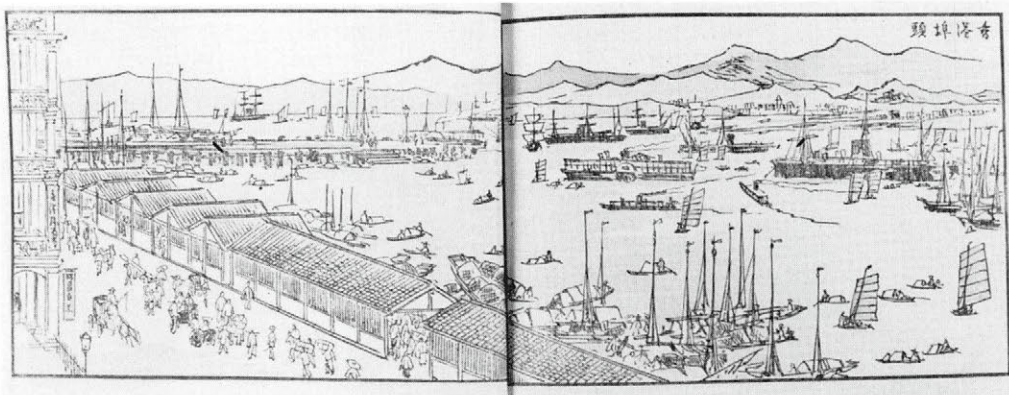


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Figure 6. Okajima Seikō. Color woodcut from *Yamashiro Meisho Fūgetsu Shū* (1885). Book size: 26×17 cm.; image size: 20.9×28.4 cm.  
 Figure 7. Okuhara Seikō. B/W woodcut from *Bokusui Sanjukkei Shi* (1886). Book size: 18.5×11.3 cm.; image size: 14.5×16.6 cm.



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Figure 8. Kubota Beisen. Color woodcut from *Beisen Manyū Gajō* (1889). Book size: 16.4 × 23.5 cm.; image size: 14.5 × 40 cm.

Figure 9. Kubota Beisen. Color woodcut from *Bijitsu-hin Gafu* (1893–1894). Book size: 24.5 × 15.7 cm.; image size: 19.4 × 25.5 cm.



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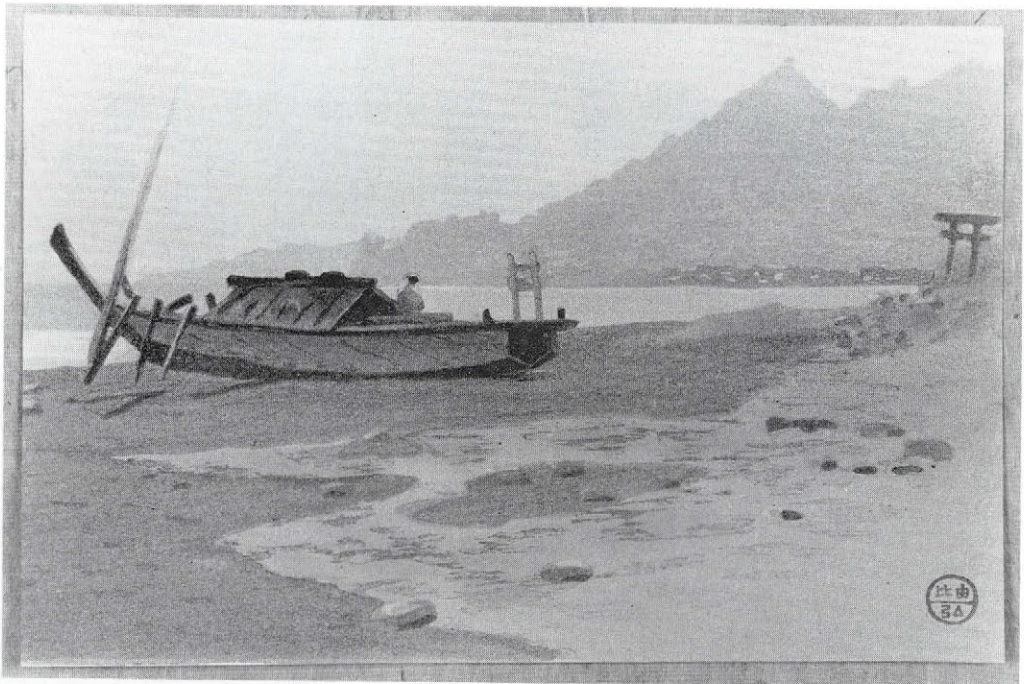


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- Figure 10. Morikawa Sōbun. Color woodcut from *Miyako Meisho Nijugo-kei* (1895). Book size: 24.3×16.6 cm.; image size: 20.5×27.3 cm.
- Figure 11. Kōno Bairi. *Bairei Gakan* (1903). Book size: 21.8×13.4 cm.; image size: 18.2×23.6 cm.



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Figure 12. Mitsutani Kunishirō. Color woodcut (foldout) from *Shiratama Hime* (1905). Book size: 18.3×13.4 cm.; image size: 13.3×18.4 cm.

Figure 13. Nakazawa Hiromitsu. Color woodcut from *Gojusantsugi* "Suketchi" (1905). 15.9×24.2 cm.





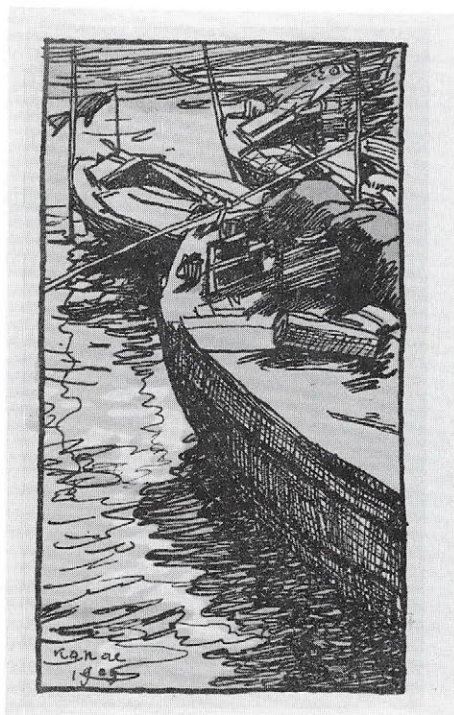
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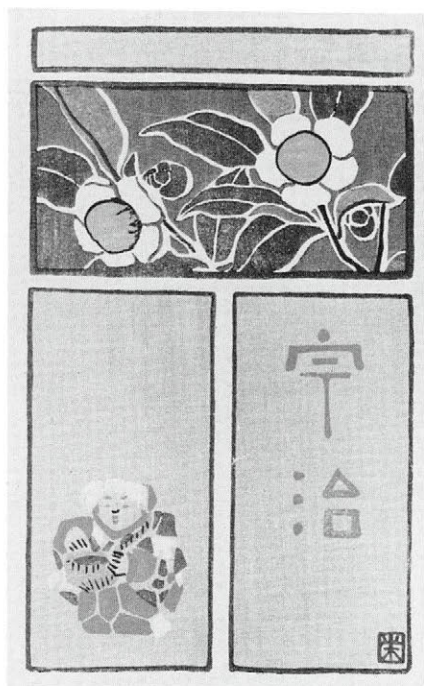


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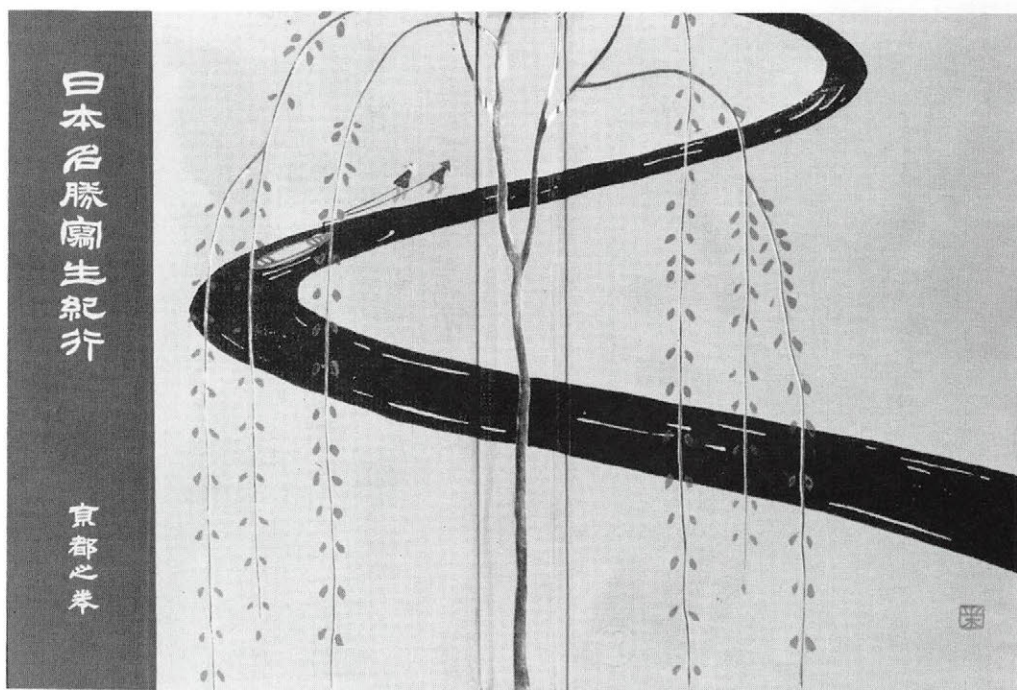
Figures 14, 15. Asai Chū. Color woodcuts from *Tōsei Fūzoku Gajuban Uta-awase* (1907). 25 × 18 cm.  
 Figure 16. Morita Tsunetomo. Color lithograph from *Hōsun Egoyomi* (1908). 19 × 11 cm.  
 Figure 17. Yamamoto Kanae. Color lithograph from *Hōsun Egoyomi* (1908). 19 × 11.6 cm.



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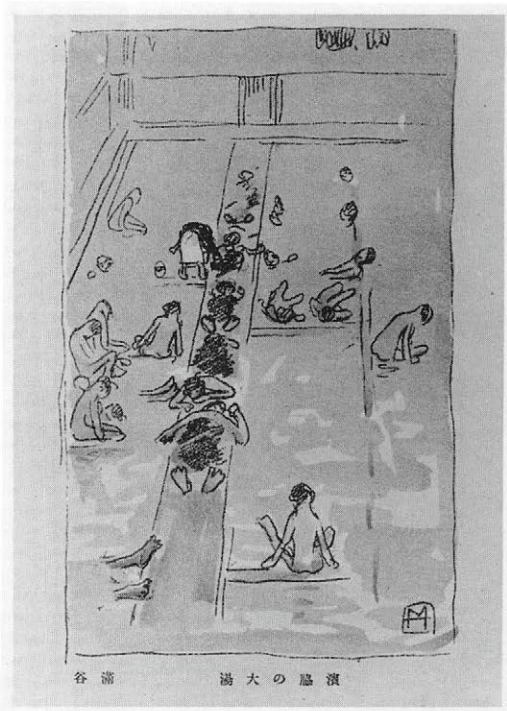
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Figure 18. Okano Sakae. Color woodcut from *Nihon Meisho Shasei Kikō*, First Series (1906). 18.9×12.9 cm.

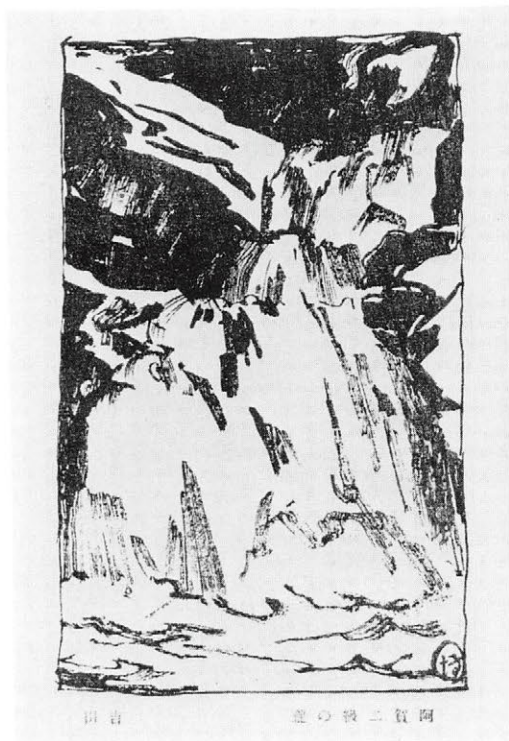
Figures 19, 20. Okano Sakae. From *Nihon Meisho Shasei Kikō*, Third Series (1910). Fig. 20 full size: 18.9×27.7 cm.



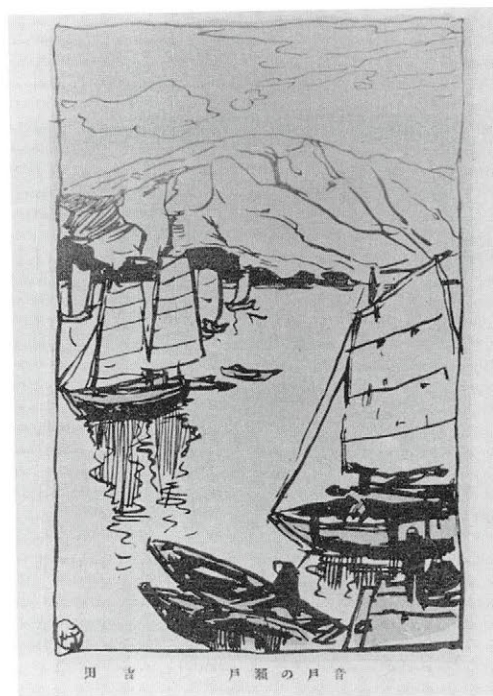
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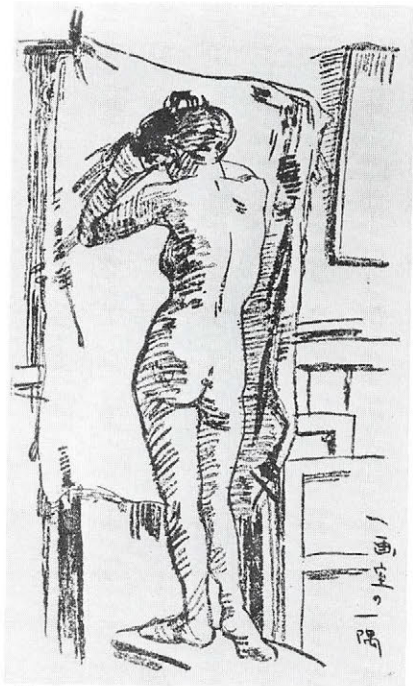
Figure 21. Kosugi Misci. Photolithograph from *Setonaikai Shasei Isshū* (1911). 19.5×13.2 cm.

Figure 22. Mitsutani Kunishirō. Photolithograph from *Setonaikai Shasei Isshū* (1911). 19.5×13.2 cm.

Figure 23, 24. Yoshida Hiroshi. Color woodcuts from *Setonaikai Shasei Isshū* (1911). 19.5×13.2 cm.



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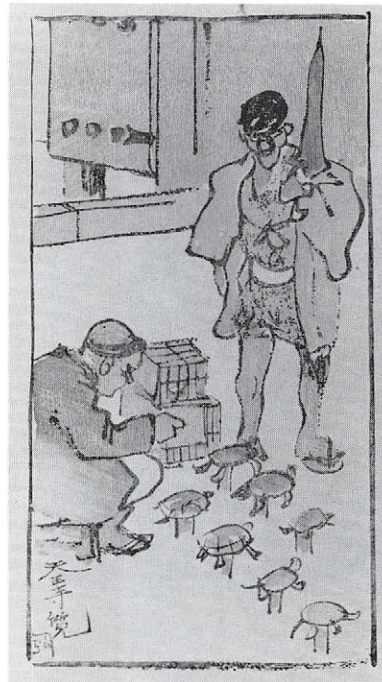
Figure 25, 26. Ōta Saburō. Two-color lithographs from *Hikobae* (1911). 22.6×15.1 cm.  
Figures 27, 28. Ōta Saburō. Color woodcuts from the book *Asagiri* (1912). Book size:  
19.1×13 cm.



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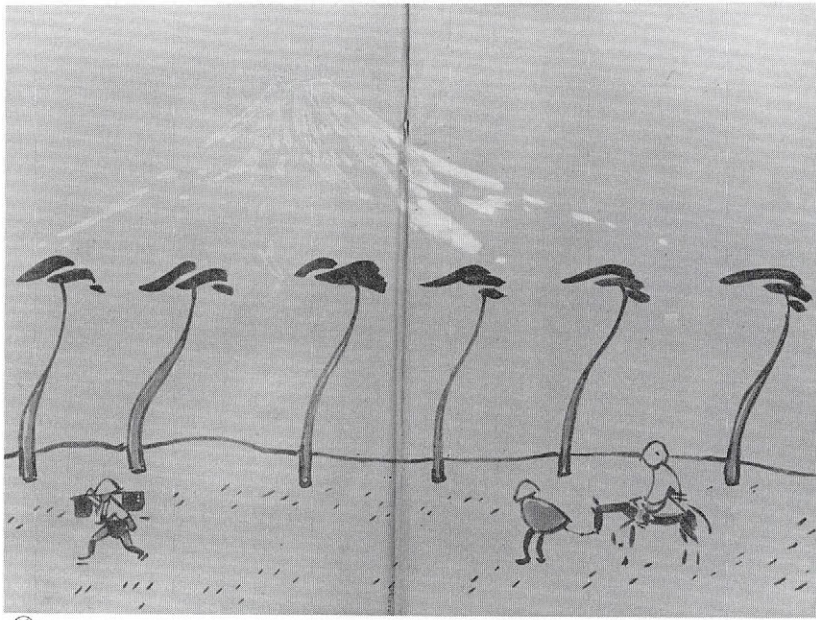


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Figure 29. Nakazawa Hiromitsu. Color woodcut cover of *Kinai Kembutsu: Ōsaka no Maki* (1912). Full size: 22.1 × 32.7 cm.

Figure 30. Asai Chū. Color woodcut (foldout) from *Kinai Kembutsu: Kyōto no Maki* (1911). Image size: 23 × 14 cm.

Figure 31. Nakazawa Hiromitsu. Color woodcut from *Kinai Kembutsu: Ōsaka no Maki* (1912). Page size: 21.8 × 14.8 cm.; image size: 14.4 × 7.6 cm.



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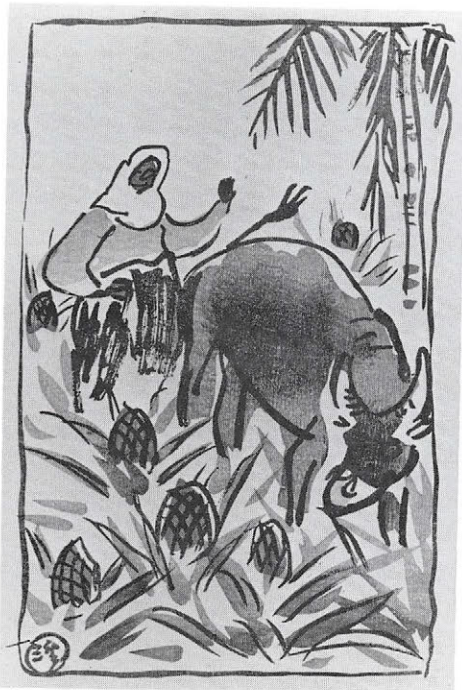


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Figure 32. Kosugi Misci. Color lithograph endpapers from *Bungei Chiri Tōkaidō Gojusantsugi* (1911). Full size: 21.9×29.8 cm.

Figure 33. Mitsutani Kunishirō. Color woodcut from *Bungei Chiri Tokaido Gojusantsugi* (1911). 21.9×14.5 cm.

Figures 34, 35. Oka Rakuya. B/W machine-printed woodcuts from *Bungei Chiri Tōkaidō Gojusantsugi* (1911). 8.3×3.8 cm; 6.5×9 cm.



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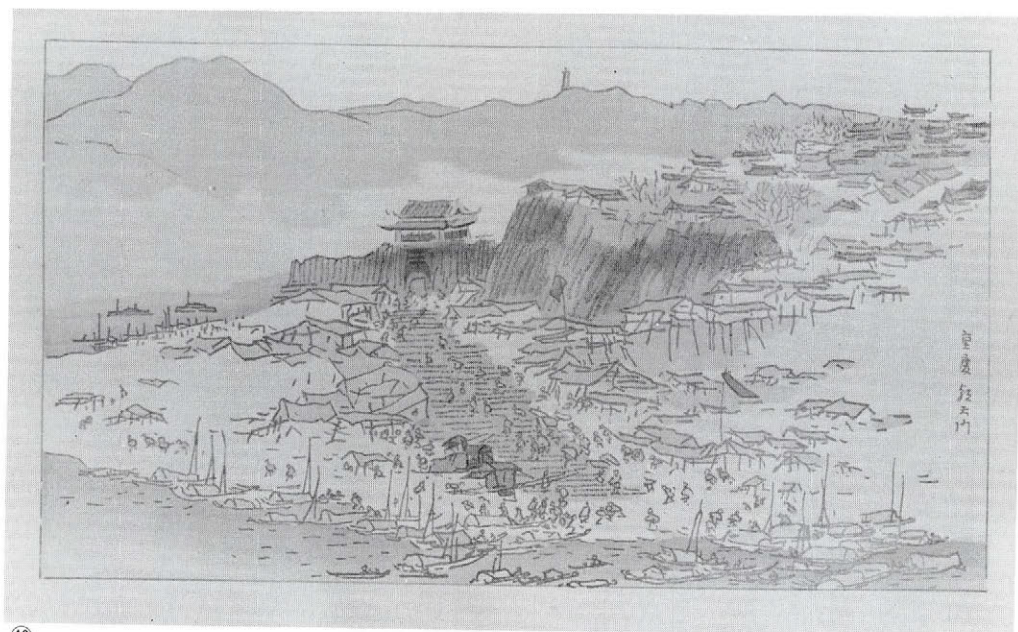


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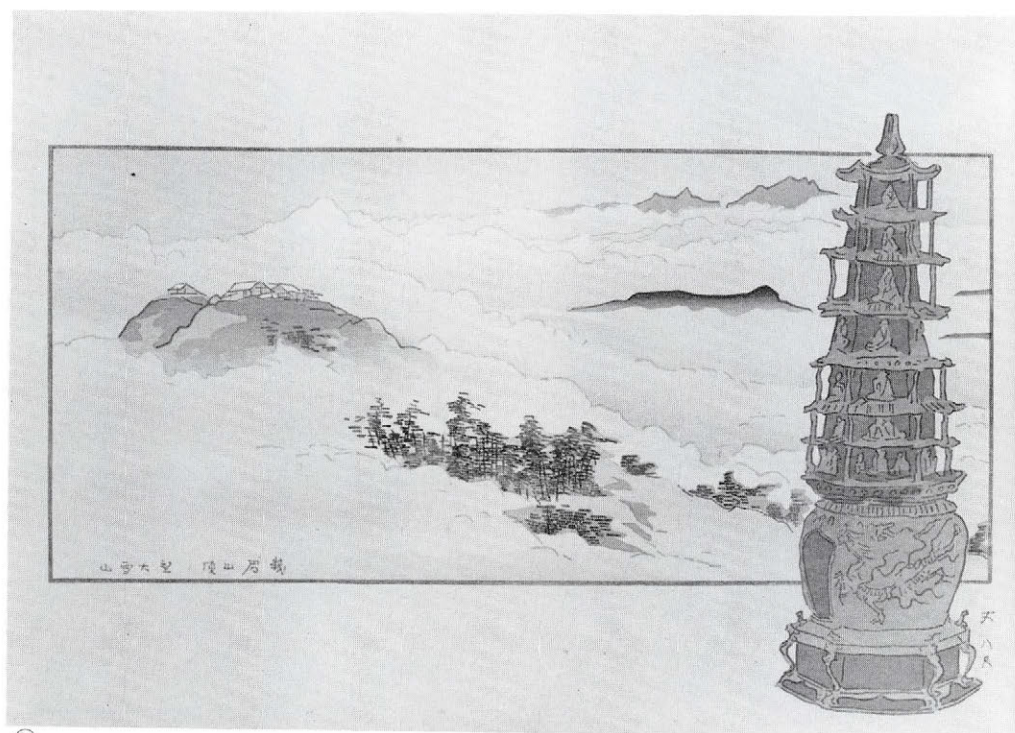


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- Figure 36. Tomita Keisen. Color woodcut from *Gendai Haiga Shū*: First Series (1915). 25.1 × 16.7 cm.
- Figure 37. Shimomura Izan. Color woodcut from *Gendai Haiga Shū*: Third Series (1917). 24.6 × 16.5 cm.
- Figure 38. Hirafuku Hyakusui. Color woodcut from *Gendai Haiga Shū*: Third Series (1917). 24.6 × 16.5 cm.
- Figure 39. Tomita Keisen. Color woodcut from *Gendai Haiga Shū*: Fourth Series (1917). 25 × 16.5 cm.



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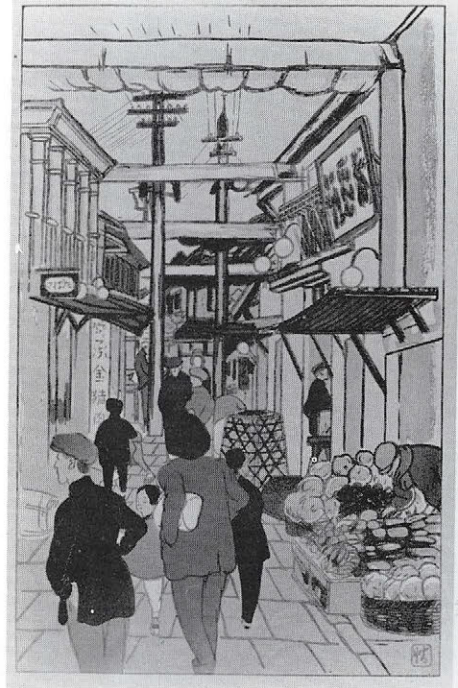
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Figures 40, 41. Fukuda Bisen. Color woodcuts from *Shina Taikan* (1916). 23.4×31.3 cm.

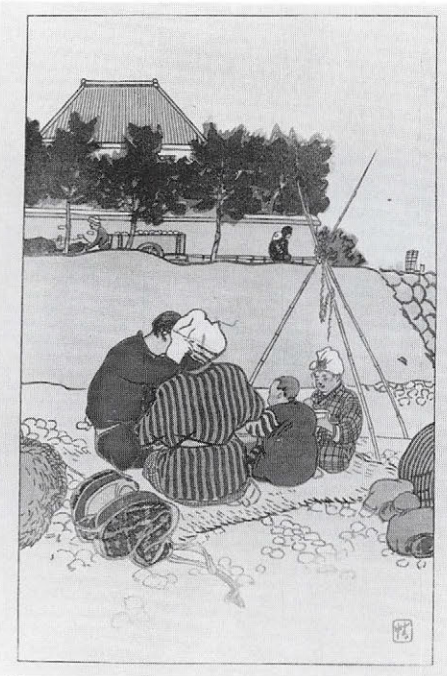




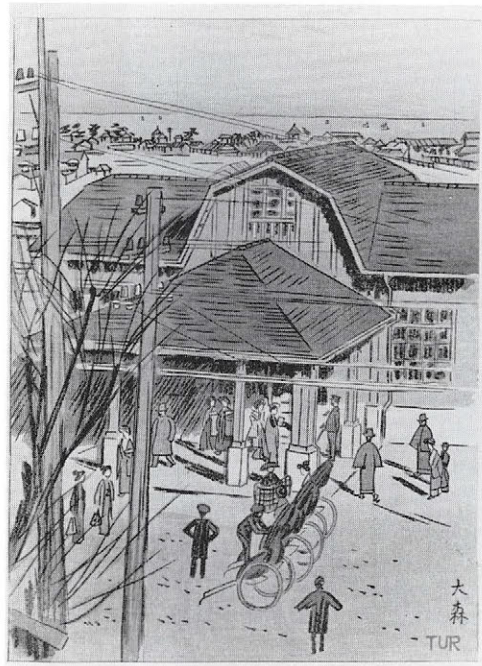
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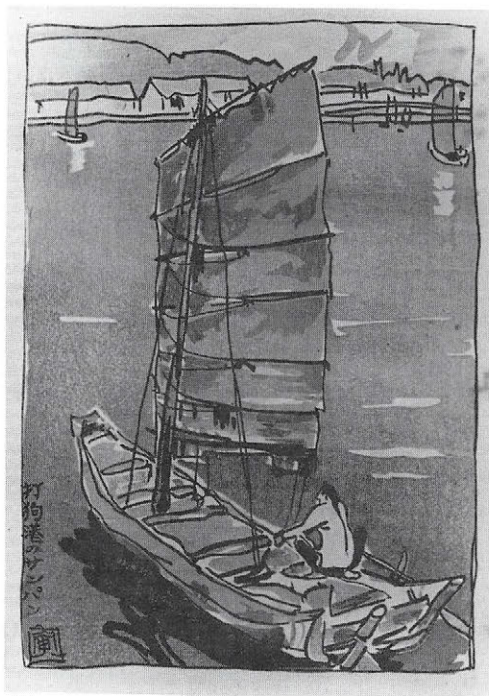


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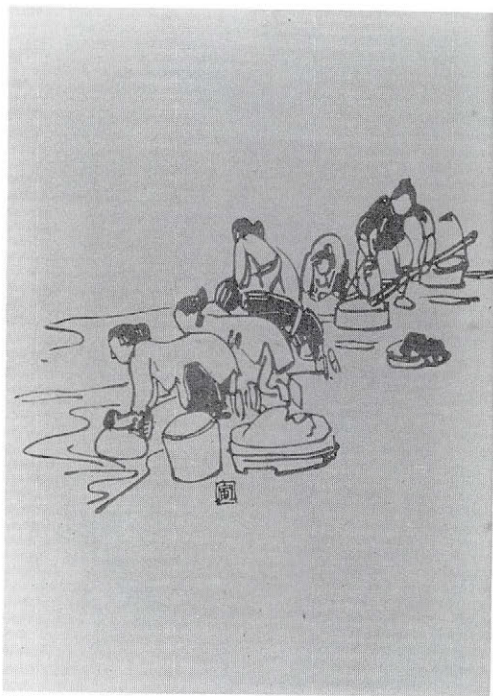
Figure 42. Akamatsu Rinsaku. Color woodcut from *Hanshin Meisho Zue* (1917). Paper size: 39.4 × 26 cm.; image size: 29.2 × 18.5 cm.

Figures 43, 44. Hata Tsuneharu. Color woodcuts from *Hanshin Meisho Zue* (1917). Paper size: 39.4 × 26 cm.; image size: 29.2 × 18.5 cm.

Figure 45. Ishii Tsuruzō. Color woodcut from *Nihon Fūkei Hanga: Ninth Series* (1919). 24.8 × 18.2 cm.



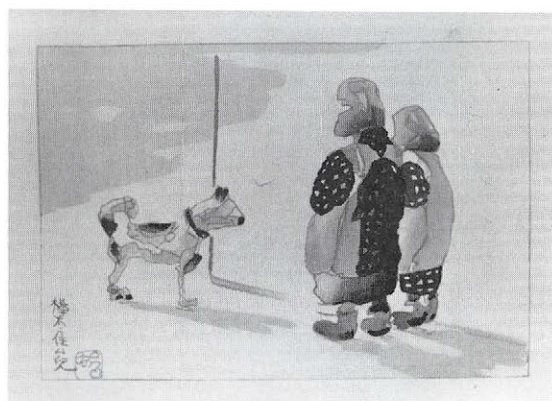
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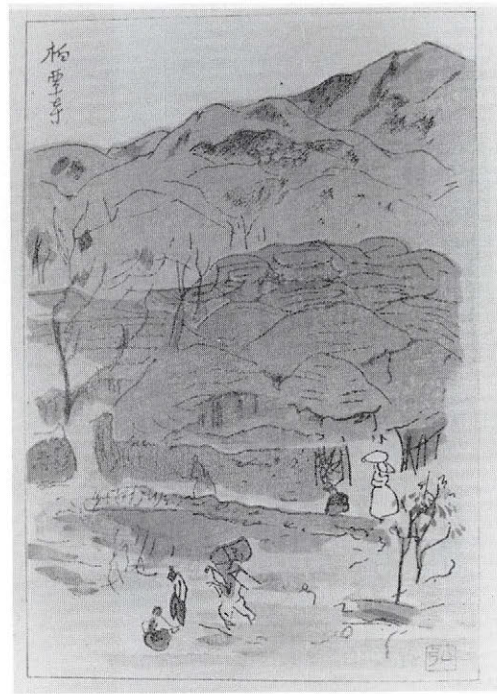
Figure 46. Ishikawa Toraji. Color woodcut from *Shin Nihon Kembutsu* (1918). 22.1 × 15 cm.

Figure 47. Ishikawa Toraji. Monochrome woodcut from *Shin Nihon Kembutsu* (1918). 22.1 × 15 cm.

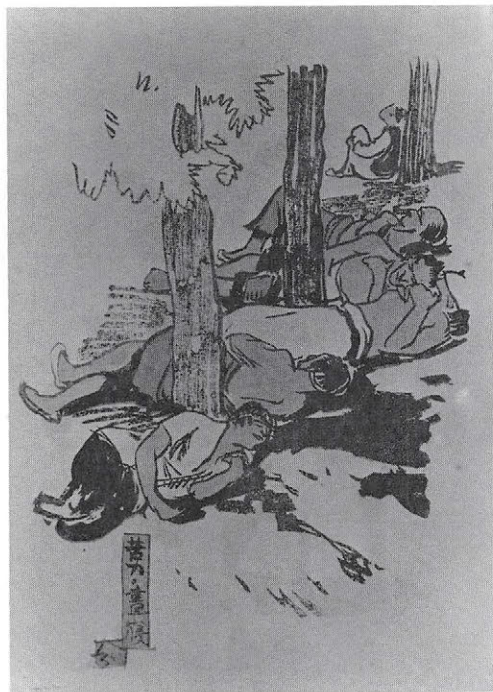
Figures 48, 49. Yasuda Minoru. Color woodcuts from *Shin Nihon Kembutsu* (1918). 22.1 × 15 cm.



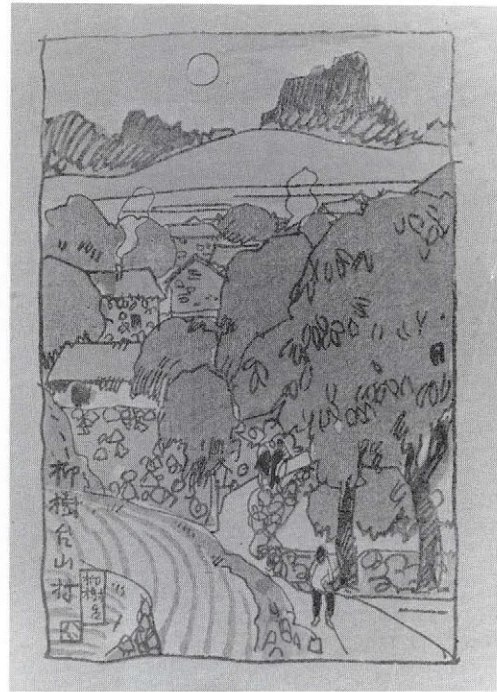
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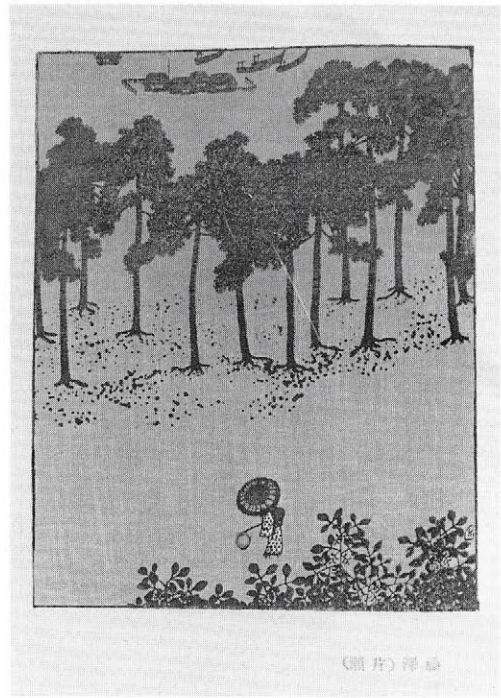


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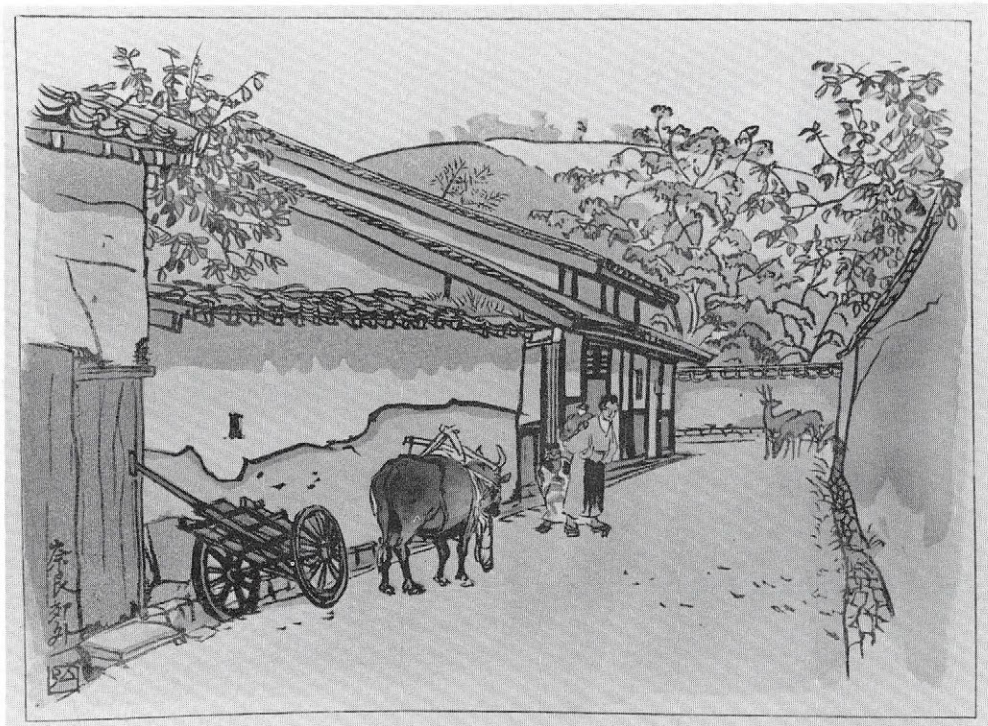
Figure 50. Nakazawa Hiromitsu. Color woodcut from *Shin Nihon Kembutsu* (1918). Page size: 21.6 × 14 cm.; image size: 7.7 × 7 cm.  
 Figure 51. Nakazawa Hiromitsu. Color woodcut from *Shin Nihon Kembutsu* (1918). 22.1 × 15 cm.  
 Figures 52, 53. Nakagawa Hachirō. Color woodcuts from *Shin Nihon Kembutsu* (1918). 22.1 × 15 cm.



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Figures 54, 55. Mizushima Nihofu. Color woodcuts from *Tōkaidō Gojusantsugi Setonaikai* (1920). Book size: 19.1 × 13.2 cm.; image size: 10.2 × 8 cm.  
 Figure 56. Nakazawa Hiromitsu. Color woodcut from *Nihon Taikan* (1922). Paper size: 24.8 × 36.2 cm.; image size: 17 × 23.7 cm.

illustrations seem more the product of imagined scenes produced in the studio. In spite of Fenollosa's attacks on literati painting (an attack begun in an 1882 speech and continued throughout his life), there was a resurgence of popularity in *nanga*, building to the formation of the Nihon Nanga Kyokai in 1896. This resurgence was reflected in the publication of dozens of woodcut painting manuals and collections of *nanga* illustrations, many of which were larger and more ambitious than *Bokusui Sanjukkei Shi*. But the very smallness of such anthologies as this, and many *nanga* books of the period were small, made it possible to carry the book in a kimono sleeve while traveling, a factor which may have influenced the small size of many of the important travel books of the late Meiji and early Taisho periods.

By 1889, ten years after the quelling of the Satsuma Rebellion, Japan was essentially a stable country. Travel restrictions were more a matter of financial limits than government edicts, and artists were among those most curious to travel abroad. Kubota Beisen (1852–1906) was among the most intrepid of these artists. In 1889 and 1890 the two volumes of his *Beisen Manyū Gajō* were published, recording in pictorial form his travels to Southeast Asia. Figure 8 shows the busy port of Hong Kong in a panoramic view covering 14 × 40 cm. across two pages. The horizontal format, though not unknown, had not been widely used. The simple fact of being able to travel freely may have impelled Beisen to literally widen the scope of his illustrations as much as the impact of the sight of broad seas and wide ports.

Beisen was one of the most important late Shijo-Maruyama painters, but his eye and brush were alert to the changing times. He was invited to attend the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. At a banquet, Beisen made numerous paintings before a large audience, and became reacquainted with Ernest Fenollosa. Beisen also sketched the exposition grounds, and made numerous studies of the art works displayed at the various pavilions. Many of these sketches and studies were published as color woodcuts in a modified folding album format as the four-volume *Bijitsu-hin Gafu*. In Figure 9, the soft, flat coloring of Millet's haylofts and gleaners is not so different technically from woodcuts of Beisen's own works. But J.E. Millais' popular Victorian painting known as "Bubbles" seems to have challenged Beisen, and in turn the block cutter and printer of *Bijitsu-hin Gafu*. Shading achieved by overlays of color, and the use of hues of green, yellow and burgundy to catch the iridescent bubbles shows that the color woodcut medium could meet new challenges, and better convey the essence of oil painting and water colors than any other medium then available to Japan.

The timing was apt, for in the same year that Beisen returned from Chicago, Kuroda Seiki (1866–1924) returned from France. Oil painting already had a respectable tradition in Japan, but was essentially conservative. Kuroda Seiki had studied the then current *plein-air* manner under Raphael Collin, and had been successful enough in

Europe to have had paintings accepted in the French Salon. He had had the opportunity to see work by the Impressionists first-hand. He had experienced the personal challenge of self-expression through art, and the technical challenge of capturing qualities of light, especially in the open air. Through his Hakubakai (White Horse Society) exhibitions, his private students, his students at the Tokyo Art School and his role in establishing a government-sponsored salon (the Bunten, established in 1907), Kuroda Seiki had a commanding influence. Although I know of no woodcut book illustrations or prints by him, his numerous students and associates were the driving force behind many of the developments of the next twenty years in Japanese graphic art.

Kyoto to a considerable extent avoided the dynamic but divisive feuds which marked the art world of Tokyo from the 1890's on. Beisen and Kōno Bairei (1844–1895) had numerous important students, both privately and from the Kyoto Prefectural School of Painting which they had established in the 1880s. Both Beisen and Bairei were eclectic. They were trained in the Shijo-Maruyama tradition, but this eclecticism influenced their students, many of whom became leaders in the first generation of *Nihonga* artists.

Financial support for young artists in Kyoto came from design commissions for lacquerware, ceramics and especially *kimono* patterns. The publishers Tanaka Jihei and Yamada Naosaburō, founder of the Unsōdō Publishing Co., were especially vigorous in encouraging young artists to submit designs for publication in color woodcut albums. Almost as a sideline, these publishers brought out books and folding albums devoted to scenic locales.

Figure 10 is from one of these, *Miyako Meisho Nijugokei*, of Meiji 28 (1895). The folding album format features 25 views of Kyoto by Morikawa Sōbun (1847–1902). The printing quality is high, aptly conveying the mist, rain and snow of the four seasons around Kyoto. Although essentially conservative, it should be noted that unlike earlier Shijo book illustration, pigment, however soft, is applied to all parts of this design.

The next several years saw several similar books in folding album format. The *Yōfu Gajō*, also of 1895, is one of these, rightly called “a gem among woodblock print illustrated books” by Frederick Baekeland.<sup>1</sup> Figure 11 is from another, *Heian Meisho*, of Meiji 33 (1900). *Heian Meisho* is illustrated by twelve artists including Takeuchi Seihō, Kikuchi Hōbun, Suzuki Shōnen, Imao Keinen and Taniguchi Kōkyō. Seihō, Hōbun and Kōkyō were all students of Bairei. Figure 3, by Kōkyō (1864–1915), shows the same Saigyo-an hut featured in Figure 6. These younger artists developed the Shijo-Maruyama tradition into one of the pillars of 20th century *Nihonga* art.

Figure 11 is taken from *Bairei Gakan*, a seven-volume series of folding albums

1) Frederick Baekeland. *Imperial Japan: the Art of the Meiji Era (1868–1912)*. Cornell Univ.: Ithaca (N.Y.), 1980, p. 149.

published in Meiji 36 (1903), eight years after Bairei's death. The book was assembled by Bairei's son, Kōno Seikō, from remaining sketches and paintings. The extreme care of the printing, and the inclusion of a wide thematic range suggest that this publication was considered a memorial tribute.

At around the same time, another Kansai figure was getting interested in publishing some of the *yōga* artists working in oils and watercolors. Kanao Tanejirō (1879–1947), born in Osaka, was a publisher attentive to developments in literature and politics. He also had a passionate fondness for woodcut illustrations and included them in most of his publications. In 1905 he published *Shiratama Hime*, a collection of poems illustrated by Mitsutani Kunishirō (1874–1936). Mitsutani had studied oil painting under Koyama Shōtarō, an associate of Asai Chū, both of whom were well disciplined artists opposed to the lack of stress on technical mastery in Kuroda Seiki's studio.

Figure 12 is the frontispiece illustration from *Shiratama Hime*, a foldout color woodcut in soft green, brown and violet hues typical of the restrained palette of Mitsutani's serious paintings. Figure 22 shows his ability at *haiga*-like sketching.

The same year (1905) a series of prints tipped into a booklet heralded what could be considered the first modern Japanese landscape prints: the *Gojusantsugi 'Suketchi'* (Sketches of the 53 Stations) by Nakazawa Hiromitsu (1874–1964). Hiromitsu was a student of Kuroda Seiki, an exhibitor with his Hakubakai; he later won prizes in the first three Bunten. Figures 4 and 11 show two of the five prints of the series. Although announced as a “first series” no other prints are known to have been produced, suggesting that the time was not ripe for public acceptance.

In the printed preface to the *Gojusantsugi 'Suketchi'*, Hiromitsu states that walking the Tōkaidō is itself a way of seeing the world freshly, and he set off in the spirit of the bumbling, adventurous heroes of the Edo period novel *Hizakurige* (Shank's Mare). He also confesses that he was constantly mindful of the works of Hiroshige and Hokusai. The comment suggests that Hiromitsu was consciously challenging the formidable reputation of his predecessors who had made landscape prints a vital part of the 19th century woodcut tradition.

Although these tipped-in prints are larger than most book illustrations, they are smaller than most single sheet prints. My contention that these 1905 prints can lay claim to be the first modern Japanese landscape prints is based on the fact that prints in one of the recognised early major landscape series, the 1917–1920 *Nihon Fūkei Hanga*, are only slightly larger. Hiromitsu's “Numazu” print (Fig. 4) measures 24.2 × 15.9 cm., while Fig. 45, from the *Nihon Fūkei Hanga* series measures 24.8 × 18.2 cm.

The commercial failure of Hiromitsu's series might have rested partly on the publisher, Ōno Fujimatsu, a bookstore proprietor. The simple fact that the prints were tipped into a booklet, as opposed to the portfolio format of many later print series, may

have prevented these prints from reaching their most avid potential customers: foreign collectors.

One uncontested importance of the ‘*Suketchi*’ print series is that the blocks were cut by Igami Bonkotsu, and the printing was done by Nishimura Kumakichi. A headnote by Hiromitsu states that he first made pencil sketches on the spot and then added color washes, sometimes layering wash upon wash to keep the color effects alive. Figure 4 reveals that Bonkotsu and Kumakichi were remarkably able to convey the feel of watercolors through the woodcut medium. This is the earliest collaboration known to me by these two artisans who had a lasting effect on both *shin hanga* and *sōsaku hanga* developments, partly through their prolific work in book illustration. Their names will come up again.

Although Asai Chū (1856–1907) was best known in his lifetime as a skillful and evocative oil painter, he was also an excellent watercolorist. In 1902 he moved to Kyoto, perhaps relieved to be away from hot contention with Kuroda Seiki’s advocates. In Kyoto he continued to teach. Among his students were Ishii Hakutei and Kurata Hakuyō, both vital forces in the *Hōsun* group. As a teacher at the Kyoto Industrial Arts School, Asai Chū became involved with design work for *kimono*, lacquer and ceramics. His skill as a decorative painter flourished (see Fig. 30).

In the West, Asai Chū is best known as a caricaturist. This reputation is based on a remarkable book, *Tōsei Fūzoku Gojūban Uta-awase*, of 1907. Done in collaboration with the poet Ikebe Tōen, the book consists of one hundred poems on the contrasts of contemporary life in fifty pairs, accompanied by one hundred brilliant caricatures paired in fifty color woodcut illustrations. Figures 14 and 15 capture in a lighthearted way the changing worlds of artists and artisans. The studio-bound literati painter is contrasted with the dynamic Western style *yōga* artist sauntering off with easel, umbrella and stretched canvas to capture scenes of Japan anew. Figure 14 contrasts a woodblock carver with an artisan carrying a lithographic stone.

As has been seen, *nanga* paintings were enjoying a resurgence at the same time that oils and watercolors were gaining widespread acceptance. And as will be seen, high quality lithographic work was challenging the role of woodcuts in book illustration. Asai Chū’s themes were timely. Although the youthful vigor of the oil painter and the lithographic artisan reveal his sympathies, it should be remembered that the book itself was stitch-bound and printed entirely by woodblocks in the traditional Japanese manner. The book even echoes the format of Ueda Akinari’s 1808 *kyōka* anthology *Kaidō Kyōka Awase*, with illustrations by Bumpō and Nangaku.

The image in Figure 15 of the Western artist stretching his legs is emblematic of a fever that swept the world of *yōga* (Western style) artists at that time: the “sketch tour.” Congenial groups of artists, as often as not from supposedly rival schools, travelled



together, sketching, painting watercolors and oils, and enjoying the scenery. The freshness of their vision was often compelling. Japan was again being seen by a new wave of artists, and they were quick to record their travels and art in numerous guide books. The old, traditional *meisho zue* was reborn, but with quite a different look.

It should be noted that in Asai Chū's caricatures, the *yōga* artist and the lithographer wear Western-style clothing. This aspect of his depiction was probably close to life, and a similar phenomenon took place in book publishing. The traditional *wa-hon* stitch binding format continued, but books illustrated with "Western art", or in literary forms imported from abroad, increasingly appeared in "Western" hard-backed binding. Figures 20, 29 and 32 indicate the phenomenon, and incidentally show the thoroughness with which Japanese artists and artisans mastered the challenge of new types of book design. Externally as well as internally, a new age in Japanese graphic art publication developed and flourished, and one of the first book types in this format was the "sketch tour" book.

The first such book known to me is the *Nihon Meisho Shasei Kikō* (Notes on a Sketch Tour of Famous Sites Around Japan), a series of five books, bound in Western style, published between 1906 and 1912. Each book was illustrated mainly with color woodcuts, but also with lithographs and photographs. The artists were, Okano Sakae, Nakazawa Hiromitsu, Yamamoto Morinosuke, Kobayashi Shokichi and Atomi Tai, all of whom had studied with Kuroda Seiki and exhibited with his Hakubakai. Figures 18 and 19 by Okano Sakae (1880–1940) show two of the color woodcuts from the first and third series. The woodcuts for the entire series were cut by Igami Bonkotsu and printed by Nishimura Kumakichi.

Figure 20 shows the striking art nouveau cover of the third series (1910), also designed by Sakae. The format of these books is small (18.9×12.9 cm.). The small format is a link with such books as the *Bokusui Sanjukkei Shi* (Fig. 7). The Western style binding and paper of the *Nihon Meisho Shasei Kikō* books are too heavy for a kimono sleeve, although just about right for a sturdy tweed jacket.

The "sketch tour" guide books seem aimed at amateur artists as much as the armchair traveler. Both in the texts and in the table of contents there are many details about the original art works, their production and the various media used to reproduce them. The table of contents of the first series of *Nihon Meisho Shasei Kikō*, for example, reveals that Figure 18 is a woodcut based on a colored pencil sketch. In the text of the book, Sakae recalls visiting Zenkōji, one of the most famous temples in the then still remote, mountainous region of Nagano Prefecture. A girl and an old woman were selling chrysanthemums and red nantenberries just inside the temple grounds, the morning dew still fresh on the flowers. As he sketched, white pigeons flew up whenever someone came through the temple gate.

The tone is intimate and relaxed, both the text and the illustrations inviting a warm response. In other books of the same genre, materials used are noted with care, and terms such as “Hooker’s green” or “burnt sienna” convey excitement and exoticism by their unfamiliarity.

The small format, typical of the genre, does not diminish the impact of the illustrations. Although more or less post-card size, this is hand-held art, and the size accentuates the intimacy of the book’s texts. The third series of *Nihon Meisho Shasei Kikō* includes 40 woodcuts and eight lithographs; the range of colors, styles, themes and media give strength.

Figures 16 and 17 are color lithographs from *Hōsun Egoyomi* of Meiji 41 (1908). This was a calendar supplement published for subscribers to the art magazine *Hōsun*. *Hōsun* was created by Ishii Hakutei, Yamamoto Kanae and Morita Tsunetomo in 1907. It appeared monthly for four years, and its large format offered opportunities for a wide range of graphic art. Woodcuts, zinc plate prints and lithographs were the most common media. Figure two shows the featured art work of the November 1909 issue of *Hōsun*, an issue devoted to the Asakusa area of Tokyo. Figure two is a color lithograph of a gaslit theatre interior by Ishii Hakutei (1882–1958). Figure 16 is the calendar illustration for November 1908 by Morita Tsunetomo (1881–1933). Figure 17 is the illustration for May of the same year by Yamamoto Kanae (1882–1946).

Kanae had already begun his momentous experiments at cutting his own blocks and printing his own woodcuts by this time, but there was as yet no doctrinaire stress on self-produced graphic art. Hakutei produced only one or two woodcuts himself. His celebrated *Tokyo Junikei* print series was produced from blocks cut by Igami Bonkotsu. Bonkotsu also cut the blocks for the ambitious *Nihon Fūkei Hanga* series (see Fig. 45) which included prints by both Tsunetomo and Hakutei. Perhaps because there was no clearly defined *shin hanga* movement at this time, the artists felt no contradiction in encouraging self-produced graphics while at the same time engaging artisans to help produce woodcuts and lithographs in quantity.

The German art magazine *Jugend* has been cited by many as the inspiration for *Hōsun*, but since France was the magnet which attracted more and more Japanese artists, French lithographic art must also have been a potent stimulus. I have emphasised lithographs here partly because they have been neglected, partly because these artists handled the medium with ease and assurance, and partly because the medium was for a short time an important facet of art publication.

Figure one shows another color lithograph, this one by Ōta Saburō (1884–1957) from his 1911 book *Hikobae*. The 65 illustrations in this exciting book are all lithographs. Four are full color lithographs bound in, as in Figure one. Eleven other prints were tipped in, printed in one or more colors on a variety of papers. Figures 25 and 26 are

two of the 50 remaining lithographs printed directly on the page. Ōta Saburō was another of Kuroda Seiki's students. His draughtsmanship was superb, and he published numerous books on what must have been his first love, sketching. Perhaps because he was drawn more to the vigor and spontaneity of drawings than to finished paintings, he never gained notoriety commensurate with his abilities. His two known *sōsaku hanga* woodcuts are small in size but splendid examples of Taisho graphic art. *Hikobae, Asagiri* (1912), his two-volume book of color woodcuts, (see Figs. 27, 28), and a few of his other works contain some of the most sensuous and delightful book illustrations of the time.

Figures 21, 22, 23 and 24 are from the 1911 *Setonaikai Shasei Isshū* (A Sketch-tour Around the Inland Sea). Published in the same size and format as the *Nihon Meisho Shasei Kikō* series, this book includes woodcuts, zincplates, lithographs and photolithographs by eight artists from the Taiheiyō Gakai group: Kosugi Misei, Yoshida Hiroshi, Nakagawa Hachirō, Ishikawa Toraji, Watanabe Shinya, Ōshita Tojirō, Kawai Shinzō and Mitsutani Kunishirō. All eight of them were accomplished watercolorists. Yoshida Hiroshi was best known for his watercolors, and Ōshita Tojirō was the only artist of the time whose fame was based almost entirely on watercolors.

The table of contents of *Setonaikai Shasei Isshū* itemises the original art works and the graphic media used in the book. The artisans involved in producing the woodcuts and lithographs are not named. Yoshida Hiroshi (1876–1950) is represented by four woodcuts (see Figs. 23, 24), two lithographs and several photographs. This book may have been Yoshida's first opportunity to see his work in the woodcut medium, nine years before he produced his first single-sheet prints for the Watanabe Shōsaburō print studio. Yoshida remains the best-known representative of the "sketch-tour" tradition, documenting his travels throughout the world in word and woodcut until his death.

Figure 21 is a photolithograph from the same book by Kosugi Misei (1881–1964). The men are washing freshly dyed cloth in a stream in Matsuyama on the island of Shikoku. Figure 22, another photolithograph, shows the interior of a bathhouse in Kyūshū. A woman with a bucket is covering the bodies of some of the patrons with sandpacks. This *haiga*-like sketch is by Mitsutani Kunishirō (see Fig. 12 for a very different work by the same artist).

One of the publishers attracted to the "sketch-tour" genre was Bunendō's Kanao Tanejirō, first mentioned here in conjunction with Mitsutani Kunishirō's 1905 woodcut for *Shiratama Hime* (Fig. 12). By 1906 or 1907 Kanao began to make preparations for the first "sketch-tour" books under his Bunendō imprint: *Kinai Kembutsu*. Born in Osaka, Kanao Tanejirō had moved to Tokyo, largely to take advantage of the growing number of block-cutters and printers sensitive to the changing palettes and effects of the new generation of artists. Some of his late Meiji and early Taisho books bear the

“Tokyo Bunendō” stamp, but his affection for scenes of the Kansai area (Kyoto, Nara, Osaka, Kobe) seemed to grow with his physical separation from them. It is not surprising, then, that his first publication in this new genre was devoted to scenes of Kyoto, Nara and Osaka.

*Kinai Kembutsu* (Scenes of the Central States) was published in three volumes in 1911–1912. Figure 29, showing the color woodcut cover of the Osaka volume, gives some idea of the format. The size is significantly larger than earlier “sketch-tour” books: 22.2×15.1 cm. Slip cases protected the woodcut covers. The Osaka volume contains 28 stitched-in woodcuts as well as the cover, endpapers and slipcase. Kanao Tanejirō seems to have been indifferent to lithographs; colotypes and photos were included in the books, but they are not esthetically successful. The heart of the publication is the color woodcuts.

Figure 30 shows a foldout color woodcut by Asai Chū, who had moved to Kyoto in 1902. The Kyoto and Nara volumes include photos of paintings by him, apparently planned for this publication. Asai Chū’s death in 1907 cut short whatever plans there had been for his illustrations and text. Figure 30 seems to be in his tribute, suggesting that the publisher keenly felt the loss of his contribution.

All of the remaining illustrations are by Nakazawa Hiromitsu. The woodcuts for the Kyoto and Nara volumes were made by Igami Bonkotsu and Nishimura Kumakichi. This reunited the artist and artisans of the 1905 *Gojusantsugi* ‘*Suketchi*’, but Figures 29 and 31 reveal that Hiromitsu had lightened his palette, and the 60 stitched-in woodcuts have a luminous and fresh quality. Hiromitsu was in his prime, and the *Kinai Kembutsu* books began a long and fruitful collaboration between Hiromitsu and publisher Kanao Tanejirō, first in books and later in single-sheet prints.

Yet another 1911 publication was *Bungei Chiri Tōkaidō Gojusantsugi*. This is a travel book, but somewhat different from the “sketch-tour” books. Essentially a *yomi-hon*, or “reading book”, the text is a record of a rambling trip mainly by steam train from Tokyo to Kyoto by author Yokoyama Kendō. Still, as Figures 32 through 35 show, the urge to enhance a text with evocative illustrations had not diminished, even though nearly all books published by this time had the texts set in lead type. Notes on the prints, and comments by the artists are found in an appendix. The artists were Kosugi Misei, Hirafuku Hyakusui, Ishii Hakutei, Mitsutani Kunishirō and Oka Rakuya. Kosugi Misei (1881–1964) recorded that his lithographic endpaper design (Fig. 32) was sketched from his imagination as he watched Mt. Fuji from a train window. Mitsutani Kunishirō recorded that he took an electric tram as far as it went up the slopes of Mt. Fuji. Already, he noted, horse-drawn wagons such as he sketched for Figure 33, were scarce.

*Bungei Chiri Tōkaidō Gojusantsugi* contains five stitched-in color woodcuts, but 30

illustrations enlivening the text are described as *mokuhan kuga*, “woodcut illustrations”. Significantly, the stitched-in woodcuts are described as “hand printed”. The absence of such a note for these cuts suggests that they are examples of what came to be called *kikai-zuri*, “machine-printed” woodcuts. With the widespread use of type-set texts, Japan had come to adopt the centuries’ old Western technique of woodcut publishing. Figures 34 and 35 are two of the 30 cuts, all of which were designed by Oka Rakuya (dates unknown).

The technique of machine-printed woodcuts in Japan probably predates 1911. In fact, comparison of Oka Rakuya’s cuts with those in previously discussed “sketch-tour” books, an issue of the *haiku* magazine *Hototogisu* and other popular press publications of the time suggest that it may have been widespread without being specifically identified. As appealing as such cuts are, especially the contrast of the brush-stroke effects of the prints with the sharply detailed type-set text, it should be noted that the growing use of lead-type texts and machine printed woodcuts, not to mention lithographs and other media, steadily reduced the need for professional woodblock printers for book illustrations.

From the turn of the century to the end of the Meiji period, woodcut book illustration, at least of genre scenes and landscapes, was dominated by artists trained in *yōga*, Western oil and watercolor techniques. But in painting itself, the same period saw the simultaneous development of both *yōga* and *Nihonga*. *Nihonga* had espoused all the traditional forms of Japanese art: *yamato-e*, *ukiyo-e*, *rimpa* and Shijo-Maruyama, but by this time all these styles had cross-influenced one another, and indeed *yōga* and *Nihonga* artists were alert to and borrowed from techniques and approaches in the supposedly rival camp.

One style of Japanese art which has long cut across “school” boundaries is the *haiga* form. With simplicity and spontaneity as its hallmarks, good *haiga* have an instantaneous and yet lasting appeal. *Haiga* in woodblock form as book and single-sheet *surimono* illustrations have a long tradition going back to the latter half of the 18th century.

*Haiga* painting had a profound effect on the art of the late Meiji and Taisho periods. Although the term itself suggests that *haiga* should accompany *haiku* poems, there was suddenly a rage to paint *haiga* by themselves. Handbooks appeared offering novices advice on how to paint *haiga*, and it was only a matter of time before such a burst of activity would lead to to a comprehensive anthology.

The earliest such anthology known to me is *Gendai Haiga Shū* (An Anthology of Modern *Haiga*) published in Tokyo from 1915 to 1917. Each of the four seasonal volumes is printed in traditional stitch binding, the foreword, afterword, table of contents, title slips and colophons all produced by woodcut. Figures 36–39 reveal the

format of the work. The four volumes contain 119 color woodcuts. With a few comings and goings over the two years of the publishing, over 25 artists were involved. These include Tomita Keisen, Ogawa Usen, Kosugi Misei, Ōta Saburō, Hirafuku Hyakusui, Yamaguchi Hakushi, Ishii Hakutei, Ikeda Nagaharu, Shimomura Izan, Honda Fuyuki, Nakamura Fūsetsu and Saitō Shōshū.

These artists represent a cross-section of the contemporary art world, both *yōga* and *Nihonga*. Shōshū was trained in traditional Shijo painting. Usen and Nagaharu worked as cartoonists. The cartoon influence worked both ways. Many cartoons of the period had a bold, graphic *haiga*-like quality.

“Taiwan in Spring” (Fig. 36) by Tomita Keisen (1879–1936) is markedly cartoon-like, but the broad washes of color and the power of the line pull it back. Keisen’s *haiga* paintings are marked by a compelling tension between areas of bright color and thick, rapidly brushed lines. Figures 36 and 39 show how well the unnamed artisans of *Gendai Haiga Shū* were able to translate these qualities into the woodcut medium.

Shimomura Izan (1865–1949) restricted his palette in Figure 37 except for the vermilion of the persimmons, the wattles of the chickens and his seal. The sense of action is all in the woman’s arms and her rice flail. This is balanced against the intense vermilion color, a bold and successful device. In Figure 38, by Hirafuku Hyakusui (1877–1933), the composition and the range of brushed line effects from thin to thick to broad washes give this nearly monochrome *haiga* a sense of rushing movement focusing on the face and upraised hands of the woman.

Many writers have commented on the energetic optimism of Taisho prints and paintings. One of the elements creating this impression is what I consider a *haiga*-like quality. Keisen shows it clearly, but a case could be made for considering the *haiga* influence on many artists, Morita Tsunetomo’s landscapes, for example, or even Takehisa Yumeji’s prints. In any case a lively interest in *haiga* as an independent art form is reflected in the many illustrated handbooks on the subject and other *haiga* woodcut publications such as *Haiga Taikan* (1931).

In 1916 Kanao Tanejirō published the most ambitious of all the “sketch-tour” books, *Shina Taikan*, written and illustrated by Fukuda Bisen (1875–1963). Bisen was a *Nihonga* artist with early training under both Kubota Beisen and Hashimoto Gahō. By the turn of the century he was an established artist, but seemed dissatisfied. *Shina Taikan* contains a dedication to the memory of Okakura Tenshin, who had inspired the book, but died before its publication. Bisen credits Tenshin with advising him to travel to China in order to refresh his vision. Bisen followed this advice and in 1909 went to China for several years.

The resulting book is arresting in format. As Figures 40 and 41 reveal, *Shina Taikan* was large and horizontal (23.4×30 cm). The colors range from subdued, as

in Figure 40, to intense, as in Figure 41. The first of the two volumes is devoted to Yangtse River scenes; the second to scenes of the Yellow River. Frontispiece prints in each volume were prepared with exquisite care. Each of the endpapers (two for each volume) shows a different birdseye view map of the route Bisen traveled. The hardbacked covers show richly colored panoramic landscapes. These woodcut covers are printed from the front to the back cover of each book, across the spine (as in Fig. 29), with each cover design measuring  $23.4 \times 66$  cm. The vulnerable woodcut covers were protected by a wraparound *chitsu* showing a camel caravan near the Great Wall. This striking *chitsu* design is a color woodcut printed on cloth, measuring  $23.5 \times 116.5$  cm. The woodblocks were cut by Okada Seijirō, and printed by the seemingly indefatigable Nishimura Kumakichi. There are 50 color woodcuts in all (including the endpapers, *chitsu* and covers) and over 150 pages photographically reproducing Bisen's *makimono*-like paintings.

The layout of Bisen's illustrations is extremely sophisticated, often, as in Figure 36, with one design overlaying another. This suggests that Bisen's original sketches were carefully reworked for publication, but their spontaneity was wisely retained. In spite of the large size and the elaborate format of the book, the influence of Bisen's first teacher, Kubota Beisen, should be noted. The *Beisen Manyū Gajō* of 1889 is an important precursor of the "sketch-tour" books. In fact, its horizontal format (see Fig. 8) may have been the model for *Shina Taikan*.

It was extremely expensive to publish *Shina Taikan*. A high price was set on it in the Bunendō booklists, but there was some difficulty selling it. The first printing of the book was relisted as available for years, and it must have occurred to Kanao Tanejirō that a portfolio of 50 single-sheet woodcuts would have been cheaper and possibly more successful. Such thoughts were very much in the air.

Watanabe Shōsaburō published his first Itō Shinsui print in 1916. This highly successful *bijin* print is generally considered to mark the beginning of the *shin hanga* movement. The time seemed ripe to take advantage of the continuing popularity of the "sketch-tour" idea, but to try it with artisan-produced prints instead of book illustrations. In 1917 no less than three landscape print series began publication, by three different publishers.

The first of these, and the only one to be completed in 1917, was *Hanshin Meisho Zue*, published by Bunendō. "Hanshin" refers to the Osaka-Kobe area, the home of Kanao Tanejirō and the five artists of the series: Akamatsu Rinsaku, Noda Kyūho, Hata Tsuneharu, Mizushima Nihofu and Nagai Hyōsai. Thirty prints were published, all in a large vertical format (image size  $29.2 \times 18.5$  cm with a generous  $39.4 \times 26$  cm. margin). The prints were originally published in five folders beginning in May 1917 and coming out at more or less monthly intervals. The oversize margins allowed full

sets to be trimmed for mounting by the publisher in albums while still retaining esthetically pleasing margins around the borders of the images. Figures 5, 42, 43 and 44 show four prints from the series: the village of Nashio (Fig. 5) and the Port of Kobe (Fig. 42) by Akamatsu Rinsaku (1878–1953) and the Chinese settlement in Kobe (Fig. 43) and Uozaki (Fig. 44), by Hata Tsuneharu (1883–?). Rinsaku had exhibited with Kuroda Seiki's Hakubakai before the turn of the century, and was an established *yōga* artist in Osaka. Kanao Tanejirō's daughter told me in 1982 that Rinsaku and Tanejirō had gone to primary school together, and remained close friends all their lives. Hata Tsuneharu had studied with Inano Toshitsune, who in turn had studied with the *ukiyo-e* artist Yoshitoshi. Tsuneharu, then, had received training in late *ukiyo-e* painting styles (together with Toshitsune's better known pupil Kitano Tsunetomi).

The link connecting the five artists was their employment as illustrators for the Osaka Asahi Press. Their artistic styles were different from one another, and the block cutter, Ōkura Hambei, and printer, Nishimura Kumakichi, convey such contrasts as Nihofu's fondness for fine lines and subdued colors and the bright splashes of color in Rinsaku's and Kyūho's more sketch-like styles. The variety is appealing, and the series is a remarkably accomplished first venture for publisher Kanao Tanejirō, his artists, and indeed, for the developing *shin hanga* movement.

*Hanshin Meisho Zue* was not, however, a financial success. The artists were little known in Tokyo, and perhaps more importantly, the Osaka-Kobe area was considered by many Tokyo residents to be a remote and merely commercial center. Unsold print sets and the blocks themselves were destroyed in the fires that swept Tokyo following the great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. The print series fell into unjustified obscurity until C.H. Mitchell began to research it for his 1982 essay (see bibliography).

The other two *shin hanga* landscape series that began publication in 1917 were Shinsui's *Ōmi Hakkei* (Eight Views of the Lake Biwa Area) published by Watanabe Shōsaburō, and *Nihon Fūkei Hanga* (Japanese Landscape Prints) published by Nakajima Jūtarō. *Nihon Fūkei Hanga* was published in 10 series of five prints each by Ishii Hakutei, his younger brother Ishii Tsuruzō, Hirafuku Hyakusui, Morita Tsunetomo, Sakamoto Hanjirō and Kosugi Misei. The blocks for the prints were cut by Igami Bonkotsu. The series appeared at intervals from 1917 to 1920. Figure 45 shows Ōmori Station by Ishii Tsuruzō from the ninth series (1919). The format of the prints was significantly smaller than either the *Hanshin* or *Ōmi Hakkei* series at 24.8×18.2 cm. for vertical designs. The *Nihon Fūkei Hanga* artists had all been contributors to the landmark publication of *Hōsun* from 1907 to 1911. It is probably no accident that the print series began ten years after *Hōsun* had begun, and indeed, the smaller format may have reflected the artists' familiarity with graphic work for *Hōsun* and various "sketch-tour" books.



*Hanshin Meisho Zue* has now become recognised as the first *shin hanga* landscape print series. C.H. Mitchell dated the series 1916, based on the Taisho 5 date printed on the table of contents. At the time he was writing his essay I saw a partial set in the original folders, and could confirm that the last three folders (15 prints) appeared in 1917. This partial set is now in the Kansai University Library, Osaka. Mitchell's set, now in the Jack Hillier collection, Redhill, Surrey, was mounted in folding album format by the publisher, and did not contain a colophon. Recently, a complete set in folders has come to light, confirming May 1917 as the publication date of the first five prints.

As mentioned previously, sales of the *Hanshin* series were disappointing. Shinsui's *Ōmi Hakkei* prints seem to have been more successful, but Shinsui nevertheless turned away from landscape themes to his forte, paintings and prints of beautiful women. For Bunendō's Kanao Tanejirō and for Watanabe Shōsaborō, 1917 must have been a time for reflection on the future course of graphic art devoted to scenery. Watanabe's response was to seek out other artists for single-sheet prints. In 1918 Kawase Hasui made his first prints for Watanabe, followed by Yoshida Hiroshi in 1920. Watanabe, always a shrewd and perceptive businessman, recognised one of the important advantages of publishing landscape and genre prints as opposed to books: the interest of foreign customers. Contemporary books with many pages of Japanese text seemed repellant to foreigners, even if the graphic art was of high quality. Contemporary landscape prints, however, met with immediate acceptance by foreign collectors. Watanabe recognised this, and his business flourished.

Kanao Tanejirō's response was quite different. He had always been a bookman, and his next venture was not a print series, but *Shin Nihon Kembutsu* (1918), in many ways the most interesting of the "sketch-tour" books. The title means "Scenes of the New Japan". By this time, the Japanese Empire had already grown impressively, but the grim push toward all-out war in the Pacific was still years away. It seemed at the time, at least to Japanese eyes, that Japan might actually succeed in benevolently leading the rest of Asia into new political and economic development. *Shin Nihon Kembutsu* reflects this optimism. The book is divided into sections corresponding to parts of the "new" Japanese Empire: Taiwan, Karafuto (Sakhalin), Chosen (Korea), Manshū (Manchuria) and Seitō (Tsingtao). The artists are, respectively, Ishikawa Toraji, Yasuda Minoru, Nakazawa Hiromitsu and Nakagawa Hachirō (Nakagawa traveled to both Manchuria and Tsingtao).

Figures 46 to 53 give some indication of the stylistic range offered. Ishikawa Toraji (1875–1964) used a full range of bright colors in his Taiwan woodcuts, as in Figure 46. Figure 47 is a monochrome woodcut (in this case brown), one of several in the book. Such monochrome prints had the advantage of saving the publisher money,

while at the same time adding variety to the esthetic impact. Yasuda Minoru (dates unknown) has the freshest vision of any of the artists in the book. Using pale washes and the white of the paper itself to suggest the snows of Sakhalin, his figures are dressed in bold primary colors. The effect is to contrast the dynamic activity of the people with the snowy landscape (see Figures 48 and 49).

Hiromitsu was the most widely published artist in the “sketch-tour” genre. His wry humor shows in Figure 50, a Korean scholar eating fruit. This is one of the “economical” prints in the book, with just a few touches of color. Figure 51, by contrast, is a minor masterpiece of subtle color printing dominated by tones of brown in the dry Korean mountains and the thatched roofs of the village houses. Figures 52 and 53 show scenes of Tsingtao by Nakagawa Hachirō (1877–1922).

*Shin Nihon Kembutsu* contains a total of 60 woodcuts. The blockcutter was Okada Seijirō, the printer, Nishimura Kumakichi, the same artisans who produced the *Shina Taikan* woodcuts.

The Tōkaidō Highway had changed greatly by 1920. Horse-drawn omnibuses carried tourists down many stretches. Rail travel had long since omitted the necessity of travel by the old highway, and people walking the Tōkaidō diminished yearly. Mizushima Nihofu (1884– ?), one of the artists of the *Hanshin Meisho Zue*, was involved in two Tōkaidō projects in 1920. He was by profession a cartoonist, known especially for his baseball cartoons in the Osaka Asahi News. Cartooning was in a golden age at the time, and the connections between *haiga* painting and cartoons were sometimes very close. In 1920 a group of cartoonists, including Nihofu, Maekawa Sempan and Okamoto Ippei, painted a series of 55 paintings mounted as *makimono*, known as the *Tōkaidō Gojusantsugi Manga E-maki*. (Cartoon Handscrolls of the 53 Stages of the Tōkaidō).

The other project was a “sketch-tour” book for Bunendō, *Tōkaidō Gojusantsugi/ Setonaikai*. “Setonaikai” is the Inland Sea. Nihofu wrote the text for the book as well as illustrating it. Figures 54 and 55 demonstrate how effectively Nihofu could use the small format. The book, hardbacked, measures 19.2×12.5 cm, more or less postcard size. Figure 54 shows the whirlpools of the Naruto Straits, and Figure 55, a woman walking the Tōkaidō alone by lanternlight. The orange glow of the lantern is the only bright color on the print. The book contains 29 color woodcuts and 49 line illustrations. Nihofu’s travel journal text is further embellished with cartoons and light-hearted dialogue.

It was noted that the two volumes of *Shina Taikan* (Figs. 40 and 41) contained 50 color woodcuts. In 1922 Bunendō published *Nihon Taikan*, a series of 50 single-sheet prints illustrated by Nakazawa Hiromitsu. Kanao Tanejirō was strongly responding to the challenge of Watanabe’s Hasui and Yoshida Hiroshi prints with the most

ambitious of all the *shin hanga* landscape series. Fifty color woodcuts was a financial as well as esthetic challenge. The ambitious title, meaning something like “A Compendium of Japan”, is a bit misleading. There are prints of Miyakejima (Hiroshima), Nagoya, the then new *sumo* arena in Tokyo and so on, but most of the prints center on the Kansai area, especially Kyoto and Nara. Figure 56 shows a scene in Nara. As with the book illustrations of *Shina Taikan* and *Shin Nihon Kembutsu*, the woodblocks for the *Nihon Taikan* prints were cut by Okada Seijirō and the printing was by Nishimura Kumakichi.

On September 1, 1923, Tokyo was devastated by the great Kanto Earthquake and the fires that followed it. The print studios of Watanabe Shōsaburō, Kanao Tanejirō and others were destroyed. Watanabe was offered immediate financial assistance from several foreign collectors and dealers, and quickly re-established his studio. Kanao Tanejirō had not cultivated foreign clientele and had to fend for himself. Unsold sets of *Hanshin Meisho Zue* and *Nihon Taikan* prints, along with their woodblocks, were lost, and eventually the Bunendō studio was forced to move back to Osaka where Kanao Tanejirō scaled down his involvement in the increasingly expensive business of publishing woodcut prints and book illustrations.

There is growing popular interest in the graphic art of 20th century Japan, both within and outside Japan. Scholarship is following, but the influence of book illustration on print development has been sorely neglected. Ono Tadashige is the only Japanese scholar known to me who has consistently shown an awareness of the interplay between book illustration and prints, but his interest is mainly in *sōsaku hanga* developments. In the West, three important recent museum shows have had wide influence through the excellent catalogs accompanying the shows. Cornell University’s *Imperial Japan: The Art of the Meiji Era* (catalog by Frederick Baekeland, 1980) was the first of these. The British Museum’s *The Japanese Print Since 1900: Old Dreams and New Visions* (catalog by Lawrence Smith, 1983) and the Portland Museum’s *Images of a Changing World: Japanese Prints of the Twentieth Century* (catalog by Donald Jenkins, et al., 1983) were the second and third. Baekeland, Smith and Jenkins all show an awareness of the importance of the role of book and magazine illustration in Japanese graphic art, but lacked a wide enough range of material for a proper assessment.

The graphic art included in this essay is intended to expand on this published material, especially by focusing on book illustrations. Between the 1890s and 1916, surprisingly few original single sheet prints were produced in Japan. The incubation period for the next burst of print activity was concealed, as it were, in book and magazine illustration. Changes in esthetic purpose, in technique and vision were given time to ripen. Even some of the less well known ventures played important roles in this development. The “sketch-tour” books were especially vital in giving artists, publishers

and artisans opportunities to develop fresh approaches. But book illustrations are much more than a breeding ground for single sheet prints. Hopefully the numerous examples illustrated here give evidence of the fervent activity and rich diversity of book illustrations of the period.

### Notes on the illustrations

<i>Figure(s)</i>	<i>Artist</i>	<i>Book, album or print description.</i>
1, 25	Ōta Saburō (1884–1957)	From the hardbacked book <i>Hikobae</i> (ひこばえ).
26		Tokyo, Meiji 44 (1911)
2	Ishii Hakutei (1882–1958)	From the magazine <i>Hōsun</i> (方寸). Vol. III, No. 8, the “Asakusa” number. Tokyo, November, Meiji 42 (1909)
3	Taniguchi Kōkyō (1864–1915)	From the folding album <i>Heian Meisho</i> (平安名勝). Kyoto, Meiji 33 (1900)
4, 13	Nakazawa Hiromitsu (1874–1964)	Tipped-in prints from <i>Gojusantsugi ‘Suketchi’</i> (五十三次すけっち). Tokyo, Meiji 38 (1905)
5, 42	Akamatsu Rinsaku (1878–1953)	} Prints from <i>Hanshin Meisho Zue</i> (阪神名所図絵).
43, 44	Hata Tsuneharu (1883–?)	
6	Okajima Seikō (1828–1877)	{Tokyo, Taisho 6 (1917)
7	Okuhara Seikō (1837–1913)	From the book <i>Yamashiro Meisho Fūgetsu Shū</i> (山城名画風月集). 2 vols. Kyoto, Meiji 18 (1885)
8	Kubota Beisen (1852–1906)	From the book <i>Bokusui Sanjukkei Shi</i> (墨水三十景詩). 2 vols. Tokyo, Meiji 19 (1886)
9	“ “	From the book <i>Beisen Manyū Gajō</i> (米隱漫遊画勝). 2 vols. Tokyo, Meiji 22 (1889)
10	Morikawa Sōbun (1847–1902)	From the book <i>Bijitsu-hin Gafu</i> (乘美術品画譜). 4 vols. Tokyo, Meiji 26–7 (1893–4)
11	Kōno Bairei (1844–1895)	From the folding album <i>Miyako Meisho Nijūgo-kei</i> (都名所二十五景). Kyoto, Meiji 28 (1895)
12	Mitsutani Kunishirō (1874–1936)	From the folding album series <i>Bairei Gakan</i> (梅嶺画鑑). 7 vols. Kyoto, Meiji 36 (1903)
14, 15	Asai Chū (1856–1907)	From the hardbacked book <i>Shiratama Hime</i> (志ら玉姫). Tokyo, Meiji 38 (1905)
18, 19	Okano Sakae (1880–1940)	From the book <i>Tōsei Fūzoku Gojuban Uta-awase</i> (当世風俗五十番歌合). 2 vols. Tokyo, Meiji 40 (1907)
20		From the hardbacked back book series <i>Nihon Meisho Shasei Kikō</i> (日本名勝写生紀行). 5 vols. Tokyo, Meiji 39–Taisho 1 (1906–1912)
16	Morita Tsunetomo (1881–1933)	} From the booklet <i>Hōsun Egoyomi</i> (方寸画曆).
17	Yamamoto Kanae (1882–1946)	
21	Kosugi Misei (1881–1964)	} From the hardbacked book <i>Setonaikai Shasei Isshū</i> (瀬戸内海写生 週) Tokyo, Meiji 44 (1911)
22	Mitsutani Kunishirō (1874–1936)	
23, 24	Yoshida Hiroshi (1876–1950)	
27, 28	Ōta Saburō	

- 29, 30, Nakazawa Hiromitsu  
31 From the hardbacked book *Kinai Kembutsu* (織内見物).  
3 vols. Tokyo, Meiji 44-45 (1911-1912).
- 32 Kosugi Misei  
33 Mitsutani Kunishirō }  
34, 35 Oka Rakuya (dates unknown) }  
36, 39 Tomita Keisen (1879-1936) }  
37 Shimomura Izan (1865-1949) }  
38 Hirafuku Hyakusui (1877-1933) }  
40, 41 Fukuda Bisen (1875-1963) }  
From the hardbacked book *Bungei Chiri Tōkaidō*  
*Gojusantsugi* (文芸地理, 東海道五十三次) Tokyo,  
Meiji 44 (1911)
- 45 Ishii Tsuruzō (1887-1973) }  
From the book *Gendai Haiga Shū* (現代俳画集).  
4 vols. Tokyo, Taisho 4-6 (1915-1917)
- 46, 47 Ishikawa Toraji (1875-1964) }  
48, 49 Yasuda Minoru (dates unknown) }  
50, 51 Nakazawa Hiromitsu }  
52, 53 Nakagawa Hachirō (1877-1922) }  
54, 55 Mizushima Nihofu (1884- ? ) }  
From the hardbacked book *Shina Taikan* (支那大観).  
2 vols. Tokyo, Taisho 5 (1916)
- 56 Nakazawa Hiromitsu }  
From the 9th series (1919) of *Nihon Fūkei Hanga*  
(日本風景版画) Tokyo, Taisho 6-9 (1917-1920)
- From the hardbacked book *Shin Nihon Kembutsu*  
(新日本見物) Tokyo, Taisho 7, (1918)
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*Setonaikai* (東海道五十三次 瀬戸内海) Tokyo, Taisho 9  
(1920)
- From the print series *Nihon Taikan* (日本大観)  
Tokyo, Taisho 11, (1922)

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