Introduction
For hundreds of years, people from around the world have recorded observations of their experience in Japan, in diaries, letters, and books thus permitting readers the opportunity to gain further insights about Japan. Many wrote about their experiences on the main island Honshu, and in such large cities as Kobe, Osaka, Nagoya, and Tokyo. While these accounts are numerous and intriguing, little attention has been given to the accounts left behind by foreigners visiting regional areas, such as the island of Shikoku.

This collection of papers presents for the first time how Shikoku was viewed by visitors from outside Japan and allows the reader to appreciate from a different perspective the unique cultural atmosphere of the people of Shikoku around one hundred years ago. It is my purpose to describe the life and research of Frederick Starr and present his observations from his written materials on various aspects of Shikoku when he visited the island in 1917 and 1921. Unlike other Westerners, like Christian missionaries, German teachers, or German and Russian prisoners of war who were in Shikoku, Starr traveled around the whole of the island and provided a detailed account of not just the local people, but of also many of its famous and religious places.

I have divided this paper into four parts, three of which are based on banners written by Frederick Starr when he visited Shikoku: 1) “Peace and International Friendship” where I describe Starr’s encounter with a boy’s group interested in promoting this ideal; 2) “Courtesy and Hospitality” where I describe the custom of helping one another, called osettai experienced throughout Shikoku, and the warm welcome that Starr personally received; 3) “To the Honor of Kobo Daishi” in which I describe the state of the 1,200-kilometer pilgrimage route around Shikoku that includes eighty-eight major sacred sites and many other lesser religious and historical places; and, 4) Others observations from each prefecture, that set forth Starr’s thoughts regarding other things he saw around Shikoku. In conclusion it will be apparent that Frederick Starr offers an invaluable account of Shikoku from 100 years ago for the modern-day reader.
Frederick Starr

Much has been written about Frederick Starr (1858-1933), who spent most of his life as an Anthropology professor at the University of Chicago. His research brought him to Japan fifteen times between 1904, when he led nine Ainu - indigenous people of northern Japan - to the St. Louis Exposition, to 1933 when he passed away at a hospital in Tokyo. His interests were varied, but his love for ofuda/nosatsu (votive placards) gave him the nickname of Ofuda Hakushi/Hakase (Dr. Fuda). He traveled around Japan, climbed Mt. Fuji five times, experienced the Tokaido and Sanyo routes, and came to Shikoku twice. Furthermore, when Starr heard of the disaster caused by the Kanto earthquake in 1923, he collected money in America to send to the victims. It is said that “Perhaps no other Westerner had lost so many Japanese friends in the disaster. Despite a lack of knowledge of the language, Starr had accumulated a circle of hundreds of people – academics, politicians, Buddhist monks, Shinto priests, mountaineers, booksellers, carpenters, traders – in the course of twenty years of visits to Japan.”

Starr was well-liked among the Japanese and when he passed away the following was said at his funeral service by his good friend, Juji Kasai:

I have come to know him well during these 25 years. In recent years, Dr. Starr concentrated his interest on the study of Japan and her national policy, and wrote a number of books and pamphlets on Japan, likewise giving lectures on Japan and the Far East…. He was interested in the promotion of friendly relations between America and Japan…. Dr. Starr is gone! But his memory will be cherished in the hearts of the Japanese people as Japan’s true and sincere friend. By his passing, Japan lost her truest friend and America her patriotic citizen…. In your passing, the ancient friendship of America and Japan is firmly cemented for the happiness of humanity!

Starr’s ashes were placed under a huge stone monument at Gotemba, a town at the foot of Mt. Fuji, and memorial services were held for several years after his passing.

Materials written by Frederick Starr during his time in Japan include letters to his mother, his diaries, newspaper articles, academic articles, and books. Most of these artifacts are stored in the University of Chicago, the Library of Congress, and the University of Oregon in the United States. In Japan, a large assortment of newspaper articles about Starr is located in the four prefectural libraries of Shikoku, the National Diet Library in Tokyo, as well as the Toyo Folklore Museum in Nara. As well, the banners for three of the topics described in this paper are displayed at temples along the Shikoku pilgrimage route.

Why visit Shikoku?
Around one hundred years ago, many Westerners came to Shikoku for teaching positions or proselytizing work. But what was the motive for Frederick Starr coming to Shikoku island not only once, but twice? Starr once wrote, “Kobo Daishi is one of my four favorite Japanese characters” and “I have done much in following up his life and work.” After his 1921 pilgrimage, he noted, “The long planned pilgrimage of the 88 sacred places of Shikoku was carried through and the journey was made out of respect to Kobo Daishi’s memory and to come into intimate contact with the island where the [Buddhist] saint was born and lived in which his memory is still cherished.”

In 1917 Frederick Starr traveled from Matsuyama city to Tokushima city by foot, rickshaw, and train. He ended his excursion by taking a boat to Kobe. In 1921, Starr returned to Shikoku island starting at Tokushima, on to Kochi, Ehime, and Kagawa prefectures, and then back to Kobe from Tokushima. Not only was the second journey in 1921 an arduous ordeal as to travel, but as well, during his thirty-five days on the island, “twenty-six addresses were given by request, upon Buddhist themes, or on international relations.” For example, while in Kochi city he gave two talks that were attended by 700-800 people. The first was on the state of Buddhism and Kobo Daishi, and the second was about his impressions of the Kochi prefecture and the relationship between Japan and the United States.

Starr was determined to wear the proper pilgrim attire during his time on the island. It is noted that, “He was dressed in the regular white cotton pilgrim dress, wore the pilgrim hat and straw sandals, and carried the pilgrim staff. Beginning with temple number one, he visited each and every one of them up to number eighty-eight.” Following his initial 1917 pilgrimage, there was a description of him in the Japan Society Bulletin.

Dr. Starr Afoot in Japan – Dressed as a Japanese pilgrim and touring Japan afoot is Dr. Frederick Starr, who gave one of the Saturday afternoon addresses before the Japan Society last season. He wears an enormous straw hat, shaped like a mushroom; tight white cotton garments and wooden shoes-on-stilts, and creates interest wherever he goes, for all Japanese are slender and he is – not.

It is interesting to note that although Starr wore white attire at this time, white was not the standard color for pilgrims to wear. People wore what they had, so it most cases until the 1950s when white became standard, people wore black or dark outfits. Being a foreigner in Shikoku 100 years ago would have caused people to stare, but as a large Caucasian in a white pilgrim outfit would have caused even more people to take notice of Starr.
1. “Peace and International Friendship”

The banner (right), was written by Starr on March 5, 1921 when he visited Temple 32, Tanemaji along the Shikoku pilgrimage. It is a theme that not only he felt strongly about, but one it seems the local people, especially the children, also wished for at that time. When Frederick Starr visited Temple 22, Byōdōji in the town of Aratano in southern Tokushima prefecture on February 26th, he later wrote that when he arrived “… a head priest with his assistants and a party of townsfolk were drawn up to receive us” and “when we entered the town fireworks were set off.” The next morning, he continues, “We were up at 6:30. As soon after breakfast as possible the boys club was assembled – not in its entirety. A letter to the American Boy Scouts was delivered to me, a photograph [see below] being made of the handing [over]…. [As we left] our third fireworks were exploded and we were off.” When Starr returned “…home late in the summer he prepared the print of the letter in Japanese and English and a copy of the photograph that was taken when the letter was handed to him. He then presented a copy to each member of the Boy Scouts in America so as to keep his word to the Boy Scouts in Japan.” Starr believed that, “These boys of Aratano really speak the feeling of the boys of Japan. They love and admire the United States. They hope and will work for peace and friendship between the two nations…” The letter that the boys gave to Starr included such comments as, “We feel it our national policy to make the warm friendship existing between our two countries – which was established by our benefactor, Commander Perry, who opened our nation to the world – ever more cordial, strong and profound,
day by day, through the entire future..”

2. “Courtesy and Hospitality”

Frederick Starr wrote this message (right below) on March 7th, 1912 when he received a warm welcome at the renowned and impressive Kompira/Kotohira shrine in Kagawa prefecture. He describes the visit in a letter to his mother:

Kotohira is one of the greatest shrines of Japan. Probably a million persons visit it in a year. There is nothing else on Shikoku of the same fame and many people who come to this island come only to see it. Here we had a really big surprise. When we had climbed some 500 steps we came to the shrine residence and there at the main entrance were the twenty or more priests standing in the order of rank to receive us…. We were ushered through the various rooms into the famous willow room – where the walls are of gold and the decorations painted plant decorations.

Throughout his journey around Shikoku island, Starr was treated with “courtesy and hospitality” and although part of the reason for this could have been because of his own popularity in Japan, a significant portion of this treatment was most likely due to the long custom of helping one another (osettai) that has existed for along the Shikoku pilgrimage route since its origin. Starr noted his
feelings in a letter to the
Eighty-Eight temples after his journey around Shikoku.

I was would like to express my gratitude here to all of you for your kindness. I am not
someone who has special qualifications that warrants such special treatment to all of you for
your kindness…. I am just a representative of someone who has come from a distant
country…. I have been treated with kindness to a great degree and the memories of this
treatment and words exchanged are a great joy to me and something that I will never
forget…. One unsaid rule of the pilgrimage states that no matter where you go to please help
and support each other as much as possible and I saw this happening with my own eyes
several hundred times. As well, I experienced it numerous times.

Starr records many experiences of people helping and supporting him. For example, there was “One
good-hearted old lady before she left gave me alms, 1 sen [coin], which I gladly and thankfully
received.” Near Temple 19, Tatsueji, “A young fellow was waiting for us by the roadside. He hailed
and gave us a furoshiki [cloth] of fine mikans [tangerines] and on Ikeda’s asking (about) the
furoshiki (was told) “Keep it.” Later on “near the river we found a man and a woman both
apparently simple peasants with a little cluster of others. They saluted and at one placed a dish of
hengimochi [pounded rice cake] and a basket of oranges before us. It was very kind and touched me
greatly.” Another time when he and his traveling assistant and interpreter, Hambei Maebashi, got on
a train. “Just as we got seats and were ready to start, a good old soul pushed her way to the platform
of the car and pressed a package upon me. We were off at once, though I gave her a fuda. We found
that her gift was three cold boiled sweet potatoes, which we truly ate with appropriate gratitude.”
Elsewhere, “An old woman at a poor little house shop with open front had little plates of parched
beans etc. before her. These were intended as gifts to passing pilgrims –all. So we descended and
receiving ours gratefully gave her our fuda and were on again.” In another diary entry from
1921, Starr writes,

Along the roadside on a little board or table there may be saucers with cooked food. There
may be fruits arranged simply or in definite groups or there may be two little stakes with a
cross rod upon which are hung a number of pairs of waraji [straw sandals]. In every case
there is a price marked and a cutting of bamboo serves as a receptacle for the coins in
payment. They may be less common
in Tokushima than elsewhere or may not have noticed. The custom seems old.

In fact, Alfred Bohner (1894-1954) who made the Shikoku pilgrimage several years after Starr in
1927, took a photograph of two pilgrims from Hokkaido standing in front of a waraji stand like the one that Starr describes (left photo), and an example of a table with food and waraji handing from a tree can be seen in a book published in 1825 (right photo).

3. “To the Honor of Kobo Daishi”

When Frederick Starr visited Temple 22, Byōdōji on February 26, 1921 he wrote this message – “To the Honor of Kobo Daishi” – which can be seen at the temple even today. Starr truly honored and respected the founder of Shikoku pilgrimage and in this section, I will present descriptions of the state of the temples as recorded in Starr’s writings. First, Starr met a variety of pilgrims along the route. On one occasion when Starr was taking a boat from one temple to the next instead of traveling along the road he wrote, “We notice a man, apparently a priest-pilgrim, who was near us. He was
well dressed in white wool, with woolen caps and substantial, well-made, but peculiar leather boots or boot-leggings. He was very devout and was repeating texts and prayers with much emotion all the way….”

Other pilgrims were blind, could not use their legs and thus used carts, and others made use of other means to make the pilgrimage. Starr wrote:

In this lower part we overtook and passed many pilgrims. Among them was one blind girl feeling her way with her stick. We saw several blind in all the pilgrimage. Usually they were being led by some companion. Once there were two blind with one seeing [pilgrim]. We met occasional cripples. We met one man making his way on hands and knees – blocks in the hands and pads over the knees.

We met occasional carts with sick or crippled being dragged over the weary rounds.

Other diary entries illustrate further observations made at or near certain temples. At Temple 2, Gokurakuji, Starr wrote, “Here we noticed crutches left by lame miraculously cured…. Beyond here we overtook a couple, an old man and his wife making the pilgrimage. He was carrying her on his back.” At Temple 18, Onzanji, “… is preserved a little cart, in which a woman dragged her helpless husband up the mountain. Praying there he was restored and walked away a well man.” As well, around Temple 37, “We have now seen several carts left as evidence of miraculous cures, so that the one at No. 18 is not unique. They all have their story inscribed.” Another person, “was on bicycle and plans his entire pilgrimage upon it.”

At the time Starr made his journeys around the island he noticed that many of the temples were in disarray and in need of repairs, others had been destroyed by fire, and in some cases, a general disinterest among the local village toward the sacred sites. For instance, when he visited Temple 5, Jizōji he was taken to “the side trail to all that remains of Gohyaku. It is a level terrace. Most was destroyed by fire, including all the rakkan. The remaining building contains some rakkan meant for the restoration…..” The Gohyaku rakkan are 500 wooden statues representing arhats – enlightened beings. At Temple 11, Fujiji, “the poor little temple was uninteresting and shabby…. A small enclosure, two or three buildings, a few rustics; three or four pilgrims.” In Kochi prefecture, Starr states that at one temple, “The priest complained of the lack of religious interest and the coldness of the village, yet he hopes to build a new temple and is now developing a miniature 88 sacred places.” At Temple 51, Ishiteji in Ehime prefecture, Starr records, “There had been a festival today, but there were few people left on the grounds. The buildings look shabby and are, of course, plastered with fuda. The gate, hondo [main hall], pagoda, and drum tower appear to be old. The others are merely shabby.” But he adds, “There are many little shrines about the grounds – three of which we found delightfully interesting…. A third small shrine was hung with little waraji, baby’s
and little children’s size left for children against coup or whooping cough.” Starr also went to visit Kaiganj in Kagawa prefecture and although it is not one of the eighty-eight temples it is well-known because of its claim that Kūkai/Kōbō Daishi was born there instead of Temple 75, Zentsūji. Unfortunately, he stated, “The temple itself is a rather shabby affair; the surroundings dreary…. Nothing of religious interest outside; unattractive within and dead! Neither pilgrims, nor worshippers”. But Starr was lucky because he “saw the stone bowl in which the new born babe [Kūkai] was bathed…” Also in Kagawa, he visited Temple 84, Yashima located at the top of a plateau, which offers a great view of the Inland Sea. He wrote, “When finally, we reached the temple we were vastly disappointed; there was little attractiveness in the buildings and there were no striking little shrines such as we saw at No. 5. There were only two or three small stone figures which suggested photographing and they not much…”

In general Frederick Starr had quite a difficult time making his way around Shikoku. In a letter to his mother he complains of the difficulties. He stated, “To plod along hour after hour over difficult mountains trails where one slips at every step with the sandals and socks soaked through slush and mud and a cold wind blowing snow in the face so that one cannot see where he is going is enough to wear most people out.” When he finished he told his mother, “We have finished the pilgrimage and I am glad to have done it, although if I had realized its length and difficulties, I doubt if I would have had had the courage to undertake it.”

4. Other things observed in each prefecture

Although the bulk of Frederick Starr’s writings about his visits to Shikoku consist of descriptions about his pilgrimages and the people he met along the way, he also explains a variety of other things seen and people met in each of the four prefectures. For example, in Tokushima prefecture when he reached Temple 10, Kirihataji, he was told that “Mr. Ishihara was anxiously waiting us at Station 11 with the purpose of entertaining us” and when they arrived in Kamojima:

Here we found Mr. Ishihara…. He now begged us to go to “his library” before it should be dark. It was a short walk. The building is a two-story wooden European structure. It is devoted to Japanese history, archeology and so on and at present numbers 5000 volumes. He plans to increase it from time to time as opportunity permits. The lower floor seems to be the reading rooms, meeting rooms etc. The books are in the upper story and seem well cared for and arranged. There are also curiosities local and remote…. There are many photographs also.
Rokuro Ishihara (石原六郎: 1873-1932) used money from his personal savings to build a library called Gokyōbunko (呉郷文庫) on his own property in 1915. It is while Starr was there that he “several times heard reference made to the ‘German captives’. Some were held in this region. Two of whom seem to have been sometime in the town. About twenty books in the library in English and German are proudly pointed to us as left [donated?] by them.”xxv Although it seems that Starr did not meet any of the former prisoners of war who were interned at the Bando camp north of Tokushima city from 1917-1920, he heard about them and saw some of the books left behind by them. As to Tokushima city in general, Starr states, “It is not much of a place after all though larger than Auburn. It is the largest town of the island and a distinct capital.”xxvi

In Kochi prefecture, Starr writes about a number of famous sites in town and tourist attractions. “We now returned to town and near the famous Harimaya-bashi [bridge] went to a toy shop…. From here we went to the silk exhibition, which is the present great occasion here for a week. There is much silk, and fine, in Shikoku and all four provinces are participating in the exhibit. We spent some little time in the inspection and also looked at the exhibition of local products.”xxvii As well, he went to see the dog fighting. “Dog-fighting is the great pastime in Tosa and care is given to breeding…. These [dogs] are kept in kennels and leashed and apparently cannot be turned loose.”

While in Kochi prefecture Frederick Starr was taken to a temple and shown something quite odd to a foreigner’s eyes:

Under the priest’s pilotage we went up again by stone steps above the temple to a little shrine where there were breasts though not many nor to much of a display as the other temple. The priest let me take a pair of breasts and a curious card with many little nipples alternatively red and white, some 25 or 26 of them, which probably was left by a woman of that age.xxviii

It seemed that a woman would present a wooden tablet with two breasts to the temple and pray that they may be able to breastfeed their child.

In Ehime prefecture, Starr visited the well-known Dogo hot spring and an antimony mine. About the mine, he writes:

That day we made a trip up into the mountains to visit an antimony mine. Formerly the most beautiful and largest crystals of stibnite in the world came from it. It is, however, several
years since they have formed them in their beauty. We had a nice trip…. The actual extraction is done by men, but the breaking, washing and sorting, very heavy work is by women, who came for an eight-hour day 30 to 35 yen…. The manager gave us two find specimens of crystals….

Regarding the local people Starr wrote, “We like Tosa [Kochi] best and we expected to like it least. The people here (Ehime) are in general cold and underdemonstrative”, and further notes that “Matsuyama is more of a mountain than expected and the castle better in location and appearance.”

In Kagawa prefecture like most other foreign visitors he went to Ritsurin park and wrote the following about his visit there in 1921.

[It was] once the garden of the Daimyo Matsudaira. It is justly famous. There is an old and a new park, the latter as yet inferior, but in time it will be fine. In the old part there are ponds, islands, bridges, hillocks. The most striking features are the formal trimmed trees pines and others, and the good rocks…. We walked pretty well around the park, through the little zoological garden, past the products museum, which we had no time to visit and so out.

While Starr mentions meeting many Japanese along this journey around Shikoku, interestingly he mentions meeting Westerners only a couple of times. Once was in Kagawa in 1917 when he was on a train. “As we were mounting the train an American in the second class asked if I were Prof Starr and then told me there was mail for me at Takamatsu. He came in to talk to me. His name is Ericson. He represents the Presbyterian S. board and has been here twelve years. His work is mainly in Shikoku. On this trip he will visit the Leper Island. He got off at Zentsūji.” Another meeting was in 1921, when he describes his stay in Uwajima. “[We] enjoyed a welcome banquet at one of the local temples with twenty-six at (the) table – among them a Buddhist priest, a Shinto Kannushi [priest] and a South-Methodist missionary (American).”

**Conclusion**

Frederick Starr, despite being famous in Japan and respected among the local people during his lifetime, for a substantial period time after his death has been somewhat overlooked and forgotten. However, the records of his visits to Japan, especially to such regional places as Shikoku, offer the reader an interesting look at the customs of the people in Shikoku, the condition of famous places such as temples along the Shikoku pilgrimage route, and how he was treated as a Westerner one hundred years ago. From his letters, diaries, and other materials, we learn that the people of Shikoku welcomed him as they did other foreigners such as the German prisoners of war in Tokushima.
during World War I, foreign language teachers such as those who taught German around the island, etc. Furthermore, we gain insight as to the state of the Shikoku pilgrimage route, which has become so popular today, being in considerable disarray. As well, we learn that there were those who were blind and crippled who made the pilgrimage with some leaving behind carts when they were cured. Even when Frederick Starr visited this island it is clear that the local people showed hospitality to those who came to make the pilgrimage by offering such gifts, as money, food, or footwear. From Starr’s records we also learn about such famous sites around the island as the antimony mine, Ritsurin park, and Kompira Shrine. It is unfortunate that his detailed diary entries describe far more sites and scenes than can be presented in this paper. Few other foreigners who came to Shikoku traveled to the extent that Starr did, and few others presented descriptions of places and people around the island like Starr. This makes a study of his diaries, letters, etc. documenting his time in Shikoku one hundred years, extremely informative and significant.

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i A description of this can be found in: Frederick Starr. *The Ainu Group – At the Saint Louis Exposition*, Open Court Publishing Co, Chicago, USA., 1904.

iii Osaka Mainichi Newspaper, “Eulogy delivered at the memorial service by Juji Kasai.” August 19, 1933.

iv The Japan Advertiser newspaper, Wednesday, Jan 19, 1921.


vi “The University of Chicago magazine.” p343.

vii Letter dated March 9, 1921.


x Frederick Starr diary.


xii Toyo Folklore Museum materials, Nara, Japan.

xiii Toyo Folklore Museum materials, Nara, Japan.


xv Library of Congress. Suta Hakushi Korekushon.

xvi Diary 1921.

xvii Diary 1921.

xviii Diary 1917.

xix Diary 1917.

xx Diary 1917.

xxi Diary 1917.

xxii Letter dated March 17, 1921.

xxiii Letter dated March 27, 1921.

xxiv Diary 1921.

xxv Diary 1921.

xxvi Letter dated March 20, 1917.

xxvii Diary 1921.

xxviii Diary 1921.

xxix Letter dated March 13, 1917.
Letter dated March 17, 1921.

Diary 1917.

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