

[論文]

Charles Appleton Longfellow's Observations of the Ainu People in 1871

An examination of Longfellow's journals and letters in comparison with the contemporary writings of Raphael Pumpelly and referencing the works of Isabella Bird and Edward Morse

Julie Joy Nootbaar

大分県立芸術文化短期大学

研究紀要 第54巻

2017年3月

[論 文]

Charles Appleton Longfellow's Observations of the Ainu People in 1871

An examination of Longfellow's journals and letters in comparison with the contemporary writings of Raphael Pumpelly and referencing the works of Isabella Bird and Edward Morse

Julie Joy Nootbaar

Abstract. Charles Appleton Longfellow, son of the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, traveled to early Meiji Japan in 1871 and stayed there for twenty months. During this time, he was invited on an expedition to Hokkaido and into the territory of the native Ainu people, a region off-limits to foreign travelers at this time, where he stayed for five weeks, including fifteen days in Ainu territory. His observations of the Ainu people and their language and customs contained in his journals and letters and published over a century later in 1998 in *Charles Appleton Longfellow: Twenty Months in Japan, 1871-1873* by Christine Wallace Laidlaw, while brief and not meant for publication, offer some insight into contemporary Euro-American understanding of these native peoples. This paper examines his description of the Ainu people, their tattoos, their speaking and singing, and their salutations, in comparison to the account by Raphael Pumpelly who was in Hokkaido in 1862-3, and referencing the well-known writings of Isabella Bird and Edward Morse, who traveled separately to Hokkaido in 1878, to show the significance of Charley Longfellow's observations of the Ainu people in 1871.

Charles Appleton Longfellow, son of the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, arrived in Japan on June 25th, 1871, for what was to become a twenty month sojourn, his first of two extended visits. Being a young, wealthy playboy with no plan or purpose for his visit other than adventure and enjoyment, Charley's status as the son of the famous poet, and the introductions that came along with this, led him to some experiences which would not have been possible to other Euro-American travelers to early Meiji Japan. Among these experiences was a journey into the interior of Hokkaido, known then as "Yesso" or "Yezo", away from the treaty port of Hakodate and beyond the limits of travel officially permitted by the Meiji Government. This twenty-day trek took place during a five week stay in Hokkaido from September 8th to October 12th, 1871, and included fifteen days in Ainu territory. His record of his travels there can be considered significant not only for its early date in relation to the travel restrictions placed upon foreigners

and the current state of efforts of the Japanese Government to pioneer the island of Hokkaido, but also for his observations as neither a specialist nor as a writer documenting his travels for public or even private publication. In fact, his journals, photographs, and related letters “remained virtually unknown for a century and a quarter”¹ until they were finally published in 1998 in *Charles Appleton Longfellow: Twenty Months in Japan* by Christine Wallace Laidlaw.

This paper will examine Longfellow’s record of his encounters with Ainu people during his twenty-day journey into away from the treaty port of Hakodate and including fifteen days in Ainu territory, as it compares to the account of Raphael Pumpelly, a mineralogist and mining engineer who had traveled into Ainu country nine years earlier. Pumpelly published *Across America and Asia* in 1869, the Japan section of which includes an account his pre-Meiji expedition to Hokkaido in 1862–3 with his partner W.P. Blake at the invitation of the Tokugawa Bakufu to do a geological and mining survey as part of the country’s efforts to modernize. Pumpelly’s account serves as a good point of comparison to Charley Longfellow’s not only because of the similar time period during which they traveled, but also because is known that Pumpelly was acquainted with Henry W. Longfellow, and that his son Charley would likely have heard directly from Pumpelly himself about the latter’s travels in detail firsthand before setting off on his journey to Japan. Pumpelly “met Henry Longfellow in 1865 and became a professor at Harvard in 1866. Pumpelly’s account of his travels around the world, *Across America and Asia*, was read in the Longfellow house.”²

Although Raphael Pumpelly’s purpose for being in Japan was scientific, *Across America and Asia* is a general account of Japan and its people, customs, culture, and religion. It is considered to be one of the most thorough introductions to Japan of the early Meiji Period, and one of the few which include a description of Ainu country and its people in Hokkaido. Taking place only nine years after Pumpelly’s journey in 1862–3 and two years after the publication of *Across America and Asia* in 1869, Charley Longfellow’s journey into the Hokkaido outback in 1871 took him farther into Ainu country, and his account includes greater detail in its descriptions of the Ainu people and villages he encountered. However, because it was not published at the time, any significant observations or exchanges Longfellow may have had were not revealed until more than a century later. Reference in this paper will also be made to two later and better-known Meiji accounts of the Ainu, Edward Morse in *Japan Day by Day* (date of travel: 1878, date of publication: 1917) and Isabella Bird in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (date of travel: 1878, date of publication: 1880), in an attempt to determine the significance of Charley Longfellow’s account of his observations of the Ainu.

¹ Laidlaw, 1998:9

² *Ibid*:6

Having only arrived in Japan on June 25th, 1871, Longfellow was invited to participate in the Hokkaido expedition by Charles De Long, the American Minister to Japan, according to a letter to his sister Alice, dated August 3rd of that year:

Mr. De Long asked me the other day if I would go with him to Hakodate by sea, into the interior of Yesso a little, and then cross over to the northern shore of Nippon and march across country to Yedo. No Westerner has ever done this, and you can bet I said yes. There are hundreds of fellows who would give their old boots to do this, but my luck had got me into it without asking.³

While the interior of Hokkaido was, in fact, off-limits to foreign travel during this period, it is not true that, “No Westerner [had] ever done this.” In fact, mining engineer Raphael Pumpelly was one of a small number of Westerners who had, in fact, traveled beyond the Treaty Port of Hakodate, when in 1862, as an invited guest of the Tokugawa Bakufu before the 1868 Meiji Restoration, he and his partner W.P. Blake surveyed regions outside Hakodate. However, it is true that Longfellow's expedition took him farther into the interior than Pumpelly, who was able to explore mainly only the Oshima Peninsula before being released by the Bakufu and sent back to the U.S. nine years earlier. He may also have been referring to his trip to Ainu country on the northern island of Hokkaido and then over land down the main island of Honshu back to Tokyo (Yedo), though it is likely he was mainly exaggerating to impress his sister in a private letter. In contrast to Pumpelly, who was a scientist in Japan on assignment and publishing a book as an accurate portrayal of the country he visited, it is clear that Longfellow was in to Japan to have a good time and experience some wild adventure, and was not writing his journals or letters for future publication.

Although the purpose of Minister De Long's journey to the treaty port of Hakodate was, according to Longfellow, to look into a legal affair to between Americans who were residing there, it remains unclear what Longfellow's official capacity was. However, De Long had appointed him “acting secretary of the Hawaiian mission,”⁴ despite having no actual connection to Hawaii, and he had in this capacity accompanied the Minister to an audience with the Emperor of Japan in Tokyo on August 14th. In Hakodate, Longfellow makes a brief mention of visiting “one of our subjects who was in port—namely a small Hawaiian bark named the Mauna Loa,”⁵ and signed his letter dated September 13th, 1871 to his sister Edie, “Act. Sec. U.S. & Hawaiian legations (how is dat for high?).”⁶ He was therefore, ostensibly traveling in Hokkaido together

³ *Ibid*:31

⁴ *Ibid*:33

⁵ *Ibid*:46-7

⁶ *Ibid*:51

with the U.S. Minister in his capacity as a delegate from Hawaii. Their purpose for traveling away from Hakodate into the interior, while clearly official in some capacity as their party included “six guards armed with Spencer carbines, two officers and the interpreter,”⁷ is not made clear by Longfellow either before, during, or after the expedition. Nevertheless, he tells his sister in an August 14th letter that, “we leave here on the 1st of September for Hakodate and shall be gone over a month.”⁸

Longfellow actually departed Yokohama with Minister De Long and their party on the Pacific Mail Steamship Company steamer Ariel on September 5th, 1871, and arrived in Hakodate three days later on the 8th. After eight days spent in the Treaty Port of Hakodate, they departed for the interior on September 16th. Their route took them from Hakodate past Komagatake to the coast at Washinoki, then around Uchiura Bay through Oshamambe and Rebunge to Muroran and then to Horobets, Shiraoi and Yubuts. From Yubuts, they headed to Sapporo via Chitose, then went through Shinotsu to Ishikari and along the coast to Otaru. From Otaru, they followed the coast to Yoichi, then headed to Iwanai, Odazuts, down to Oshamambe, then back along their original route to Hakodate⁹, returning on October 5th, with “fifteen days in Ainu country and two deer hunting with them.”¹⁰ Along the way, his journals and letters remark primarily on three areas of interest: His personal experiences during his travels, including how they traveled and where they slept and ate, as well as the treatment they received by the locals, both Japanese and Ainu; the natural surroundings of Hokkaido; and his encounters and interactions with the Ainu people themselves.

Raphael Pumpelly and his partner, W.P. Blake, in their first expedition afield from Hakodate, traveled around the Oshima Peninsula, from Hakodate to Shkabe on Volcano Bay, down to Kakumi, Wosatsube, Totokoke, Kobi, Netanai, then back to Hakodate. On their second expedition, they traveled north from Hakodate to Washinoki, Otoshibetz, Yurup, Kunnui, Toshibetz, Odaszu, Isoya, Yunonai, Iwanai, Iwaounobori, Ousubetz, Kumaishi, and back through Yurup down to Hakodate. Shortly thereafter, the political situation led to them being suddenly released from employment and sent out of Japan. Pumpelly, being a minerologist and mining engineer employed by the Bakufu to find resources and develop the mining industry, focused primarily on natural and geological features, mining prospects, and comments on current mining conditions. However, he also made detailed observations on his travels and the Ainu villages and people he encountered, and so make for good comparison with Longfellow’s account nine years later. This paper will focus on descriptions of the Ainu people and their customs, as described in

⁷ *Ibid*:58

⁸ *Ibid*:36

⁹ All place names given as stated in the original texts.

¹⁰ Laidlaw, 1998:75

Longfellow's journals and letters published in *Charles Appleton Longfellow: Twenty Months in Japan, 1871-1873*, and compared with Pumpelly's *Across America and Asia*.

Longfellow's record of his journey into Ainu country begins with a journal entry dated September 16th, 1871, and his first mention of encountering Ainu people was two days later, on the way from Washinoki to Oshamambe: "Passing by an Ainu village named Yurap¹¹ of some thirty houses, we left the column and galloped in among the houses to have a nearer view of these queer people—much to the dismay of the women who either ran away or crouched down, covering their mouths and uttering a peculiar low wailing sound."¹² His account goes on to describe the Ainu people in objective detail, including an especially long passage describing Ainu women:

All that we have seen were strongly built, with thick black hair cut as to show the back of the neck, but nearly a foot long on the sides and curving forward—so that looking at one of these women sideways, you would only see a small piece of forehead. They have a large pointed moustache tattooed around their lips, the lower as well as the upper, and a tattooed line connects their eyebrows. If it were not for their false moustache, some of the girls would be almost pretty, as they have fine dark eyes with long lashes. But the rest of the face is heavy as a rule, with a flat pug nose. This tattooing is done when they are about fourteen years old. They also have their arms and the backs of their hands mutilated in the same way. With them it is cut in with a knife, instead of being pricked in with needles as is the usual way. Their bodies are not very hairy, only a little growing between their bosoms, down their backs, and on their legs.¹³

In contrast, Pumpelly, who also first encountered the Ainu people at Yurap (Yurup) only gives one sentence to describing Ainu women in particular: "The women are short, tattoo their chins, and wear large earrings."¹⁴

Longfellow's description of the Ainu men and women he encountered in Yurap in 1871 includes greater details than that of Pumpelly in 1862, inferring his deep interest in the people of Japan, especially women, which is evident throughout his letters and journals, and can be considered significant in contemporary Western knowledge of the Ainu. His description of the tattoos on the women, barely mentioned by Pumpelly, indicates his interest in the subject, as we know he was tattooed before he went to Japan, and then extensively tattooed in Japan later in his stay. In fact, in another encounter with some Ainu people in Horobets, Longfellow shows his tattoo

¹¹ Yurap or Yurup is located in present day Yakumo Town on the coast of Volcano Bay.

¹² Laidlaw, 1998:61-2

¹³ *Ibid*:62

¹⁴ Pumpelly, 1869:171

to young women, indicating both his interest in women and tattoos: “...Until we cornered two bright-eyed girls about eighteen. A friend of theirs and some children that had been scampering away from us, seeing that the two captives were not being eaten, gradually approached and we had quite a talk with them. They were very much amused when I showed them the tattooing on my arm and admired it much, it being so much better than their own crude work. We made them a present of a bu each, having nothing else with us, and parted very good friends.”¹⁵

Pumpelly’s comment on Ainu women in comparison is remarkable in contrast to Longfellow’s because of its brevity, as the tattooing of Ainu females was of particular anthropological interest not only to tattooed Longfellow, but also to many early Euro-American visitors to Hokkaido, including Edward Morse in *Japan Day by Day* (1917), who was in Hokkaido in July 1878, and Isabella Bird in her account of her stay in Ainu country in August of the same year in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880). Both Morse and Bird commented on the tattooing of Ainu women, with Morse including a drawing of a facial tattoo and Bird including a drawing of a hand/arm tattoo and giving detailed descriptions of the tattooing customs among Ainu women. It is possible that Pumpelly encountered fewer Ainu women in his travels, having taken place under different circumstances and nearly a decade earlier, as well as his focus being on the land more than the people. Therefore, Longfellow’s detailed description of the tattooing, not only on the chin as Pumpelly described, but around both the upper and lower lips as well as across the eyebrows, offers unique insight not otherwise shared until later accounts including those of Morse and Bird. His candid exchange with two eighteen year old girls and some younger children gives the reader another glimpse into his carefree way of interacting with the native people perhaps not shared by other visitors to early Meiji Japan. Even Bird, who took great interest in the domestic affairs of the Ainu, kept her description of the people to an objective observational level with interactions made through interviews rather than casual encounters.

Pumpelly describes the Ainu people he met in Yurap as follows:

They are of medium stature, and tolerable strong and compact build. The face is broad, the forehead rather low, the nose short and oftener slightly concave, in profile, than straight. The eyes differ decidedly from the Mongolian type in shape, and are black. Their color is perhaps a little darker than that of the Japanese; the smallest children are white.

But the most remarkable characteristic of this people, in which they differ from all other races of Eastern Asia, is the luxuriant growth of their hair, which is straight, long, and glossy. The men have heavy beards of great length, and moustaches of such dimensions that

¹⁵ Laidlaw, 1998:69

they form a curtain that has to be raised to gain access to the mouth in eating. The whole body is more hairy than in other races.¹⁶

Compare this to Longfellow's description of the Ainu he encountered in the same village nine years later:

But the men are very different, many being almost covered with hair. But I have taken a great fancy to them with their long unkempt hair and beards, and often very fine faces—though dirty. They, as well as the women, wear large silver earrings or a small ring to which is fastened a piece of red cloth. They often have on necklaces of glass beads, and one girl had one made of a strip of black cloth studded with American artillery buttons. They dress in a loose sort of coat made of wood fibre cloth, which they make themselves or in deer skins with the hair outside. Their knees are bare, but they wear leggings from the ankle to the knee.¹⁷

The general descriptions of the Ainu people by both Longfellow and Pumpelly are similar, except for the curious remark by Pumpelly on the young children being white. Longfellow, who wrote of interactions with Ainu children both in Yurap and in Horobets and passed through several other Ainu villages, said nothing of the sort; however, Morse does make one passing comment that the “children resemble very closely European children.”¹⁸ What is meant by these comments is not clarified. And while both Pumpelly and Longfellow remark on the long hair of both men and women, Longfellow frequently mentions the copious body hair, “even down the back bone,”¹⁹ with “many (men) being almost covered with hair,”²⁰ and one Ainu man in Yurap who “looked quite black from the amount of hair growing on him, except on his sides where it had been rubbed off by the friction of his arms.”²¹ Of an Ainu woman, he writes, “their bodies are not very hairy, only a little growing between their bosoms, down their backs, and on their legs.”²² He even states with authority that, “the name Ainu means hairy men in their language,”²³ though he gives no basis for this assumption. Pumpelly makes only one short comment on the hirsuteness of the Ainu, which is curious considering the attention this fact is given by Bird and other Euro-Americans who wrote about the Ainu. But being a scientist, Pumpelly does remark on the Ainu not being Mongolian and speculates that, “it is probable that they were the aborigines of the

¹⁶ Pumpelly, 1869:170-1

¹⁷ Laidlaw, 1998:62

¹⁸ Morse, Vol. II, 1917:20

¹⁹ Laidlaw, 1998:75

²⁰ *Ibid*:62

²¹ *Ibid*:64

²² *Ibid*:62

²³ *Ibid*:74

Empire,”²⁴ and that “it is not improbable that they represent a portion of the ante-Mongolian population of Eastern continental Asia, of whom the easternmost islands have become the last foothold.”²⁵ Being clearly neither a scientist nor a writer concerned with facts, Longfellow gives only a quick comment that, “the Ainus are a distinct race from the Japanese, but I can’t find out where they come from originally…” (elipses his)²⁶.

Longfellow’s description of the Ainu way of speaking and the sound of their voices deserves attention as it is not described in Pumpelly’s account. Pumpelly makes no mention of speaking to any Ainu people or ever hearing them speak, whereas Longfellow, who interacted with the Ainu on several occasions, describes the women as, “uttering a peculiar low wailing sound,”²⁷ and going on to say:

It was very funny to hear these girls speak, it sounding entirely different from any other language I ever heard. They have a peculiar way of drawing out the first syllable, and the tones of their voices were very subdued almost a wail at times—though their great black eyes and smiling faces as they said ‘a-a-a-a-pap,’ which is thank you in Ainu, showed they were not wailing much.²⁸

Even Isabella Bird, who in 1878 gave the most detailed account of the Ainu by a Euro-American in early Meiji, did not describe their language in the kind of imagery that Longfellow does. She lived among them, speaking with them through an interpreter, and made a 300-word list of words which she spelled out phonetically,²⁹ and she even tried speaking the language herself: “I got a number of words from them, and they laughed heartily at my erroneous pronunciation.”³⁰ Yet she made no mention of the actual sounds of the language the way Charley did. Morse, on the other hand, gives what could be corroboration to Longfellow’s observation on the “low wailing sound” and posits the possibility that: “In many things the evidence of Japanese contact could be seen: in the quavering voice in singing, in their dance, and in other behavior; or possibly the Japanese may have derived some of the features from the Ainu centuries ago when the Ainus occupied the whole country.”³¹ Longfellow’s description seven years earlier than Morse of an Ainu dance that was performed for them leads one to believe the latter of Morse’s theories, that the singing and dancing was native to the Ainu and not the reverse: “Some of their songs were pretty and sad.

²⁴ Pumpelly, 1869:171

²⁵ Pumpelly, 1869:172

²⁶ Laidlaw, 1998:64

²⁷ *Ibid*:62

²⁸ *Ibid*:69

²⁹ Bird, 1987:246

³⁰ *Ibid*:254

³¹ Morse, Vol.II, 1917:3

The dances were hopping about, beating hands, and making noises like young bears.”³²

Regarding the manners and customs in the greetings of the Ainu, Bird describes the Ainu people as being “a most courteous people among each other. The salutations are frequent—on entering a house, on leaving it, on meeting the road, on receiving anything from the hand of another, and on receiving a kind or complimentary speech.”³³ Pumpelly gives a similar laudatory description: “At present they are a mild, good-natured race, and the early European navigators in the Pacific found no terms too strong in praising the simple habits and virtues of this people.”³⁴ However, this observation appears to be based on earlier accounts of others more than his own limited interactions with the native peoples.

Longfellow, who, unlike Pumpelly, had several personal interactions with the Ainu, also writes of the people in complimentary terms as seeming “a very quiet, amiable people, not withstanding their wild looks,”³⁵ who greet each other very politely and formally, and who “were very respectful, and at every turn we found a small group who would salute in their fashion.”³⁶ Overall, Longfellow speaks of them more highly than he does of his Japanese escorts on the Hokkaido trek, at the end of which he writes: “I don't like the Japanese as much as I did. Now that I know them better, I find that they are liars, mean, and their heads are the opposite of being level—doing the most childish, and ridiculous things to look smart—and a great many imitating Europeans like monkeys.”³⁷

Both Pumpelly and Longfellow describe the Ainu's salutations in similar ways, with Pumpelly writing, “as we passed through the village we met several men who saluted in the Aino [Ainu] manner, by stroking their long beards and lowering their hands gracefully from their mouths.”³⁸ Longfellow wrote, “they kneel down and make motions with their hands as if throwing dirt on their heads, and then stroke their long beards.”³⁹ Both descriptions are similar to Bird, who wrote in 1878: “The common salutation consists in extending the hands and waving them inwards, once or oftener, and stroking the beard; the formal one in raising the hands with an inward curve to the level of the head two or three times, lowering them, and rubbing them together; the ceremony concluding with stroking the beard several times.”⁴⁰ Morse describes

³² Laidlaw, 1998:72

³³ Bird, 1987:284

³⁴ Pumpelly, 1869:171

³⁵ Laidlaw, 1998:62

³⁶ *Ibid*:64

³⁷ *Ibid*:76

³⁸ Pumpelly, 1869:171

³⁹ Laidlaw, 1998:62

⁴⁰ Bird, 1987:284

a similar greeting in 1878: “Old men sitting at the doorway would greet us with the peculiar gesture of raising both hands toward the face and then bringing them slowly down over the beard as if stroking it; as children make the same gesture, it has nothing to do with the beard. The woman’s salutation consists simply in slowly rubbing the side of her nose with the forefinger.”⁴¹ Longfellow does not mention the salutation of the women in his frequent mentions of interactions with Ainu women and girls, though it is possible that he didn’t notice the gesture of rubbing the side of the nose with the forefinger as being a form of salutation. It is also possible that since he appears to have approached the Ainu often in a more casual manner, especially women and children, he may not have noted a particular form of formal greeting.

Through this examination of Longfellow’s account of his interactions with and observations of the Ainu people in his letters and journals published in 1998 in *Charles Appleton Longfellow: Twenty Months in Japan* by Christine Wallace Laidlaw, in comparison with Raphael Pumpelly’s own observations contained in *Across America and Asia* and referencing Isabella Bird’s *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* as well as Edward Morse’s *Japan Day by Day*, it can be concluded that Longfellow’s writings include several topics of interest. First, his description of the Ainu people, both male and female, which indicate the closeness in proximity of his contact with the people during his travels. This contrasts with Pumpelly’s more general and scientific description, dictated not only by his interest as a scientist but also indicating limited actual contact with the Ainu people.

Next is Longfellow’s description of the tattooing on Ainu women, barely mentioned in Pumpelly’s account and confirmed by Bird and Morse in their later writings. Longfellow’s personal interest in tattoos, evidenced by his own tattoos received in the U.S. and more extensively in Japan, undoubtedly led him to this observation and detailed description. His unguarded interactions with the Ainu people, which led to the exchange in which he showed them his own tattoos, and his interest in women, as evidenced in many other parts of his writings, led him also to his detailed description of women’s speaking and voices. Pumpelly, nine years earlier in 1861–2, may not have had occasion to hear the Ainu speak or observe them in conversation or song, whereas Longfellow’s communications with the people in 1871 were such that he was able to note firsthand the sound of their voices as they spoke and sang. Bird, while having close contact with the Ainu and interviewed them extensively on their language seven years later in 1878, does not give details on the actual sounds as Longfellow did, and which was confirmed by Morse, also seven years after Longfellow.

Finally, the extent of Longfellow’s interactions and observations with Ainu people is confirmed by his comments on casual exchanges with women and children as well as more formal exchanges

⁴¹ Morse, Vol.II, 1917:29

with men, as well as his description of the Ainu salutations. Although not given in as much detail as Morse, his description matches closely with those of both Morse and Bird, giving credibility to his account of his observations and interactions with the Ainu people in 1871. This examination of the observations of the Ainu people by Charles Appleton Longfellow in his journals and letters published in Laidlaw's *Charles Appleton Longfellow: Twenty Months in Japan* (1998) shows the significance of his writings within the body of works by contemporary Euro-Americans in early Meiji Japan.

References

- Bird, Isabella. (1987). *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Guth, Christine M.E. (2004). *Longfellow's Tattoos*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Laidlaw, Christine Wallace. (1998). *Charles Appleton Longfellow: Twenty Months in Japan*. Cambridge: 1998.
- Morse, Edward Sylvester. (1917). *Japan Day by Day, 1877, 1878-79, 1882-83, Volume II*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Pumpelly, Raphael. (1870). *Across America and Asia*. New York: Leypoldt & Holt.
- チャールズ・A・ロングフェロー 山田久美子(訳). (2004). *ロングフェロー 日本滞在記*. 東京都: 株式会社平凡社.