

[研究ノート]

Notes on Current Research into Charles A. Longfellow in Meiji Japan: An Examination
into the Background Circumstances and Significance of the Travels of H.W.
Longfellow's Son to Late 19th Century Japan

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Abstract

These notes on current research into Charles A. Longfellow (1844–1893) in Meiji Japan reflect primarily the survey and analysis of Longfellow's journals which he kept during his travels to Japan and are now held in the archives of the Longfellow House in Cambridge, Massachusetts. These notes focus first on Charles's childhood and the Boston society in which he was brought up, including his life as the son of the poet and his relationship with his father and mother. Next, these notes explore how other influences around Charley, including the many prominent friends and acquaintances of his father Henry, such as friends Charles Sumner and Bayard Taylor, neighbor Richard Henry Dana, Jr., relative Rear Admiral George Henry Preble, and fellow Harvard Professor Raphael Pumpelly, may have had helped lead Charley to become interested in world travel and specifically travel to Japan. Finally, focus is placed on how Charley's standing as the son of the prominent Henry Longfellow may have shaped his experiences in Japan, and what can be learned through his candid account of his travels.

Charles Appleton Longfellow (1844–1893), son of the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, was a lifelong world traveler and adventurer who visited Japan three times, including an extended stay of twenty months in 1871–1873, soon after the opening of the country to the world and before the boom in travel to Japan really took off after in the second half of the 1870s and literally hundreds of travel accounts of Meiji Japan by Euro-Americans began to appear in publication. His sojourns in Japan were significant for several reasons, including his family background and upbringing, the influences that led to his interest in and travels to Japan, and the unique experiences he had there, which he recorded in his journals, notebooks, letters, and photographs, and left in his collections. From these published and unpublished documents

we can see that his three primary interests in Japan were women, adventure, and collecting, with an emphasis on making his experiences there authentic to him, and an examination of his background will provide clues as to where these interests came from and how he was able to realize them.

This paper focuses first on Charles's childhood and the Boston society in which he was brought up, including his life as the son of the poet and his relationship with his father and mother. Charley, as he was always known, was rambunctious and adventurous from his earliest days, and while his mother and father had great affection for him, they struggled with his discipline and education. However, although he was never diligent with book learning, he and his four siblings were raised to have a broad knowledge of the world and an active curiosity about it. Both his mother and father had traveled in Europe extensively and were committed to imparting their knowledge and interest in the world beyond Boston to their children. Charley's maternal uncle Thomas Gold Appleton also played a big role in fostering a love of travel and adventure in the Longfellow children. The mid-19th century was a time during which Japan was emerging from seclusion and becoming an object of curiosity among Americans, in particular New Englanders, who took a special interest in this still exotic and mysterious nation. This interest could be seen in the spheres of religion, literature, and art, all of which created a mood in New England society in which all things Japanese were popular.

Then, this paper explores how other influences around Charley, including the many prominent friends and acquaintances of his father Henry, such as friends Charles Sumner and Bayard Taylor, neighbor Richard Henry Dana, Jr., relative Rear Admiral George Henry Preble, and fellow Harvard Professor Raphael Pumpelly, may have had helped lead Charley to become interested in world travel and specifically travel to Japan. From the writings of these men can be gleaned particular snippets about Japan that may have piqued the interest of Charley, such as geisha culture and the so-called lascivious nature of Japanese women and their presumed immorality, as well as about the frontier of Hokkaido and the Ainu people. Although both are very different aspects of Japanese culture, they appeared to hold the greatest interest for Charley, satisfying his lust for pleasure and adventure.

Finally, focus is placed on how Charley's standing as the son of the prominent Henry Longfellow may have shaped his experiences in Japan, and what can be learned through his candid account of his travels. Doors were opened to Charley because of his family connections and wealth, including introductions to prominent Westerners in Japan at the time such as U.S. Minister to Japan Charles De Long and U.S. Consul Col. Shepard, as well as Japanese aristocracy such as the Prince of Tosa. It was through these connections that Charley was introduced to the pleasures of tea houses and brothels, while these same connections gave him the opportunity to do such extraordinary things such as have an audience with the Meiji Emperor and travel into

the Ainu country of Hokkaido.

Charles Appleton Longfellow, eldest of the five children of the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1844. From his earliest years, Charley was a rambunctious child, with an inquisitive nature and adventurous spirit. An entry from his father Henry's journal dated April 19th, 1846, when Charley was not yet two years old, describes Charley's character: "I had my darling Charley out walking. He always aims for the street and the largest freedom. He is already very fond of hearing stories, though he will not allow them to be read from a book. Improvised they must be, and instantly or he begins to kick."¹ An entry from his mother Fanny's journal dated January 5th, 1849 expresses her exasperation with the spirited nature of Charley at age five:

Charley very cross & violent, had finally to be punished by his papa. It breaks my heart to see these demonstrations of temper, thinking what pain it will give him in after life, but he has a very tender conscience & a very loving nature & is as angry with himself as with others, so I trust it will be easily subdued... He has no sulkiness fortunately - a flash & all is over.²

Letters which Fanny had written as 'Santa' also indicate the more rebellious side of Charley's nature being exasperating to his parents: From 1851, "Try to be kinder this year and more obedient to papa and mamma who love you very much and whom you love, too, I know;"³ (p.196) from an undated letter, "I want you to keep your heart clean of bad thoughts and secret thoughts and to tell your dear mamma and papa everything you do and think;" (p.197) and from 1853, "You have not been so obedient and gentle and kind and loving to your parents and little sister as I like to have you, and you have picked up some naughty words which I hope you will throw away as you would sour or bitter fruit." (p.198) But the most often cited example of Charley's untamable spirit is the time he shot himself and lost his thumb in 1856, of which Fanny wrote: "He bought the gun with money he had saved up, but Henry had told him only to use percussion-caps with it, but the temptation was too great - he yielded and was severely punished." (p.204)

Charley preferred to play actively outdoors, on his sled in the winter and at sea in the summer, and his love of the sea and of boats is often mentioned. One journal entry later that same month

¹ Journal of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Transcription - Draft for Researchers), (Longfellow House), 94.

² Fanny Appleton Longfellow, "Chronicles of the Children of Craigie Castle - Continued" (Manuscript, Revised March 8, 2007), (Longfellow House), 3.

³ Edward Wagenknecht, *Mrs. Longfellow: Selected Letters and Journals of Fanny Appleton Longfellow (1817-1861)*, (New York: Longman, Green and Co., 1956).

describes Charley's love of ships, as he plays indoors with his brother in the depth of winter: "There seems to be a natural love for ships in children, tho' what is there they do not love to rehearse. Charley turns his little table upside down & sits in the bottom, rowing with two sticks, having taken out the drawer, which [brother] Erny forthwith converts into a boat also, squatting inside it."⁴

When he was not active in play, he was also entertained by stories his mother would tell him about various adventures and faraway lands. Both his father and his mother had traveled extensively in Europe before their marriage; it was in fact in Europe that the two first met, and a love of travel and interest in the world was shared by both. They shared this interest with their five children, and were careful that they taught their children about faraway lands. In a journal entry dated October 29th, 1849, Fanny writes that five year old Charley and his younger brother Ernie, "both delight in geography as I teach it, making their finger ships sail to China for tea, to California for gold, to England to see Ronny, to Africa for monkeys, etc. Thus they get the products of the country & their relative positions very well" (p.14). And his curiosity is summed up well in another journal entry of that same year: "Charley said today looking at the Penny Magazine 'There are so many pictures I shall never see them all. I wish I had eyes all over my head.'" (p.11)

Charley's uncle, Thomas Gold Appleton (1812-1884), also had a great influence upon him growing up and well into adulthood. Appleton was his mother's brother, and remained unmarried throughout his life. He took a house in Cambridge near the Longfellows, and "Mrs. Longfellow's children... became a source of interest and enjoyment to their uncle; his strong affection for their mother, and their own development, were binding them closely to him."⁵ In 1853 Appleton and Henry bought a vacation home together in Nahant, which was a favorite place for himself as well as the young Charley, who shared his uncle's love of sailing and traveling. There the Longfellow children, and Charley in particular, spent much time with their adventurous bachelor uncle, playing in the sea and listening to stories about his many travels, "during which he visited many lands, became familiar with the languages, picture-galleries, and scenery of Europe."⁶ When Charley was twenty-one, "in 1866, to satisfy his own fondness for sailing, and to indulge the same taste in his nephews and nieces, Mr. Appleton gave orders for the building of a yacht,"⁷ which he named the Alice after Charley's younger sister. "When the Alice was finished,

⁴ Fanny Appleton Longfellow, "Chronicles of the Children of Craigie Castle - Continued" (Manuscript, Revised March 8, 2007), (Longfellow House), 6.

⁵ Susan Hale, *Life and Letters of Thomas Gold Appleton*, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1885), 289.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 289.

the young people, whose pleasure it was built to serve, were seized with a desire to cross the Atlantic in it. Mr. Appleton was still young enough to sympathize with this longing, and his consent was soon obtained.”⁸ It was on this yacht that Charley, having returned wounded after running away to fight in the Civil War, first seriously took to the sea. Although Appleton himself never traveled to Japan, he “collected Japanese art in the 1860s and early 1870s... (and) may have been inspired by the example of his close friend, William Morris Hunt, who was one of the earliest Boston collectors of Japanese art.”⁹ As well, one of Appleton’s “small circle of intimate friends,” a William Allen Gay, went to Japan in 1869,¹⁰ and would have had stories to share about his travels there.

The children also benefitted from their father’s connections within the academic and intellectual community in New England and particularly the Boston area, as he often entertained prominent figures at his home, where conversations and discussions were known to have lasted long into the night. One of Henry’s close friends was Charles Sumner (1811–1874), the Massachusetts Senator and Free-Soil Party member who had studied in Europe from 1837 to 1840 and traveled there extensively afterward. While Henry and Sumner shared an active involvement in the abolitionist movement, they also had a common interest in European languages and society, and one of Fanny’s journal entries dated 1857 suggests the family’s interest in stories from his travels: “We have greatly enjoyed welcoming Sumner back again... He has dined twice with us and comes again today... He gives us most interesting accounts of his travels and his glimpses of society which are certainly beyond any granted to any American before”¹¹. Undoubtedly the curious and adventurous-spirited young Charley would have listened captively to these stories as he heard them.

Bayard Taylor (1825–1878) was another acquaintance of Henry’s who must have had interesting and exciting stories to tell on his visits to the Longfellow House. Taylor was a travel writer, poet, and diplomat. Henry and Taylor socialized within Boston circles, and Henry entertained Taylor numerous times in his home, as evidenced by letters authored by both men, including a supper in 1858¹², at which Taylor may have entertained the Longfellow family with tales of his travels during the years 1848 to 1853 when he went to California and Mexico, to Egypt and

⁸ Ibid., 326.

⁹ Christine Wallace Laidlaw, *Charles Appleton Longfellow: Twenty Months in Japan, 1871–1873*, (Cambridge: Friends of the Longfellow House, 1998), 6.

¹⁰ Ibid., 326.

¹¹ Edward Wagenknecht, *Mrs. Longfellow: Selected Letters and Journals of Fanny Appleton Longfellow (1817–1861)*, (New York: Longman, Green and Co., 1956), 204.

¹² Andrew Hilen, ed., *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Volume IV 1857–1865*, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1972), 108.

down the Nile to Central Africa, to Palestine, Asia Minor, Sicily and Spain, and a journey from England to India to China, where he joined Commodore Perry's first expedition to Japan in 1853. His books *A Journey to Central Africa: or, Life and Landscapes from the Negro Kingdoms of the Nile; with a Map and Illustrations by the Author* and *The Land of the Saracens: or, Pictures of Palestine, Asia Minor, Sicily, and Spain* were both published in 1854. A letter from Henry to Taylor dated October 4th, 1854 states, "Many thanks for your kind remembrance and the "Journey to Central Africa," which we are reading with great interest and pleasure... I am charmed with your drawings. Can I have one of the original sketches, or a copy by your hand?"¹³ In response, Taylor writes, "I shall be most happy to furnish you with one of my sketches... I have one representing my boat descending the White Nile just at the point where I heard the hyenas and saw the river-horses, which suggested the stanza from your poem..."¹⁴ indicating the closeness of their friendship and the high regard they had for each other, as well as their common enthusiasm for world adventures. *A Visit to India, China, and Japan in the Year 1853* was published the following year, in 1855, and a well-worn copy of Taylor's *Cyclopaedia of Modern Travel* (1856) remains in the Longfellow House today, so it is possible that this and his other published accounts of these journeys were also read to the five wide-eyed children of Henry and Fanny, most especially Charley.

In 1860 we have our first proof of a fifteen year old Charley's interest in Japan, in the form of a cartoon he copied from the December 18th issue of *Harper's Weekly*.¹⁵ The cartoon is titled "Japanese Manners," and shows a bevy of women waiting upon a gentleman reclined on a chaise. The caption reads:

The traveler, wearied with the noonday heat, need never be at a loss to find rest and refreshment; stretched upon the softest and cleanest of matting imbibing the most delicately-flavored tea, inhaling through a short pipe the fragrant tobacco of Japan, he resigns himself to the ministrations of a bevy of fair damsels, who glide rapidly and noiselessly about, the most zealous and skillful of attendants.—

From a Letter from Japan

And by all means let us have Japanese manners and customs here.

One cannot help but wonder if the subject matter of this cartoon, which Charley had sketched at age fifteen, was already on his mind at the time, through stories he had read or heard, but clearly being pampered by Japanese women became an important theme in his lifestyle during his

¹³ Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace B. Scudder, *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884), 289-90.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 290.

¹⁵ From a sketchbook in the Longfellow House Archives.

travels there.

Although Japan did not end up being Charley's first travel adventure, it was very much a popular topic of interest in New England during the years when Charley was growing up. Commodore Perry and his army of black ships officially forced the long-secluded nation of Japan to open its doors to trade on March 31st, 1854, when Charley was not quite ten years old. Together with additional treaties signed in 1858, this opened up trade with the "Five Nations" of the United States, Russia, France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, and the craze for all things Japanese began. But long before this, "through its great ports of Salem and Boston, Nantucket and New Bedford, New England had sent merchant ships and whaling ships into Asian waters - past Java and Japan, and on to Shanghai and Calcutta - since the late eighteenth century."¹⁶ This contact with Japanese fishing vessels, both shipwrecked and at sea, brought tales of this foreign land back to New England, along with "exotic curiosities - fans and furnishings, swords and screens, seashells and bamboo"¹⁷, which adorned the houses of the sea captains and their well-to-do families and friends. Sea-farers' and whalers' contact with the Japanese also found its way into the literature of the time, most notably with the 1851 publication of *Moby Dick*, by Herman Melville, who drew on many of his own experiences at sea in writing what is known as one of the Great American Novels: "For Melville both the great white whale in *Moby Dick* and Japan itself possessed a powerful but enigmatic beauty, still unexplored and unknown."¹⁸

Asia had also entered the spiritual minds of New Englanders of the day, with Hinduism and Buddhism gaining popularity amongst the Boston elites, artists, and intellectuals, particularly the Zen Buddhism of Japan. "(Ralph Waldo) Emerson and his disciple (Henry David) Thoreau had looked to the Asian religions of Hinduism and Buddhism for sustenance as early as the 1840s."¹⁹ Emerson, leader of the Transcendentalist movement of the mid-nineteenth century was a close acquaintance of Charley's father, Henry, and both men were deeply involved in the discussion on religion and spirituality at the time. In the years between 1848 and 1854 there are several letters from Henry Longfellow to Emerson, indicating that they often socialized and that Emerson was a guest in the Longfellow House.²⁰ Euro-American interest in Eastern philosophies brought about a related interest in Asian arts and culture, and while the term 'Japonisme' was

¹⁶ Christopher Benfey, *The Great Wave: Gilded Age Misfits, Japanese Eccentrics, and the Opening of Old Japan*, (New York: Random House, 2003), xi.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, xii.

¹⁸ Lionel Lambourne, *Japonism: Cultural Crossings between Japan and the West*, (London: Phaidon Press, 2005), 170.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Andrew Hilen, ed., *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Volume IV 1857-1865*, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1972).

not coined until 1872 by French author and collector Philippe Burty, “the West’s love affair (with Japan) had been slowly growing for two centuries before it finally blossomed after 1858.”²¹ By the second half of the 19th century a decidedly Oriental and particularly Japanese taste had been brought into many of the homes of wealthy and intellectual European and American families through art and décor, literature, and religious philosophy.

As a result, Japanese culture had already whetted the curiosity and permeated the minds of New Englanders by the time Japan officially opened up to the world in the 1850s. “Monthly crossings between San Francisco and Yokohama began in 1867, while the British P&O line extended its India–Singapore–Hong Kong route to Japan at about the same time.”²² With the completion of the U.S. Transcontinental Railroad in 1869 and developments in steamship technology, the journey to Japan from New England across the Pacific could be completed in a month or less. The completion of the Suez Canal, also in 1869, opened up a direct sea route facilitating travel between Europe and Asia, which created options for Americans bored with the Grand Tour of Europe and for Europeans looking towards more exotic destinations as well. This helped to bring about the World Tour craze, beyond Europe and towards Asia, and the hundreds of published accounts of travelers to Japan attest to the popularity of Japan as a travel destination in the decades that follow. For Euro–Americans, the Orient “had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences,”²³ and now it had become easily accessible.

At the same time the United States was just coming out of the Civil War. “The horrors of the Civil War did much to reconfigure the terms of Americans’ encounter with non–European cultures. Shattered illusions about their own world prompted many young men to seek out cultures they believe to be more innocent and uncorrupted by the modern world. During this era also, under the banner of ‘Manifest Destiny,’ the United States set in place a policy of economic imperialism in Asia that was deeply implicated in both American leisure travel to and trade with Japan.”²⁴ Charley, after running away to fight in the Civil War, partly to satisfy his quest for adventure and partly to escape the constraints of his family and society around him, was in a position where he did not desire to settle into academics, politics, or business in Boston society when he returned home wounded two years later in 1865.

²¹ Lionel Lambourne, *Japonism: Cultural Crossings between Japan and the West*, (London: Phaidon Press, 2005), 6–7.

²² Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1997), 264.

²³ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 1.

²⁴ Christine M.E. Guth, *Longfellow’s Tattoos: Tourism, Collecting, and Japan*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), xv.

In 1866, not interested in college or career and recovered from his wounds, Charley turned to yachting, which became his lifelong passion, and set off for England on his uncle Thomas Appleton's newly built yacht the *Alice*, setting a record for a transatlantic crossing, and then continuing to Paris and on to Russia before returning home. In 1868 he set out on a Grand Tour of Europe with his family, touring around with them before going off on his own to India and the Himalayas, where he traveled around for fifteen months on his first extended adventure abroad, passing through the newly opened Suez Canal on his way home.

Charley's next adventure was to be his first trip to Japan in 1871, where he stayed for twenty months. He later returned to Japan twice, in 1885 and 1891, and it is clear through his journals, photographs, letters, and notes, not to mention his extensive collection of arts, crafts, and curios, that Japan was his true love. Exploring the history and writings of some of the people who may have influenced Charley and whetted his curiosity toward this newly opened country sheds light upon why he went there and what he sought out to accomplish in his experiences while living there.

Going back to March 31st, 1854, when Charley Longfellow was ten years old, the Japanese signed the Treaty of Kanagawa with the United States, effectively opening up the long-secluded country to trade. On one of U.S. Commodore Perry's so-called Black Ships, the frigate *St. Lawrence*, was then Lieutenant George Henry Preble (later Rear Admiral, 1816–1885), related by marriage to the Longfellow family. Largely confined to the ship in Edo Bay, Preble and his shipmates had a limited view of Japan, with few opportunities to go ashore and contact with the Japanese being confined to those who came aboard ship, those they saw on shore from on the ship, and from contact with a few traders they met on their short trips ashore. However, Preble's journal indicates his impression of the Japanese during the months he spent in Edo Bay and surveying the coastline of Japan, touching upon the some of the same facets of the country and its people that fascinated Longfellow. A journal entry from February 20th, 1854 mentions the behavior of the women on shore:

The inhabitants crowded the hill, and beckoned us on shore, and by the most unmistakable signs invited our intercourse with their women. One female went as far as to raise her drapery and expose her person to us. They are either a very lewd and lascivious people, or have catered before this, to the passions of sailors.²⁵

²⁵ Boleslaw Szczesniak, ed., *The Opening of Japan: A Diary of Discovery in the Far East, 1853–1856 By Rear Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 123.

The supposedly loose morals and lascivious nature of Japanese women was an often mentioned topic in the writings of Euro-Americans in Japan, and continued to be so through to the end of the Meiji Period, even after reform laws officially outlawed practices such as prostitution and mixed bathing which were so offensive, yet of so much interest, to Western visitors of the time.

Preble's journal also touches upon another of Longfellow's obsessions, the collecting of Japanese arts, crafts, and curios:

The shopping mania which has seized upon our officers is very amusing. The gallant gentlemen pounce upon everything that in any way represents Japan. Their attics will within a year or two groan under their Japanese burthens. My collection is very miscellaneous and has cost me but little, yet is [sic] comprises of articles of ornament and things to eat drink wear and smoke.²⁶

While expressing his disdain for his fellow officers, Preble does admit to doing a bit of souvenir collecting himself. One wonders what of this collection the young Charley Longfellow may have seen and what other details about Japan Charley may have heard after Preble's return to New England in 1856. But certainly having a family relation as part of one of the biggest political events of the time, the Opening of Japan, would have had much impact on this boy, who had always dreamed of adventures in faraway lands, during his adolescent years.

Another family connection who would have had a strong influence on a young Charley Longfellow was Richard Henry Dana, Jr. (1815–1882). Dana was born to the prominent Dana family of Cambridge and is best known for his book *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840), an account of his sea journey from Boston around Cape Horn to California and back in 1834–1836. After returning to Boston, Dana became a lawyer specializing in marine law and was a lifelong advocate of the rights of seamen. He was also a founding member of the Free-Soil Party and later went on to become United States District Attorney during the Civil War. In 1859, Dana set out on a trip around the world, traveling to California, Hawaii, China, Japan, Malaya, Ceylon, India, Egypt, and Europe, which he wrote about in the *Journal of a Voyage Round the World*, included in later editions of *Two Years Before the Mast as Twenty-Four Years After*.

The Dana Jr. family were adjoining neighbors and close friends with the Longfellows. Young Charley would have had much contact with Dana, Jr., the father of his playmate Richard Henry Dana III (who later married Charley's sister Edith), and surely *Two Years Before the Mast* was read in the Longfellow House, perhaps by the author himself, who would have been able to entertain the young and adventurous-spirited Charley with his tales of life at sea and in distant

²⁶ Ibid., 213–4.

lands. Charley was fifteen when Dana, Jr. set off on his journey around the world, and although we do not know how much would have been shared with the teenaged boy upon Dana's return, passages from his travel journal give vivid descriptions of aspects of Japan which proved to be of great interest to Charley when he traveled there himself eleven years later.

In most respects Dana, Jr. was impressed with what he saw in Japan, beginning with his first glimpse as he sailed into Nagasaki Harbor from China, as written in a journal entry of April 9th, 1860 which states: "How beautifully the town lies, at the foot of the many topped gently sloping hills! And the harbor is landlocked, like an interior lake, moreso even than Acapulco. And how pretty are these numerous little bays, or havens, that make up on all sides, with the cluster of houses at the head of each"²⁷ (p.1003). And the following day, April 10th: "Beautiful morning, & nothing can be more lovely than the scene fr. the deck of our steamer" (p.1004). His enthusiasm for Japan continues throughout his twenty-one day stay, visiting Nagasaki, Kanagawa, Yokohama, Hakodate, and then circumnavigating the nation, at the end of which he writes, "China & Japan have been a great experience, & a constant pleasure" (p.1064).

Dana, Jr. writes extensively on two aspects of Japanese society which were of great interest to most Euro-American visitors to Japan at this time, the perceived promiscuity of the Japanese, and in particular, public nudity and bathing, and prostitution. The day after arriving in Nagasaki, he describes the scene he witnessed through the window of a public bath:

Walking at random thro' the streets, thro' an open window I saw one of those public warm baths, of wh. So much has been written, & wh. tell the tale of Japanese life so fully. They were open to sight of all who chose to stop & look at them, & the bathers seemed shameless. A woman sat on a platform, by the window, mending the clothes she was going to put on, heedless of the passers by. In the bath were some 8 or 10 men & women, as close as they could well stow, while others were wiping themselves on the platform, in a condition tolerable only before the Fall. Yet, there was nothing improper in their conduct. For aught one could guess, the secret might be that they know no evil; but the fact is known that they know more evil than any other people. All foreigners here agree in their testimony, that, in one respect, the Japanese are the most shamelessly immoral people on earth. (p.1005)

Dana, Jr.'s reference to the immorality of Japanese behavior being connected to their lack of Christianity, as above, referring to "the Fall", is a common thread in Western accounts of Meiji

²⁷ Robert F. Lucid, ed., *The Journal of Richard Henry Dana, Jr., Volume III*, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968).

Japan, and may have been titillating to Charley as it was to many Western men. He observes more so-called immoral behavior on April 20th: “Japanese boys running stark naked down the Tokaido, from their swimming - leaving their clothes at home. Women sit at their doors, letting all drop, to their waists, & the men of the laboring class, have next to nothing on, - not decent. I do not see how a foreign woman can live here.” (p.1022-3)

Dana, Jr. also expresses interest in another aspect of Japanese culture which was of great curiosity to Western visitors at the time when he writes of public brothels two days later, then actually goes on an ‘inspection’ of several brothels with Dr. Hall, of the mercantile firm Walsh & Co., a Massachusetts man who had been living in Japan for six months. The passage describes several classes of licensed houses of prostitution and the women working at them in great detail, and shows more condemnation of the practice than his previous journal entry. Of the higher class establishments, Dana, Jr. writes:

(They) were large houses, well-ventilated, with bathing rooms & kitchens & sleeping rooms, & each a large reception room. These were occupied & in full operation.... These girls belong to the establishment, almost like slaves. They are sold, or apprenticed by their parents. They are usually taken very young & are taught. We saw some practicing instrumental music & singing. One girl Dr. Hall thought could not be over 10 or 12 years old. (p.1018)

Dana, Jr. goes on to describe a lower class establishment in ever greater disdain:

The lowest class of houses were what the foreigners call the stalls. Here are rows of stalls, each about 8 feet by 4, with a sliding door in front, & each occupied by a woman. We passed through them. In some, the women were asleep, in others they stood at their doors to entice the passers by. We had to dodge, to avoid being seized by them. This was the lowest & most distressing view of all. (p.1019)

By the time he reached Hakodate, his interest in prostitution had not waned, but his disdain had supposedly increased so much that he “did not care to enter” (p.1030) the brothels he saw there. It is of interest that during a brief, three week stay in Japan, Dana, Jr. witnessed at least two public baths and made a point of spending at least one full day visiting several houses of prostitution for ‘inspection’. These were both clearly points of interest for many other Western visitors to Japan, who also wrote about them in their own published accounts, but perhaps of particular interest to him as a lawyer and advocate of human rights issues. However, Dana,

Jr.'s biographer asserts that he led a "sexual double life,"²⁸ often disguising himself as a sailor and visiting brothels while he was away from Boston, so his interest may have had other origins. Whether Charley knew about this or not, he too would find himself frequenting brothels as one of his primary activities while away from home.

Another acquaintance of Henry W. Longfellow who traveled to Japan and published an account of his stay which included comments on public bathing and prostitution was Raphael Pumpelly (1837–1923), an American geologist and mining engineer who was a professor at Harvard University from 1866 to 1875. It appears that Pumpelly became acquainted socially with Henry in 1865²⁹, and they remained in the same social circles. Before coming to Boston and taking up a post at Harvard, Pumpelly had traveled extensively across America and to Asia for five years, which he wrote about in his book *Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Years Journey around the World and of Residence in Arizona, Japan and China* (1869). His travel to Japan in 1862–63 was at the invitation of the Bakumatsu government for the purpose of surveying the island of Hokkaido for mining potential and advancing mining technology in Japan, but as well as his notes on the geographic and geologic features of Hokkaido, the book he published gives quite a detailed report of the people, country, and culture of Japan as a whole, including the Ainu people and their villages, being quite a good introduction to the entire country of Japan in its early days after opening to the West. Like Dana, Jr. and many other Euro–Western visitors to Japan at this time, in *Across America and Asia*, Pumpelly commented more than once on the subjects of prostitution and mixed bathing: The visitor to Japan, "sees the social evil of tea houses, and visiting public baths finds both sexes bathing in common... and the world learns that modesty, and consequently all other virtues, are unknown to the Japanese - that they are sunk to the lowest depths of vice to which even a heathen people can sink."³⁰ And like Dana, Jr., he makes an observation that attempts to justify the practice of licensed prostitution within the context of the non-Christian culture:

It is pretty certain that female virtue stands quite as high among that people as among any other, and higher than in some western countries; and yet accompanying this we find parents selling their daughters to licensed houses of prostitution, which abound to a great extent, showing that any excess of virtue in one sex is perhaps counterbalanced in the other. As repulsive as is this Japanese feature of the social evil, it carries with it mitigating circumstances which are

²⁸ Christine M.E. Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos: Tourism, Collecting, and Japan*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 17.

²⁹ Raphael Pumpelly, *My Reminiscences*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1918), 551.

³⁰ Raphael Pumpelly, *Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Years Journey Around the World and Residence in Arizona, Japan and China*, Second Edition Revised, (New York: Leypolt & Holt, 1870), 133.

wanting in other countries. The victims, who are always from the lower classes, are sold from poverty, and being themselves entirely irresponsible for their position, none of the disgrace attaches to them which drags the unfortunates of the West into the lowest depths; on the contrary, they are sold in childhood for a limited number of years, and as the proprietors of the establishments are obliged to have them instructed in every branch of the female education, they often marry into the class in which they were born. (p.135)

What also may have stood out to Charley about Pumpelly's time in Japan in particular is his account of Hokkaido, the last wild frontier of Japan, which, outside of the Treaty Port of Hakodate, was largely unexplored and inaccessible to foreigners and populated by the indigenous Ainu people. Dana, Jr. had visited Hakodate in 1860, but Pumpelly's account of the Hokkaido outback was most likely the only one he could have seen and would have whetted the curiosity of Charley and appealed to his adventurous spirit. He describes in vivid detail the natural features of Hokkaido, including the volcanos, the hot springs, the beaches, and the wildlife, with comments such as, "While I was lost in the great beauty of the scene spread out before us, I became more strongly impressed by the difficulties which we would have to contend with in our exploration of the island." (p.179)

While Pumpelly's account focuses more on the natural features of the land, he does describe the features of the Ainu people in comparison to the Japanese:

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 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... The women are short, tattoo their chins, and wear large earrings. (p.170-1)

Charley, wanting to explore people and places off the beaten path and being tattooed himself, would have been especially interested in seeing these people and going where few or no foreigners had been before, and indeed his descriptions of the Ainu indicate a deep fascination with these as yet unspoiled people.

Charley was fortunate to be well connected and wealthy, as these two things opened many doors for him on his first visit to Japan in 1871-1873, making possible a lavish lifestyle which included purchasing and furnishing a house in Tokyo and being entertained by geishas and prostitutes at tea houses and in his home. His standing also made possible experiences such as an audience with the Meiji Emperor and a trip to Hokkaido and beyond Hakodate into Ainu country. And his

wealth made it possible for him to amass a considerable collection of Japanese arts, crafts, and curios which he shipped home and distributed to relatives and friends.

As evidenced in his journal and letters,³¹ soon after arriving in Japan on June 25th, 1871, Charley had become acquainted with the U.S. Consul Col. Shepard, and through him met the Prince of Tosa [Yamanouchi Yodo] (p.24). He was also acquainted with a New Yorker who worked in the Japanese Foreign Office named Jaudon and the U.S. Minister to Japan Charles De Long, and through these connections Charley was introduced to the many pleasures of tea houses, pleasure boats, and geishas. He describes one such excursion in detail in a letter to his sister Alice dated August 3rd in which his delight is clearly expressed, ending with, "...All their ways are charming, and as for manners they take the shine out of us Westerners completely. And so we spent the evening, listening to the songs, watching the dancing, and enjoying the cool breeze as we reclined on the straw mats." (p.31)

What he does not mention in his letters home, but what is noted in detail in his notebooks, is the amount of time he spends with geisha in tea houses and prostitutes at brothels. Although Dana, Jr., and Pumpelly both commented on the lascivious nature of the Japanese, and investigated brothels and tea houses in their accounts, their published accounts do not confirm actual patronage of prostitutes or entertaining by geishas. Unpublished pocket notebooks of Charley's in the archives at the Longfellow House contain lists of geishas and common prostitutes and their characteristics, such as, "*Metamasan, Eumero, very pretty, 17, 'hajimete', officer's daughter,*" and "*Somekichisan, Shibaiamatch ichome, good eyes, nice, 18,*" with marks next to the names which can be supposed to denote whether Charley had consummated sexual relations. His notebooks also include addresses of tea houses and brothels and vocabulary terms in Japanese which might be useful in communicating flirtatiously and sexually with these women, such as '*kono kimono wa anata ni yoku niimas - these clothes are very becoming to you,*' and '*majiwaru - to be intimate, to keep company, polite for being each other's,*' and his photograph albums are filled with numerous pictures of geisha and prostitutes. It is also clear from these notebooks and photographs that Charley had a special relationship with at least two or three of these women, including Ohanna, Sokuhe, and Metama, as well as speculation that there may have been a child of Charley's born to one of them.

Charley's high connections and wealth also brought about experiences which were more suitable for the son of the famous Henry W. Longfellow. Minister De Long "appointed [him] acting secretary of the Hawaiian mission - of which he is head - to form a treaty of amity and commerce between Hawaii and Japan," (p.33) and in this capacity was able to have an audience

³¹ Christine Wallace Laidlaw, *Charles Appleton Longfellow: Twenty Months in Japan, 1871-1873*, (Cambridge: Friends of the Longfellow House, 1998).

with the Meiji Emperor, something completely out of the question for a regular visitor or foreign resident of Japan. He described the pomp and circumstance of this audience in detail in a letter dated August 14th to his sister Alice: “Mr. De Long then introduced us one by one to the Mikado, while the two rows of councilors and courtiers on either side of us stood like statues. I could hardly keep from laughing out at being introduced as Hawaiian secretary.” (p.35) Even Charley’s often disapproving father Henry was proud to hear of this event, writing in a letter on September 24th to George Washington Greene, Charley “is certainly in great luck for a young traveler. Very few mortal eyes have seen the Mikado!” (p.52)

And it was also Minister De Long who invited Charley on a trip to Hokkaido for official business and from whence he was able to travel into Ainu country, an experience that “no Westerner had ever done” to a part of Hokkaido “as yet unvisited by Europeans,” (p.31) which was clearly a highlight of Charley’s early days in Japan, when he sought adventure and experiences which were beyond the reach of most foreigners who were restricted to the Treaty Ports. His trip to Hokkaido lasted five weeks altogether, with fifteen days in Ainu country. There, he went beyond Pumpelly and travelled further inland for longer periods of time, and his free-spirited nature brought him into direct contact with the Ainu people on several occasions. He describes the Ainu women and their tattooing in great detail, and since Charley was tattooed himself, the tattooing of the Ainu women was of particular interest to him. In one Ainu village, he and a companion befriended some young Ainu women, who were “very much amused when [he] showed them the tattooing on [his] arm and admired it very much, it being so much better than their own rude work.” (p.69)

In fact, it is Charley’s tattoos that have attracted much interest in recent years. The tattoo Charley showed the Ainu girls was one he had gotten before traveling to Japan, but while he was there on his first visit and again on his next, Charley was extensively tattooed in the traditional Japanese manner. These tattoos can be seen as an extension of his attempt to make his experience in Japan more authentic, and perhaps his desire to rebel against the constraints of his family and societal upbringing, and his collecting of all things which validated this. Along with collecting his tattoos, his extensive collection of photographs, both purchased and personally commissioned, of Hokkaido and of various scenes of his own life and experiences in Japan, give witness to the (often posed) authenticity of his existence in Japan. His collection of arts and crafts and other trinkets and souvenirs, which he sent home in container loads, decorated his own home and the homes of many relatives and friends, giving them proof of his authentic purpose. And his collection of experiences, ranging from cavorting with prostitutes to meeting the Emperor of Japan, details of which fill his notebooks and journals, document the authenticity of this experience.

In all aspects of his life, and especially in his travels to Japan, Charles Appleton Longfellow was

a product of his upbringing. Born the eldest child of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, he was raised both with expectations by his parents and the society he lived in, as well as with influences of many prominent members of that society who also excited him with their tales of the world beyond New England and away from the eyes of society. His first attempt at adventure, running off to fight in the Civil War, ended in injury and disillusionment, leading to him to seek escape via traveling the world for the rest of his years, until his death in 1883 at age 39. His quest for adventure outside the constraints of his family's Boston society was never-ending, and his travels extended across America and Europe to India and Asia, and most especially to Japan, where he was able to construct a legacy, authentic to himself and his experiences, which remains today in his writings and collections.